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THE

THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY:

CONTAINING THE

Acts and Monuments

OF

MARTYRS:

WITH

A general Diſcourſe of theſe later Perſecutions, horrible Troubles and Tumults, ſtirred up by

ROMISH PRELATES

IN THE

CHURCH.

WITH

Divers other Things incident, eſpecially to this Realm of *England* and *Scotland*, as partly alſo to all other Forein Nations appertaining;

From the Time of Queen *MARIES* entring upon the Crown, to the Reign of our late Gracious Sovereign Queen *ELIZABETH*, of Bleſſed Memory.

Recognized and Enlarged by the Author,

Mr. JOHN FOX.

Whereunto are annexed certain Additions, unto the time of our late Sovereign Lord King CHARLES *of Bleſſed Memory.*

LONDON,

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THE THIRD VOLUME AND TENTH BOOK,

Beginning with the Reign of

QUEEN MARY.

The PREFACE to the READER.

FOr asmuch as we are come now to the time of Q. Mary, when as so many were put to death for the cause, especially of the Mass, and the Sacrament of the Altar (as they call it;) I thought it convenient, upon the occasion given, in the ingress of this foresaid story, first to prefix before, by the way of Preface, some declaration collected out of divers Writers and Authors, whereby to set forth to the Reader the great absurdity, wicked abuse, and perillous Idolatry of the Popish Mass, declaring how and by whom it came in, and how it is clouted and patched up of divers additions, to the intent that the Reader seeing the vain institution thereof, and weighing the true causes why it is to be exploded out of all Churches, may the better thereby judge of their death which gave their lives for the testimony and the word of truth.

First, Concerning the origine of this word Missa, whether it came of Missath in Hebrew, Deut. 16. or Mincha, Levit. 6. which signifieth Oblation; or whether it came of sending away the Catechumini, and persons unworthy out of place of ministration, as certain Writers suppose; or else Ex missis donariis & symbolis quæ in offertorio proponebantur, that is, of Gifts and Oblations wont to be offered before the Communion; or whether Missa is derived of Remissa, which in the former Writers was used pro remissione: or whether Missa, pro licentia dimittendi populum, is taken of sending away the Congregation by the words of the Deacon, Ite missa est: or whether Missa hath its denomination of that the Grecians call ἄφεσιν τῦ λάυ, dismission of the People, alluding to the story of the Hebrews, licensed of Pharaoh to depart out of captivity after the eating of the Paschal Lamb, as I read in an old Popish Book intituled, De Sacramentis Sacerdotalibus; or what term soever it be else, either Latin, Syrian, Dutch or French; or howsoever else it taketh its appellation, as there is no certainty amongst themselves that most magnifie the Mass, so is it no matter to us that stand against it. To my judgment and conjecture this later exposition of the word seemeth more probable, both for that it is joyned with the word Ite, which signifieth departing; and also the time and order in speaking the same agreeth well thereunto. For as the old Hebrews, after the Supper of the Lamb, and not before, were set at liberty straightway to depart out of captivity: so, belike, to declare our mystical deliverance by Christ offered and slain for us, first goeth before the action of the holy Supper: that done, then the Priest or Deacon saith, Ite missa est, meaning thereby the deliverance and liberty which is spiritually wrought in us, after that the Body of Christ hath been offered for us. Or else, if Missa otherwise should signifie the celebration or the action of the Supper, it would not be said Ite, but Venite, missa est, &c. Moreover, besides other Arguments, there be certain places in Cassianus which seem to declare that Missa signifieth the dismission of the Congregation: as where he writeth of him which cometh not in time to the hours of Prayer, saying it not to be lawful for him to enter into the Oratory, Sed stantem præ foribus congregationis usque ad missam præstolari debere, i.e. that he ought, standing without the doors, to wait for the miss of the Congregation.

Isidorus l. 6. Etym. Hugo in speculo Eccles. Tertul. cont. Marc. lib. 3. Cypria. de bono pau.

Cassianus de Canonicis orationibus lib 3. ca. 7.

And again in the next Chapter following he inferreth the same vocable Missa in like sense: Contenti, inquit, somno qui nobis post vigiliarum missam usque ad lucis indulgetur adventum: i. Contented, saith he, with so much sleep as serveth us for the miss, or breaking up of the night Vigil, unto the coming of the day, &c.

But to let pass these Conjectures, this by the way I give the Reader to note and understand, that as the word Missa never yet entred into the Church nor usage among the Greeks; so it is to be observed among our Latin Interpretors, such as have translated of old time the ancient Greek Authors, as Eusebius, and the Tripartite history and others, that were the Greek Writers, have these terms συναγωγη, συναξεις ποιειν, and ἑορταζειν, that is, to call the Congregation, to convent Assemblies, and to frequent together. The old Translator of Epiphanius, and other translate upon the same Missas facere, collectas agere, missas celebrare, &c. whereby it is not obscure to be seen, that this word Mass in the old time was not only and peculiarly applied to the action of Consecration, but as well to all Christian Assemblies collected, or Congregations convented, according as in the Dutch Language this name (Messe) signifieth any solemn frequency, or panagery, or gathering together of the People. But of the Name enough and too much.

Vigils were called in the old time the Assemblie of the Congregation in the night, in common Prayer and Fasting. Socra. Eccles. hist. lib. 2. cap. 13. Epiph. trip. hist. l. 4. c. 13. Sozom. l. 2. c. 32. Epiph. trip. hist. l. 4. c. 11. Socrat. l. 3. c. 9. Epiph. trip. hist. l. 6. c. 23. Socr. l. 5. c. 15. ἐν καθ' ἑαυτὸς συναγωγὰς ἑορταζειν. Epiph. trip. hist. l. 7. c. 13. & apud semetipsos missarum celebrare solemnia, &c. Item collectas agunt. &c. quod Socrat. Græce lib. 5. c. 22. inquit, περὶ δὲ συναξεων & συναξεις ποιῶσιν, &c. The Mass a double enemy against Christ. The Mass injurious to the Priesthood of Christ.

To express now the absurdity of the said Mass, and the irreligious application thereof, unseemly and perillous for Christians to use, I will bring two or three reasons of the worthy Servant and Martyr of God, John Bradford, to which many more may be also added out of others.

First the Mass, saith he, is a most subtile and pernicious Enemy against Christ, and that two ways: namely against his Priesthood, and against his Sacrifice; which he proveth by this way: For the Priesthood of Christ, saith he, is an everlasting Priesthood, and such an one as cannot go to another. But the Mass utterly putteth him out of place, as though he was dead for ever, and so God were a liar, which said, that Christ should be a Priest for ever; which briefly cometh unto this Argument.

Fes- That thing is not perpetual, nor standeth alone, which admitteth succession of other to do the same thing that was done before.

ti- But the Mass Priests succeed after Christ, doing the same sacrifice (as they say) which he did before.

no. Ergo, The Mass Priests make Christs Priesthood not to be perpetual.

Another Argument.

Ba- All Priests either be after the order of Aaron, or after the order of Melchisedech, or after the order of the Apostles; or after that spiritual sort whereof it is written, Vos estis spirituale sacerdotium, &c. Major.

ro- But our Mass Priests neither be after the order of Aaron, for that is to resume that which Christ hath abolished; neither after the order of Melchisedech, for that is peculiar only to Christ; neither after the order of the Apostles, for then should they be Ministers not Masters, not Priests but Preachers, and which of the Apostles was ever named by the title of a Priest? Again, neither are they after the gene- Minor.

ral sort of the spiritual Priesthood. For after that Prerogative every true Christian is a spiritual Priest as well as they, offering up spiritual, not bodily sacrifice, as Prayers, Thanksgiving, Obedience, Mortification of the Body framed to the obedience of his Commandments.

Conclusio. co. Ergo, *Our Mass-Priests are no Priests, unless it be after the order of the Priests of* Baal.

The Mass injurious to the sacrifice or death of Christ. Major. *Secondly, Concerning the Sacrifice of Christ abovementioned he reasoneth in like manner; which we have reduced in the way of Argument as followeth:*

Da- *To reiterate a thing once done, for the attaining or accomplishing of the end wherefore it was begun, declareth the Imperfection of the same thing before.*

Minor. ri- *The Mass Priests do reiterate the sacrifice of Christ once done for the end wherefore it was begun, that is, for Propitiation and Remission à* pœna & culpa pro vivis, & pro defunctis.

Conclusio. i. Ergo, *Mass Priests make the sacrifice of Christ to be unperfect, and so are they injurious to the Sacrifice of Christ.*

For confirmation of the premisses, mark here, Reader, I beseech thee, the Rubrick here following written before the Mass of the 5. Wounds in the Mass Book.

BOniface *Bishop of* Rome *lay sick, and was like to die, to whom our Lord sent the Arch-Angel* Raphael *with the office of the Mass of the five Wounds, saying; Rise and write this office, and say it five times, and thou shalt be restored to thy health immediately: and what Priest soever shall say this office for himself, or for any other that is sick five times, the person for whom it is said shall obtain health and grace, and in the world to come, if he continue in vertue, life everlasting. And in whatsoever tribulation a man shall be in this life, if he procure this Office to be said five times for him of a Priest, without doubt he shall be delivered. And if it be said for the Soul of the dead, anon as it shall be said and ended five times, his Soul shall be rid from pains. This hearing the Bishop, he did erect himself up in his Bed, conjuring the Angel by the Name of Almighty God, to tell him what he was, and wherefore he came, and that he should depart without doing him harm: who answered, That he was* Raphael *the Archangel, sent unto him of God; and that all the Premisses were undoubtedly true. Then the said* Boniface *confirmed the said Office of the five Wounds by the Apostolick Authority.*

The Mass is an hinderance to the true service of God, and to the godly life of men. *Another Argument against the Mass is, for that it is an hindrance to the true service of God, and to the godly life of Men: the declaration whereof is more at large by the said Author set out; but briefly in form of Argument it may thus be contracted.*

Another Argument.

Major. Da- *Whatsoever causeth or occasioneth a man to rest in outward serving of God, whose service should be all inward in spirit and verity, that hindreth the true service of God.*

Minor. ti- *The Mass occasioneth a man to rest in outward serving, as in hearing, seeing, and saying Mass, which be but outward senses of a man, and is (as they say) meritorious* ex opere operato, etiam sine bono motu intentionis.

Conclusio. si. Ergo, *The Mass hindreth the right and true service of God.*

Another Argument, proving that the Mass hindreth good life.

Major. Di- *Upon the Mass riseth false hope; and false remedy is promised to wicked livers. For evil men hearing Mass in the morning, upon hope thereof take more security in doing all day what they list. And such as have in hibbing, bauling, taverning, swearing, whoring, dicing, carding, committed wickedness, to them the Mass is set up, promising sufficient propitiation, sacrifice, remedy of Body and Soul, for Man and Beast,* à pœna & culpa, pro vivis & mortuis. *Though they never heard preaching, never used praying, never repented, or how wicked soever they have been; yet if they come to the Church, take holy Bread and holy Water, and hear a Mass, or find a Soul-Priest upon the remedy thereof, then they think themselves discharged, and good Catholick Men.*

The Mass hindereth good life. Minor. sa- *Upon what cause soever riseth false hope, and false remedy is promised to wicked livers, that hindreth good life.*

Conclusio. mis. Ergo, *The Mass hindereth good life.*

Another Argument.

Major. Da- *Where one thing is sufficient and serveth alone, there all other helps be needless thereunto wherein it serveth.*

Minor. ti- *The Mass, as they say, hath all, serveth for all: for by it cometh pardon for sins, by it cometh deliverance from Hell and Purgatory, by it cometh health for Man and Beast:* In summa, *the Mass is* Mare bonorum, &c.

Conclusio. si. Ergo, *All other helps else be needless; hearing of Gods Word, Faith, Praying in Spirit, Repenting, Preaching, Piety, and other helps to good life, &c.*

Another Argument, proving that the Mass is diverse and contrary from the institution of Christs Supper.

1. *Christ ordained his Supper to be a memorial of his death and passion, to be preached until he come. The Mass is no memorial thing of Christ remembred in the Sacrament; but rather they make the Sacrament to be Christ himself offered and sacrified for remission of sins, both for the quick and the dead.*

2. *Christ ordained his Supper to be celebrate and received of the Congregation.* ~~And therefore~~ Paul *bidderh the* Corinthians *to tarry one for another. In the Mass there is no such thing; chuse the People whether they will come or no, Sir* John *is kin to the tide, he will tarry for no man: if he have a Boy to say* Amen, *it is enough.*

3. *Christ received not, but he distributed also the whole in every part. Sir* John *when he hath received all alone, he sheweth the people the empty Chalice. And if he distribute to the People once a year, it is but in one kind alone.*

4. *Christ ordained the Supper to be a taking matter, an eating matter, a distributing and a remembring matter: Contrary, our Mass men make it a matter not of taking, but of gazing, peeping, pixing, boxing, carrying, recarrying, worshipping, stooping, kneeling, knocking, with stoop down before, hold up higher, I thank God I see my Maker to day, &c. Christ ordained it a Table matter, we turn it to an Altar matter; he for a memorial, we for a sacrifice; he sate, our men stand; he in his common tongue, we in a forrein tongue. Whereby it is manifest to appear how diverse and repugnant the Mass is to the Institution of the Lords Supper.*

Another Argument, proving that the Mass is contrary to Gods Commandments.

The Doctrine of the Mass-Book contrary to Gods Commandments; Major. Item, *Where the first Table of Gods blessed and sacred Commandments teacheth men to worship and serve him, and to direct the meditations of their hearts only unto him, and that in all places, at all times, both publickly and privately:*

Minor. *The Mass Book doth point out service for Saints and for Creatures by name, to be served at the least* 300 *days and years, as appeareth by the* Calendars, Masses, Collects, Martyrologue, &c.

Conclusio. Ergo, *The Doctrine and Institution of the Mass-Book, tendeth contrary to Gods holy Commandments.*

Another Reason against the Mass.

Item, *Where S.* Paul *in express words willeth all things to be done in an edifying tongue, the Mass is celebrate in a Tongue forrein, strange, and unknown to the People: so that although the matter therein contained were wholsom, and consonant to Scripture (as it is much disagreeing from the same,) yet for the strangeness of the Tongue it giveth but a sound, and worketh no edifying to the ignorant.*

Now

Anno 1558

Anno 1553

Now both the tongue being strange to the ears of the people, and the matter also in the Mass contained being repugnant to Gods Word, what defence can the Mass have, but utterly it is to be rejected?

And forsomuch therefore as the Mass so long used in a forrein language hath not hitherto come to the understanding of the simple and vulgar sort, to the intent they may themselves perceive the matter, and be their own judges, I have here set forth the chiefest part thereof, which is the Canon, in English, *so as I found it in a certain written Copy, by Master* Coverdale *translated, adjoyning withal the Rubrick and Circumstance of the same in every point, as it is in the Mass Book contained.*

The whole Canon of the Mass, with the Rubrick thereof, as it standeth in the Mass Book, after *Salisbury* use, translated word by word out of Latin into English.

The Rubrick.

AFter the *Sanctus*, the Priest immediately joyning his hands together, and lifting up his eyes, beginneth these words, *Te igitur clementissime, &c.* that is to say, *Therefore most gracious Father, thorough Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, we humbly beseech thee.*

Let him bow down his body, while he saith,

And we desire

Here the Priest standing upright must kiss the Altar *(a)* on the right hand of the Sacrifice, saying:

that thou accept and bless

Here let the Priest make three crosses upon the Chalice and the Bread saying:

these ✠ gifts, these ✠ (b) presents, these ✠ holy and unspotted sacrifices.

When the signs are made upon the Chalice, let him lift up his hands, saying thus;

Which first of all (c) we offer unto thee for thy holy Catholick Church; that thou vouchsafe to pacifie, keep, unite, and govern it throughout the whole World, with thy servant our Pope N. *and our Bishop* N.

That is *(d)* his own Bishop only.

and our King N.

And they are expressed by name.

Then let there follow,

and all true Believers, and such as have the Catholick and Apostolick Faith in due estimation.

Here let him pray for the living.

Remember Lord thy Servants and Handmaids N. *and* N.

In which Prayer a rule must be observed for the order of Charity. Five times let the Priest pray; *(e)* First, for himself, Secondly, for Father and Mother, carnal and spiritual, and for other Parents. Thirdly, for special Friends, Parishoners and others. Fourthly, for all that stand by. Fifthly, for all Christian People. And here may the Priest commend all *(f)* his Friends to God. But my counsel is, that none make overlong tarrying there, partly for distraction of mind, partly because of immissions which may chance through evil Angels: And all that stand hereby round about, whose faith and devotion unto thee is known and manifest; for whom we offer unto thee, or which themselves offer unto thee, this sacrifice *(g)* of praise for them and theirs: for the redemption of their Souls, for the hope of their salvation and health, and render their Vows unto the eternal living and true God.

Communicating and worshipping the memorial, first *(h)* of the glorious and ever Virgin.

Bowing down a little, let him say:

Mary *the mother of our God and Lord Jesu Christ, and also of thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs,* Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon *and* Thaddeus, Timis, Cletus, Clemens, Sextus, Cornelius, Cyprianus, Laurence, Chrysogonus, John *and* Paul, Cosme *and* Damian, *and of all thy Saints: By whose* (i) *merits and prayers, grant thou, that in all things we may be defended with the help of thy protection, through the same Christ our Lord.* Amen.

Here let the Priest behold the Host *(k)* with great veneration, saying:

Therefore Lord we beseech thee, that thou being pacified wilt receive this oblation of our bound service, and of all thy household: and order our days in thy peace, and command us to be delivered from eternal damnation, and to be numbred in the flock of thine Elect, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Here again let him *(l)* hold the Host, saying:

Which Oblation we beseech thee, O Almighty God, in all things to make.

Here let him make *(a)* three crosses upon both, when he saith,

✠ *Blessed*; ✠ *appointed*; ✠ *ratified*; *reasonable and acceptable*; *that unto us it may be,*

Here let him make a cross upon the Bread, saying:

✠ *The Body,* Here upon the Chalice. *And* ✠ *Blood,*

Here with hands joyned together, let him say,

Of thy most dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesu Christ:

Here let the Priest lift up his hands, and join them together, and afterward wipe his fingers, and lift up the Host, saying:

Who (b) *the next day afore he suffered took Bread into his holy and reverent hands, and his eyes being lift up into Heaven.*

Here let him lift up his eyes.

Unto the God Almighty his Father,

Here let him bow down, and afterward erect himself up a little, saying:

Rendring thanks unto thee, he ✠ blessed, he brake,

Here let him touch the Host, saying:

And gave unto his Disciples, saying, (c) take ye, and (d) eat of this ye all (e) *for this is my Body.*

And these words must be pronounced with one breath, and under one prolation, without making of any pause between. After these words, let him bow himself to the Host, and afterward lift up above his forehead, that it may be *(f)* seen of the People, and let him reverently lay it again before the Chalice, in manner of a Cross made with the same, and then let him uncover the Chalice, and hold it between his hands, not putting his thumb and forefinger asunder, save only when he blesseth, saying thus:

Likewise after they had supped, he taking this excellent cup into his holy and reverent hands, rendring thanks also unto thee.

Here let him bow himself, saying:

Blessed, and gave unto his Disciples, saying: Take, and drink of this (g) ye all.

Here let him lift up the Chalice a little, saying thus:

For this is the cup of my Blood, of the new and everlasting Testament (h) *the mystery of Faith, which for you and for many shall be shed to the remission of sins.*

Here let him lift the Chalice to his breast, or further than his head, saying:

As oft as ye do these things, ye shall do them (i) *in remembrance of me.*

Here let him set down the Chalice again, and rub his fingers *(k)* over the Chalice. Then let him lift up his arms, and cover the Chalice. Then let him lift up his arms crosswise, his fingers being joyned together until these words; *De tuis donis*; that is to say, of thine own rewards.

Wherefore O Lord, we also thy Servants, and thy holy People, being mindful as well of the blessed Passion and Resurrection, as of the glorious Ascension of the same Christ thy Son our Lord God, do offer unto thy excellent Majesty of thy own rewards and gifts.

Here let there be made *(l)* five crosses, Namely, the three first upon the Host and Cup, saying:

✠ *a pure Host*; ✠ *an holy Host*; *an undefiled Host,*

The fourth upon the *(m)* Bread only, saying:

The holy ✠ (n) *Bread of eternal life,*

The fifth upon the Cup, saying:

And ✠ *cup of eternal salvation. Vouchsafe thou also with a merciful and pleasant countenance to have respect hereunto, and to accept the same* (o), *as thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of thy righteous servant* Abel, *and the sacrifice of our Patriarch* Abraham, *and the holy sacrifice, the undefiled Host, that the high Priest* Melchisedech *did offer unto thee.*

Here let the Priest with his body bowed down, and his hands holden across, say, *Supplices te rogamus*, we humbly beseech thee, until these words, *Ex hac Altaris participatione*, of this partaking of the Altar. And then let him stand up, kissing the Altar on the right side of the sacrifice; and *(p)* let him make a sign of the Cross upon the Host, and in his own face, when he saith; *Omni benedictione cœlesti*, with all heavenly benediction.

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a And why not on the left hand as well? or why any such kissing at all?

b Precious no doubt and principal; or else are thou too presumptuous, that hast already offered it up for thy sins, and for the salvation of others.

c Who gave you that commission? will you offer Bread and Wine for the Church of Christ, who of very love hath offered up himself for it already? Ephes. 5.

d Charity would pray for others also. So did not the Lord teach his Disciples to pray. Mat. 6. Luke 11.

e And why not his enemies also? Mat. 5.

f Why make ye then a satisfactory sacrifice of it?

g If ye had the Lords matter in hand, ye would do it in remembrance of him.

h Thus the merits and prayers of Christ are defaced.

i And why? for within a little while he looketh to have it his God.

k And why not the Lay people then drink of the Cup also? Be not they the Lords Disciples? Scholars of his heavenly School?

l That must he do with a sower and frowning countenance, if he follow the Cantels of the Mass.

m Yea, three at the least; for this gear must be conjured as well as other things: lest when they think Christ to be naturally present, the Devil be there, and take up the lodging before.

n The Scripture saith, *Ecclesiastes*, the same night.

o He saith not, Let one of you take and eat it himself alone.

p He saith not, Hang it up, keep it, worship it.

a *Enim* have they put in of their own, and left out *quod pro vobis datur.*

b If it were the true Sacramental Bread of the Body of the Lord, it should be taken and eaten, and not lift up to be gazed upon.

c Why taketh thou it then alone? Or why should not the Lay people then drink of the Cup also? Be not they the Lords Disciples? Scholars of his heavenly School?

d These words, (*Mysterium fidei*) have ye here added, declaring the Cup to be but a mystical representation of the Blood? How standeth this with the remembrance of Saints, or of the dead, *In quorum memoria, &c.*

e By these Crums may ye know what Bread was wont to be used.

f And may no fewer Crosses than five serve?

g And why then be ye angry with us?

h The Bread of eternal life, is Christ himself: if this then be he, how dareth thou presume to offer him up unto his Father?

i Have ye the most precious body of Christ in so small estimation, that ye resemble it to the beasts which *Abel* and *Abraham* offered?

k If the Host, as thou (ô) be Christ himself, is not he then most blessed already?

We (q) *humbly beſeech thee O almighty God, command theſe to be brought by the Hands of thy Holy Angel unto thy high Altar in the preſence of thy Divine Majeſty; that as many of us as,*

Here erecting up himſelf, let him kiſs the Altar on the right ſide of the Sacrifice, ſaying:

Of this participation of the Altar ſhall receive thy Sons Holy

Here let him make a ſign of the Croſs (r) upon the Hoſt, ſaying:

✠ *Body,*

Then upon the Cup, ſaying:

and ✠ *Blood may be repleniſhed.*

Then let him make a ſign (f) in his own Face, ſaying: *with all heavenly Benediction and Grace through the ſame Chriſt our Lord, Amen.*

Here let him pray for the dead.

Remember Lord alſo the Souls of thy ſervants and handmaidens, N. *and* N. *which are gone before us with the mark of Faith, and reſt in the ſleep of Peace. We beſeech thee, O Lord, that unto them, and unto* (a) *all ſuch as reſt in Chriſt, thou wilt grant a place of refreſhing, of light, and of peace, through the ſame Chriſt our Lord: Amen.*

Here let him ſmite once (b) upon his Breaſt, ſaying:

" *Unto us Sinners alſo thy Servants, hoping of the multitude of thy mercies, vouchſafe to give ſome portion and fellowſhip with thy Holy Apoſtles and Martyrs, with* John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cecilia, Anaſtacia, *and with all thy Saints; within whoſe Fellowſhip we beſeech thee admit us, not weighing our merit, but granting us forgiveneſs through Chriſt our Lord.*

(c) Here is not ſaid, *Amen.*

By whom, O Lord, all theſe good things thou doſt ever create.

Here let him make a ſign over the Chalice (") three times, ſaying:

Thou ✠ *ſanctifieſt; thou* ✠ *quickneſt; thou* ✠ *bleſſeſt, and giveſt unto us.*

Here let him uncover the Chalice, and make a ſign of the Croſs with the Hoſt five times: (d) firſt beyond the Chalice on every ſide; ſecondly, even with the Chalice; thirdly, within the Chalice; fourthly, like as at the firſt; fifthly, before the Chalice.

Thorough ✠ *him; and with* ✠ *him; and in him is unto thee God, Father* ✠ *almighty, in the unity of the* ✠ *Holy Ghoſt, all Honour and Glory.*

Here let the Prieſt cover the Chalice, and hold his hands ſtill upon the Altar till the *Pater noſter* be ſpoken, ſaying thus:

World without end, Amen. *Let us pray. Being adviſed by wholeſome Precepts, and taught by* (e) *Gods Inſtitution, we are bold to ſay.*

Here let the Deacon take the Patten, and hold it uncovered on the right ſide of the Prieſt, (f) his Arm being ſtretched out on high until *da propitius.* Here let the Prieſt lift up his Hands, ſaying, *Pater noſter, &c.* The Quire muſt ſay, *Sed libera nos, &c.*

Deliver us we beſeech thee, O Lord, from all Evil paſt, preſent, and for to come, and that (g) *by the Interceſſion of the bleſſed, glorious, and our Virgin* Mary *the Mother of God, and thy bleſſed Apoſtles* Peter, *and* Paul, *and* Andrew; *with all Saints.*

Here let the Deacon commit the Patten to the Prieſt, kiſſing his Hand; and let the Prieſt (h) kiſs the Patten. Afterward let him put it (i) to his left Eye, and then to the right. After that let him make a Croſs with the Patten (k) above upon his Head, and ſo lay it down again into his place, ſaying:

Give peace graciouſly in our days, that we being helped through the ſuccour of thy Mercy, may both be always free from ſin, and (l) *ſafe from all trouble.*

(m) Here let him uncover the Chalice, and take the Body doing Reverence, ſhifting it over in the hollow room of the Chalice, holding it between his thumbs and forefingers; and let him break it into three parts: The firſt breaking, while there is ſaid:

Through the ſame our Lord Jeſus Chriſt thy Son.

The ſecond breaking.

Who with thee in the unity of the Holy Ghoſt liveth and reigneth God.

Here let him hold two pieces in his left hand, and the third piece in the right hand upon the brink of the Chalice, ſaying this with (n) open voice:

World without end.

Let the Quire anſwer:

Amen.

Here let him make three Croſſes (o) within the Chalice with the third part of the Hoſt, ſaying:

The peace of the Lord (p) ✠ *be always* ✠ *with* ✠ *you,*

Let the Quire anſwer:

And with thy Spirit.

To ſay *Agnus Dei*, let the Deacon and Subdeacon approach near unto the Prieſt, both being on the right hand, the Deacon nearer, the Subdeacon farther off. And let them ſay (q) privately:

O Lamb of God, that takeſt away the ſins of the World, have mercy upon us: O Lamb of God, that takeſt away the ſins of the World, have mercy upon us: O Lamb of God, that takeſt away the ſins of the World, grant us Peace.

In Maſſes (r) for the Dead it is ſaid thus:

O Lamb of God, that takeſt away the ſins of the World, give them (ſ) *reſt,*

With this addition in the third repetition,

Everlaſting.

Here making a Croſs, let him put down the ſaid third part of the Hoſt into the Sacrament of the Blood, ſaying:

This holy mingling together of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt (t) *be unto me, and to all that receive it, ſalvation of mind and body: a wholeſome preparation both to deſerve and to receive eternal life, through the ſame Chriſt our Lord.*

Afore the Pax be given, let the Prieſt ſay:

O Lord, holy Father, almighty eternal God, grant me ſo worthily to take this holy Body and Blood of thy Son our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, that (a) *by this I may* (b) *merit to receive forgiveneſs of all my ſins, and be repleniſhed with thy holy Spirit, and to have thy Peace: For thou art God alone,* (c) *neither is there any other without thee, whoſe Glorious Kingdom and Empire endureth continually world without end,* Amen.

Here let the Prieſt (d) kiſs the Corporas on the right ſide, and the brink of the Chalice, and afterward let him ſay to the Deacon:

Peace be unto thee, and to the Church of God.

Anſwer.

And with thy Spirit.

On the right hand of the Prieſt let the Deacon receive the Pax of him, and reach it to the Subdeacon. Then to the ſtep of the Quire let the Deacon himſelf bear the Pax unto the Rectors of the Quire; and let them bring it to the Quire, either of them to his own ſide, beginning at the eldeſt. But in Feaſts and Ferial days (e) when the Quire is not governed, the Pax is born from the Deacon unto the Quire by two of the loweſt of the ſecond Form, like as afore.

After the Pax given, let the Prieſt ſay the Prayers following, privately, before the Communicate, holding the Hoſt (f) with both his hands:

O God, Father, thou Fountain and Original of all Goodneſs, who being moved with Mercy, haſt willed thine only begotten Son for our ſake to deſcend into the lower parts of the whole World, and to be Incarnate, whom I (g) *unworthy hold in my Hands.*

Here let the Prieſt bow (h) himſelf to the Hoſt, ſaying: *I worſhip thee, I glorifie thee, I praiſe thee with whole intention of Mind and Heart: And I beſeech thee that thou* (i) *fail not us thy Servants, but forgive our ſins, ſo as with pure Heart and chaſt Body we may be able to ſerve thee* (k) *the only living and true God, through the ſame Chriſt our Lord: Amen.*

O Lord Jeſu Chriſt, thou Son of the living God, who according to the Will of the Father, the Holy Ghoſt working with, haſt quickned the World through thy death: Deliver me, I beſeech thee, through this thy Holy Body and this thy Blood, from all my Iniquities, and from all Evils. And make me alway obey thy Commandments, and never ſuffer me to be ſeparated from thee for ever-

more

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a Thus thou prayeſt for our Lady & all the Saints in heaven, declaring that they are in no ſuch painful purgatory, as they dream ſo much of.

b Down great heart.

c Here he muſt lift up his voice ſignifying the Centurion which lift up his voice at the Paſſion.

c No, good reaſon why.

" If this were not a ſilly poor Chriſt, he ſhould not need ſo many bleſſings of ſuch a God-father.

d Hoigh child and turn thee.

e If Gods inſtitution be your Schoolmaſter, why go ye then from the rules thereof?

f The Lords inſtitution teacheth you not ſuch fond tricks nor jugling geſtures.

g How ſhould the ſcripture elſe be verified that ſaith, Je is Chriſt, which hath the everlaſting Prieſthood, being able to ſave thoſe that come unto God by him, forſomuch as he ever liveth to make interceſſion for us? Heb. 7.

h But he teacheth us not why.

i Yet ſeeth he never a whit the better.

k As who ſay, God ſave this mark.

l The tenderlings may abide no cold.

m Did the Lord Jeſus teach ſuch toys in his holy Inſtitution.

n It is time to ſpeak at laſt, for he hath gone a humming all this while.

o *Infra*, Some read *Infra*, beneath.

p So many croſſes would make a man think that here were none but Popes & popiſh crucifiers of Chriſt.

q Leſt the people be edified.

r That metal clinketh well.

ſ Do they not reſt already in Chriſt, and in the ſleep of peace by thine own ſaying afore?

t Gods holy word teacheth that the offering of the body, & ſhedding of the moſt precious blood of Chriſt once upon the croſs, is the full, perfect, & only ſalvation of all mankind.

a Thus the death of the Lord is defaced.

b O fiſſul man, wilt thou merit that which is Chriſts only gift.

c Yes: the hoſt that ye worſhip and ſpeak unto aforeward, if your words be not falſe.

d For very devotion be ye ſure.

e As it is ſeldom in good order.

f For falling

g Hold him faſt while ye have him in your hands, leſt he fly ſoon you as like he will, if ye make Lucifer him too much bu- ſy. Why not? if it be his maker.

i If it fail, your kitchen will be the colder.

k Note that the Prieſt ſpeaketh all this to the Hoſt: whereby it is evident how horribly they abuſe Gods creatures.

Anno 1553.

mon, thou Saviour of the World, who with God the Father and the ſame Holy Ghoſt, liveſt and reigneſt God world without end: Amen.

O Lord Jeſu Chriſt, let not the Sacrament of thy Body and Blood which I receive (though unworthy) be to my Judgment and Damnation; but through thy Goodneſs let it profit to the Salvation of my Body and Soul: Amen.

To the Body let him ſay with humiliation before he receive:

f That never was born of our Lady.

Hail for evermore, thou moſt Holy (l) Fleſh of Chriſt; unto me afore all things and above all things the higheſt ſweetneſs. The Body of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt be unto me Sinner the Way and Life, in the ✠ Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt: Amen.

in Benedicite & Gods name.

Here let him take the Body, (m) a Croſs being firſt made with the ſame Body afore his Mouth, ſaying:

Hail for evermore, thou Heavenly Drink; unto me before all things and above all things the higheſt ſweetneſs. The Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt profit me Sinner for a Remedy Everlaſting into Life Eternal. Amen. In the ✠ Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt: Amen.

Here let him take the Blood, which when it is received, let him bow himſelf, and ſay:

The Prayer.

I render thanks to thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty Eternal God, which haſt refreſhed me out of the moſt Holy Body and Blood of thy Son our Lord Jeſu Chriſt. And I beſeech thee, that this Sacrament of our Salvation, which I unworthy Sinner have received, come not to my Judgment nor Condemnation after my Merits, but to the profit of my Body, and to the ſalvation of my Soul into life Everlaſting: Amen.

g Here be ſuch tricks as St. Peter and Paul never wrote of

Which Prayer being ſaid, (n) let the Prieſt go to the right ſide of the Altar, with the Chalice between his hands, his fingers being yet joyned together as afore, and let the Subdeacon approach near, and pour out Wine and Water into the Chalice. And let the Prieſt rinſe his hands (o) leſt any parcels of the Body or Blood be left behind in his Fingers or in the Chalice (p.) But when any Prieſt muſt celebrate twice in one day; then at the firſt Maſs he muſt not receive any Ablution, but put it in the Sacriſty, or in a clean Veſſel, till the end of the other Maſs; and then let both the Ablutions be received.

o A dangerous matter I tell you.

p Magnoconatu magnas nugas agunt.

q De munere temporali Note well theſe words.

After the firſt Ablution, is ſaid this Prayer;

That we have received with Mouth, O Lord, let us take with a pure Mind, and (q) out of a temporal Gift let it be to us a Remedy everlaſting.

r A token that he hath had ſome corrupt matter in hand.

Here let him (r) waſh his Fingers in the hollow room of the Chalice, with Wine being poured in by the Subdeacon: which when it is drunk up, let the Prayer follow:

a What? dare ye call it a communion? Doctor Weſton will be angry then.

Lord let this (a) Communion purge us from ſin, and make us to be Partakers of the Heavenly Remedy.

After the receiving of the Ablutions, let the Prieſt lay the Chalice upon the Patten, that if ought remain behind, it may drop. And afterward bowing himſelf, let him ſay:

b What is it that theſe Idolaters will not worſhip? Very ſigns and tokens will not they ſtick at.

Let us (b) worſhip the Sign of the Croſs, whereby we have received the Sacrament of Salvation.

c He had need I trow that hath dawbed ſuch a muddy wall.

Afterward let him (c) waſh his Hands. In the mean ſeaſon let the Deacon fold up the Corporas. When his Hands are waſhen, and the Prieſt returneth to the right end of the Altar (d) let the Deacon reach the Chalice to the Prieſts Mouth, that if ought of that which was poured in do remain behind, (e) he may receive it. After that, let him ſay (f) the Communion with his Miniſters. Then making a ſign of the Croſs in his own Face, let the Prieſt turn himſelf to the People; and (g) with his Arms ſomewhat lifted up, and his Hands joyned together, let him ſay, *Dominus vobiſcum*; and, turning him again to the Altar, let him ſay, *Oremus*, let us pray.

d Is the Prieſt then too proud to take it up himſelf?

e For the poor Deacon is not worthy to receive it.

f By this is meant, theſe few words that are ſpoken next before the laſt Collect.

Then let him ſay (h) the Poſtcommon, according to the number and order of the aforeſaid Prayer. Before the Epiſtle, when the laſt Poſtcommon is ended, and the Prieſt hath made a ſign of the Croſs in his Forehead, let him turn him again to the People, and ſay, *Dominus vobiſcum*. Then let the Deacon ſay, *Benedicamus Domino*. At another time is ſaid, *Ite Miſſa eſt*. As oft as *Ite miſſa eſt* is ſaid, it is always ſaid in turning to the People. And when *Benedicamus Domino*, or *Requieſcant in pace* muſt be ſaid, let it be ſaid in turning to the Altar. When theſe things are ſpoken, let the Prieſt (with his Body bowed down, and his Hands joyned together) in the midſt before the Altar ſay, (i) with a ſtill voice, this Prayer.

g O what a vizor or hypocriſie is here!

h That is, the laſt Collect.

i And why not with a loud voice if it be good? Becauſe it is not the maſſmongers profeſſion to edifie the people.

O Holy Trinity, let the Office of my (k) bond-ſervice pleaſe thee, and grant that this Sacrifice, which I unworthy have offered in the Eyes of thy Majeſty, may be acceptable unto thee: And that unto me and all them for whom I have offered it (l) it may avail to obtain Remiſſion, thou being merciful, who liveſt and reigneſt God, &c.

k Bad ſervice is as fit a name for the Popiſh Maſs, as can be. For not only cuſtom, but evil will alſo doth much, if matter money help not.

Which Prayer being ended, let the Prieſt ſtand upright, (m) croſſing himſelf in his Face, ſaying, *In nomine patris*, &c. And ſo when obeyſance is made, after the ſame order wherein they came afore to the Altar at the beginning of the Maſs, ſo having on their Apparel with the Cenſer-bearer, and other Miniſters, let them (n) go their way again.

l What? the Maſs, in the devils name? for what intent then died Chriſt?

m That face hath much croſſing.

n Walk as ye came: ye have leave to be trudging.

The End of the CANON.

NOW it remaineth (as we have promiſed before) to intreat of the Parts and Parcels of the Maſs, declaring likewiſe how, and by whom this Popiſh or rather Apiſh Maſs became ſo clampered and patched together with ſo many divers and ſundry Additions; whereby it may the better appear what hath been the continuance of the ſame.

Firſt, in the beginning of this Preface it was declared before, how this word Maſs *was never uſed nor known in the old Primitive Church among the firſt Chriſtians, nor among the Grecians. Therefore they that deduce and derive the Origine of the Maſs from St.* James, *and* Baſilius, *are far deceived. As I think, that St.* James *was once Biſhop at* Jeruſalem, *ſo I think not contrary, but ſometimes he miniſtred at the Communion there in breaking of Bread, and that not without the Lords Prayer, and other Prayers of Thankſgiving, as we now in our Communion uſe like Prayers, and theſe Prayers make not the Communion to be a Maſs. And the like is to be ſaid of S.* Peter, *who though he did celebrate the Communion at* Rome, *yet it followeth not that he ſaid Maſs at* Rome, *as ſome report him to have done.*

Neither is it hard to fetch out the Origine, how this Error firſt came up among the People, that St. James *ſaid Maſs at* Jeruſalem, *if a man conſider well Hiſtories and Authors which have written. For in the Hiſtory of* Euſebius, Egeſippus *thus writeth of St.* James, Eum ab Apoſtolis primum conſtitutum fuiſſe Epiſcopum & Liturgum, *&c. Upon the which word* Liturgus, *it is not unlike, and divers ſuppoſe this Error to come, that St.* James *did firſt ſet and inſtitute the Order of Maſs. For ſo (lightly) the old Tranſlators, whereſoever they find* Liturgia, *or* Collecta, λειτουργία, *they tranſlated it* Miſſa; *whereupon the greateſt occaſion of this Error riſeth, to make the People believe the Maſs to be ſo ancient as to proceed from the Apoſtles, and from St.* James. *Notwithſtanding that Error as it lightly came up, ſo it may be as lightly exploded. For how could St.* James *ſay Maſs then at* Jeruſalem, *or St.* Peter *at* Rome, *when as yet neither the Name of Maſs was heard, nor the Parts thereof invented? And although* Sigibertus *in his Chronicles reports, that in the City of* Vaſath, *being delivered from the Siege of the* Huns, *the Paſtor of that Church did celebrate Maſs with Thankſgiving, about the Year 453. yet* Sigibert *in ſo ſaying is to be taken, as ſpeaking rather after the uſe and manner of his time when he wrote it, than of that time when it was done. For in all the Works of St.* Auguſtine, *and of* Chryſoſtome, *and in all that Age the name of Maſs is not found, but it is called either the Supper of the Lord, or the Lords Boord or Communion,* Synaxis, *Sacrifice, Oblation, Myſtery, celebration of the Sacrament,* Euchariſtia, *the myſtical Table,* Miſtagogia, Cœna myſtica; *or with ſome other like term they nominate it. The name of the Maſs was not yet deviſed, nor the Patches thereof compiled.* Platina *teſtifieth, that before* Celeſtinus *Pope, only the Epiſtle and Goſpel were read at the Communion, which being done, the Communion ended. And* Gregory *ſaith, that the Apoſtles afore the Miniſtration*

Ex Euſeb. lib. 2. How it cometh that St. James is thought to be the firſt ſetter up of the Maſs.

Sigibertus in Chronico.

Platina.

Greg. in Regiſt. l. 7. c. 63.

niſtration or the Sacrament did uſe only the Lords Prayer, that is, the Pater noſter. *Let us hear what* Walafridus Strabo *writeth of that matter,* Lib de rebus Eccleſiaſtic. cap. 22. Quod nunc agimus multiplici orationum, lectionum, cantilenarum, & conſecrationum officio, totum hoc Apoſtoli, & poſt ipſos proximi, (ut creditur) orationibus, & commemoratione paſſionis dominicæ, ſicut ipſe præcepit, agebant ſimpliciter, *&c.* i. *That which now is done in the Church with ſuch a long circumſtance of ſo many Oriſons, Leſſons or Readings, Songs and Conſecrations; all that the Apoſtles, and they that next ſucceeded the Apoſtles (as it is thought) did accompliſh ſimply with Prayer only, and with the Commemoration of the Lords Paſſion,* &c. *It followeth in the ſame Author; And, as the report is, like as it is in the* Roman *Church upon Good Friday, where the Communion is wont to be taken without any Maſs; ſo it was in the old time with them,* &c.

Now how this Maſs hath grown up and increaſed ſince, let us ſearch out, by the Lords help, out of Authors, ſo much as may be found.

The Introite.

Platina, Sigibertus in vita Sergii. CEleſtinus *Pope gave the firſt Introite, as* Platina *and* Sigibertus *write.*

The Pſalm. Judica me Deus, &c.

And before the Prieſt do prepare himſelf to his Maſs, firſt with the Pſalm, Judica me Deus, & diſcerne cauſam meam, &c. *that was ordained by the ſaid* Celeſtinus.

Sigibertus. *And where they aſcribe to St.* Ambroſe *the two prayers which he uſed in the preparation to the Maſs, and be added to the Books of* Ambroſe, Eraſmus *judgeth the ſame to be none of his, and that rightly as it ſeemeth: for therein are contained errors, not elſe to be found in the Books of* Ambroſe, *both in giving adoration to the Bread of the Sacrament, and making invocation to Saints, namely, to bleſſed* Mary; *as in the ſecond prayer, where he ſaith,* Ut efficax hæc mea ſit deprecatio, beatæ Mariæ virginis ſuffragia peto, &c. i. *And that this my prayer may be of efficacy, I deſire the ſuffrage and interceſſion of bleſſed* Mary *the Virgin,* &c. *Whereby it may appear learned* Ambroſe *not to be the Author of ſuch an error.*

Chryſ. hom. 11. in Mat. Chryſoſtom *in the eleventh Homily upon the Goſpel of* Matthew, *ſaith, That in his time (and afore his time) the uſe was to ſing whole Pſalms; till they were entred and aſſembled together. And ſo belike* Celeſtinus *borrowed this cuſtom of the Greeks, and brought it into the Latin Church, as* Rupertus *writeth.*

Rupertus Tuitienſis. l. 2. de divin. offic. cap. 21. Chro Chro. Faſci. temp. Gregory *the Great (as ſome write) called a Synod at* Rome, *about the year of our Lord* 594. *in which Synod he appointed that the Introite of the Maſs ſhould be taken out of ſome Pſalm.*

The Confiteor.

Confiteor brought in by Pope *Damaſus.* *The* Confiteor *Pope* Damaſus *brought into the Maſs, as it is written: albeit peradventure not this popiſh* Confiteor, *which in the later Church hath been uſed, ſtuft full of idolatry and invocation of Saints, againſt the word of God.*

The Kyrie Eleyſon.

Greg. Joanni Epiſc. Syracuſ. lib. 7. epiſt. 63. *The* Kyrie Eleyſon *nine times to be repeated in ſuch a tongue, as few Prieſts either underſtand, or do rightly pronounce,* Gregory *did inſtitute about* 600 *years after Chriſt, taking it out of the Greeks Church, and yet tranſpoſing it otherwiſe than there it was uſed. For among the Greeks this* Kyrie Eleyſon, *which they called their* Litany, *was ſung of all the people: The which* Gregory *ordained to be ſung only of the Quire, adding thereto alſo* Chriſte Eleyſon, *which the Grecians uſed not, as* Gregory *himſelf, writing to the Biſhop of* Syracuſe, *doth teſtifie.*

Walfridus c. 22.

Gloria in Excelſis.

Next followeth Gloria in Excelſis, &c. *Which words were ſung of the Angels at the birth of our Saviour. Albeit theſe words alſo were corrupted, as many other things were in the Church. For where the words of the Angels Hymn were* Hominibus bona voluntas, i. *To men good will; the Maſs ſaid,* Hominibus bonæ voluntatis, i. *To men of good will,* &c. *This Hymn was brought into the Maſs by Pope* Symmachus *(and not by* Teleſphorus, *as ſome not truly write, that he ordained three Maſſes on* Chriſtmas-day; *for in his time there was no Maſs,* Anno 140.) *about the year of our Lord* 510. *And after, the ſaid Hymn was augmented by* Hylarius Pictavienſis, *with thoſe words that follow;* Laudamuste, &c. *ſinging it firſt in his own Church, which was* Anno 340. *And afterward it was brought into other Churches by Pope* Symmachus, Anno 510. *as is aforeſaid.* Anno 1553. Hugo de S. Victor.

Dominus vobiſcum, with the anſwer *Oremus*, and the Collects.

Dominus vobiſcum, *with the anſwer of the People, although we have no certain Author named by whom it came; yet this is certain, that it was deduced out of the Greek Church into the Latin, as may appear by the Liturgy of* Chryſoſtom *and* Baſilius *(if the Liturgy be rightly aſcribed unto them) alſo by* Origen, *and other ancient Writers; by whom, it may ſeem that the Liturgy or Maſs (as they call it) did firſt begin with* Dominus vobiſcum, *and then* Surſum corda; *after that* Gratias agamus Domino Deo noſtro, *and ſo following upon the ſame,* Verè dignum & juſtum eſt, &c. *To the which beginning of the Canon other additions after were put by others, as ye ſhall hear, by the Lords grace, hereafter more at large.* Ex B. Rhenl. Tertul. de coro. milit.

Hugo de S. Victore. Hugo de S. Victore, *writeth that this Prayer was taken out of the ancient Salutation of* Booz *ſaluting his harveſt-folks. And out of the Book of* Paralip. *where the Prophet ſaluteth* Azan *the King with his company about him, ſaying,* Dominus voviſcum. Honorius *writeth thus,* Presbyter cum ſalutatione veteris Teſtamenti, & Epiſcopus cum ſalutatione novi Teſtamenti ſalutat populum, quia dignius eſt novum quàm vetus Teſtamentum: i. *As the Prieſt ſaluteth the people with the words of the old Teſtament,* Dominus vobiſcum; *ſo the Biſhop uſeth the words of the New Teſtament, ſaying,* Pax vobiſcum, &c. *Concerning the Collects* Walafridus *writeth, that as they be divers and uncertain, ſo they were made of divers and ſundry Authors, as every of them thought it congrue.* Hugo de S. Victore *affirms that chiefly they were made by* Gelaſius *and* Gregorius. Honorius. Walafrid. Strabo. Hugo de S. Victore.

Why they were called Collects, W. Durandus *and* Micrologus *ſhew the cauſe, for that in the City of* Rome *they ſaid them over the people collected together in the Station-day, therefore they were called* Collectæ. Gul. Durand. in rationali. Microlog. de Eccleſ. obſ.

The *Gradual*, with *Alleluia, Tracte*, and *Sequencies.*

The Reſponſory, *which is called the* Gradual, *(being wont to be ſung at the ſteps going up) with* Alleluia, Honorius *ſaith that* Ambroſe *made them, but Pope* Gregory *ordained them to be received.* Honorius lib. 2. cap. 11.

Upon Feſtival days the Sequencies, *which were wont to be ſung, were chiefly compoſed by an Abbot called* Nokerus de S. Gallo, *and by Pope* Nicholas *commanded to be ſung in the Maſs.* Abbas Nokerus, autor ſequentiarum.

The Gradual *the people were wont to ſing when the Biſhop was about to go up to the Pulpit, or ſome higher ſtanding, where the word of God might be the better and more ſenſibly heard at his mouth, reading the Epiſtle and the Goſpel.*

The Epiſtle and the Goſpel.

The reading of the Epiſtle and the Goſpel, although it was not uſed in the Apoſtles times, yet it ſeemeth to be of ancient continuance, as Hugo *ſaith,* Primis temporibus ab Epiſtola *Pauli* Miſſa incipiebatur, poſt quam ſequebatur Evangelium, ſicut nunc; i. *In former time the Maſs began firſt with the Epiſtle of S.* Paul, *after which Epiſtle then followed the Goſpel, as alſo now,* &c. Hugo de S. Victore.

Walafridus *ſaith, It is uncertain who firſt ordered and diſpoſed the ſo to be.* Walafrid. Strabo.

Some attribute them to Hierom, *ſome to* Damaſus, *ſome to* Teleſphorus *aforeſaid. This is certain, that Pope* Anaſtaſius *ordained to ſtand up at the hearing of the Goſpel read; about the year of our Saviour* 406.

Petrus

Anno 1553.

Petrus Cirvelus *writeth thus*, Leginus & circa annos Chriſtianæ ſalutis 500. fere, jam inſtitutas Epiſtolas in officio Miſſali, &c. *About 500 years ſince almoſt the Epiſtle, ſaith he, was brought into the Maſs.*

Pet. Cirvelus Docrace. in expoſitione lib. Miſſal. in epiſt. nuncupatoria.

Honorius lib. 1. Epiſtolam & Evangelium Alexander Papa legi ad Miſſam conſtituit. Hieronymus autem Preſbyter Lexionarium & Evangeliarium, ut hodie habet Eccleſia, collegit; ſed Damaſus Papa, ut nunc moris eſt, legi cenſuit. Alexander, *ſaith he, appointed the Epiſtle and Goſpel to be read at Maſs. The tranſlation and the diſpoſition of them, in that order as they ſtand,* Hierom *the Prieſt collected; but* Damaſus *appointed them to be read in the Church, ſo as the uſe is now.*

Honorius in ſumma l. 1. c. 18.

Honor. ibid. *Betwixt the Epiſtle and the Goſpel the old Canons of the Spaniards did forbid any Hymn or Canticle to be ſung in the order of the Maſs, which now by the Romiſh order is broken.*

The Creed.

Ex Honor. *The Creed was made by the Synod of* Conſtantinople, *but, by* Damaſus *the Pope ordained to be ſung at the Maſs. And where ſome affirm, that it was brought in by Pope* Marcus, *about the year of our Lord* 340. *To reconcile theſe two together, peradventure thus it may be taken, that the one brought in the Creed, or Symbol of the* Nicene Coincel, *the other appointed the Creed of* Conſtantinople, *as is ſaid.*

Ex actis Pontif. Rom.

The Offertory.

Ex Rabano lib. 1. cap. 2. *After this, Oblations were wont to be offered of the people to the Prieſt; and the Offertory to be ſung of the Quire.*

De inſtit. cleric. Iren. lib. 4. cap. 18. *Of theſe Oblations ſpeaketh* Irenæus; Pro diverſis Sacrificiorum ritibus, ſimplex Oblatio panis & vini fidelibus ſufficiat, &c. *In ſtead of the ſundry Rites of Sacrifices, let the ſimple Oblation of bread and wine ſuffice the faithful.*

Walafrid. in expoſit. ordinis Rom. *Item,* Walafrid. Omnis populus intrans Eccleſiam debet Sacrificare, ſicut docet ordo inſtitutionis Eccleſiaſticæ; i. *Every perſon entring in the Church muſt do Sacrifice, as the order of Eccleſiaſtical inſtitution doth teach: what order this was it is declared* in ordine Romano *by theſe words*; Populus dat oblationes ſuas, id eſt, panem & vinum, primò maſculi, deinde fœminæ, noviſſime vero Sacerdotes & Diaconi offerunt, ſed ſolum panem, & hoc ante altare; i. *The people give every one his Oblations, that is, bread and wine, firſt the men, then the women, after them Prieſts and Deacons offer, but bread only,* &c.

Burchardus lib. 5. cap. 31. Ex concil. Matiſcon. cap. 5. *Likewiſe* Burchardus *teſtifieth the ſame,* In Synodo Matiſcon. decretum eſt, ut in omnibus dominicis diebus, aliiſque Feſtivitatibus, Oblatio ab omnibus qui ad Miſſam convenerint utriuſque ſexus offeratur in Eccleſia, ſingulas Oblationes offerentes, finita Miſſa Oblationes à Presbytero accipiant; i. *In the Synod* Matiſcon *it was ordained, that every Sunday and Feſtival day, Oblation was made of all the people which came to the Maſs, or Liturgy, both men and women, in the Church, every perſon bringing and offering his own Oblation; the Liturgy being done, they receive the Oblations of the Prieſt,* &c.

Thus ye may ſee what were their Oblations and Sacrifice in the ancient time, in their Liturgy. Whereof now remaineth nothing but the name only with the ſong.

This Offertory ſome aſcribe to Eutichianus *about the year of our Lord* 280. *but thereof no certain Evidence appeareth.*

Orate pro me fratres, *&c.*

Nauclerus 1. 2 generat. 5. Ex vetuſto quodam libro de officio Miſſæ. Nauclerus *writeth, that Pope* Leo *brought in that which is ſaid in the Maſs,* Orate pro me fratres & ſorores, *&c.*

The Preface of the Canon.

Cyprianus de oratione Dominica. Auguſt. *The Preface of the Canon from* verè dignum & juſtum eſt, *&c. to* per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum *is given to* Gelaſius: Surſum corda *ſeemeth to be borrowed out of the old manner of the Greek Church*; S. Cyprian *alſo maketh mention of the ſame, and* S. Auſtin de vera Religione, cap. 31.

Tho. Waldenſis. B. Rhenanus in Tertul. de corona militis. *And therefore* Thomas Waldenſis *judgeth that this part of the Preface cannot be attributed to* Gelaſius.

After Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum, *in the old Liturgy, then followed* Qui pridie quam pateretur; *as* Rhenanus *ſuppoſeth, but then came* Gelaſius *the firſt, about the year of our Lord* 497. *which inſerted that which followeth,* Te igitur clementiſſimè, *&c.*

Polyd. Virg. contraried. *Whereby it is to be noted, that* Polydorus Virgilius (*which aſcribeth* Qui pridie *to Pope* Alexander) De invent. lib. 5. cap. 10. *is deceived.*

The like is alſo to be ſaid of Panormitanus, *who refereth the ſame Clauſe* Qui pridie, *&c. to the Apoſtles*, lib. de Celebratione Miſſæ cap. cum Martha.

Panormitan deceived. *Furthermore note, good Reader, how this doth agree with the long Canon of St.* Ambroſe, lib. 4. de Sacrament. cap. 5. Dicit Sacerdos; fac nobis hanc oblationem adſcriptam, rationalem, acceptabilem, quod eſt figura corporis & ſanguinis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti. Qui pridie quam pateretur in ſanctis manibus ſuis accepit panem, reſpexit ad Cœlum, ad te Sancte Pater omnipotens & æterne Deus, gratias agens benedixit, fregit, &c. *If it be true that either* Panormitanus *ſaith, or that* Gelaſius *maſſe* Qui pridie, &c. *how can this Canon then be fathered upon St.* Ambroſe? *And by the ſame reaſon alſo his whole Book, intituled* De Sacramentis, *may be ſuſpected, as of divers learned men it is.*

Rupert. ex Pont. Damaſc. Liturgia Baſilij. *Then came Pope* Sixtus *ten years after him, which brought into the Canon* Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, *thrice to be ſung out of the Book of* Eſay. *And to annex it together, joyned alſo that which goeth before,* Per quem Majeſtatem tuam, *&c.*

He that writeth the Liturgy of Baſilius, *aſcribeth it to his name: whether he doth it truly or no, I will not here contend. This is to be noted, that ſeeing in the ſaid Liturgy of* Baſilius *the ſame particle,* Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth: pleni ſunt Cœli & Terra gloria tua, Oſanna in Excelſis, *is ſung; therefore it muſt needs follow, that either* Leo *which was about the year of our Lord* 460. *borrowed this out of* Baſilius's *Liturgy, or elſe the ſame is falſly attributed to* Baſilius.

After this followeth Sanctum ſacrificium, immaculatam hoſtiam, *till ye come to* placatus accipias, *which* Leo *the firſt did make and inſtitute.*

The words in the Communion, Hoc quotieſcunque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis, *&c. were put in by Pope* Alexander, i. *as* Humbertus *writeth:* Alexander Martyr & Papa 5. ab Apoſt. Petro paſſionem Domini inſerens Canoni Miſſæ, ait, Hoc quotieſcunque feceritis, *&c.*

Humbertus Epiſc. contra libellum Nicetæ Monachi.

Pope Gregory *the third about the year of our Lord* 732. *put to his piece,* Et eorum quorum memoria, *&c.*

Ex actis Rom. Pontif.

This Gregory *the third called a Councel at* Rome, *wherein he decreed that Images ſhould not only be had in Temples, but alſo worſhipped, and that all gainſayers ſhould be counted as Hereticks.*

Innocent. 3. Innocentius *the third of that name, affirmeth Pope* Gelaſius, *which was about* 490 *years after Chriſt, to have made a great piece of that Canon, as he himſelf did ſomething therein, about the year of our Lord* 1215.

Panor. de celebratione Miſſæ. Panormitanus *affirmeth that* Gregory *did add to the Canon this clauſe,* Dieſque noſtros in pace diſponas.

Briefly, Gregorius in Regiſtro *ſaith, that one* Scholaſticus *made the moſt part of the Canon, finding alſo fault with the ſame, that in compoſing the Canon he would put in his own Prayers, and leave out the Lords Prayer,* &c.

Authors reconciled. *Where it is to be noted, for the reconciling theſe Writers together, of whom ſome impute the Canon to* Gelaſius, *ſome again to* Scholaſticus: *In my conjecture it may be ſaid, that both theſe be one, and ſo the matter is reconciled. The reaſon that moveth me is this, for ſo I find* In vetuſto quodam libro de Officio Miſſæ, *after theſe words,* Gelaſius Papa ex Scholaſtico effectus in ordine 48. fecit Tractatus & Hymnos, *&c.*

Ex vetuſto libro de officio Miſſæ. Gelaſius & Scholaſticus both one.

The Elevation and Adoration.

The Elevation and Adoration of the Sacrament we cannot find to come in by any other than by Honorius *the third, about the year of our Lord* 1222. *which ordained that the people then ſhould kneel down and worſhip the Sacrament.*

Ex actis Rom. Pont.

The

The Pater noſter.

Joan. Diaconus in vita Gregorij. Joannes Diaconus *writing of* Gregory, *ſaith*; Orationem Dominicam mox poſt Canonem ſuper hoſtiam cenſuit recitari; i. *That* Gregory *cauſed the Lords Prayer to be recited immediately after the Canon upon the Hoſt*, &c.

Although the Apoſtles ever uſed the Lords Prayer at the Supper of the Lord, as is ſaid before; yet Gregory (*belike*) *placed it ſo in that order after the Canon, and brought it in with thoſe words,* Præceptis ſalutaribus, &c.

Greg. lib. 9. Reg. ad Joan. Syra. Gregorius in Reg. Dominica Oratio apud Græcos ab omni populo; apud nos vero à ſolo Sacerdote cantatur; i. *The Lords Prayer, ſaith he, amongſt the Grecians was wont to be ſung generally of all the people; with us it is ſung only of the Prieſt.*

Agnus.

Expoſit. Rom. ordinis *The* Agnus, *Pope* Sergius *about the year of our Lord* 700. *brought into the Maſs, as witneſſeth* Expoſit. R. ord. propter offnium confractionis Dominici corporis, conſtitutum eſt à Papa Sergio ut Agnus Dei decantetur, *&c.*

The Pax.

Ex decretis Innocentij P. P. cap. 1. Innocentius *ordained the* Pax *to be given to the people.* Pacis, ait, oſculum dandum poſt confecta myſteria, ut conſtet populum ad omnia quæ in myſteriis aguntur, præbuiſſe conſenſum, *&c.*

Peter Martyr *in his* Commentaries in Jud. *ſaith, that it was brought in by* Pope Leo *the ſecond, as it is ſaid: and yet he ſuppoſeth the ſame not to be ſo, ſaying, That this was an ancient cuſtome in the Apoſtles time for Chriſtians to ſalute one another with the Kiſs of Peace,* &c.

Gabriel Biel in can. lect. 81. *To this of* Peter Martyr *agreeth alſo* Gabriel Biel, *writing in theſe words*; Porrexit in primitiva Eccleſia Sacerdos oſculum pacis Miniſtro, cæteris impartiendum, ut per hoc ſignificaret, *&c.* i. *In the primitive Church the Prieſt gave a kiſs of peace to the Miniſter, to be given by him to the people.*

The Diſtribution and Communion.

After this followeth the Communion, wherein our Popiſh Maſs and Miniſters thereof do much alter and degenerate from ancient Antiquity, two manner of ways.

Firſt, In that they make no Communion thereof, receiving only to themſelves, contrary both to their own words, where they ſay after their receiving, Sacramenta quæ ſumpſimus, &c. *and alſo to the ancient Examples and Decrees of the Apoſtles and others. And where it is decreed in the Epiſtle of* Anacletus; Peracta autem conſecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint Eccleſiaſticis carere liminibus. Sic enim & Apoſtoli ſtatuerunt, & S. Romana tenet Eccleſia, *&c.* i. *The Conſecration being done, let all communicate together; unleſs they will be thruſt out of the Church doors,* &c.

Anaclet ep. 1. De Conſecrat. diſt. 2. ca. peract.

Here note by the way, gentle Reader, how Gratianus *the Writer of the Popes Decrees is overſeen, which in his Book* De Conſecrat. diſt. 2. *referreth this ſaying of* Anacletus *to Pope* Calixtus. *And likewiſe alſo* Cochleus, *writing againſt* Muſculus, *followeth* Gratianus *in the ſame error.*

Cochleus contra Muſculum de officio Miſſæ. Gratianus & Cochleus taken in an untruth.

Likewiſe in the Canons of the Apoſtles (if the Canons were theirs) we read πάντας τὺς εἰσιόντας πίστους, καὶ παραμένοντας δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ ἢ ἀγίᾳ μεταλήψει, &c. i. *All the faithful, which reſort to the Church, and tarry not out the end of the Service, and receive not the holy Communion, be ſuch as bringing in diſorder to the Church, ought to be diſſevered,* &c. *And again,* Si quis Epiſcopus, Preſbyter, aut Diaconus, aut quicunque ex Sacerdotali conſortio, oblatione facta, non communicaverint, cauſam dicito, &c.

Can. Ap. c. 9. Can. Ap. c. 8.

Micrologus de Eccleſiaſt. ſer. *For how can that be called a Communion, which is not common, but private to one? as* Micrologus *writeth*, Nec enim propriè communio dici poteſt, niſi plures de eodem Sacrificio participent, *&c. It cannot be called a Communion, except more than one do participate of one Sacrifice,* &c.

Gul. Durand. in ration. l. 4. c. 53. *And* Durandus, In primitiva Eccleſia omnes qui celebrationi Miſſarum intererant ſingulis diebus communicare ſolebant, eo quod Apoſtoli omnes de Calice biberunt, *&c.* i. *In the Primitive time all that were preſent at the miniſtration were wont every day to communicate, becauſe that the Apoſtles did altogether drink of the Cup,* &c.

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Secondly, They alter and degenerate therein from ancient Antiquity, in that when they communicate alſo with the people, yet they deprive them of the holy Cup: which deprivation was not in the Church before the Counſel of Conſtance, *about the year of our Lord* 1414. *For, before it was ſo authentickly received, that it was counted a Sacriledge to receive the one without the other, as appeareth by the words of Pope* Gelaſius; Comperimus quod quidam ſumpta tantummodo corporis ſacri portione, *&c. The whole in Engliſh is this; We underſtand that there be ſome, which receiving the one part only of the holy Body, abſtain from the Cup of the ſacred Blood: who becauſe they be taught ſo to do (by what ſuperſtition I cannot tell) either let them receive the Sacrament whole together, or let them abſtain from the whole Sacrament altogether, becauſe the diviſion of that one and whole Sacrament cannot be without great ſacrilege,* &c.

Gelaſ. Joan. & Majoſica Epiſc. De Conſecrat. diſt. 1. cap. Comperimus.

Hitherto alſo pertaineth the teſtimony of S. Auſtin *in theſe words*; Et ibi vos eſtis in Menſa, & in Calice nobiſcum vos eſtis. Simul enim hoc ſumimus, ſimul bibimus, quia ſimul vivimus, *&c.* i. *There be you at the Table, and at the Cup there alſo be you with us: for together we receive, and together we drink, becauſe we live together.*

Aug. ſerm. feriæ, 2. Paſch.

As alſo out of the Book of Gregory *it is manifeſt, that not only the people received them in both kinds; but alſo the words were preſcribed to the Miniſter, that he ſhould ſay in giving the Cup*; Item Sacerdos Calicem dando dicat; Sanguis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti cuſtodiat te ad vitam æternam; i. *Let the Prieſt ſay in giving the Cup; The blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt keep thee to everlaſting life, Amen.*

Ex libro Sacramentorum Gregorij.

Further, In rendring the cauſe why it ſhould ſo be done, Thomas Aquine *writeth*, Nam hoc valet ad repræſentandam paſſionem Chriſti, in qua ſeorſim fuit Sanguis à Corpore ſeparatus, *&c.* Secundò, hoc eſt conveniens uſui hujus Sacramenti, ut ſeorſim exhibeatur Corpus Chriſti fidelibus in cibum, & Sanguis in potum; i. *For that ſerveth to repreſent the Paſſion of Chriſt, wherein his Blood was parted ſeverally from the Body,* &c. *Secondly, For that it is convenient to the uſe of the Sacrament, that the Body ſhould ſeverally be given to the faithful for meat, and the Blood for drink.*

Thomas 3. part. quæſt. 76. art. 2.

And therefore ſerved the Office of the Deacons as we read, Ut oblata à populo ſuper altare conſecranda diſponant, & perfectis myſteriis Calicem ſacroſancti Sanguinis Domini fidelibus propinent; i. *To lay the Offerings of the people upon the Altar to be hallowed, and when the Myſteries be conſecrated, to diſtribute the Cup of the Sacred Blood of the Lord to the faithful,* &c.

Amb. lib. de omnibus divin. officiis.

But among all other teſtimonies to prove that the Sacrament ought to be common to all people in both kinds, there is none more evident than that of Hierom: Cæterum Dominica cœna omnibus debet eſſe communis, quia ille omnibus Diſcipulis ſuis qui aderant æqualiter tradidit Sacramenta; i. *The Supper of the Lord ought to be indifferently common to all his Diſciples there preſent,* &c.

Hieron. in epiſt. 1 Cor. 11. Convenientibus.

And thus have ye heard the Canon deſcribed, which otherwiſe is called Secretum, i. *the Secret of the Maſs, being ſo termed, becauſe the Prieſt was wont to read it in ſecret or in ſilence. The reaſon thereof Pope* Innocentius *the third declareth in his third Book, for that the holy words, ſaith he, of the Canon ſhould not grow in contempt with the people, by the daily uſe and hearing thereof. And he bringeth in an Example concerning the ſame of certain Shepherds, which in the fields uſing the ſame words of the Canon upon their Bread and Wine, the matter was turned, ſaith he, into Fleſh and Blood, and they plagued therefore from Heaven; but with ſuch Popiſh Tales the Church hath been long repleniſhed.*

Innocent. 3. de ſacro Altaris myſterio, l. 3. c. 2.

The Poſtcommon.

After the Canon and Communion then followeth the Poſtcommon, with the Collects, which the Maſs-book requireth always to be uſed in an odd number, ſometime teaching to uſe but one, as in the Sundays in Lent; and

Old Collects

one

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ſometime three, as in certain Maſſes from Low-ſunday *till the* Aſcenſion; *but never to paſs the number of ſeven.*

Ite miſſa eſt.

Laſt of all cometh Ite miſſa eſt, *whereby the Miniſter dimitteth and ſendeth away all the congregation there preſent to their buſineſs: for, as you heard before, it was decreed in ancient time, that it was not lawful to depart from the congregation in the time of holy miniſtration, before the end of the whole Communion. And therefore all things being accompliſhed, the Miniſter turning to the aſſembly pronounceth,* Ite miſſa eſt.

Ex vetuſto lib. de divin. officiis.

Where note that upon Sundays and Feſtival days only, when Gloria in excelſis *was ſung,* Ite miſſa eſt *was wont to be ſaid: on the work-days* Benedicamus Domino, *ſometime* Requieſcant in pace.

Albes and Corporaſſes.

NOw *concerning ſuch trinkets as were to the foreſaid Maſs appertaining or circumſtant: Firſt, the linnen Albes and Corporaſſes were brought in by Pope* Marcus Anno 340. *if that be true which is thought by ſome: Where note again, that in the time of this Pope it was nothing offenſive for every honeſt Prieſt to have his own proper wife. In the time alſo of this* Marcus *was* Concilium Eliburtinum, *which condemned all kinds of Images and Pictures in Temples.*

Contrary to the which Councel Pope Gregory *the third, about the year of our Lord,* 732. *calling a Councel at* Rome, *did not only ſtabliſh the Images before condemned, but condemned the gainſayers for hereticks, as is aforeſaid.*

Hallowing of altars.

By Sixtus *the third it was ordained, that no Liturgy ſhould be done ſave only upon altars hallowed, about the year of our Lord,* 260. *as ſome ſuppoſe. But as I ſee no firm probation upon the ſame; ſo have I probable conjecture the ſame not to be true.*

Veſtments and Albes.

Some there be that ſhame not to ſay, that St. Clement *brought in the Albe and Veſtments to the Popiſh Maſs.*

Chalices of glaſs.

Item, *That the Sacrament of the blood of the Lord ſhould be conſecrate in chalices of glaſs, and not of wood, as it was in time before, they ſay it was the ordinance of Pope* Severinus,

Chalices of gold.

After this came in golden chalices, and a true Proverb withal, That once they had wooden Chalices and golden Prieſts, now they have golden Chalices and wooden Prieſts.

Bels. Lamps. Organs.

Sebenianus *ordained the ringing of bels and burning of lamps in Churches.*

Vitalianus *the playing on the* Organs.

Gloria Patri.

Damaſus, *by the inſtinct of* Hierom, *appointed* Gloria Patri *after the Pſalms.*

Memento for the dead. Inceſſe. Theoffering.

Pelagius *deviſed the* Memento *for the dead.*

Leo *brought in the Incenſe.*

Eutichianus, *as other ſay, brought in the Offertory, which was then after a manner far otherwiſe than it is, or hath been uſed now a great while. For what time as many of the Heathen being greatly accuſtomed with offerings, were converted unto Chriſt, and could not be well brought from their old long uſe of offerings, the Pope thought to bear ſomewhat with the weak, and permitted them to bring meats into the Congregation or Church, that when the Biſhop had bleſſed them, they that brought them might diſtribute them to the poor or take them to their own uſe. But afterward did* Pope Gregory *ſo help with this ſentence,* Non apparebis in conſpectu Dei tui vacuus, &c. *Thou ſhalt not appear in the ſight of thy God empty, &c. that as he willed the people to lay their offerings upon the altar; ſo they did, and have not yet forgotten to do ſo ſtill.*

Soul-Maſſes.

Soul Maſſes, and Maſſes applied for the dead, came in partly by Gregory, *partly by* Pelagius, *which brought in the* Memento, *as is ſaid.*

Application of Maſſes for the dead.

Wherein note (good Reader) and mark how theſe two ſtand together, that which our Saviour ſaith in his Evangeliſt, Hoc facite in mei commemorationem, *Do this in remembrance of me; and that which we ſay,* In quorum memoria corpus Chriſti ſumitur, &c. i. *In whoſe commemoration the body of Chriſt is taken,* &c. *Chriſt would it to be done in his remembrance: and the Pope will have it done in remembrance of the dead,* &c. *What can be more contrary?*

Reſervation of the Sacrament.

Auricular confeſſion.

A policy for unity of popery.

Innocentius *the third ordained that the Sacrament ſhould be reſerved in the Church. The ſame brought alſo in auricular confeſſion as a law, about the year of our Lord,* 1215. *he did alſo conſtitute that no Archbiſhop ſhould enjoy the pall, unleſs he were of his own religion; and therefore no great marvel if there be ſuch unity in Popery.*

The firſt Latin Maſs ſung at Conſtantinople.

A Conjecture probable that the Roman Maſs is of no great antiquity.

Vigilius *ordained that the Prieſt ſhould ſay Maſs having his face toward the Eaſt.*

Platina *writeth how the firſt Latine Maſs was ſung in the ſixth Councel of Conſtantinople, which was about the year of our Lord,* 680. *ſo that the ſaid Maſs was there and then firſt allowed and not before. And yet they (I mean the Greek Church) ſhould have known as ſoon the Maſs if it had proceeded from* James *or* Baſilius, *as the Latine Church did know it.*

The feaſt of all ſouls.

The opinion to think the Maſs to help Souls in Purgatory, was confirmed by Pope Joannes *the* 19. *by reaſon of a dream, wherein he dreamed that he heard and ſaw the voices of Devils lamenting and bewailing, that Souls were delivered from them by the ſaying of Maſſes and Diriges. And therefore he did approve and ratifie the feaſt of all Souls, brought in by* Odilo; *Moreover he adjoyned alſo to the ſame the feaſt of* Alhallows, *about the year of our Lord,* 1003.

The feaſt of Alhallows.

Lent faſt.

Concerning Lent faſt, ſome think that Teleſphorus, *about the year of our Lord,* 140. *was the Author thereof. But that peradventure may be as true, as that which they alſo attribute to him, that he ordained three Maſſes of one Prieſt to be ſaid on Chriſtmas-day. Or if he did ordain that faſt, yet he did ordain it but freely to be kept: for ſo I find among the decrees, that Lent was commanded firſt to be faſted but only of the Clergy or Churchmen.*

Three Maſſes on Chriſtmas day.

Cenſing of the Sacrament.

Covering of the Altars.

Ex libro ordinis Rom. officii.

Pope Leo *Commanded the Sacrament to be cenſed.*

Pope Boniface *ſet in his foot for covering of the altars.*

Cyprian. lib. 2. epiſt. 3.

In St. Cyprians *time it ſeemeth that water was then mingled with the wine, whereof we read mention in his ſecond book of Epiſtles: which mixture is referred to* Alexander *the firſt in the order of the* Roman *Canon.*

The breaking of the hoſt in three parts.

Ex Rom. ordine de officio Miſſæ.

As concerning the breaking of the body in three parts, we read alſo mention to be made in the ſame book of order, but no certain Author thereof to be named. The words of the book be theſe; Tripliciter, inquit, corpus Domini intelligitur. Vnum quod reſurrexit à mortuis, quod ſignificat particula in ſanguinem miſſa; Aliud quod adhuc vivit in terra ſignificatum per particulam à Sacerdote conſumptam; Tertium, quod jam requieſcit in Chriſto, quod etiam à tertia particula in altari reſervata aptè figuratur, &c. i. *Three ways is the body of the Lord underſtood; One which roſe again from the dead, being ſignified by that part which is let fall to the blood in the chalice; The other is that which yet is living in the earth, which the part of the Prieſt eaten doth ſignifie; The third is that now reſteth in Chriſt, which alſo is figured by that particle that is reſerved upon the altar.*

Dedication of Churches.

Dedication of Churches came in by Felix *the third; and that Churches might not be hallowed but by a Biſhop,* Anno 492.

The Canticle, Gloria, laus, &c. *in the proceſſion before the Maſs on Palm-ſunday, was inſtituted by* Theodulphus, *Biſhop of* Aurelia *as* Sigebertus *writeth, about the year of our Lord,* 483.

Honor in Gemma lib. 1. ca. 66. Guliel. Durand. in Ration. lib. 4. ca. 55.

Giving of holy bread came in by this occaſion, as it is to be gathered, partly out of Honorius, *partly out of* Durandus, *and others. The manner was in ancient time, that the Miniſters were wont to receive certain meal of every houſe or family, wherewith a great loaf was made, called* Panis dominicus, *able to ſerve in the Communion, and to be diſtributed unto the people, which then was wont every day to be preſent and to receive, eſpecially they that offered the meal: For whom it was wont therefore to be ſaid in the Canon,* Omnium circumſtantium, qui tibi hoc ſacrificium laudis offerunt, &c, *But afterward the number of the people increaſing, and piety decreaſing, as* Durandus *writeth, it was then ordained to communicate but only upon Sundays.*

At length followed the third conſtitution, that thrice a year, at leaſt at Eaſter, *every man ſhould communi-*

cate,

cate, it being thus provided, that in stead of the daily Communion before used the Pax did serve. And in stead of receiving upon the Sunday, bread was hallowed and suddenly given and distributed unto the people, which also was called Eulogia; *the constitution whereof seemeth to proceed from Pope* Pius. *For so we read in the decrees of the said Pope Pius.* Ut de oblationibus quæ offeruntur à populo, & consecrationibus superfunt, vel de panibus quos deferunt fideles ad Ecclesiam, vel certè de suis Presbyter convenienter partes incisas habeat in vase nitido & convenienti, & post missarum solennia qui communicare non fuerint parati Eulogias omni die Dominica, & in diebus festis, exinde accipiant. *That is, That the Minister shall take of the oblations offered of the people, remaining of the consecration, or else of the bread which the faithful bring unto the Church, or else to take of their own bread and cut it conveniently in portions in a clean and a convenient vessel; so that after the solemnity of the ministration being done, they that were not prepared and ready to communicate, may receive every Sunday or Festival day* Eulogies, *or Benedictions with the same.* Hæc ille.

Holy bread. Ex sanctionibus Ecclesiasticis, Clasf. 3. decreta Pii Papæ.

As concerning holy water which they used to sprinkle at the Church door upon them that entred in, I will not say that it sprung from the idolatrous use of the Gentiles.

Zozom. li. 6. ca. 6. Theodor. lib. 3. cap. 6.

This I say as I find in historia Zozomeni. Erat autem Romanis vetusta consuetudo, ut quum limen Templi transeundum esset, Sacerdos secundum morem Ethnicum madidos quosdam Olivæ ramusculos manu tenens ingredientes aspergebat, &c. i. *It was an old custom among the* Romans, *that at the entring in at the Church door the Priest after the usual manner of the* Ethnicks, *having in his hand moist branches of Olive, did sprinkle with the same such as entred in,* &c.

To the which custom this our manner of giving of holy water is so like, that it seemeth to proceed out of the same.

In the book of the Popes decrees, and in the distinctions of Gratianus, *there is a certain decree fathered upon* Alexander *the first, about the year of our Lord,* 121. *Which decree may well seem to be a bastard decree, neither agreeing to such a father, nor such a time, concerning the conjuring of holy water. The words of the decree be these,* Aquam sale conspersam in populis benedimus, ut ea cuncti aspersi sanctificentur, & purificentur, quod omnibus Sacerdotibus faciendum esse mandamus: Nam si cinis Vitulæ asperſus populum sanctificabat, atque mundabat, multò magis aqua sale aspersa, divinisque precibus sacrata, populum sanctificat atque mundat. Et si sale aspersa per Helisæum Prophetam sterilitas aquæ sanata est; quantò magis divinis precibus sacratus sal sterilitatem rerum aufert humanarum, & coinquinatos sanctificat & purgat, & cætera bona multiplicat, & insidias Diaboli avertit, & à phantasmatis versutijs homines defendit? *That is, We bless water sprinkled with salt among the people, that all such as be sprinkled with the same, may be sanctified and purified; which thing we charge and command all Priests to do: For if the ashes of the Cow, in the old Law, being sprinkled among the people, did sanctifie and cleanse them, much more water sprinkled with salt, and hallowed with godly prayers, sanctifieth and cleanseth the people. And if that* Helisæus *the Prophet by the sprinkling of salt did heal and help the barrenness of the water; how much more doth the salt, being hallowed by godly prayers, take away the barrenness of humane things, and sanctifie and purge them that be defiled; also multiply other things that be good, and turn away the snares of the devil, and defend men from the deceptions of phantasie,* &c.

Ex lib. concil. De consecrat. dist. 3. c. Aquam.

Thus ye have heard the author and father of holy water, which some also ascribe to Pope Sixtus *which succeeded* Alexander. *But as the Papist do not agree in the first author or institutor of this hallowing of elements, so I think the same untruly to be ascribed to either: but leaving the probation of this to further pleasure, let us now hear in our own tongue their own words, which they use in this their conjuration.*

The form and words used of the Priest in conjuring Salt.

Salt conjured.

I conjure thee thou creature of salt by the ✠ living God, by the ✠ true God, by the holy God, &c. *That thou maist be made a conjured salt, to the Salvation of them that believe; and that unto all such as receive thee thou maist be health of Soul and Body; and that from out of the place wherin thou shalt be sprinkled, may flie away and depart all phantasie, wickedness, or craftiness of the devils subtilty, and every foul spirit,* &c. Anno 1553

The form of conjuring water.

Water conjured.

I conjure thee thou creature of water, in the name of ✠ God the Father almighty, and in the name of ✠ Jesu Christ his Son, our Lord, and in the vertue ✠ of the Holy Ghost, that thou become a conjured water to expel all powor of the enemy, &c.

Who seeth not in these words blasphemy intolerable, how that which is only due to the blood of Christ, and promised to faith only in him, is transferred to earthly and insensate creatures, to be salvation both to Body and Spirit, inwardly to give remission of sins, to give health and remedy against evils and devils, against all phantasies, wickedness, and all foul Spirits, and to expel the power of the enemy, &c. *If this be true, whereto serveth the blood of Christ, and the vertue of Christian faith?*

Therefore judge thy self, gentle Reader, whether thou think this trumpery rightly to be fathered upon those ancient Fathers aforenamed, or else whether it may seem more like truth that John Sleydan *writeth, whose words in his second book* de Monarchijs *are these;* Horum decreta sunt in libris inserta conciliorum, sed ex his pleraque tam sunt levicula, tam nugatoria, tam aliena prorsus à sacris literis, ut credibile sit ab alijs longo post tempore fuisse conficta, &c. *That is, The decrees of these foresaid Bishops and Martyrs be inserted in the book of Councels, but of these decrees many be so childish, so trifling, and so far disagreeing from the holy Scripture, that it is very like that the same were fained and counterfeited of others long after their time,* &c. *Thus much saith* Sleydan *with more words in that place. Unto whose testimony if I might be so bold also to add my conjecture, I would suppose the conjuration of this foresaid water and salt to spring out of the same fountain, from whence proceeded the conjuring of flowers and branches, because I see the order and manner of them both to be so like and uniform as may appear.*

Joan. Sleid. lib. 2. de 4. Monarch.

Many decrees falsly imputed to the old Fathers which were none of theirs.

The manner of hallowing flowers and branches.

Flowers and branches hallowed.

I conjure thee thou creature of flowers and branches, in the name of ✠ God the Father almighty, & in the name ✠ of Jesu Christ his Son, our Lord; and in the vertue of the holy ✠ Ghost. Therefore be thou rooted out and displanted from this creature of flowers and branches, all thou strength of the adversary, all thou host of the devil, and all the power of the enemy, even every assault of the devils, &c.

And thus much concerning the antiquity of holy bread and holy water; whereby thou mayest partly conjecture the same not to be so old as Steven Gardner, *in his letter against Master* Ridley *above mentioned, would have, being both deceived himself, and also going about to seduce other.*

Ex actis Rom. Pontif. in vita Greg. 3.

Furthermore, as touching the reserving of reliques and the memorial of Saints brought into the Mass, Grégory the third is the author thereof, who also added to the Canon thereof this clause, Quorum solemnitates hodie in conspectu divinæ majestatis tuæ celebrantur, *&c.*

Finally it were too long to recite every thing in order, devised and brought in particularly to the Mass, and to the Church. For after that mans brain was once set on devising, it never could make an end of heaping rite upon rite, and ceremony upon ceremony, till all Religion was turned welnigh to superstition. Thereof cometh oyl and cream brought in by Pope Sylvester, *not wont to be hallowed but by a Bishop. That the Corporas should not be of silk, but only of fine linnen cloth. That the Psalms should be sung on sides, the one side of the Quire singing one verse, the other another, with* Gloria patri, *&c. That Baptism should be ministred at no other time in the year but only at* Easter *and* Whitsontide (*save*

Oyl and Cream. The Corporas only of linnen.

Autor. lib. Concil. tom. 1.

Anno 1553. Hallowing of the Font after Easter and Whitsontide. Christning of Bells. Ex pont. Damas. No Beards. Transubstantiation.

to Infants, and such as were in extream infirmity) and that it should be required 40 days before; so determined by Pope Siricius: *and therefore was it that Fonts were hallowed only at these two seasons, the which hallowing they kept yet still, but the ordinance they have rejected.* Item, *that Bels also were christned.* Item, *No Priest should wear a beard, or have long hair; so appointed by Pope* Martin *the first.* Item, *that auricular confession should be made, that the book of decrees and decretals should be stablished, and transubstantiation confirmed, in which three acts Pope* Innocentius *the third was the chiefest doer, about the year of our Lord,* 1215.

And thus have ye in sum the gatherings of the Mass, with the Canon and all the appurtenance of the same: which, not much unlike to the Crow of Esop, being patched with the feathers of so many birds, was so long a gathering, that the Temple of Solomon *was not so long in building, as the Popes Mass was in making. Whereby judge now thy self, good Reader, whether this Mass did proceed from* James *and other Apostles, or no. And yet this was one of the principal causes for which so much turmoile was made in the Church, with the blood-shed of so many Godly men, suffering in so many quarters of this Realm; some consumed by fire, some pined away with hunger, some hanged, some slain, some racked, some tormented one way, some another, and that only or chiefly for the cause of this aforesaid Popish Mass; as by the reading of this story following, by the grace of Christ our Lord, shall appear more at large. In whom I wish thee to continue in health, and to persevere in the truth.*

The first entring of Queen *MARY* to the Crown, with the alteration of Religion, and other Perturbations hapning the same time in this Realm of *ENGLAND*.

Anno 1553. The reign of Q. *Mary*.

WHat time King *Edward* by long sickness began to appear more feeble and weak, in the mean while during the time of this his sickness, a certain marriage was provided, concluded, and shortly also upon the same solemnized in the month of *May*, between the Lord *Gilford* son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Lady *Jane* the Duke of *Suffolks* daughter; whose mother being then alive, was daughter to Mary, King *Henries* second sister, who first was married to the French King, and afterward to Charles Duke of *Suffolk*. But to make no long tarriance hereupon, the marriage being ended, and the King waxing every day more sick than other, whereas indeed there seemed in him no hope of recovery, it was brought to pass by the consent not only of the Nobility, but also of the chief Lawyers of the Realm, that the King by his Testament did appoint the foresaid Lady *Jane*, daughter to the Duke of *Suffolk*, to be inheretrix unto the Crown of *England*, passing over his two sisters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*.

Marriage between the Lord *Gilford* and the Lady *Jane*.

To this order subscribed all the Kings Councel, and the chief of the Nobility, the Mayor and City of London, and almost all the Judges and chief Lawyers of this Realm, saving only Justice *Hales* of *Kent*, a man both favouring true Religion, and also an upright Judge, as any hath been noted in this Realm, who, giving his consent unto Lady *Mary*, would in no case subscribe to Lady *Jane*. Of this man (God willing) you shall hear more in the sequel of this story. The causes laid against Lady *Mary*, were as well for that it was feared she would Marry with a Stranger, and thereby intangle the Crown; as also that she would clean alter Religion, used both in King *Henry* her father, and also in King *Edward* her Brothers days, and so bring in the Pope, to the utter destruction of the Realm, which indeed afterward came to pass, as by the course and sequel of this story may well appear.

Sir *James Hales* standeth with Q. *Mary*.

Two things feared in Q. *Mary*.

Much probable matter they had thus to conjecture of her, by reason of her great stubbornness shewed and declared in her brothers days, as in the letters before mentioned, passing between her and King *Edward*, and the Councel, may appear. The matter being thus concluded, and after confirmed by every mans hand, King *Edward* an Imp of so great hope, not long after this departed by the vehemency of his sickness, when he was sixteen years of age; with whom also decayed in a manner the whole flourishing estate and honour of the English Nation.

Queen *Jane* proclaimed at *London*.

When King *Edward* was dead, this *Jane* was established in the Kingdom by the Nobles consent, and was forthwith published Queen by Proclamation at *London*, and in other Cities where was any great resort, and was there so taken and named. Between this young damsel and King *Edward* there was little difference in age, though in learning and knowledge of the tongues she was not only equal, but also superior unto him, being instructed of a master right nobly learned. If her fortune had been as good as her bringing up, joyned with fineness of wit, undoubtedly she might have seemed comparable not only to the house of *Vespasians*, *Sempronians*, and mother of the *Gracchies*, yea, to any other woman beside, that deserved high praise for their singular learning; but also to the University-men, which have taken many degrees of the Schools.

Comparison between young King *Edward* and young Lady *Jane*.

This instructor of the Lady *Jane*, was Mast. *Elmar*.

In the mean time while these things were a working at *London*, *Mary*, which had knowledge of her brothers death, writeth to the Lords of the Councel in form as followeth.

A letter of the Lady *Mary*, sent to the Lords of the Councel, wherein she claimeth the Crown after the decease of King *Edward*.

Lady *Mary* her letter sent to the Councel, wherein she claimeth the Crown.

MY Lords, we greet you well, and have received sure advertisement, that our dearest brother the King, our late Sovereign Lord, is departed to Gods mercy, which news how woful they be unto our heart, he only knoweth, to whose will and pleasure we must, and do humbly submit us and our wills. But in this so lamentable a case, that is to wit, now after his Majesties departure and death, concerning the Crown and Governance of this Realm of England, *with the title of* France, *and all things thereto belonging, what hath been provided by Act of Parliament, and the Testament and last Will of our dearest Father, besides other circumstances advancing our right, you know, the Realm, and the whole world knoweth, the Rols and Records appear by the authority of the King our said Father, and the King our said Brother, and the Subjects of this Realm; so that we verily trust that there is no good true Subject, that is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of our part we have of our selves caused, and, as God shall aid and strengthen us, shall cause our right and title in this behalf to be published and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this so weighty a matter seemeth strange, that our said Brother dying upon* Thursday *night last past, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof, yet we consider your wisdoms and prudence to be such, that having eftsoons amongst you debated, pondered, and well weighed this present case with our Estate, with your own Estate, the Common-wealth and all our Honours, we shall and may conceive great hope and trust, with much assurance in your Loyalty and Service, and therefore for the time interpret and take things not to the worst; and that ye will, like Noblemen, work the best. Nevertheless, we are not ignorant of your Consultations, to undo the provisi-*

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ons made for our Preferment, nor of the great Bands and Proviſions forcible, wherewith ye be aſſembled and prepared, by whom, and to what end, God and you know, and Nature cannot but fear ſome Evil. But be it that ſome conſideration Politick, or whatſoever thing elſe hath moved you thereto, yet doubt you not, my Lords, but we can take all theſe your doings in gracious part, being alſo right ready to remit and fully pardon the ſame, and that freely to eſchew Blood-ſhed and Vengeance, againſt all thoſe that can or will intend the ſame, truſting alſo aſſuredly you will take and accept this grace and vertue in good part as appertaineth, and that we ſhall not be inforced to uſe the ſervice of other our true ſubjects and friends, which in this our juſt and right cauſe, God, in whom our whole affiance is, ſhall ſend us. Wherefore my Lords, we require you and charge you, and every of you, that of your allegeance which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our honour and the ſurety of our perſon only imploy your ſelves, and forthwith upon receit hereof, cauſe our right and title to the Crown and Government of this Realm to be proclaimed in our City of London *and other places, as to your wiſdom ſhall ſeem good, and as to this caſe appertaineth, not failing hereof as our very truſt is in you. And this our Letter, ſigned with our hand, ſhall be your ſufficient warrant in this behalf.*

Given under our Signet, at our Manor of Kening-hall, *the ninth of* July, 1553.

To this Letter of the Lady *Mary*, the Lords of the Councel make anſwer again, as followeth.

Anſwer of the Lords unto the Lady Mary's *letter.*

A letter of the Councel anſwering again to the Lady *Mary*. Lady *Jane* inveſted in poſſeſſion of the Crown by King *Edwards* will and aſſent of the whole Councel.

MAdam, we have received your Letters, the ninth of this Inſtant, declaring your ſuppoſed Title, which you judge your ſelf to have to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and all the Dominions thereunto belonging. For anſwer whereof, this is to advertiſe you, that foraſmuch as our Soveraign Lady Queen *Jane* is, after the death of our Soveraign Lord *Edward* the ſixth, a Prince of moſt noble memory, inveſted and poſſeſſed with the juſt and right title in the Imperial Crown of this Realm, not only by good order of old ancient Laws of this Realm, but alſo by our late Soveraign Lords Letters Patents ſigned with his own hand, and ſealed with the great Seal of *England* in preſence of the moſt part of the Nobles, Councellors, Judges, with divers other [illegible] and ſage perſonages, aſſenting and ſubſcribing to the ſame: We muſt therefore, as of moſt bound duty and allegeance, aſſent unto her ſaid Grace, and to none other, except we ſhould (which faithful ſubjects cannot) fall into grievous and unſpeakable enormities. Wherefore we can no leſs do, but for the quiet both of the Realm and you alſo, to advertiſe you, that foraſmuch as the divorce, made between the King of famous memory, King *Henry* the eighth, and the Lady *Katharine* your mother, was neceſſary to be had both by the everlaſting Laws of God, and alſo by the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and by the moſt part of the noble and learned Univerſities of Chriſtendom, and confirmed alſo by the ſundry Acts of Parliaments remaining yet in their force, and thereby you juſtly made illegitimate and unheritable to the Crown Imperial of this Realm, and the rules, and dominions, and poſſeſſions of the ſame, you will upon juſt conſideration hereof, and of divers other cauſes lawful to be alledged for the ſame, and for the juſt inheritance of the right line and godly order taken by the late King our Soveraign Lord King *Edward* the ſixth, and agreed upon by the Nobles and great Perſonages aforeſaid, ſurceaſe by any pretence to vex and moleſt any of our Soveraign Lady Queen *Jane* her Subjects from their true faith and allegeance due unto her Grace. Aſſuring you, that if you will for reſpect ſhew your ſelf quiet and obedient (as you ought) you ſhall find us all and ſeveral ready to do you any ſervice that we with duty may, and glad with your quietneſs to preſerve the common State of this Realm, wherein you may be otherwiſe grievous unto us, to your ſelf, and to them. And thus we bid you moſt heartily well to fare. From the *Tower* of *London*, in this ninth of *July*, 1553. Anno 1553.

Your Ladiſhips friends, ſhewing your ſelf an obedient Subject.

Thomas Canterbury.	R. Rich.
The Marqueſs of Winchester.	Huntington.
John Bedford.	Darcy.
Wil. Northampton.	Cheyney.
Tho. Ely Chancellor.	R. Cotton.
Northumberland.	John Gates.
Henry Suffolk.	W. Peter.
Henry Arundel.	W. Cecill.
Shrewsbury.	John Cheek.
Pembrook.	John Maſon.
Cobham.	Edward North.
	R. Bowes.

¶ All theſe aforeſaid, except only the Duke of *Northumberland*, and Sr. *John Gates*, afterward were either by ſpecial favour, or ſpecial or general pardon diſcharged.

Lady *Mary* recounted illegitimate

After this anſwer received, and the minds of the Lords perceived, Lady *Mary* ſpeedeth herſelf ſecretly away far off from the City, hoping chiefly upon the good will of the Commons, and yet perchance not deſtitute altogether of the ſecret advertiſements of ſome of the Nobles. When the Councel heard of her ſudden departure and perceived her ſtoutneſs, and that all came not to paſs as they ſuppoſed, they gathered ſpeedily a power of men together, appointing an army, and firſt aſſigned that the Duke of *Suffolk* ſhould take that enterpriſe in hand, and ſo have the leading of the band. But afterward altering their minds, they thought it beſt to ſend forth the Duke of *Northumberland*, with certain other Lords and Gentlemen, and that the Duke of *Suffolk* ſhould keep the *Tower*, where the Lord *Gilford* and the Lady *Jane* the ſame time were lodged.

Lady *Mary* keepeth her ſelf from the City of *London*.

The Duke of *Northumberland* ſent forth againſt Lady *Mary*.

In the which expedition the Guard alſo, albeit they were much unwilling at the firſt thereunto, yet notwithſtanding, through the vehement perſwaſion of the Lord Treaſurer, Maſter *Chomley*, and other, they were induced to aſſiſt the Duke, and to ſet forward with him.

Theſe things thus agreed upon, and the Duke now being ſet forward after the beſt array out of *London*, having notwithſtanding his times preſcribed, and his journey appointed by the Councel, to the intent he might not ſeem to do any thing but upon warrant. *Mary* in the mean while toſſed with much travel up and down, to work the ſureſt way for her beſt advantage, withdrew her ſelf into the quarters of *Northfolk* and *Suffolk*, where ſhe underſtood the Dukes name to be had in much hatred for the ſervice that had been done there of late under King *Edward*, in ſubduing the rebels, and there gathering to her ſuch aid of the Commons on every ſide as ſhe might, keeping her ſelf cloſe for a ſpace within *Fremingham* Caſtle. To whom firſt of all reſorted the *Suffolk* men; who being always forward in promoting the proceedings of the Goſpel, promiſed her their aid and help, ſo that ſhe would not attempt the alteration of the Religion, which her brother King *Edward* had before eſtabliſhed by laws and orders publickly enacted, and received by the conſent of the whole Realm in that behalf.

Policy of Lady *Mary*.

The Lady *Mary* taketh *Fremingham* Caſtle.

The *Suffolke* men gather to the Lady *Maries* ſide.

To make the matter ſhort, unto this condition ſhe eſtſoons agreed, with ſuch promiſe made unto them that no innovation ſhould be made of Religion, as that no man would or could then have miſdoubted her. Which promiſe, if ſhe had as conſtantly kept, as they did willingly preſerve her with their bodies and weapons, ſhe had done a deed both worthy her blood, and had alſo made her Reign more ſtable to her ſelf through future tranquility. For though a man be never ſo puiſſant of power, yet breach of promiſe is an evil upholder of quietneſs, fear is worſe, but cruelty is the worſt of all.

The Lady *Mary* promiſeth faithfully that ſhe would not alter Religion.

Breach of promiſe in Queen *Mary*.

Thus *Mary* being guarded with the power of the Goſpellers, did vanquiſh the Duke, and all thoſe that came with her. In conſideration whereof it was (methinks) an heavy word that ſhe anſwered to the *Suffolk* men afterwards,

which

Anno 1553.

which did make ſupplication to her Grace to peform her promiſe: Forſomuch (ſaith ſhe) as you being but Members deſire to rule your Head; you ſhall one day well perceive, that Members muſt obey their Head, and not look to bear rule over the ſame. And not only that, but alſo to cauſe the more terror unto other, a certain Gentleman named Mr. *Dobbe*, dwelling about *Wyndam* ſide, for the ſame cauſe, that is, for advertiſing her by humble requeſt of her promiſe, was puniſhed, being three ſundry times ſet on the Pillory to be a gazing ſtock unto all men. Divers other delivered her books and ſupplications made out of the Scripture, to exhort her to continue, in the true Doctrine then eſtabliſhed; and for their good will were ſent to Priſon. But ſuch is the condition of mans nature (as here you ſee) that we are for the moſt part more ready always to ſeek friendſhip when we ſtand in need of help, than ready to requite a benefit once paſt and received. Howbeit againſt all this one ſhoot-anker we have, which may be a ſure comfort to all miſerable Creatures, that equity and fidelity are ever perfect and certainly found with the Lord above, though the ſame, being ſhut out of the doors in this World, be not to be found here among men. But ſeeing our intent is to write a ſtory, not to treat of Office, let us lay *Suffolk* men aſide for a while, whoſe deſerts, for their readineſs and diligence with the Queen, I will not here ſtand upon. What ſhe performed on her part, the thing it ſelf, and the whole ſtory of this Perſecution doth teſtifie, as hereafter more plainly will appear.

Queen *Mary* anſwer to the Suffolk men.

Mr. *Dobbe* puniſhed.

Perfect fidelity ſhut out of the doors, yet it is to be found in Heaven.

On the contrary ſide, the Duke of *Northumberland* having his Warrant under the Broad Seal, with all Furniture in readineſs, as he took his Voyage, and was now forward in his way; what ado there was, what ſtirring on every ſide, what ſending, what riding and poſting, what Letters, Meſſages, and Inſtructions went to and fro, what talking among the Souldiers, what Heart-burning among the People, what fair pretences outwardly, inwardly what privy practices there were, what ſpeeding of Ordinance daily and hourly out of the *Tower*, what rumours and coming down of Souldiers from all quarters there was; a World it was to ſee, and a proceſs to declare, enough to make a whole *Ilias*. The greateſt help that made for the Lady *Mary* was the ſhort journeys of the Duke, which by comiſſion were aſſigned to him before, as is above mentioned. For the longer the Duke lingred in his Voyage, the Lady *Mary* the more increaſed in puiſſance, the hearts of the people being mightily bent unto her. Which after the Councel at *London* perceived, and underſtood how the common multitude did withdraw their hearts from them to ſtand with her, and that certain Noble men began to go the other way, they turned their ſong, and proclaimed for Queen the Lady *Mary*, eldeſt daughter to King *Henry* the eighth, and appointed by Parliament to ſucceed King *Edward* dying without Iſſue.

Queen *Mary* proclaimed at *London*.

The Duke of *Northumberland* overthrown.

And ſo the Duke of *Northumberland*, being by Counſel and Advice ſent forth againſt her, was left deſtitute, and forſaken alone at *Cambridge* with ſome of his Sons, and a few other, among whom the Earl of *Huntington* was one, who there were arreſted and brought to the *Tower* of *London*, as Traitors to the Crown, notwithſtanding that he had there proclaimed her Queen before.

The Duke of *Northumberland* brought to the *Tower* as a Traitor.

Thus have ye *Mary* now made a Queen, and the ſword of Authority put into her hand, which how ſhe afterward did uſe, we may ſee in the ſequel of this Book. Therefore (as I ſay) when ſhe had been thus advanced by the Goſpellers, and ſaw all in quiet by means that her enemies were conquered, ſending the Duke Captive to the *Tower* before (which was the 25. of *July*) ſhe followed not long after, being brought up the third day of *Auguſt* to *London*, with the great rejoycing of many men, but with a greater fear of moe, and yet with flattery, peradventure moſt great, of fained hearts.

Queen *Mary* cometh up to *London*.

Thus coming up to *London*, her firſt lodging ſhe took at the *Tower*, whereas the foreſaid Lady *Jane* with her Husband the Lord *Gilford*, a little before her coming, were impriſoned; where they remained waiting her pleaſure almoſt five Months. But the Duke, within a month after his coming to the *Tower*, being adjudged to death, was brought forth to the Scaffold, and there beheaded. After it he having a promiſe, and being put in hope of Pardon (yea, though his Head were upon the Block) if he would recant and hear Maſs, conſented thereto, and denyed in words that true Religion, which before time, as well in King *Henry* the eighths days, as in King *Edwards*, he had oft evidently declared himſelf both to favour and further: exhorting alſo the people to return to the Catholick Faith, as he termed it. Whoſe recantation the Papiſts did forthwith publiſh and ſet abroad rejoycing not a little at his converſion, or rather ſubverſion, as then appeared.

The Lady *Jane* and the Lord *Gilford* priſoners in the *Tower*.

The Duke of *Northumberland* condemned to dye.

The Duke of *Northumberland* revoketh his Religion.

Thus the Duke of *Northumberland*, with Sir *John Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, (which *Palmer* on the other ſide confeſſed his Faith that he had learned in the Goſpel; and lamented that he had not lived more Goſpel-like) being put to death; In the mean time Queen *Mary* entring thus her Reign with the Blood of theſe men, beſides hearing Maſs her ſelf in the *Tower*, gave a heavy ſhew and ſignification hereby; but eſpecially by the ſudden delivering of *Steven Gardiner* out of the *Tower*; that ſhe was not minded to ſtand to that which ſhe ſo deeply had promiſed to the *Suffolk* men before; concerning the not ſubverting or altering the ſtate of Religion, as in very deed the ſurmiſe of the People was therein nothing deceived.

The Duke of *Northumberland* beheaded.

Sir *Jo. Gates* and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, confeſſing their Faith, were beheaded.

Beſides the premiſes, other things alſo followed, which every day more and more diſcomforted the people, declaring the Queen to bear no good will to the preſent ſtate of Religion; as not only the releaſing of *Gardiner*, being then made Lord Chancellor of *England* and Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; Doctor *Poynet* being put out; but alſo that *Boner* was reſtored to his Biſhoprick again; and Doctor *Ridley* diſplaced. *Item*, Doctor *Day* to the Biſhoprick of *Chicheſter*; *J. Scory* being put out. *Item* Doctor *Tonſtall* to the Biſhoprick of *Dureſme*. *Item*, Doctor *Heath* to the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, and *J. Hooper* committed to the *Fleet*. *Item*, Doctor *Veſie* to *Exceter*; and *Miles Coverdale* put out. Theſe things being marked and perceived, great heavineſs and diſcomfort grew more and more to all good mens hearts; but contrary, to the wicked, great rejoycing. In which diſcord of minds, and diverſity of affections, was now to bee ſeen a miſerable face of things in the whole Common-wealth of *England*. They that could diſſemble took no great care how the matter went. But ſuch, whoſe Conſciences were joyned with the Truth, perceived already coals to be kindled, which after ſhould be the deſtruction of many a true Chriſtian man; as indeed it came to paſs. In the mean while Queen *Mary* after theſe beginnings, removed from the *Tower* to *Hampton Court*, cauſed a Parliament to be ſummoned againſt *October* 10. next enſuing, whereof more is to be ſaid hereafter.

The true preaching Biſhops diſplaced.

A Parliament ſummoned.

Ye heard before how divers Biſhops were removed, and other placed in their rooms: amongſt whom was Doctor *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, a worthy man both of fame and learning. This Doctor *Ridley* in the time of Queen *Jane* had made a Sermon at *Pauls-Croſs*, ſo commended by the Councel; declaring there his mind to the people as touching the Lady *Mary*, and diſſwading them, alledging there the incommodities and inconveniencies which might riſe by receiving her to be their Queen, prophecying as it were before that which after came to paſs, that ſhe would bring in Forreign Power to Reign over them; beſides the ſubverting alſo of all Chriſtian Religion then already eſtabliſhed; ſhewing moreover that the ſame *Mary* being in his Dioceſs, he according to his duty, being then her Ordinary, had travailed much with her to reduce her to this Religion, & notwithſtanding in all other points of civility, ſhe ſhewed her ſelf gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true Faith and Doctrine, ſhe ſhewed her ſelf ſo ſtiff and obſtinate, that there was no other hope of her to be conceived, but to diſturb and overturn all that which with ſo great labours had been confirmed and planted by her Brother afore. Shortly after this Sermon, Queen *Mary* was proclaimed; whereupon he ſpeedily repairing to *Fremingham* to ſalute the Queen, had ſuch cold welcom there, that being ſpoiled of all his Dignity, he was ſent back upon a lame halting horſe to the *Tower*.

Biſhop *Ridley* preacheth in Queen *Maries* time.

After him preached alſo Mr. *Rogers* the next *Sunday*, intreating very learnedly upon the Goſpel of the ſame day.

Mr. *Rogers* Preacheth.

This ſo done, Q. *Mary* ſeeing all things yet not going ſo after her mind as ſhe deſired, deviſed with her Councel to bring to paſs that thing by other means, which as yet by open Law ſhe could not well accompliſh; directing forth an Inhibition by Proclamation, that no man ſhould

preach or read openly in Churches the Word of God, beſides other things alſo in the ſame Proclamation inhibited, the copy whereof here followeth.

An Inhibition of the Queen, for Preaching, Printing, &c.

Auguſt 18. THe Queens Highneſs well remembring what great inconveniencies and dangers have grown to this her Highneſs Realm in times paſt, through the diverſity of opinions in queſtion of Religon, and hearing alſo that now of late, ſince the beginning of her moſt gracious Reign, the ſame contentions be again much revived, through certain falſe and untrue reports and rumours ſpread by ſome light and evil diſpoſed perſons, hath thought good to do to underſtand, to all her Highneſs moſt loving ſubjects, her moſt gracious pleaſure in manner following:

An Inhibition of the Queen for preaching and printing.

Firſt, her Majeſty, being preſently by the only goodneſs of God ſetled in her juſt poſſeſſion of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and other Dominions thereunto belonging, cannot now hide that Religion which God and the World knoweth ſhe hath ever profeſſed from her infancy hitherto. Which as her Majeſty is minded to obſerve and maintain for her ſelf by Gods Grace, during her time, ſo doth her Highneſs much deſire, and would be glad the ſame were of all her Subjects quietly and charitably embraced.

Queen *Mary* beginneth to ſet forth her Popiſh Religion. Religion here grounded upon the Queens good will.

And yet ſhe doth ſignifie unto all her Majeſties loving Subjects, that of her moſt gracious diſpoſition and clemency; her Highneſs mindeth not to compel any her ſaid Subjects thereunto, untill ſuch time as further order by common aſſent may be taken therein: forbidding nevertheleſs all her Subjects of all degrees, at their perils, to move ſeditions, or ſtir unquietneſs in her people by interpreting the Laws of this Realm after their brains and fantaſies, but quietly to continue for the time, till (as before is ſaid) further order may be taken, and therefore willeth and ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth all her ſaid good loving Subjects to live together in quiet ſort and Chriſtian Charity, leaving thoſe new found deviliſh terms of Papiſt or Heretick, and ſuch like, and applying their whole care, ſtudy, and travel to live in the fear of God, exerciſing their converſations in ſuch charitable and godly doing, as their lives may indeed expreſs that great hunger and thirſt of Gods glory and holy Word, which by raſh talk and words many have pretended: and in ſo doing they ſhall beſt pleaſe God, and live without danger of the Laws, and maintain the tranquility of the Realm. Whereof as her Highneſs ſhall be moſt glad, ſo if any man ſhall raſhly preſume to make any aſſemblies of people, or at any publick aſſemblies, or otherwiſe ſhall go about to ſtir the people to diſorder or diſquiet, ſhe mindeth according to her duty, to ſee the ſame moſt ſeverely reformed and puniſhed according to her Highneſs Laws.

Terms of Papiſt and Hererick forbidden.

And furthermore, foraſmuch as it is alſo well known, that ſedition and falſe rumours have been nouriſhed and maintained in this Realm, by the ſubtilty and malice of ſome evil diſpoſed perſons, which take upon them without ſufficient authority to preach and to interpret the Word of God after their own brain in Churches, and other places both publick and private, and alſo by playing of enterludes, and printing of falſe found books, ballads, rhimes, and other lewd treatiſes in the Engliſh tongue, concerning Doctrine, in matters now in queſtion and controverſie, touching the high points and Myſteries of Chriſtian Religion; which books, ballads, rhimes, and treatiſes, are chiefly by the Printers and Stationers ſet out to ſale to her Graces Subjects, of an evil zeal, for lucre and covetouſneſs of vile gain: Her Highneſs therefore ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth all and every of her ſaid Subjects, of whatſoever ſtate, condition, or degree they be, that none of them preſume from henceforth to preach, or by way of reading in Churches, or other publick or private places, except in Schools of the Univerſity, to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of Doctrine concerning Religion, neither alſo to print any books, matter, ballade, rhime, enterlude, proceſſe or treatiſe, nor to play any enterlude, except they have her Graces ſpecial licence in writing for the ſame, upon pain to incur her Highneſs indignation and diſpleaſure.

Falſe ſurmiſes againſt true Preachers, Printers, and Players.

Here was the head of Winchester.

Preaching, Printing, Reading, and playing of Enterludes, reſtrained.

And her Highneſs alſo further chargeth and commandeth all and every her ſaid Subjects, that none of them of their own authority do preſume to puniſh, and to riſe againſt any offender in the cauſes aboveſaid, or any other offender in words or deeds in the late rebellion committed or done by the Duke of *Northumberland*, or his complices, or to ſeize any of their goods, or violently to uſe any ſuch offender by ſtriking, or impriſoning, or threatning the ſame, but wholy to refer the puniſhment of all ſuch offenders unto her Highneſs and Publick Authority, whereof her Majeſty mindeth to ſee due puniſhment according to the order of her Highneſs Laws. Anno 1553.

Nevertheleſs, as her Highneſs mindeth not hereby to reſtrain and diſcourage any of her loving Subjects, to give from time to time true information againſt any ſuch offenders in the cauſes aboveſaid, unto her Grace or her Councel, for the puniſhment of every ſuch offender, according to the effect of her Highneſs Laws provided in that part: So her ſaid Highneſs exhorteth and ſtraitly chargeth her ſaid Subjects to obſerve her commandment and pleaſure in every part aforeſaid, as they will avoid her Highneſs ſaid indignation and moſt grievous diſpleaſure. The ſeverity and rigour whereof as her Highneſs ſhall be moſt ſorry to have cauſe to put in execution: ſo doth ſhe utterly determine not to permit ſuch unlawful and rebellious doings of her Subjects, whereof may enſue the danger of her royal eſtate, to remain unpuniſhed, but to ſee her ſaid Laws touching theſe points to be throughly executed: which extremities ſhe truſteth all her ſaid Subjects will foreſee, dread, and avoid accordingly: her ſaid Highneſs ſtraitly charging and commanding all Majors, Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Bayliffs, Conſtables, and all other publick Officers and Miniſters, diligently to ſee to the obſerving and executing of her ſaid commandments and pleaſure, and to apprehend all ſuch as ſhall wilfully offend in this part, committing the ſame to the next Goal, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till upon certificate made to her Highneſs, or her Privy Councel, of their names and doings; and upon examination had of their offences, ſome further order ſhall be taken for their puniſhment to the example of others, according to the effect and tenor of the Laws aforeſaid. Given at our Manor of *Richmond*, the 18. day of *Auguſt* in the firſt year of our moſt proſperous Reign.

Mr. Bourn *preaching at* Pauls-*Croſs.*

M. *Bourns* Sermon at *Pauls-Croſs*, *Auguſt* 13. No marvel if *Boner* were ſo foul fallen away in ſuch a vile dungeon in the *Marſhalſey*.

ABout this time, or not long before, *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, being reſtored, appointed Mr. *Bourn* a Canon of *Pauls* to preach at the *Croſs*, who afterward was Biſhop of *Bath*; he taking occaſion of the Goſpel of that day to ſpeak ſomething largely in juſtifying of *Boner* being then preſent; which *Boner*, ſaid he, upon the ſame Text in that place, that day four years had preached before, and was upon the ſame moſt cruelly and unjuſtly caſt into the moſt vile dungeon of the *Marſhalſey*, and there kept during the time of King *Edward*. His words ſounded ſo evil in the ears of the hearers, that they could not keep ſilence, and began to murmur and to ſtir in ſuch ſort, that the Mayor and Aldermen with other eſtates then preſent, feared much an uproar. But the truth is, that one hurled a dagger at the Preacher, but who it was it could not then be proved; albeit afterward it was known.

In fine the ſtir was ſuch, that the Preacher pluckt in his head, and durſt no more appear in that place. The matter of his Sermon tended much to the derogation and diſpraiſe of King *Edward*, which thing the people in no caſe could abide: Then Mr. *Bradford* at the requeſt of the Preachers Brother, and other, then being in the Pulpit, ſtood forth and ſpake ſo mildly, chriſtianly, and effectually, that with few words he appeaſed all: and afterward he and Mr. *Rogers* conducted the Preacher betwixt them from the Pulpit to the *Grammer-School* door, where they left him ſafe, as further in the ſtory of Mr. *Bradford* is declared. But ſhortly after they were both rewarded with long impriſonment, and laſt of all with fire in *Smithfield*.

Mr. *John Bradford* appeaſeth the people. *Bradford* and *Rogers* guarded the Preacher.

By reaſon of this tumult at *Pauls-Croſs*, an order was taken by the Lords of the Councel with the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, that they, calling the next day following a Common Councel of the City, ſhould thereby charge every Houſholder to cauſe their children, apprentiſes, and other ſervants to keep their own Pariſh Churches upon

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upon the holy days and not to ſuffer them to attempt any thing to the violating of the common peace. Willing them alſo to ſignifie to the ſaid aſſembly the Queens determination uttered unto them by her highneſs the 12. of *Auguſt* in the *Tower*. Which was, albeit her Graces conſcience is ſtayed in the matters of Religion; yet ſhe graciouſly meant not to compel or ſtrain other mens conſciences otherwiſe than God ſhall (as ſhe truſted) put in their hearts a perſwaſion of the truth that ſhe is in, through the opening of his word unto them, by godly, vertuous, and learned Preachers, *&c.*

Alſo it was then ordered, that every Alderman in his Ward ſhould forthwith ſend for the Curates of every Pariſh within their liberties, and warn them not only to forbear to preach themſelves, but alſo not to ſuffer any other to preach, or make any open or ſolemn reading of Scripture in their Churches, unleſs the ſaid Preachers were ſeverally licenced by the Queen.

After this Sermon at *Pauls-Croſs* aforenamed, the next day after it followed that the Queens Guard was at the Croſs with their weapons to guard the Preacher. And when men withdrew themſelves from the Sermon, order was taken by the Major, that the ancients of all companies ſhould be preſent, leaſt the Preacher ſhould be diſcouraged by his ſmall Auditory.

Auguſt 1553.

5 of Auguſt. an. 1553. The 5. of *Auguſt*, Anno 1553. was one *William Rutler* committed (by the Councel) to the *Marſhalſey*, for uttering certain words againſt M. *Bourn* Preacher, for his Sermon at *Pauls-Croſs* on Sunday laſt before.

The 16. of *Auguſt* was *Humfry Palden* committed to the Counter for words againſt the ſaid *Bourne*'s Sermon at *Pauls-Croſs*.

Fiſher. A letter ſent to the Sheriffs of *Buckingham* and *Bedford*, for the apprehending of one *Fiſher*, Parſon of *Ammerſham*, a Preacher.

Another letter to the Biſhop of *Norwich*, not to ſuffer any Preacher or other to preach or expound the Scripture openly without ſpecial licence from the Queen.

The ſame day was Mr. *Bradford*, Mr. *Vernon*, and Mr. *Beacon*, Preachers, committed to the charge of the Lieutenant of the *Tower*.

The ſame day alſo was Mr. *John Rogers* Preacher, commanded to keep himſelf priſoner in his own houſe at *Pauls*, without having any conference with any other than thoſe of his own houſhold.

The 22. of *Auguſt* there were two letters directed to Mr. *Coverdale* Biſhop of *Exeter*, and Mr. *Hooper* Biſhop of *Gloceſter* for their undelayed repair to the Court, and there to attend the Councels pleaſure.

Fiſher. The ſame day *Fiſher* Parſon of *Ammerſham* made his appearance before the Council, according to their letter the 16. of *Auguſt*, and was appointed the next day to bring in a note of his Sermon.

The 24. of *Auguſt* was one *John Melvin* a *Scot*, and Preacher, ſent to *Newgate* in *London* by the Councel.

Symons. The 28. of *Auguſt* there was a Letter ſent to the Major of *Coventry* and his Brethren, for the apprehenſion of one *Symons* of *Worceſter* Preacher, and then Vicar of St. *Michaels* in *Coventry*, and for the ſending of him up to the Councel, with his examinations and other matters they could charge him with; with a Commiſſion to them to puniſh all ſuch as had by means of his preaching uſed any talk againſt the Queens proceedings.

Hooper. The 26. of *Auguſt* Mr. *Hooper* Biſhop of *Worceſter* made his perſonal appearance before the Councel, according to their Letters the 22. of *Auguſt*.

The 31. of *Auguſt* Mr. *Coverdale* Biſhop of *Exceter* made his appearance before the Councel, according to their Letters the 22 of *Auguſt*.

September 1553.

The firſt of *September* Mr. *Hooper* and Mr. *Coverdale* appeared again before the Councel, whence Mr. *Hooper* was committed to the *Fleet*, and Mr. *Coverdale* commanded to attend the Lords pleaſure.

The 2. of *September* Mr. *Hugh Saunders*, Vicar of St. *Michael* in *Coventry*, was before the Councel for a Sermon and was commanded to appear again upon *Monday* next after.

The 4. of *September* a Letter was directed from the Councel to Mr. *Hugh Latimer* for his appearance before them.

About the 5. day of *September* the ſame year, *Peter Martyr* came to *London* from *Oxford*, where for a time he had been commanded to keep his houſe, and found there the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who offered to defend the doctrine of the book of Common Prayer, both by Scriptures and Doctors, aſſiſted by *Peter Martyr* and a few other, as hereafter ye ſhall hear. But whileſt they were in hope to come to diſputations, the Archbiſhop and other were impriſoned, but *Peter Martyr* was ſuffered to return whence he came.

Symonds. The ſame day there was a Letter ſent to the Mayor of *Coventry* to ſet *Hugh Symonds* at liberty, if he would recant his Sermon, or elſe to ſtay him, and to ſignifie ſo much to the Councel.

The 13. of *September* Mr. *Hugh Latimer* appeared before the Councel, according to their Letter the 4. of *September*, and was committed to the *Tower* cloſe priſoner, having his ſervant *Auſtin* to attend upon him.

The ſame day the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* appearing before the Councel, was commanded to appear the next day at afternoon before them in the *Star-Chamber*.

The 14. of *September* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, according to their former days commandment, made his appearance before the Lords in the *Star-Chamber*. Where, they charging him with Treaſon, and ſpreading abroad of ſeditious Bills to the diſquieting of the eſtate, they committed him from thence to the *Tower* of *London*, there to remain till further juſtice and order at the Queens pleaſure.

The 15. of *September* there was a Letter ſent to Mr. *Horn* Dean of *Durham*, for his appearance before them, and another was ſent to him the 7. of *October* next after, for his ſpeedy appearance.

The 16. of *September* there were letters ſent to the Mayors of *Dover* and *Rie*, to ſuffer all French Proteſtants to paſs out of this Realm, except ſuch whoſe names ſhall be ſignified to them by the French Embaſſador.

October 1553.

October 1. Queen Mary crowned. The firſt day of *October* Queen *Mary* was Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, and the tenth day of the ſame Month of *October* then following began the Parliament with the ſolemn Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, after the Popiſh manner, celebrated with great pomp in the Palace of *Weſtminſter*. To the which Maſs among the other Lords, according to the manner, ſhould come the Biſhops, which yet remained undepoſed, which were the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, Doctor *Taylor* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *John Harley* Biſhop of *Hereford*. Of the Biſhops, Doctor *Taylor*, and Mr. *Harley* preſenting themſelves according to their duty, and taking their place amongſt the Lords, after they ſaw the Maſs begin, not abiding the ſight thereof, withdrew themſelves from the company: for the which cauſe the Biſhop of *Lincoln* being examined, and proteſting his faith, was upon the ſame commanded to attend; who not long after at *Ankerwike* by ſickneſs departed. Mr. *Harley*, becauſe he was married, was excluded both from the Parliament and from his Biſhoprick.

October 10. The Parliament beginneth with a Maſs.

Two Biſhops withdrew themſelves from the ſight of the Maſs.

M. *Harley* Biſhop of *Hereford* put out of his Biſhoprick.

Maſs being done, the Queen accompanied with the Eſtates of the Realm was brought into the Parliament houſe; there according to the manner to enter and begin the conſultation: At which Conſultation or Parliament were repealed all Statutes made in the time of King *Henry* the eighth for *Premunire*, and Statutes made in King *Edward* the ſixth time for adminſtration of Common Prayer and the Sacrament in the *Engliſh* tongue: And further the attainder of the Duke of *Northumberland* was by this Parliament confirmed. In this mean while many men were forward in erecting of Altars and Maſſes in Churches. And ſuch as would ſtick to the Laws made in King *Edwards* time, till other ſhould be eſtabliſhed, ſome of them were marked, and ſome preſently apprehended. Among whom Sir *James Hales*, a Knight of Kent, and Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, was one; who notwithſtanding he had ventured his life in Queen *Maries* cauſe, in that he would not ſubſcribe to the uninheriting

Statutes of Premunire and other repealed.

Altars and Maſſes erected.

Sir *James Hales* Knight.

of her by the Kings will, yet for that he did at a Quarter Seſſions give charge upon the Statutes made in the time of King *Henry* the eighth, and *Edward* the ſixth, for the Supremacy and Religion, he was impriſoned in the *Marſhalſey*, *Counter*, and *Fleet*, and ſo cruelly handled and put in fear by talk that the Warden of the *Fleet* uſed to have in his hearing, of ſuch torments as were in preparing for Hereticks (or for what other cauſe God knoweth) that he ſought to rid himſelf out of this life by wounding himſelf with a knife; and afterward was contented to ſay as they willed him: Whereupon he was diſcharged; but after that he never reſted till he had drowned himſelf in a River, half a mile from his houſe in *Kent*. Of whom more is to be ſeen when you come to his ſtory.

The trouble of Judge *Hales*. A ſubtle policy.

During the time of this Parliament, the Clergy likewiſe after their wonted manner had a Convocation, with a diſputation alſo, appointed by the Queens commandment, at *Pauls* Church in *London* the ſame time, which was about the 18. of *October*. In the which Convocation, firſt Mr. *John Harpsfield*, Batchelor of Divinity, made a Sermon *ad Clerum*, the 16. of *October*. After the Sermon done, it was aſſigned by the Biſhops, that they of the Clergy-houſe, for avoiding confuſion of words, ſhould chuſe them a Prolocutor. To the which room and office by common aſſent was named Doctor *Weſton* Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and preſented to the Biſhops with an Oration of Mr. *Pie* Dean of *Chicheſter*, and alſo of Mr. *Wimbiſley* Archdeacon of *London*. Which Doctor *Weſton* being choſen and brought unto the Biſhops, made his gratulatory Oration to the Houſe, with the anſwer again of Biſhop *Boner*.

The Convocation begun.

Oration of M. *Pie* and Mr. *Wimbiſley* of Doctor *Weſton* and of Biſhop *Boner* in the Convocation Houſe.

After theſe things thus ſped in the Convocation Houſe, they proceeded next to the Diſputation appointed, as is aboveſaid, by the Queens Commandment, about the matter of the Sacrament. Which Diſputation continued ſix days. Wherein Doctor *Weſton* was chief on the Popes part; who behaved himſelf outragiouſly in taunting and checking. In concluſion, ſuch as diſputed on the contrary part were driven ſome to flee, ſome to deny, and ſome to dye, though to the moſt Mens Judgements that heard the Diſputation they had the upper hand, as here may appear by the report of the ſaid Diſputation, the Copy whereof we thought fit here to annex, as followeth.

The true report of the Diſputation had and begun in the Convocation Houſe at London, *the* 18. *of* Oct. *An.* 1553.

A diſputation of Religion in *Pauls* Church in *London* the 18 of *Oct.*

WHereas divers and uncertain rumours be ſpread abroad of the Diſputation had in the Convocation Houſe; to the intent that all men may know the certainty of all things therein done and ſaid, as much as the memory of him that was preſent thereat can bear away, he hath thought good, at requeſt, throughly to deſcribe what was ſaid therein on both parties of the matters argued and had in queſtion, and of the entrance thereof.

Act of the firſt day.

Oct. 18. Doctor *Weſton*, Prolocutor, againſt the Book of Catechiſm ſet forth in King *Edwards* time.

FIrſt upon *Wedneſday*, being the 18. of *October*, at Afternoon, Mr. *Weſton* the Prolocutor certified the Houſe, that it was the Queens pleaſure, that the company of the ſame Houſe, being learned men aſſembled, ſhould debate of matters of Religion, and conſtitute Laws thereof, which her Grace and the Parliament would ratifie. And for that (ſaid he) there is a Book of late ſet forth, called the Catechiſm (which he ſhewed forth) bearing the name of this honourable *Synod*, and yet put forth without your conſents as I have learned, being a Book very peſtiferous, and full of Hereſies, and likewiſe a Book of Common Prayer very abominable (as it pleaſed him to term it) I thought it therefore beſt, firſt to begin with the Articles of the Catechiſm, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, to confirm the Natural Preſence of Chriſt in the ſame, and alſo Tranſubſtantiation. Wherefore (ſaid he) It ſhall be lawful on *Friday* next enſuing for all men freely to ſpeak their conſcience in theſe matters, that all doubts may be removed, and they fully ſatisfied therein.

Act of the ſecond day.

Octob. 20. The *Friday* coming, being the twentieth of *October*, when men had thought they ſhould have entred diſputations of the queſtions propoſed, the Prolocutor exhibited two ſeveral Bils unto the Houſe; the one for the Natural Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar; the other concerning the Catechiſm, that it was not of that Houſes agreement ſet forth, and that they did not agree thereunto: Requiring all them to ſubſcribe to the ſame, as he himſelf had done. Whereunto the whole Houſe did immediately aſſent, except ſix, which were the Dean of *Rocheſter*, the Dean of *Exceter*, the Archdeacon of *Wincheſter*, the Archdeacon of *Hereford*, the Archdeacon of *Stow*, and one other. And whilſt the reſt were about to ſubſcribe theſe two Articles, *John Philpot* ſtood up and ſpake firſt concerning the Articles of the Catechiſm, that he thought they were deceived in the Title of the Catechiſm, in that it beareth the Title of the *Synod* of *London* laſt before this, although many of them which then were preſent were never made privy thereof in ſetting it forth; for that this Houſe had granted the Authority to make Eccleſiaſtical Laws unto certain Perſons to be appointed by the Kings Majeſty; and whatſoever Eccleſiaſtical Laws they or the moſt part of them did ſet forth, according to a Statute in that behalf provided, it might be well ſaid to be done in the *Synod* of *London*, although ſuch as be of this Houſe now, had no notice thereof, before the promulgation. And in this point he thought the ſetter forth thereof nothing to have ſlandered the Houſe, as they by their ſubſcription went about to perſwade the World, ſince they had our *Synodal* authority unto them committed to make ſuch Spiritual Laws as they thought convenient and neceſſary.

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Two Bils exhibited in the Convocation Houſe by the Prolocutor.

M. Philips, *M. Haddon*, *M. Philpot*, *M. Cheyney*, *M. Elmar*, and one other refuſed to ſubſcribe to the Bils.

The book of the Catechiſm defended by Mr *John Philpot*.

And moreover he ſaid, as concerning the Article of the Natural Preſence in the Sacrament, that it was againſt reaſon and order of learning, and alſo very prejudicial to the Truth, that men ſhould be moved to ſubſcribe before the matter were throughly examined and diſcuſſed. But when he ſaw that allegation might take no place, being as a man aſtoniſhed at the multitude of ſo many learned men, as there were of purpoſe gathered together to maintain old Traditions more than the Truth of Gods holy Word, he made this requeſt unto the Prolocutor: That whereas there were ſo many ancient learned Men preſent on that ſide, as in the Realm the like again were not to be found in ſuch number; and that on the other ſide of them that had not ſubſcribed were not paſt five or ſix, both in age and learning far inferiour unto them: Therefore, that equality might be had in this Diſputation, he deſired that the Prolocutor would be a mean unto the Lords, that ſome of thoſe that were learned, and ſetters forth of the ſame Catechiſm, might be brought into the Houſe to ſhew their learning that moved them to ſet forth the ſame, and that Doctor *Ridley* and Mr. *Rogers*, with two or three more, might be licenced to be preſent at this Diſputation, and to be aſſociate with them.

Againſt the Article of Natural Preſence.

M. Philpots requeſt to the Prolocutor.

Requeſt to have D. *Ridley* and M. *Rogers* at the diſputation.

This requeſt was thought reaſonable, and was propoſed unto the Biſhops, who made this anſwer; that it was not in them to call ſuch perſons unto our Houſe, ſince ſome of them were priſoners. But they ſaid, they would be Petitioners in this behalf unto the Councel, and in caſe any were abſent that ought to be of the Houſe, they willed them to be taken in unto them if they liſted. After this, they minding to have entred into Diſputation, there came a Gentleman as Meſſenger from the Lord great Maſter, ſignifying unto the Prolocutor, that the Lord great Mr. and the Earl of *Devonſhire* would be preſent at the Diſputations, and therefore he deferred the ſame unto *Monday*, at one of the clock at Afternoon.

Anſwer of the Biſhops unto the requeſt.

The Act of the third day.

The third Seſſion *October* 23.

Upon *Monday* the 23. of *October*, at the time appointed, in the preſence of many Earls, Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and divers other of the Court and of the City alſo, the Prolocutor made a Proteſtation, that they of the Houſe had appointed this Diſputation, not to call the Truth into doubts, to the which they had already all ſubſcribed, ſaving five or ſix, but that thoſe gain-ſayers might be reſolved of their Arguments in the which thy ſtood, as it ſhall appear unto you, not doubting but they will alſo condeſcend unto us.

Then he demanded of Mr. *Haddon*, whether we would reaſon-

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Mr. Haddon and Elmar refused to answer, except their requeſt were granted.

Mr. Cheyney the Archdeacon of Hereford now Biſhop of Glocester.

Mr. Cheyney doubts about Tranſubſtantiation.

Moreman's anſwer to S. Paul.

Mr. Cheyney replyeth to Moreman's anſwer.

Moreman's anſwer to Theodoretus.

Mr. Elmar argueth againſt Dr. Moreman's anſwer.

Moreman's ſhift is overthrown.

Philpot's replication to Moreman's ſhift.

The place of Theodoret opened.

reaſon againſt the queſtions propoſed, or no. To whom he made anſwer, that he had certified him before in writing, that he would not, ſince the requeſt of ſuch learned men, as were demanded to be aſſiſtant with them, would not be granted. Mr. *Elmar* likewiſe was asked, who made the Prolocutor the like anſwer; adding moreover this, that they had done too much prejudice already to the Truth, to ſubſcribe before the matter was diſcuſſed: and little or nothing it might avail to reaſon for the truth, ſince all they were now determined to the contrary. After this he demanded of Mr. *Cheyney*, who, the Prolocutor ſaid, allowed the Preſence with them (but he denied the Tranſubſtantiation by the means of certain Authorities upon the which he ſtandeth, and deſireth to be reſolved, as you ſhall hear) whether he will propoſe his doubts concerning Tranſubſtantiation, or no. Yea, quoth he, I would gladly my doubts to be reſolved, which move me not to believe Tranſubſtantiation.

The firſt is out of S. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, who ſpeaking of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, calleth it oft times Bread after the Conſecration.

The ſecond is out of *Origen*, who, ſpeaking of this Sacrament, ſaith, That the material part thereof goeth down to the Excrements.

The third is out of *Theodoretus*, who, making mention of the Sacramental Bread and Wine after the Conſecration, ſaith, That they go not out of their former ſubſtance, form, and ſhape. Theſe be ſome of my doubts, among many other, wherein I require to be anſwered.

Then the Prolocutor aſſigned Doctor *Moreman* to anſwer him, who, to S. *Paul*, anſwered him thus; That the Sacrament is called by him Bread *indeed*: but it is thus to be underſtood, That *it is* the Sacrament of Bread, that is, the Form of Bread.

Then Mr. *Cheyney* inferred and alledged, that *Heſychius* called the Sacrament both Bread and Fleſh.

Yea, quoth *Moreman*, *Heſychius* calleth it Bread, becauſe it *was* Bread, and not becauſe it *is* ſo. And paſſing over *Origen*, he came to *Theodoretus*, and ſaid, That men miſtook his Authority, by interpreting a general into a ſpecial, as *Peter Martyr* hath done in the place of *Theodoret*, interpreting οὐσία, for ſubſtance, which is a ſpecial ſignification of the word; whereas οὐσία is a general word, as well to Accidents as to Subſtance; and therefore I anſwer thus unto *Theodoret*, That the Sacramental Bread and Wine do not go out of their former Subſtance, form, and ſhape, that is to ſay, not out of their accidental Subſtance and ſhape.

After this Mr. *Cheyney* ſate him down, and by and by Mr. *Elmar* ſtood up as one that could not abide to hear ſo fond an Anſwer to ſo grave an Authority, and reaſoned upon the Authority of *Theodoret* alledged before by Mr. *Cheyney*, and declared, That *Moreman*'s anſwer to *Theodoret* was no juſt nor ſufficient anſwer, but an illuſion and ſubtile evaſion, contrary to *Theodoret*'s meaning. For, ſaid he, if οὐσία ſhould ſignifie an Accident in the place alledged, as it it is anſwered by Mr. *Moreman*, then were it a word ſuperfluous ſet in *Theodoret* there, where do follow two other words which ſufficiently do expound the Accidents of the Bread, that is, εἶδος καὶ σχῆμα, which ſignifie in Engliſh, ſhape and form; and ſo he proved out of the ſame Author by divers Allegations, That οὐσία in Greek could not be ſo generally taken in that place, as *Moreman* for a ſhift would have it. But *Moreman*, as a man having no other ſalve for that ſore, affirmeth ſtill, That οὐσία, which ſignifieth Subſtance, muſt needs ſignifie an Accidental Subſtance properly. To whoſe importunity, ſince he could have no other anſwer, *Elmar*, as a man wearied with his importunity, gave place.

After this ſtood up *John Philpot*, and ſaid, That he could prove, that by the matter that *Theodoret* intreateth of in the place above alledged, and by the Similitude which he maketh to prove his purpoſe, by no means Mr. *Moremans* interpretation of οὐσία might be taken for an Accidental Subſtance, as he for a ſhift would interpret it to be. For the matter which *Theodoret* intreateth of in that place, is againſt *Eutiches* an Heretick, which denied two Natures of Subſtance to remain in Chriſt, being one Perſon, and that his Humanity after the accompliſhment of the myſtery of our Salvation, aſcending into Heaven, and being joyned unto the Divinity, was abſorpt, or ſwallowed up of the ſame, ſo that Chriſt ſhould be no more but of one Divine Subſtance only by his opinion. Againſt which opinion *Theodoret* writeth, and by the Similitude of the Sacrament proveth the contrary againſt the Heretick: That like as in the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt, after the conſecration, there is the Subſtance of Chriſts Humanity, with the Subſtance of Bread remaining as it was before, not being abſorpt by the Humanity of Chriſt, but joyned by the Divine operation thereunto; even ſo in the Perſon of Chriſt, being now in Heaven, of whom this Sacrament is a repreſentation, there be two ſeveral Subſtances, that is, his Divinity and Humanity united in one Hypoſtaſie or Perſon, which is Chriſt, the Humanity not being abſorpt by the conjunction of the Divinity, but remaining in his former Subſtance.

The Argument of *Theodoret*, & Similitude.

And this Similitude, quoth *Philpot*, brought in of *Theodoret* to confound *Eutiches*, ſhould prove nothing at all, if the very Subſtance of the Sacramental Bread did not remain as it did before. But if Dr. *Moreman*'s interpretation might take place for Tranſubſtantiation, then ſhould the Heretick have there by a ſtrong Argument by *Theodoret*'s Authority ſo taken, to maintain his Hereſie, and to prove himſelf a good Chriſtian man; and he might well ſay thus unto *Theodoret*: Like as thou, *Theodoret*, if thou wert of Dr. *Moreman*'s mind, doſt ſay, That after the Conſecration in the Sacrament, the Subſtance of the Bread is abſorpt or tranſubſtantiate into the Human Body of Chriſt coming thereunto, ſo that in the Sacrament is now but one Subſtance of the Humanity alone, and not the Subſtance of Bread as it was before: Even ſo likewiſe may I affirm, and conclude by thine own Similitude, That the Humanity aſcending up by the Power of God into Heaven, and adjoyned unto the Deity, was by the might thereof abſorpt and turned into one Subſtance with the Deity; ſo that now there remaineth but one Divine Subſtance in Chriſt, no more than in the Sacramental Signs of the Lords Supper, after the Conſecration, doth remain any more than one Subſtance, according to your belief and conſtruction.

The place of *Theodoret*, falſly taken of the Papiſts.

The falſe expoſition of Dr. *Moreman* upon *Theodoretus* overthrown.

In anſwering to this, Dr. *Moreman* ſtaggered, whoſe defect *Philpot* perceiving, ſpake on this wiſe, Well, Maſter *Moreman*, if you have no anſwer at this preſent ready, I pray you deviſe one, if you can conveniently, againſt our next meeting here again.

With that his ſaying the Prolocutor was grievouſly offended, telling him that he ſhould not brag there, but that he ſhould be fully anſwered. Then ſaid *Philpot*, It is the thing that I only deſire, to be anſwered directly in this behalf; and I deſire of you, and of all the Houſe at this preſent, that I may be ſufficiently anſwered, which I am ſure you are not able to do, ſaving *Theodoretus*'s Authority and Similitude upright, as he ought to be taken. None other anſwer, then, was made to *Philpot*'s reaſon, but that he was commanded to ſilence.

Weſton is offended.

Philpots replication anſwered by commanding him to ſilence.

Then ſtood up the Dean of *Rocheſter*, offering himſelf to reaſon in the firſt queſtion againſt the natural Preſence, wiſhing that the Scripture, and the ancient Doctors, in this point might be weighed, believed, and followed. And againſt this Natural Preſence, he thought the ſaying of Chriſt in S. *Matthew* to make ſufficient enough, if men would credit and follow Scripture; Who ſaid there of himſelf, That Poor men we ſhould have alway with us, but Him we ſhould not have always: which was ſpoken, quoth he, concerning the Natural Preſence of Chriſts Body, therefore we ought to believe as he hath taught, That Chriſt is not *naturally* preſent on Earth in the Sacrament of the Altar.

This man, called Mr. *Philpot*, continued Dead of *Rocheſter* all Q. *Mary*'s time, and yet ſtill remaineth.

To this was anſwered by the Prolocutor, That we ſhould not have Chriſt preſent always to exerciſe Alms Deeds upon Him, but upon the Poor.

Weſtons anſwer to the Dean.

But the Dean proſecuted his Argument, and ſhewed it out of S. *Auguſtine* further, That the ſame interpretation of the Scripture alledged, was no ſufficient anſwer, who writeth in the 50. Treatiſe of S. *John* on this wiſe, on the ſame Sentence; *When as he ſaid* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *Me ſhall ye not have always with you, he ſpake of the preſence of his Body. For by his Majeſty, by his Providence, by his unſpeakable and inviſible Grace, that is fulfilled which is ſaid of him; Behold I am with you until the conſummation of the world. But in the Fleſh which the Word took upon him, in that which was born of the Virgin, in that which was apprehended of the Jews, which was crucified on the Croſs, which*

The Deans replication.

Aug. in Joh. Tract. 50.

A notable Authority out of S. Auguſtine.

was let down from the Croſs, which was wrapped in Clouts, which was hid in the Sepulchre, which was manifeſted in the Reſurrection, You ſhall not have me always with you. And why? For after a bodily preſence he was converſant with his Diſciples forty days, and they accompanying him, ſeeing and not following him, he aſcended and is not here; for there he ſitteth at the right hand of the Father; and yet here he is, becauſe he is not departed in the preſence of his Majeſty. After another manner we have Chriſt always by the preſence of his Majeſty, but after the preſence of his fleſh it is rightly ſaid, You ſhall not verily have me always with you. For the Church had him in the preſence of his fleſh a few days, and now by faith it apprehendeth him, and ſeeth him not with eyes.

Watſons anſwer to S. Auguſtine. Aug in Joan. tract. 70.

To this Authority Doctoor *Watſon* took upon him to anſwer, and ſaid, He would anſwer St. *Auguſtine* by St. *Auguſtine*; and having a certain Book in his hand of Notes, he alledged out of the 70 Treatiſe upon St. *John*, that after that mortal condition and manner we have not now Chriſt on earth, as he was heretofore before his Paſſion.

Philpot againſt Watſon.

Againſt whoſe anſwer *John Philpot* replyed, and ſaid, That Mr. *Watſon* had not fully anſwered St. *Auguſtine* by St. *Auguſtine*, as he would ſeem to have done, for that in the place above mentioned by Mr. *Deane* of *Rocheſter*, he doth not only teach the mortal ſtate of Chriſts Body before his Paſſion, but alſo the immortal condition of the ſame after his Reſurrection: in the which mortal Body St. *Auguſtine* ſeemeth plainly to affirm, That Chriſt is not preſent upon the earth, neither in form viſibly, neither in corporal ſubſtance inviſibly, as in few lines after the place above alledged, St. *Auguſtine* doth more plainly declare by theſe words, ſaying, *Now theſe two manners of Chriſts preſence declared, which is by his Majeſty, Providence, and Grace now preſent in the World, which before his Aſcenſion was preſent in fleſh; and being now placed at the right hand of the Father, is abſent in the ſame from the world, I think* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *that there remaineth no other queſtion in this matter.*

Now, quoth *Philpot*, if St. *Auguſtine* acknowledged no more preſence of Chriſt to be now on earth, but only his Divine Preſence, and touching his Humanity to be in heaven, we ought to confeſs and believe the ſame. But if we put a third preſence of Chriſt, that is corporally to be preſent always in the Sacrament of the Altar inviſibly according to your ſuppoſitions, whereof St. *Auguſtine* maketh no mention at all in all his Works; you ſhall ſeem to judge that which St. *Auguſtine* did never comprehend.

Watſon. Why, quoth *Watſon*, S. *Auguſtine* in the place by me alledged, maketh he no mention how St. *Steven*, being in this world, ſaw Chriſt after his Aſcenſion?

Philpot. It is true, ſaid *Philpot*; but he ſaw Chriſt, as the Scripture telleth, in the heavens being open, ſtanding at the right hand of God the Father. Further to this *Watſon* anſwered not.

D. Wiſton. Then the Prolocutor went about to furniſh up an anſwer to St. *Auguſtine*, ſaying, That he is not now in the world after the manner of bodily preſence, but yet preſent for all that in his body.

Philpot replyeth to Wiſton. To whom *Philpot* anſwered, That the Prolocutor did grate much upon this word *ſecundum* in St. *Auguſtine*, which ſignifieth after the manner, or in form: but he doth not anſwer to *id quod*, which is that thing or ſubſtance of Chriſt, in the which Chriſt ſuffered, aroſe, and aſcended into heaven, in the which thing and ſubſtance he is in Heaven, and not in Earth, as St. *Auguſtine* in the place ſpecified moſt clearly doth define.

The Dean of Rocheſter. To this nothing elſe being anſwered, the Dean of *Rocheſter* proceeded in the maintenance of his Argument, and read out of a Book of Annotations ſundry Authorities for the confirmation thereof. To the which *Moreman*, who was appointed to anſwer him, made no direct anſwer, but bade him make an Argument, ſaying, That Mr. *Deane* had recited many words of Doctors, but he made not one Argument.

Moreman. Then ſaid the Dean, The Authorities of the Doctors by me rehearſed, be ſufficient Arguments to prove mine intent, to the which my deſire is to be anſwered of you. But ſtill *Moreman* cried, make an Argument, to ſhift off the Authority which he could not anſwer unto. After this the Dean made this Argument out of the Inſtitution of the Sacrament; *Do this in remembrance of me: and thus ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lords death until he come.* Anno 1553.

Argument. The Sacrament is the remembrance of Chriſt: *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not very Chriſt; for yet he is not come. For theſe words, *Until he come*, do plainly ſignifie the abſence of Chriſts Body. Then the Prolocutor went about to ſhew that theſe words, *Until he come*, did not import any abſence of Chriſt on the Earth, by other places of Scripture, where *Donec*, *Until*, was uſed in like ſenſe; but directly to the purpoſe he anſwered nothing. In concluſion, the Dean fell to queſtioning with *Moreman*, whether Chriſt did eat the Paſchal Lamb with his Diſciples, or not? He anſwered, Yea. Further, he demanded whether he did eat likewiſe the Sacrament with them, as he did inſtitute it? *Moreman* anſwered, Yea. Then he aſked what he did eat, and whether he did eat his own natural Body, as they imagine it to be, or no? Which when *Moreman* had affirmed; then ſaid the Dean, It is a great Abſurdity by you granted; and ſo he ſate down.

Weſton ſweareth to the Argument. Donec in Scripture. M. Dean's queſtions. Moreman affirmeth that Chriſt did eat his own body.

Philpot. Againſt this Abſurdity *Philpot* ſtood up and argued, ſaying, He could prove it by good reaſon deduced out of the Scripture, that Chriſt eat not his own natural Body at the inſtitution of the Sacrament; and the reaſon is this:

Argument.

Ba- Receiving of Chriſts Body hath a promiſe of remiſſion of ſins with it annexed.

ro- Chriſt eating the Sacrament, had no promiſe of remiſſion of ſin.

co. *Ergo*, Chriſt in the Sacrament did not eat his own Body.

Moreman denieth the Sacrament to have a promiſe of remiſſion of ſins annexed to it. To this reaſon *Moreman* anſwered, denying the former part of the Argument, that the Sacrament had a promiſe of remiſſion of ſins annexed unto it.

Philpot. Then *Philpot* ſhewed this to be the promiſe in the Sacrament; *Which is given for you, which is ſhed for you, for the remiſſion of ſins.* But *Moreman* would not acknowledge that to be any promiſe, ſo that he drave *Philpot* to the ſixth of St. *John*, to vouch his ſaying with theſe words; *The bread which I will give is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the world.*

Harpsfield affirmeth that which his fellow denied. *Moreman* anſwering nothing directly to this Argument, *Harpsfield* ſtarted up to ſupply that which wanted in his behalf; and thinking to have anſwered *Philpot*, confirmed more ſtrongly his Argument, ſaying, Ye miſtake the promiſe which is annexed to the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament: for it pertained not to Chriſt, but to his Diſciples, to whom Chriſt ſaid, *This is my body which is given for you*, and not for Chriſt himſelf.

Philpot. You have ſaid well for me, quoth *Philpot*, for that is mine Argument. The promiſe of the body of Chriſt took no effect in Chriſt: *Ergo*, Chriſt eat not his own body.

Weſton alſo is contrary to Moreman. Then the Prolocutor, to ſhoulder out the matter, ſaid, the Argument was naught. For by the like Argument he might go about to prove, that Chriſt was not baptized, becauſe the remiſſion of ſin, which is annexed unto Baptiſm, took no effect in Chriſt. To the which *Philpot* replyed, That like as Chriſt was baptized, ſo he eat the Sacrament; but he took on him Baptiſm, not that he had any need thereof, or that it took any effect in him, but as our Maſter to give the Church an example to follow him in the miniſtration of the Sacrament, and thereby to exhibit unto us himſelf, and not to give himſelf to himſelf.

Mr. Philpots Argument not ſolved. No more was ſaid in this. But afterward the Prolocutor demanded of *Philpot*, whether he would argue againſt the natural preſence, or no? To whom he anſwered, Yea, if he would hear his Argument without interruption, and aſſign one to anſwer him, and not many, which is a confuſion to the Opponent, and ſpecially for him that was of an ill memory. By this time the night was come on; wherefore the Prolocutor brake up the Diſputation for that time, and appointed *Philpot* to be the firſt that ſhould begin the Diſputation the next day after, concerning the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

The Convocation continued to the next day.

The Act of the fourth day.

Mr. Philpot not ſuffered by the Prolocutor to make his declaration. ON *Wedneſday* the 25th of *October*, *John Philpot*, as it was before appointed, was ready to have entred the Diſputation, minding firſt to have made a certain Oration, and a true declaration in Latin of the matter of Chriſts preſence which was then in queſtion. Which thing the Prolocutor perceiving, by and by he forbade *Philpot* to

make

Anno 1553.

Diverſe offer to his own words.

make any oration or declaration of any matter, commanding him alſo that he ſhould make no argument in Latin, but to conclude on his argument in Engliſh.

Then ſaid *Philpot*, this is contrary to your order taken at the beginning of this diſputation. For then you appointed that all the arguments ſhould be made in Latin, and thereupon I have drawn and deviſed all mine arguments in Latin. And becauſe you Maſter *Prolocutor* have ſaid heretofore openly in this houſe that I had no learning, I had thought to have ſhewed ſuch learning as I have, in a brief Oration, and ſhort declaration of the queſtions now in controverſie, thinking it ſo moſt convenient alſo, that in caſe I ſhould ſpeak otherwiſe in my declaration than ſhould ſtand with learning, or than I were able to warrant, and juſtifie by Gods Word, it might the better be reformed by ſuch as were learned of the houſe, ſo that the unlearned ſort being preſent, might take the leſs offence thereat. But this allegation prevailed nothing with the prolocutor, who bad him ſtill form an argument in Engliſh, or elſe to hold his peace.

Then ſaid *Philpot*, You have ſore diſappointed me, thus ſuddenly to go from your former order: But I will accompliſh your commandment, leaving mine oration apart; and I will come to my arguments, the which aſwell as ſo ſudden a warning will ſerve, I will make in Engliſh. But before I bring forth any argument, I will in one word declare what manner of preſence I diſallow in the Sacrament, to the intent the hearers may the better underſtand to what end and effect mine arguments ſhall tend; not to deny utterly the preſence of Chriſt in his Sacrament, truly miniſtred according to his inſtitution, but only to deny that groſs and carnal preſence, which you of this houſe have already ſubſcribed unto, to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, contrary to the true and manifeſt meaning of the Scriptures: That by tranſubſtantiation of the Sacramental bread and wine, Chriſts natural body ſhould, by the vertue of the words pronounced by the prieſt, be contained and included under the forms or accidents of bread and wine. This kind of preſence imagined by men I do deny, quoth *Philpot*, and againſt this I will reaſon. But before he could make an end of that he would have ſaid, he was interrupted of the Prolocutor, and commanded to deſcend to his argument. At whoſe unjuſt importunity *Philpot* being offended, and thinking to purchaſe him a remedy therefore, he fell down upon his knees before the Earls and Lords which were there preſent, being a great number; whereof ſome were of the Queens Councel, beſeeching them that he might have liberty to proſecute his arguments, without interruption of any man; the which was gently granted him of the Lords. But the Prolocutor, putting in ure a point of the practiſe of Prelates, would not condeſcend thereunto, but ſtill cryed, Hold your peace, or elſe make a ſhort argument. I am about it, quoth *Philpot*, if you will let me alone. But firſt, I muſt needs ask a queſtion of my Reſpondent (who was Doctor Chedſey) concerning a word or twain of your ſuppoſition, that is, of the Sacrament of the Altar, what he meaneth thereby, and whether he taketh it, as ſome of the ancient Writers do, terming the Lords ſupper the Sacrament of the altar; partly becauſe it is a Sacrament of that lively ſacrifice which Chriſt offered for our ſins upon the altar of the Croſs, and partly becauſe that Chriſts body, crucified for us, was that bloody Sacrifice, which the blood-ſhedding of all the beaſts offered upon the altar in the old Law, did prefigurate and ſignifie unto us: In ſignification whereof the old Writers ſometime do call the Sacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, among other names which they aſcribe thereunto, the Sacrament of the Altar; or whether you take it otherwiſe; as for the Sacrament of the Altar, which is made of lime and ſtone, over the which the Sacrament hangeth, and to be all one with the Sacrament of the Maſs, as it is at this preſent in many places. This done, I will direct mine arguments according as your anſwer ſhall give me occaſion.

The preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament diſtinguiſhed.

The true preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament not denied.

The groſs preſence of the Papiſts denied.

Philpot craveth of the Lords to proſecute his arguments without interruption.

Philpot again interrupted by the Prolocutor.

Altar diverſly taken.

Chedſey.

Then made Doctor *Chedſey* this anſwer, that in their ſuppoſition they took the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Sacrament of the Maſs, to be all one.

Then, quoth *Philpot*, I will ſpeak plain *Engliſh* as Mr. Prolocutor willeth me, and make a ſhort reſolution thereof; that the Sacrament of the altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the Maſs, once juſtly aboliſhed, and now put in full uſe again, is no Sacrament at all, neither is Chriſt in any wiſe preſent in it; and this his ſaying he offered to prove before the whole houſe, if they liſted to call him thereunto: And likewiſe he offered to vouch the ſame before the Queens Grace, and her moſt honourable Councel, before the face of ſix of the beſt learned men of the houſe of the contrary opinion, and refuſed none. And if I ſhall not be able, quoth he, to maintain by Gods word that I have ſaid, and confound thoſe ſix which ſhall take upon them to withſtand me in this point, let me be burdned with as many fagots as be in *London*, before the Court gates. This he uttered with great vehemency of ſpirit.

Philpot offer in the Convocation houſe.

At this the Prolocutor with divers other were very much offended, demanding of him whether he wiſt what he ſaid, or no? Yea, quoth *Philpot*, I wot well what I ſay, deſiring no man to be offended with his ſaying, for that he ſpake no more than by Gods word he was able to prove. And praiſed be God, quoth he, that the Queens Grace hath granted us of this houſe (as our Prolocutor hath informed us) that we may freely utter our conſciences in theſe matters of controverſie in Religion: and therefore I will ſpeak here my conſcience freely, grounded upon Gods holy word, for the truth, albeit ſome of you here preſent miſlike the ſame.

The Prolocutor threatneth *Philpot*. Argumentum à loco topico carceris.

Then divers of the houſe, beſide the Prolocutor, taunted and reprehended him for ſpeaking ſo unſaringly againſt the Sacrament of the Maſs: and the Prolocutor ſaid he was made, and threatned him, that he would ſend him to priſon, if he would not ceaſe his ſpeaking.

Philpot ſeeing himſelf thus abuſed, and not permitted with free liberty to declare his mind, fell into an exclamation, caſting his eyes up towards the Heaven, and ſaid, O Lord, what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word may not be ſpoken and abidden by? And for very ſorrow and heavineſs the tears trickled out of his eyes.

Philpot permitted to make a brief argument.

After this, the Prolocutor being moved by ſome that were about him, was content that he ſhould make an argument, ſo that he would be brief therein. I will be as brief, quoth *Philpot*, as I may conveniently be in uttering all that I have to ſay. And firſt, I will begin to ground my argument upon the authority of Scriptures, whereupon all the building of our faith ought to be grounded; and after I ſhall confirm the ſame by ancient Doctors of the Church. And I take the occaſion of the firſt argument out of the 28. of *Matthew*, of the ſaying of the Angel to the three *Maries* ſeeing Chriſt at the Sepulchre, ſaying; *He is riſen, he is not here:* and in St. *Luke* in the 23. Chapter, the Angel asketh them, why they ſought him that liveth among the dead. Likewiſe the Scripture teſtifieth, that Chriſt is riſen, aſcended into Heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand of the Father: all the which is ſpoken of his natural body: *Ergo*, it is not on earth included in the Sacrament.

Matth. 28.

Luke 24.

Argument of M. *Philpot*.

I will confirm this yet more effectually, by the ſaying of Chriſt in the 16. of St. *John*; *I came* (ſaith Chriſt) *From my Father into the World, and now I leave the World and go away to my Father*. The which coming and going he meant of his natural body. Therefore we may affirm thereby, that it is not found in the world.

John 16.

The blind diſtinction of the Papiſts of viſibly and invisibly.

But I look here, quoth he, to be anſwered with a blind diſtinction of viſibly and inviſibly, that he is viſibly departed in his humanity, but inviſibly he remaineth notwithſtanding in the Sacrament. But that anſwer I prevent my ſelf, that with more expedition I may deſcend to the pith of mine arguments, whereof I have a dozen to propoſe, and will prove that no ſuch diſtinction ought to take away the force of that argument, by the anſwer which Chriſts diſciples gaue unto him, ſpeaking theſe words: *Now thou ſpeakeſt plainly and uttereſt forth no proverb.* Which words Saint *Cyril* interpreting, ſaith; *That Chriſt ſpeak without any manner of ambiguity and obſcure ſpeech.* And therefore I conclude hereby thus, that if Chriſt ſpeak plainly, and without parable, ſaying; *I leave the World now and go away to my Father*, then that obſcure dark and inperceptible preſence of Chriſts natural body to remain in the Sacrament upon Earth inviſibly, contrary to the plain words of Chriſt, ought not to be allowed. For nothing can be more uncertain or mote parabolical and unſenſible, than ſo to ſay. Here now will I attend

Cyrillus.

what

what you will anſwer, and ſo deſcend to the confirmation of all that I have ſaid by ancient Writers.

Chedſeys anſwer to Philpot.

Then Doctor *Chedſey* reciting his argument in ſuch order as it was made, took upon him to anſwer ſeverally to every part thereof on this wiſe. Firſt, to the ſaying of the Angel, *That Chriſt is not here; And, why ſeek ye the living among the dead?* He anſwered, that theſe ſayings pertained nothing to the preſence of Chriſts natural body in the Sacrament, but that they were ſpoken of Chriſts body being in the Sepulchre, when the three *Maries* thought him to have been in the grave ſtill. And therefore the Angel ſaid: *Why do ye ſeek him that liveth among the dead?* And to the authority of the 8. of *John*, where Chriſt ſaith, *Now I leave the World and go to my father*, he meant that of his aſcenſion. And ſo likewiſe did *Cyril*, interpreting the ſaying of the Diſciples that knew plainly that Chriſt would viſibly aſcend into Heaven, but that doth not exclude the inviſible preſence of his natural body in the Sacrament. For S. *Chryſoſtom* writing to the people of *Antioch*, doth affirm the ſame, comparing *Helias* and Chriſt together, and *Helias* cloak and Chriſts fleſh: *Helias* (quoth he) *when he was taken up in the fiery chariot, left his cloak behind him unto his diſciple Heliſæus. But Chriſt, aſcending into Heaven took his fleſh with him, and left alſo his fleſh behind him.* Whereby we may right well gather, that Chriſts fleſh is viſibly aſcended into Heaven, and inviſibly abideth ſtill in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Chryſoſt. ad Pop. Antioc.

To this *Philpot* replyed, and ſaid, You have not directly anſwered to the ſaying of the Angel, *Chriſt is riſen, and is not here*, becauſe you have omitted that which was the chiefeſt point of all. For (ſaid he) I proceed further, as thus; *He is* riſen, aſcended, and ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father: *Ergo*, he is not remaining on the earth. Neither is your anſwer to *Cyril* by me alledged, ſufficient. But by and by I will return to your interpretation of *Cyril*, and more plainly declare the ſame, after that. I have firſt refelled the authority of *Chryſoſtom*, which is one of your chief principles that you alledged, to make for your groſs carnal preſence in the Sacrament; which being well weighed and underſtood, pertaineth nothing thereunto.

Philpots anſwer to Chedſey.

At that the Prolocutor ſtartled, that one of the chief pillars in this point ſhould be overthrown; and therefore recited the ſaid authority in Latin firſt, and afterward Engliſhed the ſame, willing all that were preſent to note that ſaying of *Chryſoſtom*, which be thought invincible on their ſide. But I will make it appear (quoth *Philpot*) by and by, that it doth make little for your purpoſe. And as he was about to declare his mind in that behalf, the Prolocutor did interrupt him, as he did almoſt continually. Wherewith *Philpot* not being content, ſaid; Mr. Prolocutor thinketh that he is in a *Sophiſtry* School, where he knoweth right well the manner is, that when the Reſpondent perceiveth, that he is like to be inforced with an argument, to the which he is not able to anſwer, thus he doth what he can with cavillation and interruption to drive him from the ſame. This ſaying of *Philpot* was ill taken of the Prolocutor and his adherents; and the Prolocutor ſaid, that *Philpot* could bring nothing to avoid that authority, but his own vain imagination. Hear, quoth *Philpot*, and afterward judge. For I will do in this, as in all other authorities, wherewith you ſhall charge me in refelling any of my arguments that I have to proſecute, anſwering either unto the ſame by ſufficient authorities of Scripture, or elſe by ſome other teſtimony of like authority of yours, and not of mine own imagination; the which if I do, I will it to be of no credit. And concerning the ſaying of *Chryſoſtom*, I have two ways to beat him from your purpoſe; the one out of Scripture, the other of out *Chryſoſtom* himſelf in the place here by you alledged.

Philpot again interrupted by the Prolocutor.

The place of Chryſoſtom, of Chriſt taking up his fleſh, and leaving his fleſh, anſwered to by Philpot. How Chriſt left his fleſh behind him.

Firſt, where he ſeemeth to ſay, that Chriſt aſcending took his fleſh with him, and left alſo his fleſh behind him, truth it is: for we all do confeſs and believe that Chriſt took on him our humane nature in the Virgin *Maries* womb, and through his paſſion in the ſame hath united us to his fleſh, and thereby are we become one fleſh with him, ſo that *Chryſoſtom* might therefore right well ſay, that Chriſt aſcending took his fleſh, which he received of the Virgin *Mary*, away with him; and alſo left his fleſh behind him, which are We that be his elect in this world, which are the Members of Chriſt, and fleſh of his fleſh; as very aptly St. *Paul* to the *Epheſians* in the fifth Chapter doth teſtifie, ſaying; *We are fleſh of his fleſh and bone of his bones.* And if perchaſe any man will reply, that he intreateth there of the Sacrament, ſo that this interpretation cannot ſo aptly be applyed unto him in that place, then will I yet interpret *Chryſoſtom* another way by himſelf. For in that place, a few lines before thoſe words which were here now lately read, are theſe words; that Chriſt, after he aſcended into Heaven, left unto us, indued with his Sacraments, his fleſh in myſteries, that is, Sacramentally. And that myſtical fleſh Chriſt leaveth as well to his Church in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, as in the Sacramental bread and wine. And that St. *Paul* juſtly doth witneſs, ſaying; *As many of us as are Baptiſed in Chriſt have put upon us Chriſt*, And thus you may underſtand that S. *Chryſoſtom* maketh nothing for your carnal and groſs preſence in the Sacrament, as you wrongfully take him.

Anno 1553.

Epheſ. 5.

Chryſoſtom expounded by Chryſoſtom.

Galat. 3.

Now in this mean while Mr. *Pie* rounded the Prolocutor in the ear to put *Philpot* to ſilence, and to appoint ſome other, miſtruſting leſt he would ſhrewdly ſhake their carnal preſence in concluſion, if he held on long, ſeeing in the beginning he gave one of their chief foundations ſuch a pluck. Then the Prolocutor ſaid to *Philpot*, that he had reaſoned ſufficiently enough, and that ſome other ſhould now ſupply his room. Wherewith he was not well content, ſaying: Why Sir, I have a dozen arguments concerning this matter to be propoſed, and I have yet ſcarce overgone my firſt argument; for I have not brought in any confirmation thereof out of any ancient Writer (whereof I have for the ſame purpoſe many) being hitherto ſtill letted by your oft interrupting of me.

Weſton.

A good ſolution for all his Argument.

Well, quoth the Prolocutor, you ſhall ſpake no more now, and I command you to hold your peace. You perceive, quoth *Philpot*, that I have ſtuff enough for you, and am able to withſtand your falſe ſuppoſition, and therefore you command me to ſilence. If you will not give place, quoth the Prolocutor, I will ſend you to priſon. This is not, quoth *Philpot*, according to your promiſe made in this houſe, nor yet according to your brag made at *Pauls-Croſs*, that men ſhould be anſwered in this diſputation to whatſoever they can ſay, ſince you will not ſuffer me, of a dozen arguments, to proſecute one.

Then M. *Pie* took upon him to promiſe that he ſhould be anſwered another day. *Philpot* ſeeing he might not proceed in his purpoſe, being therewith juſtly offended, ended, ſaying thus: A ſort of you here, which hitherto have lurked in corners, and diſſembled with God and the World, are now gathered together to ſuppreſs the ſincere truth of Gods holy Word, and to ſet forth every falſe device, which by the Catholick Doctrine of the Scripture ye are not able to maintain.

Then ſtepped forth Mr. *Elmar* Chaplain to the Duke of *Suffolk*, whom Mr. *Moreman* took upon him to anſwer: Againſt whom Mr. *Elmar* objected divers and ſundry Authorities for the confirming of the Argument he took the day before in hand, to prove that ὁσία in the ſentence of *Theodoret*, brought in by Mr. *Cheyney*, muſt needs ſignifie Subſtance, and not Accidents. Whoſe reaſons and probations, becauſe they were all grounded and brought out of the Greek, I do paſs over, for that they want their Grace in Engliſh, and alſo their proper underſtanding. But his allegations ſo incumbred M. *Moreman*, that he deſired a day to overview them, for at that inſtant he was without a convenient anſwer.

Maſter Elmar again ſteppeth forth, Ουσία.

Moreman deſireth a day to imagine ſome crafty ſhift.

Then did the Prolocutor call Mr. *Haddon* Dean of *Exceter*, and Chaplain to the Duke of *Suffolk*, who proſecuted *Theodorets* authority in confirming Mr. *Elmars* argument. To whom Doctor *Watſon* took upon him to give anſwer; who after long talk was ſo confounded, that he was not able to anſwer to the word *Myſterium*. But foraſmuch as he ſeemed to doubt therein, Mr. *Haddon* took out of his boſom a Latin Author to confirm his ſaying, and ſhewed the ſame to Mr. *Watſon*, asking him whether he thought that tranſlation to be true, or that the Printer were in any fault. There may be a fault in the Printer, quoth Watſon, for I am not remembred of this word. Then did Mr. *Haddon* take out of his boſom a Greek book, wherein he ſhewed forth with his finger the ſame words, which Mr. *Watſon* could not deny. His arguments further I omit to

Watſon confounded by Mr. Haddon.

Maſter Watſon for a bare ſhift putteth the fault in the Printer.

de-

Anno 1553.

further I omit to declare at large, becauſe they were for the moſt part in Greek, about the boulting of the true ſignification of οὐσία.

Mr. Perne againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

Then ſtept forth Mr. *Perne*, and in Argument made declaration of his mind againſt Tranſubſtantiation, and confirmed the Sayings and Authorities alledged by Mr. *Elmar* and Mr. *Haddon*. To whom the Prolocutor anſwered, ſaying, I much marvel Mr. *Perne*, that you will ſay thus, for ſo much as on *Friday* laſt you ſubſcribed to the contrary. Which his ſaying Mr. *Elmar* did miſlike, ſaying to the Prolocutor, That he was to blame ſo to reprehend any man, partly for that this Houſe, quoth he, is an Houſe of free liberty for every man to ſpeak his Conſcience, and partly for that you promiſed yeſterday, That notwithſtanding any man had ſubſcribed, yet he ſhould have free liberty to ſpeak his mind. And for that the night did approach, and the time was ſpent, the Prolocutor, giving them praiſes for their learning, did yet notwithſtanding conclude, that all reaſoning ſet apart, the order of the holy Church muſt be received, and all things muſt be ordered thereby.

Dr. Weſton praiſeth their learning to flatter them but he anſwereth not their Arguments.

The Act of the fifth Day.

Octob. 27.

ON *Friday* the 27th of *October*, Dr. *Weſton* the Prolocutor did firſt propound the matter, ſhewing that the Convocation hath ſpent two days in diſputation already about one only Doctor, which was *Theodoret*, and about one only word, which was οὐσία. Yet were they come the third day to anſwer all things that could be objected, ſo that they would ſhortly put their Arguments.

Mr. Haddon Dean of Exeter diſputeth againſt Mr. Watſon, Morgan, and Harpſfield.

So Mr. *Haddon* Dean of *Exeter*, deſired leave to oppoſe Mr. *Watſon*, which with two other more, that is, *Morgan* and *Harpsfield*, was appointed to anſwer: Mr. *Haddon* demanded this of him, Whether any Subſtance of Bread or Wine did remain after the Conſecration. Then Mr. *Watſon* asked of him again, Whether he thought there to be a Real Preſence of Chriſts Body or no? Mr. *Haddon* ſaid, It was not meet nor order-like that he which was appointed to be Reſpondent ſhould be Opponent, and he whoſe duty was to object ſhould anſwer. Yet Mr. *Watſon* a long while would not agree to anſwer, but that thing firſt being granted him, at laſt an order was ſet, and Mr. *Haddon* had leave to go forward with his Argument.

The words of Theodoret alledged. A Popiſh diſtinction between Subſtance and Eſſence.

Then he proved by *Theodorets* words a Subſtance of Bread and Wine to remain. For theſe are his words; *The ſame they were before the Sanctification, which they are after.* Mr. *Watſon* ſaid, That *Theodoret* meant not the ſame Subſtance, but the ſame Eſſence. Whereupon they were driven again unto the diſcuſſing of the Greek word οὐσία; and Mr. *Haddon* proved it to mean a Subſtance, both by the Etymology of the word, and by the words of the Doctor. For οὐσία, quoth he, cometh to the Particle ὄν, which deſcendeth to the Verb εἰμὶ, and ſo cometh the Noun οὐσία, which ſignifieth Subſtance.

Then Mr. *Watſon* anſwered that it had not that ſignification only. But Mr. *Haddon* proved that it muſt need ſo ſignifie in that place. Then he asked *Watſon*, when the Bread and Wine became Symbols? Whereunto he anſwered, after the Conſecration, and not before. Then gathered Mr. *Haddon* this reaſon out of his Author.

Argument of Mr. Haddon.

Da- The ſame thing, ſaith *Theodoret*, that the Bread and Wine were before they were Symbols, the ſame they remain ſtill in Nature and Subſtance, after they are Symbols.

ti- Bread and Wine they were before.

ſi. Therefore Bread and Wine they are after.

Watſon is driven to a ſhameful ſhift, to deny the Author when he cannot anſwer. Mr. Cheyney.

Then Mr. *Watſon* fell to the denial of the Author, and ſaid he was a *Neſtorian*; and he deſired that he might anſwer to Mr. *Cheyney* which ſtood by, for that he was more meet to diſpute in the matter, becauſe he had granted and ſubſcribed unto the Real Preſence. Mr. *Cheyney* deſired patience of the honourable men to hear him, truſting that he ſhould ſo open the matter, that the verity ſhould appear: Proteſting furthermore, that he was no obſtinate nor ſtubborn man, but would be conformable to all reaſon: and if they by their learning, which he acknowledged to be much more than his, could anſwer his reaſons, then he would be ruled by them, and ſay as they ſaid; for he would be no Author of Schiſm, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy Mother the Church, which is Chriſts Spouſe. Dr. *Weſton* liked this well, and commended him highly, ſaying that he was a well-learned and ſober man, and well exerciſed in all good learning, and in the Doctors; and finally, a man meet for his knowledge to diſpute in that place; I pray you hear him, quoth he. Then Mr. *Cheyney* deſired ſuch as there were preſent to pray two words with him unto God, and to ſay, *Vincat veritas*, Let the verity take place, and have the victory; and all that were preſent cried with a loud voice, *Vincat veritas, Vincat veritas.*

Mr. Cheyney's Prayer.

Then ſaid Dr. *Weſton* to him, that it was hypocritical. Men may better ſay, quoth he, *Vicit veritas*, Truth hath gotten the victory. Mr. *Cheyney* ſaid again, If he would give him leave, he would bring it to that point, that he might well ſay ſo.

Weſton.

Then he began with Mr. *Watſon* after this ſort: You ſaid that Mr. *Haddon* was unmeet to diſpute, becauſe he granteth not the Natural and Real Preſence; but I ſay you are much more unmeet to anſwer, becauſe you take away the Subſtance of the Sacrament.

Mr. Cheyney and Watſon diſpute.

Mr. Haddon challenged for ſubſcribing to the Real Preſence.

Mr. *Watſon* ſaid, He had ſubſcribed to the Real Preſence, and ſhould not go away from that: So ſaid *Weſton* alſo, and the reſt of the Prieſts; inſomuch that for a great while he could have no leave to ſay any more, till the Lords ſpake, and willed that he ſhould be heard.

Then he told them what he meant by his ſubſcribing to the Real Preſence, far otherwiſe than they ſuppoſed. So then he went forward, and proſecuted Mr. *Haddons* Argument, in proving that οὐσία was a Subſtance, uſing the ſame reaſon that Mr. *Haddon* did before him, and when he had received the ſame anſwer alſo that was made to Mr. *Haddon*, he ſaid it was but a lewd refuge, when they could not anſwer, to deny the Author, and proved the Author to be a Catholick Doctor; and that being proved, he confirmed that which was ſaid of the Nature and Subſtance further. The Similitude of *Theodoret* is this, quoth he; As the tokens of Chriſts Body and Blood, after the Invocation of the Prieſt, do change their names, and yet continue the ſame Subſtance; ſo the Body of Chriſt, after his Aſcenſion, changed his name, and was called Immortal, yet had it his former Faſhion, Figure, and Circumſcription; and to ſpeak at one word, the ſame Subſtance of his Body. Therefore ſaid Mr. *Cheyney*, If in the former part of the Similitude you deny the ſame Subſtance to continue, then in the latter part of the Similitude, which agreeth with it, I will deny the Body of Chriſt, after his Aſcenſion, to have the former Nature and Subſtance. But that were a great Hereſie; therefore it is alſo a great Hereſie to take away the Subſtance of Blood and Wine after the Sanctification.

The Argument of Theodoret renewed by Mr. Cheyney.

Then was Mr. *Watſon* inforced to ſay, That the Subſtance of the Body, in the former part of the Similitude brought in by him, did ſignifie Quantity, and other Accidents of the Sacramental Tokens which be ſeen, and not the very Subſtance of the ſame; and therefore *Theodoret* ſaith, *Quæ videntur, &c.* that is, *thoſe things which be ſeen.* For according to Philoſophy, the Accidents of things be ſeen, and not the Subſtances.

Then Mr. *Cheyney* appealed to the Honourable men, and deſired that they ſhould give no credit to them in ſo ſaying: for if they ſhould ſo think as they would teach, after their Lordſhips had ridden 40 miles on horſback (as their buſineſs doth ſometime require) they ſhould not be able to ſay at night, that they ſaw their Horſes all the day, but only the colour of their Horſes; and by this reaſon Chriſt muſt go to School, and learn of *Ariſtotle* to ſpeak. For when he ſaw *Nathaniel* under the Fig-tree, if *Ariſtotle* had ſtood by, he would have ſaid, No, Chriſt, thou ſaweſt not him, but the colour of him. After this, *Watſon* ſaid, What if it were granted that *Theodoret* was on the other ſide? Whereas they had one of that opinion, there were an hundred on the other.

Mr. Cheyney appealed to the Lords.

Morgan is called for to help at a pinch.

Then the Prolocutor called for Mr. *Morgan* to help, and ſaid, That *Theodoret* did no more than he might lawfully do. For firſt, He granted the truth, and then, for fear of ſuch as were not fully inſtructed in the Faith, he ſpake αἰνιγματικῶς, that is, covertly, and in a myſtery; and this was lawful for him to do: for firſt he granted the truth, and called them the Body of Chriſt, and Blood of

Chriſt.

Chriſt. Then afterwards he ſeemed to give ſomewhat to the ſenſes, and to reaſon: but that *Theodoret* is of the ſame mind that they were of, the words following, quoth he, do declare. For that which followeth is a cauſe of that which went before; and therefore he ſaith, *The Immortality, &c.* Whereby it doth appear, that he meant the Divine Nature, and not the Humane. Then was *Morgan* taken with miſſalleging of the Text: For the Book had not this word (*for*). For the Greek word did rather ſignifie (*truly*) and not (*for*,) ſo that it might manifeſtly appear, that it was the beginning of a new matter, and not a ſentence rendring a cauſe of that he had ſaid before.

Morgan is taken with falſe alledging of the Text.

Then it was ſaid by *Watſon* again; Suppoſe that *Theodoret* be with you, which is one that we never heard of printed, but two or three years ago; yet is he but one, and what is one againſt the whole conſent of the Church? After this Mr. *Cheyney* inferred, That not only *Theodoret* was of that mind, that the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine do remain, but divers other alſo, and ſpecially *Ireneus*, who, making mention of this Sacrament, ſaith thus; *When the Cup which is mingled with Wine, and the Bread that is broken, do receive the word of God, it is made the Euchariſt of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, by the which the ſubſtance of our fleſh is nouriſhed, and doth conſiſt.* If the thankſgiving do nouriſh our body, then there is ſome ſubſtance beſides Chriſts Body.

Iren. lib. 5. contra Valent.

To the which reaſon both *Watſon* and *Morgan* anſwered, that *Ex quibus*, *By the which*, in the ſentence of *Ireneus*, was referred to the next Antecedent, that is, to the Body and Blood of Chriſt; and not to the Wine which is in the Cup, and the Bread that is broken.

Watſon.

Mr. Cheyney replyed, That it was not the Body of Chriſt which nouriſhed our bodies. And let it be that Chriſts fleſh nouriſheth to immortality, yet it doth not anſwer to that Argument, although it be true, no more than that anſwer which was made to my Allegation out of St. *Paul, The bread which we break, &c.* with certain other like: whereunto you anſwered, That Bread was not taken there in his proper ſignification; but for that it had been; no more than the Rod of *Auron* was taken for the Serpent, becauſe it had been a Serpent. After this Mr. *Cheyney* brought in *Heſychius*, and uſed the ſame reaſon that he did of burning of Symboles; and he asked them what was burnt. Mr. *Watſon* ſaid, We muſt not enquire nor ask, but if there were any fault, impute it to Chriſt. Then ſaid Mr. *Cheyney*, whereof came thoſe aſhes? not of ſubſtance? or can any Subſtance ariſe of Accidents?

Mr. Cheyney.

Harpsfield called in to help Watſon.

Then was Mr. *Harpsfield* called in to ſee what he could ſay in the matter. Who told a fair Tale of the Omnipotency of God, and of the imbecillity and weakneſs of mans reaſon, not able to attain to godly things. And he ſaid, That it was convenient whatſoever we ſaw, felt, or taſted, not to truſt our ſenſes. And he told a Tale out of S. *Cyprian*, how a woman ſaw the Sacrament burning in her Coffer, and that which burned there, quoth *Harpsfield*, burneth here, and becometh aſhes. But what that was that burnt he could not tell. But Mr. *Cheyney* continued ſtill, and forced them with this queſtion, What it was that was burnt? It was either, ſaid he, the ſubſtance of Bread, or elſe the ſubſtance of the Body of Chriſt, which were too much abſurdity to grant. At length they anſwered, That it was a Miracle; whereat Mr. *Cheyney* ſmiled, and ſaid, That he could then ſay no more.

Here is good ſtuff, as if it were out of the Legend of Lies.

Weſton would know whether they were ſufficiently anſwered when he and his had anſwered no Argument.

Then Dr. *Weſton* asked of the Company there, Whether thoſe men were ſufficiently anſwered, or no: Certain Prieſts cried, Yea, but they were not heard at all for the great multitude which cried, No, No. Which cry was heard and noiſed almoſt to the end of *Pauls*. Whereat Dr. *Weſton* being much moved, anſwered bitterly, That he asked not the judgment of the rude Multitude, and unlearned People, but of them which were of the Houſe. Then asked he of Mr. *Haddon* and his Fellows, whether they would anſwer them other three days? *Haddon*, *Cheyney*, and *Elmar* ſaid, No. But the Archdeacon of *Wincheſter* ſtood up and ſaid, that they ſhould not ſay, but they ſhould be anſwered; and though all others did refuſe to anſwer, yet he would not, but offered to anſwer them all one after another: with whoſe proffer the Prolocutor was not contented, but railed on him, and ſaid, That he ſhould go to *Bedlam*: To whom the Archdeacon ſoberly made this anſwer, That he was more worthy to be ſent thither, who uſed himſelf ſo ragingly in that Diſputation, without any indifferent equality. Then roſe Dr. *Weſton* up, and ſaid:

Mr. Philpot.

Mark Weſtons impudency.

All the Company have ſubſcribed to our Article, ſaving only theſe men which you ſee. What their reaſons are, you have heard. We have anſwered them three days, upon promiſe (as it pleaſed him to deſcant, without truth, for no ſuch promiſe was made) that they ſhould anſwer us again as long, as the order of diſputation doth require, and if they be able to defend their Doctrine, let them ſo do.

A ſtrong Argument of Weſton, where he is not able to anſwer, he would outface.

Then Mr. *Elmar* ſtood up, and proved how vain a man *Weſton* was; for he affirmed that they never promiſed to diſpute, but only to open and teſtifie to the world their Conſciences. For when they were required to ſubſcribe, they refuſed, and ſaid that they would ſhew good reaſons which moved them, that they could not with their Conſciences ſubſcribe, as they had partly already done, and were able to do more ſufficiently: Therefore, quoth he, it hath been ill called a Diſputation, and they were worthy to be blamed that were the Authors of that name. For we meant not to diſpute, nor now mean to anſwer, before our Arguments, quoth he, which we have to propound, be ſoluted, according as it was appointed. For by anſwering we ſhould but incumber our ſelves, and profit nothing, ſince the matter is already decreed upon and determined, whatſoever we ſhall prove, or diſpute to the contrary.

Mr. Elmars reaſon why they would not anſwer.

The Act of the ſixth Day.

The ſixth Act or Seſſion.

ON *Monday* following, being the 30th of *October*, the Prolocutor demanded of *John Philpot*, Archdeacon of *Wincheſter*, whether he would anſwer in the queſtions before propounded to their objections, or no? To whom he made this anſwer, That he would willingly ſo do, if according to their former determination, they would firſt anſwer ſufficiently to ſome of his Arguments, as they had promiſed to do, whereof he had a dozen, not half of the firſt being yet decided: And if they would anſwer fully and ſufficiently but to one of his Arguments, he promiſed that he would anſwer to all the objections that they ſhould bring.

Then the Prolocutor bade him propound his Argument, and it ſhould be reſolutely anſwered by one of them; whereunto Mr. *Morgan* was appointed. Upon *Wedneſday* laſt, quoth he, I was inforced to ſilence before I had proſecuted half mine Argument; the ſum whereof was this (as was gathered by the juſt context of the Scripture) that the human Body of Chriſt was aſcended into Heaven, and placed on the right hand of God the Father: wherefore it could not be ſituate upon Earth in the Sacrament of the Altar, inviſible after the imagination of man. The Argument was denied by *Morgan*. For the proof whereof, *Philpot* ſaid, that this was it wherewith he had to confirm his firſt Argument, if they would have ſuffered him the other day, as now he truſted they would.

Philpot.

Argument.

Fe- One ſelf and ſame nature, quoth he, receiveth not in it ſelf any thing that is contrary to it ſelf.
ri- But the Body of Chriſt is an human Nature, diſtinct from the Deity, and is a proper Nature of it ſelf.
o. *Ergo*, It cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that Nature, and that varieth from it ſelf.

But bodily to be preſent, and bodily to be abſent, to be on Earth, and to be in Heaven, and all at one preſent time, be things contrary to the nature of an human Body: *Ergo*, It cannot be ſaid of the human Body of Chriſt, that the ſelf ſame Body is both in Heaven, and alſo in Earth at one Inſtant, either viſibly or inviſibly.

Morgan.

Morgan denied the *Major*, that is, the firſt part of the Argument. The which *Philpot* vouched out of *Vigilius* an ancient Writer. But *Morgan* cavilled that it was no Scripture, and bade him prove the ſame out of Scripture.

Here is a new evaſion invented by Morgan, who dare not plainly deny Vigilius his authority, but under a colour.

Philpot ſaid, he could alſo ſo do, and right well deduce the ſame out of S. *Paul*, who ſaith, that *Chriſt is like unto us in all points, except ſin:* and therefore, like as one of our bodies cannot receive in it ſelf any thing contrary to the nature of a Body, as to be in *Pauls* Church, and at *Weſtminſter* at one inſtant, or to be at *London* viſibly, and at *Lincoln* inviſibly at one time; for that is contrary to the nature of a Body, and of all Creatures (as *Didimus* and *Baſilius* affirm) that an inviſible Creature, as an Angel, cannot

One body cannot be at once in divers places.

Anno 1553.

cannot be at one time in divers places: wherefore he concluded that the Body of Christ might not be in more places than in one, which is in Heaven, and so consequently not to be contained in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Weston. To this the Prolocutor took upon him to answer, saying, That it was not true that Christ was like unto us in all points, as *Philpot* took it, except sin. For that Christ was not conceived by the Seed of man, as we be.

Christ, after his Incarnation was in all points like man, sin only except.

Whereunto *Philpot* again replied, That Christs conception was prophesied before by the Angel to be supernatural, but after he had received our Nature by the operation of the Holy Ghost in the Virgins Womb, he became in all points like unto us, except sin.

Morgan. *Philpot.* Then *Morgan* inferred that this saying of *Paul* did not plainly prove his purpose. Well, quoth *Philpot*, I perceive that you do answer but by cavillation, yet am I not destitute of other Scriptures to confirm my first Argument, although you refuse the probation of so Ancient and Catholick a Doctor as *Vigilius* is. S. *Peter* in the Sermon that he made in the third of the *Acts*, making mention of Christ, saith these words, *Whom Heaven must receive, until the consummation of all things, &c.* Which words are spoken of his Humanity. If Heaven must hold Christ, then can he not be here on Earth, in the Sacrament, as is pretended.

Acts 3.

Harpsfield stepeth in. Then *Morgan* laughing at this, and giving no direct answer at all, *Harpsfield* stood up, being one of the Bishop of *London*'s Chaplains, and took upon him to answer to the saying of S. *Peter*, and demanded of *Philpot*, Whether he would, *ex necessitate*, that is, of necessity force Christ to any place, or no.

Philpot. *Philpot* said, That he would no otherwise force Christ of necessity to any place, than he is taught by the words of the Holy Ghost, which sound thus; that Christ's human Body must abide in Heaven until the day of Judgment, as I rehearsed out of the Chapter before mentioned.

Harpsfield. Why, quoth *Harpsfield*, do ye not know that God is God Omnipotent? Yes, said *Philpot*, I know that right well, neither doubt I any thing at all of his Omnipotency. But of Christs Omnipotency what he may do, is not our question, but rather what he doth. I know he may make a stone in the wall a man, if he list, and also that he may make more worlds, but doth he therefore so? It were no good consequent so to conclude; he may do this or that, therefore he doth it.

Ba- Only so much is to be believed of Gods Omnipotency, as is in the word expressed.
ro- That Christs Body is both in Heaven, and here also really in the Sacrament, is not expressed in the word.
co. *Ergo*, It is not to be believed, that the Body of Christ, being in Heaven, is here also really in the Sacrament.

If *Weston* charge them for prisoning Christ in Heaven, how may they charge the Papists for prisoning Christ in a box.

Why, quoth the Prolocutor, then you will put Christ in Prison in Heaven. To the which *Philpot* answered, do you reckon Heaven to be a Prison? God grant us all to come to that Prison.

After this, *Harpsfield* inferred that this word *Oportet* in S. *Peter*, which signifieth in English *must*, did not import so much as I would infer, of necessity, as by other places of Scripture it may appear, as in the first to *Timothy*, where *Paul* saith, *Oportet Episcopum esse unius uxoris virum*, A Bishop must be the Husband of one Wife. Here, quoth he, *Oportet* doth not import such a necessity, but that he that never was married may be a Bishop.

Mr. Philpot. To this *Philpot* said again, That the places were not like which he went about to compare, and that in comparing of the Scriptures we must not consider the naked words, but the meaning rather of the Scriptures, for that in the place by him alledged, S. *Paul* doth declare of what quality a Bishop ought to be. But in the other, S. *Peter* teacheth us the place where Christ must necessarily be until the end of the World: which we ought to believe to be true. And this comparison of this word *Oportet* doth no more answer mine Argument, than if I should say of you now being here, *Oportet te hic esse*, You must needs be here, which importeth such a necessity for the time, that you can no otherwise be but here, and yet you would go about in words to avoid this necessity with another *Oportet* in another sense, as this, *Oportet te esse virum bonum*, You must be a good man, where *Oportet* doth not in very deed conclude any such necessity, but that you may be an evil man. Thus you may see that your Answer is not sufficient, and as it were no Answer to my Argument.

Oportet, how it is taken diversly in Scripture.

Weston: Then the *Prolocutor* brought in another *Oportet*, to help this matter (if it might be) saying, what say you to this, *Oportet hæreses esse*; must Heresies needs be therefore because of this word *Oportet*?

Philpot: Yea, truly, quoth *Philpot*, it cannot otherwise be, if you will add that which followeth immediately upon these words of *Paul*, that is, *Ut qui electi sunt manifestentur*; that is, That such as be the elect of God may be manifested and known.

Weston. *Philpot.* Why, quoth the Prolocutor, the time hath been that no Heresies were. I know no such time, quoth *Philpot*. For since the time of *Abel* and *Cain* Heresies have been, and then began they. *Weston.* Then said the Prolocutor, Will you now answer *Morgan* an Argument or two? I will, quoth *Philpot*, if I may first be answered to my Arguments any thing according to truth and learning. What, quoth the Prolocutor, you will never be answered. How I am answered, quoth *Philpot*, let all men that are here present judge, and especially such as be Learned, and with what cavillations you have dallied with me.

Philpot:

First, To the ancient Authority of *Vigilius* you have answered nothing at all, but only denying it to be Scripture that he saith. Secondly, To the saying of S. *Peter* in the *Acts*, ye have answered thus, demanding of me whether I would keep Christ in Prison, or no: Let men now judge if this be a sufficient Answer, or no.

Morgan. Then stood *Morgan* up again, and asked *Philpot* whether he would be ruled by the Universal Church, or no?

Philpot: Yes, quoth he, if it be the true Catholick Church. And sith you speak so much of the Church, I would fain that you would declare what the Church is.

Morgan: *Philpot.* The Church, quoth *Morgan*, is diffused and dispersed throughout the whole World. That is a diffuse definition, quoth *Philpot*, for I am yet as uncertain as I was before, what you mean by the Church: but I acknowledge no Church, but that which is grounded and founded on Gods Word, as S. *Paul* saith, *Upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, and upon the Scriptures of God.*

Moreman: Whether the Church was before the Scripture.

What, quoth *Moreman*, was the Scripture before the Church? Yea, quoth *Philpot*. But I will prove nay, quoth *Moreman*, and I will begin at Christs time. The Church of Christ was before any Scripture written. For *Matthew* was the first that wrote the Gospel, about a dozen years after Christ: *Ergo*, The Church was before the Scripture.

Scripture consisteth not only in Letters, but is that which is inspired in the hearts of good men by the Holy Ghost.

To whom *Philpot* answering, denied his Argument. Which when *Moreman* could not prove, *Philpot* shewed that his Argument was *Elenchus*, or a fallacy, that is, a deceivable Argument. For he took the Scripture only to be that, which is written by men in Letters, whereas in very deed, all Prophesie uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be Scripture before it was written in Paper and Ink, for that it was written in the hearts, and graven in the minds, yea, and inspired in the mouths of good men, and of Christs Apostles by the Spirit of Christ: As the Salutation of the Angel was the Scripture of Christ, and the Word of God before it was written. At that *Moreman* cried, Fie, fie, wondring that the Scripture of God should be counted Scripture before it was written, and affirmed; That he had no knowledge that said so.

Philpot: To whom *Philpot* answered, That concerning knowledge in this behalf, for the trial of the truth about the questions in controversie, he would wish himself no worse matched than with *Moreman*.

Weston: At the which saying the Prolocutor was grievously offended, saying, That it was arrogantly spoken of him, that would compare with such a worshipful learned man as *Morgan* was, being himself a man unlearned, yea, a mad man, meeter to be sent to *Bethlehem*, than to be among such a sort of learned and grave men as there were, and a man that never would be answered, and one that troubled the whole house: and therefore he did command him that he should come no more into the house, demanding of the house, whether they would agree thereupon, or no. To

Weston rateth against *Philpot* to be a mad man.

whom

whom a great Company anſwered Yea. Then ſaid *Philpot* again, That he might think himſelf happy that was out of that Company.

Philpot commanded to come in a long Gown and a Tippet, or elſe to come no more to the Convocation.

After this *Morgan* roſe of, and rounded the Prolocutor in the ear. And then again the Prolocutor ſpake to *Philpot*, and ſaid, Leſt thou ſhouldeſt ſlander the Houſe, and ſay that we will not ſuffer you to declare your mind, we are content you ſhall come into the Houſe as you have done before, ſo that you be apparelled with a long Gown and a Tippet, as we be, and that you ſhall not ſpeak, but when I command you. Then, quoth *Philpot*, I had rather be abſent altogether.

Decemb. 13. Thus they reaſoning to and fro, at length about the 13th of *December*, Q. *Mary*, to take up the matter, ſendeth her Commandment to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, that he ſhould diſſolve and break up the Convocation. The Copy of which Commandment here followeth.

The Precept of the Queen to *Boner*, Biſhop of *London*, for the diſſolving of the foreſaid Convocation.

Q. *Mary* breaketh up the Convocation.

Maria, &c. Reverendo in Chriſto Patri & Domino, Domino Edmundo London. Epiſcopo, ſalutem. Cum præſens Convocatio Cleri Cantuarienſis provinciæ apud S. Paulum London, jam modo tenta & inſtans exiſtit, certis tamen urgentibus cauſis & conſiderationibus nos ſpecialiter moventibus, de adviſamento Concilii noſtri ipſam præſentem Convocationem duximus diſſolvendam. Et ideo vobis Mandamus quod eandem præſentem Convocationem apud Sanctum Paulum prædictum debito modo abſque aliqua dilatione diſſolvatis, diſſolvive faciatis prout convenit, ſignificantes ex parte noſtra univerſis & ſingulis Epiſcopis, necnon Archidiaconis, Decanis, & omnibus aliis perſonis Eccleſiaſticis quibuſcunq; dictæ Cantuarienſis Provinciæ quorum intereſt, vel intereſſe poterit, quod ipſi & eorum quilibet huic mandato noſtro exequendo intendentes ſint & obedientes prout decet. Teſte meipſa apud Weſtmonaſterium 13. die Decembris, Anno regni noſtri primo.

During the time of this Diſputation, the Twentieth day of *November*, the Mayor of *Coventry* ſent up unto the Lords of the Councel *Baldwin Clarke*, *J. Careleſſe*, *Thomas Wilcocks*, and *Richard Eſtelin*, for their behaviour upon *Allhallow-day* laſt before. Whereupon *Careleſſe* and *Wilcocks* were committed to the *Gatehouſe*, and *Clarke* and *Aſtelin* to the *Marſhalſey*.

The ſame day there was a Letter directed to Sir *Chriſtopher Heydon*, and Sir *William Farmer* Knights, for the apprehenſion of *John Huntington* Preacher, for making a Rhime againſt Dr. *Stokes* and the Sacrament. Who appearing before the Councel the Third of *December* next after, was, upon his humble Submiſſion and Promiſe to amend as well in Doctrine as in Living, again ſuffered to depart.

In the days of King *Henry*, and alſo King *Edward* reigning after him, divers Noble men, Biſhops, and other, were caſt into the *Tower*, ſome charged with Treaſon, as Lord *Courtney*, and the Duke of *Norfolk* (whoſe Son Lord *Henry*, Earl of *Surrey*, had been the ſame time beheaded, a worthy and ingenuous Gentleman, for what cauſe, or by whom, I have not here to deal: This is certain, that not many years after his death followed the beheading of both the Lord *Seymors*, and at laſt of the Duke of *Northumberland* alſo) ſome for the Popes Supremacy, and ſuſpicious Letters tending to Sedition, as *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*, and other, for other things, all which continued there Priſoners till Queen *Maries* coming in. Unto whom the ſaid Queen eftſoons granted their Pardon, and reſtored them to their former Dignities. Amongſt whom alſo was *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, whom ſhe not only freed out of Captivity, but alſo advanced him to be High Chancellor of *England*. Furthermore, To the Lord *Courtney* ſhe ſhewed ſuch favour, that ſhe made him Earl of *Devonſhire*, inſomuch that there was a ſuſpicion amongſt many that ſhe would marry him, but that proved otherwiſe.

This Lord *Courtney* was Son to the Marqueſs of *Exeter*.

Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of *Wincheſter* made Lord Chancellor of *England*.

The Lord *Courtney* made Earl of *Devonſhire*.

The ſame time *Boner* alſo had been Priſoner in the *Marſhalſey*; whom likewiſe Queen *Mary* delivered, and reſtored to the Biſhoprick of *London* again, diſplacing Dr. *Ridley*, with divers other good Biſhops more, as is above mentioned: as *Cranmer* from *Canterbury*, the Archbiſhop of *York* likewiſe, *Poynet* from *Wincheſter*, *John Hooper* from *Worceſter*, *Barlow* from *Bathe*, *Harley* from *Hereford*, *Taylor* from *Lincoln*, *Ferrar* from St. *Davids*, *Coverdale* from *Exceter*, *Scorie* from *Chicheſter*, *&c.* with a great number of Archdeacons, Deans, and briefly all ſuch Beneficed men, which either were married, or would conſtantly adhere to their Profeſſion. All which were removed from their Livings, and other of the contrary Sect ſet in the ſame, as Cardinal *Pool*, (who was then ſent for) *Gardiner*, *Heath*, *White*, *Day*, *Troublefield*, *&c.*

Good Biſhops diſplaced.

Anno 1553.

Popiſh Prelates intruded by Q. *Mary*.

And as touching *Cranmer*, of whom mention was made before, forſomuch as there was Rumour ſpread of him the ſame time in *London*, that he had Recanted, and cauſed Maſs to be ſaid at *Canterbury*, for purging of himſelf he publiſhed abroad a Declaration of his Truth and Conſtancy in that behalf, proteſting that he neither had ſo done, nor minded ſo to do. Adding moreover, That if it would ſo pleaſe the Queen, he, with *Peter Martyr*, and certain other whom he would chuſe, would in open Diſputation ſuſtain the Cauſe of the Doctrine, taught and ſet forth before in the time of King *Edward*, againſt all Perſons whomſoever. But while he was in expectation to have this Diſputation obtained, he, with other Biſhops, were laid faſt in the *Tower*, and *Peter Martyr* permitted to depart the Realm, and ſo went he to *Argentine*.

False report.

Cranmer ſo with *Peter Martyr*, and others, offered to defend the Cauſe of their Doctrine againſt all men.

After this, in the Month of *November*, the Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, notwithſtanding he had earneſtly refuſed to Subſcribe to the Kings Will in diſinheriting his Siſter *Mary*, alledging many grave and pithy Reaſons for her Legitimation, was in *Guildhall* of *London* Arraigned and Attainted of Treaſon, with the Lady *Jane*, and three of the Duke of *Northumberlands* Sons, which at the intreaty of certain Perſons, were had again to the *Tower*, and there kept for a time. All which notwithſtanding, *Cranmer* being pardoned of Treaſon, ſtood only in the Action and Caſe of Doctrine, which they called Hereſie, whereof he was right glad and joyful.

Dr. *Cranmer*, with Lady *Jane*, Arraigned of Treaſon in *Guildhall*.

Archbiſhop *Cranmer* quit of Treaſon.

This being done in *November*, the People, and eſpecially the Church-men, perceiving the Queen ſo eagerly ſet upon her old Religion, they likewiſe for their parts, to ſhew themſelves no leſs forward to ſerve the Queens Appetite (as the manner is of the multitude, commonly to frame themſelves after the humour of the Prince and time preſent) began in their Quires to ſet up the Pageant of St. *Katharine*, and of St. *Nicholas*, and of their Proceſſions in Latin, after all their old Solemnity with their gay Gardeviance, and gray Amices.

Going about of S. *Katherines* and S. *Nicholas*.

And when the Month of *December* was come, the Parliament brake up, but firſt of all ſuch Statutes were repealed which were made either of *Præmunire*, or touched any Alteration of Religion and Adminiſtration of Sacraments under King *Edward*. In the which Parliament alſo Communication was moved of the Queens Marriage with King *Philip* the Emperors Son.

In this mean while Cardinal *Pool* being ſent for by Q. *Mary*, was by the Emperour requeſted to ſtay with him, to the intent (as ſome think) that his preſence in *England* ſhould not be a let to the Marriage which he intended between *Philip* his Son and Queen *Mary*. For the making whereof he ſent a moſt ample Ambaſſade, with full power to make up the Marriage betwixt them; which took ſuch ſucceſs, that after they had communed of the mattets a few days, they knit up the Knot.

Cardinal *Pool* ſent for.

Marriage between *Philip* and *Mary* concluded.

Anno 1554.

Anno 1554.

The 13th of *January*, 1554. Dr. *Crome*, for his preaching upon *Chriſtmas-day* without Licence, was committed to the *Fleet*.

The 21th of *January*, Mr. *Thomas Wootton* Eſquire, was for matters of Religion committed to the *Fleet* cloſe Priſoner.

This mention of Marriage was about the beginning of *January*, and was very evil taken of the People, and of many of the Nobility, who for this, and for Religion, conſpiring among themſelves, made a Rebellion, whereof Sir *Thomas Wyat* Kt. was one of the chief beginners: who being in *Kent*, ſaid, (as many elſe perceived) That the Queen and the Councel would by Foreign Marriage

Anno 1554. January 25.

riage bring upon this Realm moſt miſerable Servitude, and eſtabliſh Popiſh Religion. About the 25. of *January* news came to *London* of this Stir in *Kent*, and ſhortly after of the Duke of *Suffolk*, who was fled into *Warwickſhire* and *Leiceſterſtire*, there to gather a Power. The Queen therefore cauſed them both, with the Carews of *Devonſhire*, to be proclaimed Traitors; and ſent into *Kent* againſt *Wyat*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, who being about *Rochester*-bridge forſaken of them that went with him, returned ſafe to *London* without any more harm done to him, and without bloodſhed on either party.

The Duke of *Norfolk* ſent againſt *Wyat*.

The Duke of *Suffolk* apprehended.

Furthermore, to apprehend the Duke of *Suffolk*, being fled into *Warwickſhire*, was ſent the Earl of *Huntingdon* in Poſt, who entring the City of *Coventry* before the Duke, diſappointed him of his purpoſe. Wherefore the Duke in great Diſtreſs, committed himſelf to the keeping of a Servant of his named *Underwood* in *Aſtley* Park, who like a Falſe Traitor, betrayed him. And ſo he was brought up to the *Tower* of *London*.

In the mean while Sir *Peter Carew* hearing of that was done, fled into *France*, but the other were taken, and *Wyat* came towards *London* in the beginning of *February*. The Queen hearing of *Wyats* coming, came into the City to the *Guildhal*, where ſhe made a vehement Oration againſt *Wyat*; the Contents, at leaſt the Effect, whereof here followeth, as near as out of her own Mouth could be penned.

Q. *Mary* cometh to the *Guildhal*.

The Oration of Queen *Mary* in the *Guildhal*.

Q. *Maries* Oration to the *Londoners*.

I Am come unto you in mine own Perſon, to tell you that which already you ſee and know, that is, how Traiterouſly and Rebelliouſly a number of Kentiſhmen *have aſſembled themſelves againſt both us and you. Their pretence (as they ſaid at the firſt) was for a Marriage determined for us: To the which, and to all the Articles thereof ye have been made privy. But ſince we have cauſed certain of our Privy Councel to go again unto them, and to demand the Cauſe of this their Rebellion, and it appeared then unto our ſaid Councel, that the matter of the Marriage ſeemed to be but a* Spaniſh *Cloak to cover their pretended purpoſe againſt our Religion, for that they arrogantly and traiterouſly demanded to have the Governance of our Perſon, the keeping of the* Tower, *and the placing of our Councellors.*

Demands pretended to be ſent from Maſter Wyat and his company to Q. *Mary*.

Now, loving Subjects, what I am, ye right well know. I am your Queen, to whom at my Coronation, when I was wedded to the Realm, and Laws of the ſame (the Spouſal Ring whereof I have on my Finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter ſhall be left off) you promiſed your Allegiance and Obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true Inheritor of the Crown of this Realm of England, *I take all Chriſtendom to witneſs. My Father, as ye all know, poſſeſſed the ſame Regal State, which now rightly is deſcended unto me: And to him always ye ſhewed your ſelves moſt faithful and loving Subjects, and therefore I doubt not, but ye will ſhew your ſelves likewiſe to me, and that ye will not ſuffer a vile Traitor to have the Order and Governance of our Perſon, and to occupy our Eſtate, eſpecially being ſo vile a Traitor as* Wyat *is: Who moſt certainly, as he hath abuſed mine ignorant Subjects which be on his Side, ſo doth he intend and purpoſe the deſtruction of you, and ſpoil of your Goods. And I ſay to you in the word of a Prince, I cannot tell how naturally the Mother loveth the Child, for I was never the Mother of any; but certainly, if a Prince and Governour may as naturally and earneſtly love her Subjects, as the Mother doth love the Child, then aſſure your ſelves, that I, being your Lady and Miſtris, do as earneſtly and tenderly love and favour you. And I thus loving you, cannot but think that ye as heartily and faithfully love me, and then I doubt not, but we ſhall give theſe Rebels a ſhort and ſpeedy overthrow.*

How he intended the ſpoil of their Goods, it appeareth in that he coming to *Southwark*, did hurt neither man, woman nor child, neither in body, nor in a penny of their goods.

As concerning the Marriage, ye ſhall underſtand, that I enterprized not the doing thereof without Advice, and that by the Advice of all our Privy Councel, who ſo conſidered and weighed the great Commodities that might enſue thereof, that they not only thought it very Honourable, but alſo Expedient, both for the Wealth of the Realm, and alſo of you our Subjects. And as touching my ſelf, I aſſure you, I am not ſo bent to my Will, neither ſo preciſe nor affectionate, that either for mine own Pleaſure I would chuſe where I luſt, or that I am ſo deſirous, as needs I would have one. For God, I thank him, to whom be the Praiſe therefore, I have hitherto lived a Virgin, and doubt nothing, but with Gods Grace, I am able ſo to live ſtill. But if, as my Progenitors have done before, it may pleaſe God that I might leave ſome Fruit of my Body behind me, to be your Governour, I truſt, you would not only rejoice thereat, but alſo, I know, it would be to your great Comfort. And certainly, if I either did think or know, that this Marriage were to the hurt of any of you my Commons, or to the Impeachment of any part or parcel of the Royal State of this Realm of England, *I would never conſent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And in the Word of a Queen, I promiſe you, that if it ſhall not probably appear to all the Nobility and Commons in the High Court of Parliament, that this Marriage ſhall be for the high Benefit and Commodity of the whole Realm, then will I abſtain from Marriage while I live.*

The promiſe of Q. *Mary* touching her Marriage.

And now good Subjects, pluck up your Hearts, and like true Men, ſtand faſt againſt theſe Rebels, both our Enemies and yours, and fear them not; for I aſſure you, I fear them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my Lord Howard, *and my Lord Treaſurer, who ſhall be Aſſiſtants with the Mayor for your Defence.*

Q. *Mary* excuſeth her Marriage.

Here is to be noted, that at the coming of Q. *Mary* to the *Guildhal*, it being bruited before, that ſhe was coming with Harneſſed men, ſuch a Fear came among them, that a number of the *Londoners*, fearing leſt they ſhould be there intrapped and put to death, made out of the Gate before her entring in. Furthermore note, that when ſhe had ended her Oration (which ſhe ſeemed to have perfectly conned without Book) *Wincheſter* ſtanding by her, when the Oration was done, with great admiration cried to the People; O how happy are we, to whom God hath given ſuch a wife and learned Prince, *&c.*

February 3. Mr. Wyat in Southwark.

Two days after, which was the 3. of *February*, the Lord *Cobham* was committed to the *Tower*, and Mr. *Wyat* entred into *Southwark*: Who, foraſmuch as he could not enter that way into *London*, returning another way by *Kingſton* with his Army, came up through the Streets to *Ludgate*, and returning thence, he was reſiſted at *Temple*-Bar, and there yielded himſelf to Sir *Clement Perſon*, and ſo was brought by him to the Court, and with him the reſidue of his Army (for before, Sir *George Harpar* and almoſt half of his men ran away from him at *Kingſton*-Bridge) were alſo taken, and about an hundred killed, and they that were taken were had to Priſon, and a great many of them were hanged, and he himſelf afterward executed at the *Tower* Hill, and then quartered; whoſe Head after being ſet up upon *Hay-hill*, was thence ſtoln away, and great ſearch made for the ſame. Of which Story ye ſhall hear more (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Mr. Wyat came to *Ludgate*.

Mr. Wyat apprehended at *Temple-Bar*.

Mr. Wyat executed.

February 12.

The 12. day of *February* was beheaded the Lady *Jane*, to whom was ſent Mr. *Fecknam*, alias *Howman*, from the Queen two days before her death, to commune with her, and to reduce her from the Doctrine of Chriſt to Q. *Maries* Religion. The Effect of which communication here followeth.

The Communication had between the Lady Jane *and Fecknam.*

Talk between the Lady *Jane* & *Feckenam*.

Fecknam. Madam, I lament your Heavy Caſe, and yet I doubt not, but that you bear out this Sorrow of yours with a conſtant and patient Mind.

Jane. You are welcom unto me, Sir, if your coming be to give Chriſtian Exhortation. And as for my heavy caſe, (I thank God) I do ſo little lament it, that rather I account the ſame for a more manifeſt declaration of Gods Favour toward me, than ever he ſhewed me at any time before. And therefore there is no cauſe why either you, or other which bear me good Will, ſhould lament or be grieved with this my Caſe, being a thing ſo profitable for my Souls Health.

Lady *Jane* comfortably taketh her Trouble.

Feck. I am here come to you at this preſent ſent from the Queen and her Councel, to inſtruct you in the true Doctrine of the right Faith: Although I have ſo great confidence in you, that I ſhall have, I truſt, little need to travel with you much therein.

Jane. Forſooth, I heartily thank the Queens Highneſs, which is not unmindful of her humble Subject: And I

hope likewiſe that you no leſs will do your Duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were ſent for.

Fec. What is then required of a Chriſtian Man?

Jane That he ſhould believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons and one God.

Feck. What? Is there nothing elſe to be required or looked for in a Chriſtian, but to believe in him?

Jane. Yes, we muſt love him with all our Heart, with all our Soul, and with all our Mind, and our Neighbour as our ſelf.

Feck. Why? Then Faith juſtifieth not, nor ſaveth not.

Faith only juſtifieth.

Jane. Yes verily, Faith (as *Paul* ſaith) only juſtifieth.

Feck. Why? S. *Paul* ſaith, *If I have all Faith without Love, it is nothing.*

Jane. True it is; for how can I love him whom I truſt not? or how can I truſt him whom I love not? Faith and Love go both together, and yet Love is comprehended in Faith.

Feck. How ſhall we love our Neighbour?

Jane. To love our Neighbour is to feed the hungry, to cloath the naked, and give drink to the thirſty, and to do to him as we would do to our ſelves.

Feck. Why? then it is neceſſary unto Salvation to do good works alſo, and it is not ſufficient only to believe.

Good works neceſſary in a Chriſtian, yet do they not profit to Salvation.

Jane. I deny that, and I affirm that Faith only ſaveth: but it is meet for a Chriſtian, in token that he followeth his Maſter Chriſt, to do good works, yet may we not ſay that they profit to our Salvation. For when we have done all, yet we be unprofitable Servants, and Faith only in Chriſts Blood ſaveth us.

Feck. How many Sacraments are there?

Two Sacraments.

Jane. Two. The one the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the other the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

Feck. No, there are ſeven.

Jane. By what Scripture find you that?

Feck. Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is ſignified by your two Sacraments?

The Sacrament of Baptiſm what it ſignifieth. The Sacrament of the Lords Supper what it ſignifieth.

Jane. By the Sacrament of Baptiſm I am waſhed with Water and regenerated by the Spirit, and that waſhing is a token to me that I am the Child of God. The Sacrament of the Lords Supper offered unto me, is a ſure Seal & Teſtimony that I am, by the Blood of Chriſt, which he ſhed for me on the Croſs, made partaker of the everlaſting Kingdom.

Feck. Why? what do you receive in that Sacrament? Do you not receive the very Body and Blood of Chriſt?

Jane. No ſurely, I do not ſo believe. I think that at the Supper I neither receive Fleſh nor Blood, but Bread and Wine: which Bread when it is broken, and the Wine when it is drunken, putteth me in remembrance how that for my Sins the Body of Chriſt was broken, and his Blood ſhed on the Croſs, and with that Bread and Wine I receive the Benefits that come by the breaking of his Body, and ſhedding of his Blood for our Sins on the Croſs.

What we receive with the Sacrament.

Feck. Why? Doth not Chriſt ſpeak theſe words, *Take, Eat, this is my Body?* Require you any plainer words? Doth he not ſay it is his Body?

Jane. I grant he ſaith ſo; and ſo he ſaith, *I am the Vine, I am the Door*, but he is never the more the Door nor the Vine. Doth not S. *Paul* ſay, *He calleth things that are not as though they were?* God forbid that I ſhould ſay, that I eat the very natural Body and Blood of Chriſt: for then either I ſhould pluck away my redemption, or elſe there were two Bodies, or two Chriſts. One Body was tormented on the Croſs, and if they did eat another Body, then had he two Bodies: or if his Body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the Croſs, or if it were broken upon the Croſs, it was not eaten of his Diſciples.

Rom. 4.

Feck. Why? is it not as poſſible that Chriſt by his power could make his Body both to be eaten and broken, and to be born of a Woman without Seed of Man, as to walk upon the Sea, having a Body, and other ſuch like Miracles as he wrought by his Power only?

Chriſt had power to turn bread into his body, but that is no argument that he did ſo.

Jane. Yes verily, if God would have done at his Supper any Miracle, he might have done ſo: but I ſay, that then he minded no Work nor Miracle, but only to break his Body, and ſhed his Blood on the Croſs for our Sins. But I pray you to anſwer me to this one queſtion: Where was Chriſt, when he ſaid, *Take, eat, this is my Body?* Was he not at the Table when he ſaid ſo? he was at that time alive, and ſuffered not till the next day. What took he, but Bread, what brake he, but Bread? And what gave he, but Bread? Look, what he took, he brake: and look, what he brake, he gave: and look, what he gave, they did eat: and yet all this while he himſelf was alive, and at Supper before his Diſciples, or elſe they were deceived.

Anno 1554.

Feck. You ground your Faith upon ſuch Authors as ſay and unſay both in a breath, and not upon the Church, to whom ye ought to give Credit.

Fecknam goeth from the Word to the Church. Faith to be grounded upon the Word, and not upon the Church.

Jane. No, I ground my Faith on Gods Word, and not upon the Church. For if the Church be a good Church, the Faith of the Church muſt be tried by Gods Word, and not Gods Word by the Church, either yet my Faith. Shall I believe the Church becauſe of Antiquity? or ſhall I give credit to the Church that taketh away from me the half part of the Lords Supper, and will not let any Man receive it in both kinds? Which things, if they deny to us, then deny they to us part of our Salvation. And I ſay, that it is an evil Church, and not the Spouſe of Chriſt, but the Spouſe of the Devil, that altereth the Lords Supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that Church (ſay I) God will add Plagues, and from that Church will he take their part out of the Book of Life: Do they learn that of S. *Paul* when he miniſtred to the *Corinthians* in both kinds? ſhall I believe this Church? God forbid.

A note of the falſe Church.

Feck. That was done for a good intent of the Church, to avoid an Hereſie that ſprang on it.

Jane. Why? ſhall the Church alter Gods Will and Ordinance for good Intent? How did King *Saul?* The Lord God defend.

Gods Word not to be altered for good intent

With theſe and ſuch like Perſwaſions he would have had her lean to the Church, but it would not be. There were many more things whereof they reaſoned, but theſe were the chiefeſt.

After this, *Fecknam* took his leave, ſaying, that he was ſorry for her: For I am ſure, quoth he, that we two ſhall never meet.

Jane. True it is (ſaid ſhe) that we ſhall never meet, except God turn your Heart. For I am aſſured, unleſs you repent and turn to God, you are in an evil caſe: And I pray God, in the bowels of his Mercy, to ſend you his Holy Spirit: For he hath given you his great gift of Utterance, if it pleaſed him alſo to open the eyes of your Heart.

The words were ſpoken openly.

A Letter of the Lady Jane *ſent unto her Father.*

Lady *Janes* Letter ſent to her Father.

FAther, although it hath pleaſed God to haſten my death by you, by whom my life ſhould rather have been lengthened: yet can I ſo patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty thanks for ſhortning my woful days, than if all the world had been given unto my Poſſeſſions with life lengthened at my own will. And albeit I am well aſſured of your impatient dolors, redoubled manifold ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and eſpecially (as I hear) my unfortunate ſtate, yet, my dear Father (If I may without Offence rejoyce in my own Miſhaps) me ſeems in this I may account my ſelf bleſſed, that waſhing my Hands with the Innocency of my Fact, my guiltleſs Blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the Innocent. And yet, though I muſt needs acknowledge, that being conſtrained, and, as you wot well enough, continually aſſayed, in taking upon me I ſeemed to conſent, and therein grievouſly offended the Queen and her Laws: yet do I aſſuredly truſt, that this my offence towards God is ſo much the leſs, in that, being in ſo royal Eſtate as I was, mine inforced honour, blended never with mine Innocent Heart. And thus, good Father, I have opened unto you the State wherein I at preſent ſtand. Whoſe death at hand, although to you perhaps it may ſeem right woful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcom, than from this Vale of miſery to aſpire to that Heavenly Throne of all joy and pleaſure with Chriſt our Saviour. In whoſe ſtedfaſt Faith (if it may be lawful for the Daughter ſo to write to the Father) the Lord that hitherto hath ſtrengthened you, ſo continue you, that at the laſt we may meet in Heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

This Parentheſis includeth with a Prayer, a privy Admonition to her Father, that he fall not from his Religion.

At what time her Father was flouriſhing in freedom and proſperity in the time of K. *Edward*, there belonged unto him a certain learned Man, Student and Graduate of the Univerſity of *Oxford*; who then being Chaplain to the ſaid Duke, and a ſincere Preacher (as he appeared) of the Goſpel according to the Doctrine of that time ſet forth and received, ſhortly after that the State of Religion began

Anno 1554. *February.* began to alter by Queen *Mary*, altered alſo in his Profeſſion with the Time, and of a Proteſtant became a Friend and Defender of the Popes Proceedings. At whoſe ſudden mutation and unconſtant mutability, this Chriſtian Lady being not a little agrieved, and moſt of all lamenting the dangerous State of his Soul, in ſliding ſo away for fear from the way of Truth, writeth her mind unto him in a ſharp and vehement Letter: which (as it appeareth to proceed of an earneſt and zealous Heart, ſo) would God it might take ſuch effect with him, as to reduce him to repentance, and to take better hold again for the health & wealth of his own Soul. The copy of the Letter is this as followeth.

Another Letter of the Lady Jane *to Mr.* Harding, *late Chaplain to the Duke of* Suffolk *her Father, and then fallen from the Truth of Gods moſt Holy Word.*

Luke 9. *A ſharp Letter or exhortation of the L. Jane to Mr. Harding.*

SO oft as I call to mind the dreadful and fearful ſaying of God, *That he which layeth hold upon the plough & looketh back, is not meet for the Kingdom of Heaven*: And on the other ſide, the comfortable words of our Saviour Chriſt to all thoſe that forſaking themſelues, do follow him: I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy caſe, which ſeemed ſometime to be the lively Member of Chriſt, but now the deformed Imp of the Devil; ſometime the beautiful Temple of God, but now the ſtinking and filthy Kenel of Satan; ſometime the unſpotted Spouſe of Chriſt, but now the unſhamefaſt Paramour of Antichriſt; ſometime my faithful Brother, but now a Stranger and Apoſtate; ſometime a ſtout Chriſtian Souldier, but now a cowardly Runaway. Yea, when I conſider theſe things, I cannot but ſpeak to thee, and cry out upon thee, thou ſeed of Satan, and not of *Judah*, whom the Devil hath deceived, the World hath beguiled, and the deſire of Life ſubverted, and made thee of a Chriſtian an Infidel. Wherefore haſt thou taken the Teſtament of the Lord in thy Mouth? Wherefore haſt thou preached the Law and the Will of God to others? Wherefore haſt thou inſtructed others to be ſtrong in Chriſt, when thou thy ſelf doeſt now ſo ſhamefully ſhrink, and ſo horribly abuſe the Teſtament and law of the Lord? when thou thy ſelf preacheſt, not to ſteal, yet moſt abominably ſtealeſt, not from Men, but from God, and committing moſt hainous Sacriledge, robbeſt Chriſt thy Lord of his right Members, thy Body and Soul, and chooſeſt rather to live miſerably with ſhame in the World, than to die, and glorioufly with Honour reign with Chriſt, in whom even in death is life? Why doeſt thou now ſhew thy ſelf moſt weak, when indeed thou oughteſt to be moſt ſtrong? The ſtrength of a Fort is unknown before the Aſſault, but thou yieldeſt thy Hold before any Battery be made. O wretched and unhappy man, what art thou but duſt and aſhes? and wilt thou reſiſt thy Maker that faſhioned thee and framed thee? Wilt thou now forſake him that called thee from the cuſtom gathering among the *Romiſh* Antichriſtians, to be an Ambaſſadour and Meſſenger of his eternal Word? He that firſt framed thee, and ſince thy firſt creation and birth preſerved thee, nouriſhed and kept thee, yea, and inſpired thee with the ſpirit of knowledge (I connot ſay of grace) ſhall he not now poſſeſs thee? Dareſt thou deliver up thy ſelf to another, being not thine own, but his? How canſt thou, having knowledge, or how dareſt thou neglect the Law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of Men: And whereas thou haſt been a publick Profeſſor of his Name, become now a defacer of his Glory? Wilt thou refuſe the true God, and worſhip the Invention of Man, the golden Calf, the Whore of *Babylon*, the *Romiſh* Religion, the abominable Idol, the moſt wicked Maſs? Wilt thou torment again, rent, and tear the moſt precious Body of our Saviour Chriſt, with thy bodily and fleſhly teeth? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any Sacrifice unto God for our Sins, conſidering that Chriſt offered up him ſelf (as *Paul* ſaith) upon the Croſs a lively Sacrifice once for all? Can neither the Puniſhment of the *Iſraelites*, (which for their Idolatry they ſo oft received) nor the terrible Threatnings of the Prophets, nor the Curſes of Gods own Mouth, fear thee to honour any other God than him? Doeſt thou ſo regard him that ſpared not his dear and only Son for thee, ſo diminiſhing, yea, utterly extinguiſhing his Glory, that thou wilt attribute the praiſe and honour due unto him to the Idols, *which have Mouths and ſpeak not, Eyes and ſee not, Ears and hear not*; which ſhall periſh with them that made them?

This man a little before King Edward died, was heard openly in his Sermons in London to exhort the people with great vehemency after this ſort: that if trouble came, they ſhould never ſhrink from the true doctrine of the Goſpel which they had received, but ſhould take it rather for a trial of God to prove them, whether they would abide by it or no. All which to be true they can teſtifie that heard him, and be yet alive: who alſo foreſeing the plague to come, were then much confirmed by his words. February.

What ſaith the Prophet *Baruch*, where he recited the Epiſtle of *Jeremy* written to the Captive Jews? Did he not forwarn them that in *Babylon* they ſhould ſee gods of Gold, Silver, Wood, and Stone born upon mens ſhoulders, to caſt a fear before the Heathen? *But be not ye afraid of them* (ſaith *Jeremy*) *nor do as other do. But when you ſee other worſhip them, ſay you in your hearts, It is thou (O Lord) that oughteſt only to be worſhipped: for as for thoſe gods, the Carpenter framed them and poliſhed them, yea, gilded be they, and laid over with Silver and vain things, and cannot ſpeak.* He ſheweth moreover the abuſe of their dealings, how the Prieſts took off their Ornaments, and apparelled their Women withal: how one holdeth a Scepter, another a Sword in his hand, and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend themſelves, much leſs any other, from either Battel or Murther, nor yet from gnawing of Worms, nor any other evil thing. Theſe and ſuch like words ſpeaketh *Jeremy* unto them, whereby he proveth them to be but vain things, and no gods. And at laſt he concludeth thus, *Confounded be all they that worſhip them.* They were warned by *Jeremy*, and thou as *Jeremy* haſt warned other, and art warned thy ſelf by many Scriptures in many places. God ſaith, he is *a jealous God*, which will have all Honour, Glory, and Worſhip given to him only. And Chriſt ſaith in the 4*th.* of *Luke* to Satan which tempted him, even to the ſame *Belzebub*, the ſame Devil, which hath prevailed againſt thee: *It is written* (ſaith he) *thou ſhalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.*

Baruch 6.

Matth. 4.

Theſe and ſuch like do prohibit thee and all Chriſtians to worſhip any other God than which was before all worlds, and laid the Foundations both of Heaven and Earth: And wilt thou honour a deteſtable Idol, invented by *Romiſh* Popes, and the abominable Colledge of crafty Cardinals? Chriſt offered himſelf up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy Pleaſure? But thou wilt ſay, thou doeſt it for a good Intent. Oh ſink of Sin! Oh Child of Perdition! Doeſt thou dream therein of a good Intent, where thy Conſcience beareth thee witneſs of Gods threatned Wrath againſt thee? How did Saul? who for that he diſobeyed the Word of the Lord for a good Intent, was thrown from his Worldly and Temporal Kingdom. Shalt thou then that doeſt deface Gods Honour, and rob him of his Right, inherit the eternal and heavenly Kingdom? Wilt thou for a good Intent diſhonour God, offend thy Brother, and danger thy Soul, wherefore Chriſt hath ſhed his moſt precious Blood? Wilt thou for a good intent pluck Chriſt out of Heaven, and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his Croſs by offering him up daily? Wilt thou either for fear of death or hope of life, deny and refuſe thy God, who enriched thy poverty, healed thy Infirmity, and yielded to thee his Victory, if thou couldeſt have kept it? Doeſt thou not conſider that the thread of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) either twine it harder to laſt the longer, or untwine it again to break the ſooner? Doeſt thou not then remember the ſaying of *David* a notable King to teach thee a miſerable wretch, in his 104. *Pſalm*, where he ſaith thus: *When thou takeſt away thy Spirit (O Lord) from men, they die and are turned again to their duſt, but when thou letteſt thy breath go forth, they ſhall be made, and thou ſhalt renew the face of the Earth.* Remember the ſaying of Chriſt in his Goſpel: *Whoſoever ſeeketh to ſave his life, ſhall loſe it: but whoſoever will loſe his life for my ſake, ſhall find it.* And in the ſame place, *Whoſoever loveth Father or Mother above me, is not meet for me. He that will follow me, let him forſake himſelf, and take up his Croſs, and follow me.* What Croſs? the Croſs of Infamy and Shame, of Miſery and Poverty, of Affliction and Perſecution for his Names ſake. Let the oft falling of thoſe heavenly Showers pierce thy Stony Heart. Let the two-edged Sword of Gods Holy Word ſheer aſunder the Sinews of worldly reſpects, even to the very Marrow of thy Carnal Heart, that thou mayeſt once again forſake thy ſelf and embrace Chriſt. And like as good Subjects will not refuſe to hazard all in the defence of their Earthly and Temporal Governour, ſo fly not like a white-livered Milkſop from the ſtanding wherein thy Chief Captain Chriſt hath ſet thee in Array of this Life. *Viriliter age, confortetur cor tuum, ſuſtine Dominum.* Fight manfully, come life, come death: the quarrel is Gods, and undoubtedly the Victory is ours.

Good Intent.

Pſalm 104.

Matth. 10.

Matth. 10.

The Croſs for Chriſts ſake.

Pſalm 26.

But thou wilt say; *I will not break Unity*. What? not the Unity of Satan and his members? nor the unity of darkneſs, the agreement of Antichriſt and his Adherents? Nay, thou deceiveſt thy ſelf with a fond imagination of ſuch an unity as is among the enemies of Chriſt. Were not the falſe Prophets in an unity? Were not *Joſephs* Brethren and *Jacobs* Sons in an unity? Were not the Heathen, as the *Amalekites*, the *Perizites* and *Jebuſites* in an unity? Were not the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* in an unity? Doth not King *David* teſtifie, *Convenerunt in unum adverſus Dominum*? Yea, thieves, murderers, conſpirators have their unity. But what unity? *Tully* ſaith of Amity: *Amicitia non eſt, niſi inter bonos.* But mark, my Friend, yea, friend, if thou be not Gods enemy: there is no unity but where Chriſt knitteth the knot among ſuch as be his. Yea, be well aſſured, that where his truth is reſident, there it is verified that he himſelf ſaith: *Non veni mittere pacem in terram, ſed gladium, &c.* but to ſet one againſt another, the Son againſt the father; and the daughter againſt the mother in law. Deceive not thy ſelf therefore with the glittering and glorious name of *Unity*; for Antichriſt hath his unity, yet not indeed, but in name. The agreement of ill men is not an Unity, but a Conſpiracy. Thou haſt heard ſome threatnings, ſome curſings, and ſome admonitions out of the Scripture to thoſe that love themſelves above Chriſt. Thou haſt heard alſo the ſharp and biting words to thoſe that deny him for love of life: Saith he not, *He that denieth me before men, I will deny him before my Father in heaven*? And to the ſame effect writeth *Paul*, Heb. 6. *It is impoſſible* (ſaith he) *that they which were once lightened, and have taſted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and have taſted of the good Word of God, if they fall and ſlide away, crucifying to themſelves the Son of God afreſh, and making of him a mocking-ſtock, ſhould be renewed again by repentance.* And again, ſaith he, *If we ſhall willingly ſin after we have received the knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for ſin, but the terrible expectation of Judgment, and fire which ſhall devour the adverſaries.* Thus S. *Paul* writeth, and this thou readeſt, and doſt thou not quake and tremble?

Antichriſt alſo hath his unity, which is not to be kept.

The agreement of evil Men is no Unity, but a Conſpiracy.

Matth. 10.

Hebr. 6.

Hebr. 10.

Well, if theſe terrible and thundring threatnings cannot ſtir thee to cleave unto Chriſt, and forſake the world: yet let the ſweet conſolations and promiſes of the Scriptures, let the example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, holy Martyrs and Confeſſors encourage thee to take faſter hold of Chriſt. Hearken what he ſaith: *Bleſſed are you when men revile you, and perſecute you for my ſake: rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for ſo perſecuted they the Prophets that were before you.* Hear what *Eſay* the Prophet ſaith: *Fear not the curſe of men, be not afraid of their blaſphemies, for worms and moths ſhall eat them up like cloth and wool, but my righteouſneſs ſhall endure for ever, and my ſaving health from generation to generation. What art thou then* (ſaith he) *that feareſt a mortal man, the child of man, which fadeth away like the flower, and forgetteſt the Lord that made thee, that ſpread out the heavens, and laid the foundation of the earth? I am the Lord thy God, that make the Sea to rage, and be ſtill, whoſe name is the Lord of Hoſts: I ſhall put my word in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of an hand.* And our Saviour Chriſt ſaith to his Diſciples: *They ſhall accuſe you, and bring you before Princes and Rulers for my names ſake, and ſome of you they ſhall perſecute and kill; but fear you not* (ſaith he) *nor care you what you ſhall ſay: for it is the ſpirit of your Father that ſpeaketh within you. Even the very hairs of your head are all numbred. Lay up treaſure for your ſelves* (ſaith he) *where no thief cometh, nor moth corrupteth. Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the ſoul; but fear him that hath power to deſtroy both ſoul and body. If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but becauſe ye are not of the world, but I have choſen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.*

Matth. 5.

Eſay 51.

Luke 12. Matth. 13.

Matth. 10.

John 15.

Let theſe and ſuch like Conſolations taken out of the Scriptures, ſtrengthen you to Godward: Let not the Examples of Holy Men and Women go out of your Mind, as *Daniel* and the reſt of the Prophets, of the three Children, of *Eleazarus* that conſtant Father, of the ſeven of the *Macchabees* Children, of *Peter*, *Paul*, *Stephen*, and other Apoſtles and Holy Martyrs in the beginning of the Church. As of good *Simeon* Archbiſhop of *Soloma*, and *Zetrapione*, with infinite other under *Sapores* the King of the *Perſians* and *Indians*, who condemned all Torments deviſed by the Tyrants for their Saviours ſake. Return, return again into Chriſts War, and as becometh a Faithful Warriour, put on that Armour that St. *Paul* teacheth to be moſt neceſſary for a Chriſtian Man. And above all things take to you the Shield of Faith, and be you provoked by Chriſts own Example to withſtand the Devil, to forſake the World, and to become a true and faithful Member of his Myſtical Body, who ſpared not his own Body for our Sins.

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Ephe. 6.

Throw down your ſelf with the fear of his threatned Vengeance for this ſo great and hainous an Offence of Apoſtaſie: And comfort your ſelf on the other part with the Mercy, Blood, and Promiſe of him that is ready to turn unto you whenſoever you turn unto him. Diſdain not to come again with the loſt Son, ſeeing you have ſo wandred with him. Be not aſhamed to turn again with him, from the ſwill of Strangers, to the delicates of your moſt benign and loving Father, acknowledging that you have ſinned againſt Heaven and Earth: Againſt Heaven, by ſtaining the glorious Name of God, and cauſing his moſt ſincere and pure Word to be evil ſpoken of through you. Againſt Earth, by offending ſo many of your weak Brethren, to whom you have been a ſtumbling block through your ſudden ſliding. Be not abaſhed to come home again with *Mary*, and weep bitterly with *Peter*, not only with ſhedding the tears of your bodily eyes, but alſo pouring out the ſtreams of your heart, to waſh away out of the ſight of God the filth and mire of your offenſive fall. Be not abaſhed to ſay with the Publican, *Lord be merciful unto me a ſinner.* Remember the horrible hiſtory of *Julian* of old, and the lamentable caſe of *Spira* of late, whoſe caſe (methinks) ſhould be yet ſo green in your remembrance, that being a thing of our time, you ſhould fear the like inconvenience, ſeeing you are fallen into the like offence.

Luke 18.

Laſt of all, let the lively remembrance of the laſt Day be always before your eyes, remembring the terror that ſuch ſhall be in at that time, with the runagates and fugitives from Chriſt, which ſetting more by the World than by Heaven, more by their life, than by him that gave them life, did ſhrink, yea did clean fall away from him that forſook not them: and contrariwiſe, the ineſtimable Joys prepared for them, that fearing no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriouſly triumphed over all power of Darkneſs, over Hell, Death, and Damnation, through their moſt redoubted Captain Chriſt, who now ſtretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiſs you, and laſt of all to feaſt you with the dainties and delicates of his own precious Blood: which undoubtedly, if it might ſtand with his determinate purpoſe, he would not let to ſhed again, rather than you ſhould be loſt. *To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour, praiſe, and glory everlaſting.* Amen.

Be conſtant, be conſtant, fear not for any pain.
Chriſt hath redeemed thee, and Heaven is thy gain.

A Letter written by the Lady *Jane* in the end of the New Teſtament in Greek, the which ſhe ſent unto her Siſter the Lady *Katherine*, the Night before ſhe ſuffered.

A Faithful Exhortation of the Lady *Jane* to the Lady *Katherine* her Siſter, to read Gods Word.

I *Have here ſent you* (*good Siſter* Katherine) *a Book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with Gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious Stones. It is the Book* (*dear Siſter*) *of the Law of the Lord. It is his Teſtament and laſt Will which he bequeathed unto us Wretches: which ſhall lead you to the path of eternal Joy, and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earneſt mind do purpoſe to follow it, it ſhall bring you to an immortal and everlaſting life. It ſhall teach you to live, and learn you to dye. It ſhall win you more than you ſhould have gained by the poſſeſſion of your woful Fathers Lands. For as, if God had proſpered him, you ſhould have inherited his Lands; ſo if you apply diligently this Book, ſeeking to direct your life after it, you ſhall be an inheritor of ſuch Riches, as neither the covetous ſhall withdraw from you, neither thief ſhall ſteal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Deſire with* David, *good Siſter, to underſtand the Law of the Lord God. Live ſtill to dye, that you by death may purchaſe eternal life. And truſt not that* ſtern-

So live to dye, that by death you may live.

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derneſs of your age ſhall lengthen your life; for as ſoon (if God call) goeth the young as the old, and labour always to learn to die. Defie the World, deny the Devil, and deſpiſe the Fleſh, and delight your ſelf only in the Lord. Be penitent for your Sins, and yet deſpair not: Be ſtrong in Faith, and yet preſume not; and deſire with St. Paul *to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt, with whom even death there is life. Be like the good Servant, and even at midnight be waking, leſt when death cometh and ſtealeth upon you as a Thief in the Night, you be, with the evil Servant, found ſleeping, and leſt for lack of Oil, you be found like the five fooliſh Women, and like him that had not on the Wedding Garment, and then ye be caſt out from the Marriage. Rejoyce in Chriſt, as I do. Follow the ſteps of your Maſter Chriſt, and take up your Croſs: lay your Sins on his Back, and always embrace him. And as touching my Death, rejoyce as I do, (good Siſter) that I ſhall be delivered of this Corruption, and put on Incorruption. For I am aſſured, that I ſhall for looſing of a mortal life, win an immortal life, the which I pray God grant you, and ſend you of his Grace to live in his Fear, and to die in the True Chriſtian Faith, from the which (in Gods Name) I exhort you, that you never ſwerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his Truth for to lengthen your Life, God will deny you, and yet ſhorten your days. And if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your days to your Comfort and his Glory: To the which Glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaſeth him to call you. Fare you well, good Siſter, and put your only Truſt in God, who only muſt help you.*

Here followeth a certain Effectual Prayer, made by the Lady *Jane* in the time of her Trouble.

A Prayer of the Lady *Jane.*

O Lord, thou God and Father of my Life, hear me poor and deſolate Woman, which flyeth unto thee only, in all Troubles and Miſeries. Thou, O Lord, art the only Defender and Deliverer of thoſe that put their Truſt in thee: And therefore, I being defiled with ſin, encumbred with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miſeries, vexed with temptations, and grievouſly tormented with the long impriſonment of this vile maſſe of Clay my ſinful Body, do come unto thee (O merciful Saviour) craving thy mercy and help, without the which ſo little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly deſpair of any Liberty. Albeit it is expedient, that ſeeing our life ſtandeth upon trying, we ſhould be viſited ſometime with ſome adverſity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy Flock or no, and alſo know thee and our ſelves the better: Yet thou that ſaidſt thou wouldeſt not ſuffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me now a miſerable wretch I beſeech thee; which, with Solomon, *do cry unto thee, humbly deſiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with Proſperity, neither too much preſſed down with Adverſity, leſt I being too full, ſhould deny thee my God, or being too low brought, ſhould deſpair, and blaſpheme thee my Lord and Saviour. O merciful God, conſider my miſery beſt known unto thee; and be thou now unto me a ſtrong Tower of Defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my Power, but either be thou a Deliverer unto me out of this great miſery, or elſe give me grace patiently to bear thy heavy Hand and ſharp Correction. It was thy right Hand that delivered the People of* Iſrael *out of the hands of* Pharaoh, *which for the ſpace of four hundred Years did oppreſs them, and keep them in Bondage. Let it therefore likewiſe ſeem good to thy Fatherly Goodneſs, to deliver me ſorrowful Wretch (for whom thy Son Chriſt ſhed his precious Blood on the Croſs) out of this miſerable Captivity and Bondage, wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be abſent? for ever? Oh Lord, haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and haſt thou ſhut up thy loving kindneſs in diſpleaſure? Wilt thou be no more intreated? Is thy Mercy clear gone for ever, and thy Promiſe come utterly to an end for evermore? Why doeſt thou make ſo long tarrying? Shall I deſpair of thy Mercy, O God? far be that from me. I am thy Workmanſhip created in Chriſt Jeſus; Give me Grace therefore to tarry thy leiſure, and patiently to bear thy works, aſſuredly knowing, that as thou canſt, ſo thou wilt deliver me, when it ſhall pleaſe thee, nothing doubting or miſtruſting thy Goodneſs towards me; for thou knoweſt better what is good for me than I do: therefore do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt. Only in the mean time arm me, I beſeech thee, with thy Armour, that I may ſtand faſt, my Loins being girded about with Verity, having on the Breaſtplate of Righteouſneſs, and ſhod with the Shooes prepared by the Goſpel of Peace; above all things taking to me the Shield of Faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery Darts of the Wicked, and taking the Helmet of Salvation, and the Sword of the Spirit, which is thy moſt Holy Word, Praying always with all manner of Prayer and Supplication, that I may refer my ſelf wholly to thy Will, abiding thy Pleaſure, and comforting my ſelf in thoſe Troubles that it ſhall pleaſe thee to ſend me: Seeing ſuch Troubles be profitable for me, and ſeeing I am aſſuredly perſwaded that it cannot be but well all that thou doeſt. Hear me, O merciful Father, for his ſake, who thou wouldeſt ſhould be a Sacrifice for my Sins: To whom with thee and the Holy Ghoſt, be all Honour and Glory:* Amen.

Pſal. 77.

Ephes. 6.

After theſe things thus declared, it remaineth now, coming to the end of this Vertuous Lady, next to infer the manner of her Execution, with the Words and Behaviour of her at the time of her Death.

Theſe are the Words that the Lady Jane *ſpake upon the Scaffold at the Hour of her Death.*

The words and behaviour of the Lady *Jane* upon the Scaffold.

FIrſt when ſhe mounted upon the Scaffold, ſhe ſaid to the People ſtanding thereabout; Good People, I am come hither to die, and by a Law I am condemned to the ſame. The Fact againſt the Queens Highneſs was unlawful, and the conſenting thereunto by me: But touching the procurement and deſire thereof by me or on my behalf, I do waſh my hands thereof in Innocency before God, and the Face of you, good Chriſtian People, this day: And therewith ſhe wrung her hands, wherein ſhe had her Book. Then ſaid ſhe, I pray you all good Chriſtian People, to bear me witneſs that I die a true Chriſtian Woman, and that I do look to be ſaved by no other mean, but only by the Mercy of God in the Blood of his only Son Jeſus Chriſt: And I confeſs, that when I did know the Word of God, I neglected the ſame, loved my ſelf and the World, and therefore this Plague and Puniſhment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my Sins: And yet I thank God, that of his Goodneſs he hath thus given me a time and reſpite to repent: And now, good People, while I am alive, I pray you aſſiſt me with your Prayers. And then kneeling down, ſhe turned her to *Feckenam*, ſaying: Shall I ſay this Pſalm? And he ſaid, Yea. Then ſaid ſhe the Pſalm of *Miſerere mei Deus* in Engliſh, in moſt devout manner throughout to the End, and then ſhe ſtood up, and gave her Maiden Miſtreſs *Ellen* her Gloves and Handkerchief, and her Book to Maſter *Bruges*, and then ſhe untied her Gown, and the Hangman preſſed upon her to help her off with it, but ſhe deſiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two Gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, and alſo with her Frowes, Paaſt and Neckerchief, giving to her a fair Handkerchief to knit about her Eyes.

Then the Hangman kneeled down and asked her Forgiveneſs, whom ſhe forgave moſt willingly. Then he willed her to ſtand upon the Straw; which doing, ſhe ſaw the Block. Then ſhe ſaid, I pray you diſpatch me quickly. Then ſhe kneeled down, ſaying: Will you take it off before I lay me down? And the Hangman ſaid, No Madam. Then tied ſhe the Handkerchief about her Eyes, and feeling for the Block, ſhe ſaid: What ſhall I do? Where is it? Where is it? One of the Standers by guiding her thereunto, ſhe laid her head down upon the Block, and then ſtretched forth her Body, and ſaid: Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit, and ſo finiſhed her Life, in the Year of our Lord God, 1554. the 12. Day of *February*.

Certain pretty Verſes written by the ſaid Lady *Jane* with a Pin.

Non aliena putes homini, quæ obtingere poſſunt:
Sors hodierna mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.

Jane Dudley.

Deo juvante, nil nocet livor malus:
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Poſt tenebras ſpero lucem.

Certain Epitaphs written in commendation of the Worthy Lady *Jane Gray*.

De Jana Graia Joan. Parkhurſti Carmen.

Gray being her ſirname, ſignifieth in Latine a Grecian.

Miraris Janam Graio ſermone valere?
Quo primum nata eſt tempore, Graia fuit.

In Hiſtoriam Janæ. J. F.

Tu quibus iſta legas, incertum eſt, lector, ocellis.
Ipſe equidem ſiccis ſcribere non potui.

De Jana, D. Ludovici Winfredi decaſtichon.

Jana jacet ſævo non æquæ vulnere mortis,
Nobilis ingenio, ſanguine, martyrio.
Ingenium Latiis ornavit fœmina muſis,
Fœmina virgineo tota dicata choro.
Sanguine clara fuit, , regali ſtirpe creata,
Ipſaque Reginæ nobilitate throno.
Bis Graia eſt, pulchrè Graiis nutrita camœnis,
Et priſcò Graium ſanguine creta ducum.
Bis Martyr, ſacræ fidei veriſſima teſtis:
Atque vacans regni crimine, Jana jacet.

February 12. Lady Jane and Lord Gilford Dudley beheaded

Thus the twelfth day of *February* (as I ſaid) was beheaded the Lady *Jane*, and with her alſo the Lord *Gilford* her Husband, one of the Duke of *Northumberlands* Sons, two Innocents in compariſon of them that ſate upon them. For they did but ignorantly accept that which the others had willingly deviſed, and by open Proclamation conſented to take from others, and give to them.

A wonderful example upon Morgan the Judge, who gave ſentence againſt Lady Jane.

Touching the Condemnation of this Lady *Jane*, here is to be noted, that the Judge *Morgan*, who gave the Sentence of Condemnation againſt her, ſhortly after he had condemned her, fell Mad, and in his raving cried out continually to have the Lady *Jane* taken away from him, and ſo ended his Life.

February 31 Henry Duke of Suffolk her Father beheaded.

And not long after the death of the Lady *Jane* upon the 21 of the ſame Month, was *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk* alſo beheaded at the *Tower*-Hill, the fourth day after his Condemnation: About which time alſo were condemned for this Conſpiracy many Gentlemen and Yeomen, whereof ſome were executed at *London*, and ſome in the Country. In the number of whom was alſo the Lord *Thomas Gray*, Brother to the ſaid Duke, being apprehended not long after in *Northwales*, and executed for the ſame. Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* very hardly eſcaped, as ye ſhall hear (the Lord willing) in another place.

Lord Thomas Gray apprehended and executed.

February 24

The 24 of the ſame Month, the year of our Lord 1554. *Boner* Biſhop of *London* ſent down a Commiſſion, directed to all the Curats and Paſtors of his Dioceſs, for the taking of the Names of ſuch as would not come the *Lent* following to Auricular Confeſſion, and to the Receiving at *Eaſter*: The Copy of which Monition here followeth.

A Monitio. of *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, ſent down to all and ſingular Curates of his Dioceſs, for the certifying of the Names of ſuch as would not come in Lent to Confeſſion, and receiving at *Eaſter*.

A Monition of Boner Biſhop of London to all Miniſters of his Dioceſs.

EDmund *by the Permiſſion of God, Biſhop of* London, *to all Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and Miniſters of the Church within the City and Dioceſs of* London, *ſendeth Grace, Peace, and Mercy, in our Lord Everlaſting. Foraſmuch as by the Order of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Conſtitutions of this Realm, and the laudable Uſage and Cuſtom of the whole Catholick Church, by many hundred Years agone, duly and devoutly obſerved and kept, all Faithful People being of lawful Age and Diſcretion, are bound once in the Year at leaſt (except reaſonable cauſe excuſe them) to be confeſſed to their own proper Curate, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, with due preparation and devotion: And foraſmuch alſo as we be credibly informed, that ſundry evil diſpoſed and undevout Perſons, given to cenſual Pleaſures, and carnal Appetites, following the Luſts of their Body, and neglecting utterly the health of their Souls, do forbear to come to Confeſſion according to the ſaid Uſage, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar accordingly, giving thereby pernicious and evil Example to the younger Sort, to neglect and contemn the ſame: We minding the Reformation hereof for our own Diſcharge, and deſirous of good Order to be kept, and good Example to be given; Do will and command you by Vertue hereof, that immediately upon the Receipt of this our Commandment, Ye and every each of you within your Cure and Charge, do uſe all your diligence and dexterity to declare the ſame, ſtraitly charging and commanding all your Pariſhioners, being of lawful Age and Diſcretion, to come before* Eaſter *next coming, to Confeſſion, according to the ſaid Ordinance and Uſage, with due Preparation and Devotion to receive the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, and that ye do note the Names of all ſuch as be not confeſſed unto you, and do not receive of you the ſaid Sacrament, certifying us, or our Chancellour or Commiſſary thereof before the ſixth day of* April *next enſuing the Date hereof; that ſo we, knowing thereby who did not come to Confeſſion, and receiving the Sacrament accordingly, may proceed againſt them, as being perſons culpable, and Tranſgreſſors of the ſaid Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Uſage. Further alſo certifying us, our ſaid Chancelour or Commiſſary, before the Day aforeſaid, whether you have your Altars ſet up, Chalice-Book, Veſtments, and all things neceſſary for Maſs, and the Adminiſtration of Sacraments and Sacramentals, with Proceſſion, and all other Divine Service prepared and in readineſs, according to the Order of the Catholick Church, and the Vertuous and Godly Example of the Queens Majeſty: And if ye ſo have not, ye then with the Churchwardens cauſe the ſame to be provided for, ſignifying by whoſe Fault and negligence the ſame want or fault hath proceeded, and generally of the not coming of your Pariſhioners to Church, undue walking, talking, or uſing of themſelves there unreverently in the time of Divine Service, and of all other open Faults and Miſdemeanours, not omitting, thus to do, and certifie as before, as you will anſwer upon your Peril for the contrary. Given at* London *the 23. of* February, *in the Year of our Lord, 1554.*

Coming to Confeſſion. Receiving the Sacrament of the Altar.

Anno 1554.

The next Month following, which was the Month of *March*, and the fourth Day of the ſaid Month, there was a Letter ſent from the Queen to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, with certain Articles alſo annexed, to be put in ſpeedy execution, conteining as here followeth.

Articles ſent from the Queen to the Biſhop of London, *by him and his Officers at her Commandment to be put in ſpeedy Execution, with her Letter to the ſaid Biſhop before prefixed.*

A Letter of Q. Mary to B. Boner. Cauſes declared. March 3.

RIght Reverend Father in God, Right Truſty and well Beloved, we greet you well. And where as heretofore in the time of the late Reign of our moſt dearеſt Brother King *Edward* the ſixth, whoſe Soul God pardon, divers notable Crimes, Exceſſes and Faults, with ſundry kinds of Hereſies, Simony, Adultery, and other Enormities have been committed within this our Realm, and other our Dominions, the ſame continuing yet hitherto in like diſorder ſince the beginning of our Reign, without any Correction or Reformation at all, and the People both of the Laity and alſo of the Clergy, and chiefly of the Clergy, have been given to much Inſolency, and ungodly Rule, greatly to the diſpleaſure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil contentation, and to no little ſlander of other Chriſtian Realms, and in a manner to the ſubverſion and clean defacing of this our Realm; and remembring our Duty to Almighty God, to be to foreſee (as much as in us may be) that all Vertue and Godly Living ſhould be embraced, flouriſh, and increaſe; and therewith alſo, that all Vice and ungodly Behaviour ſhould be baniſhed and put away, or at the leaſtwiſe (ſo nigh as might be) ſo bridled and kept under, that Godlineſs and Honeſty might have the upper hand; underſtanding by very credible Report and publick Fame, to our no ſmall heavineſs and diſcomfort, that within your Dioceſs, as well in not exempt-

ed

Anno 1554.

ed as exempted places, the like Diſorder and evil behaviour hath been done and uſed, like alſo to continue and increaſe, unleſs due Proviſion be had and made to reform the ſame; which earneſtly in very deed we do mind and intend to the uttermoſt, all the ways we can poſſible, truſting of Gods furtherance and help in that behalf. For theſe Cauſes and other moſt juſt Conſiderations us moving, we ſend unto you certain Articles of ſuch ſpecial Matters, as among other things be moſt neceſſary now to be put in Execution by you and your Officers, extending to the end by us deſired, and the Reformation aforeſaid: Wherein ye ſhall be charged with our Special Commandment, by theſe our Letters, to the intent you and your Officers may the more earneſtly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any Preſumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any ſuch our Laws, as by our doing of that is in the ſaid Articles contained, might any wiſe grieve you, whatſoever be threatned in any ſuch caſe. And therefore we ſtraitly charge and command you, and your ſaid Officers, to proceed to the Execution of the ſaid Articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will anſwer to the contrary. Given under our Signet, at our Palace of *Weſtminſter*, the third day of *March*, the firſt year of our Reign.

Articles ſent from the Queen unto the Ordinary, and by him and his Officers by her Commandment to be put in Execution in the whole Dioceſs.

Articles of Q. Mary.

Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King *Henry* renewed.

The Kings authority giveth place to the Popes authority.

The Supremacy of the King repealed.

For puniſhing of Hereſies, as they cal them.

Againſt Prieſts marriage.

Firſt, that every Biſhop and his Officers, with all other having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, ſhall with all ſpeed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them poſſible, put in Execution all ſuch Canons and Eccleſiaſtical Laws, heretofore in the time of King *Henry the Eighth* uſed within this Realm of *England*, and the Dominions of the ſame, not being directly and expreſly contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

Item, That no Biſhop, or any of his Officers, or other perſon aforeſaid, hereafter in any Eccleſiaſtical Writings, in Proceſs or other Extrajudicial Acts, do uſe to put in this Clauſe or Sentence, *Regia authoritate fulcitus.*

Item, That no Biſhop, or any of his Officers, or other perſon aforeſaid, do hereafter exact or demand in the Admiſſion of any perſon to any Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, Order, or Office, any Oath touching the Primacy or Succeſſion, as of late in few years paſſed hath been accuſtomed and uſed.

Item, That every Biſhop and his Officers, with all other perſons aforeſaid, have a vigilant Eye, and uſe ſpecial diligence and foreſight, that no perſon be admitted or received to any Eccleſiaſtical Function, Benefice, or Office, being a Sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of Hereſie, or other great Crime, and that the ſaid Biſhop do ſtay, and cauſe to be ſtayed, as much as lyeth in him, that Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions do not notably decay, or take hinderance by paſſing or confirming of unreaſonable Leaſes.

Item, That every Biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do diligently travel for the repreſſing of Hereſies and notable crimes, eſpecially in the Clergy, duly correcting and puniſhing the ſame.

Item, That every Biſhop, and all the other perſons aforeſaid, do likewiſe travel for the condemning and repreſſing of corrupt and naughty Opinions, unlawful Books, Ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful Devices, engendring Hatred amongſt the People, and Diſcord among the ſame. And that Schoolmaſters, Preachers and Teachers do exerciſe and uſe their Offices and Duties without teaching, preaching, or ſetting forth any evil and corrupt Doctrine, and that doing the contrary, they may be by the Biſhop and his ſaid Officers puniſhed and removed.

Item, That every Biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, proceeding ſummarily, and with all celerity and ſpeed, may and ſhall deprive or declare deprived, and remove, according to their learning and diſcretion, all ſuch Perſons from their Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, who contrary to the State of their Order, and the laudable cuſtom of the Church, have married and uſed Women as their Wives, or otherwiſe notably and ſlanderouſly diſordered or abuſed themſelves: Sequeſtring alſo, during the ſaid Proceſs, the Fruits and Profits of the ſaid Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions.

Proviſion for Prieſts which renounce their Wives.

Item, That the ſaid Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do uſe more lenity and clemency with ſuch as have married, whoſe Wives be dead, than with other whoſe Women do yet remain alive. And likewiſe ſuch Prieſts, as with the conſent of their Wives or Women openly in the preſence of the Biſhop do profeſs to abſtain, to be uſed more favourably. In which caſe, after the Penance effectually done, the Biſhop, according to his diſcretion and wiſdom, may upon Juſt Conſideration receive and admit them again to their former Adminiſtration, ſo it be not in the ſame place, appointing them ſuch a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their Benefice whereof they be deprived, by diſcretion of the ſaid Biſhop or his Officer, as he ſhall think may be ſpared of the ſaid Benefice.

Married Prieſts divorced both from Wife & Benefice.

Item, That every Biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do foreſee that they ſuffer not any Religious Man, having ſolemnly profeſſed Chaſtity, to continue with his Woman or Wife, but that all ſuch perſons after deprivation of their Benefice or Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, be alſo divorced every one from his ſaid Woman, and due Puniſhment otherwiſe taken for the offence therein.

Proviſion for want of Prieſts.

Item, That every Biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do take order and direction with the Pariſhioners of every Benefice, where Prieſts do want, to repair to the next Pariſh for Divine Service, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better Proviſion may be made, one Curate to ſerve, *Alienis vicibus*, in divers Pariſhes, and to allot to the Curate for his Labour ſome Portion of the Benefice that he ſo ſerveth.

Proceſſions in Latine.

Item, That all and all manner of Proceſſions of the Church be uſed and frequented, and continued after the old Order of the Church, in the *Latine* Tongue.

Holy days and Faſting days.

Item, That all ſuch Holy days and Faſting days be obſerved and kept, as were obſerved and kept in the latter time of King *Henry* the Eighth.

Ceremonies reſtored.

Item, That the laudable and honeſt Ceremonies which were wont to be uſed, frequented, and obſerved in the Church, be alſo hereafter frequented, uſed, and obſerved.

Item, That Children be chriſtned by the Prieſt, and confirmed by the Biſhop, as heretofore hath been accuſtomed and uſed.

Orders.

Item, Touching ſuch perſons as were heretofore promoted to any Orders, after the new fort and faſhion of Orders: conſidering they were not ordered in very deed, the Biſhop of the Dioceſs finding otherwiſe ſufficiency and ability in thoſe men, may ſupply that thing which wanted in them before, and then according to his diſcretion admit them to miniſter.

Coming to Divine Service.

Item, That by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs an uniform doctrine be ſet forth by Homilies, or otherwiſe, for the good inſtruction and teaching of all people: And that the ſaid Biſhop and other perſons aforeſaid, do compel the Pariſhioners to come to their ſeveral Churches, and there devoutly to hear Divine Service, as of reaſon they ought.

Proviſion for Catholick Schoolmaſters.

Item, That they examine all Schoolmaſters and teachers of Children, and finding them ſuſpect in any wiſe, to remove them, and place Catholick men in their rooms, with a ſpecial commandment to inſtruct their Children, ſo as they may be able to anſwer the Prieſt at the Maſs, as hath been accuſtomed.

Item, That the ſaid Biſhop, and all other the perſons aforeſaid, have ſuch regard, reſpect, and conſideration of and for the ſetting forth of the premiſſes, with all kind of vertue, godly living, and good example, with repreſſing alſo and keeping under of Vice and Unthriftineſs, as they and every of them may be ſeen to favour the reſtitution of true Religion; and alſo to make an honeſt account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, our good contentation and profit of this our Realm, and the Dominions of the ſame.

March 4.

A like Preſcript alſo with Articles, was ſent from the ſaid Queen *Mary* to the Lord Mayor of *London*, the fourth day of *March*, in the year aboveſaid, which Lord Mayor upon the ſame directed his commandment to the Aldermen, every one ſeverally in his Ward, containing as followeth:

By

By the Lord Mayor.

A Preſcript of the Lord Mayor to the Aldermen.

ON the Queen our moſt gracious and moſt benign Soveraign Ladies behalf, we moſt ſtraitly charge and command you, that ye the ſaid Aldermen, fail not perſonally to call before your own perſon in ſuch place within your ſaid Ward, as to you ſhall ſeem moſt convenient and meet, upon Wedneſday next coming, which ſhall be the *7th* day of this preſent Month, at 7 of the Clock in the morning of the ſame day, all and every the houſholders both poor and rich of your ſaid Ward, and then and there openly and plainly for your own diſcharge, and for the eſchewing the perils that to you might otherwiſe be juſtly imputed and laid, do not only ſtreightly admoniſh, charge, and command, in the Queen our ſaid Soveraign Ladies name and behalf, all and every the ſaid houſholders, that both in their own perſons, and alſo their Wives, Children, and Servants, being of the age of xii. years and upwards, and every of them, do at all and every time and times from henceforth, and namely at the holy time of *Eaſter*, now approaching, honeſtly, quietly, obediently, and catholickly, uſe and behave themſelves like good and faithful Chriſtian people, in all and every thing and things touching and concerning the true Faith, Profeſſion, and Religion of his Catholick Church, both according to the Laws and Precepts of Almighty God, and alſo their bounden duty of obedience towards our Soveraign Lady the Queen, her Laws and Statutes, and her Highneſs moſt good example and gracious proceeding according to the ſame, and according alſo to the right, wholſom, charitable, and godly admonition, charge and exhortation, late ſet forth and given by the right Reverend Father in God, the Biſhop of *London*, our Dioceſan and Ordinary, to all the Parſons, Vicars and Curates, within his Dioceſs: but alſo that they and every of them do truly, without delay, advertize you of the Names and Surnames of all and every perſon and perſons, that they or any of them, can or may at any time hereafter know, perceive or underſtand to tranſgreſs or offend in any point or Article concerning the premiſſes, at their utmoſt perils. That ye immediately after ſuch notice thereof to you given, do forthwith advertize us thereof. Fail ye not thus to do with all circumſpection and diligence, as ye will anſwer to our ſaid moſt dread Soveraign Lady the Queen for the contrary at your like peril. Given at the *Guild-Hall* of the City of *London*, the fifth day of *March* in the firſt year of the Reign of our ſaid Soveraign Lady and Queen.

Blackwell.

And likewiſe do you give to every of the ſaid houſholders ſtraitly in commandement, that they or their wives depart not out of the ſaid City, until this holy time of *Eaſter* be paſt.

ABout the ſame year and time, when Doctor *Boner* ſet forth this Preſcript or Monitory, there came from the Queen another Proclamation againſt Strangers and Forreiners within this Realm. The purpoſe and intent of which Proclamation, becauſe it chiefly and moſt ſpecially concerned Religion and Doctrine, and the true Profeſſors thereof, I thought here to annex the tenor and manner of the ſame.

A Copy of the Queens Proclamation for the driving out of the Realm Strangers and Forrainers.

Q. *Maries* Proclamation for driving out of Strangers.

THE *Queen our Soveraign Lady, underſtanding that a multitude of evil diſpoſed perſons, being born out of her Highneſs Dominions in other ſundry Nations, flying from the obeyſance of the Princes and Rulers under whom they be born, (ſome for Hereſie, ſome for Murther, Treaſon, Robbery, and ſome for other horrible Crimes,) be reſorted into this her Majeſties Realm, and here have made their demurrer, and yet be commorant and lingring, partly to eſchew ſuch condign puniſhment as their ſaid horrible Crimes deſerve, and partly to dilate, plant, and ſow the ſeeds of their malicious Doctrine and lewd Converſation among the good Subjects of this her ſaid Realm, on purpoſe to infect her good Subjects with the like, inſomuch as (beſides innumerable Hereſies, which divers of the ſame being Hereticks have preached and taught within her Highneſs ſaid Realm) it is aſſuredly known unto her Majeſty, that not only their ſecret practices have not failed to ſtir, comfort and aid divers her Highneſs Subjects to this moſt unnatural Rebellion againſt God and her Grace, but alſo ſome other of them deſiſt not ſtill to practiſe with her people eſtſoons to rebel: her Majeſty, therefore having (as afore is ſaid) knowledge and intelligence hereof, hath for remedy herein determined, and moſt ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth, that all and every ſuch perſon or perſons born out of her Highneſs Dominions, now commorant or reſident within this Realm, of whatſoever Nation or Country, being either Preacher, Printer, Bookſeller, or other Artificer, or of whatſoever Calling elſe, not being Denizen or Merchant known uſing the trade of Merchandize, or Servant to ſuch Ambaſſadors as be Liegers here from the Princes and States joyned in League with her Grace, ſhall within 24. days of this Proclamation, avoid the Realm upon pain of moſt grievous puniſhment by impriſonment, and forfeiture and confiſcation of all their goods and moveables, and alſo to be delivered unto their natural Princes or Rulers, againſt whoſe perſons or laws they have offended. Giving to all Majors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Conſtables, and all other her Miniſters, Officers, and good Subjects ſtraitly alſo in charge, if they know any ſuch perſon, not born in the Queens Highneſs Dominions (except before excepted) that ſhall, after the time and day limited in the Proclamation, tarry within this Realm, that they ſhall apprehend the ſame perſon or perſons, and commit him or them to Ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till her Graces pleaſure or her Councils be ſignified unto them, for the further ordering of the ſaid perſon or perſons. And that if any of her ſaid Officers, after the ſaid 24. days, apprehend, take, or know of any ſuch, they ſhall with all diligence immediately certifie her ſaid Council thereof, to the intent order may be forthwith given for their puniſhment according.*

Anno 1554.

Cauſes laid againſt Strangers.

¶ In the mean while, upon the Proclamation before-mentioned, not only the Strangers in King *Edwards* time received into the Realm for Religion, among whom was *Peter Martyr*, and *John Alaſco* Uncle to the King of *Poland*, but many *Engliſh-men* fled, ſome to *Freizland*, ſome to *Cleveland*, ſome to High *Germany*, where they were diverſly ſcattered into divers Companies and Congregations, at *Weſel*, at *Frankford*, *Embden*, *Markpurgh*, *Transborough*, *Baſil*, *Arow*, *Zurich*, *Geneva*, and other places: where by the Providence of God they were all ſuſtained, and there entertained with greater favour amongſt Strangers abroad, than they could be in their own Country at home, well near to the number of 800 perſons, Students and others together.

Peter Martyr and *Johannes Alaſco* baniſhed the Realm.

Engliſh-men fled out of the Realm for Religion.

The number of Engliſh Exiles well near 800 Perſons.

In the ſaid month of *March*, the Lord *Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, whom the Queen at her firſt entring delivered out of the *Tower*, and Lady *Elizabeth* alſo the Queens Siſter, were both in ſuſpicion to have conſented to *Wyats* Conſpiracy, and for the ſame, this *March*, were apprehended and committed to the *Tower*.

March 15. Lady *Elizabeth* and L. *Courtney* upon ſuſpicion of Sir *Thomas Wyats* Riſing committed to the *Tower*.

Touching the impriſonment of which Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney*, thou ſhalt note here for thy learning (good Reader) a politick Point of practice in *Steven Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, not unworthy to be conſidered. This *Gardiner* being always a capital Enemy to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and thinking now by the occaſion of Maſter *Wyat*, to pick out ſome matter againſt the Lord *Courtney*, and ſo in the end to entangle the Lady *Elizabeth*, deviſed a peſtilent practice of conveyance, as in the ſtory here following may appear.

A point of practice of *Stephen Gardiner* againſt the Lady *Elizabeth*.

The ſtory is this. The ſame day that Sir *Thomas Wyat* died, he deſired the Lieutenant to bring him to the preſence of the Lord *Courtney*. Who there before the Lieutenant and the Sheriffs kneeling down upon his knees, beſought the L. *Courtney* to forgive him, for that he had falſly accuſed both the Lady *Elizabeth* and him, and ſo being brought from thence unto the Scaffold to ſuffer there openly in the hearing of all the people, cleared the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Lord *Courtney*, to be free and innocent from all ſuſpicion of that Commotion. At which Confeſſion Doctor *Weſton* there ſtanding by, cried to the people,

Anno 1554. perſwade, ſaying: *Believe him not good People, for he confeſſed a truth before unto the Council.*

Dr. Weſton talketh of the Lady Elizabeth.

After the Execution done of Sir *Thomas Wyat*, which was the 11. day of *April*, word was brought immediately unto the Lord Mayor Sir *Thomas White*, a little before dinner, how Maiſter *Wyat* had cleared the Lady *Elizabeth* and Lord *Courtney*, and the words alſo which Doctor *Weſton* ſpake unto the People; whereunto the Lord Mayor anſwering: *Is this true*, quoth he? *ſaid* Weſton *ſo? In ſooth, I never took him otherwiſe but for a Knave.* Upon this the Lord Mayor ſitting down to dinner (who dined the ſame day at the *Bridghouſe*) cometh in Sir *Martin Bowes* with the Recorder, newly come from the Parliament-Houſe, who hearing of the Mayor and Sheriffs this report of *Wyats* Confeſſion, both upon the Scaffold and alſo in the Tower, marvelled thereat, declaring how there was another Tale contrary to this, told the ſame day in the Parliament-Houſe, which was, That Sir *Thomas Wyat* ſhould deſire the Lord *Courtney* to confeſs the truth, ſo as he had done before.

The Lord Mayors judgment of Dr. *Weſton.*

Cut, Prentice in London brought before *Stephen Gardiner.*

Upon this it followed not long after, that a certain Prentice dwelling in Saint *Laurence Lane*, named *Cut*, as he was drinking with one *Denham* a Plaiſterer, being one of Queen *Maries* Servants, amongſt other talk made mention how Sir *Thomas Wyat* had cleared the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney*, to be no conſenters to his riſing. Which words being brought to *Gardiner* (by what means I know not) incontinent upon the ſame, Sir *Andrew Judd* was ſent by the ſaid Biſhop unto the Lord Mayor, commanding him to bring the ſaid Prentice to the Star-Chamber, which was accuſed of theſe words, that he ſhould ſay, That *Wyat* was conſtrained by the Council to accuſe the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney*. Which Fellow when he was come to the Star-Chamber, the aforeſaid *Gardiner*, letting paſs other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole Multitude, how miraculouſly Almighty God had brought the Queens Majeſty to the Crown, the whole Realm in a manner being againſt her, and that he had brought this to paſs for this ſingular intent and purpoſe, that this Realm being overwhelmed with Hereſies, ſhe might reduce again the ſame unto the true Catholick Faith. And where ſhe took the Lady *Elizabeth* into her favour, and loved her ſo tenderly, and alſo the Lord *Courtney*, who had long time been detained in priſon, and by her was ſet at liberty, and received great benefits at her hands, and notwithſtanding all this they had conſpired moſt unnaturally and traiterouſly againſt her, with that heinous Traytor *Wyat*, as by the Confeſſion of *Wyat* (ſaid he) and the Letters ſent to and fro may plainly appear: Yet there were ſome in the City of *London* which reported, That *Wyat* was conſtrained by the Council to accuſe the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney*, and yet you, my Lord Mayor, quoth he, have not ſeen the ſame puniſhed.

Stephen *Gardiners* Tale in the Star-chamber againſt the Lady *Elizabeth.*

The Party is here, ſaid the Lord Mayor. Take him with you ſaid *Gardiner*, and puniſh him according to his deſert; and ſaid further, My Lord, take heed to your charge, the City of *London* is a Whirl-pool and ſink of all evil Rumors, where they be bred, and from thence ſpread into all parts of this Realm.

The Lord *Shandois* talke report in the Star-Chamber againſt Lady *Elizabeth* and L. *Courtney.*

There ſtood by the ſame time the Lord *Shandois*, who being then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and now hearing the Biſhop thus ſpeak, to ſooth his Tale, came in with theſe words as followeth:

My Lords (quoth he) this is a truth that I ſhall tell you, being Lieutenant of the Tower when *Wyat* ſuffered, he deſired me to bring him to the Lord *Courtney*; which when I had done, he fell down upon his knees before him in my preſence, and deſired him to confeſs the truth of himſelf, as he had done before, and to ſubmit himſelf unto the Queens Majeſties mercy.

And thus much I thought of this matter to declare, to the intent that the Reader perceiving the proceedings of the Biſhops in the premiſſes, and comparing the ſame with the true teſtimony of *Wyat* himſelf, and with the teſtimony of the Sheriffs, which were preſent the ſame time when Sir *Thomas Wyat* asked the Lord *Courtney* forgiveneſs, may the better judge of the whole caſe and matter for which the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Lord *Courtney* were ſo long in trouble. Of which her Graces trouble, hereafter (God willing) more ſhall be ſaid in the ſtory of her life. In the mean time to let this matter ſtay, let us now paſs further in our Hiſtory.

Q. Mary not favouring the *Londoners.*

NOt long after this, Queen *Mary* partly fearing the *Londoners* by occaſion of *Wyat*'s Conſpiracy, partly perceiving moſt of the City for Religions ſake not greatly to favour her Proceedings, to their diſpleaſure and hinderance ſummoned a Parliament to be holden at *Oxford*: as it were to gratifie that City, where both the Univerſity, Town, and Country had ſhewed themſelves very obedient and forward, eſpecially in reſtoring Popiſh Religion. For this purpoſe great proviſion was made, as well by the Queens Officers, as by the Townſmen and Inhabitants of *Oxford*, and the Country about.

A Parliament holden pretended to be kept at *Oxford.*

A Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter.*

But the Queens mind in ſhort ſpace changed, and the ſame Parliament was holden at *Weſtminſter* in *April* following. Then the Queen, beſide other things, propoſed concerning her Marriage to King *Philip*, and reſtoring of the Popes Supremacy: as touching her Marriage, it was agreed upon; but the other could not as then be obtained.

Mention of the Queens marriage in the Parliament.

Boner made Vicegerent and Preſident in this Convocation.

The ſame time when this Parliament was ſummoned, ſhe alſo ſummoned a Convocation of Biſhops, and of the Clergy, writing unto *Boner* (whom ſhe had made Vicegerent in the ſtead of *Cranmer*, being then in the *Tower*) after the tenor and form of a new ſtile, differing from the old ſtile of King *Henry*, and King *Edward*, as followeth.

The ſtile of Queen Mary *altered, writing to* Boner *for the ſummoning of a Convocation.*

MAria *Dei gratia*, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ *Regina, fidei defenſor, Reverendo in Chriſto patri* Edmundo *London. Epiſc. ſalutem. Licet nuper quibuſdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis nos ſecuritatem & defenſionem Eccleſiæ* Anglicanæ, *ac pacem & tranquillitatem, &c.*

Supremum caput in the Queens ſtile taken away.

Where note, good Reader, concerning the altering and changing the Queens ſtile, the latter part thereof to be left out of her ſtile, which is: *Eccleſiæ* Anglicanæ *& Hiberniæ ſupremum caput*, becauſe in this preſent Parliament the Supremacy being given away from the Crown of *England* to the Pope, thereupon this parcel of the Title was alſo taken away. Likewiſe the ſaid *Boner* giving his Certificate upon the ſame, leaves out *Autoritate Illuſtriſſimæ, &c. legitimè ſuffultus*: which parcel alſo in the ſame Parliament was repealed and taken away the ſame time.

Legitimè ſuffultus in the Biſhops title taken away.

The Dignity of Prieſts extolled by Biſhop Boner.

Boner ſpeaketh for the honour of Prieſthood.

IN this aforeſaid Convocation, *Boner* Biſhop of *London* being Vicegerent and Preſident, as is ſaid, made a certain Exhortation or Oration to the Clergy (which was in this Convocation, or much about the ſaid time) wherein he ſeemeth to ſhew a great piece of profound and deep Learning, in ſetting forth the moſt incomparable and ſuper-angelical order of Prieſthood, as may appear by this parcel or fragment of his foreſaid Oration, being collected and gathered by ſome that ſtood by: which as it came to our hands, ſo I thought to impart it to the Reader, both for that the Author of ſo worthy a work ſhould not paſs unknown, and partly alſo, for that the eſtimation of this bleſſed Order ſhould loſe nothing of its preheminence, but might be known in moſt ample perfection, ſo as it ſtandeth above Angels and Kings, if it be true that *Boner* ſaith.

¶ *A piece or fragment of the Exhortation made by* Boner *Biſhop of* London, *to them of the Convocation-Houſe, copied out by them that ſtood by and heard him.*

Boners *Oration in praiſe of Prieſthood.*

The proſound exhortation of B. *Boner* in the Convocation.

WHerefore it is to be known, that Prieſts and Elders be worthy of all men to be worſhipped for the Dignity ſake which they have of God, as in *Matthew 16. Whatſoever ye ſhall looſe upon earth, &c. And*

what-

whatsoever ye shall bind, &c. For a Priest by some means is like *Mary* the Virgin, and is shewed by three points; *As* the blessed Virgin by five words did conceive Christ, as it is said: *Luke* 1. *Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum:* that is to say, *Be it unto me according to thy word:* so the Priest by five words doth make the very Body of Christ. Even as immediately after the consent of *Mary*, Christ was all whole in her womb: so immediately after the speaking of the words of Consecration; the Bread is substantiated into the very Body of Christ. Secondly, As the Virgin carried Christ in her arms, and laid him in an Ox-stall after his birth; even so the Priest after the Consecration, doth lift up the Body of Christ, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thirdly, As the blessed Virgin was sanctified before she had conceived; so the Priest being ordained and anointed before he doth consecrate, because without Orders he could consecrate nothing: therefore the Lay-man cannot do that thing, although he be never so holy, and do speak the self-same words of consecration. Therefore here is to be known, that the Dignity of Priests by some means passeth the Dignity of Angels, because there is no power given to any of the Angels to make the Body of Christ. Whereby the least Priest may do in Earth, that which the greatest and highest Angel in Heaven cannot do, as Saint *Bernard* saith, *O worshipful Dignity of Priests, in whose hands the Son of God is, as in the womb of the Virgin he was incarnate.* St. *Augustine* saith, That Angels in the consecration of the Sacred Host do serve him, and the Lord of Heaven descendeth to him. Whereupon S. *Ambrose* upon Saint *Luke* saith, *Doubt thou not the Angels to be where Christ is present upon the Altar.* Wherefore Priests are to be honoured before all Kings of the Earth, Princes, and Nobles. For a Priest is higher than a King, happier than an Angel, maker of his Creator. Wherefore, &c.

Priests compared to the Virgin *Mary* in three points.

Priesthood compared & preferred before the state of Angels.

Blasphemy.

It was declared a little before, how Doctor *Ridley* was had from *Fremingham* to the *Tower*; where being in durance, and invited to the Lieutenants Table, he had certain talk or conference with Secretary *Bourne*, Master *Fecknam*, and other, concerning the Controversies in Religion: the sum whereof, as it was penned with his own hand, hereafter ensueth,

Here followeth the sum and effect of the Communication between Doctor Ridley and Secretary Bourne, *with others, at the Lieutenants Table in the* Tower.

Sir *Thomas* of *Bridges*.

MAster *Thomas* of *Bridges* said at his Brother Master Lieutenants Board, I pray you Master Doctors, for my Learning, tell me what an *Heretick* is. Master Secretary *Bourne* said, I will tell you who is an Heretick; *whoso stubbornly and stiffly maintaineth an Untruth*, he is an Heretick. You mean Sir, said I, an Untruth in matters of Religion, and concerning our Faith. Yea, that is true said he; and in this we are soon agreed. Then said Master *Fecknam*, whom they called Master Dean of *Pauls*, sitting at the upper end of the Table, I will tell you by Saint *Augustine* who is an Heretick; *Qui adulandi principibus vel lucri gratia falsas opiniones gignit vel sequitur, hæreticus est*, saith S. *Augustine*. And then he Englished the same. Sir, said I, I ween S. *Augustine* addeth the third number, which is, *vel vanæ gloriæ causa*. You say even true, Master Doctor, said he, and thus far we did agree all three.

Who is an Heretick.

An Heretick defined by S. *Augustine*.

Master *Fecknam* began again to say, Whoso doth not believe what the Scripture affirmeth, but will obstinately maintain the contrary, he is *Hæreticus:* As in the Sacrament of the Altar *Matthew* doth affirm there to be Christs Body, *Mark* doth affirm it, *Luke* affirmeth it, *Paul* affirmeth it, and none denieth it: therefore to hold the contrary is Heresie. It is the same Body and Flesh that was born of the Virgin; and this is confirmed by Unity, Antiquity, and Universality. For none before *Berengarius* did ever doubt of this, and he was an Heretick, as Master *Doctor* there knoweth full well; I do take to witness his own Conscience, said he.

Fecknam provoking Mr. *Ridley*.

Unity, Antiquity, Universality.

Marry Sir, said Master Secretary, Master *Fecknam* hath spoken well. These be great matters, *Unity*, *Antiquity*, and *Universality*. Do you not think so Master Doctor, said he to me?

Here, while I strained courtesie, and pretended no willingness to talk; said one of the Commissioners, *Peradventure Master* Ridley *doth agree with Master* Fecknam, *and then there needs not much debating of the matter.*

Sir, said I, in some things I do and shall agree with him, and in some things which he hath spoken, to be plain, I do not agree with him at all. Masters, said I, ye be (as I understand) the Queens Commissioners here, and if ye have commission to examine me in these matters, I shall declare unto you plainly my Faith; if ye have not, then I shall pray you either to give me leave to speak my mind freely, or else to hold my peace.

There is none here, said Master Secretary, *that doth not favour you:* and then every man shewed what favour they bear towards me, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

But as I strained to have licence of them in plain words to speak my mind, some thought they granted me it for *vix* or *ægrè*. Well, at the last I was content to take it for licensed, and so began to talk.

To Master *Fecknam's* Arguments of the manifold affirmation where no denyal was, I answered; Where is a multitude of Affirmations in Scripture, and where is one Affirmation, all is one concernig the truth of the matter: for that which any one of the Evangelists spake, inspired by the Holy Ghost, was as true as that which is spoken of them all. It is as true that *John* saith of Christ, *Ego sum ostium ovium*, i. *I am the door of the Sheep*, as if all had said it. For it is not in Scripture as in witness of men, where the number is credited more than one, because it is uncertain *with what spirit he doth* speak. And where Master *Fecknam* spake of so many, affirming without any Negation, &c. Sir, said I, all they do affirm the thing which they meant. Now if ye take their words, to leave their meaning, then do they affirm what ye take, but not what they meant. Sir, said I, if in talk with you, I should so utter my mind in words, that ye by the same do, and may plainly perceive my meaning, and could, if you would be captious, cavil at my words, and writh them to another sense, I would think ye were no gentle Companions to talk with, except ye would take my words as ye did perceive I did mean.

Bishop *Ridley* answering to *Fecknam*.

Truth in Scripture goeth not by number of affirmation, where one is sufficient.

Words in Scripture must be taken with their meaning.

Marry, quoth Master Secretary, *we should else do you plain injury and wrong.*

Master *Fecknam* perceiving whereunto my talk went: Why, quoth he, what circumstances can ye shew me that shall move to think of any other sense, than as the words plainly say, *Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur*, i. *This is my Body which shall be betrayed for you?*

Sir, said I, even the next Sentence that followeth, *viz. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*, i. *Do this in my remembrance.* And also by what reason ye say the Bread is turned into Christs carnal Body, by the same I may say, that it is turned into his mystical Body. For as that saith of it, *Hoc est corpus, quod pro vobis tradetur:* so *Paul* which spake by Christs Spirit, saith, *Unus panis & unum corpus multi sumus omnes, qui de uno pane participamus*, i. *We being many are all but one Bread and one Body, inasmuch as we are partakers of one Bread.*

Hoc est corpus meum expounded.

Reasons why these words ought to be taken not literally.

Here he calleth one Bread, one Loaf, said Master Secretary.

Yea, said I, one Loaf, one Bread, all is one with me.

But what say ye, quoth Master Secretary, of the *Universality*, *Antiquity*, and *Unity*, that Master *Fecknam* did speak of?

I ensure you, said I, I think them matters weighty, and to be considered well. As for *Unity*, the truth is before God, I do believe it, and embrace it, so it be with Verity, and joyned to our Head Christ, and such an one as *Paul* speaketh of, saying; *Una Fides, unus Deus, unum Baptisma*, i. *One Faith, one God, One Baptism.* And for *Antiquity*, I am also perswaded that to be true which *Irenæus* saith, *Quod primum verum*, i. *That which is first is true.* In our Religion Christs Faith was first truly taught by Christ himself, by his Apostles, and by many good Men, that from the beginning did succeed next unto them; and for this controversie of the Sacrament, I am perswaded that those old Writers, which wrote before the controversie and the usurping of the See of *Rome*,

Unity with Verity to be allowed.

Antiquity.

Anno 1554.

Rome, do all agree, if they be well underſtood in this Truth.

I am glad to hear, ſaid Mr. Secretary, *that you do ſo well eſteem the Doctors of the Church.*

Univerſality, ach a double underſtanding.

Now as for *Univerſality*, it may have two meanings; one to underſtand that to be Univerſal, which from the beginning in all Ages hath been allowed; another to underſtand Univerſality for the multitude of our Age, or of any other ſingular Age.

No, no, ſaith Mr. Secretary, *theſe three do always agree, and where there is one, there is all the reſt*: And here he and I changed many words. And finally, to be ſhort, in this matter we did not agree.

There was none, quoth Mr. *Fecknam*, before *Berengarius*, *Wickliffe*, and *Hus*, and now in our days *Caroloſtadius* and *Oecolampadius*, *Caroloſtadius* ſaith, Chriſt pointed to his own Body, and not to the Sacrament, and ſaid, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*. And *Melanchthon* writeth to one *Miconius* (*Miconius* ſaid I) theſe or the like words; *Nullam ſatis gravem rationem invenire poſſum, propter quam à fide majorum in hac materia diſſentiam*, i. *I can find no grounded reaſon to cauſe me to diſſent from the believe of our fore-Elders.*

Melanchthon ad Miconium.

Thus when he had ſpoken at length, with many other words mo; Sir, ſaid I, it is certain that other before theſe have written of this matter: Not by the way only, and *obiter*, as do for the moſt all the old Writers, but even *ex profeſſo*; and their whole Books intreat of it alone, as *Bertram*.

The doctrine of the Sacrament not new.

Bertram, ſaid the Secretary, *what man was he? and who was he? and how do you know, &c.* with many Queſtions.

Sir, quoth I, I have read his Book; He propoundeth the ſame which is now in controverſie, and anſwereth ſo directly, that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth, That the Subſtance of Bread remaineth ſtill in the Sacrament, and he wrote unto *Carolus Magnus*.

Marry, quoth he, mark, for there is a matter. He wrote, quoth he, *ad Henricum*, and not *ad Carolum*; for no Author maketh any ſuch mention of *Bertramus*.

Yes, quoth I, *Trithemius in Catalogo illuſtrium Scriptorum*, ſpeaketh of him. *Trithemius* was but of late time; but he ſpeaketh, quoth I, of them that were of Antiquity. Here, after much talk of *Bertram*, *What Authors have ye*, quoth Mr. Secretary, *to make of the Sacrament a Figure?*

Doctors that make the Sacrament but a Figure. Tertullianus, Gelaſius, Origen.

Sir, quoth I, ye know (I think) that *Tertullian* in plain words ſpeaketh thus; *Hoc eſt corpus meum, id eſt, figura corporis mei*. i. *This is my Body, that is to ſay, a figure of my Body*. And *Gelaſius* ſaith plainly, That *Subſtantia panis manet*, i. *The Subſtance of Bread remaineth*. And *Origen* ſaith likewiſe, *Quod ſanctificatur ſecundum materiam, ingreditur ſtomachum, & vadit in ſeceſſum*, i. *That which is ſanctified as touching the Matter or Subſtance, paſſeth away into the draught*. This when I had Engliſhed, Mr. Secretary ſaid to me, *You know very well as any man, &c.* And here, if I would I might have been ſet in a fooliſh Paradiſe of his commendation of my Learning, and *quod eſſem vir multæ lectionis*, i. *A man of much Reading*. But this I would not take at his hand. He ſet me not up ſo high, but I brought my ſelf as low again; and here was much ado.

As for *Melanchthon* (quoth I) whom Mr. *Fecknam* ſpake of, I marvel that ye will alledge him, for we are more nigh an agreement here in *England*, than the Opinion of *Melanchthon* is to you: for in this point we all agree here, that there is in the Sacrament but one material Subſtance; and *Melanchthon*, as I ween, ſaith there are two.

Ye ſay truth, quoth Mr. Secretary; *Melanchthons* Opinion is ſo. But I pray you, ye have heard that the Sacrament was in old time ſo reverenced, that many were then forbidden to be preſent at the miniſtration thereof; *Catechumini*, quoth he, and many mo.

Catechumeni add others went out at the Miniſtration.

Truth Sir, quoth I, there were ſome called *Audientes*, ſome *Pœnitentes*, ſome *Catechumeni*, and ſome *Energumeni*, which were commanded to depart.

The Book of Catechiſm.

Now, quoth he, then; And how can ye then make but a figure or a ſign of the Sacrament, as that Book doth which is ſet forth in my Lord of *Canterbury*'s name? I wiſs, ye can tell who made it, Did not ye make it? and here was much murmuring of the reſt, as though they would have given me the glory of the writing of that Book; which yet was ſaid of ſome there to contain the moſt hainous Hereſie that ever was.

Maſter Secretary, quoth I, that Book was made of a great Learned Man, and him which is able to do the like again: as for me, I enſure you (be not deceived in me) I was never able to do or write any ſuch like thing; he paſſeth me no leſs than the Learned Maſter his young Scholar.

Now, here every man would have his ſaying, which I paſs over, not much material for to tell. But Sir, quoth I, methinks it is not charitably done, to bear the People in hand that any man doth ſo lightly eſteem the Sacrament, as to make of it a figure. For that (*but*) maketh is a bare figure without any more profit, which that Book doth often deny, as appeareth to the Reader moſt plainly.

Yes, quoth he, that they do.

Sir, no quoth I, of a truth, and as for me, I enſure you I make no leſs of the Sacrament than thus: I ſay, whoſoever receiveth the Sacrament, he receiveth therewith either life or death.

No, quoth Mr. Secretary, *Scripture ſaith not ſo.*

Sir, quoth I, although not in the ſame ſound of words, yet it doth in the ſame ſenſe, and St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, in the ſound of words alſo: for *Paul* ſaith, *The Bread which we break, is it not the partaking or fellowſhip of the Body of Chriſt?* And St. *Auguſtine*, *Manduca vitam, Bibe vitam*, i. *Eat life, Drink life.*

Then ſaid Mr. *Pope*, what can ye make of it, when ye ſay, *There is not the real Body of Chriſt*, which I do believe, &c. and I pray God I may never believe other. How can it bring (as ye ſay) either Life or Death, when Chriſts Body is not there?

Sir, quoth I, when you hear Gods Word truly preached, if you do believe it, and abide in it, ye ſhall and do receive life withal; and if ye do not believe it, it doth bring unto you death: and yet Chriſts Body is ſtill in Heaven, and not carnal in every Preachers mouth.

The Sacrament may bring life without Tranſubſtantiation.

I pray you tell me, quoth he, how can you anſwer to this, *Quod pro vobis tradetur, Which ſhall be given for you*. Was the figure of Chriſts Body given for us?

No Sir, quoth I, but the very Body it ſelf, whereof the *Sacrament* is a Sacramental figure.

How ſay you then, quoth he, to *Quod pro vobis tradetur, Which ſhall be given for you?*

Tertullianus.

Forſooth, quoth I, *Tertullians* Expoſition maketh it plain, for he ſaith, *Corpus eſt figura corporis*, i. *The Body is a figure of the Body*. Now put to *Quod pro vobis tradetur, Which ſhall be given for you*, and it agreeth exceeding well.

In faith, quoth he, I would give forty pound that ye were of a good Opinion. For I enſure you, I have heard you, and had an affection to you.

I thank you Mr. *Pope* for your heart and mind, and ye know, quoth I, I were a very Fool if I would in this matter diſſent from you, if that in my Conſcience the truth did not inforce me ſo to do. For I wiſs (as ye do perceive I trow) it is ſomewhat out of my way, if I would eſteem Worldly gain.

Gypriani.

What ſay ye, quoth he, to *Cyprian*? Doth he not ſay plainly, *Panis quem dedit Dominus non effigie, ſed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus eſt caro*, i. *The Bread which the Lord did deliver being changed, not according to the form, but according to the nature thereof, by the Omnipotent Word is made Fleſh.*

Doctor Ridley falſly reported of, for a Sermon of his at Pauls.

True Sir, ſo he doth ſay, and I anſwer even the ſame which once by chance I preached at *Pauls-Croſs* in a Sermon, for the which I have been as unjuſtly and as untruly reported of, as any poor man hath been. For there I ſpeaking of the Sacrament, and inveighing againſt them that eſteemed it no better than a piece of Bread: told even the ſame thing of *Pœnitentes*, *Andientes*, *Catechumeni*, *Energumeni*, that I ſpake of before: and I bad them depart as unworthy to hear the myſtery; and then I ſaid to thoſe that be *Sancti*, *Cyprian* the Martyr ſhall tell you how it is that Chriſt calleth it, ſaying, *Panis eſt corpus, cibus, potus, caro, &c.* i. *Bread is the Body, Meat, Drink, Fleſh*, becauſe that unto this material Subſtance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name: and this place then took I to utter as the time would then ſuffer, that the material Subſtance of Bread doth remain. Mr. *Fecknam* (which, as is reported to me, did bely me openly in the ſame matter

The place of S. Cyprian expounded.

at

at *Pauls Croſs)* heard all this my talk, as red as Scarlet in his Face, and herein anſwered me not a word.

You do well, quoth Mr. Secretary, that *Origen* and *Tertullian* were not Catholick, but erred.

None of all the Doctors holden in all points.

Sir, quoth I, there is none of all the Doctors that are holden in all points, but are thought to have erred in ſome things. But yet I never heard that it was either laid to *Origens* charge or to *Tertullian*, that ever they were thought to have erred in this matter of the Sacrament.

What, quoth Mr. *Cholmley* late Chief Juſtice, doth not Chriſt plainly ſay, that it is his very Fleſh, and his very Blood, and we muſt needs eat him, or elſe we can have no life? Sir, quoth I, if you will hear how St. *Auguſtine* expoundeth that place, you ſhall perceive that you are in a wrong Box. And then I began to tell St. *Auguſtine*'s mind in his Book *De Doctrina Chriſtiana*; Yea, yea, quoth Mr. Secretary, that is true, St. *Auguſtine* doth it figuratively indeed.

S. *Auguſtine* taketh the words of the Sacrament figuratively by *Bonners* own Confeſſion.

Forty years ago, quoth Mr. *Fecknam*, all were of one Opinion in this matter.

Forty years ago, quoth I, all held that the Biſhop of *Rome* was Supream Head of the Univerſal Church.

What then? was Mr. *Fecknam* beginning to ſay, &c. but Mr. Secretary took the tale, and ſaid, that was but a poſitive Law.

A poſitive Law? quoth I; No Sir, he would not have it ſo: for it is in his Decrees, that he challenged it by Chriſts own word. For his Decree ſaith: *Nullis Synodicis conſtitutis, neque conciliis, ſed viva voce Domini prælata eſt Eccleſia* Romana *omnibus Eccleſiis in toto mundo; dicente Domino* Petro, *tu es* Petrus, &c. *The Church of* Rome *was advanced above all other Churches in the World, not by any Synodical Conſtitutions, nor any Councils, but by the lively voice of the Lord, according as the Lord ſaid to* Peter, Thou art *Peter*, &c. And in another place he intreateth, *Tu es* Cephas, *ideſt, Caput.* i. *Thou art* Cephas, *that is to ſay, the Head.*

Diſt. 22. Quamvis.

Tuſh, It was not counted an Article (quoth Mr. Secretary) of our Faith.

Yes, ſaid I, if ye call that an Article of our Faith, which is believed under pain of damnation. For he ſaith; *Omnino definimus, declaramus, pronunciamus, omnem Creaturam ſubeſſe* Romano *Pontifici, de neceſſitate ſalutis*, i. *We do abſolutely determine, declare, and pronounce, that every Creature is ſubject to the obedience of the Biſhop of* Rome *upon neceſſity of Salvation.*

And here when we ſpake of Laws and Decrees, Mr. *Roger Cholmley* thought himſelf much wronged, that he could not be ſuffered to ſpeak, the reſt were ſo ready to interrupt him: and then he up and told a long Tale, what Laws were of Kings in *England* made againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, and was vehement to tell how they alway of the Clergy did fly to him. And here, becauſe he ſeemed to ſpeak of many things beſide our purpoſe, whereof we ſpake before, he was anſwered of his own Fellows, and I let them talk.

Finally, We departed in peace, and Mr. Secretary promiſed in the end, that of their talk there ſhould come to me no harm. And after I had made my moan for lack of my Books, he ſaid, they were all once given him: but ſith I know (ſaid he) who hath them now, write me the Names of ſuch as you would have, and I will ſpeak for you the beſt I can.

Doctor *Ridley*'s Books given away.

Upon the Articles above-mentioned, and Inquiſition made upon the ſame, divers Miniſters were divorced from their Wives. Amongſt whom was one *John Draper*, and *Joan Gold* his Wife, in the Dioceſs of *London*, troubled and vexed for the ſame by *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, who ſent forth a Comiſſion with a Proceſs to ſequeſter and ſeparate them, enjoyning alſo penance to the poor Woman.

Miniſters divorced from their Wives.

Beſides this *John Draper*, divers others alſo were divorced the ſame time againſt their wills; und ſome were contented of their own unconſtant accord, to be ſeparated from their Wives: as of *Chicheſter* one, (who, becauſe he ſoon recovered again, ſhall be here nameleſs) another named *Edmund Alſtone*, another *Alexander Bull*, amongſt whom alſo was Dr. *Standiſh*, with many other; whoſe Names together in the end of this ſtory of Queen *Mary*, we may peradventure by Gods Grace in a general Catalogue together comprehend.

March 1554.

The 10*th* of *March* a Letter was ſent to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to deliver the bodies of Mr. Doctor *Cranmer* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Mr. Doctor *Ridley*, and Mr. *Latimer*, to Sir *John Williams*, to be conveyed by him unto *Oxford*.

The 26*th* of *March* there was a Letter directed to Sir *Henry Doell*, and one *Foſter*, to attach the bodies of Doctor *Taylor* Parſon of *Hadley*, and of *Henry Askew*, and to ſend them up to the Council.

How Thomas Cranmer *Archbiſhop*, *Biſhop* Ridley, *and Maſter* Latimer, *were ſent down to* Oxford *to diſpute, with the order and manner, and all other circumſtances unto the ſaid Diſputation, and alſo to their Condemnation appertaining.*

April 10. Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Ridley*, and Mr. *Latimer*, ſent down to *Oxford* to diſpute.

ABout the 10*th* of *April*, *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer* Biſhop alſo ſometime of *Worceſter*, were conveyed as Priſoners from the Tower to *Windſor*; and after from thence to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, there to Diſpute with the Divines and Learned Men of both the Univerſities, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, about the Preſence, Subſtance, and Sacrifice of the Sacrament. The Names of the Univerſity Doctors and Graduates appointed to Diſpute againſt them, were theſe; of *Oxford*, Doctor *Weſton* Prolocutor, Doctor *Treſham*, Doctor *Cole*, Doctor *Oglethorpe*, Doctor *Pie*, Maſter *Harpsfield*, Maſter *Fecknam*. Of *Cambridge*, Doctor *Young* Vice-Chancellor, Doctor *Glin*, Doctor *Seaton*, Doctor *Watſon*, Doctor *Sedgewick*, Doctor *Atkinſon*, &c. The Articles or Queſtions whereupon they ſhould Diſpute were theſe:

The Univerſity Doctors appointed to diſpute againſt the Archbiſhop and his Fellows.

Three Queſtions.

1. *Whether the Natural Body of Chriſt be really in the Sacrament, after the words ſpoken by the Prieſt, or no?*
2. *Whether in the Sacrament, after the words of Conſecration, any other Subſtance do remain, than the Subſtance of the Body and Blood of Chriſt?*
3. *Whether in the Maß be a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the Sins of the quick and the Dead?*

Touching the order and manner of all which things there done, with the Notes, Arguments, and all Circumſtances thereunto pertaining, to deduce the matter from the beginning, leaving out nothing (as near as we may) that ſhall ſeem neceſſary to be added: Firſt, Here is to be underſtood, that upon Saturday the 7*th* day of *April*, the Heads of the Colledges in *Cambridge* being congregate together, Letters coming down from *Stephen Gardiner* Lord Chancellor, were read with Articles therewith annexed, that ſhould be diſputed upon at *Oxford*: the contents of which three Articles are ſufficiently expreſſed before. Whereupon in the ſaid Congregation of the aforeſaid Univerſity of *Cambridge*, there was granted firſt a Grace in this Form, propoſed by the Senior Proctor; *Placet vobis ut inſtrumentum fiat, quod horum jam prælectorum Articulorum doctrina ſana ſit & Catholica, atque cum veritate Orthodoxæ fidei conſentiens, & veſtro conſenſu, & ſuffragiis comprobetur?* that is, *May it pleaſe you to have an Inſtrument made, that the Doctrine of theſe foreſaid Articles is ſound and Catholick, and conſonant with the verity of the right meaning Faith, and that the ſame may be approved by your conſent and voices?* Secondly, In the ſaid Congregation, another Grace was given and granted, that Doctor *Young* being Vice-Chancellor, Doctor *Glin*, Doctor *Atkinſon*, Doctor *Scot*, and Maſter *Sedgewick*, ſhould go to *Oxford* to defend the ſaid Articles againſt *Canterbury*, *London*, and *Latimer*: Alſo to have Letters to the *Oxford* Men, ſealed with their Common Seal. *Item*, Another Grace granted to Maſter *Sedgewick* to be actual Doctor, being thereupon immediately admitted. The foreſaid Letters being then drawn out, the third day after (which was the 11*th* day of *April*) were read in the foreſaid Congregation-Houſe, and there ſealed.

Letters ſent down from *Stephen Gardiner* to *Cambridge*.

A Grace for Articles.

A Grace for the *Cambridge* Doctors to diſpute againſt *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*.

Whereupon the next day after (the 12*th* of the ſaid Month) the foreſaid Doctors, with the full Grace of that Univerſity, ſet forward to *Oxford*: and coming thither the next day after (being Friday, the 13*th* of *April*) were lodged all at the *Croß-Inne*, with one *Wakeline*, being ſometime Servant to Biſhop *Boner*.

The coming of the *Cambridge* Men to *Oxford*.

Anon

Anno 1554

Their welcoming to Oxford.

Anon after their coming, Dr. *Crocke* presented them with Wine for their Welcom; and shortly after two of the Beadles came from the Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, and presented the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge* with a Dish of Apples and a Gallon of Wine. After whom, next came Mr. *Pie* and *Fecknam* to welcom them. Then after consultation concerning the delivery of their Letters, and Instrument of Grace (which was in Dr. *Seton* & Dr. *Watsons* keeping) they went all to *Lincoln* Colledge to Dr. *Weston* the Prolocutor, and to the Vice-Chancellor Dr. *Tresham*: And there they delivered their Letters and declared what they had done touching the Articles, Letters, and Graces. Half an hour after Eight they returned to their Inn again: but first they concluded of a Procession, Sermon, and Convocation to be had the Morrow following, and that the Doctors of *Cambridge* should be incorporate in the University of *Oxford*, and likewise that the Doctors of *Oxford* should be incorporate in the University of *Cambridge*. The same Day the fore-named Prisoners were dissevered, as was said afore; Dr. *Ridley* to Alderman *Irishes* House, Mr. *Latimer* to another, and Doctor *Cranmer* remained still in *Bocardo*.

The *Cambridge* Doctors repair to Dr. *Weston*.

The three Prisoners, *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Latimer*, dissevered.

On *Saturday*, being the 14*th* of *April*, at Eight of the Clock, the foresaid Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge* with the other Doctors of the same Universty, repaired to *Lincoln* Colledge again, and found the Prolocutor above in a Chappel, with a Company of the House singing *Requiem* Mass, and tarried there until the end. Then they, consulting all together in the Masters lodging, about Nine of the Clock came all to the Universty Church called St. *Maries*: and there, after a short Consultation in a Chappel, the Vice-Chancellor, the Prolocutor, &c. of *Oxford*, caused the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, and the rest of the Doctors of that Universty, to send for their Scarlet-Robes, brought from *Cambridge*, save that Doctor *Seaton* and *Watson* borrowed of the *Oxford* Men. And in this time, the Regents in the Congregation-House had granted all the *Cambridge* Doctors their Graces, to be incorporate there; and so they went up, and were admitted immediately, Dr. *Oglethorpe* presenting them, and the Proctor reading the Statute and giving them their Oaths.

Consultation.

The Doctors in their Scarlet Robes.

That done, they came all into the Quire, and there held the Convocation of the Universty. They had Mass of the Holy Ghost solemnly sung in Prick-song by the Quire-men of *Christs-Church*. But first the Cause of the Convocation was opened in *English*, partly by the Vice-Chancellor, and partly by the Prolocutor, declaring that they were sent by the Queen, and wherefore they were sent, and caused Mr. *Say* the Register openly to read the Commission. That done, the Vice-Chancellor read *Cambridge* Letters openly, and then concluded, that three Notaries, Mr. *Say* for the Convocation, a Beadle of *Cambridge* for that Universty, and one Mr. *White* for *Oxford*, should testifie of their doing, and then willed the said Notaries to provide Parchment, that the whole Assembly might subscribe to the Articles, save those that had Subscribed before in the Convocation-House at *London* and *Cambridge*; and so the Vice-Chancellor began first after him the rest of the *Oxford* Men, as many as could in the Mass time.

Mass in Fike-sauce, in Prick-song I would say.

The causes of their Assembly declared.

Cambridge Letters read. Three Notaries assigned.

Subscribing to the Articles.

The Mass being done, they went in Procession: First, The Quire in their Surplices followed the Cross; then the first-year Regents and Proctors; then the Doctors of Law, and their Beadles before them; then the Doctors of Divinity of both Universities intermingled, the Divinity and Arts-Beadles going before them, the Vice-Chancelor and Prolocutor going together. After them Batchelors of Divinity, *Regentes, & non Regentes*, in their array; and last of all, the Batchelors of Law and Art. After whom followed a great company of Scholars and Students not graduate. And thus they proceeded through the Street to *Christs-Church*, and there the Quire sung a Psalm, and after that a Collect was read. This done, departed the Commissioners, Doctors, and many other to *Lincoln* Colledge, where they dined with the Mayor of the Town, one Alderman, four Beadles, Mr. *Say* and the *Cambridge* Notary. After Dinner they went all again to St. *Maries* Church; and there after a short consultation in a Chappel, all the Commissioners came into the Quire, and sate all on Seats before the Altar, to the number of 33 Persons: And first they sent to the Mayor, that he should bring in Dr. *Cranmer*, which within a while was brought to them with a number of rusty Bill-men.

Procession in *Oxford*. The Array of the solemn Procession.

Another Consultation of the Doctors and Priests.

Thus the Reverend Archbishop, when he was brought before the Commissioners, reverenced them with much humility, and stood with his Staff in his hand, who notwithstanding, having a Stool offered him, refused to sit. Then the Prolocutor sitting in the midst in a Scarlet Gown, began with a short Preface or Oration in praise of Unity, and especially in the Church of Christ; declaring withal his bringing up, and taking Degrees in *Cambridge*, and also how he was promoted by King *Henry*, and had been his Counsellor and a Catholick Man, one of the same Unity, and a Member thereof in times past, but of late years did separate and cut off himself from it, by teaching and setting forth of erroneous Doctrine, making every year a new Faith: and therefore it pleased the Queens Grace, to send them of the Convocation and other Learned men, to bring him to this Unity again, if it might be. Then shewed he him how they of the Convocation-House had agreed upon certain Articles, whereunto they willed him to subscribe.

Archbishop *Cranmer* brought before the Doctors and High-Priests at S. *Maries* Church. The Reverend humility and behaviour of the Archbishop before them.

The Archbishop answered to the Preface very wittily, modestly, and Learnedly, shewing that he was very glad of an Unity, forasmuch as it was *Conservatrix omnium rerum publicarum, tam Ethnicorum quam Christianorum*, i. *The preserver of all Common-wealths, as well of the Heathen as of the Christians*; and so he dilated the matter with one or two Stories of the *Romans* Commonwealth. Which thing when he had done, he said, That he was very glad to come to an Unity, so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy Word.

The Answer of the Archbishop to Dr. *Weston*.

When he had thus spoken his full mind, the Prolocutor caused the Articles to be read unto him, and asked if he would grant and subscribe unto them. Then the Bishop of *Canterbury* did read them over three or four times, and touching the first Article, he asked what they meant by these terms, *Verum & Naturale*, i. *True and Natural*. Do you not mean, saith he, *Corpus organicum*, i. *A sensible Body?* Some answered, *Idem quod natum est ex Virgine*, i. *The same that was born of the Virgin*; and so confusedly, some said one thing, some another. Then the Bishop of *Canterbury* denied it utterly, and when he had looked upon the other two, he said they were all false, and against Gods holy Word: And therefore he would not agree, he said, in that Unity with them. Which done, the Prolocutor first willing him to write his mind of them that Night, said moreover that he should dispute in them, and caused a Copy of the Articles to be delivered him, assigning him to answer thereunto on *Monday* next, and so charged the Mayor with him again, to be had to *Bocardo*, where he was kept before; offering moreover unto him, to name what Books he would occupy, and should have them brought unto him. The Archbishop was greatly commended of every body for his modesty: insomuch, that some Masters of Art were seen to weep for him, which in Judgment were contrary to him.

The Articles denied by the Archbishop.

Scarborough. Warning given to *Cranmer* to Dispute.

Then was Dr. *Ridley* brought in, who, hearing the Articles read unto him, answered without any delay, saying, They were all false; and said further, That they sprang out of a bitter and sowr Root. His Answers were sharp, witty, and very earnest. Then did they lay to his charge a Sermon that he made when he was Bishop of *Rochester*, wherein (they said) he spake with *Transubstantiation*. He denied it utterly, and asked whether they could bring out any that heard him, which would say and affirm with them the same. They could bring no proof of it at all. After that, he was asked of one whether he desired not my Lord Chancellor that now is, to stick to the *Mass*, and other things? He said, That my Lord would say no such things or words of him; for if he did he reported not the truth of him.

Dr. *Ridley* brought in. Answer of Bishop *Ridley* to the Articles.

B. *Ridley* falsly reported for his Sermon.

Then he was asked, whether he would Dispute or no? He answered, That as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his Heart, but also his Mouth and Pen to defend his Truth; but he required time and Books. They said he could not, and that he should Dispute on *Thursday*, and till that time he should have Books. He said it was not reason that he might not have his own Books, and time also to look for his Disputations. Then

B. *Ridley* appointed to Dispute the next day after the Archbishop.

gave they him the Articles, and bade him write his mind of them that Night, and ſo did they command the Mayor to have him from whence he came.

Mr Latimer brought in

Laſt of all came in Mr. *Latimer* in like ſort, with a Kerchief, and two or three Caps on his Head, his Spectacles hanging by a ſtring at his Breaſt, and a Staff in his hand, and was ſet in a Chair; for ſo was he ſuffered by the Prolocutor. And after his denial of the Articles, when he had *Wedneſday* appointed for Diſputation, he alledged Age, Sickneſs, Diſ-uſe, and lack of Books, ſaying, That he was almoſt as meet to diſpute, as to be a Captain of *Calice:* but he would, he ſaid, declare his mind either by Writing or Word, and would ſtand to all they could lay upon his back; complaining moreover, That he was permitted to have neither Pen nor Ink, nor yet any Book but only the New Teſtament there in his hand, which he ſaid he had read over ſeven times deliberately, and yet could not find the Maſs in it, neither the Marrow-bones nor Sinnews of the ſame. At which words the Commiſſioners were not a little offended; and Dr. *Weſton* ſaid, That he would make him grant that it had both Marrow-bones and Sinnews in the New Teſtament. To whom Mr. *Latimer* ſaid again, That you will never do, Mr. Doctor, and ſo forthwith they put him to ſilence; ſo that where he was deſirous to tell what he meant by thoſe Terms, he could not be ſuffered: there was a very great preſs and throng of People, and one of the Beadles ſwouned by reaſon thereof, and was carried into the Veſtry. After this, bringing home the Prolocutor firſt, the *Cambridge* Men, *viz.* Doctor *Young* Vice-Chancellor, *Seton, Glin, Atkinſon, Scot, Watſon,* and *Sedgewick,* went to the *Croſs-Inne* to Supper. And this was on *Saturday* being the *14th* day of *April.*

Mr. Latimer could not find the Maſs in all the New Teſtament. What he meaneth by the Marrow-bones of the Maſs, read after in his Proteſtation given in Writing to the Prolocutor.

April 14.

On *Sunday* after, Mr. *Harpsfield* preached at St. *Maries* the Univerſity Church, at Nine of the Clock, where were divers of the Doctors of the Univerſity in their Robes, and placed accordingly. After the Sermon they went all to Dinner to *Magdalen* Colledge, and there had a great Dinner. They Supped at *Lincoln* Colledge with the Prolocutor, whether Dr. *Cranmer* ſent anſwer of his mind upon the Articles in Writing.

April 16.

On *Monday*, being the *16th* of *April*, Mr. *Say*, and Mr. *White*, Notaries, went about in the Morning to the Colledges, to get Subſcriptions to the Articles. And about 8 of the Clock the Prolocutor, with all the Doctors and the Vice-Chancellor, met together at *Exeter* Colledge, and ſo they went into the Schools, and when the Vice-Chancellor, the Prolocutor and Doctors were placed, and four appointed to be *Exceptores Argumentorum*, ſet at a Table in the midſt, and four Notaries ſitting with them, Dr. *Cranmer* came to the Anſwerers place, the Mayor and Aldermen ſitting by him, and ſo the Diſputation began to be ſet a work by the Prolocutor with a ſhort *Præludium.* Dr. *Chedſey* began to argue firſt, and e're he left, the Prolocutor divers times. Dr. *Treſham, Oglethorp, Marſhal, Vice-Chancellor, Pye, Cole,* and *Harpesfield* did interrupt and preſs him with their Arguments, ſo that every man ſaid ſomewhat, as the Prolocutor would ſuffer, diſorderly, ſometime in *Latin*, ſometime in *Engliſh*, ſo that three hours of the time was ſpent e're the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge* began; who alſo was interrupted as before. He began with three or four Queſtions ſubtilly. Here the Beadles had provided Drink, and offered the Anſwerer; but he refuſed with Thanks. The Prolocutor offered him, if he would make Water, or otherwiſe eaſe himſelf, he ſhould. Thus the Diſputation continued until almoſt two of the Clock, with this Applauſion *Audientium*; *vicit veritas.* Then were all the Arguments written by the Four appointed, delivered into the hand of Mr. *Say*, Regiſter. And as for the Priſoner, he was had away by the Mayor; And the Doctors Dined together at the *Univerſity Colledge.*

Subſcription.

4. Exceptores Argumentor.

Cranmer ſet in the Reſpondents place.

Dr. Cranmer cloſed in by the Mayor and Aldermen for running away.

Diſputers againſt the Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop offered Drink.

Dr. Cranmer after diſputation returned again to Towerdr.

And thus much concerning the general order and manner of theſe Diſputations, with ſuch Circumſtances as there happened, and things there done, as well before the Diſputation, and in the preparation thereof, as alſo in the time of their Diſputing. Now followeth to infer and declare the Orations, Arguments, and Anſwers, uſed and brought forth in the ſaid Diſputations on both parts.

The Arguments, Reaſons, and Allegations uſed in this Diſputation. Anno 1554.

ON *Monday*, Doctor *Weſton*, with all the reſidue of the Viſitors, Cenſors, and Opponents, repairing to the Divinity School, each one enſtalled themſelves in their places. Dr. *Cranmer* with a rout of Ruſty Bills was brought thither, and ſet in the Anſwerers place, with the Mayor and Aldermen ſitting by him. Where Dr. *Weſton* Prolocutor, apparelled in a Scarlet-Gown, after the Cuſtom of the Univerſity, began the Diſputation with this Oration. His Words in *Latin*, as he ſpake them, were theſe. April 16.

Conveniſtis hodie, fratres, profligaturi deteſtandam illam hæreſin de veritate corporis Chriſti in Sacramento, &c. that is, *Ye are aſſembled hither, Brethren, this day, to confound the deteſtable Hereſie of the Verity of the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, &c.* At which Words thus pronounced of the Prolocutor unawares, divers of the Learned Men there preſent, conſidering and well weighing the words by him uttered, burſt out into a great Laughter, as though, even in the entrance of the Diſputations, he had betrayed himſelf and his Religion, that termed the Opinion of the Verity of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament a deteſtable Hereſie. The reſt of his Oration tended all to this effect, That it was not lawful by Gods Word to call theſe Queſtions into Controverſie: for ſuch as doubted of the words of Chriſt, might well be thought to doubt both of the Truth and Power of God. Whereunto Dr. *Cranmer* deſiring licenſe, anſwered in this wiſe.

Dr. Weſton ſpeaketh truer than he was.

We are aſſembled (ſaith he) *to diſcuſs theſe doubtful Controverſies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the World; whereof ye think it unlawful to diſpute. It is indeed no reaſon* (ſaith he) *that we ſhould diſpute of that which is determined upon, before the Truth be tried. But if theſe Queſtions be not called into Controverſie, ſurely mine Anſwer then is looked for in vain.* This was the ſum and effect of his Anſwer; and this done he prepared himſelf to Diſputation.

Dr. Cranmer's Anſwer to the Preface.

Then *Chedſey* the firſt Opponent began in this wiſe to Diſpute.

Dr. Chedſey.

Reverend Mr. Doctor, theſe three Concluſions are put forth unto us at preſent to Diſpute upon;

Articles.

1. *In the Sacrament of the Altar is the Natural Body of Chriſt, conceived of the Virgin* Mary, *and alſo his Blood preſent really under the forms of Bread and Wine, by virtue of Gods Word pronounced by the Prieſt.*

2. *There remaineth no Subſtance of Bread and Wine after the Conſecration, nor any other Subſtance, but the Subſtance of God and Man.*

3. *The lively Sacrifice of the Church is in the Maſs Propitiatory, as well for the quick as the dead.*

Theſe be the Concluſions propounded, whereupon this our preſent Controverſie doth reſt. Now to the end we might not doubt how you take the ſame, you have already given up unto us your Opinion thereof. I term it your Opinion, in that it diſagreeth from the Catholick. Wherefore I thus argue.

Argument.

Ched. Your Opinion differeth from the Scripture.

Ergo, You are deceived.

Cran. I deny the Antecedent.

Ched. Chriſt when he inſtituted his laſt Supper, ſpake to his Diſciples, *Take, eat, this is my Body which ſhall be given for you.*

But his true Body was given for us:

Ergo, His true Body is in the Sacrament.

Argument.

The right form of this Argument is thus to be framed.

Da- The ſame which was given for us is in the Sacra-ment.

ri- But his true Body was given for us:

i. Ergo, His true Body is in the Sacrament.

Anſwer. How Chriſts Body is preſent in the Sacrament.

Cran. His true Body is truly preſent to them that truly receive him; but ſpiritually. And ſo it is taken after a Spiritual ſort. For when he ſaid, *This is my Body*, it is all one as if he had ſaid, *This is the breaking of my Body, This is the ſhedding of my Blood.* As oft as you ſhall do this, it ſhall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my Body, and the ſhedding of my Blood; that as truly as you receive this Sacrament, ſo truly ſhall you receive the benefit promiſed by receiving the ſame worthily.

Ched.

Anno 1554.

Ched. Your Opinion differeth from the Church, which saith that the true Body is in the Sacrament.

Argument of the Authority of the Church. Answer.

Ergo, Your Opinion therein is false.

Cran. I say and agree with the Church, that the Body of Christ is in the Sacrament effectually, because the Passion of Christ is effectual.

Ched. Christ when he spake these words, *This is my Body*, spake of the Substance, but not of the effect.

Christs Body effectually, not substantially in the Sacrament.

Cran. I grant he spake of the Substance, and not of the Effect after a sort: and yet it is most true that the Body of Christ is effectually in the Sacrament. But I deny that he is there truly present in Bread, or that under the Bread is his organical Body. And because it should be too tedious (he said) to make discourse of the whole, he delivered up there his Opinion thereof to Doctor *Weston* written at large, which answers to every one of their three Propositions: which he desired Dr. *Weston*, sitting there on high, to read openly to the People; which he promised to do. But it was not the first Promise that such Papists have broken.

Papists false of Promise.

The Copy of this Writing although it were not there read, yet the Contents thereof we have drawn out as followeth.

An Explication of Cranmer *upon the foresaid Conclusions exhibited in Writing.*

The Contents of *Cranmer's* Explication, given up in Writing.

Cranmer. In the Assertions of the Church and of Religion, trifling and new fangled Novelties of words, so much as may be, are to be eschewed, whereof ariseth nothing but contention and brawling about words, and we must follow, so much as we may, the manner of speaking of the Scripture.

How Christ is really present.

In the first Conclusion, if ye understand by this word *(Really) Re ipsa*, i. *in very deed and effectually*, so Christ by the grace and efficacy of his Passion, is in deed and truly present to all his true and holy Members.

Organical, is called that which is a Piece or Body having all the members and parts compleat belonging to the same.

But if ye understand by this word *(Really) Corporaliter*, i. *Corporally*; so that by the Body of Christ is understood a Natural Body and Organical; so the first Proposition doth vary, not only from the usual Speech and Phrase of Scripture, but also is clean contrary to the holy Word of God, and Christian Profession: when as both the Scripture doth testifie by these words, and also the Catholick Church hath professed from the beginning, *Christ to have left the World, and to sit at the right hand of the Father till he come to Judgment.*

Answer to the second Conclusion.

And likewise I answer to the second Question; that is, *That it swerveth from the accustomed manner and speech of Scripture.*

Answer to the third Conclusion.

The third Conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous words, and differing also much from the true speech of the Scripture, so as the Words thereof seem to import no open sense, *is most contumelious against our only Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious Blood, which upon the Altar of the Cross is the only Sacrifice and Oblation for the Sins of all Mankind.*

The third Conclusion contumelious against Christ.

Ched. By this your Interpretation which you have made upon the first Conclusion, this I understand, the Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament only by the way of Participation: insomuch as we communicating thereof, do participate the Grace of Christ, so that you mean hereby only the effect thereof. But our Conclusion standeth upon the Substance, and not the Efficacy only, which shall appear by the testimony both of Scriptures, and of all the Fathers a Thousand years after Christ.

Matth. 26. Mark 14. Luke 22.

And first to begin with the Scripture, let us consider what is written in *Matt.* 26. *Mark* 14. *Luke* 22. and 1 *Cor.* 11. *Matthew* saith, *As they sate at Supper, Jesus took Bread, &c.* In *Mark* there is the same sense, although not the same words, who also for one part of the Sacrament speaketh more plainly, *Jesus taking Bread, &c.* After the same sense also writeth *Luke* 22. *And when Jesus had taken Bread, &c.* In the mouth of two or three Witnesses, saith the Scripture, standeth all Truth. Here we have three Witnesses together, that Christ said that to be his Body which was given for many, and that to be his Blood which should be shed for many; whereby is declared the Substance, and not only the Efficacy alone thereof. *Ergo*, It is not true that that you say, there to be not the Substance of his Body, but the Efficacy alone thereof.

Substance and Efficacy both granted in the Sacrament.

Cran. Thus you gather upon mine Answer, as though I did mean of the Efficacy, and not of the Substance of the Body; but I mean of them both, as well of the Efficacy as of the Substance. And forsomuch as all things come not readily to memory, to a man that shall speak *extempore*, therefore for the more ample and fuller Answer in this matter, this Writing here I do exhibit.

An Explication exhibited by Cranmer.

Another Explication for Answer, exhibited in writing by the Archbishop.

OUr Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the time of his *Maundy*, preparing himself to dye for our Cause, that he might redeem us from Eternal death, to forgive us all our Sins, and to cancel out the Hand-writing that was against us; that we through ungrateful Oblivion should not forget his Death, therefore at the time of his Holy Supper did institute a perpetual memory of this his Death, to be celebrated among Christians in Bread and Wine, according as it is said: *Do this in remembrance of me. And so often as you eat this Bread and drink this Cup, you shall shew forth the Lords death till he come.* And this Remembrance or Sacrament of his holy Passion, that is, of his Body slain, and Blood shed, he would all Christians to frequent and celebrate in Bread and Wine, according as he said, *Take eat, and drink ye all of this.* Therefore whosoever for mans Tradition denieth the Cup of Christs Blood to Lay men, they manifestly repugn against Christ, forbidding that which Christ commandeth to be done, and be like to those Scribes and Pharisees of whom the Lord spake; *Ye hypocrites, ye have rejected the Commandments of God for your Traditions. Well did* Esay *prophesie of you, saying, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Without cause do they worship me, teaching the Doctrines and Precepts of men.* The Sacrament and mystical Bread being broken and distributed after the Institution of Christ, and the mystical Wine being likewise taken and received, be not only Sacraments of the Flesh of Christ wounded for us, and of his Blood-shedding, but also be most certain Sacraments for us, and (as a man would say) Seals of Gods Promises and Gifts, and also of that holy Fellowship which we have with Christ and all his Members. Moreover, they be to us Memorials of that Heavenly food and nourishment, wherewith we are nourished unto Eternal life, and the thirst of our boyling Conscience quenched, and finally, whereby the hearts of the Faithful be replenished with unspeakable Joy, and be corroborated and strengthened unto all works of godliness. *We are many* (saith St. *Paul*) *one Bread, and one Body, all we which do participate of one Bread, and one Cup.* And Christ saith: *Eat ye, this is my Body.* And, *Drink ye, this is my Blood.* And, *I am the living Bread which came down from Heaven. He that eateth me, shall also live for ever. Not as your Fathers did eat* Manna *in the Desart, and are dead: He that eateth me, shall also live for ever.*

Matth. 26. Luke 6. John 6.

Sacraments Seals of Gods Promises.

1 Cor. 11.

Bread and Wine remain still in the Eucharist, and be Seals to us annexed with Gods Promises.

Thus therefore true Bread and true Wine remain still in the *Eucharist*, until they be consumed of the Faithful, to be Signs, and as Seals unto us annexed unto Gods Promises, making us certain of Gods Gifts towards us. Also Christ remaineth in them, and they in Christ, which eat his Flesh, and drink his Blood, as Christ himself hath promised: *They that eat my Flesh, and drink my Blood, abide in me, and I in them.* Moreover, he abideth also in them which worthily receive the outward Sacrament, neither doth he depart so soon as the Sacrament is consumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nourishing us so long as we remain Bodies of that Head, and Members of the same. I acknowledg not here the Natural Body of Christ, which is only Spiritual, unintelligible, and Insensible, having no distinction of Members and Parts in it: But that Body only I acknowledge and worship, which was born of the Virgin, which suffered for us, which is visible, palpable, and hath all the Form, and Shape, and Parts of the true Natural Body of Man. Christ spake not these words of any uncertain Substance, but of the certain Substance of Bread, which he then held in his Hands, and shewed his Disciples when he said, *Eat ye, this is my Body:* And likewise of the Cup, when he said, *Drink ye, this is my Blood*

Christs words are spoken not of an uncertain Substance, but of a certain Substance of Bread.

meaning verily of that Bread which by nature is uſual and common with us, which is taken out of the Fruit of the ground, compacted by the uniting of many Grains together made by Man, and by Mans hand brought to that viſible ſhape, being of round compaſs, and without all ſenſe or life, which nouriſheth the Body, and ſtrengthneth the Heart of Man: Of this ſame Bread (I ſay) and not of any uncertain and wandring Subſtance, the Old Fathers ſay that Chriſt ſpake theſe words, *Eat ye, this is my Body.* And likewiſe alſo of the Wine, which is the Creature and Fruit of the Vine preſſed out of many Cluſters of Grapes, and maketh Mans Heart merry, of the very ſame Wine (I ſay) Chriſt ſpake, *Drink ye, this is my Blood.* And ſo the Old Doctors do call this ſpeaking of Chriſt Tropical, Figurative, Anagogical, Allegorical, which they do interpret after this ſort, that although the Subſtance of Bread and Wine do remain, and be received of the Faithful, yet notwithſtanding Chriſt changed the appellation thereof, and called the Bread by the name of his Fleſh, and the Wine by the name of his Blood, *Non rei veritate, ſed ſignificante myſterio*, i. *Not that it is ſo in very deed, but ſignified in a myſtery.* So that we ſhould conſider, not what they be in their own nature, but what they import to us and ſignifie, and ſhould underſtand the Sacrament not carnally, but ſpiritually, and ſhould attend not to the Viſible nature of the Sacraments, neither have reſpect only to the outward Bread and Cup, thinking to ſee there with our Eyes no other things but only Bread and Wine, But that lifting up our Minds we ſhould look up to the Blood of Chriſt with our Faith, ſhould touch him with our Mind, and receive him with our Inward man, and that being like Eagles in this life, we ſhould fly up into Heaven in our Hearts, where that Lamb is reſident at the Right hand of his Father, which taketh away the Sins of the World, by whoſe Stripes we are made whole; by whoſe Paſſion we are filled at his Table, and whoſe Blood we receiving out of his holy Side, do live for ever, being made the Gueſts of Chriſt, having him dwelling in us through the Grace of his true Nature, and through the virtue and efficacy of his whole Paſſion, being no leſs aſſured and certified, that we are fed Spiritually unto Eternal life by Chriſts Fleſh crucified, and by his Blood ſhed, the true Food of our Minds, than that our Bodies be fed with Meat and Drink in this life: and hereof this ſaid myſtical Bread on the Table of Chriſt, and the myſtical Wine, being adminiſtred and received after the Inſtitution of Chriſt, be to us a Memorial, a Pledge, a Token, a Sacrament, and a Seal.

How the Doctors do take the Speech of Chriſt. Tropical, Figurative, Anagogical, Allegorical. Bread called by the name of the Body.

In the Sacrament is to be conſidered not what it is in Nature, but what it ſignifieth in Myſtery.

The Sacrament is a Memorial, a Pledge, a Token, a Sacrament, and a Seal.

And thereof it is that Chriſt ſaith not thus; *This is my Body, eat ye*; but after he had bidden them eat, then he ſaid, *This is my Body, which ſhall be given for you.* which is to mean, as though he ſhould ſay, *In eating of this Bread, conſider you that this Bread is no common thing, but a Myſtical matter; neither do you attend that which is ſet before your bodily Eyes, but what feedeth you within: Conſider and behold my Body crucified for you, that eat and digeſt in your Minds, Chew you upon my Paſſion, be fed with my Death, this is the true Meat, this is the Drink that moiſteneth, wherewith you being truly fed, and inebriate, ſhall live for ever. The Bread and Wine which be ſet before your Eyes are only Declarations of Me, but I my ſelf am the Eternal Food. Wherefore whenſoever at this my Table you ſhall behold the Sacraments, have not regard ſo much to them, as conſider ye what I promiſe to you by them, which is my Self to be Meat for you of Eternal life.*

What is meant by eating the Myſtical Bread.

What the Crucified Body of Chriſt doth to our Souls.

The only Oblation of Chriſt (wherewith he offered himſelf to God the Father once to death upon the Altar of the Croſs for our Redemption) was of ſuch Efficacy, that there is no more need of any Sacrifice for the Redemption of the whole World, but all the Sacrifices of the Old Law he took away, performing that in very deed, which they did ſignifie and promiſe. Whoſoever therefore ſhall fix the hope of his Salvation in any other Sacrifice, he falleth from the Grace of Chriſt, and is contumelious againſt the Blood of Chriſt. For *He was wounded for our Tranſgreſſions, and was broken for our Iniquities. All we like ſheep have wandred aſtray. Every man hath turned after his own way, and the Lord hath laid all our Iniquities upon him. For he hath entred once for all into the Holy place by the Blood, not of Goats or Calves, but by his own Blood, finding eternal Redemption: And hath entred into Heaven, to appear now in the ſight of God for us, not to offer himſelf often-times (for ſo ſhould he have ſuffered many times) but now hath he appeared once to put away ſin, through his own Oblation. And as it is appointed to all men once to dye, ſo alſo Chriſt once was offered: Who offering up one Oblation for Sins, ſitteth now for ever on the right hand of God. For by one Oblation hath he made perfect for ever thoſe that be ſanctified.* For *where is remiſſion of Sins, there is now no Oblation for Sin*, but this only Sacrifice of Chriſt; whoſoever ſhall ſeek any other Sacrifice Propitiatory for Sin, maketh the Sacrifice of Chriſt of no validity, force, or efficacy. For if it be ſufficient to remit Sins, what need is there of any other? For the neceſſity of another argueth and declareth this to be inſufficient. Almighty God grant that we may truly lean to one Sacrifice of Chriſt, and that we to him again may repay our Sacrifices of Thankſgiving, of Praiſe, of Confeſſing his Name, of true Amendment, of Repentance, of Mercifulneſs towards our Neighbours, and of all other good Works of Charity. For by ſuch Sacrifices we ſhall declare our ſelves neither ingrateful to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy Sacrifice of Chriſt. And thus you have out of the Teſtimonies of holy Scripture, and of the Ancient Doctors of the Church, the true and ſincere uſe of the Lords holy Supper, and the fruit of the true Sacrifice of Chriſt. Which whoſoever through captious or wreſted Interpretations, or by mens Traditions, ſhall go about, otherwiſe than Chriſt ordained them, to alter or Tranſubſtantiate, he ſhall anſwer to Chriſt in the latter Day, when he ſhall underſtand (but then too late) that he hath no participation with the Body and Blood of Chriſt, but that out of the Supper of Eternal life he hath eaten and drunken eternal Damnation to himſelf.

Anno 15[illegible]

Heb. 9.

Heb. 9. 27.

No Sacrifice now for Sin, but One.

Chriſt ſacrificed once for Sin, we ſacrifice daily by Thankſgiving, and thankful works of Charity.

Weſt. Becauſe we will not conſume and ſpend the time in waſte, this your Writing which you exhibit, hereafter ſhall be read in this place. In the mean ſeaſon let us now fall to the Arguments.

Ched. The Scriptures in many places do affirm, that Chriſt gave his Natural Body, *Matth. 26. Mark 14. Luke 22.*

Argument.

Ergo, I do conclude that the Natural Body is in the Sacrament.

Cran. To your Argument I anſwer: If you underſtand by the Body Natural (*Organicum*,) that is, having ſuch proportion and members as he had living here, then I Anſwer Negatively.

Anſwer.

Furthermore, Concerning the Evangeliſts, thus I ſay and grant, that Chriſt took Bread, and called it his *Body*.

Ched. The Text of the Scripture maketh againſt you, for the Circumſtance thereto annexed doth teach us, not only there to be the Body, but alſo teacheth us what manner of Body it is, and ſaith, *The ſame Body which ſhall be given.*

Ba. That thing is here contained, that is given for us.

Argument.

ro. But the Subſtance of Bread is not given for us.

co. *Ergo*, The Subſtance of Bread is not here contained.

Anſwer.

Cran. I underſtand not yet what you mean by this word *Contained*: If ye mean Really, then I deny your Major.

This word (*Contained*) diſtinguiſhed. The Body of Chriſt contained not Really, but Sacramentally.

Ched. The Major is the Text of Scripture. He that denieth the Major, denieth the Scripture. For the Scripture ſaith, *This is my Body which is given for you.*

Cran. I grant he ſaid it was his Body which ſhould be given, but he ſaid it was not his Body which is here contained; *but the Body* (ſaith he) *that ſhall be given for you.* As though he ſhould ſay, *This Bread is the breaking of my Body, and this Cup is the ſhedding of my Blood.* What will ye ſay then? is the Bread the breaking of his Body, and the Cup the ſhedding of his Blood really? if you ſay ſo, I deny it.

Ched. If you ask what is the Thing therein contained; becauſe his Apoſtles ſhould not doubt what Body it was that ſhould be given, he ſaith, *This is my Body which ſhall be given for you, and my Blood which ſhall be ſhed for many.* *Ergo*, Here is the ſame Subſtance of the Body, which the day after was given, and the ſame Blood which was ſhed. And here I urge the Scripture, which teacheth that it was no phantaſtical, no feigned, no Spiritual Body, nor Body in Faith, but the Subſtance of the Body.

Chriſt ſaith not, This is my Body which is here contained; but, This is my Body which ſhall be given for you.

Cran.

Luy 53.

Anno 1554.

Cran. You muſt prove that it is contained, but Chriſt ſaid not which is contained. He gave Bread, and called that his Body. I ſtick not in the words of the Scripture, but in your word, which is feigned and imagined of your ſelf.

Ched. When Chriſt took Bread and brake it, what gave he?

Cran. He gave Bread. The Bread Sacramentally, and his Body Spiritually, and the Bread there he called his Body.

Ched. This Anſwer is againſt the Scripture, which ſaith, that he gave his Body.

Cran. It did ſignifie that which he did eat.

Ched. They did not eat the Body as the *Capernaites* did underſtand it, but the ſelf ſame Body which was given for the Sins of the World. *Ergo*, It was his Body which ſhould be given, and his Blood which ſhould be ſhed.

In ſome other Copies I find this Argument to be made by Chedſey.

Argument. *Ba-* The ſame Body is in the Sacrament, which was given for us on the Croſs.

ro- But Bread was not given on the Croſs for us:

co. *Ergo*, Bread is not given in the Sacrament.

Anſwer. *Cran.* I deny the Major, which is, that the ſame Natural Body is given in the Sacrament, which was given on the Croſs, except you underſtand it Spiritually. And after he denied alſo the Argument as utterly naught, as he might well do, the Major in the ſecond Figure being not univerſal.

When Mr. Chedſey *had put forth his Argument, and proſecuted the ſame, and Dr.* Cranmer *anſwered as before is ſhewed, Dr.* Oglethorpe, *one of thoſe Doctors which the Prolocutor called* Cenſores *(belike to be Arbiters to order the Diſputations) ſaid on this wiſe.*

Dr. Oglethorp breaketh *Triſtram's* head, and ſpeaketh falſe Latin. *Cranmer* anſwereth to *Oglethorpe*, Dr. *Cranmer* might have found fault with this Argument as well as with his Latin, being made in no mood or figure.

D. Ogle. You come in ſtill with one evaſion or ſtarting hole to flee to. He urgeth the Scriptures, ſaying that Chriſt gave his very Body. You ſay, that he gave his Body in Bread. *Quomodo prædicatur corpus? qualis eſt corpus? qualis eſt prædicatio? panis eſt corpus.*

Cran. You ſhould ſay, *Quale corpus.* I anſwer to the Queſtion: It is the ſame Body which was born of the Virgin, was crucified, aſcended; but tropically, and by a figure. And ſo I ſay, *Panis eſt corpus*, is a figurative Speech, ſpeaking Sacramentally, for it is a Sacrament of his Body.

Ogle. This word *Body*, being *prædicatum*, doth ſignifie Subſtance.

But *Subſtantia* is not predicated denominatively.

Ergo, It is an Eſſential predication, and ſo it is his true Body, and not the figure of his Body.

Cran. Subſtantia may be predicated denominatively in an Allegory, or in a Metaphor, or in a Figurative locution.

Ogle. It is not a likely thing that Chriſt hath leſs care for his Spouſe the Church, than a wiſe Houſholder hath for his Family in making his Will or Teſtament.

Your Reaſon is drawn out of the affairs of Men, and not taken out of the holy Scriptures.

Ogle. But no Houſholder maketh his Teſtament after that ſort.

Tropes may be uſed in mens Teſtaments: why not? *Cran.* Yes, there are many that ſo do. For what matter is it ſo it be underſtood and perceived? I ſay Chriſt did uſe figurative Speech in no place more than in his Sacraments, and ſpecially in this of his Supper.

Ogle. No man of purpoſe doth uſe Tropes in his Teſtament, for if he do, he deceiveth them that he comprehendeth in his Teſtament: therefore Chriſt uſeth none here.

Cran. Yes, He may uſe them well enough. You know not what Tropes are.

Ogle. The good Man of the houſe hath reſpect that his Heirs, after his departure, may live in quiet and without brabling.

But they cannot be in quiet if he do uſe Tropes: Therefore (I ſay) he uſeth no Tropes.

Cran. I deny your Minor.

Auguſtine incarnate Euchariſt. *Weſt. Auguſtine* in his Book intituled *De unitate Eccleſiæ* the 10th Chapter, hath theſe words following:

Quid hoc eſt rogo? cum verba noviſſima hominis morientis audiantur ituri ad inferos, nemo eum dicit eſſe mentitum, & illius non judicatur hæres qui forte ea contemſerat. Quomodo ergo effugiemus iram Dei, ſi vel non credentes, vel contemnentes, expulerimus verba noviſſima, & unici filii Dei & Domini noſtri Salvatoris, & ituri in cælum, & inde proſpecturi, quis ea negligat, quis non obſervet, & inde venturi ut de omnibus judicet?

A place of *Auguſtine* recited by the Prolocutor.

That is to ſay,

What a thing is this I pray you, when the laſt words of one lying upon his Death-bed are heard which is ready to go to his Grave; no man ſaith that he hath made a Lye, and he is not accounted his Heir which regardeth not thoſe Words. How ſhall we then eſcape Gods Wrath, if either not believing or not regarding we ſhall reject the laſt Words both of the only Son of God, and alſo of our Lord and Saviour, both aſcending into Heaven, and beholding from thence, who deſpiſeth, who obſerveth them not; and ſo ſhall come from thence to judge all Men.

The Argument is thus formed:

Argument *Bar-* Whoſoever ſaith that the Teſtator lyeth, is a wicked Heir,

ba- But whoſoever ſaith that Chriſt ſpake by figures, ſaith that he did lye.

ra. *Ergo*, Whoſoever ſaith that Chriſt here ſpake by Figures, is a wicked Heir.

Anſwer. *Cran.* I deny the Minor. As who ſay it is neceſſary, that he which uſeth to ſpeak by Tropes and Figures ſhould lye in ſo doing.

Ogle. Your Judgment is diſagreeing with all Churches.

Cran. Nay, I diſagree with the Papiſtical Church.

Ogle. This you do through the ignorance of Logick.

Cran. Nay, this you ſay through the Ignorance of the Doctors.

Weſton. I will go plainly to work by Scriptures. What took he?

Cran. Bread.

Weſt. What gave he?

Cran. Bread.

Weſt. What brake he?

Cran. Bread.

Weſt. What did he eat?

Cran. Bread.

Argument. *Weſt.* He gave Bread, therefore he gave not his Body. He gave not his Body, therefore it is not his Body verily, and in deed and in truth.

Cran. I deny the Argument.

Diſparata is a School term, meaning diverſe Subſtances, being ſo ſundred in nature, that one can never be ſaid to be the other. *Cole.* This Argument holdeth, *à diſparatis*: It is Bread, *Ergo*, It is not the Body; and it is ſuch an Argument or Reaſon, as cannot be diſſolved.

Cran. The like Argument may be made. He is a Rock, *Ergo*, He is not Chriſt.

Cole. It is not alike.

Weſt. He gave not his Body indeed: *Ergo*, It was not his Body indeed.

The Sacrament, ſetting the Figure aſide, formally is not Chriſts Body. *Cran.* He gave his Death, his Paſſion, and the Sacrament of his Paſſion. And in very deed, ſetting the Figure aſide, formally it is not his Body.

Weſt. Why? then the Scripture is falſe.

Cran. Nay, the Scripture is moſt true.

Chryſoſt. Hom. 61. *Weſt.* This ſaith *Chryſoſtom, Homil.* 61. *ad Pop.* Antioch. *Neceſſarium eſt, dilectiſſimi, myſteriorum dicere miraculum quid tandem ſit; & quare ſit datum, & quæ rei utilitas, &c.*

That is to ſay,

Needful it is (Dear Friends) to tell you what the miracle of the Myſteries is, and wherefore it is given, and what profit there is of the thing. We are one Body, and Members of his Fleſh and of his Bones. We that be in the Myſtery, let us follow the thing which was ſpoken. Wherefore that we may become this thing, not only by love, but alſo that we may become one with that Fleſh indeed, that is brought to paſs by this food, which he gave unto us, minding to ſhew his great good will that he hath towards us: and therefore he mixed himſelf with us, and united his own Body with us, that we ſhould be made all as one thing together, as a Body joyned and annexed to the Head, for this is a token of moſt ardent and perfect love. And the ſame thing *Job* alſo inſinuating, ſaid of his Servants, of whom he was deſired

above meaſure, inſomuch that they, ſhewing their great deſire toward him, ſaid, who ſhall give unto us to be filled with his Fleſh? Therefore alſo Chriſt did the ſame, who, to induce us into a great love toward him, and to declare his deſire towards us, did not only give himſelf to be ſeen of them that would, but alſo to be handled and eaten, and ſuffered us to faſten our Teeth in his Fleſh, and to be united together, and ſo to fill all our deſire. Like Lions therefore, as breathing fire, let us go from that Table, being made terrible to the Devil, remembring our Head in our mind, and his Charity which he ſhewed unto us. For Parents many times give their Children to other to be fed, but I do not ſo (ſaith he) but feed you with mine own Fleſh, and ſet my ſelf before you, deſiring to make you all jolly People, and pretending to you great hope and expectation to look for things to come, who here give my ſelf to you, but much more in the World to come. I am become your Brother, I took fleſh and blood for you. Again, my Fleſh and Blood, by the which I am made your Kinſman, I deliver unto you.

Thus much out of *Chryſoſtom*. Out of which words I make this Argument.

Dr. Weſtons Argument without true form or figure.

The ſame Fleſh whereby Chriſt is made our Brother and Kinſman, is given of Chriſt to us to be eaten.

Chriſt is made our Brother and Kinſman, by his true, natural, and organical Fleſh.

Ergo, His true, natural, and organical Fleſh, is given to us to be eaten.

Dr. Weſtons Argument denied: we are the true Body of Chriſt: *Ergo*, we eat it with our Mouth. A figureleſs Argument.

Cran. I grant the conſequence, and the conſequent.

Weſt. Therefore we eat it with our mouth.

Cran. I deny it. We eat it through Faith.

Weſt. He gave us the ſame Fleſh to eat whereby he became our Brother and Kinſman.

But he became our Brother and Kinſman by his true, natural, and organical Fleſh.

Therefore he gave his true, natural, and organical Fleſh to be eaten.

Cran. I grant he took and gave the ſame true, natural, and organical Fleſh wherein he ſuffered, and yet he feedeth us ſpiritually, and that Fleſh is received ſpiritually.

Fallacia dicto ſecundum quid ad ſimpliciter.

Weſt. He gave us the ſame Fleſh which he took of the Virgin.

But he took not the true Fleſh of the Virgin ſpiritually, or in a figure.

Ergo, He gave his true natural Fleſh, not ſpiritually.

Cran. Chriſt gave to us his own natural Fleſh, the ſame wherein he ſuffered, but feedeth us ſpiritually.

Anſwer. *Chryſoſtom* alledged by Dr. *Weſton.* Hom. 83. *in* 26. *c.* Matth.

Weſt. Chryſoſtom is againſt you, *Hom.* 83. *in* 26. *cap. Matth.* where he ſaith; *Veniat tibi in mentem quo ſis honore honoratus, qua menſa fruaris. Ea namque re nos alimur, quam Angeli, &c.*

That is to ſay;

Let it come into thy remembrance with what honour thou art honoured, and what Table thou ſitteſt at: for with the ſame thing we are nouriſhed, which the Angels do behold and tremble at: neither are they able to behold it without great fear, for the brightneſs which cometh thereof; and we be brought and compact into one heap or maſs with him, being together one Body of Chriſt, and one Fleſh with him. Who ſhall ſpeak the powers of the Lord, and ſhall declare forth all his Praiſes? What Paſtor hath ever nouriſhed his Sheep with his own Members? Many Mothers have put forth their Infants after their birth to other Nurſes: which he would not do, but feedeth us with his own Body, and conjoyneth and uniteth us to himſelf.

Whereupon I gather this Argument.

Another falſe Argument, wherein the third figure the Minor is a Negative.

Like as Mothers nurſe their Children with Milk, ſo Chriſt nouriſheth us with his Body.

But Mothers do not nouriſh their Infants ſpiritually with their Milk:

Therefore Chriſt doth not nouriſh thoſe that be his ſpiritually with his Blood.

Anſwer. Argument.

Cran. He gave us the Wine for his Blood.

Weſt. If he gave the Wine for his Blood (as you ſay) then he gave leſs than Mothers do give.

But *Chryſoſtom* affirmeth, that he gave more than Mothers give.

Therefore he gave not the Wine for his Blood.

Cran. You pervert mine Anſwer. He gave Wine, yet the Blood is conſidered therein. As for Example: When he giveth Baptiſm, we conſider not the Water, but the Holy Ghoſt, and Remiſſion of Sins. We receive with the mouth the Sacrament; but the thing and the matter of the Sacrament we receive by Faith.

Weſt. When Chriſt ſaid, *Eat ye*, whether meant he by the Mouth or by Faith?

Cran. He meant that we ſhould receive the Body by Faith, the Bread by the Mouth.

Weſt. Nay, the Body by the Mouth.

Cran. That I deny.

Weſt. I prove it out of *Chryſoſtom*, writing upon the 50th Pſalm.

Eruheſcit fieri nutrix, quæ facta eſt mater: Chriſtus autem non ita ipſe nutritor eſt noſter: ideo pro cibo carne propria nos paſcit, & pro potu ſuum ſanguinem nobis propinavit. Item in 26. Matthæi, *Homil.* 83. *Nec enim ſufficit ipſi hominem fieri, flagellis interim cædi: ſed nos ſecum in unam, ut ita dicam, maſſam reducit, neque id fide ſolùm, ſed re ipſa nos corpus ſuum efficit.*

That is to ſay;

She that is a Mother, ſhameth ſometime to play the Nurſe. But Chriſt our Nurſe doth not ſo play with us. Therefore inſtead of Meat he feedeth us with his own Fleſh, and inſtead of Drink he feedeth us with his own Blood. Likewiſe, upon the 26th Chapter of *Matthew*, the 83 Homily, he ſaith: for it ſhall not be enough for him to become Man, and in the mean while to be whipped; but he doth bring us into one maſs or lump with himſelf (as I may ſo call it) and maketh us his Body, not by Faith alone, but alſo in very deed.

Cran. I grant, we make one Nature with Chriſt. But that to be done with Mouth I deny.

Weſt. Chryſoſt. 2 *Cor. cap.* 13. *Hom.* 29. hath theſe words, *Non vulgarem honorem conſequuntur eſt os noſtrum, accipiens corpus Dominicum*, i. *No little honour is given to our Mouth, receiving the Body of the Lord.*

Cran. This I ſay, that Chriſt entreth into us both by our Ears and by our Eyes. With our Mouth we receive the Body of Chriſt, and tear it with our Teeth, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt. Wherefore I ſay and affirm, that the virtue of the Sacrament is much: and therefore *Chryſoſtom* many times ſpeaketh of Sacraments no otherwiſe, than of Chriſt himſelf, as I could prove, if I might have liberty to ſpeak, by many places of *Chryſoſtom*, where he ſpeaketh of the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt.

With which word of the *Sacrament* of the Body, &c. D. *Cole* being highly offended, denied it to be the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt, ſave only of the Myſtical Body which is the Church.

Cran. And why ſhould we doubt to call it the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt, offered upon the Croſs, ſeeing both Chriſt and the Ancient Fathers do ſo call it?

Cole. How gather you that of *Chryſoſtom*?

Cran. Chryſoſtom declareth himſelf, *Lib.* 3. *de Sacerdotio, cap.* 3. *O miraculum, O Dei in nos benevolentia, qui ſurſum ſedet ad dextram Patris, ſacrificii tamen tempore hominum manibus continetur, traditurque lambere cupientibus eum! Fit autem id nullis præſtigiis, ſed apertis & circumſpicientibus circumſtantium omnium oculis.*

That is to ſay;

O Miracle, O the good Will of God towards us, which ſitteth above at the Right hand of the Father, and is holden in mens hands at the Sacrifices time, and is given to feed upon, to them that are deſirous of him! And that is brought to paſs by no ſubtilty or craft, but with the open and beholding Eyes of all the Standers-by.

Thus you hear Chriſt is ſeen here in Earth every day, is touched, is torn with the Teeth, that our Tongue is red with his Blood; which no Man having any Judgment will ſay or think to be ſpoken without Trope or Figure.

Weſt. What Miracle is it if it be not his Body, and if he ſpake only of the Sacrament, as though it were his Body?

But

Anno 1554.

Chriſt nouriſheth us both with Bread and with his Body: with Bread our Bodies, with his Body our Souls.

A groſs ſaying.

Chryſ. alledged by Dr. Weſton. Chryſ. in Pſal. 50. Item Hom. 83. in 26. cap. Matth.

Chryſoſtom alledged by D. Weſton. Hom. 29. in Epiſt. 2 Cor. cap. 13.

The words of *Chryſoſtom* expounded.

Dr. *Cole* denieth the Sacrament to be a Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt but only a Sacrament of the Congregation, that is, of the myſtical Body of Chriſt.

Chryſoſtom alledged by Dr. *Cranmer*. Chryſ. lib. 3. de Sacerd. cap. 3.

Anno 1554.

But hearken what *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, *Hom.* 34. *Quod ſummo honore dignum eſt, id tibi in terra oſtendo. Nam quemadmodum in Regiis non parietes, non lectus aureus, ſed regium corpus in throno ſedens omnium præſtantiſſimum eſt: Ita quoque in cœlis Regium corpus, quod hunc in terra proponitur. Non Angelos, non Archangelos, non cœlos cœlorum, ſed ipſum horum omnium Dominum tibi oſtendo. Animadvertis quonam pacto, quod omnium maximum eſt, atque præcipuum in terra, non conſpicaris tantum ſed tangis, neque ſolum tangis, ſed comedis, atque eo accepto domum redis. Abſterge igitur ab omni ſorde animam tuam.*

That is to ſay.

Chryſoſtom alledged by Dr. Weſton. Chryſ. hom. 34.

I ſhew forth that thing on the Earth unto thee, which is worthy the greateſt Honour. For like as in the Palace of Kings, neither the Walls, nor the ſumptuous Bed, but the body of Kings ſitting under the cloth of Eſtate, and Royal Seat of Majeſty, is of all things elſe the moſt Excellent: ſo is in like manner the Kings Body in Heaven, which is now ſet before us on Earth. I ſhew thee neither Angels nor Archangels, nor the Heaven of Heavens, but the very Lord and Maſter of all theſe things. Thou perceiveſt after what ſort thou doeſt not only behold, but toucheſt, and not only toucheſt, but eateſt that which on the Earth is the greateſt and chiefeſt thing of all other, and when thou haſt received the ſame, thou goeſt home; wherefore cleanſe thy Soul from all Uncleanneſs.

Upon this, I conclude that the Body of Chriſt is ſhewed us upon the Earth.

How the Body of Chriſt is ſhewed us upon the Earth.

Cran. What? upon the Earth? no Man ſeeth Chriſt upon the Earth: He is ſeen with the Eyes of our Mind, with Faith and Spirit.

Weſt. I pray you, what is it that ſeemeth worthy higheſt Honour on the Earth? Is it the Sacrament, or elſe the Body of Chriſt?

Cran. Chryſoſtom ſpeaketh of the Sacrament, and the Body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth in the Sacrament.

Weſt. Ergo, Then the Sacrament is worthy greateſt Honour.

Cran. I deny the Argument.

Weſt. That thing is ſhewed forth, and is now in the Earth *(oſtenditur)* & (a) *(eſt)* which is worthy higheſt Honour.

(a) This word (*Eſt*) is not in *Chryſoſtom.* This Argument of *Weſton*, ſtanding only upon affirmatives in the ſecond figure, hath no perfect form in Logick.

But only the Body of Chriſt is worthy higheſt Honour.

Ergo, The Body of Chriſt is now on the Earth.

Cran. I anſwer, the Body of Chriſt to be on the Earth, but ſo as in the Sacrament, and as the Holy Ghoſt is in the Water of Baptiſm.

Weſt. Chryſoſtom ſaith *(oſtendo)* I ſhew forth, which noteth a Subſtance to be preſent.

Cran. That is to be underſtood Sacramentally.

Weſt. He ſaith *(oſtendo in terra)* I ſhew forth on Earth, declaring alſo the place where.

Cran. That is to be underſtood Figuratively,

Cranmer anſwereth to the place of *Chryſoſtom*, how Chriſt is ſhewed forth on the earth, not bodily, but in a Sacrament, that is, Sacramentally and figuratively.

Weſt. He is ſhewed forth, and is now on the Earth, *&c.* as before.

Cran. Your Major and Concluſion are all one.

Weſt. But the Major is true: *Ergo,* the Concluſion alſo is true.

That thing is on the Earth, which is worthy of moſt high Honour.

But no Figure is worthy of higheſt Honour.

Ergo, That which is on the Earth, is no Figure.

Cran. I anſwer, that is true Sacramentally.

Weſton falſifieth the words of *Chryſoſtom.*

Here *Weſton* crieth to him, that he ſhould anſwer to one part, bidding him repeat his Words. Which when he went about to do, ſuch was the Noiſe and crying out in the School, that his mild Voice could not be heard. For when he went about to declare to the People how the Prolocutor did not well Engliſh the Words of *Chryſoſtom*, uſing for *oſtenditur in terra*, He is ſhewed forth on the Earth, *eſt in terra*, He is on the Earth, whereas *Chryſoſtom* hath not *(Eſt)* nor any ſuch word of being on the Earth, but only of ſhewing, as the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, *in Baptiſmo oſtenditur, i.* is ſhewed forth in Baptiſm: and oftentimes he did inculcate this word *oſtenditur.* Then the Prolocutor, ſtretching forth his hand, ſet on the rude People to cry out at him, filling all the School with hiſſing, clapping of hands, and noiſe, calling him *indoctum, imperitum, impudentem, i.* unlearned, unſkilful, impudent. Which impudent and reproachful words this Reverend Man moſt patiently and meekly did abide, as one that had been inured with the ſuffering of ſuch-like reproaches. And when the Prolocutor, not yet ſatisfied with this rude and unſeemly demeanour, did urge and call upon him to anſwer the Argument: Then he bad the Notary repeat his Words again.

Unreverend words of the ſchool againſt Dr. Cranmer.

Notary. That which is worthy moſt high Honour, here I ſhew forth to thee on Earth.

The Body of Chriſt is worthy higheſt Honour.

Ergo, He ſheweth forth the Body of Chriſt here in Earth.

The Body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth to us here in earth divers ways: as in reading of the Scriptures, ſometimes in hearing Sermons, and alſo in Sacraments, and yet neither the Scriptures, the Sermons, nor Sacraments are to be worſhipped.

Cran. That is ſhewed forth here on the Earth which may be ſeen, which may be touched, and which may be eaten, but theſe things be not true of the Body.

Cole. Why ſhould not theſe things be true of the Body of Chriſt?

Cran. The Major out of *Chryſoſtom* is true, meaning of the Sacraments. For in the Sacrament the true Body of Chriſt, and not the Figurative Body, is ſet forth.

Weſt. Shew me ſomewhat in Earth worthy greateſt Honour.

Cran. I cannot, but in the Sacrament only.

Weſt. Ergo, The Sacrament is worthy greateſt Honour.

Cran. So it is.

Judges. Let it be written.

Cran. I pray you let my Anſwer be written likewiſe: I affirm, that the Body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth unto us. It is our Faith that ſeeth Chriſt.

Weſt. Oſtendo tibi, i. I ſhew it to thee, ſaith *Chryſoſtom*, not to thy Faith.

Cran. He ſpeaketh Sacramentally.

Weſt. Ergo, Chryſoſtom lieth. For he, ſpeaking of ſhewing, ſaith: *Ego* Chryſoſtomus *oſtendo, i.* I *Chryſoſtom* do ſhew. But he can ſhew nothing Sacramentally.

Ched. By force of Argument we are brought to this Point, That the Body of Chriſt is proved to be on Earth, not only Sacramentally, but in very deed alſo, by this reaſon, that it is worthy higheſt Honour. The reaſon is indiſſoluble.

Cran. I never heard a more vain Argument, and it is moſt vain; alſo it hath mine Anſwer unto it.

Ched. Will you affirm, that it is abſurd which *Chriſoſtom* ſaith, that the Body of Chriſt is touched?

I touch the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, as *Thomas* touched Chriſt.

Thomas touched Chriſt, and ſaid, *Dominus meus, Deus meus*, my Lord, my God.

Ergo, That which he touched was the Lord, the God.

The Argument of *Chedſey* is not formal

¶ This Argument, as I received it out of the Notaries Book, is not formal; but rather he ſhould conclude in the third Figure thus:

Da- As *Thomas* touched the Body of Chriſt, ſo we touch it in the Sacrament.

ti- *Thomas* touched the Body of Chriſt Corporally.

ſi. *Ergo,* We touch the Body of Chriſt Corporally in the Sacrament.

God cannot be touched.

Cran. I deny your Argument. He touched not God, but him which was God. Neither is it found Doctrine to affirm, that God is touched.

Ched. This is becauſe of the Union; ſo that God is ſaid to be touched, when Chriſt, which is both God and Man, is touched.

Tertul. de Reſurrectione carnis. Quod Symbolorum eſt, Rei attribuitur.

Tertullian de carnis Reſurrectione, ſaith, *Videamus de propria Chriſtiani hominis forma, quanta huic ſubſtantiæ frivolæ & ſordidæ apud Deum prærogativa ſit. Etſi ſufficeret illi, quòd nulla omnino anima ſalutem poſſet adipiſci niſi, dum eſt in carne, crediderit: adeò caro ſalutis cardo eſt, de qua cum anima Deo alligatur, ipſa eſt quæ efficit ut anima alligari poſſit; ſed & caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur; caro ungitur, ut anima conſecretur; ſignatur, ut anima muniatur; caro manûs impoſitione adumbratur, ut anima Spiritu illuminetur; caro corpore & ſanguine Chriſti veſcitur, ut anima de Deo ſaginetur.*

That is to ſay.

Let us conſider as concerning the proper form of the Chriſtian Man, what great Prerogative this vain and foul ſubſtance of ours hath with God. Although it were ſufficient to it, that no Soul could ever get Salvation, unleſs it believe while it is in the fleſh: ſo much the fleſh availeth to Salvation; by the which fleſh it cometh, that whereas the Soul ſo is linked unto God, it is the ſaid fleſh that cauſeth the Soul to be linked: Yet the Fleſh moreover is waſhed that the

the Soul may be cleansed; the Flesh is anointed that the Soul may be consecrated; the Flesh is signed, that the Soul may be defended; the Flesh is shadowed by the Imposition of Hands, that the Soul may be illuminated with the Spirit; the Flesh doth eat the Body and Blood of Christ, that the Soul may be fed of God. Whereupon I gather this Argument.

Argument. The Flesh eateth the Body of Christ.

Ergo, The Body of Christ is eaten with the Mouth.

Phoceus 1 Cor. ca. 11. *Item Phoceus* 1 *ad Cor. cap.* 11. upon these words, *Reus erit Corporis & Sanguinis, &c.*

Phoceus alledged by Chedsey. Ὁ ἔνοχος τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, τοῦτο δηλοῖ, ὅτι καθάπερ παρέδωκε μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰούδας, παρῴνησαν εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. οὕτως ἀτιμάζουσι ἀκαθάρτοις δεχόμενοι, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι κρατοῦντες αὐτὸν τότε καὶ κατασπάτω προσφέροντες στόματι. Διὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλάκις τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου, δηλεῖ, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ψιλὸς ὁ θυόμενος, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ὁ ποιητὴς πάντων, ὡς δῆθεν διὰ τούτων ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς, *i. Quòd ait, reus corporis & sanguinis, istud declarat, quod sicuti Judas ipsum quidem tradidit, Judæi contumeliosè in ipsum insaniebant: Sic ipsum inhonorant qui sanctissimum ipsius corpus impuris manibus suscipiunt, & tanquam Judæi ipsi tenent & execrabili ore recipiunt. Quòd crebro mentionem facit corporis & sanguinis Domini, manifestat, quòd non sit simplex homo qui sacrificatur, sed ipse Dominus omnium Factor, tanquam per hæc quidem ipsos perterrefaciens.*

That is to say.

Whereas he saith, *Is guilty of the Body and Blood*, this he declareth, that like as *Judas* betrayed him, and the Jews were fierce and spiteful against him; so do they dishonour him, which receive his Holy Body with their Impure Hands, and as the Jews did hold him then, do now receive him with Impure Mouths. And whereas he often maketh mention of the Body and Blood of the Lord, he declareth, that it is not simply Man that is sacrificed, but even the Lord himself, being the Maker of all things, hereby (as it were) making them afraid.

Ergo, (As it is hereby gathered) the Body of Christ is touched with the Hands.

Cran. You vouch two Authors against me upon sundry things. First, I must answer *Tertullian*, and then the other.

Ched. They tend both to one Meaning.

Answer to *Tertullianus*. *Cran.* Unto *Tertullian* I answer (because our Disputation is wandring and uncertain) that he calleth that the Flesh which is the Sacrament. For although God work all things in us invisibly beyond Mans reach, yet they are so manifest, that they may be seen, and perceived of every sense. Therefore he setteth forth Baptism, Unction, and last of all the Supper of the Lord unto us, which he gave to signifie his Operation in us. The Flesh liveth by the Bread, but the Soul is inwardly fed by Christ.

D. Weston urgeth him with the words of Tertullian. *West.* Stick to those words of *Tertullian*, *Corpus vescitur, ut anima saginetur, id est*, The Body eateth, that the Soul may be fed.

Ched. The Flesh eateth the Body of Christ, that the Soul may be fed therewith.

West. Here you see two kinds of Food, of the Soul and of the Body.

Ched. He saith, that not only the Soul, but the Flesh is also fed.

Cran. The Soul is fed with the Body of Christ, the Body with the Sacrament.

Ched. Is the Soul fed with the Body of Christ, and not with the Sacrament?

Inwardly we eat the Body, outwardly the Sacrament. *Cran.* Read that which followeth, and you shall perceive, that by things External, an Operation Internal is understood. Inwardly we eat Christs Body, and outwardly we eat the Sacrament. So one thing is done outwardly, another inwardly. Like as in Baptism the External Element whereby the Body is washed, is one; the Internal thing, whereby the Soul is cleansed, is another.

(a) The form of this Argument which he repeateth, stood better before: for the form of this connexion answereth to none of the three Figures of Syllogisms.

Ched. The Soul is fed by that which the Body eateth.

But the Soul is fed by the Flesh of Christ.

Ergo, The Body eateth the Flesh of Christ.

Cran. We eat not one thing outwardly and inwardly. Inwardly we eat Christs Body: Outwardly we eat the Sacrament.

Ched. I will repeat the Argument.

(*a*) The Flesh eateth Christs Body, that the Soul may be fed therewith.

The Soul is not fed with the Sacrament, but with Christs Body.

Ergo, The Flesh eateth the Body of Christ.

Cran. The Sacrament is one thing, the Matter of the Sacrament is another. Outwardly we receive the Sacrament; Inwardly we eat the Body of Christ.

Ched. I prove, that we receive that outwardly wherewith the Soul is fed.

The Soul is fed with the Body of Christ.

Ergo, We eat the Body of Christ outwardly. Consequence

The Flesh eateth Christ his Body.

Ergo, The Soul is fed therewith. Consequence

Cran. The Flesh (I say) eateth the Sacrament; it eateth not Christs Body. For *Tertullian* speaketh of the Sacrament; and the place hath not (*inde*) thereof, but (*de Deo*) of God. Answer.

Ched. What say you to *Phoceus* saying? *They which receive the Body with Impure Hands, are guilty of the Lords Blood, as* Judas *was.*

West. That which followeth in *Tertullian* doth take away your shift, whereas he saith, *Non possunt ergo separari in mercede, quos operâ conjungit, i.* They cannot be separated in reward, whom one work joyneth together.

But *manducation*, i. the Work, or Labour; *Ergo*, &c.

The Form of this Argument may be thus collected.

Da- One work or labour joyneth Body and Soul together.

ri- *Manducation* is a Work, or Labour.

i. *Ergo*, One Manducation joyneth together both Body and Soul.

(*a*) To the *major* of which Argument, thus it may be answered, expounding the saying of *Tertullian*, *Una opera conjungit, sed non idem operandi modus.* Again, *opera* here in *Tertullian* may be taken for Temptations and Afflictions.

(a) As the Body and Soul are joyned in the work of Baptism, so are they joyned in the communion of the Lords Supper. For as the Flesh is washed with Water, that the Soul may be purged spiritually; so one body eateth the outward Sacrament, that the soul may be fed of God.

(*b*) *Cran.* Your Authority (I suppose) is taken out of the Book, *De Resurrectione carnis, i.* of the Resurrection of the Flesh: And the meaning thereof is this. *Tertullian* goeth about there to prove, that the Flesh shall rise again, because it is joyned together in one work with the Soul. Through Baptism in this World the Body is washed, and the Soul is washed: The Body outwardly, the Soul inwardly, the work is one. In this work they are joyned: and he speaketh of Signs.

(b) Answer to *Tertullian* de resurrect.

West. He speaketh of Eating in a Sign.

Ergo. The Reward is in a Sign.

Cran. They are coupled in one Work, namely, in the Sacrament.

West. There are two Works.

Ergo, There are two Rewards.

If the Work be in a Figure.

Ergo, The Reward is in a Figure.

Cran. He speaketh not of two Works. Two Works are but one Work. And yet he saith not, *Quos una opera conjungit, i.* Whom one Work joyneth together, but *opera, i.* A Work: As in Baptism the Soul and Body are joyned in Understanding.

West. The Flesh and Soul shall have one and the self same Reward, because they have one Work.

Cran. Because they be joyned together in one Work,

D. Tresham disputeth. *Tres.* Forasmuch as the Reverend Doctors here have impugned, and overthrown your Assertion and your Answers sufficiently: I will fall to another matter, not altogether impertinent to the Purpose, and that in few words, against a certain Sequel of your Opinion. The Sequel is this; That between us and Christ there is no further Conjunction, whiles we receive the *Eucharist*, than a Conjunction of the Mind, or a Spiritual Conjunction, whereby we are united and knit unto Christ through Faith and Love. As for the Presence of Christ concerning the Substance, that you utterly deny. Whereupon in very deed you leave but a Spiritual Union and joyning together of Mind. Howbeit you would seem to think otherwise by your subtil Answers: But I will declare by manifest Testimonies of the Fathers, that this your Sequel, which you account so sure, is far wide from the Truth. And I will begin with S. *Hilary*, who is both an Ancient and Learned Author. For disputing against the Arrians, *Octavo de Trinitate*, he saith, that this was their Opinion; That the Father and the Son are conjoyned only through Unity of Will. Whereupon *Arrius* himself, when Scripture was alledged against him,

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him, did (as you do now) elude the right meaning of it by his false Interpretations. But the Catholick Church hath always believed and ever maintained, *That Christ is one with the Father in Nature, and not by consent of Will only.* To the proof whereof, when the Catholicks vouched this Testimony of *John*, *Pater & Ego unum sumus*, i. *The Father and I are one*: The *Arrians* Answered, that (*unum sumus*) was to be understood by the assent of their Wills, and agreement of their Minds, not by Unity of their Natures. Thus it happeneth now adays, where Men do doubt of the Sacrament. But *Hilary* going on, and proving the Natural conjunction between the Father and the Son *à fortiori*; questioneth with his Adversaries after this manner. I demand of them now which will needs have the Unity of Will only between the Father and the Son, whether Christ be now in us truly by Nature, or only by the agreement of Wills. If (saith he) the word be incarnate in very deed, and we receive at the Lords Table the Word made flesh, how then is he to be thought not to dwell in us naturally, who being born Man, hath both taken the nature of our Flesh upon him that is now inseparable, and hath also mingled that nature of his own Flesh unto the nature of Eternity under the Sacrament of his Flesh, to be communicated unto us? Thus much hath *Hilary*. Whereupon I ask of you this question; How Christ dwelleth now in us? according to Faith, or according to Nature?

Conjunction between Christ and us.

Answer to *Hilary*.

Cran. I say that Christ dwelleth verily in us Carnally and Naturally, for that he hath taken of the Virgin our Flesh upon him, and because he hath communicated his Nature unto us.

Bucer contra Abrincensem alledged by *Tresham*.

Tresh. Bucer contra Abrincensem, referreth these words only to the Eucharist, saying, *Christ doth exhibit all this unto us in his holy Supper, and according to the holy Fathers* (saith he) *Christ liveth thereby in us, not only by faith and love, as absent, but naturally, corporally, and carnally. Wherefore he is not absent, neither are we joyned to Christ only by a spiritual Union (as you suppose) but also by a corporal and carnal Union.*

Cran. I know that Mr. *Bucer* was a Learned man. But your Faith is in good case, which leaneth upon *Bucer*.

Thresh. I do not bring *Bucer* as a Patron of our Faith, but because he is a man of your sort, and yet bringeth this place of *Hilary* for that Union which we have by the Sacrament, and confesseth, that by it we are Carnally united to Christ, whereas you think we are joyned by it only through Faith and Love.

Christ communicated and united to us by Birth, by Unity of the Church, by the Communion, by Baptism, by Faith.

Cran. I say that Christ was communicated unto us, not only by Faith, but in very deed also when he was born of the Virgin. We have fellowship with Christ, when we are united in the Unity of the Church, when we are made flesh of his Flesh, and bones of his Bones; and so we are united in the Communion, in Baptism, and in Faith.

Thresh. I pray you what fellowship have we with Christ, in that he is made Man? Are not the *Turks* and *Jews* therein joyned with him? For they are Men as we are, and are joyned with him in Mans nature, in that he was born of a Woman. I speak now of a more near Unity. We are made one with Christ by the Communion in a perfect Unity.

We are united to Christ by Communion so as we are by Baptism.

Cran. We are made so, I grant: but we are made so also by Baptism; and the Unity in Baptism is perfect.

Thresh. We are not made one by Baptism in a perfect Unity, as *Hilary* there speaketh, but by the Communion, by which we are carnally made one, but not likewise by Baptism: wherefore you understand not *Hilary*. You shall hear his words, which are these: *He had now declared afore the Sacrament of his perfect Union, saying; As the living Father sent me, so do I also live by the Father. And he that eateth my Flesh, shall also live through me.* And a little after that he writeth thus: *This truly is the cause of our Life, that we have Christ dwelling by his Flesh in us that are fleshly, which also by him shall live in such sort as he liveth by his Father.* Wherefore of these Words it is manifest, that we obtain this perfect Unity by means of the Sacrament, and that Christ by it is Carnally united unto us.

Objection of *Hilary*.

Answer to the place of *Hilary*.

Cran. Nay, *Hilary* in that same place doth teach, that it is done by Baptism: and that Doctrine is not to be suffered in the Church, which teacheth, that we are not joyned to Christ by Baptism.

West. Repeat the Argument.

Cran. You must first make an Argument.

Thresh. It is made already, but it shall be made again in this form:

Argument.

Da. As Christ liveth by his Father, so they that eat Christs Flesh live by the same flesh.

ti. But Christ liveth by the Father, not only by Faith and Love, but Naturally.

fi. Ergo, We live not through the eating of Christs flesh, by Faith and Love only, but Naturally.

Cran. We live by Christ, not only by Faith and Love, but Eternally indeed.

Thresh. Nay, (*b*) Naturally; I prove it thus:

(*b*) The Papists by this one word *Naturally* confound themselves. For if the Natural Body of Christ were eaten, and went naturally into our Bodies, then should it follow, that the nature of his Body being Immaculate, and now also Immortal, our Bodies united in Nature to his pure and Immortal Body, naturally should never sin nor dye. Whereforе it remaineth, that the Natural uniting to Christs Body, cometh not by the bodily eating of the Sacrament, unto our Body, not to our Soul, and so shall redound at length unto our Bodies. If that Union of the Substance of Flesh should be granted unto our Bodies, then should our Bodies never dye, nor see corruption, The same Argument again repeated. Answer.

As Christ liveth by the Father, so live we by his Flesh eaten of us.

But Christ liveth not by his Father, only by Faith and Love, but Naturally.

Therefore we do not live by eating of Christs Flesh only by Faith and Love (as you suppose,) but Naturally.

Cran. The Minor is not true.

Thresh. This is the Opinion of *Arrius*, That Christ is united to his Father by conjunction of Mind, and not Naturally.

Cran. I say not so yet, neither do I think so: But I will tell you what I like not in your Minor. You say, *That Christ doth not live by his Father only by Faith and Love:* but I say, *That Christ liveth not at all by his Faith.*

West. Mark and consider well this word (*by Faith*) lest any occasion of Cavilling be given.

Thresh. Let that word (*by Faith*) be omitted. Neither did I mean, that Christ liveth by his Father through Faith. Yet the strength of the Argument remaineth in force; for else *Hilary* doth not confute the *Arrians*, except there be a greater conjunction between us and Christ, when he is eaten of us, than only a Spiritual conjunction. You do only grant an Union. As for a Carnal or Natural Union of the Substance of Flesh, by which we are joyned more than Spiritually, you do not grant. But our Lord Jesus give you a better Mind, and shew you the light of his Truth, that you may return into the way of Righteousness.

West. We came hither to Dispute, and not to Pray.

Tres. Is it not lawful to pray for them that Err?

West. It is not lawful yet. But proceed.

Tres. Again, I reason thus; As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by the eating of his Flesh.

But Christ liveth not by his Father, only in unity of Will, but Naturally.

Ergo, We do not live when we eat the Flesh of Christ, only by Faith and Unity of Will, but Naturally.

Cran. This is my Faith, and it agreeth with the Scripture, Christ liveth by his Father Naturally, and maketh us to live by himself indeed Naturally, and that not only in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, but also in Baptism. For Infants, when they are baptized, do eat the Flesh of Christ.

West. Answer either to the whole Argument, or to the parts thereof. For this Argument is strong, and cannot be dissolved.

Cran. This is the Argument:

The Archbishop repeateth the Argument.

As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by his Flesh, being eaten of us.

But Christ liveth not by his Father only in Unity of Will, but Naturally.

Ergo, We eating his Flesh do not live only by Faith and Love, but Naturally.

But the Major is false; namely, That by the same manner we live by Christ, as he liveth by his Father.

West. (a) *Hilary* saith, *After the same manner*, upon these words, *He that eateth my Flesh shall live by me. Ergo*, Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner we shall live by his Flesh. Here you see, that *Hilary* saith, *After the same manner.*

(a) Christ not after his Manhood, but after his Divine Nature, liveth naturally by his Father, which Divine Nature of his worketh also in his Manhood an Immortality: So our Spirit and Soul, receiving the Natural body of Christ in the Mysteries, by Faith do receive also the nature of his Body, that is, his Pureness, Justification, and Life: the operation whereof redounding likewise unto our Bodies, doth make the same also capable of the same Glory and Immortality. And thus it is true that as Christ liveth Naturally by his Father, so we live Naturally by the Body of Christ eaten in the Mysteries, having respect both to the Man-hood of him and us. For as the Flesh of Christ in respect of bare Flesh, liveth not Naturally by the Father, but for that it is joyned to his Divinity: So our Flesh liveth not naturally by Christs Body eaten in the Sacrament (for then every wicked Man eating the Sacrament should live Naturally by him) but for that our Flesh is joyned to the Spirit and Soul, which truly eateth the Body of Christ by Faith: and so only the Bodies of the Faithful do live by eating the Body of Christ naturally, in participating the Natural properties of the Body of Christ.

Cran.

Cran. After the ſame manner, doth not ſignifie alike in all things, but indeed and eternally: for ſo do we live by Chriſt, and Chriſt liveth by his Father: For in other reſpects Chriſt liveth otherwiſe by his Father, than we live by Chriſt.

Weſt. He liveth by his Father naturally and eternally.

Ergo, We live by Chriſt naturally and eternally.

Cran. We do not live naturally, but by Grace, if you take Naturally for the manner of Nature; as Chriſt hath Eternal life of his Father, ſo have we of him.

Weſt. I ſtick to this word *Naturally.*

Cran. I mean it touching the truth of Nature. For Chriſt liveth otherwiſe by his Father, than we live by Chriſt.

Naturally expounded.

Weſt. Hilary in his Eighth Book *De Trinitate*, denyeth it, when he ſaith: He liveth therefore by his Father, and as he liveth by his Father, after the ſame manner we ſhall live by his Fleſh.

Cran. We ſhall live after the ſame manner, as concerning the Nature of the Fleſh of Chriſt: For as he hath of his Father the Nature of Eternity, ſo ſhall we have of him.

Weſt. Anſwer unto the Parts of the Argument.

The Argument the third time repeated.

As Chriſt liveth by his Father, after the ſame manner ſhall we live by his Fleſh.

But Chriſt doth not live by his Father only in Unity of Will, but Naturally.

Ergo, We eating of his Fleſh, do not live only by Faith and Love, but Naturally.

Cran. I grant (as I ſaid) we live by Chriſt naturally: but I never heard that Chriſt liveth with his Father in Unity of Will only.

Weſt. Becauſe it ſeemeth a Marvel unto you, hear what *Hilary* ſaith: *Theſe things are recited of us to this end, becauſe the Hereticks, feigning an Unity of Will only between the Father and the Son, did uſe the Example of our Unity with God, as though we being United to the Son, and by the Son to the Father only by Obedience and Will of Religion, had no propriety of the Natural Communion by the Sacrament of the Body and Blood.*

But anſwer to the Argument. Chriſt liveth by his Father Naturally and Eternally: Therefore do we live by Chriſt Naturally and Eternally.

Cran. Cyril and *Hilary* do ſay, that Chriſt is united to us not only by Will, but alſo by Nature: He doth communicate to us his own Nature, and ſo is Chriſt made one with us Carnally and Corporally, becauſe he took our Nature of the Virgin *Mary*. And *Hilary* doth not ſay only that Chriſt is naturally in us, but that we alſo are naturally in him, and in the Father; that is, that we are Partakers of their Nature, which is Eternity, or Everlaſtingneſs. For as the Word, *receiving our Nature*, did joyn it in Unity of Perſon, and did communicate unto that our Nature, the Nature of his Eternity, that like as he, being the Everlaſting Word of the Father, had everlaſting Life of the Father; even ſo he gave the ſame Nature to his Fleſh. Likewiſe alſo did he communicate with us the ſame Nature of Eternity, which he and the Father have, and that we ſhould be one with them, not only in Will and Love, but that we ſhould be alſo Partakers of the nature of everlaſting Life.

Ex exemplari manu Cranmeri deſcripto.

Naturally expounded, that is, our Bodies to participate the nature and properties of Chriſts Holy Immortal Body.

Weſt. Hilary, where he ſaith, *Chriſt communicated to us his Nature*, meaneth that not by his Nativity, but by the Sacrament.

Cran. He hath communicated to us his Fleſh by his Nativity.

Weſt. We have communicated to him (b) our Fleſh when he was born.

b Then had Chriſt a ſinfull Fleſh.

Cran. Nay, he communicated to us his Fleſh, when he was born, and that I will ſhew you out of *Cyril* upon this place, *Et homo factus eſt.*

Weſt. Ergo, Chriſt being born, gave us his Fleſh.

c That is, made us partakers of the properties, life, innocency, and reſurrection of his Body.

Cran. In his Nativity he made us (c) Partakers of his Fleſh.

Weſt. Write, Sirs.

Cran. Yea, write.

Dr. *Chedſey* again diſputeth. *Hilar. 8. de Trinit.*

Ched. This place of *Hilary* is ſo dark, that you were compelled to falſifie it in your Book, becauſe you could not draw it to confirm your Purpoſe.

If Chriſt have taken verily the Fleſh of our Body, and the Man that was verily born of the Virgin Mary *is Chriſt, and alſo we receive under the true Myſtery the Fleſh of his Body, by means whereof we ſhall be one (for the Father is in Chriſt, and Chriſt in us) how ſhall that be called the Unity of Will, when the natural Property, brought to paſs by the Sacrament, is the Sacrament of Unity. We muſt not ſpeak in the ſenſe of Man, or of the World in matters concerning God: Neither muſt we perverſly wreſt any ſtrange or wicked Senſe out of the wholeſome Meaning of the Holy Scripture, through impudent and vile Contention. Let us read thoſe things that are written, and let us underſtand thoſe things that we read, and then we ſhall perform the Duty of perfect Faith. For as touching the Natural and True Being of Chriſt in us, except we learn of him, we ſpeak fooliſhly and ungodly that thing that we do ſpeak. For he ſaith, My Fleſh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is drink indeed: He that eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, abideth in me, and I in him. As touching the Verity of his Fleſh and Blood, there is left no place of doubt: For now, both by the Teſtimony of the Lord, and alſo by our Faith, it is Verily Fleſh, and Verily Blood.*

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Here you have falſified *Hilary*, for you have ſet *vero ſub myſterio*, for *verè ſub myſterio*, we receive truly under a Myſtery. *Hilary* thrice reporteth *verè ſub myſterio*, and you interpret it twice *verè ſub myſterio*, but the third time you have *vero* for *verè*.

Thus far was their talk in Engliſh. Seing Mr. *Cranmer* had twice *veri*, and but once *vero*, they had no cauſe to be grieved, but that they were diſpoſed to find a knot in a Rush.

Cran. Aſſuredly, I am not guilty of any deceit herein. It may be that the Copy which I followed had *ſub vero myſterio*, *i.* under a True Myſtery; although touching the Senſe it differeth little. God I call to witneſs, I have always hated falſifying, and if you had leiſure and luſt to hear falſe Citations, I could recite unto you ſix hundred.

Weſt. Here ſhall be ſhewed you two Copies of *Hilary*, the one printed at *Baſil*, the other at *Paris*.

Cran. I ſuppoſe that Dr. *Smiths* Book hath *vero.*

* *Weſt.* Here is Dr. *Smith*; let him anſwer for himſelf. Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Doctor*, what ſay you for your ſelf? ſpeak, if you know it.

¶ Here Dr. *Smith*, either for the Truth in his Book alledged, or elſe aſtoniſhed with Dr. *Weſtons* haſty calling, ſtaid to anſwer: For he only put off his Cap, and kept ſilence.

Weſt. But your own Book, printed by *Wolf* your own Printer, hath *vero.*

Cran. That Book is taken from me, which eaſily might have ended this Controverſie. I am ſure, the Book of Decrees, hath *vero.*

Cole. Now you admit the Book of Decrees, when it maketh for you.

Here D. *Cole* begineth to carp.

Cran. Touching the ſenſe of the matter there is little difference. The change of one Letter for another, is but a ſmall matter.

Weſt. No? Yes; *Paſtor* (as you know) ſignifieth a Biſhop, and *Piſtor* ſignifieth a Baker. But *Paſtor* ſhall be *Piſtor*, a Biſhop ſhall be a Baker by this your change of one Letter, if *verè* and *vero* do nothing change the ſenſe.

Cran. Let it be ſo, that in *Piſtor* and *Paſtor* one Letter maketh ſome difference: Yet let *Piſtor* be either a Maker or Baker of Bread, ye ſee here the change of a Letter, and yet no great difference to be in the ſenſe.

Yong. This Diſputation is taken in hand, that the Truth might appear. I perceive that I muſt go another way to work than I had thought. It is a common ſaying, *Againſt them that deny Principles, we muſt not diſpute.* Therefore, that we may agree of the Principles, I demand, Whether there be any other Body of Chriſt, than his Inſtrumental Body?

D. *Yong* cometh in with his Sophiſtical Interrogations.

Cran. There is no Natural Body of Chriſt, but his Organical Body.

Yong. Again, I demand, whether Senſe and Reaſon ought to give place to Faith?

Cran. They ought.

Yong. Thirdly, Whether Chriſt be True in all his Words?

Cran. Yea, he is moſt True, and Truth it ſelf.

Yong. Fourthly, Whether Chriſt at his Supper minded to do that which he ſpake, or no?

Cran. Dicendo dixit, non fecit dicendo; ſed fecit Diſcipulis Sacramentum. i. In ſaying he ſpake, but in ſaying he made not, but made the Sacrament to his Diſciples.

Yong. Anſwer according to the Truth, Whether did Chriſt that as God and Man which he ſpake, when he ſaid, *This is my Body?*

D. *Yong's* Sophiſtical Interrogatories.

Cran.

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Cran. This is a Sophiſtical Cavillation; go plainly to work. There is ſome deceit in theſe Queſtions. You ſeek ſubtilneſs, leave your crafty fetches.

Yong. I demand, Whether Chriſt by theſe Words wrought any thing or no?

Cran. He did inſtitute the Sacrament.

Yong. But anſwer, whether did he work any thing?

Cran. He did work in inſtituting the Sacrament.

This Syllogiſm, ſpeaking of a Figure, hath no perfect Form nor Figure.

Yong. Now I have you; for before you ſaid, it was a Figurative Speech.

But a Figure worketh nothing.

Ergo. it is not a Figurative Speech. A Lyar ought to have a good Memory.

Cran. I underſtood your Sophiſtry before. You by Working underſtand Converting into the Body of Chriſt: But Chriſt wrought the Sacrament, not in Converting, but in Inſtituting.

Yong. Wo be to them that make Chriſt a Deceiver. Did he work any other thing than he ſpake, or the ſelf ſame thing?

Cran. He wrought the Sacrament, and by theſe Words he ſignified the Effect.

Yong. A Figurative Speech is no working thing.

Yong. But the Speech of Chriſt is Working:

Ergo, It is not Figurative.

Cran. It worketh by Inſtituting, not by Converting.

Yong. The thing ſignified in the Sacrament, is it not the Sacrament?

Anſwer to D. Yong. by S. Auſtin.

Cran. It is. For the thing is miniſtred in a Sign. He followeth the Letter that taketh the thing for a Sign. *Auguſtine* ſeparateth the Sacrament from the thing. The Sacrament (ſaith he) is one, and the thing of the Sacrament another.

Weſt. Stick to this Argument.

It is a Figurative Speech.

Ergo, It worketh nothing.

Yong. But the Speech of Chriſt is a Working thing.

Ergo, It is not Figurative.

Cran. Oh how many Crafts are in this Argument? they are meer Fallacies; I ſaid not, That the Words of Chriſt do work, but Chriſt himſelf; and he worketh by a Figurative Speech.

Weſt. If a Figure work, it maketh of Bread the Body of Chriſt.

Cran. A Figurative Speech worketh not.

Weſt. A Figurative Speech, by your own Confeſſion, worketh nothing.

But the Speech of Chriſt in the Supper (as you grant) wrought ſomewhat.

The figurative ſpeech worketh not but Chriſt by the figurative ſpeech worketh the Sacrament.

Ergo, The Speech of Chriſt in the Supper was not Figurative.

Cran. I anſwer, Theſe are meer Sophiſms: The Speech doth not work, but Chriſt by the Speech doth work the Sacrament.

I look for Scriptures at your Hands, for they are the Foundation of Diſputations.

Yong. Are not theſe Words of Scripture, *This is my Body*? The Word of Chriſt is of ſtrength; and by the Lords Words the Heavens were made. He ſaid, *This is my Body: Ergo,* he made it.

Cran. He made the Sacrament, and I deny your Argument.

Yong. If he wrought nothing, nothing is left there. He ſaid, *This is my Body.* You ſay contrary to the Scriptures, it is not the Body of Chriſt, and fall from the Faith.

Cran. You interpret the Scriptures contrary to all the Old Writers, and feign a ſtrange Senſe.

Amb. de iis qui initiantur, &c. cap. 9.

Yong. Ambroſe, *De iis qui initiantur Sacris, cap.* 9. ſaith: *De totius mundi operibus legiſti, quia ipſe dixit, & facta ſunt, ipſe mandavit & creata ſunt. Sermo Chriſti qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non poteſt ea quæ ſunt in id mutare quæ non erant? Non enim minus eſt novas res dare, quàm mutare naturas. Sed quid argumentis utimur? ſuis utamur exemplis, incarnationiſque exemplo aſtruamus myſterii veritatem. Nunquid naturæ uſus præceſſit cum Dominus Jeſus ex Maria naſceretur? Si ordinem quærimus, viro mixta fœmina generare conſuevit; Liquet igitur quod præter naturæ ordinem virgo generavit: & hoc quod conficimus corpus ex virgine eſt. Quid hic quæris naturæ ordinem in Chriſti corpore, cum præter naturam ſit ipſe Dominus Jeſus partus ex Virgine? Vera utique caro Chriſti quæ crucifixa eſt, quæ ſepulta eſt: Verè ergo illius Sacramentum eſt. Clamat Dominus Jeſus; Hoc eſt corpus meum. Ante benedictionem verborum cœleſtium alia ſpecies nominatur, poſt conſecrationem corpus ſignificatur. Ipſe dicit ſanguinem ſuum. Ante conſecrationem aliud dicitur: poſt conſecrationem ſanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis, Amen, hoc eſt, verum eſt. Quod os loquitur, mens interna fateatur: quod ſermo ſonat, affectus ſentiat.*

That is:

Thou haſt read of the Works of all the World; That he ſpake the Word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Cannot the Word of Chriſt, which made of nothing that which was not, change thoſe things that are, into that they were not? For it is no leſs matter to give new things, than to change Natures. But what uſe we Arguments? let us uſe his own Examples, and let us confirm the Verity of the Myſtery by Example of his Incarnation. Did the Uſe of Nature go before, when the Lord Jeſus was born of *Mary*? If you ſeek the Order of Nature, Conception is wont to be made by a Woman joyned to a Man. It is manifeſt therefore, that contrary to the "order of Nature, a Virgin did conceive: And this Body that we make, is of the Virgin. What ſeekeſt thou here the Order of Nature in the Body of Chriſt, when againſt the Order of Nature the Lord Jeſus was conceived of a Virgin? It was the true Fleſh of Chriſt which was crucified, and which was buried: Therefore it is truly the Sacrament of him. The Lord Jeſus himſelf crieth; *This is my Body.* Before the Bleſſing of the Heavenly Words, it is named another kind: but after the Conſecration the Body of Chriſt is ſignified. He calleth it his Blood. Before Conſecration it is called another thing: After Conſecration it is called Blood; and thou ſaiſt, *Amen*; that is, It is true. That the Mouth ſpeaketh, let the inward Mind confeſs; that the Word ſoundeth, let the Heart perceive.

"As Chriſt Jeſus was conceived againſt the order of nature; ſo in the inſtituting of this Sacrament the order of nature is not to be ſought.

Amb. lib. de ſacram. ca. 4.

The Fourth Chapter, ſaith thus: *Panis iſte panis eſt ante verba Sacramentorum; ubi acceſſerit conſecratio, de pane fit caro Chriſti. Hoc igitur aſtruamus; quomodo poteſt, qui panis eſt, corpus eſſe Chriſti conſecratione? conſecratio igitur quibus verbis eſt, & cujus ſermonibus? Domini Jeſu. Nam ad reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur, laus Deo defertur, oratione petitur pro Populo, pro Regibus, pro cæteris; ubi venitur ut conficiatur venerabile Sacramentum, jam non ſuis ſermonibus Sacerdos utitur, ſed ſermonibus Chriſti. Ergo ſermo Chriſti hoc conficit Sacramentum. Quis ſermo? Nempe is quo facta ſunt omnia. Juſſit Dominus & factum eſt cœlum; juſſit Dominus & facta eſt terra; juſſit Dominus & facta ſunt Maria, &c. Vides ergo quàm operatorius ſit ſermo Chriſti. Si ergo tanta vis eſt in ſermone Domini, ut inciperent eſſe quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius eſt, ut ſint quæ erant, & in aliud commutentur.*

That is to ſay.

The words of *Ambroſe* in Engliſh.

This Bread is Bread before the Words of the Sacraments; when the Conſecration cometh to it, of Bread it is made the Fleſh of Chriſt. Let us confirm this therefore; How can that which is Bread, by Conſecration be the Body of Chriſt? By what words then is the Conſecration made, and by whoſe Words? By the Words of our Lord Jeſus. For touching all other things that are ſaid, Praiſe is given to God, Prayer is made for the People, for Kings, and for the reſt: When it cometh that the Reverend Sacrament muſt be made, then the Prieſt uſeth not his own Words, but the Words of Chriſt: Therefore the Word of Chriſt maketh this Sacrament. What Word? That Word, by which all things were made: The Lord "commanded, and Heaven was made; the Lord commanded, and the Earth was made; the Lord commanded, and the Seas were made; the Lord commanded, and all Creatures were made. Doſt thou not ſee then how ſtrong in working the Word of Chriſt is? If therefore ſo great Strength be in the Lords Word, that thoſe things ſhould begin to be which were not before, how much the rather is it of Strength to work, that theſe things which were, ſhould be changed into another thing? *Ambroſe* ſaith, that the Words are of Strength to work.

"But the Lord Jeſus here uſed not ſuch words of commanding in the Sacrament as in the Creation: for we read not, *fiat hoc corpus meum*, as we read, *fiat lux &c.*

Weſton.

Weſton. You omit thoſe Words which follow, which maketh the Senſe of *Ambroſe* plain: Read them.

Amb. de Sacram. cap. 5.

Yong. Cælum non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat. Sed audi dicentem, ipſe dixit & facta ſunt; ipſe mandavit & creata ſunt. Ergo tibi ut reſpondeam, non erat corpus Chriſti ante conſecrationem, ſed poſt conſecrationem dico tibi quòd jam "corpus *Chriſti eſt.* That is, Heaven was not, the Sea was not, the Earth was not, but hear him that ſaid: He ſpake the word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Therefore to anſwer thee, it was not the Body of Chriſt before Conſecration, but after the Conſecration, I ſay to thee, that how it is the Body of Chriſt.

" Alloioſis rerum & ſymbolorum.

Cran. All theſe things are common. I ſay, that God doth chiefly work in the Sacraments.

Yong. How doth he work?

Cran. By his Power, as he doth in Baptiſm.

Yong. Nay, by the Word he changeth the Bread into his Body, This is the Truth, acknowledge the Truth, give place to the Truth.

Cran. O Glorious Words! You are too full of words.

Yong. Nay, O Glorious Truth! You make no Change at all.

Cran. Not ſo, but I make a great change; as in them that are baptized, is there not a great change, when the Child of the Bondſlave of the Devil, is made the Son of God? ſo it is alſo in the Sacrament of the Supper, when he receiveth us into his Protection and Favour.

Yong. If he work in the Sacraments, he worketh in this Sacrament.

Cran. God worketh in his Faithful, not in the Sacraments.

Weſt. In the Supper the Words are directed to the Bread; in Baptiſm to the Spirit. He ſaid not, the Water is the Spirit, but of the Bread he ſaid, *This is my Body.*

As the Dove is called the Spirit, ſo the Bread is called the Body.

Cran. He called the Spirit a Dove, when the Spirit deſcended in likeneſs of a Dove.

Weſt. He doth not call the Spirit a Dove; but he ſaith, that he deſcended as a Dove. He was ſeen in the likeneſs of a Dove. As in Baptiſm the words are directed to him that is baptized, ſo in the Supper the words are directed unto the Bread.

John 1. Auguſt. in John cap. 1.

Cran. Nay it is written, *Upon whomſoever thou ſhalt ſee the Spirit deſcending.* He calleth that which deſcended the Holy Spirit. And *Auguſtine* calleth the Dove, the Spirit. Hear what *Auguſtine* ſaith in 1 *Joh. Quid voluit per Columbam, id eſt, per Spiritum Sanctum? docere, qui miſerat eum.* That is, What meant he by the Dove, that is, by the Holy Ghoſt? forſooth to teach, who ſent him.

Ambroſe again repeated. De Sacram. cap. 4.

Yong. He underſtandeth of the Spirit deſcending as a Dove: The Spirit is inviſible. If you mind to have the Truth heard, let us proceed. Hear what *Ambroſe* ſaith: *Vides quàm operatorius ſit Sermo Chriſti. Si ergo tanta vis in ſermone Domini, &c. ut ſupra.* That is, You ſee what a working Power the Word of Chriſt hath. Therefore if there be ſo great Power in the Lords Word, that thoſe things which were not, begin to be, how much more of ſtrength is it, to work, that thoſe things that were, ſhould be changed into another thing?

Idem cap 5.

And in the fifth Chap. *Antequam conſecretur, panis eſt: ubi autem verba Chriſti acceſſerint, corpus eſt Chriſti, i.* Before it is conſecrated, it is Bread: but when the Words of Chriſt come to it, it is the Body of Chriſt.

But hear what he ſaith more; *Accipite, edite, hoc eſt corpus meum*; Take ye, eat ye, this is my Body. *Ante verba Chriſti calix eſt vini & aquæ plenus: ubi verba Chriſti operata fuerint, ibi ſanguis efficitur, qui redemit plebem, i.* Before the Words of Chriſt, the Cup is full of Wine and Water; when the Words of Chriſt have wrought, there is made the Blood of Chriſt which redeemed the People. What can be more plain?

Anſwer to Ambroſe.

Cran. Nay, what can be leſs to the purpoſe? The words are of ſtrength to work in this Sacrament, as they are in Baptiſm.

Pie. The Words of Chriſt (as *Ambroſe ſaith*) are of ſtrength to work. What do they work? *Ambroſe ſaith*, they make the blood which redeemed the People.

Ergo, The Natural Blood is made.

Cran. The Sacrament of his Blood is made. The words make the Blood to them that receive it: Not that the Blood is in the Cup, but in the Receiver.

Pie. There is made the Blood which redeemed the People. Anno 1554.

Cran. The Blood is made, that is, the Sacrament of the Blood, by which he redeemed the People. (*Fit*) it is made, that is to ſay, (*oſtenditur*) it is ſhewed forth there. And *Ambroſe* ſaith, we receive in a Similitude. *As thou haſt received the Similitude of his death, ſo alſo thou drinkeſt the Similitude of his precious Blood.*

Mark how D. Weſton expounded it to eat in a ſimilitude.

Weſt. He ſaith, *in a Similitude*, becauſe it is minſtred under another likeneſs. And this is the Argument:

"If this Syllogiſm be in the ſecond Figure (as by ſtanding of the Terms appeareth) then is it falſe, becauſe it concludeth affirmatively.

"There is made the Blood which redeemed the People.
But the Natural Blood redeemed the People.
Ergo, There is the Natural Blood of Chriſt.

You anſwer, that words make it Blood to them that receive it; not that Blood is in the Cup, but becauſe it is made Blood to them that receive it. That all men may ſee how falſly you would avoid the Fathers, hear what *Ambroſe* ſaith in the ſixth Book and firſt Chapter.

Amb. lib. 6. cap. 1. de Sacramentis Operari. Mutare.

Forte dicas, quomodo vera? qui ſimilitudinem video, non video ſanguinis veritatem. Primum omnium dixi tibi de ſermone Chriſti, qui operatur, ut poſſit mutare & convertere genera inſtituta naturæ. Deinde ubi non tulerunt ſermonem Diſcipuli ejus, ſed audientes, quòd carnem ſuam dedit manducari, & ſanguinem ſuum dedit bibendum, recedebant. Solus tamen Petrus dixit, Verba vitæ eternæ habes, & ego à te quò recedam? Ne igitur plures hoc diceret, veluti quidam eſſet horror cruoris, ſed maneret gratia redemptionis, ideo in ſimilitudinem quidem accipis ſacramentum, ſed verè naturæ gratiam virtutemque conſequeris.

That is to ſay.

Peradventure thou wilt ſay, How be they true? I which ſee the Similitude, do not ſee the truth of the Blood. Firſt of all I told thee of the Word of Chriſt, which ſo worketh, that it can change and turn kinds ordained by nature. Afterward, when the Diſciples could not abide the Words of Chriſt, but hearing that he gave his Fleſh to eat, and his Blood to dring, they departed. Only *Peter* ſaid, Thou haſt the Words of Eternal Life, Whether ſhould I go from thee? Leſt therefore more ſhould ſay this thing, as though there ſhould be a certain horror of Blood, and yet the Grace of Redemption ſhould remain: Therefore in a Similitude thou receiveſt the Sacrament, but indeed thou obtaineſt the Grace and Power of his Nature.

Anſwer to Ambroſe.

Cran. Theſe words of themſelves are plain enough. And he read this place again, *Thou receiveſt the Sacrament for a Similitude.* But what is that he ſaith, *Thou receiveſt for a Similitude?* I think he underſtandeth the Sacrament to be the ſimilitude of his Blood.

Ched. That you may underſtand that Truth diſſenteth not from Truth, to overthrow that which you ſay of that ſimilitude; hear what *Ambroſe* ſaith, *lib. 4. de Sacrament.*

Ambroſ. de Sacrament. lib. 4.

Si operatus eſt ſermo cæleſtis in aliis rebus, non operatur in Sacramentis cæleſtibus? Ergo didiciſti quod è pane corpus fiat Chriſti, & quod vinum & aqua in calicem mittitur, ſed fit ſanguis conſecratione verbi cæleſtis. Sed forte dices, ſpeciem ſanguinis non videri. Sed habet ſimilitudinem. Sicut enim mortis ſimilitudinem ſumpſiſti, ita etiam ſimilitudinem precioſi ſanguinis bibis, ut nullus horror cruoris ſit, & pretium tamen operetur redemptionis. Didiciſti ergo, quia quod accipis corpus eſt Chriſti.

That is to ſay.

If the Heavenly Word did work in other things, doth it not work in the Heavenly Sacraments? Therefore thou haſt learned, that of Bread is made the Body of Chriſt, and that Wine and Water is put into that Cup, but by conſecration of the Heavenly Word it is made Blood. But thou wilt ſay peradventure, that the likeneſs of Blood is not ſeen. But it hath a Similitude. For as thou haſt received the ſimilitude of his death, ſo alſo thou drinkeſt the ſimilitude of his precious Blood, ſo that there is no horror of Blood, and yet it worketh the price of Redemption. Therefore thou haſt learned, that that which thou receiveſt is the Body of Chriſt.

Note, that Ambroſe ſaith, we drink a ſimilitude of Chriſts Blood.

Anſwer to the place of Ambroſ. Sacraments be called by the name of the Things.

Cran. He ſpeaketh of Sacraments ſacramentally. He calleth the Sacraments by the Names of the Things; for he uſeth the Signs for the Things ſignified: And therefore the Bread is not called Bread, but his Body, for the

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the excellency and dignity of the thing signified by it. So doth *Ambrose* interpret himself, when he saith, *In cujus typum nos calicem mysticum sanguinis ad tuitionem corporis & animæ nostræ percepimus*, 1 *Cor.* 11.

Ambros. in 1 Cor. ca. 11.

That is to say.

For a Type or Figure whereof we receive the Mystical Cup of his Blood, for the safegard of our Bodies and Souls.

Ched. A Type? He calleth not the Blood of Christ a Type or Sign: but the Blood of Bulls and Goats in that respect was a Type or Sign.

Cran. This is new learning; you shall never read this among the Fathers.

Ched. But *Ambrose* saith so.

Cran. He calleth the Bread and the Cup a Type or Sign of the Blood of Christ, and of his benefit.

West. *Ambrose* understandeth it for a Type of his benefit, that is, of Redemption; not of the Blood of Christ, but of his Passion. The Cup is the Type or Sign of his Death, seeing it is his Blood.

Cran. He saith most plainly that the Cup is a Type of Christs Blood.

Ambrose alledged against *Amb.* Argument.

Ched. As Christ is truly and really Incarnate, so is he truly and really in the Sacrament

Da- But Christ is really and truly Incarnate.

ri- *Ergo*, The Body of Christ is truly and really in the Sacrament.

Cran. I deny the *Major*.

Ched. I prove the *Major* out of *Justine* in his second Apology, Οὐ τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν διὰ εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μετάβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

Justin. Apol. 1.

Cran. This place hath been falsified by *Marcus Constantius*. *Justine* meant nothing else but that the Bread, which nourishes us, is called the Body of Christ.

Answer to the place of Justine.

Ched. To the Argument. As Christ is truly and naturally Incarnate, *&c. ut supra.*

Cran. I deny your *Major*.

Ched. The Words of *Justine* are thus to be interpreted word for word.

Mutation.

Quemadmodum per verbum Dei caro factus Jesus Christus, Salvator noster, carnem habuit & sanguinem pro salute nostra: sic & cibum illum consecratum per sermonem precationis ab ipso institutæ, quo sanguis carnesque nostræ per commutationem nutriuntur, ejusdem Jesu, qui caro factus est, carnem & sanguinem esse accepimus.

That is to say.

As by the Word of God, Jesus Christ our Saviour, being made Flesh, had both Flesh and Blood for our Salvation: So we are taught, that the Meat * Consecrated by the Word of Prayer, instituted of him, whereby our Blood and Flesh are nourished by † Communion, is the Flesh and Blood of the same Jesus which was made Flesh.

*of Thanksgiving.

† Mutation.

Cran. You have translated it well; but I deny your *Major*. This is the sense of *Justine*; that the Bread is called the Body of Christ, and yet of that sanctified Meat our Bodies are nourished.

Answer.

Ched. Nay, he saith, of that sanctified Meat both our Bodies and Souls are nourished.

Cran. He saith not so; but he saith that it nourisheth our Flesh and Blood: And how can that nourish the Soul, that nourisheth the Flesh and Blood?

αἷμα καὶ σάρκες. i. Blood and Flesh.

Cole. It feedeth the Body by the Soul.

Cran. Speak uprightly. Can that which is received by the Soul and Spirit be called the Meat of the Body.

West. Hear then what *Irenæus* saith, *Eum calicem, qui est creatura, suum corpus confirmavit, ex quo nostra auget corpora. Quando & mixtus calix, & fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia sanguinis & corporis Christi, ex quibus augetur, & consistit carnis nostræ substantia.* This, the same Cup which is a Creature, he confirmed to be his Body, by which he increaseth our Bodies. When both the Cup mixed, and the Bread broken, hath joyned to it the Word of God, it is made the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, of which the substance of our Flesh is increased and consisteth.

Irenæus.

The substance of our Flesh is increased by the Body and Blood of Christ.

Argument.

Ergo, Our Body is nourished by the Body and Blood of Christ.

Irenæus answered by Tertul.

Cran. I deny your Argument. He calleth it the Flesh and Blood, for the Sacrament of the Body and Blood, as *Tertullian* also saith, *Nutritur corpus pane symbolico, anima corpore Christi.* That is, Our Flesh is nourished with Symbolical or Sacramental Bread, but our Soul is nourished with the Body of Christ.

West. Look what he saith more. *Quomodo carnem negant capacem esse donationis Dei quæ est vita æterna, quæ sanguine & corpore Christi nutritur? Lib.* 5. *post duo folia à principio.* That is, How do they say, that the Flesh cannot receive the gift of God that is eternal Life, which is nourished with the Blood and Body of Christ? That is in the 5. Book, two leaves from the beginning.

Irenæus Lib. 5.

Cran. The Body is nourished both with the Sacrament, and with the Body of Christ: With the Sacrament to a Temporal Life; with the Body of Christ to Eternal Life.

Ched. I cannot but be sorry, when I see such a manifest lye in your writings. For where you translate *Justine* on this fashion; that the Bread, Water, and Wine, are not so to be taken in this Sacrament, as common Meats and Drinks are wont to be taken of us, but are Meats chosen out peculiarly for this, namely, for the giving of thanks, and therefore be called of the Greeks *Eucharistia*, that is, thanksgiving, they are called moreover the Blood and Body of Christ (so have you translated it:) the Words of *Justine* are thus; *We are taught that the Meat consecrated by the Word of Prayer, by the which our Flesh and Blood is nourished by Communion, is the Body and Blood of the same Jesus which was made Flesh.*

Note that the Archb. here did not translate the Words of *Justine*, but only gather the effect of his meaning.

Cran. I did not translate it word for word, but only I gave the meaning: And I go nothing from his meaning.

Cranmer purgeth himself.

Harpsf. You remember touching *Justine*, to whom this Apology was written, namely, to an Heathen man. The Heathen thought that the Christians came to the Church to Worship Bread, *Justine* answereth, that we come not to common Bread, but as to, &c. as is said afore. Weigh the place well, it is right worthy to be noted; Our Flesh is nourished according to mutation.

In eating the Sacrament no Bread is considered, but only the true Body of Christ Consecrat. dist. 2. Quia.

Cran. We ought not to consider the bare Bread but whosoever cometh to the Sacrament eateth the true Body of Christ.

West. You have corrupted *Emissenus*; for in stead of *cibis satiandus*, that is, *to be filled with meat*, you have set *cibis satiandus spiritualibus*, that is, *to be filled with Spiritual Meats.*

Cran. I have not corrupted it; for it is so in the Decrees.

West. You have corrupted another place of *Emissenus*. For you have omitted these words, *Mirare cum reverendum altare cibis spiritualibus satiandus ascendis: Sacrum Dei tui corpus & sanguinem fide respice, honorem mirare, merito continge, &c.* That is, Marvel thou when thou comest up to the reverend Altar to be filled with Spiritual Meats: Look in Faith to the Holy Body and Blood of thy God, marvel at his Honour, worthily touch him.

Cran. This Book hath not that.

Cranmer Charged with false Translating.

West. Also you have falsified this place by evil Translating *Honora corpus Dei tui*, *i.* Honour the Body of thy God, You have translated it, *Honora eum qui est Deus tuus*, *i.* Honour him which is thy God. Whereas *Emissenus* hath not (honour him) but (honour the Body of thy God.)

Cranmer purgeth himself.

Cran. I have so translated him, and yet no less truly, than not without a weighty cause; else it should not have been without danger, if I had translated it thus; *Honour the Body of thy God*; because of certain, that according to the Error of the *Anthropomorphites*, dreamed that God had a Body.

West. Nay you most of all have brought the people into that Errour, which so long have taught that he sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; and counted me for an Heretick, because I preached that God had no right hand. Then I will oppose you in the very Articles of your Faith.

Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father.

But God the Father hath no right hand:

Ergo, Where is Christ now?

Argument. The right hand of God, what it signifieth.

Cran. I am not so ignorant a novice in the Articles of my Faith, but that I understand, that to sit at the right hand of God, doth signifie to be equal in the Glory of the Father.

Weſt. Now then take this Argument.

Whereſoever Gods authority is, there is Chriſts Body.

But Gods authority is in every place,

Ergo, What letteth the Body of Chriſt to be in every place?

Cranmer charged with miſtranſlating *Duns.*

Moreover you have alſo corrupted Duns.

Cran. That is a great offence, I promiſe you.

Weſt. For you have omitted *ſecundum apparentiam*, *i.* as it appeareth. Where his words are theſe, *Et ſi quæras quare voluit Eccleſia eligere iſtum intellectum ita difficilem hujus articuli, cum verba Scripturæ poſſint ſalvari ſecundum intellectum facilem & veriorem, ſecundum apparentiam, de hoc articulo, &c.* That is, if you demand why the Church did chuſe this ſo hard an underſtanding of this Article, whereas the words of Scripture may be ſalved after an eaſie and true underſtanding (as appeareth) of this Article, &c.

Cran. It is not ſo.

D. *Cranmer* challenged for ſetting forth the Catechiſm in the name of the Convocation.

Weſt. Alſo you have ſet forth a Catechiſm in the name of the *Synod* of *London*, and yet there be 50. which witneſſes that they were of the number of the Convocation, never heard one word of this Catechiſm.

D. *Cranmer* purgeth himſelf concerning the Catechiſm.

Cran. I was ignorant of the ſetting to of that Title; and aſſoon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it: Therefore when I complained thereof to the Councel, it was anſwered me by them, that the Book was ſo entituled becauſe it was ſet forth in the time of the Convocation.

Weſt. Moreover, you have in *Duns* tranſlated *In Romana Eccleſia, pro Eccleſia Catholica.* In the Church of *Rome*, for the Catholick Church.

Cran. Yea, but he meant the Romiſh Church.

D. *Cranmer* charged with miſtranſlating *Tho. Aquinas.*

Weſt. Moreover you have depraved S. *Thomas*, namely, where he hath theſe words; *In quantum vero eſt ſacrificium, habet vim ſatisfactivam: Sed in ſatisfactione attenditur magis affectio offerentis, quàm quantitas oblationis. Unde Dominus dicit apud Lucam de vidua quæ obtulit duo æra, quod plus omnibus miſit. Quamvis ergo hæc oblatio ex ſui quantitate ſufficiet ad ſatisfaciendum pro omni pœna: tamen fit ſatisfactoria illis pro quibus offertur, vel etiam offerentibus, ſecundum quantitatem ſuæ devotionis, & non pro tota pœna.* That is, Inaſmuch as it is a Sacrifice, it hath the power of ſatisfaction: But in ſatisfaction the affection of the offerer is more to be weighed than the quantity of the oblation. Wherefore the Lord ſaid in *Lukes* Goſpel, of the widow which offered two mites, that ſhe caſt in more than they all. Therefore although this oblation of the quantity of it ſelf will ſuffice to ſatisfie for all pain, yet it is made ſatisfactory to them, for whom it is offered, or to the offerers, according to the quantity of their devotion, and not for all the pain.

You have thus turned it, *Quod ſacrificium Sacerdotis habet vim ſatisfactivam, &c.* That is, That the Sacrifice of the Prieſt hath power of ſatisfaction, &c. And therefore in this place you have chopped in this word (*Sacerdotis*) of the Prieſt, whereas in the tranſlation of all the New Teſtament you have not ſet it, but where Chriſt was put to death. And again, where S. *Thomas* hath (*pro omni pœna*) for all pain, your Book omitteth many things there.

Weſton triumpheth before the victory.

Thus you ſee, Brethren, the Truth ſtedfaſt and invincible; you ſee alſo the craft and deceit of Hereticks; the Truth may be preſſed, but it cannot be oppreſſed: therefore cry altogether; *Vincit veritas*, *i.* The Truth overcometh.

This diſordered diſputation ſometime in Latin, ſometime in Engliſh, continued almoſt till two of the Clock. Which being finiſhed, and the Arguments written and delivered to the hands of M. *Say*, the Priſoner was had away by the Mayor, and the Doctors dined together at the Univerſity Colledge.

Diſputation at Oxford *between Doctor* Smith, *with his other Collegues and Doctors, and Biſhop* Ridley.

April 17. D. *Smith* ſet to diſpute againſt Biſhop *Ridley.*

THe next day following, which was the 12. of *April*, was brought forth Doctor *Ridley* to diſpute, againſt whom was ſet D. *Smith* to be principal Opponent. Touching which D. *Smith*, forſomuch as mention here happeneth of his name, firſt the Reader is to be advertiſed what is to be attributed to his judgment in Religion, which ſo oftentimes before had turned and returned to and fro, grounded (as it ſeemeth) upon no firm conſcience of Doctrine, as both by his Articles by him recanted may appear, and alſo by his own Letter ſent a little before in K. *Edwards* days to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* from *Scotland*. Which Letter I thought here to exhibit as a certain Preface before his own Arguments, or rather as a Teſtimony againſt himſelf, whereby the Reader may underſtand how devoutly he magnified them and their Doctrine a little before, againſt whom he now diſputed ſo buſily. Read I beſeech thee his Epiſtle, and judge.

Anno 1554.

The true Copy of a certain Epiſtle of D. *Richard Smith*, declaring his affection to the ſetting forth of Gods ſincere Word.

A Letter of D. *Smith* to D. *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

MOſt honourable, I commend me unto your Lordſhip, doing the ſame to underſtand, that I wrote Letters to your Grace in January *laſt and the tenth day of* February, *declaring the cauſes of my ſudden and unadviſed departing from your Grace over the Sea; and deſiring your good Lordſhip of your Charity toward them that repent of their ill Acts, to forgive me your ſelf all the wrong I did towards your Grace, and to obtain in writing the Kings Majeſty's Pardon for me in all points concerning his Laws: upon the receipt whereof I would return again home, and within half a year (at the uttermoſt) afterward write* D. *Smith* purpoſing to write for the marriage of Prieſts.

de Sacerdotum connubiis, &c. *a Latin Book that ſhould be a juſt ſatisfaction for any thing that I have written againſt the ſame.* Reliquaq; omnia dogmata veſtra tum demum libenter amplexurum, ubi Deus mentem meam; ut ea citra conſcientiæ læſionem agnoſcam, doceamque. *I wrote not this that I want any good living here, but becauſe mine abſence out of the Realm, is diſhonour to the Kings Highneſs and Realm, and becauſe I muſt needs (if I tarry here a quarter of a year longer) write an anſwer to your Graces Book of the Sacrament, and alſo a Book of Common Places againſt all the Doctrine ſet forth by the Kings Majeſty, which I cannot do with a good conſcience. Wherefore I beſeech your Grace help me home, as ſoon as you may conveniently, for Gods ſake, and ye ſhall never, I truſt in God, repent that fact.*

Ex urbe divi Andreæ. 14. *Feb.*

Rich. Smitheus.

And thus much touching the forenamed Doctor *Richard Smith*, being ſet here (as is ſaid) to diſpute againſt Biſhop *Ridley*, who was brought now the next day after the Archbiſhop to anſwer in the Divinity School. Againſt whom alſo, beſides D. *Smith*, diſputed D. *Weſton*, D. *Treſham*, D. *Oglethorp*, D. *Glin*, D. *Seton*, *and* D. *Cole*, M. *Ward*, M. *Harpsfield*, D. *Watſon*, M. *Pie*, M. *Harding*, M. *Curton*, M. *Fecknam*: To all them he anſwered very learnedly. He made a Preface to theſe queſtions, but they would not let him go forth in it, but cauſed him to make an end of the ſame, and ſaid it was Blaſphemy; and ſome ſaid he drave off the time in ambiguous things, nothing to the purpoſe, and ſo they would not ſuffer him to ſay his mind. D. *Smith* could get nothing at his hand; inſomuch that other did take his Arguments and proſecuted them. He ſhewed himſelf to be learned, and a great Clerk. They could bring nothing, but he knew it as well as they.

Diſputers againſt D. *Ridley.*

The Diſputation beginneth.

Weſt. Prolocutor. Good Chriſtian People and Brethren, we have begun this day our School, by Gods good ſpeed I truſt, and are entring into a controverſy, whereof no queſtion ought to be moved concerning the verity of the Body of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt in the Euchariſt. Chriſt is true, which ſaid the words. The words are true which he ſpake, yea, Truth it ſelf that cannot fail. Let us therefore pray unto God to ſend down unto us his holy Spirit, which is the true Interpreter of his Word; which may purge away Errors, and give light, that verity may appear. Let us alſo ask leave and liberty of the Church to permit the Truth received to be called this day in queſtion, without any prejudice to the ſame. Your parts thereof ſhall to be implore the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, to pray for the proſperity of the Queens Majeſty, and to give us quiet and attentive ears. Now go to your queſtion.

Doct. Smith, This day (right learned Mr. Doctor) three queſtions are propounded, whereof no controverſie among Chriſtians ought to be moved, to wit:

1. Whether

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The queſtions.

1. *Whether the Natural Body of Chriſt our Saviour, conceived of the Virgin* Mary, *and offered for Mans redemption upon the Croſs, is verily & really in the Sacrament by vertue of Gods Word ſpoken by the Prieſts,* &c.
2. *Whether in the Sacrament, after the Words of Conſecration, be any other Subſtance,* &c.
3. *Whether in the Maſs be a Sacrifice Propitiatory,* &c.

Touching the which queſtions, although you have publickly and partly profeſſed your judgment and opinion on *Saturday* laſt: Yet being not ſatisfied with that your anſwer, I will aſſay again to demand your ſentence in the firſt queſtion; Whether the true Body of Chriſt, after the words pronounced, be really in the *Euchariſt*, or elſe only the figure. In which matter I ſtand here now to hear your anſwer.

The Preface or Proteſtation of Dr. Ridley *before his Diſputation.*

The Proteſtation of Biſhop Ridley.

I Received of you the other day, right worſhipful Mr. Prolocutor, and ye my reverend Maſters, Commiſſioners from the Queens Majeſty and her Honourable Councel, three Propoſitions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare againſt this day, what I thought good to anſwer concerning the ſame.

Now whilſt I weighed with my ſelf how great a charge of the Lords Flock was of late committed unto me, for the which I am certain I muſt once render an account to my Lord God (and that how ſoon, he knoweth) and that moreover, by the commandment of the Apoſtle *Peter*, I ought to be ready alway *to give a reaſon* of the hope that is in me with meekneſs and reverence, unto every one that ſhall demand the ſame: beſides this, conſidering my duty to the Church of Chriſt, and to your Worſhips being Commiſſioners by Publick Authority: I determined with my ſelf to obey your commandment, and ſo openly to declare unto you my mind touching the foreſaid Propoſitions. And albeit, plainly to confeſs unto you the truth in theſe things which ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwiſe in times paſt than now I do, yet (God I call to record unto my Soul, I lie not) I have not altered my Judgment, as now it is, either by conſtraint of any man, or laws, either for the dread of any dangers of this World, either for any hope of commodity; but only for the love of the Truth revealed unto me by the Grace of God (as I am undoubtedly perſwaded) in his holy Word, and in the reading of the Ancient Fathers.

What moved D. Ridley to alter his Judgment from the Church of Rome.

Theſe things I do rather recite at this preſent, becauſe it may happen to ſome of you hereafter, as in times paſt it hath done to me: I mean, if ye think otherwiſe of the matters propounded in theſe Propoſitions than I now do, God may open them unto you in time to come.

But howſoever it ſhall be, I will in few words do that which I think ye all look I ſhould do; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my Judgment herein. Howbeit of this I would ye were not ignorant, that I will not indeed wittingly and willingly ſpeak in any point againſt Gods Word, or diſſent in any one jot from the ſame, or from the rules of Faith, or Chriſtian Religion: which rules that ſame moſt ſacred Word of God preſcribeth to the Church of Chriſt, whereunto I now and for ever ſubmit my ſelf, and all my doings. And becauſe the matter I have now taken in hand is weighty, and ye all well know how unready I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of time, as alſo lack of Books: therefore here I proteſt, that I will publickly this day require of you, that it my be lawful for me concerning all mine anſwers, explications, and confirmations, to add or diminiſh whatſoever ſhall ſeem hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpoſe, through more found Judgment, better deliberation, and more exact Trial of every particular thing. Having now, by the way of Preface and Proteſtation, ſpoken theſe few words, I will come to the anſwer of the Propoſitions propounded unto me, and ſo to the moſt brief explication and confirmation of mine anſwers.

Biſhop Ridley ſubmitteth himſelf to the Church of Chriſt.

Weſt. Reverend Mr. Doctor, concerning the lack of Books, there is no cauſe why you ſhould complain. What Books ſoever you will name, you ſhall have them: And as concerning the Judgment of your anſwers to be had of your ſelf with farther deliberation; it ſhall (I ſay) be lawful for you until *Sunday* next to add unto them what you ſhall think good your ſelf. My mind is, that we ſhould uſe ſhort Arguments, leſt we ſhould make an infinite proceſs of the thing.

This promiſe was not kept.

Rid. There is another thing beſides, which I would gladly obtain at your hands. I perceive that you have Writers and Notaries here preſent. By all likelihood our Diſputations ſhall be publiſhed, I beſeech you for Gods ſake let me have liberty to ſpeak my mind freely, and without interruption, not becauſe I have determined to protract the time with a ſolemn Preface, but leſt it may appear that ſome be not ſatisfied. God wot I am no Orator, nor have I learned Rhetorick to ſet colours on the matter.

Weſt. Among this whole company, it ſhall be permitted you to take two for your part.

Two Notaries permitted to D. Ridley.

Rid. I will chuſe two, if there were any here with whom I were acquainted.

Weſt. Here are two which Mr. *Cranmer* had yeſterday. Take them if it pleaſe you.

Rid. I am content with them; I truſt they are honeſt Men.

These two Notaries were Maſter Joel ſometime Biſhop of Sarisbury, and Maſter Gilbert Mounſell.

The firſt Propoſition.

In the Sacrament of the Altar, by the vertue of Gods Word ſpoken of the Prieſt, the Natural Body of Chriſt born of the Virgin Mary, *and his Natural Blood is really preſent under the Forms of Bread and Wine.*

The firſt Propoſition.

The Anſwer of N. Ridley.

D. Ridleys anſwer to the firſt Propoſition.

In matters appertaining to God we may not ſpeak according to the ſenſe of Man, nor of the World: Therefore this Propoſition or Concluſion is framed after another manner of phraſe or kind of ſpeech than the Scripture uſeth. Again, it is very obſcure and dark, by means of ſundry words of doubtful ſignification. And being taken in the ſenſe which the Schoolmen teach, and at this time the Church of *Rome* doth defend, it is falſe and erroneous; and plain contrary to the Doctrine which is according to Godlineſs.

The Propoſition put forth in dark terms.

The Explication.

How far the diverſity and newneſs of the phraſe in all this firſt Propoſition is from the phraſe of the holy Scripture, and that in every part almoſt, it is ſo plain and evident to any that is but meanly exerciſed in holy Writ, that I need not now (eſpecially in this company of learned men) to ſpend any time therein, except the ſame ſhall be required of me hereafter.

The firſt doubt.

Firſt, there is a double ſenſe in theſe words (*by vertue of Gods Word*) for it is doubtful what Word of God this is; whether it be that which is read in the Evangeliſts, or in *Paul*, or any other. And if it be that which is in the Evangeliſts, or in S. *Paul*; what that *is*. *If it* be in none of them, then how it may be known to be Gods Word, and of ſuch vertue that it ſhould be able to work ſo great a matter.

2. Doubt in the word Prieſt.

Again there is a doubt of theſe words (*of the Prieſt*) whether no Man may be called a Prieſt, but he which hath Authority to make a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and how it may be proved that this Authority was committed of God to any Man, but to Chriſt alone.

3. Doubt in the word Sacrificing.

It is likewiſe doubted, after what Order the Sacrificing Prieſt ſhall be, whether after the Order of *Aaron*, or elſe after the Order of *Melchiſedech*. For as far as I know, the holy Scripture doth allow no more.

Weſt. Let this be ſufficient.

Rid. If we lack time at this preſent, there is time enough hereafter.

D. Weſton interrupteth him in his explication.

Weſt. Theſe are but evaſions or ſtarting holes; you conſume the time in vain.

Rid. I cannot ſtart far from you, I am captive and bound.

Weſt. Fall to it my Maſters.

Smith. That which you have ſpoken may ſuffice at this preſent.

Red. Let me alone I pray you, for I have not much to ſay behind.

Weſt. Go forward.

4. Doubt in the word really.

Red. Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word *really*, whether it be taken as the *Logicians* term it, *tranſcender-*

ter, that is, most generally: and so it may signifie any manner of thing which belongeth to the Body of Christ, by any means: after which sort we also grant Christs Body to be really in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, (as in disputation, if occasion be given shall be declared) or whether it be taken to signifie the very same thing, having Body, Life, and Soul, which was assumed and taken of the Word of God, into the Unity of Person. In which sense, sith the Body of Christ is really in Heaven, because of the true manner of his Body, it may not be said to be here in the earth. There is yet a further doubtfulness in these words, *under the forms of Bread and Wine*, whether the forms be there taken to signifie the only accidental and outward shews of Bread and Wine; or therewithal the substantial natures thereof, which are to be seen by their qualities, and perceived by exteriour senses:

5 Doubt in the words (forms of Bread and Wine)

The Proposition Erroneous after the sense of the Romish Church. Transubstantiation not founded in Scripture.

Now the Error and falseness of the Proposition after the sense of the Roman Church and Schoolmen, may hereby appear, in that they affirm the Bread to be transubstantiated and changed to the Flesh assumed of the Word of God, and that (as they say) by virtue of the word, which they have devised by a certain number of words and cannot be found in any of the Evangelists, or in *Paul*, and so they gather that Christs Body is really contained in the Sacrament of the Altar. Which position is grounded upon the Foundation of the Transubstantiation; which Foundation is monstrous, against reason, and destroyeth the Analogy or proportion of the Sacraments: and therefore this Proposition also, which is builded upon this rotten Foundation, is False, Erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable Heresie of the Sacramentaries.

The Analogy of the Sacrament is the similitude and likeness which they have with the things they represent.

West. We lose time.

Rid. You shall have time enough.

West. Fall to reasoning. You shall have some other day for this matter.

Rid. I have no more to say concerning my explication. If you will give me leave and let me alone, I will but speak a word or two for my confirmation.

West. Go to; say on,

The Confirmation of the aforesaid Answer.

Confirmation of his answer.

Fes- THere ought no Doctrine to be established in the Church of God, which dissenteth from the word of God, from the rule of Faith, and draweth with it many absurdities that cannot be avoided.

ti- But this Doctrine of the first Proposition is such.

no. *Ergo.* It ought not to be established and maintained in the Church of God.

Argument.

The *Major* or first part of my Argument is plain and the *Minor* or second part is proved thus.

The Doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal Presence of Christs Flesh, assumed and taken of the Word, to be in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and that not by virtue and Grace only, but also by the whole Essence and substance of the Body and Flesh of Christ.

The real Presence of Christs Body disagreeth from the Scriptures.

But such a Presence disagreeth from Gods word, from the rule of Faith, & cannot but draw with it many absurdities.

Ergo, The second part is true.

The first part of this Argument is manifest, and the second may yet further be confirmed thus.

D. Weston again interrupteth Doctor Ridley.

West. Thus you consume time; which might be better bestowed on other matters. Master Opponent, I pray you to your Arguments.

Smith. I will here reason with you upon Transubstantiation, which you say is contrary to the Rule and *Analogy* of Faith. The contrary whereof I prove by the Scriptures and the Doctors. But before I enter Argumentation with you, I demand first, whether in the sixth Chapter of *John* there be any mention made of the Sacrament, or of the real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament?

Rid. It is against reason that I should be impeached to prosecute that which I have to speak in this Assembly, being not so long, but that it may be comprehended in few words.

West. Let him read on.

7. Inconveniencies come of the Real Presence.

Rid. First of all, this Presence is contrary to many places of the holy Scripture.

Secondly, it varieth from the Articles of the Faith.

Thirdly, it destroyeth and taketh away the Institution of the Lords Supper.

Fourthly, it maketh precious things common to prophane and ungodly persons; for it casteth that which is holy unto dogs, and pearls unto swine. Anno 1554.

Fifthly, it forceth men to maintain many monstrous Miracles without necessity and Authority of Gods word.

Sixthly, it giveth occasion to the Hereticks which erred concerning the two natures in Christ, to defend their Heresies thereby.

Seventhly, it falsifieth the sayings of the Godly Fathers; it falsifieth also the Catholick Faith of the Church, which the Apostles taught, the Martyrs confirmed, and the Faithful (as one of the Fathers saith) do retain and keep untill this day. Wherefore the second part of mine Argument is true.

The probation of the antecedent or former part of this Argument by the parts thereof.

The 7. inconveniences declared by parts. The first inconvenience

IHis carnal Presence is contrary to the word of God, as appeareth, *John 16, I tell you the truth. It is profitable to you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter shall not come unto you.* Acts 3. *Whom the Heavens must receive until the time of restoring of all things which God hath spoken,* Matth. 9, *The Children of the Bridegroom cannot mourn so long as the Bridegroom is with them: But now is the time of mourning.* John 16. *But I will see you again, and your Hearts shall rejoyce.* John 14. *I will come again and take you to my self.* Matthew 24. *If they shall say unto you, Behold here is Christ, or there is Christ, believe them not: for wheresoever the dead carcase is, thither the Eagles will resort.*

The real presence against the Scripture.

2. The real presence against the Articles of the Faith.

It varieth from the Articles of the Faith; He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father. from whence (and not from any other place, saith S. *Augustine*) he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead.

3. It destroyeth the Institution of the Supper.

It destroyeth and taketh away the Institution of the Lords Supper, which was commanded only to be used and continued until the Lord himself should come. Wherefore he be really present in the Body of his Flesh, then must the Supper cease: For a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing past and absent. And there is a difference between remembrance and presence, and (as one of the Fathers saith) A figure is in vain where the thing figured is present,

4. It prophaneth things holy and precious, and ingendreth absurdities.

It maketh precious things common to prophane and ungodly persons, and constraineth men to confess many absurdities. For it, affirmeth, that Whoremongers and Murtherers, yea, and (as some of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithless Mice, Rats, and Dogs, also may receive the very real and corporal Body of the Lord, wherein the fulness of the Spirit of Light and Grace dwelleth; contrary to the manifest words of Christ in six places and sentences of the sixth Chapter of S. *John.*

Anthropophagi, are a kind of brutish people that feed on mans Flesh.

It confirmeth also and maintaineth that beastly kind of cruelty af the *Anthropophagi*, that is, the devourers of mans Flesh: For it is a more cruel thing to devour a quick man, than to slay him.

Pie. He requireth time to speak Blasphemies. Leave your Blasphemies.

Rid. I had little thought to have had such reproachful words at your hands.

West. All is quiet. Go to your Arguments, Mr. Doctor.

Rid. I have not many things more to say.

West. You utter Blasphemies with a most impudent Face: leave off (I say) and get you to the Argument.

5. It maintaineth monstrous miracles without necessity.

Rid. It forceth men to maintain many monstrous Miracles, without any necessity and authority of Gods word. For at the coming of this Presence of the Body and Flesh of Christ, they thrust away the Substance of Bread, and affirm that the Accidents remain without any Subject, and in stead thereof they place Christs Body without his qualities and the true manner of a Body. And if the Sacrament be reserved so long until it mould, and worms breed, some say that the substance of Bread miraculously returneth again, and some deny it. Othersome affirm, the real Body of Christ goeth down into the stomack of the receivers, and doth there abide so long only as they shal continue to be good: but another sort hold, that the Body of Christ is carried into Heaven, so soon as the forms of Bread be bruised with the teeth. O works of miracles!

All the rest that followeth was not read because the Prolocutor made post haste to the Arguments.

Truly,

Anno 1554.

Truly, and most truly I see that fulfilled in these men; whereof S. *Paul* prophesied, 2 Thess. 2. *Because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe lies, and be all damned which have not believed the truth.* This gross Presence hath brought forth that fond phantasie of concomitance, whereby is broken at this day and abrogated the commandment of the Lord for distributing of the Lords Cup to the Laity.

By this device or concomitance, the Papists imagine as much to be received under one kind as both.

It giveth occasion to Hereticks to maintain and defend their Errours; as to *Marcion*, which said that Christ had but a Phantastical Body; and to *Eutiches*, which wickedly confounded the two Natures in Christ.

6. It giveth occasion to Hereticks.

Finally, It falsifieth the sayings of the Godly Fathers and the Catholick Faith of the Church, which *Vigilius* a Martyr and grave writer saith, was taught of the Apostles, confirmed with the Blood of Martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithful, until his time. By the sayings of the Fathers, I mean of *Justine, Irene, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Emisene, Athanasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Hierome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Bertram*, and others most ancient Fathers. All those places, as I am sure, I have read making for my purpose, so am I well assured that I could shew the same, If I might have the use of mine own Books, which I will take to me to do, even upon the peril of my Life, and loss of all that I may lose in this World.

7. It falsifieth the sayings of the old Doctors.

The true Presence of Christs Body in the Supper not denied.

But now (my Brethren) think not, because I disallow that Presence which the first Proposition maintaineth (as a Presence which I take to be forged, Phantastical, and besides the authority of Gods Word, perniciously brought into the Church by the Romanists) that I therefore go about to take away the true Presence of Christs Body in his Supper rightly and duly ministred, which is grounded upon the Word of God, and made more plain by the commentaries of the Faithful Fathers. They that think so of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceived. And to make the same evident unto you, I will in few words declare what true Presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper I hold and affirm, with the Word of God and the ancient Fathers.

The Faith and confession of D. Ridley in affirming the true Presence in the Sacrament.

I say and confess with the Evangelist *Luke*, and with the Apostle *Paul*, that the Bread on the which thanks are given, is the Body of Christ in the remembrance of him and his death, to be set forth perpetually of the faithful until his coming.

The Grace of Life and Immortality given with the Sacrament to the faithful. Life eaten. *August.*

I say and confess the Bread which we break to be the communion and partaking of Christs Body, with the Ancient and the Faithful Fathers.

The Lord fed in Grace. *Emisene.* Celestial food received. *Athanasius.*

I say and believe that there is not only a signification of Christs Body set forth by the Sacrament, but also that therewith is given to the Godly and Faithful the Grace of Christs Body, that is, the Food of Life and Immortality. And this I hold with *Cyprian.*

The property of Natural Communion received. *Hilar.* The vertue of Christs Flesh. *Cyril.* The Mystical Advent of Christ. *Basil.*

I say also with S. *Augustine*, that we eat Life and we drink Life; with *Emisene*, that we feel the Lord to be present in Grace; with *Athanasius*, that we receive Celestial Food, which cometh from above; the propriety of natural Communion, with *Hilarius*; the nature of Flesh and Benediction which giveth Life in Bread and Wine, with *Cyril*; and with the same *Cyril*, the vertue of the very Flesh of Christ, Life and Grace of his Body, the property of the only begotten, that is to say, Life, as he himself in plain words expoundeth it.

The Sacrament of his very flesh. *Ambrose.* The Body by Grace. *Epiphan.* Spiritual Flesh, but not that which was crucified. *Hierom.* Grace flowing into a Sacrifice. *Chrysost.* Grace and invisible verity. *August.*

I confess also with *Basil*, that we receive the Mystical Advent and coming of Christ, Grace and vertue of his very Nature; the Sacrament of his very Flesh, with *Ambrose*; the Body by Grace, with *Epiphanius*; spiritual Flesh, but not that which was crucified, with *Hierom*; Grace flowing into a Sacrifice, and the Grace of the Spirit, with *Chrysostom*; Grace and invisible verity, Grace and society of the Members of Christs Body, with *Augustine.*

The power of Gods Word feeding the Soul. *Bertram.* The Protestants falsly belied to teach nothing but a figure in the Sacrament.

Finally, with *Bertram* (which was the last of all these) I confess that Christs Body is in the Sacrament in this respect; namely (as he writeth) because there is in it the Spirit of Christ, that is the power of the Word of God, which not only feedeth the Soul, but also cleanseth it. But of these I suppose it may clearly appear unto all men, how far we are from that opinion, whereof some go about falsly to slander us to the World saying, we teach that the Godly and Faithful should receive nothing else at the Lords Table, but a figure of the Body of Christ.

The second Proposition.

After the consecration there remaineth no substance of Bread and Wine, neither any other substance, than the substance of God and Man.

The Answer.

Answer to the second Proposition. The second Proposition of Transubstantiation denied.

THe second conclusion is manifestly false, directly against the Word of God, the nature of the Sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the Godly Fathers; and it is the rotten Foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first, and also of the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explication of this answer, being contented with that which is already added afore to the answer of the first Proposition.

The first Argument for the confirmation of this Answer.

Confirmation of his answer.

IT is very plain by the Word of God, that Christ did give Bread unto his Disciples, and called it his Body.

But the substance of Bread is another manner of substance, than is the substance of Christs Body, God and Man:

Therefore the conclusion is false.

The second part of mine Argument is plain, and the first is proved thus:

The second Argument.

Da- That which Christ did take, on the which he gave thanks, and the which he brake, he gave to his Disciples, and called it his Body:

ti- But he took Bread, gave thanks on Bread, and brake Bread:

si- *Ergo*, The first part is true. And it is confirmed with the Authorities of the Fathers, *Irene, Tertullian, Origene, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Hierom, Augustine, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus*, and *Bede*. Whose places I will take upon me to shew most manifest in this behalf, if I may be suffered to have my Books, as my request is.

Bread is the Body of Christ:

Ergo, It is Bread.

* *A tertio adjacente ad secundum adjacens cum verbi substantivi pura copula.*

* The rule of Logick is this: A propositione de tertio adjacente, ad eam quæ est de secundo cum verbo recto significante existentiam, valet consequentia affirmative, &c.

The third Argument.

Ba- As the Bread of the Lords Table is Christs natural Body, so is his Mystical Body.

ro- But it is not Christs Mystical Body by Transubstantiation.

co. *Ergo*, It is not his natural Body by Transubstantiation.

The second part of my Argument is plain, and the first is proved thus: As Christ who is the verity, spake of the Bread, *This is my Body which shall be betrayed for you*, speaking there of his Natural Body: even so *Paul*, moved with the same Spirit of Truth, said, *We, though we be many, yet are we all one Bread, and one Body, which be partakers of one Bread.*

The Major proved. 1 Cor. 10.

The fourth Argument

The Argument holdeth. A destructione antecedentis, ad destructionem consequentis. Mat. 26. Mark 14.

We may no more believe Bread to be Transubstantiate into the Body of Christ, than the Wine into his Blood.

But the Wine is not Transubstantiate into his Blood:

Ergo, Neither is that Bread, therefore, Transubstantiate into his Body.

¶ The first part of this Argument is manifest, and the second part is proved out of the Authority of Gods Word in *Matthew* and *Mark*, *I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine*, &c. Now the fruit of the Vine was Wine, which Christ drank and gave to his Disciples to drink. With this sentence agreeth plainly the place of *Chrysostom* on the 20. Chapt. of *Mat.* As *Cyprian* doth also, affirming that there is no Blood, if Wine be not in the Cup.

Chrysostom. Cyprian.

The fifth Argument.

This Argument holdeth after the same rule as did the other before.

Ba- The words of Christ spoken upon the Cup and upon the Bread, have like effect and working.

ro- But the words spoken upon the Cup have not vertue to Transubstantiate:

co. *Ergo*, It followeth, that the words spoken upon the Bread have no such vertue.

The ſecond part of the Argument is proved; becauſe they would then Tranſubſtantiate the Cup, or that which is in the Cup into the New Teſtament. But neither of theſe things can be done, and very abſurd it is to confeſs the ſame.

The ſixth Argument.

Da- The Circumſtances of the Scripture, the Analogy and proportion of the Sacraments, and the Teſtimony of the Faithful Fathers ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the Holy Scripture touching the Sacrament.

ti- But the words of the Lords Supper, the Circumſtances of the Scripture, the Analogy of the Sacraments, and the Sayings of the Fathers, do moſt effectually and plainly prove a figurative ſpeech in the words of the Lords Supper.

ſi. *Ergo*, a figurative ſenſe and meaning is ſpecially to be received in theſe words, *This is my Body.*

The Circumſtances and words of Scripture.

The Circumſtances of the Scripture, *do this in remembrance of me. As oft as ye ſhall eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lords death. Let a man prove himſelf, and ſo eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup. They came together to break Bread; and they continued in breaking of Bread. The Bread which we break*, &c. *For we being many, are all one Bread and one Body*, &c.

The Analogy of the Sacraments.

The Analogy of the Sacraments is neceſſary: for if the Sacraments had not ſome ſimilitude or likeneſs of the things whereof they be Sacraments, they could in no wiſe be Sacraments. And this ſimilitude in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper is taken three manner of ways.

Analogy or ſimilitude in the Sacrament, three manner of ways.

1. The firſt conſiſteth in nouriſhing, as ye ſhall read in *Rabana*, *Cyprian*, *Auguſtine*, *Irene*, and moſt plainly in *Iſidore* out of *Bertram*.

2. The ſecond in the uniting and joyning of many into one, as *Cyprian* teacheth.

3. The third is a ſimilitude of unlike things: Where, like as the Bread is turned into one Body; ſo we, by the right uſe of this Sacrament, are turned through Faith into the Body of Chriſt.

The ſayings of the Fathers for the figurative ſpeech.

The ſayings of the Fathers declare it to be a figurative ſpeech, as it appeareth in *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Chryſoſtom in opere imperfecto*, *Auguſtine*, *Ambroſe*, *Baſil*, *Gregory*, *Nazianzen*, *Hilary*, and moſt plainly of all in *Bertram*. Moreover, the ſayings and places of all the Fathers, whoſe names I have before recited againſt the aſſertion of the firſt propoſition, do quite overthrow Tranſubſtantiation. But of all moſt evidently and plainly, *Irene*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, *Chryſoſtom* to *Ceſarius* the Monk, *Auguſtine* againſt *Adamantus*, *Gelaſius*, *Cyril*, *Epiphanius*, *Chryſoſtom* again one the 20. of *Matthew*, *Rabana*, *Damaſcene* and *Bertram*.

Commendation of *Bertram*.

Here right worſhipful Mr. Prolocutor and ye the reſt of the Commiſſioners, it may pleaſe you to underſtand, that I do not lean to theſe things only, which I have written in my former Anſwers and Confirmations, but that I have alſo for the proof of that I have ſpoken, whatſoever *Bertram*, a man learned, of ſound and upright judgment, and ever counted a Catholick for theſe ſeven Hundred years until this our age, hath written. His Treatiſe, whoſoever ſhall read and weigh, conſidering the time of the Writer, his Learning, Godlineſs of life, the Allegations of the ancient Fathers, and his manifold and moſt grounded Arguments, I cannot (doubtleſs) but much marvel, if he have any fear of God at all, how he can with good Conſcience ſpeak againſt him in this matter of the Sacrament. This *Bertram* was the firſt that pulled me by the Ear, and that firſt brought me from the common Errour of the Romiſh Church, and cauſed me to ſearch more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the Writings of the Old Eccleſiaſtical Fathers in this matter. And this I proteſt before the face of God, who knoweth I lye not in the things I now ſpeak.

D. Ridley firſt brought to the knowledge of the Sacrament by *Bertram*.

The third Propoſition.

The third Propoſition touching propitiatory Maſs.

In the Maſs is the lively Sacrifice of the Church, propitiable and available for the ſins as well of quick as of the dead.

The anſwer to this Propoſition.

Anſwers to the third Propoſition.

I anſwer to this third Propoſition as I did to the firſt. And moreover I ſay, that being taken in ſuch ſenſe as the words ſeem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal ſo much to the derogation and defacing of the Death and Paſſion of Chriſt, that I judge it may and ought moſt worthily to be counted wicked and blaſphemous againſt the moſt precious Blood of our Saviour Chriſt. Anno 1554.

The Explication.

Explication of the ſame. Doubts in the third Propoſition.

Concerning the Romiſh Maſs which is uſed at this day, or the lively Sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the ſins of the quick and the dead, the holy Scripture hath not ſo much as one ſyllable.

In the Primitive Church the newly inſtructed in the Faith and unworthy were put away from the Communion

There is Ambiguity alſo in the name of Maſs: what it ſignifieth, and whether at this day there be any ſuch indeed as the ancient Fathers uſed; ſeeing that now there be neither *Catechiſts* nor *Pœnitentes* to be ſent away.

Again, touching theſe words (*The lively Sacrifice of the Church.*) There is doubt whether they are to be underſtood figuratively and ſacramentally, for the Sacrament of the lively Sacrifice (after which ſort we deny it it not to be in the Lords Supper) or properly and without any figure: of the which manner there was but one only Sacrifice, and that once offered, namely upon the Altar of the Croſs.

The third doubt.

Moreover, in theſe words (*as well as*) it may be doubted whether they be ſpoken in mockage, as men are wont to ſay in ſport, of a fooliſh and ignorant perſon, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge, being apt indeed in neither of them both.

The fourth doubt.

There is alſo a doubt in the word (*Propitiable*) whether it ſignifie here that which taketh away ſin, or that which may be made available for the taking away of ſin; that is to ſay, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the paſſive ſignification.

The falſeneſs of the third Propoſition reproved.

Now the falſeneſs of the Propoſition, after the meaning of the Schoolmen and the Romiſh Church, and Impiety in that ſenſe which the words ſeem to import, is this: that they, leaning to the foundation of their fond Tranſubſtantiation, would make the quick and lively Body of Chriſts Fleſh (united and knit to the Divinity) to lye hid under the accidents, and outward ſhews of Bread and Wine. Which is very falſe, as I have ſaid afore: and they, building upon this Foundation, do hold that the ſame Body is offered unto God by the Prieſt in his daily Maſſings to put away the ſins of the quick and the dead, whereas by the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* it is evident, that there is but one Oblation, and one true and lively Sacrifice of the Church offered upon the Altar of the Croſs, which was, is, and ſhall be for ever the propitiation for the ſins of the whole World: and where there is Remiſſion of the ſame, there is (ſaith the Apoſtle) no more offering for ſin.

But one Sacrifice in the Scripture.

Arguments confirming his Anſwer.

The firſt Argument. Heb. 5.

Ce- No Sacrifice ought to be done, but where the Prieſt is meet to offer the ſame.

la- All other Prieſts be unmeet to offer Sacrifice propitiatory for ſin, ſave only Chriſt.

rent. *Ergo*, no other Prieſts ought to Sacrifice for ſin, but Chriſt alone.

Argument.

The ſecond part of my Argument is thus proved.

Fe- No honour in Gods Church ought to be taken where a man is not called, as *Aaron*.

ri- It is a great honour in Gods Church to Sacrifice for ſin:

ſon. *Ergo*, No man ought to Sacrifice for ſin, but only they which are called.

But only Chriſt is called to that honour.

Heb. 7.

Ergo, No other Prieſt but Chriſt ought to Sacrifice for Sin. That no man is called to this degree of Honour but Chriſt alone, it is evident. For there are but two only orders of Prieſthood allowed in the word of God: Namely, the order of *Aaron*, and the order of *Melchiſedech*. But now the order of *Aaron* is come to an end, by reaſon that it was unprofitable, and weak; and of the order of *Melchiſedech* there is but one Prieſt alone, even Chriſt the Lord, which hath a Prieſthood that cannot paſs to any other.

An Argument.

Ba- That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where no neceſſity is wherefore it is done.

ro- To offer up any more Sacrifice Propitiatory for the quick and the dead there is no neceſſity, for Chriſt our Saviour

Anno 1554.

Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all.

co. *Ergo*, To do the same in the Mass it is in vain.

Heb. 9. Ab unacausa veritatis ad præpositionem habentem illam causam valet consequentia.

Another Argument.

Fe- After that Eternal Redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily Offering for the same.

ri- But Christ coming an High Bishop, *&c.* found and obtained for us Eternal Redemption.

o. *Ergo*, Their needeth now no more daily Oblation for the sins of the quick and the dead.

Another Argument.

Ca. All Remission of Sins cometh only by shedding of Blood.

mes- In the Mass there it no shedding of Blood.

tres. *Ergo*, In the Mass there is no Remission of Sins: and so it followeth also that there is no Propitiatory Sacrifice.

Another Argument.

In the Mass the Passion of Christ is not in Verity, but in a Mystery representing the same: Yea, even there where the Lords Supper is duly ministred.

But where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in Verity: For the Apostle saith, *Not that he might offer up himself often times (for then must he have suffered often times since the beginning of the world,)* now where Christ is not offered, there is no Propitiatory Sacrifice:

Heb. 9.

Ergo, In the Mass there is no Propitiatory Sacrifice: *For Christ appeared once in the later end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And as it is appointed to all men that they shall once dye, and then cometh the Judgment: even so Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many. And unto them that look for him shall he appear again without sin unto Salvation.*

Another Argument.

D Where there is any Sacrifice that can make the comers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any more Expiatory and Propitiatory Sacrifices.

ri- But in the New Testament there is one only Sacrifice now already long since offered, which is able to make the comers thereto perfect for ever.

i. *Ergo*, In the New Testament they ought to cease from offering any more Propitiatory Sacrifices.

Sentences of the Scripture tending to the same end and purpose, out of which also may be gathered other manifest Arguments for more confirmation thereof.

Heb. 10. *By the which will* (saith the Apostle) *we are sanctified, by the offering up of the Body of Jesus Christ once for all.* And in the same place, *But this man, after that he had offered one Sacrifice for Sin, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God, &c. For with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified, and by himself hath he purged our sins.* I beseech you to mark these words (*by himself*) the which well weighed, will without doubt cease all Controversie.

(By himself.)

The Apostle plainly denieth any other Sacrifice to remain for him that treadeth under his feet the Blood of the Testament, by the which he was made holy. Christ will not be crucified again, he will not his Death to be had in derision.

Coloss. 1. *He hath reconciled us in the Body of his Flesh.* Mark, I beseech you, he saith not, in the Mystery of his Body; but in the Body of his Flesh.

1 John 2. *If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins, not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.*

I know that all these places of the Scripture are avoided by two manner of subtil shifts: The one is by the distinction of the bloody and unbloody Sacrifice, as though our unbloody Sacrifice of the Church were any other than the Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving, than a Commemoration, a shewing forth, and a Sacramental Representation of that one only bloody Sacrifice, offered up once for all.

The Popish distinction between bloody and unbloody Sacrifice.

The other is by depraving and wresting the sayings of the ancient Fathers unto such a strange kind of sense, as the Fathers themselves indeed never meant. For what the meaning of the Fathers was, it is evident by that which S. *Augustine* writeth in his Epistle to *Boniface*; and in the 83. Chapter of his Ninth Book against *Faustus* the *Manichee*, besides many other places; likewise by *Eusebius*, *Emisene*, *Cyprian*, *Chrysostom*, *Fulgentius*, *Bertram*, and others, which do wholly concord and agree together in this Unity in the Lord, that the Redemption, once made in verity for the Salvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceasing unto the end of the World, that the Sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed; That the Lords Death and Passion is as effectual, the vertue of that Blood once shed, as fresh at this day for the washing away of sins, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour: And finally, That the whole substance of our Sacrifice, which is frequented of the Church in the Lords Supper, consisteth in Prayers, Praise, and giving of Thanks, and in remembring and shewing forth of that Sacrifice once offered upon the Altar of the Cross; that the same might continually be had in reverence by Mystery, which one only, and no more, was offered for the Price of our Redemption.

The Papists maintain their Sacrifice Propitiatory, by the old Doctors falsly wrested.

Doctors making against the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass.

The whole substance of the Sacrifice, wherein it consisteth.

These are the things (right worshipful Mr. Prolocutor, and ye the rest of the Commissioners) which I could presently prepare to the answering of your three foresaid Propositions being destitute of all help in this shortness of time, sudden warning, and want of Books. Wherefore I appeal to my first Protestation, most humbly desiring the help of the same (as much as may be) to be granted unto me. And because ye have lately given most unjust and cruel Sentence against me, I do here Appeal (so far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and just Censure and Judgment of some other Superiour, competent, and lawful Judge, and that according to the approved state of the Church of *England*. Howbeit, I confess, that I am ignorant what that is at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the Realm. But if this Appeal may not be granted to me upon Earth, then do I fly (even as to my only Refuge and alone Haven of Health) to the Sentence of the Eternal Judge, that is, of the Almighty God, to whose most merciful Justice towards us, and most just Mercifulness, I do wholly commit my self and all my Cause, nothing at all despairing of the Defence of mine Advocate and alone Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Everlasting Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier of us all, be now and for ever all Honour and Glory, *Amen*.

B. Ridley appealeth from the unjust Sentence of his Adversaries, to some other Superiour competent Judge

B. Ridley, for lack of equal indifferency, appealeth to Almighty God.

Albeit this Learned Bishop was not suffered to read all that is above prefixed before the Disputations, yet because he had it then ready, and offered it up to the Prolocutor after the Disputations and Sentence pronounced; I thought here the place not unmeet to annex the same together with the rest. Now let us hear the Arguments and Answers between Dr. *Smith* and him.

Dr. Smith *beginneth to Oppose.*

Smith. You have occasioned me to go otherwise to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Me seemed you did in your Supposition abuse the Testimonies of Scripture concerning the Ascension of Christ, to take away his Presence in the Sacrament, as though this were a strong Argument to enforce your matter withal.

Smiths Argument.

Christ did ascend into Heaven:

Ergo, He is not in the Sacrament.

Now therefore I will go about to disprove this reason of yours.

Christs Ascension is no let to his Real Presence in the Sacrament.

Answer.

Ergo, you are deceived, whereas you do ground your self upon those places.

Rid. You import as though I had made a strong Argument by Christs going up into heaven. But howsoever mine Argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only stay upon his Ascension, but upon his Ascension and his * abiding there also.

* The verity of Mr. *Ridleys* answer touching the real being of Christ in Earth to be restrained by his Ascending and abiding in Heaven, standeth upon the necessity, which we call (Necessitas consequentiæ) by this demonstration.

Smith. Christs going up to Heaven, and his abiding there, hinder not his Real Presence in the Sacrament.

Ergo,

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Da. Every Natural Body muſt neceſſarily be contained in his peculiar and certain place.
ri. Chriſts Body is a Natural Body.
i. *Ergo*, Chriſts Body not to be in one certain place at once contained, it is impoſſible, according to the Rule, Omnes propoſitiones de impoſſibili & de neceſſe æquipollent dicto diſſimiliter ſe habenti, & modo ſimiliter.

Ergo, You are deceived.

Rid. Of Chriſts Real Preſence there may be a double underſtanding: If you take the Real Preſence of Chriſt according to the Real and Corporal Subſtance which he took of the Virgin, that Preſence being in Heaven, cannot be on the Earth alſo. But if you mean a Real Preſence, *ſecundum rem aliquam quæ ad Corpus Chriſti pertinet*; i. according to ſome thing that appertaineth to Chriſts Body, certes the Aſcenſion and abiding in Heaven are no let at all to that Preſence. Wherefore Chriſts Body after that ſort is here preſent to us in the Lords Supper; by Grace I ſay, as *Epiphanius* ſpeaketh it.

Weſt. I will cut off from henceforth all equivocation and doubt. For whenſoever we ſpeak of Chriſts Body, we mean that which he took of the Virgin.

Rid. Chriſts Aſcenſion and abiding in Heaven cannot ſtand with his Preſence.

Argument. *Smith.* Chriſt appeared corporally and really on the Earth, for all his Aſcenſion and continual abode in Heaven unto the Day of Doom.

Ergo, His Aſcenſion and abiding in Heaven, is no let to his Real Preſence in the Sacrament.

Anſwer. *Rid.* Mr. Doctor, this Argument is nothing worth. I do not ſo ſtreightly tye Chriſt up in Heaven, that he may not come into the Earth at his Pleaſure. For when he will, he may come down from Heaven, and be on the Earth, as it liketh himſelf. Howbeit I do affirm, That it is not poſſible for him to be both in Heaven and Earth at one time.

Smith. Mark, I pray you my Maſters, that he here diligently, what he anſwereth. Firſt he ſaith, That the ſitting of Chriſt at the right Hand of his Father, is a let to the Real Preſence of his Body in the Sacrament, and then afterward he flieth from it again.

Rid. I would not have you think that I do imagine or dream upon any ſuch manner of ſitting, as theſe men here ſit in the School.

Smith. Ergo, It is lawful for Chriſt then to be here preſent on the Earth, when he will himſelf.

Rid. Yea, when he will, it is lawful indeed.

Chriſts abode in Heaven is no let for him to appear on Earth when he will: but whether he will, that muſt be proved. Again, It is one thing to appear on Earth, another ſtill in the Sacrament, and to be preſent the ſame time with his Body in Heaven, when he is bodily preſent in Earth.

Smith. Ergo, He aſcending into Heaven, doth not reſtrain his Real Preſence in the Sacrament.

Rid. I do not gainſay, but that it is lawful for him to appear on the Earth when he will; but prove you that he will.

Smith. Then your Anſwer dependeth upon the will of Chriſt, I perceive: Therefore I will joyn again with you in that ſhort Argument.

Chriſt, albeit he doth alway abide in Heaven after his Aſcenſion, was ſeen really and corporally on Earth.

Ergo, Notwithſtanding his Aſcenſion and continual ſitting at the right hand of his Father, he may be really and corporally in the Sacrament.

Rid. If the Notaries ſhould to Record your Argument, as you have framed it, you peradventure would be aſhamed of it hereafter.

Smith. Chriſt after his Aſcenſion was ſeen really and corporally upon the Earth.

Ergo, Notwithſtanding his Aſcenſion and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the Sacrament.

Rid. I grant the Antecedent, but I deny the Conſequence.

Smith. Do you grant the Antecedent.

Rid. Yea, I grant the Antecedent. I am content to let you have ſo much. Becauſe I know that there be certain ancient Fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you uſe that Propoſition as true. And I will frame the Argument for you.

He was ſeen on Earth after his Aſcenſion, *Ergo*, &c.

Smith. Nay, nay, I will frame it my ſelf.

Chriſt after his Aſcenſion was ſeen really and corporally on Earth, albeit he do abide in Heaven continually:

Ergo, Notwithſtanding his Aſcenſion and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on the Earth.

Chriſt continually ſitting in Heaven expounded. *Rid.* Let us firſt agree about the continual ſitting at the right hand of the Father.

Smith. Doth he ſo ſit at the right hand of his Father, that he doth never forſake the ſame?

Rid. Nay, I do not bind Chriſt in Heaven ſo ſtraightly. I ſee you go about to beguile me with your Equivocations. Such Equivocations are to be diſtinguiſhed. If you mean by his ſitting in Heaven, to reign with his Father, he may be both in Heaven and alſo in Earth. But if ye underſtand his ſitting to be after a corporal manner of ſitting, ſo is he always permanent in Heaven. For Chriſt to be corporal here on Earth, when corporally he is reſident in Heaven, is clean contrary to the Holy Scriptures, as *Auſtine* ſaith; *Corpus Chriſti eſt in Cælo, ſed veritas ejus ubique diffuſa eſt*; i. *The Body of Chriſt is in Heaven, but his Truth is diſperſed in every place.*

Chriſt cannot be both corporally here, and corporally alſo in Heaven at one time.

Now if continually he abide in Heaven after the manner of his Corporal Preſence, then his perpetual abiding there ſtoppeth or letteth that the ſame Corporal Preſence of him cannot be in the Sacrament.

Smith. Acts 3. We read that Chriſt ſhall ſit perpetually at the right hand of God, unto the conſumption of the World.

Weſt. I perceive you are come here to this Iſſue, whether the Body of Chriſt may be together both in Earth and in Heaven. I will tell you that Chriſt in very deed is both in Earth and in Heaven together, and at one time, both one and the ſame Natural Chriſt, after the Verity and Subſtance of his very Body: *Ergo*, &c.

Rid. I deny the Antecedent.

Chryſ. Hom. 17. ad Hebræos. *Weſt.* I prove it by two Witneſſes. Firſt by *Chryſoſt. Hom.* 17. *ad Hebr. Nonne per ſingulos dies offerimus? Offerimus quidem, ſed recordationem facientes mortis ejus. Et una eſt hæc hoſtia, non multæ. Et quomodo una, & non multæ, quæ ſemel oblata eſt in ſancto ſanctorum? Hoc autem ſacrificium exemplar eſt illius; id ipſum ſemper offerimus, nec nunc quidem alium agnum, craſtina alium, ſed ſemper eundem ipſum. Proinde unum eſt hoc ſacrificium; alioqui hac ratione, quoniam in multis locis offertur, multi Chriſti ſunt? Nequaquam, ſed unus ubique eſt Chriſtus; & hic plenus exiſtens, & illic plenus, unum corpus*; i. Do we not offer every day? We do ſo indeed; but doing it for the remembrance of his Death. And this offering is one, and not many. And how is it one, and not many, which was offered in the holy place: This Sacrifice is a pattern of that: The ſelf ſame we always offer; Not now as offering one Lamb to day, and another to morrow, but always one and the ſame Lamb. Wherefore here is but one Sacrifice; for elſe by this means, ſeeing there be many Sacrifices in many places, be there many Chriſts? Not ſo, but one Chriſt in all places, both perfect here and perfect there, one only Body. Now thus I argue.

We offer one thing at all times.

There is one Chriſt in all places, both here compleat and there compleat. Argument.

Ergo, By *Chryſoſtom* there is one Body both in Heaven and Earth.

Rid. I remember the place well. Theſe things make nothing againſt me. Anſwer.

Weſt. One Chriſt is in all places, here full and there full.

Rid. One Chriſt is in all places; but not one Body in all places. One Chriſt, but not one Body, nor after one bodily Subſtance in all places.

Weſt. One Body ſaith *Chryſoſtom.*

Anſwer to Chryſoſtom. *Rid.* But not after the manner of bodily Subſtance he is in all places, nor by circumſcription of place. For (*hic*) and (*illic*) here and there, in *Chryſoſtom* do aſſign no place, as *Auguſtine* ſaith; *Surſum eſt Dominus, ſed ubique eſt veritas Domini*; i. The Lord is above, but the Truth of the Lord is in all places.

Weſt. You cannot ſo eſcape. He ſaith not the Verity of Chriſt is one; but one Chriſt is in all places, both here and there.

Rid. One Sacrifice is in all places, becauſe of the Unity of him whom the Sacrifice doth ſignifie: Not that the Sacrifices be all one and the ſame.

One Chriſt and one Sacrifice in all places, and how? to wit, Chriſt by Verity, the Sacrifice by ſignification. Ex libro Ridlei ipſius manu deſcripto.

Weſt. Ergo, By your ſaying it is not Chriſt, but the Sacrifice of Chriſt.

But *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, One Body and one Chriſt is there, and not one Sacrifice.

Rid. I ſay, that both Chriſt and the Sacrifice of Chriſt is there: Chriſt by Spirit, Grace, and Verity; the Sacrifice by ſignification.

Sacrifice, why it is called one.

* Thus I grant with *Chryſoſtom*, that there is one Hoſt or Sacrifice, and not many: And this our Hoſt is called one, by reaſon of the Unity of that one, which one only

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all our Hosts do represent. That only Host was never other, but that which was once offered on the Altar of the Cross, of which Host all our Hosts are but Sacramental Examples.

How one Christ is offered in many places at once.

And where you alledge out of *Chrysostom*, that Christ is offered in many places at once, both here full Christ, and there full Christ: I grant it to be true, that is, that Christ is offered in many places at once, in a Mystery and Sacramentally, and that he is full Christ in all those places, but not after the Corporal Substance of our Flesh which he took, but after the Benediction which giveth life; and he is given to the godly Receivers in Bread and Wine, as *Cyril* speaketh concerning the Oblation of Christ, whereof *Chrysostom* here speaketh, he himself doth clearly shew what he meaneth thereby, in saying by the way of correction, *We always do the self same howbeit by the recordation or remembrance of his Sacrifice.*

West. The second Witness is *Bernard* in a Sermon that he made of the Supper of the Lord, who saith;

Bernard.

Unde hoc nobis, piissime Iesu, ut nos vermiculi, reptantes super faciem terræ, nos, inquam, qui pulvus & cinis sumus, te præsentem habere mereamur præ manibus, præ oculis, qui totus & integer sedes ad dextram Patris, qui etiam unius horæ momento, ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, ab Aquilone usque ad Austrum præsto es, unus in multis, idem in diversis locis? That is to say, How cometh this to us, most gentle Jesus, that we silly Worms creeping on the face of the Earth, that we I say, which are but dust and ashes, may deserve to have thee present in our hands, and before our eyes, who both together, full and whole, dost sit at the right hand of the Father, and who also in the moment of one hour, from the rising of the Sun to the going down of the same, art present one and the self same in many and divers places?

The time of Bernard.

Rid. These words of *Bernard* make for you nothing at all. But I know that *Bernard* was in such a time, that in this matter he may worthily be suspected. He hath many good and fruitful sayings; as also in the same foresaid place by you alledged. But yet he followed in such an Age, whenas the Doctrine of the Holy Supper was sore perverted. Notwithstanding yet I will so expound him, rather than reject him, that he shall make nothing for you at all. He saith, That we have Christ in a Mystery, in a Sacrament, under a veil or cover, but hereafter shall have him without veil or cover. In the mean time, here now he saith, That the verity of Christ is every where. The verity of Christ is both here and there, and in all places.

Bernard rather expounded than rejected.

West. What do you call Verity? He saith not the Verity of Christ, but the Verity of the Body of Christ.

What is the Verity of the Body of Christ.

Rid. The Verity of the Body of Christ is the true Faith of the Body of Christ: after that Verity he is with them which truly believe upon him.

West. Christ is one and the same in divers places. I urge these words (*in diversis locis*) *in divers places*, and yet I am not satisfied.

Smith. Christ was seen Really and Corporally on the Earth after his Ascension, and continually sitting at the right hand of the Father.

Ergo, The Ascension and perpetual sitting in Heaven hinder nothing, but that he may be Really and Corporally in the Sacrament.

To be resident and not resident, import Contradiction.

Rid. If by perpetual sitting you mean the Residence of his Body in Heaven, your Reason containeth manifest contradiction.

Smith. These two have no contradiction in them at all, both to sit continually at his Fathers right hand, and also to be seen here really in Earth after his Ascension. First, You will give me, that Christ sitteth in Heaven at the right hand of his Father. For so it is written, *Acts* 5. *Heaven must needs receive him unto the time of the restoring of all, &c.* Secondly, He was also seen of *Paul* here Corporally on Earth.

Wherefore these two do import, as ye see, no contradiction.

Rid. What letteth, but that Christ, if it please him, and when it pleaseth him, may be in Heaven and in Earth, and appear to whom he will? And yet notwithstanding you have not yet proved that he will so do. And though Christ continually shall be resident in Heaven unto the Judgment, yet there may be some intermission, that notwithstanding. But this Controversie, as I said, is amongst all the ancient Doctors and Writers. And that Christ hath been here seen, that they grant all: but whether then he being in Earth or in Heaven, that is doubtful.

To be here, & not here, importeth contradiction in respect of sundry times.

Smith. I will prove that he would appear in Earth.

He so would, and also did appear here in Earth after his Ascension: *Ergo, &c.*

Rid. He appeared, I grant; but how he appeared, whether then being in Heaven or in Earth, that is uncertain. So he appeared to *Steven*, being then Corporally sitting in Heaven. For, speaking after the true manner of mans Body, when he is in Heaven, he is not the same time in Earth; and when he is in Earth, he is not the same time Corporally in Heaven.

Christ appearing on the Earth sometime, taketh not away his residence in Heaven.

How Christ appeared in Earth.

Smith. Christ hath been both in Heaven and in Earth all at one time.

Ergo, You are deceived in denying that,

Rid. I do not utterly deny Christ here to have been seen in Earth. Of uncertain things I speak uncertainly.

This Argument holdeth rather *materiæ*, than *ratione formæ*

Smith. He was seen of *Paul*, as being born before his time, after his ascending up to Heaven, 1 *Cor.* 15.

But his Vision was a Corporal Vision:

Ergo, He was seen Corporally upon the Earth after his ascending into Heaven.

Rid. He was seen Really and Corporally indeed: but whether being in Heaven or Earth, is a doubt. And of doubtful things we must judge doubtfully. Howbeit you must prove that he was in Heaven at the same time, when he was Corporally on Earth.

Smith. I would know of you, whether this vision may inforce the Resurrection of Christ?

Whether Paul saw Christ in Heaven or in Earth, all is one to prove his Resurrection.

Rid. I account this a sound and firm Argument to prove the Resurrection. But whether they saw him in Heaven or in Earth, I am in doubt: and to say the truth, it maketh no great matter. Both ways the Argument is of like strength. For whether he were seen in Heaven, or whether he were seen on Earth, either of both maketh sufficiently for the matter. Certain it is, he rose again: for he could not have been seen, unless he had risen again.

Petitio Principii.

Smith. Paul saw him as he was here conversant on Earth, and not out of Heaven, as you affirm.

Rid. You run to the beginning again: That you take for granted, which you should have proved.

Smith. You make delays for the nonce.

Rid. Say not so, I pray you. Those that hear us be learned: They can tell both what you oppose, and what I answer well enough, I warrant you.

Tresh. He was seen after such sort, as that he might be heard.

Argument.

Ergo, He was Corporally on the Earth, or else how could he be heard?

Answer.

Rid. He that found the means for *Steven* to behold him in Heaven, even he could bring to pass well enough, that *Paul* might hear him out of Heaven.

Da- *Smith.* As other saw him, so *Paul* saw him.

ti- Other did see him Visibly and Corporally on Earth.

si. *Ergo, Paul* saw him Visibly and Corporally on Earth.

Argument.

Rid. I grant he was seen Visibly and Corporally: but yet have you not proved that he was seen in Earth.

Answer.

Smith. He was seen of him as of other:

But he was seen of other being on Earth, and appeared visibly to them on Earth:

Ergo, he was seen of *Paul* on Earth.

Rid. Your Controversie is about (*existens in terra*) that is, being on Earth: If *existere, to be*, be referred as unto the place, I deny that Christ after that sort was on Earth. But if it be referred as to the Verity of the Body, then I grant it. Moreover, I say that Christ was seen of men in Earth after his Ascension, it is certain: For he was seen of *Steven*; he was seen also of *Paul*. But whether he descended unto the Earth, or whether he being in Heaven did reveal or manifest himself to *Paul*, when *Paul* was wrapt into the third Heaven, I know that some contend about it: And the Scripture, as far as I have read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherefore we cannot but judge uncertainly of those things which be uncertain.

Egesippus l. 3. c. 3.

Smith. We have *Egesippus* and *Linus* against you, which testifie, that Christ appeared Corporally on the Earth to *Peter* after his Ascension, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. *Peter* overcome with the requests and mournings of the People, which desired him to get him out of the City because of *Nero*'s lying in wait for him, began without Company to convey himself away from thence: And when he was come to the Gate, he seeth

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Chriſt come to meet him, and worſhipping him, he ſaid, Maſter, whether walk you? Chriſt anſwered, I am come again to be crucified. *Linus* writing of the Paſſion of *Peter*, hath the ſelf ſame ſtory. *S. Ambroſe* hath the ſame likewiſe, and alſo *Abdias*, Scholar to the Apoſtles, which ſaw Chriſt before his Aſcending into Heaven. With what face therefore dare you affirm it to be a thing uncertain, which theſe men do manifeſtly witneſs to have been done?

Linus de paſſione Petri. Ambroſius. Abdias.

Rid. I ſaid before that the Doctors in that matter did vary.

Smith. Do you think this ſtory is not certain, being approved by ſo ancient and probable Authority?

Rid. I do ſo think, becauſe I take and eſteem not their words for the words of Scripture. And though I did grant you that ſtory to be certain, yet it maketh not againſt me.

Smith. Such things as be certain, and approved of them, you do reject as things uncertain.

Rid. The ſtory of *Linus* is not of ſo great authority; although I am not ignorant that * *Euſebius* ſo writeth alſo in the ſtory of the Church. And yet I account not theſe mens reports ſo ſure as the Canonical Scriptures. Albeit if at any time he had to any man appeared here on the Earth after his Aſcenſion, that doth not diſprove my ſaying. For I go not about to tye Chriſt up in fetters (as ſome do untruly report of us) but that he may be ſeen upon the Earth according to his Divine Pleaſure, whenſoever it liketh him. But we affirm, That it is contrary to the Nature of his Manhood, and the true manner of his Body, that he ſhould be together and at one inſtant both in Heaven and Earth, according to his Corporal Subſtance. And the perpetual ſitting at the right hand of the Father, may (I grant) be taken for the ſtability of Chriſts Kingdom, and his continual or everlaſting Equality with his Father in the Glory of Heaven.

The credit of *Linus*'s ſtory.

* This addition is taken out of the Copy of Bp. Ridleys own writing.

Smith. Now whereas you boaſt that your Faith is the very Faith of the Ancient Church; I will ſhew here that it is not ſo, but that it doth directly ſtrive againſt the Faith of the old Fathers, I will bring in *Chryſoſtom* for this point. *Hom. 2. ad populum Antiochenum. Tanquam maximam hæreditatem, Eliſæus melotem ſuſcepit. Etenim verè maxima fuit hæreditas, omni auro pretioſior: & erat duplex Helias ille: & erat ſurſum Helias, & deorſum Helias. Novi quòd juſtum illum beatum putatis, & velletis quiſque eſſe ut ille. Quid igitur, ſi vobis demonſtravero quid aliud, quod illo multo majus omnes ſacris myſteriis imbuti recipimus? Helias quidem melotem diſcipulo reliquit: Filius autem Dei aſcendens ſuam nobis carnem dimiſit. Sed Helias quidem exutus: Chriſtus autem & nobis reliquit, & ipſam habens aſcendit.* That is, *Eliſeus* received the Mantle, as a right great Inheritance. For it was indeed a right excellent Inheritance, and more precious than any Gold beſide. And the ſame was a double *Helias*: He was both *Helias* above, and *Helias* beneath. I know well you think that juſt man to be happy, and you would gladly be every one of you as he is. What will you then ſay if I ſhall declare unto you a certain other thing, which all we that are indued with theſe holy Myſteries do receive much more than that? *Helias* indeed left his Mantle to his Scholar: But the Son of God aſcending did leave here his Fleſh unto us. *Helias* left it, putting off the ſame; but Chriſt both left it to us, and aſcended alſo to Heaven, having it with him.

Chryſoſtom alledged. Hom. 2. ad populum Antioch.

Rid. I grant that Chriſt did both; that is, both took up his Fleſh with him aſcending up, and alſo did leave the ſame behind him with us, but after a divers manner and reſpect. For he took his Fleſh with him, after the true and Corporal Subſtance of his Body and Fleſh: Again, he left the ſame in Myſtery to the Faithful in the Supper, to be received after a Spiritual Communication, and by Grace. Neither is the ſame received in the Supper only, but alſo at other times, by hearing the Goſpel, and by Faith. For, *the (Bread) which we break, is the communication of the Body of Chriſt*: And generally, *unleſs ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of man, and drink his Blood, ye ſhall have no life in you.*

Here, at this anſwer great carefuls of taunting, ſpiteful, and reproachful words were caſt upon this good Biſhop.

Smith. *Chryſoſtom* in his Book *De Dignitate Sacerdotij, lib. 3. cap. 3.* ſaith, *O miraculum, O Dei benevolentiam! Qui ſurſum ſedet tempore ſacrificij, hominum manibus contingetur.* Or as other have tranſlated it, *O miraculum, O Dei benignitatem! Qui cum parte ſurſum ſedet, in illo ipſo temporis articulo, omnium manibus pertractatur, ac ſe ipſe tradit volentibus ipſum accipere & complecti!* i. O Miracle, O good will of God! He that ſitteth above at the Sacrifice time, is contained in the hands of men. Or elſe as other have tranſlated it, thus: O Miracle, O the gentleneſs of God! He that ſitteth above with the Father, is handled with the hands of all men at the very ſame moment of time, and doth himſelf deliver himſelf to them that are deſirous to take him and imbrace him.

Chryſoſt. De Dignitate Sacerdotij, lib. 3. cap. 3.

Rid. He that ſitteth there is here preſent in Myſtery and by Grace, and is holden of the godly, ſuch as communicate him, not only Sacramentally with the Hand of the Body, but much more wholeſomly with the Hand of the Heart, and by inward drinking is received; but by the Sacramental ſignification he is holden of all men.

Seton. Where is then the Miracle if he be only preſent through his Grace and Myſtery only?

Rid. Yes, there is a Miracle, good Sir, Chriſt is not idle in his Sacraments. Is not the Miracle great, trow you, when Bread, which is wont to ſuſtain the Body, becometh Food to the Soul? He that underſtandeth not that Miracle, underſtandeth not the force of that Myſtery. God grant we may every one of us underſtand his Truth, and obey the ſame.

The Miracle in the Sacrament whereon it conſiſteth.

Smith. *Chryſoſtom* calleth it a Miracle, that Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God in Heaven, and at the ſame time is held in the hands of men: Not that he is handled with the hands of men: Only in a Myſtery, and is with them through Grace. Therefore while you deny that, you are altogether deceived, and ſtray far from the Truth.

Harpſ. The former part of *Chryſoſtom* is not to be let ſlip. Let me, before I begin, ask this one queſtion of you. Is it not a great matter that *Elias* left his Cloak or Mantle, and the Gift of his Prophecy to his Scholar?

Rid. Yes ſurely, it is a great matter.

Harpſ. Did not *Elias* then leave great Grace?

Rid. He did ſo.

Harpſ. But Chriſt left a far greater Grace than *Elias*. For he could not both leave his Cloak and take it with him; Chriſt doth both in his Fleſh.

Rid. I am well content to grant, that Chriſt left much greater things to us than *Elias* to *Eliſeus*, albeit he be ſaid to have left his double Spirit with him: For that the Strength and Grace of the Body of Chriſt, which Chriſt aſcending up here left with us, is the only Salvation and Life of all men which ſhall be ſaved: Which Life Chriſt hath here left unto us, to be received by Faith through the hearing of the Word, and the right Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. This Vertue and Grace *Chryſoſtom*, after the phraſe and manner of *John* the Evangeliſt, calleth Chriſts Fleſh.

How Chriſt took up his Body, and left it with us.

The phraſe of *Chryſoſtom* conſidered.

Harpſ. But Chriſt performed a great matter. He carried up, and left behind. You underſtand not the Compariſon. The Compariſon is in this, That *Elias* left his Mantle, and carried it not with him; Chriſt left his Fleſh behind him, and carried it with him alſo.

Compariſon between *Elias*'s Mantle and Chriſts Fleſh. *Elias* took his Mantle, and left neither Mantle nor Sacrament of his Mantle behind him. Chriſt took his Fleſh, and left a Sacrament of his Fleſh, which was more than *Elias* did: and yet the ſaid *Elias* afterward caſt down his Mantle.

Rid. True it is, and I my ſelf did affirm no leſs before. Now where you ſeem to ſpeak many things, indeed you bring no new things at all. Let there be a Compariſon between Grace and Grace, then Chriſt gave the far greater Grace, when he did inſert or graft us into his Fleſh.

Harpſ. If you will give me leave, I will ask you this queſtion. If *Chryſoſtom* would have meant ſo, that Chriſt left his Body in the Euchariſt, what plainer words think you, or more evident could he have uſed than theſe?

Rid. Theſe things be not of ſo great force as they bear a great ſhew outwardly. He might alſo have uſed groſſer words if he had lifted to have uttered his mind ſo groſly: For he was an eloquent man. Now he ſpeaketh after the manner of other Doctors, which of myſtical matters ſpeak myſtically, and of Sacraments ſacramentally.

Har. The Compariſon lieth in this; That which was impoſſible to *Elias*, is poſſible with Chriſt.

Rid. I grant it was poſſible to Chriſt, which was to the other impoſſible. *Elias* left his Cloak: Chriſt both left his Fleſh and took it with him.

Harpſ. *Elias* left behind him, and could not take with him: Chriſt both left behind him, and alſo took with him: Except you will ſay, the Compariſon here made to be nothing.

Rid.

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Rid. He took up his Fleſh with him to Heaven, and left here the Communion of his Fleſh in Earth.

Weſt. You underſtand in the firſt place his Fleſh for very true Fleſh; and in the ſecond place for Grace, and Communion of his Fleſh; and why do you not underſtand it in the ſecond place alſo for his true Fleſh? I will make it evident how blockiſh and groſs your Anſwer is.

Harpſfield anſwered.

Quam ſit ſtupida & craſſa reſponſio ſua.

Rid. Theſe be Taunts and Reproaches, not beſeeming, as I think, the modeſty of this School.

Weſt. Elias left his Cloak to his Diſciple; but the Son of God going up to Heaven, left his Fleſh. But *Elias* certainly left his Cloak behind, and Chriſt likewiſe his Fleſh, and yet aſcending he carried the ſame with him too. By which words we make this Reaſon:

Chriſt left his Fleſh to his Diſciples, and yet for all that he took the ſame up with him:

Ergo, He is preſent here with us.

D. *Weſton* ſpeaketh to the Audience in Engliſh.

Here Dr. *Weſton* crying to the People, ſaid unto them; Mr. Doctor anſwereth it after this faſhion:

He carried his Fleſh into Heaven, and he left here the Communion of his Fleſh behind. Aſſuredly the Anſwer is too unlearned.

Rid. I am glad you ſpeak in Engliſh. Surely, I wiſh that all the whole world might underſtand your Reaſons and my Anſwers. *Reliquit nobis carnem ſuam*, i. *He left his Fleſh.* This you underſtand of his Fleſh, and I underſtand the ſame of Grace. He carried his Fleſh into Heaven, and left behind the Communion of his Fleſh unto us.

But were theſe Judges in K. *Edwards* time?

Weſt. Ye Judges, what think you of this Anſwer?

Judges. It is ridiculous and a very fond Anſwer.

Rid. Well, I take your words patiently for Chriſts cauſe.

Weſt. Weſton here citeth a place, *Spargimur Sanguine Chriſti*; *We are ſprinkled with the Blood of Chriſt.*

How we are ſprinkled with Chriſts Blood.

Rid. Mr. Doctor, it is the ſame Blood, but yet ſpiritually received. And indeed all the Prophets were ſprinkled with the ſame Blood, but yet ſpiritually I ſay, and by Grace. And whatſoever they be that are not ſprinkled with this Blood, they cannot be partakers of the everlaſting Salvation.

* This he repeated in Engliſh to the People alſo.

Weſt. * Here I bring *Bernard* unto you again, *Even from the Weſt unto the Eaſt, from the North unto the South, there is one and the ſelf ſame Chriſt in many and divers places.*

Anſwer to *Bernard.*

Rid. The Anſwer is ſoon made, that one Chriſt is here and in divers places. For God according to his Majeſty, and according to his Providence, as St. *Auſtin* ſaith, is every where with the godly, according to his indiviſible and unſpeakable Grace. Or elſe, if ye would underſtand

The Papiſts make Chriſt to have a monſtrous Body.

Bernard according to the Corporal Preſence, how monſtrous, or huge, and Giant-like a Body would you then make Chriſts Body to be, which ſhould reach even from North to South, from Weſt to Eaſt?

Weſt. Nay, nay, you make a monſtrous Anſwer, and unlearned.

Ward. Before I come in with thoſe Reaſons which I had purpoſed to bring againſt you, I am minded to come againſt Mr. Doctors Argument, by which you being brought into the Briars, ſeemed to doubt of Chriſts Preſence on the Earth. To the proof of which matter I will bring nothing elſe, then that which was agreed upon in the Catechiſm of the Synod of *London*, ſet out not long ago by you.

Here they returned again to Latin.

Bp. *Ridley* falſly charged to ſet forth the Catechiſm. D. *Weſton* in K. *Edwards* days ſubſcribed.

Rid. Sir, I give you to wit, before you go any further, that I did ſet out no Catechiſm.

Weſt. Yes, you made one Subſcribe to it, when you were a Biſhop in your Ruff.

Rid. I compelled no man to Subſcribe.

Ward. Yes, by rood, you are the very Author of that Hereſie.

Rid. I put forth no Catechiſm.

Cole. Did you never conſent to the ſetting out of thoſe things which you allowed?

Of this Catechiſm read before.

Rid. I grant that I ſaw the Book; but I deny that I wrote it. I peruſed it after it was made, and I noted many things for it. So I conſented to the Book: I was not the Author of it.

* The Judges give an untrue verdict: for Dr. *Cranmer*, meaning by the Councel, ſpake no word of *Ridley.*

Judges. * The Catechiſm is ſo ſet forth, as though the whole Convocation Houſe had agreed to it. *Cranmer* ſaid yeſterday, that you made it.

Rid. I think ſurely, that he would not ſay ſo.

Ward. The Catechiſm hath this Clauſe; *Si viſibiliter in terra, &c. If viſibly on the Earth.*

Rid. I anſwer, That thoſe Articles were ſet out, I both witting and conſenting to them. Mine own hand will teſtifie the ſame, and Mr. *Cranmer* put his hand to them likewiſe, and gave them to other afterward. Now, as for the place which you alledge out of it, that may eaſily be expounded, and without any inconvenience.

Ward. Chriſt is the power and the vertue of his Father.

A poſſibili ad eſſe non valet conſequentia.

Ergo, He was not of ſo little ſtrength, that he could not bring to paſs whatſoever he would himſelf.

Rid. I grant.

Ward. Chriſt was the wiſdom of the Father.

Ergo, That he ſpake he ſpake wiſely, and ſo as every man might underſtand: neither was it his mind to ſpeak one thing inſtead of another.

Rid. All this I grant.

Argument of the wiſdom and truth of Chriſt.

Ward. Chriſt was likewiſe the very Truth: *Ergo*, he made and performed indeed that which he intended to make. And likewiſe it is, that he doth neither deceive, nor could be deceived, nor yet would go about to deceive other.

Hilar. in Pſal. 118.

Weſt. Hilarius in Pſal. 118. hath theſe words: *Vera omnia ſunt, & neque otioſè, neque inutiliter conſtituta Dei verba, ſed extra omnem ambiguitatem ſuperfluæ inanitatis, ignita, & ignita vehementer, ne quid illic eſſet, quod non perfectum ac proprium ſit, exiſtemetur.* All Gods words or ſayings are true, and neither idly placed, or unprofitably, but fiery, and wonderful fiery, without all doubtfulneſs of ſuperfluous vanity, that there may be nothing thought to be there, which is not abſolute and proper.

Ward. He is the Truth of the Father: *Ergo*, He can neither deceive, nor yet be deceived; eſpecially I mean when he ſpake at his later end, and his Teſtament.

Anſwer to Mr. Wards Argument.

Rid. Chriſt is the very Truth of the Father: and I perceive well to what ſcope you drive your reaſon. This is but a far fetcht compaſs of words. If that theſe words of Chriſt, *This is my Body*, which you mean, be rightly underſtood, they are moſt true.

Ward. He took, he brake, he gave, &c. What took he?

Rid. Bread, his Body.

Ward. What brake he?

Rid. Bread.

Ward. What gave he?

Rid. Bread.

Ward. Gave he Bread made of Wheat, and material Bread?

Rid. I know not whether he gave Bread of Wheat; but he gave true and material Bread.

Ward. I will prove the contrary by Scriptures.

He delivered to them that which he bade them take.

This Argument is not formal in the ſecond Figure.

But he bade not them take material Bread, but his own Body.

Ergo, He gave not material Bread, but his own Body.

Anſwer. Theophylact. in Mat. 26.

Rid. I deny the Minor. For he bade them take his Body Sacramentally in material Bread: and after that ſort it was both Bread which he bade them take, becauſe the Subſtance was Bread, and it was alſo his Body, becauſe it was the Sacrament of his Body, for the ſanctifying and the coming of the Holy Ghoſt, which is always aſſiſtant to thoſe Myſteries which were inſtituted of Chriſt, and lawfully adminiſtred.

Harpſ. What is he that ſo ſaith, *By the coming unto of the Holy Spirit?*

Rid. I have *Theophilact* for mine Author for this manner of ſpeaking. And here I bring him, that ye may underſtand that phraſe not to be mine, upon *Matthew* 26. Furthermore, the ſaid *Theophilact* writing upon theſe words, *This is my Body*, ſheweth, that the Body of the Lord is Bread, which is ſanctified on the Altar.

Ogle. That place of *Theophylact* maketh openly againſt you. For he ſaith in that place, that Chriſt ſaid not, *This is the Figure of my Body, but my Body.* For, ſaith he, by an unſpeakable operation it is transformed, although it ſeem to us to be Bread.

The words of *Theophylact* (who ſaid, not this is a figure of my Body) anſwered.

Rid. It is not a Figure, that is to ſay, *Non tantum eſt figura*, i. it is not only a Figure of his Body.

Weſt. Where have you that word (*tantum*) only?

Rid. It is not in that place, but he hath it in another, and *Auguſtine* doth ſo ſpeak many times, & other Doctors moe.

Weſt. Here *Weſton*, repeating the words of *Theophylact* in Engliſh, ſaid, He ſaith it is no Figure, and you ſay it is a Figure.

And

And the same *Theophylact* saith moreover, that the conversing or turning of the Bread is made into the Lords Flesh.

* This Argument is without perfect mood and form, having the Minor Negative in the second Figure.

* That which Christ gave, we do give.
But that which he gave was not a Figure of his Body.
Ergo, We give no Figure, but his Body.

¶ *As concerning the authority of* Theophylactus, *what he thought and might have spoken of that Author, Dr.* Ridley *did not then speak, nor could conveniently (as he himself afterward declared, reporting and writing with his own hand the Disputations in the Prison) because of the uproars and clamors, which were so great, and he of so many called upon, that he could not answer as he would, and what he thought touching the authority of* Theophylactus, *but answered simply to that which is brought out out of that Author on this sort.*

Conversion after what sort in the Sacrament.

I grant, quoth he, the Bread to be converted and turned into the Flesh of Christ, but not by Transubstantiation, but by a Sacramental conversion or turning. It is transformed, saith *Theophylactus*, in the same place, by a mystical Benediction, and by the accession or coming of the Holy Ghost unto the Flesh of Christ. He saith not, by expulsion or driving away the Substance of Bread, and by substituting or putting in his place the corporal Substance of Christs Flesh. And where he saith, *It is not a Figure of the Body*, we should understand that saying, as he himself doth else where add *only*, that is, it is no naked or bare Figure only. For Christ is present in his Mysteries, neither at any time, as *Cyprian* saith, doth the Divine Majesty absent himself from the Divine Mysteries.

West. You put in *only*, and that is one lye. And I tell you farther, *Peter Martyr* was fain to deny the Author, because the place was so plain against him. But mark his words, how he saith, *It is no Figure, but his Flesh.*

Rid. To take his words, and not his meaning, is to do injury to the Author.

This Hard. ng face at the Table among the Notaries.

Hard. No other Doctor maketh more against you. For the words in Greek are μεταστοιχείται, which is in Latin *transelementatur*, that is, turned from one Element into another. And shewing the cause why it is in form of Bread, he saith, *Quoniam infirmi sumus, & horremus crudas carnes comedere, maximè hominis carnem: ideo panis quidem apparet, sed caro est.* That is, *Because we are infirm, and abhor to eat the raw flesh, specially the flesh of man: therefore it appeareth Bread, but it is Flesh.*

Theoph. in 6. cap. Joan.

Rid. That word hath not that strength which you seem to give it. You strain it over-much, and yet it maketh not so much for your purpose. For the same Author hath in another place, ἡμεῖς μεταστοιχείμεθα, that is, *We are transelemented or transformed and changed into the Body of Christ*: And so by that word, in such meaning as you speak of, I could prove as well that we are transformed indeed into the very Body of Christ.

The word μεταστοιχείωσις. Theophylact expounded.

Ward. Learned Mr. Doctor, thus you expound the place, *Hoc est corpus meum*, i. *This is my Body*, that is, a Figure of my Body.

Rid. Although I know there be that so expound it, yet that exposition is not full to express the whole.

Argument in the third Figure.

Da- *Ward.* My sheep hear my voice, and follow me.
ti- But all the sheep of Christ hear his voice, *This is my Body*, without a Figure:
si. *Ergo*, The voice of Christ here hath no Figure.

Rid. The sheep of Christ follow the voice of Christ, unless they be seduced and deceived through ignorance.

Ward. But the Fathers took this place for no figurative Speech.

Rid. Yet they do all number this place among figurative and tropical Speeches.

Justinus Martyr Apolog. 2.

Ward. Justinus Martyr in his second Apology hath thus, ὁ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν: ὕπως καὶ τὴν διὰ εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

Neq; vero hæc pro pane potuve communi sumimus; Imo quemadmodum verbo Dei Jesus Christus, Servator noster incarnatus, habuit pro salute nostra carnem & sanguinem: Ita per orationem illius verbi consecratum hoc alimentum, quo sanguis & carnes nostræ per immutationem enutriuntur, ejusdem incarnati carnem & sanguinem esse sumus edocti.

This place *Cranmer* hath corrupted. Thus it is englished. Anno 1554.

¶ For we do not take these for common Bread & Drink, but like as Jesus Christ our Saviour incarnate by the Word of God, had Flesh and Blood for our Salvation; even so we be taught the Food wherewith our Flesh and Blood is nourished by alteration, when it is consecrated by the Prayer of his Word, to be the Flesh and Blood of the same Jesus Incarnate.

Dr. Cranmer charged with misstranslating a place of Justine. Read his answer to this before.

Dr. *Cranmer* hath thus translated it: Bread, Water, and Wine, are not to be taken as other Common Meats and drinks be, but they be ordained purposely to give thanks to God, and therefore be called *Eucharistia*, and be called the Body and Blood of Christ: and that it is lawful for none to eat and drink of them, but such as professe Christ, and live according to the same; and yet the same Meat ond Drink is charged into our Flesh and Blood, and nourisheth our Bodies.

Rid. O good Mr. Doctor, go sincerely to work: I know that place, and I know how it is used.

Ward. Ward here repeated the place again out of *Justine*, *We are taught, &c.* as above.

Rid. O what upright dealing is this? I have the self same place of *Justine* here copied out. You know your self which are skilful in Greek, how the words here be removed out of the right place, and without any just cause.

Sumptum ex exemplari Domini Ridley descripto.

Ward. I stand still upon mine Argument. What say you?

Rid. If you will that I should answer to *Justine*, then you must hear. I have but one tongue, I cannot answer at once to you all.

West. Christ gave us his very and true Flesh to be eaten: But he never gave it to be eaten but in his last Supper, and in the Sacrament of the Altar:

In this Argument if the Minor be a Negative, the form is false: if it be Affirmative, *equipollens*, Major is to be denied.

Ergo, There is the very Flesh of Christ.

Rid. If you speak of the very true Flesh of Christ, after the Substance of his Flesh taken in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, and not by grace and spiritually, I then do deny the first part of your Reason. But if you understand it of the true Flesh, after grace and spiritual communication, I then grant the first part, and deny the second. For he giveth unto us truly his Flesh, to be eaten of all that believe in him. For he is the very and true Meat of the Soul, wherewith we are fed unto everlasting Life, according to his saying; *My Flesh is Meat indeed, &c.*

Tertul. contra Marcion. lib. 4.

Ward. Desiderio desideravi hoc Pascha manducare vobiscum; i. *I have desired with my hearty desire to eat this Paschal with you.* What Paschal I pray you desired he to eat? If you stand in doubt, you have *Tertullian, l. 4. contra Marcionem: Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupiscere edere Pascha suum (indignum enim ut alienum concupiscaret Deus) acceptum panem & distributum Discipulis suum corpus illum fecit; Hoc est corpus meum, dicendo, &c.* i. He therefore protesting a great desire to eat his Paschal, his own Paschal I say (for it was not meet that he should desire any other than his own (taking Bread and distributing it to his Disciples, made it his Body, saying, *This is my Body.*

What say you? Did he understand by this Paschal the Judaical Lamb, or by that which afterward he gave in his Supper?

Argument.

Rid. I suppose that the first he understood of the Judaical Passover and afterward of the Eucharist.

Ward. Nay then *Tertullian* is against you, which saith:
Ba- He desired to eat his Passover.
ro- But the Judaical Passover was not his, but strange from Christ.
co. *Ergo*, He meant not of the Judaical Passover.

Answer.

Rid. The Judaical Passover was not strange from Christ, but his own: Insomuch as he is the Lord of all; and as well the Lord of the Judaical Passover, as of his own Supper.

Analogical sense is that which hath a high and mystical understanding that lieth abstruse and profound under the external letter. August. in Psal. 96.

Ward. What answer you then to *Tertullian*, the which saith, *He desired to eat his own Passover*, and not the Jewish Passover, which stood upon words without flesh?

Rid. Tertullian may here dally in sense Analogical. I know that *Cyprian* hath these words; *Tunc instituit quidem Eucharistiam, sed utrumque erat Christi*; i. *He began then to institute the holy Eucharist, but both were Christs.*

Ward. Augustine in *Psalm* 96. writing upon these words, *Adorate scabellum pedum ejus*; i. *Worship his Footstool*, &c. *Quæro, inquit, quid sit scabellum pedum ejus? Et dicit mihi Scriptura, Terra scabellum pedum meorum:*

Fluctuans

Anno 1554.

Fluctuans converto me ad Christum, quia ipsum quæro hic, & invenio quomodo sine impietate adoretur scabellum pedum ejus. Suscepit enim de terra terram, quia caro de terra est, & de carne Mariæ carnem accepit, & quia in ipsa carne hic ambulavit, & ipsam carnem nobis manducandam ad salutem dedit: nemo autem illam carnem manducat nisi prius adoraverit. Inventum est qua modo tale scabellum pedum Domini adoretur, ut non solum non peccemus adorando, sed peccemus non adorando ipsum, &c. i. I ask (saith he) what is the footstool of his feet? and the Scripture telleth me, *The Earth is the Footstool of my Feet.* And so in searching thereof I turn my self to Christ, because I seek him here in the Earth, and find how, without impiety, the footstool of his feet may be worshipped; for he took Earth of Earth, in that he is Flesh and Earth, and of the Flesh of *Mary* he took Flesh, and because that in the same Flesh here he walked, and also he gave the same Flesh to us to be eaten unto Salvation. But no man eateth that Flesh except he have worshipped before. And so it is found, how such a footstool of the feet of the Lord is to be worshipped, so that not only we Sin not in worshipping, but also do Sin in not worshipping the same, Da- He gave to us his Flesh to be eaten, the which he took of the Earth, in which also here he walked, &c. ti. But he never gave his Flesh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his Supper, saying, *This is my Body.* si. *Ergo*, in the Eucharist he gave us his Flesh.

If the minor of this Argument (as said before) be equipollent to affirmative, then it cometh next to the Mood Darii.

Rid. You do alledge the place of *Austin* upon the 98. *Psalm*, where he saith, that Christ gave his Flesh to be eaten which he took of the Earth, and in which here he walked, inferring hereupon that Christ never gave the same his Flesh to be eaten, but only in the Eucharist: I deny your Minor; for he gave it both in the Eucharist to be eaten, and also otherwise, as well in the Word, as also upon the Cross.

How Christ gave his Flesh to be eaten, and when.

Smith. What if *Augustine* say, that Christ did not only give himself to us in a figure, but gave his own very Flesh indeed and really?

Rid. I never said that Christ gave only a figure of his Body. For indeed he gave himself in a real Communication, that is, he gave his Flesh after a Communication of his Flesh.

Christ gave himself not only in a figure, but indeed by a real and effectual communication of his Flesh.

West. Here *Weston* read the place of *Augustine* in English, and afterward said; Ye say, Christ gave not his Body, but a figure of his Body.

Rid. I say not so, I say he gave his own Body verily. But he gave it by a real, effectual, and spiritual Communication.

D. *Glin* disputeth.

¶ *After this, Doctor* Glin *began to reason, who (notwithstanding Mr.* Ridley *had always taken him for his old friend) made a very contumelious Preface against him. This Preface Mr.* Ridley *therefore did the more take to heart, because it proceeded from him. Howbeit he thought, that Doctor* Glin's *mind was to serve the time. For afterward he came to the house wherein M.* Ridley *was kept, and, as far as Mr.* Ridley *could call to remembrance, before Doctor* Young *and Doctor* Oglethorp *he desired him to pardon his words. The which Mr.* Ridley *did even from the very heart, and wished earnestly, that God would give not only to him, but unto all other, the true and evident knowledge of Gods Evangelical Sincerity, that all offences put a part, they being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meet together in the house of the Heavenly Father.*

D. *Glin* Bishop *Ridleys* old friend desireth him of Pardon.

B. *Ridley* forgiveth D. *Glin.*

Glin. I see that you elude or shift away all Scriptures and Fathers, I will go to work with you after another sort.

Christ hath here his Church known in Earth, of which you were once a Child, although now you speak contumeliously of the Sacraments.

Rid. This is a grievous contumely, that you call me a shifter away of the Scripture, and of the Doctors: As touching the Sacraments, I never yet spake contumeliously of them. I grant that Christ hath here his Church in Earth: but that Church did ever receive and acknowledge the Eucharist to be a Sacrament of the Body of Christ, yet not the Body of Christ really, but the Body of Christ by Grace.

Glin. Then I ask this question; whether the Catholick Church hath ever or at any time been Idolatrous?

Rid. The Church is the Pillar and stay of the Truth, that never yet hath been Idolatrous in respect of the whole: but peradventure in respect of some part thereof, which sometimes may be seduced by evil Pastors, and through ignorance.

Glin. (*a*) That Church ever hath worshipped the Flesh of Christ in the Eucharist.

(*a*) This Argument having the minor a negative, neither is formable in the third figure, neither doth it conclude rightly, but should conclude thus: *Ergo*, to Worship the Flesh of Christ in the Eucharist is no Idolatry. Sumptum ab autographo Ridlei manu descripto.

But the Church hath never been Idolatrous:

Ergo, It hath alway judged the Flesh of Christ to be in the Eucharist.

Rid. And I also Worship Christ in the Sacrament, but not because he is included in the Sacrament: Like as I Worship Christ also in the Scriptures, not because he is really included in them. Notwithstanding I say, that the Body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, but yet Sacramentally and Spiritually, according to his Grace giving Life, and in that respect really, that is, according to his Benediction giving Life.

Furthermore, I acknowledge gladly the true Body of Christ to be in the Lords Supper, in such sort as the Church of Christ (which is the Spoute of Christ, and is taught of the Holy Ghost, and guided by Gods Word) doth acknowledge the same. But the true Church of Christ doth acknowledge a Presence of Christs Body in the Lords Supper to be Communicated to the Godly by Grace, and spiritually, as I have often shewed, and by a Sacramental signification, but not by the Corporal Presence of the Body of his Flesh.

Glin. Austin contra Faustum, lib. 20. *cap.* 13. *Nonnulli propter panem & calicem Cererem & Bacchum nos colere existimabant, &c. i.* Some there were which thought us instead of Bread and of the Cup, to Worship *Ceres* and *Bacchus.*

August. contra. Faust. lib. 20. cap. 13.

Upon this place I gather, that there was an Adoration of the Sacrament among the Fathers; and *Erasmus*, in an Epistle to the Brethren of *Low-Germany*, saith, that the Worshipping of the Sacrament was before *Austin* and *Cyprian.*

Rid. We do handle the signs reverently: but we Worship the Sacrament as a Sacrament, not as a thing signified by the Sacrament.

Glin. What is the Symbol or Sacrament?

Rid. Bread.

Equivocation of this word *Worship* distinguished.

Glin. Ergo, We Worship Bread.

Rid. There is a deceit in this word (*Adoramus:*) We Worship the Symbols, when reverently we handle them. We Worship Christ whersoever we perceive his benefits. But we understand his benefit to be greatest in the Sacrament.

Glin. So I may fall down before the Bench here, and Worship Christ and if any man ask me what I do, I may answer, I Worship Christ.

We Worship Christ in the Eucharist: but we Worship not the Eucharist for Christ.

Rid. We Adore and Worship Christ in the Eucharist, And if you mean the external Sacrament, I say, that also is to be Worshipped as a Sacrament.

Glin. So was the Faith of the Primitive Church.

Rid. Would to God we would all follow the Faith of that Church.

Glin. Think you that Christ hath now his Church?

Rid. I do so.

Glin. But all the Church adoreth Christ, verily, and really in the Sacrament.

This Councel of *Florence* was but of late years in the time of the Councel of *Basil.*

Rid. You know your self that the Eastern Church would not acknowledge Transubstantiation, as appeareth in the Councel of *Florence.*

Cole. That is false. For in the same they did acknowledge Transubstantiation, although they would not intreat of the matter, for that they had not in their Commission so to do.

Rid. Nay, they would determine nothing of the matter, when the Article was propounded unto them.

Cole. It was not because they did not acknowledge the same, but because they had no Commission so to do.

Chryf. in ca. 10. Cor. 1. Hom. 24.

Curtop. Reverend Sir, I will prove and declare, that the Body of Christ is truly and really in the Eucharist: and whereas the Holy Fathers, both of the West and East Church, have written both many things and no less manifest of the same matter, yet will I bring forth only *Chrysostom.* The place is in *cap.* 10. *Corinth.* 1. *Hom.* 24.

(*a*) The Major should be thus: Whatsoever did flow from the side of Christ is in the Cup, &c. or else the Argument being in the second figure is affirmative, and false.

(*a*) That which is in the Cup, is the same that flowed from the side of Christ.

But true and pure Blood did flow from the side of Christ.

Ergo, His true and pure Blood is in the Cup.

Rid. It is his true Blood which is in the Chalice, I grant, and the same which sprang from the side of Christ,

But how? It is Blood indeed, but not after the same manner, after which manner it sprang from his side. For here is the Blood, but by way of a Sacrament.

Again, I say, like as the Bread of the Sacrament and of Thanksgiving is called the Body of Christ given for us: so the Cup of the Lord is called the Blood which sprang from the side of Christ. But that Sacramental Bread is called the Body, because it is the Sacrament of his Body: even so likewise the Cup is called the Blood also which flowed out of Christs side, because it is the Sacrament of that Blood which flowed out of his side, instituted of the Lord himself for our singular commodity: namely, for our Spiritual nourishment: like as Baptism is ordained in water to Spiritual Regeneration.

Cur. The Sacrament of the Blood is not the Blood.

Rid. The Sacrament of the Blood is the Blood, and that is attributed to the Sacrament, which is spoken of the thing of the Sacrament.

West. Here *West.* repeateth *Curtops* Argument in English.

(*l*) This Argument concludeth not directly, and being in the second figure affirmative, it is not formal.

(*b*) That which is in the Chalice, is the same which flowed out of Christs side.

But there came out very Blood:

Ergo, There is Blood in the Chalice.

Rid. The Blood of Christ is in the Chalice indeed, but not in the Real Presence, but by Grace, and in a Sacrament.

West. That is very well. Then we have Blood in the Chalice,

Rid. It is true, but by Grace, and in a Sacrament.

Here the people hissed at him.

Rid. O my Masters! I take this for no Judgment: I will stand to Gods Judgment.

Wat. Good Sir, I have determined to have respect of the time, and to abstain from all those things which may hinder the entrance of our disceptation: and therefore first I ask this question; when Christ said in the sixth of John, *Qui manducat carnem meam, i.* He that eateth my Flesh, &c. doth he signifie in those words the eating of his true and Natural Flesh, or else of the Bread and Symbol?

Spiritual eating of the Flesh of Christ.

Rid. I understand that place of the very Flesh of Christ to be eaten, but spiritually: And further I say, that the Sacrament also pertaineth unto the Spiritual Manducation. For without the Spirit to eat the Sacrament is to eat it unprofitably. For who so eateth not Spiritually, he eateth his own Condemnation.

Wat. I ask then whether the Eucharist be a Sacrament?

Rid. The Eucharist, taken for a sign or Symbol, is a Sacrament.

Wat. Is it instituted of God?

Rid. It is instituted of God.

Wat. Where?

Rid. In the Supper.

Wat. With what words is it made a Sacrament?

Rid. By the words and deeds which Christ said and did, and commanded us to say and do the same.

Wat. It is a thing commonly received of all, that the Sacraments of the New Law give Grace to them that worthily receive.

The Sacraments give no Grace, but are instruments. Sacrament defined.

Rid. True it is, that Grace is given by the Sacrament, but as by an instrument. The inward vertue and Christ give the Grace through the Sacrament.

Wat. What is a Sacrament?

Rid. I remember there be many definitions of a Sacrament in *Augustine*: But I will take that which seemeth most fit to this present purpose. A Sacrament is a visible sign of invisible Grace.

Wat. Ergo, Grace is given to the receivers.

(*a*) The Syllogism is thus to be formed: The Sacrament of the New Testament hath a promise of Grace annexed: Bread and Wine have no promise of Grace annexed: *Ergo*, Bread and wine is no Sacrement of the New Testament.

Rid. The Society or Conjunction with Christ through the Holy Ghost is Grace, and by the Sacrament we are made the Members of the Mystical Body of Christ, for that by the Sacrament the part of the Body is grafted in the head.

Wat. But there is difference between the Mystical Body, and Natural Body.

Rid. There is (I grant you) a difference, but the head of them both is one.

Wat. (a) The Eucharist is a Sacrament of the New Testament:

Ergo, It hath a promise of Grace.

But no promise of Grace is made to Bread and Wine:

Ergo, Bread and Wine be not the Sacraments of the New Testament.

Rid. I grant that Grace pertaineth to the Eucharist, according to this saying, *The Bread which we Break is it not the Communication or partaking of the Body of Christ?* And like as he that eateth, and he that drinketh unworthily the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own Damnation: Even so he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth Life, and drinketh Life. I grant also that there is no (*b*) promise made to Bread and Wine. But inasmuch as they are sanctified, and made the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of the Lord, they have a promise of Grace annexed unto them; namely, of Spiritual partaking of the Body of Christ to be Communicated and given, not to the Bread and Wine, but to them which worthily do receive the Sacrament.

(*b*) No promise made to Bread and Wine as they be Common Bread and Common Wine: but as they be sanctified and made Sacraments of the Lords Body and Blood, they are not now called Bread and Wine, but have a promise annexed to them, or rather (to say the truth) annexed to the receivers of them. Argument. Sacraments how they have a promise of Grace annexed, not absolutely, but instrumentally. Grace not included in Sacraments: but the receiving of them turneth to Grace in them that duly come unto them.

Wat. If the Substance of Bread and Wine do remain, then the society betwixt Christ and us is promised to them that take Bread and Wine.

But that Society is not promised to Bread and Wine, but to the receivers of the Flesh and Blood. *John 6. Qui manducat, &c.*

Ergo, The substance of Bread and Wine remaineth not.

Rid. The promise undoubtedly is made to the Flesh and Blood, but the same is to be received in the Sacrament through Faith.

Wat. Every Sacrament hath a promise of Grace annexed unto it.

Ergo, The Bread and Wine are not Sacraments.

Rid. True it is, every Sacrament hath Grace annexed unto it instrumentally. But there is divers understanding of this word (*Habet*) hath. For the Sacrament hath not Grace included in it; but to those that receive it well, it is turned to Grace. After that manner the water in Baptism hath Grace promised, and by that Grace the holy Spirit is given, not that Grace is included in Water, but that Grace cometh by Water.

Wat. This promise is made to the Flesh and Blood of Christ, and not to the Bread and Wine.

Ergo, The Sacrament is not Bread and Wine, but the Body and Blood of Christ.

Promise made not to the Symbols, but to the thing of the Sacrament. Sacraments only instruments of Grace. Bread more largely taken in the Minor, than in the conclusion.

Rid. There is no promise made to him that taketh common bread and common Wine but to him that receiveth the Sanctified Bread, and Bread of the Communion, there is a large promise of Grace made, neither is the promise given to the Symbols, but to the thing of the Sacrament. But the thing of the Sacrament is the Flesh and Blood.

Wat. Every Sacrament of the New Testament giveth Grace, promised of God to those that worthily receive it.

Rid. This Sacrament hath a promise of Grace, made to those that receive it worthily, because Grace is given by it, as by an instrument, not that Christ hath transfused Grace into the Bread and Wine.

Wat. But this promise which is made, is not but to those that worthily receive the Flesh and Blood, not the Bread and Wine.

Rid. That proposition of yours hath a divers understanding. There is no promise made to them that receive Common Bread, as it were, but to those that worthily receive the Sanctified Bread, there is a promise of Grace made, like as *Origen* doth testifie.

Wat. Where is that promise made?

Rid. The Bread which he brake, is it not a Communication of the Body of Christ? (And) *we being many are one Bread, one Body of Christ.* 1 Cor. 10.

Wat. What doth he mean by Bread in that place?

Rid. The Bread of the Lords Table, the Communion of the Body of Christ.

Wat. Harken what *Chrysostom* saith upon that place; *Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Christi est? Quare non dixit participatio? Quia amplius quid significare voluit, & multam inter hæc convenientiam offendere. Non enim participatione tantum & acceptione, sed unitate communicamus. Quemadmodum enim corpus illud unitum est Christo, ita & nos per hunc panem unione conjungimur.* That is, the Bread which we Break, is it not the Communication of Christs Body? Wherefore did he not say participation? Because he would signifie some great matter, and that he would declare a great convenience Chrys. in 1 Cor. cap. 10.

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venience and conjunction betwixt the same. For we do not Communicate by Participation only and receiving, but also by co-uniting. For likewise as that Body is co-united to Christ, so also we by the same Bread are conjoyned and united to him.

Answer to Chrysostom.

Rid. Let *Chrysostom* have his manner of speaking, and his sentence. If it be true, I reject it not. But let it not be prejudicial to me to name it true Bread.

In 1 Cor. cap. 10.

Wat. All (saith *Chrysostom*) *which sit together at one boord, do Communicate together of one true Body. What do I call* (saith he) *this communicating? We are all the self same Body. What doth Bread signifie? The Body of Christ. What be they that receive it? The Body of Christ. For many are but one Body.* *Chrysostom* doth interpret this place against you. *All we be one Bread, and one Mystical Body, which do participate together one Bread of Christ.*

Bread signifieth the Body after Chrysost.

One Bread one Mystical Body.

Rid. All we be one Mystical Body, which do communicate of one Christ in Bread, after the efficacy of Regeneration or quickening.

Wat. Of what manner of Bread speaketh he?

Rid. Of the Bread of the Lords Table.

Wat. Is that Bread one?

Rid. It is one, of the Church being one, because one Bread is set forth upon the Table: And so of one Bread all together do participate which communicate at the Table of the Lord.

Wat. See how absurdly you speak. Do you say all which be from the beginning to the end of the World?

Rid. All, I say, which at one Table together have Communicated in the Mysteries might well so do. Albeit the Heavenly and Celestial Bread is likewise one also, whereof the Sacramental Bread is a Mystery: The which being one, all we together do participate.

Wenseth cavilleth about the word (All.)

Wat. A perverse answer. Which all? Mean you all Christian men.

Rid. I do distribute this word (*All*:) for all were wont together to Communicate of the one Bread divided into parts. All, I say, which were one Congregation, and which all did communicate together at one Table.

Wat. What? Do you exclude then from the Body of Christ all them which did not Communicate, being present?

Cyprian. de Cœna Dom.

Feck. But *Cyprian* saith, *Panis quem nulla multitudo consumit*, i. *Bread which no multitude doth consume.* Which cannot be understood but only of the Body of Christ.

Rid. Also *Cyprian* in this place did speak of the true Body of Christ, and not of material Bread.

M. Feckams Reason.

Feck. Nay, rather he did there intreat of the Sacrament in that tractation *De Cœna Domini*, writing upon the Supper of the Lord.

Rid. Truth it is, and I grant he intreateth there of the Sacrament: But also he doth admix something therewithal of the Spiritual manducation.

Smith. When the Lord saith, *This is my Body*, he useth no Tropical Speech:

Ergo, You are deceived.

Rid. I deny your Antecedent.

Augustin. in Psal. 33. Conc. 1.

Smith. I bring here *Augustine in Psal.* 33. *Conc.* 1. expounding these words, *Ferebatur in manibus suis*, i. He was carried in his own hands. 1 *Regum.*

Hoc quomodo possit fieri in homine, quis intelligat? Manibus enim suis nemo portatur, sed alienis. Quomodo intelligatur de David *secundum literam, non invenimus; de Christo autem invenimus. Ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis cum diceret; Hoc est corpus meum. Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus suis, &c.* That is, How may this be understood to be done in man? For no man is carried in his own hands, but in the hands of other. How this may be understood of *David* after the Letter, we do not find; Of Christ we find it. For Christ was born in his own hands, when he saith, *This is my Body*, for he carried that same Body in his own hands, &c.

Augustine here did not see how this place after the Letter could be understood of *David*, because no man can carry himself in his own hands. Therefore, saith he, this place is to be understood of Christ after the Letter. For Christ carried himself in his own hands in his Supper, when he gave the Sacrament to his Disciples, saying, *This is my Body.*

The place of Augustine answered.

Rid. I deny your Argument, and I explicate the same. *Austin* could not find after his own understanding how this could be understood of *David* after the Letter. *Austin* goeth here from other in this exposition, but I go not from him. But let this exposition of *Austin* be granted to you; although I know this place of Scripture be otherwise read of other men, after the verity of the *Hebrew* Text, and it is also otherwise to be expounded. Yet to grant to you this exposition of *Austin*, I say yet notwithstanding it maketh nothing against my Assertion: For Christ did bear himself in his own hands, when he gave the Sacrament of his Body to be eaten of his Disciples.

Smith. Ergo, It is true of Christ after the Letter, that he was born in his own hands.

Rid. He was born literally; and after that Letter which was spoken of *David*: but not after the Letter of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum.*

The place of Austin, how Christ was carried in his own hands ad literam, i. literally.

I grant that S. *Austin* saith, that it is not found literally of *David*, that he carried himself in his own hands, but that it is found of Christ. But this word, *ad literam, literally*, you do not well refer to that which was born, but rather it ought to be referred to him that did bear it. S. *Augustines* meaning in this; that it is not read any where in the Bible, that this carnal *David*, the Son of *Jesse* did bear himself in his hands; but of that Spiritual *David* that overthrew *Goliah* the Devil; that is, of Christ our Saviour, the Son of the Virgin; it may well be found literally, that he bare himself in his own hands after a certain manner, namely, in carrying the Sacrament of himself. And note, that S. *Austin* hath these words, *quodam modo, after a certain manner*; which manifestly declare how the Doctors meaning is to be taken.

Ferebatur quodam modo in manibus suis. August. i. Christ was born in his own hands Sacramentally.

Smith: When then was he born in his own hands, and after what Letter?

Rid. He was born in the Supper Sacramentally, when he said, *This is my Body.*

* A figure he may bear, but not a Sacrament.

Smith. Every man may bear in his own hands a * figure of his Body.

But *Augustine* denieth that *David* could carry himself in his hands.

Ergo, He speaketh of no figure of his Body.

Rid. If *Austin* could have found in all the Scripture, that *David* had carried the Sacrament of his Body, then he would never have used that exposition of Christ.

Smith. But he did bear himself in his own hands:

Ergo, He did not bear a figure only.

Rid. He did bear himself, but in a Sacrament: and *Austin* afterward addeth, *quodam modo*, that is, *sacramentally.*

Quodam modo.

Smi. You understand not what *Austin* meant when he said, *quodam modo*; for he meant that he did bear his very true body in that Supper, not in figure and form of a Body, but in form and figure of Bread.

Ergo, You are holden fast, neither are you able to escape out of this labyrinth.

Doctor *Weston* repeated this place again in English. Which done, then Doctor *Tresham* began thus to speak, moved (as it seemed to M. *Ridley*) with great zeal, and desired that he might be in stead of *John Baptist*, in converting the hearts of the Fathers, and in reducing the said Bishop *Ridley* again to the Mother Church. Now at the first, not knowing the person, he thought he had been some good old man, which had the Zeal of God, although not according to Knowledge, and began to answer him with mansuetude and Reverence. But afterward he smelled a Fox under a Sheeps clothing.

D. Tresham prayeth for converting Ridley.

GOD *Almighty grant that it may be fulfilled in me, that was spoken by the Prophet* Malachi *of* John Baptist, *which may turn the hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the hearts of the Children to their Fathers, that you at length may be converted. The wise man saith, Son, Honour thy Father, and Reverence thy Mother. But you dishonour your Father in Heaven, and pollute your Mother, the Holy Church here on Earth, while ye set not by it.*

Rid. These by-words do pollute your School.

The Decree of the Lateran Councel alledged for Transubstantiation. Of this Councel read before.

Tresh. If there were an *Arrian* which had that subtil wit that you have, he might soon shift off the Authority of the Scriptures and Fathers.

West. Either dispute, or else hold your peace, I pray you.

Tresh. I bring a place here out of the Councel of *Lateran*, the which Councel representing the Universal Church, *wherein were congregated 300. Bishops*,

The decree of the *Lateran* Councel alledged for Transubstantiation. Of this Councel read before.

and 70. *Metropolitans*, besides a great multitude of other, decreed that Bread and Wine, by the power of Gods Word, was Transubstantiate into the Body and Blood of the Lord. Therefore whosoever saith contrary, cannot be a Child of the Church, but an Heretick.

Rid. Good Sir, I have heard what you have cited out of the Councel of *Laterane*, and remember that there was a great multitude of Bishops and Metropolitans, as you said: But yet you have not numbered how many *Abbots*, *Priors*, and *Friers* were in that Councel, who were to the number of 800.

One of the Scribes carpeth against B. *Ridley*.

One of the Scribes. What, will you deny then the Authority of that Councel for the multitude of those *Priors*?

Of this *Innocentius* the third read before.

Rid. No Sir, not so much for that cause, as for that especially, because the Doctrine of that Councel agreed not with the Word of God, as it may well appear by the Acts of that Councel, which was holden under *Innocentius* the third, a man (if we believe the Histories) most pernicious to the Church and Common-wealth of Christ.

B. *Ridley* rejecteth the Councel of *Lateran*. Good men do eat the very true Body of Christ both Sacramentally and Spiritually.

Tresh. What, do you not receive the Councel of *Laterane*? Whereupon he with certain other cried, *Scribite, scribite*, Write, write.

Rid. No Sir, I receive not that Councel; *Scribite, & rescribite*, Write, and write again.

Tresh. Evil men do eat the Natural Body of Christ. *Ergo*, The true and Natural Body of Christ is on the Altar.

Rid. Evil men do eat the very true and Natural Body of Christ Sacramentally, and no further, as S. *Augustine* saith: But good men do eat the very true Body both Sacramentally and Spiritually by Grace.

Aug. lib. 5. cont. Don. ca. 8.

Tresh. I prove the contrary by S. *Augustin*, *Lib.* 5. *contra Donatistas cap.* 8. *Sicut enim Judas, cui buccellulam Dominus tradidit, non malum accipiendo, sed male accipiendo peccavit, &c.* Like as *Judas*, to whom the Lord gave the Morsel, did offend, not in taking a thing that was evil, but in receiving it after an evil manner, &c. And a little after, *Quia aliquis non ad salutem manducat, non ideo non est Corpus, i.* Because some do not eat unto Salvation, it followeth not therefore that it is not his Body.

Manducare panem Domini, & panem Dominum Aug.

Rid. It is the Body to them, that is, the Sacrament of the Body: and *Judas* took the Sacrament of the Lord to his condemnation. *Austin* hath distinguished these things well in another place, where he saith, *Panem Domini, & panem Dominum. Mali manducant panem Domini, non panem Dominum: boni autem manducant & panem Domini, & panem Dominum*, *i.* The Bread of the Lord, the Bread the Lord. Evil men eat the Bread of the Lord, but not Bread the Lord. But good men eat both the Bread of the Lord, and Bread the Lord.

This Weston spake in English.

West. Paul saith, the Body, and you say, the Sacrament of the Body.

Rid. Paul meaneth so indeed.

Wat. You understand it evil concerning the Sign: For the Fathers say, that evil men do eat him which descended from Heaven.

The Old Doctors do use many times, the Sacrament for the matter of the Sacrament. *Theophylact* alledged.

Rid. They eat him indeed; but Sacramentally. The Fathers use many times the Sacrament for the matter of the Sacrament, and all that same place maketh against you; and so here he cited the place.

West. I bring *Theophylact*, which saith: That *Judas* did taste the Body of the Lord. *Ostendit Dominus crudelitatem Judæ, qui cum argueretur, non intellexit, & gustavit carnem Domini, &c. i.* The Lord did shew the cruelty of *Judas*, which, when he was rebuked, did not understand, and tasted the Lords Flesh, &c.

Answer.

Rid. This phrase to Divines is well known, and used of the Doctors. He tasted the Flesh of the Lord, *Insensibiliter, Insensibly, that is, the Sacrament of the Lords Flesh.*

Chrysostom alledged.

West. Chrysostom saith, that the same punishment remaineth to them which receive the Body of the Lord unworthily, as to them which Crucified him.

Chrysostom expounded.

Rid. That is, because they defile the Lords Body: for evil men do eat the Body of Christ Sacramentally, but good men eat both the Sacrament and the matter of the Sacrament.

The Councel of *Nice* alledged.

Wat. You reject the Councel of *Laterane*, because (you say) it agreeth not with Gods Word. What say you then to the Councel of *Nice*? The words of the Councel be these, *Ne humiliter spectemus propositum panem & potum, sed exaltata mente fideliter credamus jacere in illa sacra mensa Agnum Dei tollentem peccata mundi à sacerdotibus sacrificatum, i.* Let us not look alow by the ground upon the Bread and the Drink set before us, but lifting up our mind let us faithfully believe, there upon the Holy Table to lye the Lamb of God taking away the Sins of the World, being Sacrificed of the Priests.

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Rid. That Councel was collected out of ancient Fathers: and is to me a great Authority; for it saith, *Positum esse panem in altari, & exaltata mente considerandum eum qui in Calis est, i.* That Bread is set upon the Altar, and having our minds lifted up, we must consider him which is in Heaven. The words of the Councel make for me.

Wat. (*Exaltata mente*) with a mind exalted: that is, not as bruit Beasts at the rack or manger, having an eye only upon the thing that is set before them. *Agnus Dei jacet in mensa, i.* the * Lamb of God lieth on the Table, saith the Councel.

* If the Lamb of God lie really upon the Table, then why doth the Councel bid us lift up our minds, which rather should set down our minds to the Altar? The place of the *Nicene* Councel expounded.

Rid. The Lamb of God is in Heaven, according to the verity of the Body: and here he is with us in a Mystery, according to his power, not corporally.

Wat. But the Lamb of God lieth on the Table.

Rid. It is a figurative speech, for in our mind we understand him which is in Heaven.

Wat. But he lyeth there, the Greek word is κεῖται.

Rid. He lyeth there, that is, he is there present, not corporally, but he lieth there in his operation.

Wat. He lyeth, but his operation lieth not.

Rid. You think very grossly of the sitting or lying of the celestial Lamb on the Table of the Lord. For we may not imagine any such sitting or lying upon the Table, as the reason of man would judge: but all things are here to be understood Spiritually. For that Heavenly Lamb is (as I confess) on the Table, but by a Spiritual Presence, by Grace, and not after any corporal Substance of his Flesh taken of the Virgin *Mary*.

De consecrat. dist. 9.

And indeed the same Canon doth plainly teach, that the Bread which is set on the Table is material Bread; and therefore it (the Canon I mean) commandeth that we should not creep on the ground in our cogitation, to mole things which are set before us; as who should say, what other things are they (as much as pertaineth to their true substance) than Bread and Wine? but rather, saith the Canon, lifting up our minds into Heaven, let us consider with Faith the Lamb of God which taketh away the Sins of the World, sitting or lying upon the Table. For a lifted up Faith, saith he, seeth him which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, after the true manner of a Body set by Grace on the Lords Table, and taking away the Sins of the World. For I think you mean not so; as though the Lamb did lie there prostrate with his members spread upon the Table.

Another place of the *Nicene* Councel alledged.

Smith. I bring another place out of the Councel of *Nice*: *Nullus Apostolorum dixit, hæc est figura corporis Christi: Nullus venerabilium Presbyterorum dixit incruentum altaris sacrificium figuram, &c. i.* None of the Apostles said, this is a figure of the Body of Christ: None of the Reverend Elders said, the unbloody Sacrifice of the Altar to be a figure.

Ergo, You are deceived.

Rid. This Canon is not in the Councel of *Nice*. For I have read over this Councel many times.

Out of D. *Ridley's* copy. The Councel of *Florence* alledged.

Then came in another whom M. *Ridley* knew not, and said, The Universal Church both of the Greeks and Latines, of the East and of the West, have agreed in the Councel of *Florence* uniformly in the Doctrine of the Sacrament, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the true and real Body.

Rid. I deny the Greek and the East Church to have agreed either in the Councel at Florence, or at any time else, with the Romish Church in the Doctrine of Transubstantiation of Bread into the Body of Christ. For there was nothing in the Councel of *Florence*, wherein the Greeks would agree with the Romanists; albeit hitherto I confess it was left free for every Church to use, as they were wont, leavened or unleavened Bread.

Here cried out Doctor *Cole*, and said, they agreed together concerning Transubstantiation of Bread into the Body of Christ. Mr. *Ridley* said that could not be.

One of the Scribes.

Here start up another unknown to Mr. *Ridley*, but thought to be one of the Scribes, who affirmed with him, that indeed there was nothing decreed concerning Transubstantiation; the Councel left that, as a matter

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ter not meet nor worthy to diſturb the Peace and Concord of the Church. To whom Mr. *Ridley* anſwered again, ſaying, that he ſaid the truth.

Pie diſputeth againſt B. *Ridley*.

Pie. What ſay you to that Councel, where it is ſaid, that the Prieſt doth offer an unbloody Sacrifice of the Body of Chriſt?

Rid. I ſay, it is well ſaid, if it be rightly underſtood.

Pie. But he offereth an unbloody Sacrifice.

Sacrifice called unbloody is nothing elſe but a repreſentation of the Bloody Sacrifice of Chriſt.

Rid. It was called unbloody, and is offered after a certain manner, and in a Myſtery, and as a repreſentation of that Bloody Sacrifice, and he doth not lye which ſaith Chriſt to be offered.

Weſton playeth *Goliah* with *David*.

Weſt. I with one Argument will throw down to the ground your opinion, but of *Chryſoſtom*, *Hom.* 24. *in* 1. *ad Cor.* and I will teach, not only a figure and a ſign, or Grace only, but the very ſame Body, which was here converſant on the Earth, to be in the Euchariſt.

We Worſhip the ſelf ſame Body in the Euchariſt which the wiſe men did worſhip in the Manger.

But that was his natural and real Body, not ſpiritual:

This Argument, after the Diſpoſition and terms, as it ſtandeth, is not formal.

Ergo, The real Body of Chriſt is in the Euchariſt.

Again, the ſame *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, *We have not here the Lord in the Manger, but on the Altar. Here a Woman holdeth him not in her hands, but a Prieſt.*

Rid. We worſhip, I confeſs, the ſame true Lord and Saviour of the World, which the wiſe men worſhipped in the Manger, howbeit we do it in a Myſtery, and in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and that in ſpiritual liberty, as ſaith S. *Auſt. lib.* 3. *De doctrina Chriſtiana*: not in carnal ſervitude; that is, we do not worſhip ſervilely the ſigns for the things: For that ſhould be, as he alſo ſaith, a part of a ſervile infirmity. But we behold with the Eyes of Faith him preſent after Grace, and ſpiritually ſet upon the Table; and we worſhip him which ſitteth above, and is worſhipped of the Angels. For Chriſt is always aſſiſtant to his Myſteries, as the ſaid *Auguſtine* ſaith. And the Divine Majeſty, as ſaith *Cyprian*, doth never abſent it ſelf from the Divine Myſteries; but this aſſiſtance and Preſence of Chriſt, as in Baptiſm it is wholly ſpiritual, and by Grace, and not by any Corporal Subſtance of the Fleſh: Even ſo it is here in the Lords Supper, being rightly and according to the Word of God duly miniſtred.

Weſt. That which the Woman did hold in her Womb, the ſame thing holdeth the Prieſt.

The ſame thing, but the manner divers.

Rid. I grant the Prieſt holdeth the ſame thing, but after another manner: She did hold the Natural Body; the Prieſt holdeth the Myſtery of the Body.

Weſt. Weſton repeated again his Argument out of *Chryſoſtom* in Engliſh.

Rid. I ſay that the Author meant it ſpiritually.

Weſt. Weſton here diſſolving the Diſputations, had theſe words: *Videtis præfractum hominis animum, glorioſum, vafrum, inconſtantem: videtis hodie veritatis vires inconcuſſas. Itaque clamate, Vicit veritas: i.* Here you ſee the ſtubborn, the boaſting, the crafty, the unconſtant mind of this man. Here you ſee, this day, that the ſtrength of the Truth is without foil. Therefore I beſeech you all moſt earneſtly to blow the note; and he began, and they followed, Verity hath the victory, Verity hath the victory

D. *Weſton* bloweth up the triumph.

The Diſputation had at Oxford *the* 18. *day of* April, 1554. *between* M. Hugh Latimer *Anſwerer, and M.* Smith, *and other Oppoſers.*

M. *Hugh Latimer* diſputeth: *April.* 13.

After theſe Diſputations of Biſhop *Ridley* ended, next was brought out Mr. *Hugh Latimer* to diſpute, upon *Wedneſday*, which was the eighteenth day of *April*. Which Diſputation began at eight of the Clock, in ſuch form as before: but it was moſt in Engliſh. For Mr. *Latimer* the Anſwerer alledged that he was out of uſe with the Latin, and unfit for that place.

M. *Smith* of *Orial Colledge* Opponent to M. *Latimer*.

There replied unto him Mr. *Smith* of *Orial Colledge*, Doctor *Cartwright*, Mr. *Harpsfield*, and divers other had ſnatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He eſcaped no hiſſings and ſcornful laughings, no more than they that went before him. He was very faint, and deſired that he might not long tarry. He durſt not drink for fear of vomiting. The Diſputation ended before eleven of the Clock. Mr. *Latimer* was not ſuffered to read that he had (as he ſaid) painfully written: but it was exhibited up, and the Prolocutor read part thereof, and ſo proceeded unto the Diſputation.

M. *Latimers* writings could not be read.

The Preface of Weſton *unto the Diſputation following.*

Weſtons Preface.

MEn and Brethren, we are come together this day (by the help of God) to vanquiſh the ſtrength of the Arguments, and diſperſed opinions of Adverſaries, againſt the Truth of the real Preſence of the Lords Body in the Sacrament. And therefore, you Father, if you have any thing to anſwer, I do admoniſh that you anſwer in ſhort and few words.

M. *Latimer* requireth to diſpute in the Engliſh Tongue.

Latimer. I pray you good Maſter Prolocutor, do not exact that of me, which is not in me, I have not theſe twenty years much uſed the Latin Tongue.

Weſt. Take your eaſe, Father.

Lat. I thank you Sir, I am well; Let me here proteſt my Faith, for I am not able to diſpute; and afterwards do your pleaſure with me.

The Proteſtation of M. Hugh Latimer, *given up in writing to Doctor* Weſton.

The three Concluſions.

The Concluſions whereunto I muſt anſwer, are theſe:

1. *The firſt is, That in the Sacrament of the Altar by the vertue of Gods Word pronounced by the Prieſt, there is really preſent the Natural Body of Chriſt, conceived of the Virgin* Mary, *under the kinds of the appearance of Bread and Wine; in like manner his Blood.*
2. *The ſecond is, That after Conſecration there remaineth no Subſtance of Bread and Wine, nor any other Subſtance, but the Subſtance of God and Man.*
3. *The third is, That in the Maſs there is the lively Sacrifice of the Church, which is Propitiable, as well for the ſins of the quick, as of the dead.*

The anſwer of M. *Latimer* given up in writing concerning the queſtions aforeſaid.

CConcerning the firſt Concluſion, me thinketh it is ſet forth with certain new found terms that be obſcure, and do not ſound according to the ſpeech of the Scripture. Howbeit; howſoever I underſtand it, this I do anſwer plainly, though not without peril; I anſwer I ſay, that to the right Celebration of the Lords Supper there is no other Preſence of Chriſt required, than a Spiritual Preſence: and this Preſence is ſufficient for a Chriſtian man, as a Preſence by which we abide in Chriſt, and Chriſt abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal Life, if we perſevere. And this ſame Preſence may be called moſt fitly a Real Preſence, that is, a Preſence not feigned, but a true and a Faithful Preſence. Which thing I here rehearſe, leſt ſome Sycophant or Scorner ſhould ſuppoſe me, with the Anabaptiſts, to make nothing elſe of the Sacrament, but a naked and a bare ſign. As for that which is feigned of many concerning their Corporal Preſence, I for my part take it but for a Papiſtical Invention; therefore think it utterly to be rejected.

The Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, how it is a real Preſence.

Anſwer to the ſecond Concluſion.

Concerning the ſecond Concluſion, I dare be bold to ſay, that it hath no ſtay or ground in Gods Word, but is a thing invented and found out by man; and therefore to be taken as fond and falſe: and I had almoſt ſaid, as the Mother and Nurſe of the other Errors. It were good for my Lords and Maſters of the Tranſubſtantiation, to take heed leſt they conſpire with the *Neſtorians*, for I do not ſee how they can avoid it.

Anſwer to the third Concluſion.

The third Concluſion (as I do underſtand it) ſeemeth ſubtilly to ſow Sedition againſt the offering which Chriſt himſelf offered for us in his own proper Perſon, according to that pithy place of *Paul*, *Heb.* 1. Where he ſaith, *That Chriſt his own ſelf hath made purgation of our Sins.* And afterward, *That he might* (ſaith he) *be a merciful and Faithful Biſhop, concerning thoſe things which are to be done with God, for the taking away of our Sins.* So that the expiation or taking away of our Sins may be thought rather to depend on this, that Chriſt was an offering Biſhop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himſelf: and therefore it is needleſs that he ſhould be offered of any other. I will ſpeak nothing of the wonderful Preſumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifeſt vocation, ſpecially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitleſs (if not wholly, yet partly) of the Croſs of Chriſt; for truly it is no baſe or mean thing to offer Chriſt. And therefore worthily a man may ſay to my Lords and Maſters the offerers, By what Authority do ye this? and

Heb. 1.

The taking away of Sins dependeth rather in the Perſon of the offerer, than in the thing offered, but that he that was the offerer was offered himſelf.

who gave you this Authority? Where? when? A man cannot (saith the Baptist) take any thing except it be given him from above: Much less then may any man presume to usurp any honour, before he be thereto called. Again, *If any man sin* (saith S. *John*) *we have* (saith he) not a Master or Offerer at home, which can sacrifice for us at Mass; but *we have* (saith he) *an Advocate Jesus Christ*, which once offered himself long agoe; of which Offering the efficacy and effect is perdurable for ever, so that it is needless to have such Offerers.

What meaneth *Paul*, when he saith, *They that serve at the Altar, are partakers of the Altar*? and so addeth; *So the Lord hath ordained, that they that Preach the Gospel, shall live of the Gospel.* Whereas he should have said, The Lord hath ordained, that they that Sacrifice at Mass, should live of their Sacrificing, that there might be a living assigned to our Sacrificers now, as was before Christs comming, to the Jewish Priests. For now they have nothing to alledge for their living, as they that be Preachers have. So that it appeareth, that the Sacrificing Priesthood is changed by Gods Ordinance into a Preaching Priesthood, and the Sacrificing Priesthood should cease utterly, saving in as much as all Christian men are Sacrificing Priests.

1 John 2. The Sacrificing Priesthood changed into a Preaching Priesthood.

The Supper of the Lord was instituted to provoke us to Thanksgiving for the Offering which the Lord himself did offer for us, much rather than that our Offerers should do there as they do. *Feed* (saith Peter) *as much as ye may the Flock of Christ.* Nay rather let us Sacrifice as much as we may for the Flock of Christ. If so be the matter be as now men make it, I can never wonder enough, that *Peter* would or could forget this Office of Sacrificing, which at this day is in such a price and Estimation, that to feed is almost nothing with many. If thou cease from feeding the Flock, how shalt thou be taken? truly Catholick enough. But if thou cease from Sacrificing and Massing, how will that be taken? at the least, I Warrant: thee, thou shalt be called an Heretick. And whence, I pray you, come these Papistical Judgments? Except perchance they think a man feedeth the Flock in Sacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned Pastors? For no man is so foolish, but soon may he learn to Sacrifice and Mass it.

The final cause why the Lords Supper was chiefly ordained.

Sacrificing taketh away preaching.

Preposterous Judgment of Papists.

Thus Ioe, I have taken the more pains to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debility thereunto: that all men may know, how that I have so done not without great pains, having not any man to help me, as I have never before been debarred to have. O Sir, you may chance to live till you come to this age and weakness that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two Kings more than once, two or three hours together, without interruption: But now, that I may speak the truth (by your leave) I could not be suffered to declare my mind before you, no, not by the space of a quarter of an hour, without snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like, in such an audience, all my Life long. Surely it cannot be but an heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forsooth I had spoken of the four Marrowbones of the Mass. The which kind of speaking I never read to be a sin against the Holy Ghost.

Mr. Latimer found more audience with Kings and Princes, than with rustical Divines.

I could not be allowed to shew what I meant by my Metaphor: But sir, now by your favour I will tell your Mastership what I mean.

The first is the Popish consecration, which hath been called a Gods Body-making.

The second is Transubstantiation.

The third is Massal Oblation.

The fourth Adoration.

The four Marrowbones of the Mass by M. Latimer expounded. Consecration, Transubstantiation, Oblation, Adoration.

These chief and principal portions, parts and points belonging or incident to the Mass, and most esteemed and had in price in the same, I call the Marrowbones of the Mass; which indeed you, by force, might, and violence intrude in sound of words in some of the Scripture, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the same: but else indeed, plain out of the Scripture, as I am thoroughly persuaded, although in Disputation I now could nothing do to perswade the same to others, being both unapt to study, and also to make a shew of my former study in such readiness as should be requisite to the same.

The Judgment of M. Latimer of D. Weston.

I have heard much talk of Mr. Doctor *Weston* to and fro in my time: but I never knew your Person to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the Queens Majesties Commissioner. I pray God send you so right Judgment, as I percieve you have a great wit, great learning, with many other qualities. God give you Grace ever well to use them, and ever to have in remembrance, that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the low things on the Earth; and that there is no councel against the Lord; and also that this World hath been, and yet is a tottering World. And yet again, that though we must obey the Princes, yet that hath this limitation, namely, in the Lord. For who so doth obey them against the Lord, they be most pernicious to them, and the greatest adversaries that they have: For they so procure Gods vengeance upon them, if God be only the ruler of things.

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Pride of D. Weston privily touched.

Obedience to Princes hath its limitation.

There be some so corrupt in mind, the truth being taken from them, that they think gain to be godliness; Great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging about questions and strife of words. I call them men of no learning, because they knowe not Christ, how much else soever they knowe. And on this sort we are wont to call great learned Clerks, being ignorant of Christ, unlearned men; for it is nothing but plain ignorance, to know any thing without Christ: Whereas who so knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledg enough, although in other knowledge he be to seek. The Apostle S. *Paul* confesseth of himself to the *Corinthians*, that he did knowe nothing but Jesus Christ Crucified. Many men babble many things of Christ which yet knowe not Christ; but pretending Christ do craftily colour and darken his glory. *Depart from such men*, saith the Apostle S. *Paul* to *Timothy*.

Knowledge without Christ is meer ignorance.

Many there be which under pretence of Christ darken the Glory of Christ.

It is not out of the way to remember what S. *Augustine* saith. The place where, I now well remember not, except it be against the Epistles of *Petilian*; *Whosoever* (saith he) *teacheth any thing necessarily to be believed, which is not contained in the Old and New Testament, the same is accursed.* Oh! bewrare of this curse if you be wise. I am much deceived if *Basilius* have not such like words; *Whatsoever* (saith he) *is besides the Holy Scripture, if the same be taught as necessarily to be believed, that is Sin.* Oh therefore take heed of this Sin!

Augustine.

Basilius.

There be some that speak many false things more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth it self. Therefore *Paul* giveth a watchword; *Let no man* (saith he) *deceive you with probability and perswasions of words.* But what mean you, saith one, by this talk so far from the matter? Well, I hope, good Masters, you will suffer an Old Man a little to play the Child, and to speak one thing twice. O Lord God! you have changed the most holy Communion into a private action; and you deny to the Laity the Lords Cup, contrary to Christs commandment: and you do blemish the Annunciation of the Lords death till he come: For you have changed the Common Prayer, called the Divine Service, with the Administration of the Sacraments, from the vulgar and knowen Language, into a strange Tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his Word. God open the door of your heart, to see the things you should see herein. I would as fain obey my Soveraign as any in this Realm: but in these things I can never do it with an upright conscience. God be merciful unto us. Amen.

The abſurdities of the Papists opened in abasing the Lords Supper.

West. Then refuse you to dispute? Will you here then subscribe?

Lat. No, good Master, I pray be good to an Old Man. You may, if it please God, be once Old, as I am: you may come to this Age, and to this Debility.

But God saw it good, that Weston never came to this Age.

West. Ye said upon *Saturday* last, that ye could not find the Mass, nor the Marrow-bones thereof in your Book: but we will find a Mass in that Book.

By this first and second Communion, he meaneth the two Books of publick order set forth in K. Edwards days, the one in the beginning, the other in the latter end of his Reign.

Lat. No, good M. Doctor, ye cannot.

West. What find you then there?

Lat. Forsooth a Communion I find there.

West. Which Communion, the first or the last?

Lat. I find no great diversity in them; they are one Supper of the Lord: but I like the last very well.

D. Weston cavilleth against the name of the Lords Supper.

West. The first was naught belike.

La. I do not well remember wherein they differ.

West. Then Cake Bread and Loaf Bread are all one with you. Ye call it the Supper of the Lord, but you are deceived in that: for they had done the Supper before, and therefore the Scripture saith, *Postquam cœnatum est*; i. After they had

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had ſupped. For ye know that S. *Paul* findeth fault with the *Corinthians* for that ſome of them were drunken at this Supper; and ye know no man can be drunken at your Communion.

Cœna Judaica. Cœna Dominica. Chryſoſt. in 1 Cor. cap. 10.

Lat. The firſt was called *Cœna Judaica*, i. The Jewiſh Supper, when they did eat the Paſchal Lamb together: the other was called *Cœna Dominica*, i. The Lords Supper.

Weſt. That is falſe; for *Chryſoſtom* denieth that. And S. *Ambroſe in cap.* 10. *prioris ad Corinthios*, ſaith, that *Myſterium Euchariſtiæ inter cœnandum datum, non eſt Cœna Dominica*; i. The Myſtery of the Sacrament, given as they were at Supper, is not the Supper of the Lord.

Greg. Nazianz.

And *Gregory Nazianzene* ſaith the ſame, *Rurſus Paſche ſacra cum Diſcipulis in cœnaculo ac poſt cœnam, dieque unica antè paſſionem celebrat. Nos verò ea in orationis domibus, & ante cœnam & poſt reſurrectionem peragimus*: that is, Again he kept the Holy Feaſt of Paſſover with his Diſciples in the dining Chamber after the Supper, and one day before his Paſſion. But we keep it both in the Churches and Houſes of Prayer, both before the Supper, and alſo after the Reſurrection.

Ἀγάπη, i. So were the Feaſts called wont to be given to the Poor.

And that firſt Supper was called ἀγάπη: can you tell what that is:

Lat. I underſtand no Greek. Yet I think it meaneth Charity.

Weſt. Will you have all things done that Chriſt did then? Why, then muſt the Prieſt be hanged on the morrow. And where find you, I pray you, that a woman ſhould receive the Sacrament.

Lat. Will you give me leave to turn my Book: I find it in the 11. Chapter to the *Corinthians*. I trow theſe be his words, *Probet autem ſeipſum homo, &c.*

Weſton oppoſed in his Grammar.

I pray you good Maſter, what Gender is *homo*?

Weſt. Marry the Common Gender.

Δοκιμαζέτω δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτὸν. 1 Cor. 11.

Cole. It is in the Greek, ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

Harpſ. It is ἄνηρ, that is, *vir*.

Lat. It is in my Book of *Eraſmus*'s Tranſlation, *Probet ſeipſum homo*.

Feck. It is *Probet ſeipſum* indeed, and therefore it importeth the Maſculine Gender.

Lat. What then? I trow when the woman touched Chriſt, he ſaid, *Quis tetigit me? Scio quòd aliquis me tetigit*; i. Who touched me? I know that ſome man touched me.

Argument.

Weſt. I will be at Hoſt with you anon. When Chriſt was at his Supper, none were with him but his Apoſtles only.

Ergo, He meant no woman, if you will have his Inſtitution kept.

The Apoſtles repreſented the whole Church.

Lat. In the twelve Apoſtles was repreſented the whole Church, in which you will grant both men and women to be.

Weſton ſcorned the Name of Miniſter.

Weſt. So through the whole Heretical tranſlated Bible ye never make mention of Prieſt, till ye come to the putting of Chriſt to death. Where find you then that a Prieſt or Miniſter (a Miniſtrel I may call him well enough) ſhould do it of neceſſity?

The name of Miniſter more fit than the name of Prieſt.

Lat. A Miniſter is a more fit name for that Office; for the Name of a Prieſt importeth a Sacrifice.

Weſt. Well, remember that ye cannot find that a woman may receive by Scripture. Mr. Opponent fall to it.

Smith. Becauſe I perceive that this charge is laid upon my neck to diſpute with you: to the end that the ſame may go forward after a right manner and order, I will propoſe three Queſtions, ſo as they are put forth unto me. And firſt I ask this queſtion of you, although the ſame indeed ought not to be called in queſtion: But ſuch is the condition of the Church, that it is always vexed of the wicked ſort. I ask, I ſay, whether Chriſts Body be really in the Sacrament?

Mr. Latimer modeſtly maketh himſelf unable to diſpute.

Lat. I truſt I have obtained of Mr. Prolocutor, that no man ſhall exact that thing of me which is not in me. And I am ſorry that this worſhipful Audience ſhould be deceived of their expectation for my ſake. I have given up my mind in writing to Mr. Prolocutor.

Smith. Whatſoever ye have given up, it ſhall be regiſtred among the Acts.

Lat. Diſputation requireth a good memory; *Aſt abolita eſt mihi memoria*: My memory is gone clean, and marvellouſly weakened, and never the better, I wis, for the Priſon.

Weſt. How long have ye been in Priſon?

Lat. This three quarters of this year.

Weſt. And I was in Priſon ſix years.

Lat. The more pity, Sir.

Weſt. How long have you been of this Opinion?

Lat. It is not long, Sir, that I have been of this Opinion.

Weſt. The time hath been when you ſaid Maſs full devoutly.

Lat. Yea, I cry God mercy heartily for it.

Weſt. Where learned you this new fangleneſs?

Then they hiſt and clapt their hands at him.

Lat. I have long ſought for the Truth in this matter of the Sacrament, and have not been of this mind paſt ſeven years: And my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Book hath eſpecially confirmed my Judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to anſwer any man in this matter.

Mr. Latimer confirmed by Dr. Cranmer Book.

Treſh. There are in that Book ſix hundred Errors.

Weſt. You were once a *Lutheran*.

The zeal of Mr. Latimer ſometimes in Popery againſt the *Tygurines*.

Lat. No, I was a Papiſt: For I never could perceive how *Luther* could defend his Opinion without Tranſubſtantiation. The *Tygurines* once did write a Book againſt *Luther*, and I oft deſired God, that he might live ſo long to make them anſwer.

In that Book the Devil doth not diſſwade him ſo much from ſaying Maſs, as he laboureth to bring him to deſperation for Maſs: ſuch temptations many times happen to good men.

Weſt. *Luther* in his Book *De privata Miſſa*, ſaid, That the Devil reaſoned with him, and perſwaded him that the Maſs was not good, *fol.* 14. *Contigit me, &c.* Whereof it may appear, that *Luther* ſaid Maſs, and the Devil diſſwaded him from it.

Lat. I do not take in hand here to defend *Luthers* ſayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himſelf well enough I trow. I told you before that I am not meet for Diſputations. I pray you read mine Anſwers wherein I have declared my Faith.

Weſt. Do you believe this, as you have vvritten?

Lat. Yea, Sir.

Weſt. Then have you no Faith.

Lat. Then vvould I be ſorry, Sir.

Treſh. It is vvritten, *John* 6. *Except ye ſhall eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye ſhall have no life in you.* Which vvhen the *Capernaites*, and many of Chriſts Diſciples heard, they ſaid, *This is a hard ſaying, &c.* Novv that the Truth may the better appear, here I ask of you, Whether Chriſt ſpeaking theſe vvords, did mean of his Fleſh to be eaten vvith the mouth, or of the ſpiritual eating of the ſame?

Here *Treſham* began to diſpute in Latin.

Lat. I anſvver (as *Auguſtine* underſtandeth) that Chriſt meant of the ſpiritual eating of his Fleſh.

Treſh. Of vvhat Fleſh meant Chriſt, his true Fleſh, or no?

Lat. Of his true Fleſh, ſpiritually to be eaten in the Supper by Faith, and not corporally.

Treſh. Of vvhat Fleſh mean the *Capernaites*?

Lat. Of his true Fleſh alſo; but to be eaten vvith the mouth.

Dr. *Treſhams* Argument without Form or Mood, concluding affirmatively in the ſecond Figure.

Treſh. They (as ye confeſs) did mean his true Fleſh to be eaten vvith the mouth. And Chriſt alſo (as I ſhall prove) did ſpeak of the receiving of his Fleſh vvith the mouth.

Ergo, They both did underſtand it of the eating of one thing, vvhich is done by the mouth of the Body.

Lat. I ſay, Chriſt underſtood it not of the bodily mouth; but of the mouth of the Spirit, Mind, and Heart.

Dr. *Treſham* flieth to cuſtom.

Treſh. I prove the contrary, that Chriſt underſtandeth it of the eating vvith the bodily mouth. For vvhereas cuſtom is a right good Miſtreſs and Interpreter of things, & whereas the acts put in practice by Chriſt, do certainly declare thoſe things vvhich he firſt ſpake: Chriſts deeds in his Supper, vvhere he gave his Body to be taken vvith the mouth, together vvith the cuſtom vvhich hath been ever ſince that time of that eating vvhich is done vvith the mouth, doth evidently infer that Chriſt did underſtand his vvords, here cited of me out of the ſixth of *John*, of the eating vvith the mouth.

The Sacrament given to the Mouth, the Body to Faith.

Lat. He gave not his Body to be received vvith the mouth, but he gave the Sacrament of his Body to be received vvith the mouth: He gave the Sacrament to the mouth, his Body to the mind.

Treſh. But my reaſon doth conclude, That Chriſt ſpake concerning his Fleſh to be received vvith the corporal mouth: For othervviſe, (vvhich God forbid) he had been a deceiver, and had been offenſive to the *Capernaites* and his Diſciples, if he had not meant in this point as they thought he meant: for if he had thought as you do feign, it had been an eaſie matter for him to have ſaid:

* You

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* And what doth Christ else mean by these words where he saith, My words be spirit and life, the Flesh profiteth nothing?

* You shall not eat my Flesh with your mouth, but the Sacrament of my Flesh; that is to say, ye shall receive with your mouth not the thing it self, but the Figure of the thing, and thus he might have satisfied them: but so he said not, but continued in the truth of his words, as he was wont. Therefore Christ meant the self same thing that the *Capernaites* did, I mean concerning the thing it self to be received with the mouth, *videlicet*, that his true Flesh is truly to be eaten with the mouth. Moreover, forasmuch as you do expound for (*corpus Christi*) the Body of Christ (*sacramentum corporis Christi*) the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, and hereby do suppose that we obtain but a Spiritual Union, or Union of the Mind between us and Christ, plain it is, that you are deceived in this thing, and do err from the mind of the Fathers: for they affirm by plain and express words, that we are corporally and carnally joyned together. And these be the words of *Hilary*, *Si verè igitur carnem corporis nostri Christus assumpsit, & verè homo ille qui ex Maria natus fuit; nos quoq; verè sub mysterio, carnem corporis sui sumimus, & per hæc unum erimus, quia pater in eo est, & ille in nobis: Quomodo voluntatis unitas asseritur, cum naturalis per sacramentum proprietas perficiat? sacramentum sit unitatis?* That is, Therefore if Christ did truly take the Flesh of our Body upon him, and the same Man be Christ indeed which was born of *Mary*; then we also do receive under a mystery the Flesh of his Body indeed, and thereby shall become one, because the Father is in him, and he in us. How is the Unity of Will affirmed, when a Natural Propriety by the Sacrament is a perfect Sacrament of Unity?

* Thus far hath *Hilary*. Lo here you see how manifestly these words confound your Assertion. To be short, I my self have heard you preaching at *Greenwich* before King *Henry* the Eighth, where you did openly affirm, That no Christian man ought to doubt of the True and Real Presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, forasmuch as he had the Word of Scripture on his side, (*videlicet*) *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my Body: whereby he might be confirmed. But now there is the same Truth; the Word of Scripture hath the self same thing which it then had. Therefore why do you deny at this present that, whereof it was not lawful once to doubt before when you taught it?

Mr. *Latimer charged to preach the contrary Doctrine before the King at Greenwich.*

Lat. Will you give me leave to speak?

Tresh. Speak Latin, I pray you, for ye can do it, if ye list, promptly enough.

Lat. I cannot speak Latin so long and so largely. Mr. Prolocutor hath given me leave to speak English. And as for the words of *Hilary*, I think they make not so much for you. But he that shall answer the Doctors had not need to be in my case, but should have them in a readiness, and know their purpose. *Melanchon* saith, If the Doctors had foreseen that they should have been so taken in this Controversie, they would have written more plainly.

Melanchons judgment of the old Doctors.

Smith. I will reduce the words of *Hilary* into the form of a Syllogism.

Argument.

Da- Such as is the Unity of our Flesh with Christs Flesh, such (yea greater) is the Unity of Christ with the Father.

ti- But the Unity of Christs Flesh with ours is true and substantial.

si. *Ergo*, The Unity of Christ with the Father is true and substantial.

Lat. I understand you not.

Seaton. I know your learning well enough and how subtil ye be: I will use a few words with you, and that out of *Cyprian*, *De cœna Domini*. The Old Testament doth forbid the drinking of Blood; The New Testament doth command the drinking and tasting of Blood: but where doth it command the drinking of Blood?

* Dr. *Seaton* reasoneth against Mr. *Latimer* out of *Cyprian*.

Lat. In these words, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*; i. Drink ye all of this.

Seat. Then we taste true Blood.

Lat. We do taste true Blood, but spiritually; and this is enough.

* By that reason the New and Old Testament should not differ, but should be contrary one from the other, which cannot be true in natural or moral Precepts

Seat. Nay, the Old and New Testament in this do * differ: for the one doth command, and the other doth forbid to drink Blood.

Lat. It is true as touching the matter, but not as touching the manner of the thing.

Seat. Then there is no difference between the drinking of Blood in the New Testament, and that of the Old: for they also drank spiritually.

Lat. And we drink spiritually also, but a more precious Blood.

West. Augustine upon the 45th *Psalm*, saith, *Securè bibite sanguinem quem fudistis*: That is, Drink boldly the Blood which ye have powred out.

Ergo, It is Blood.

Lat. I never denied it, nor ever will I go from it, but that we drink the very Blood of Christ indeed, but spiritually: For the same S. *Augustine* saith, *Crede, & manducasti*; i. Believe, and thou hast eaten.

West. Nay, *Credere, non est bibere nec edere*; i. To believe, is not to drink or eat. You will not say, I pledge you, when I say, I believe in God.

Lat. Is not (*manducare*) to eat, in your learning put for (*credere*) to believe?

* *Edere* in some places taken for *credere*: but in all places it is so taken, as followeth not.

West. I remember my L. Chancellor demanded Mr. *Hooper* of these questions, Whether * (*edere*) to eat, were (*credere*) to believe, and (*altare*) an Altar, were Christ in all the Scripture, &c. And he answered, Yea.

Then said my L. Chancellor, Why then * *Habemus altare de quo non licet edere*; i. We have an Altar of which it is not lawful to eat, is as much to say, as *Habemus Christum, in quo non licet credere*; i. We have a Christ, in whom we may not believe.

* This place of the *Hebrews* alludeth to the old Sacrifice of the Jews, who, in the Feast of Propitiation the tenth day, used to carry the flesh of the Sacrifice out of the Tents to be burned on an Altar without, because none of them which served in the Tabernacle should eat thereof: only the blood was carried by the high Priest into the holy place.

Tresh. Believe, and thou hast eaten, is spoken of the spiritual eating.

Lat. It is true, I do allow your saying; I take it so also.

West. We are commanded to drink Blood in the New Law.

Ergo, It is very Blood.

Lat. We drink Blood, so as appertaineth to us to drink to our comfort, in Sacramental Wine. We drink Blood Sacramentally: he gave us his Blood to drink spiritually, he went about to shew, that as certainly as we drink Wine, so certainly we drink his Blood spiritually.

West. Do not you seem to be a Papist, which do bring in new words, not found in Scripture? Where find you that (*sacramentaliter*) sacramentally, in Gods Book?

Lat. It is necessarily gathered upon Scripture.

West. The Old Testament doth forbid the tasting of Blood, but the New doth command it.

Lat. It is true, not as touching the thing, but as touching the manner thereof.

West. Hear ye People, this is the Argument:

That which was forbidden in the Old Testament, is commanded in the New.

To drink Blood was forbidden in the Old Testament, and commanded in the New.

¶ *This Argument, because the Major thereof is not universal, is not formal, and may well be retorted against* Weston *thus.*

Dr. *Westons* Argument retorted against himself.

Ce- No natural or moral thing, forbidden materially in the Old Testament, is commanded in the New.

la- To drink mans natural Blood is forbidden materially in the Old Testament.

rent. *Ergo*, To drink mans natural Blood materially is not commanded in the New.

Answer.

Lat. It is commanded spiritually to be drunk, I grant it is Blood drunk in the New Testament, but we receive it spiritually.

Pie. It was not forbidden spiritually in the Old Law.

Lat. The Substance of Blood is drunk, but not in one manner.

Pie. It doth not require the same manner of drinking.

Lat. It is the same thing, not the same manner. I have no more to say.

West. Here *Weston* cited the place of *Chrysostom*, of *Judas*'s Treason: O *Judæ dementia! Ille cum Judæis triginta denariis paciscebatur, ut Christum venderet, & Christus ei sanguinem, quem vendidit, offerebat*; i. O the madness of *Judas!* He made bargain with the Jews for Thirty pence to sell Christ, and Christ offered him his Blood which he sold.

Chrysostom.

Lat. I grant he offered to *Judas* his Blood which he sold, but in a Sacrament.

West. Because ye can defend your Doctors no better, ye

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ye ſhall ſee what worſhipful men ye hang upon, and one that hath been of your mind, ſhall diſpute with you. Mr. *Cartwright*, I pray you diſpute.

Dr. Cartwright urged to diſpute.

Cart. Reverend Father, becauſe it is given me in commandment to diſpute with you, I will do it gladly. But firſt underſtand e're we go any further, that I was in the ſame Error that you are in: But I am ſorry for it, and do confeſs my ſelf to have erred, I acknowledge mine offence, and I wiſh and deſire God that you may alſo repent with me.

Cartwright returneth to his old Error again.

Argument à pœna legis durum & difficile.

Lat. Will you give me leave to tell what hath cauſed Mr. Doctor here to recant? It is *pœna legis*, the pain of the Law, which hath brought you back, and converted you, and many more; the which letteth many to confeſs God. And this is a great Argument, there are few here can diſſolve it.

Cart. That is not my cauſe, but I will make you this ſhort Argument, by which I was converted from mine Errors.

Argument à deſtructione conſequentis, ad deſtructionem antecedentis.

If the true Body of Chriſt be not really in the Sacrament, all the whole Church hath erred from the Apoſtles time. But Chriſt would not ſuffer his Church to err:

Ergo, It is the true Body of Chriſt.

Lat. The Popiſh Church hath erred, and doth err. I think for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven hundred years, there was no mention made of any eating but ſpiritually: For, before theſe five hundred years, the Church did ever confeſs a ſpiritual Manducation. But the Romiſh Church begat the Error of Tranſubſtantiation. My Lord of *Canterbury*'s Book handleth that very well, and by him I could anſwer you, if I had him.

No mention made of any eating, but ſpiritually, in the Church, for the ſpace of 700 years.

Cart. Linus and all the reſt do confeſs the Body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament: And S. *Auguſtine* alſo upon the 98. *Pſalm*, upon this place, *Adorate ſcabellum pedum, &c.* granteth that it is to be worſhipped.

Lat. We do worſhip Chriſt in the Heavens, and we do worſhip him in the Sacrament: But the Maſſing Worſhip is not to be uſed.

Smith. Do you think that *Cyril* was of the Ancient Church?

Lat. I do think ſo.

Smith. He ſaith, *That Chriſt dwelleth in us corporally.*

Theſe be *Cyrils* words of the Myſtical Benediction.

Cyril. in Joan. l. 10. c. 13.

Lat. That (*corporally*) hath another underſtanding than you do groſly take it.

¶ *Cyril* ſaith, that Chriſt dwelleth Corporally in us, but he ſaith not that Chriſt dwelleth Corporally in the Bread. Which dwelling of Chriſt in us, is as our dwelling is alſo in Chriſt, not local or corporal; but ſpiritual and heavenly. *Corporally* therefore is to be taken here in the ſame ſenſe as S. *Paul* ſaith the fulneſs of Divinity to dwell in Chriſt corporally, that is, not lightly nor accidentally, but perfectly and ſubſtantially, with all his vertue and power, *&c.* And ſo dwelleth Chriſt corporally in us alſo.

Smith. Here *Smith* repeateth theſe words of *Cyril*, *Per communionem corporis Chriſti, habitat in nobis Chriſtus corporaliter*; i. By the communicating of the Body of Chriſt, Chriſt dwelleth in us corporally.

Lat. The Solution of this is in my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Book.

Smith. Cyril was no Papiſt, and yet theſe be his words, *Chriſt dwelleth in us corporally*: but you ſay he dwelleth in us ſpiritually.

Lat. I ſay both, that he dwelleth in us both corporally and ſpiritually, according to his meaning: Spiritually by Faith, and corporally by taking our Fleſh upon him. For I remember I have read this in my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Book.

The immodeſt behaviour of this Jack Scorner to be noted.

Weſt. Becauſe your learning is let out to farm, and ſhut up in my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Book, I will recite unto you a place of S. *Ambroſe*, *De apparatione ad Miſſam*, where he ſaith, *Videmus principem Sacerdotem ad nos venientem, & offerentem ſanguinem, &c.* that is, We ſee the chief Prieſt coming unto us, and offering Blood, *&c.*

Aug. in Pſal. 38. Chryſoſt. de incomprehenſibili Dei natura.

Likewiſe both *Auguſtine* in the 38. *Pſalm*, and *Chryſoſtom* concerning the incomprehenſible Nature of God, *Tom.* 3. ſay, *Non ſolum homines, &c.*

Lat. I am not aſhamed to acknowledge mine ignorance; and theſe teſtimonies are more than I can bear away.

Weſt. Then you muſt leave ſome behind you for lack of carriage.

Lat. But of *Chryſoſtom*, he hath many figurative Speeches, and emphatical Locutions in many places; as in that which you have now recited: but he ſaith not, For the quick and the dead: he taketh the Celebration for the Sacrifice.

Chryſoſtom full of figurative ſpeeches and emphatical locutions.

Weſt. You ſhall hear *Chryſoſtom* again, upon the ninth Chapter of the *Acts*, *Quid dicis? Hoſtia in manibus ſacerdotis, &c.* He doth not call it a Cup of Wine.

Chryſoſtom in Act. cap. 9.

Lat. Ye have mine anſwer there with you in a Paper: and yet he calleth it not, *Propitiatorium Sacrificium*, i. a Propitiatory Sacrifice.

Weſt. You ſhall hear it to be ſo: and I bring another place of *Chryſoſtom* out of the ſame Treatiſe, *Non temerè ab Apoſtolis eſt inſtitutum, &c.*

Lat. He is too precious a thing for us to offer; he offereth himſelf.

Weſt. Here in another place of *Chryſoſtom* to the People of *Antioch*, *Hom.* 69. and alſo to the *Philippians* he ſaith, There ſhould be a Memory and Sacrifice for the Dead.

Chryſoſt. ad populum Antioch. Hom. 69.

Lat. I do ſay, that the holy Communion beareth the name of a Sacrifice, becauſe it is a Sacrifice memorative.

Weſt. How ſay you to the Sacrifice of the Dead?

Lat. I ſay that it needeth not, and it booteth not.

Weſt. Auguſtine in his *Enchiridion* the 110. chap. ſaith, *Non eſt negandum defunctorum animas pietate ſuorum viventium relevari, quum pro illis Sacrificium Mediatoris offertur*; i. We muſt not deny that the Souls of the Dead are relieved by the Devotion of their Friends which are living, when the Sacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them. Where he proveth the verity of Chriſts Body, and praying for the Dead. And it is ſaid, that the ſame *Auguſtine* ſaid Maſs for his Mother.

Auguſt. Enchirid. c. 110.

Auguſtine falſly belied to ſay Maſs for his Mother.

Lat. But that Maſs was not like yours, which thing doth manifeſtly appear in his Writings, which are againſt it in every place. And *Auguſtine* is a reaſonable man, he requireth to be believed no further than he bringeth Scripture for his proof, and agreeth with Gods Word.

Weſt. In the ſame place he proveth a Propitiatory Sacrifice, and that upon an Altar, and no Oyſter-board.

The blaſphemous mouth of Dr. Weſton calling the Lords Table an Oyſter Board.

Lat. It is the Lords Table, and no Oyſter-board. It may be called an Altar, and ſo the Doctors call it in many places: But there is no Propitiatory Sacrifice, but only Chriſt. The Doctors might be deceived in ſome points, though not in all things.* I believe them when they ſay well.

* Doctores legendi ſunt cum venia.

Cole. Is it not a ſhame for an old man to lie? You ſay, you are of the old Fathers Faith where they ſay well, and yet ye are not.

Lat. I am of their Faith when they ſay well, I refer my ſelf to my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Book wholly herein.

Smith. Then are not you of *Chryſoſtom*'s Faith, nor of S. *Auguſtine*'s Faith.

Lat. I have ſaid, when they ſay well, and bring Scripture for them, I am of their Faith; and further *Auguſtine* requireth not to be believed.

Weſt. Origen, Hom. 13. upon *Leviticus.*

Lat. I have but one word to ſay, *Panis ſacramentalis*, the Sacramental Bread is called a Propitiation, becauſe it is a Sacrament of the Propitiation. What is your Vocation?

Weſton. My Vocation is at this time to diſpute; otherwiſe I am a Prieſt, and my Vocation is to offer.

Lat. Where have you that Authority given you to offer?

Facere for *Sacrificare* with Dr. Weſton.

Weſt. Hoc facite, Do this; for *facite* in that place is taken for *offerte*, that is, offer you.

Lat. Is *facere* nothing but *Sacrificare* to Sacrifice? Why, then no man muſt receive the Sacrament but Prieſts only: For there may none other offer but Prieſts.

Ergo, There may none receive but Prieſts.

Weſt. Your Argument is to be denied.

Lat. Did Chriſt then offer himſelf at his Supper?

Pie. Yea, he offered himſelf for the whole World.

If Chriſt offered himſelf at the Supper, and the next day upon the Croſs, then was Chriſt twice offered.

Lat. Then if this word *Facite*, Do ye, ſignifie *Sacrificate*, Sacrifice ye, it followeth, as I ſaid, that none but Prieſts only ought to receive the Sacrament, to whom it is only lawful to Sacrifice: And where find you that I pray you?

Weſt. Forty year agon whither could you have gone to have found your Doctrine?

Lat. The more cauſe we have to thank God, that hath now ſent the light into the World.

Weſtons railing.

Weſt. The light? Nay light and lewd Preachers; for you could not tell what you might have. Ye altered

and

and changed so often your Communions and Altars, and all for this one end, to spoil and rob the Church.

Lat. These things pertain nothing to me, I must not answer other mens deeds, but only for mine own.

West. Well, Mr. *Latimer*, this is our intent, to will you well, and to exhort you to come to your self, and remember, that without *Noahs* Ark there is no health. Remember what they have been that were the beginners of your Doctrine, none but a few flying Apostates, running out of *Germany* for fear of the Fagot. Remember what they have been which have set forth the same in this Realm: A sort of fling-brains and light heads, which were never constant in any one thing, as it was to be seen in the turning of the Table, where like a sort of Apes they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day West, and another day East, one that way, and another this way. They will be like (they say) to the Apostles, they will have no Churches. A Hovel is good enough for them. They come to the Communion with no reverence. They get them a Tankard, and one saith, *I* drink, and I am thankful; the more joy of thee, saith another. And in them was it true that *Hilary* saith, *Annuas & menstruas de Deo fides facimus*; that is, We make every Year and every Month a Faith. A Runnagate Scot did take away the adoration or worshiping of Christ in the Sacrament, by whose procurement that Heresie was put into the last *Communion-Book*; so much prevailed that one Mans Authority at that time. You never agreed with the *Tygurines* or *Germans*, or with the Church, or with your self. Your stubbornness cometh of a vain glory, which is to no purpose: For it will do you no good when a Fagot is in your Beard. And we see all, by your own Confession, how little cause you have to be stubborn, for your learning is in Feoffers hold. The Queens Grace is merciful, if ye will turn.

Lat. You shall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the Queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this Religion.

West. Here you all see the weakness of Heresie against the Truth: he denieth all Truth, and all the old Fathers.

Dr. *Westons* Apes have tails.

Blasphemous lies of Dr. *Weston* sitting *in Cathedra pestilentiæ*. Who be these, or where be they Mr. Oblocutor, that will be like the Apostles, that will have no Churches? that be Runnagates out of *Germany*? that get them Tankards? that make monthly Faiths? that worship not Christ in all his Sacraments? *speak truth man and shame the Devil.*

HEre all good Readers may see how this glorious Prolocutor triumpheth: but whether he hath the Victory or no, that I suppose they have yet neither heard nor seen. And give, that he had the Victory, yet what great marvel was it, disputing as he did, *Non sine suo Theseo*, that is, not without his tipling Cup standing at his Elbow all the time of his Disputation; not without a privy noting and smiling of them that beheld the matter, but especially at that time, when Dr. *Ridley* disputing with one of the Opponents, the said Prolocutor took the Cup, and holding it in his hand, said to the Opponent, *Urge hoc, urge hoc, Nam hoc facit pro nobis.* In which words, as he moved no little matter of laughter to the beholders thereof, so I thought here also not to leave the same unmentioned, somewhat also to delight the Reader withal, after his tedious weariness in reading the story thereof.

Urge hoc, quoth *Weston* with his Beer-pot.

To the Reader.

AND thus hast thou (loving Reader) the whole Action and Stage of this Doctorly Disputation shewed forth unto thee against these three worthy Confessors and Martyrs of the Lord, wherein thou maist behold the disordered usage of the University-men, the unmannerly manner of the School, the rude tumult of the Multitude, the fierceness and interruption of the Doctors, the full pith and ground of all their Arguments, the Censures of the Judges, the railing Language of the Oblocutor, with his blast of Triumph in the latter end, being both the Actor, the Moderator, and also Judge himself. And what marvel then if the courage of this victorious Conqueror, having the Law in his own hands, to do and say what him lusted, would say for himself, *Vicit veritas*, although he said never a true word, nor made ever a true Conclusion almost in all that Disputation.

It followed furthermore, after Disputation of these three days being ended, that Mr. *Harpsfield* the next day after, which was the Nineteenth of *April*, should dispute for his Form, to be made Doctor. To the which Disputation the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was brought forth, and permitted among the rest to utter an Argument or two in defence of his cause. As in sequele hereof may appear.

April 19.

Anno 1554.

Disputation of Mr. Harpsfield *Batchelor of Divinity, answering for his Form to be made Doctor.*

Harpsfield.

I Am not ignorant what a weighty matter it is to intreat of the whole order and trade of the Scriptures: And most hard it is too, in the great contention of Religion, to shew the ready way whereby the Scriptures may be best understood. For the often reading of them doth not bring the true understanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the ready way, not to follow our own Heads and Senses, but to give over our Judgment unto the holy Catholick Church, who hath had of old years the Truth, and always delivered the same to their Posterity: But if the often reading of Scriptures, and never so painful comparing of places should bring the true understanding, then divers Hereticks might prevail even against whole General Councels. The * Jews greatly brag of the knowledge of the Law, and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithstanding, I know right-well, that divers places of the Scripture do much warn us of the often reading of the same, and what fruit doth thereby follow; as *Scrutamini, &c.* Search the Scriptures; for they do bear witness of me, *&c. Lex Domini, &c.* The Law of the Lord is pure, able to turn Souls. And that saying of S. *Paul, Omnis Scriptura, &c.* All Scripture inspired from above, doth make that a man may be instructed to all good Works. Howbeit doth the Law of the Jews convert their Souls? Are they by reading instructed to every good Work? The Letter of the Old Testament is the same that we have.

April 19. The judgment of Mr. *Harpsfield* for the best way to understand the Scriptures.

If Mr. *Harpsfield* had willed us to submit our Senses to the Holy Ghost, he had said much better.

No, but those Jews, sticking so much to the old custom and face of their Church, and not seeking for knowledge, by ignorance of the Scriptures were deceived, and so be you.

The Hereticks also have ever had the same Scriptures which we have that be Catholicks. But they are served as *Tantalus* that the Poets speak of, who, in the plenty of things to eat and drink, is said to be oppressed with hunger and thirst. The swifter that men do seek the Scriptures without the Catholick Church, the deeper they fall, and find Hell for their labour. S. *Cyprian* never swerving from the Catholick Church, saith, *He that doth not acknowledge the Church to be his Mother, shall not have God to his Father.* Therefore it is true Divinity, to be wise with the Church, where Christ saith, *Nisi manducaveritis, &c. Unless ye eat my Flesh, and drink my Blood, ye have no life in you.*

If he had meant of only eating Bread and drinking Wine, nothing had been more pleasant to the *Capernaites*, neither would they have forsaken him. The Flesh profiteth nothing to them that do so take it. For the *Capernaites* did imagine Christ to be given in such sort as he lived. But Christ spake high things; not that they should have him as Flesh in the Market, but to consider his Presence with the Spirit (*a*) under the forms whereby it is given. As there is an alteration of Bodies by courses and times of Ages, so there is no less (*b*) variety in eating of Bodies.

(*a*) Under the Forms, that is, under the Properties of Bread and Wine, and so all this is true.

(*b*) In the material eating of mans body there is no variety: for to eat mans flesh either under Accidents, or not Accidents, both is against the Scripture and against Nature.

These things which I have recited briefly, Mr. *Harpsfield* did with many more words set out: and hereupon Dr. *Weston* disputed against him.

VVest. Christs Real Body is not in the Sacrament.

Ergo, You are deceived.

Harps. I deny the Antecedent.

VVest. John 16. *Dico veritatem vobis, &c. I speak the truth unto you: It behoveth me that I go away from you. For unless I do depart, that Comforter cannot come, &c.*

Upon this I will make this Argument.

Argument.

Christ is so gone away, as he did send the Holy Ghost.
But the Holy Ghost did verily come into the World:
Ergo, Christ is verily gone.

This answer doth not satisfie the Argument: for the Conclusion speaketh of a bodily absence, the Answer speaking of a spiritual remaining.

Harps. He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here.

VVest. S. *Augustine* saith, that these words, *Ego vero, &c. I will be with you even to the end of the World*, are accomplished, *secundum Majestatem, according to his Majesty*: but *secundum præsentiam carnis non est hic*; i. *by the Presence of his Flesh he is not here.* The Church hath him not in Flesh, but by Belief.

Harps.

Anno 1554.

Harpſ. We muſt diligently weigh that there are two Natures in Chriſt: the Divine Nature, and Humane Nature. The Divine Nature is of ſuch ſort, that it cannot chooſe but be in all places. The Humane Nature is not ſuch, that of force it muſt be in all places, although it be in divers after a divers manner. So where the Doctors do intreat of his Preſence by Majeſty, they do commend the Majeſty of the Divine Nature, not to hinder us of the (c) Natural Preſence here in the Sacrament.

(c) If the natural Preſence is here, then is it falſe that S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Secundum preſentiam carnis non eſt hic.*

Weſt. He ſaith further, *Me autem non ſemper habebitis, Ye ſhall not have me always with you*, is to be underſtood in the fleſh.

Harpſ. The Preſence of the Fleſh is to be conſidered, that he is not here as he was wont to live in converſation with them, to be ſeen, talked withal, or in ſuch ſort as a man may give him (d) any thing: after that ſort he is not preſent.

(d) And how can we then give honour to him to whom we can ſhew no charity, nor give any thing elſe unto? What manner ſoever ye give to the Body, if the ſubſtantial Body be here indeed, it cannot be avoided, but either it muſt needs be falſe that S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Non eſt hic*, or elſe Chriſt muſt have two Bodies in two places together, preſent here after one manner, and in Heaven after another manner.

Weſt. But what ſay you to this of *Auguſtine*, *Non eſt hic*, *He is not here.*

Harpſ. I do anſwer out of S. *Auguſtine* upon *John*, Tract. 25. upon theſe words, *Non videbitis me, vado ad Patrem, &c. I go to the Father, ye ſhall not ſee me*; that is, *Such as I am now.* Therefore I do deny the manner of his Preſence.

Weſt. I will overthrow S. *Auguſtine* with S. *Auguſtine*, who ſaith this alſo, *Quomodo quis poſſit tenere Chriſtum? fidem mitte, & tenuiſti*; i. How may a man hold Chriſt? ſend thy Faith, and thou holdeſt him.

So he ſheweth, that by ſending our Faith, we do hold Chriſt.

Harpſ. Indeed no man holdeth Chriſt unleſs he believe in him; but it is another thing to have Chriſt merciful and favourable unto us, and to have him preſent in the Sacrament.

There S. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of holding him by Faith, as he is favourable unto us.

Weſt. Nay, he ſpeaketh there how the Fathers had him in the Fleſh, and teacheth that we have him not ſo in the Fleſh, as they had him long time, ſaying, *Your Fathers did hold Chriſt preſent in the Fleſh: Do you hold him in your heart?* What words can be more plain? Further he ſaith, *He is gone and is not here: he hath left us, and yet hath not forſaken us. Hic eſt Majeſtate, abiit carne*; i. *He is here in Majeſty, and gone touching the Fleſh.*

Note what *Harpſfield* here holdeth, that the Body of Chriſt is not preſent in the Sacrament, but only to them that receive him worthily.

Harpſ. I do underſtand *Auguſtine* thus, that Chriſt is here in his Fleſh to them that receive him worthily: to ſuch as do worthily receive him, to them he is not preſent in the Fleſh. I judge S. *Auguſtine* meaneth ſo. We have him, and have him not: we have him in receiving him worthily, otherwiſe not.

Weſt. Nay; *Tenere carnem eſt tenere corticem litteræ.* I will proſecute another Argument. *Cyril* doth ſay, *By the Majeſty of his Divinity he is ever here, but the Preſence of his Fleſh hath he taken away.*

Harpſ. The ſenſe of *Cyril* is thus to be underſtood; The moſt true Fleſh of Chriſt is at the right hand of the Father. Thus the Fathers taught, and ſo they believed. Thus ſaid *Cyril*: Thus ſaid *Auguſtine*; and becauſe this is the Foundation of our Faith, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore when they prove this, (the Body to be in Heaven) they do not make againſt the Preſence in the Sacrament.

If the Preſence of his Fleſh be taken away, as *Cyril* ſaith, how then can the Preſence of his Fleſh be in the Sacrament? *Vigilius* ſaith, his Body is taken up, how then doth the ſame Body remain ſtill? unleſs either ye make him to have two Bodies: or elſe make two Contradictories true in one Propoſition.

So unleſs ye can plainly ſhew, that the Fathers do directly ſay he is not in the Sacrament, you make nothing againſt me: for I have ſhewed why the Fathers ſo ſpake. They did teach the great difference between the Divine Nature, and the Humane Nature, as I have before ſaid.

Weſt. I will then prove, that he is not in the Sacrament. *Vigilius* againſt the Heretick *Eutiches*, upon theſe words, *Me autem non ſemper habebitis*, ſaith, *The Son of God, as touching his Humanity, he is gone from us, by his Divinity he remaineth with us.* And the ſame *Vigilius* in his fourth Book ſaith, *He that is in the Heaven, is not in the earth*; ſpeaking of Chriſt.

Harpſ. I will ſhew you the reaſon of theſe words. The Heretick *Eutiches* did believe that the Divine Nature of Chriſt was faſtned on the Croſs, and believed that Chriſt had no Natural Body. To this *Vigilius* ſaid, That the Humane Nature was taken up and aſcended, which could not ſo have done, unleſs he had a Body. This he ſaid not, to take away the Preſence in the Sacrament.

For what had he to refer this Sentence to the Sacrament? He never did ſo much as dream of the Sacrament.

Weſt. Cyril ſaith, *Although he be abſent from us in Body, yet are we governed by his Spirit.* *Cyrillus.*

Harpſ. By theſe words he gave us a chearfulneſs to aſpire upwards, ſeeking therehence our help. For as touching his converſation, he is not ſo in the Sacrament as one meet to be lived withal. But let him not teach us that he is not there to feed us; for after that ſort he is there. The Body of Chriſt is here to feed our bellies, but not to be lived withal.

Weſt. You have ſatisfied me with your Anſwers, in doing the ſame learnedly and catolickly. But now to another Argument.

* Chriſt is now ſo abſent from the Earth by his Body, as he was abſent from Heaven when he lived here. * The Argument holdeth *a proportione.*

But when he did live bodily on Earth; the ſame Natural Body was out of Heaven.

Ergo, Now whilſt this Natural Body is in Heaven, it is not in the Earth.

Harpſ. I deny the Major.

Weſt. Fulgentius ad Thraſimundum Regem; libro ſecundo, ſaith, *Secundum humanam ſubſtantiam abſens erat cœlo, cum deſcendit de cœlo.* Theſe are *Fulgentius*'s words touching his Humane Subſtance: *He was abſent from Heaven, when he deſcended from Heaven; and touching the ſame Subſtance, now he is in Heaven he is not on the Earth: but concerning the Divine Nature, he never forſook, neither Heaven nor Earth.*

After theſe words, not waiting *Harpſfields* Anſwer, he offered Mr. *Cranmer* to diſpute; who began in this wiſe.

Cranmer. I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently intreat of the Dignity of the Scriptures, which I do both commend, and have marvelled thereat within my ſelf. But whereas you refer the true ſenſe and judgment of the Scriptures to the Catholick Church as Judge thereof, you are much deceived; ſpecially for that under the Name of the Church you appoint ſuch Judges as have corruptly judged, and contrary to the ſenſe of the Scriptures. I wonder likewiſe why you attribute ſo little to the diligent reading of the Scriptures, and conferring of places; ſeeing the Scriptures do ſo much commend the ſame, as well in divers other places, as alſo in thoſe which you your ſelf have already alledged. And as touching your Opinion of theſe Queſtions, it ſeemeth to me neither to have any ground of the Word of God, nor of the Primitive Church. And to ſay the truth, the Schoolmen have ſpoken diverſly of them, and do not agree thereof among themſelves. Wherefore, minding here briefly to ſhew my Judgment alſo, I muſt deſire you firſt to anſwer to me a few Queſtions which I ſhall demand of you. Which being done, we ſhall the better proceed in our Diſputation. Moreover, I muſt deſire you to bear alſo with my rudeneſs in the Latin Tongue, which through long diſuſe is not now ſo prompt and ready with me as it hath been: And now all other things ſet apart, I mind chiefly to have regard to the Truth. My firſt queſtion is this, *How Chriſts Body is in the Sacrament; according to your mind or determination?* The opinion of Mr. *Harpſfield* reproved, referring the ſenſe of the Scripture rather to the Judgment of the Church, than to the diligent reading and conferring of places.

Then anſwered a Doctor, he is there as touching his Subſtance, but not after the manner of his Subſtance. Chriſt preſent in the Sacrament in Subſtance, but not after the manner of Subſtance.

Harpſ. He is there in ſuch ſort and manner, as he may be eaten.

Cran. My next Queſtion is, *Whether he hath his quantity and qualities, form, figure, and ſuch like properties.*

Harpſ. Are theſe your queſtions, ſaid Mr. *Harpsfield*? I may likewiſe ask you, When Chriſt paſſed through the Virgins Womb, *an ruperit necne?* When they had thus a while contended, there were divers opinions in this matter. The Rabbines could not agree among themſelves.

All the Doctors fell in a buzzing, incertain what to anſwer: ſome thought one way, ſome another; and thus Mr. Doctors could not agree.

Then Mr. *Cranmer* ſaid thus; You put off queſtions with queſtions, and not with anſwers, I ask one thing of you, and you anſwer another. Once again I ask, *Whether he have thoſe Properties which he had on the Earth.*

Treſh. No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging to a Body. Chriſts Body without his Properties in the Sacrament.

Smith. Stay you Mr. *Treſham.* I will anſwer you Mr. Doctor, with the words of *Damaſcene*, *Tranſformatur panis, &c.* The Bread is transformed, &c. But if thou wilt inquire how, *Modus impoſſibilis*, The manner is impoſſible.

Then

Then two or three others added their Answers to this Question, somewhat doubtfully. A great hurly-burly was among them, some affirming one thing, and some another.

Cran. Do you appoint me a Body, and cannot tell what manner of Body? Either he hath not his quantity, or else you are ignorant how to answer it.

Harps. These are vain Questions, and it is not meet to spend the time on them.

Lanfrancus contra berengarium.

West. Hear me a while, *Lanfrancus*, sometime Bishop of *Canterbury*, doth answer in this wise unto *Berengarius* upon such like Questions, *Salubriter credi possunt, fideliter quæri non possunt*; i. They may be well believed, but never faithfully asked.

Cran. If you think good to answer it, some of you declare it,

Harps. He is there as pleaseth him to be there.

Cran. I would be best contented with that answer, if that your appointing of a Carnal Presence had not driven me of necessity to have inquired for disputations sake, how you place him there, since you will have a Natural Body.

The Papists would have Christs Body in the Sacrament, but they cannot tell how.

When again he was answered of divers at one time, some denying it to be a *quantum*, some saying it to be *quantitativum*, some affirming it to have *modum quanti*, some denying it, some one thing, some another: Up starts Dr. *Weston*, and boughtily decided, as he thought, all the matter, saying, It is *Corpus quantum, sed non per modum quanti*; i. It is a Body, saith he, having quantity, but not according to the manner of quantity.

Whereunto Mr. *Ward*, a great Sophister, thinking the matter not fully answered, did largely declare and discourse his Sentence; How learnedly and truly I cannot tell, nor I think he himself neither, nor yet the best learned there. For it was said since, That far better learned than he, laid as good ear to him as they could, and yet could by no means perceive to what end all his talk tended. Indeed he told a formal Tale to clout up the matter. He was full of *quantum & quantitativum*. This that follows was, as it is thought, the effect, yet others think no. Howbeit we will rehearse the sum of his words, as it is thought he spake then.

Mr. Ward in the mysty Clouds of Duns's quiddities.

Ward. We must consider, saith he, that there are *duæ Positiones*, two Positions. The one standeth by the order of parts, with respect of the whole. The other in respect of that which containeth Christ, is in the Sacrament in respect of the whole. This Proposition is in one of *Aristotles* Predicaments, called *Situs*. I remember I did intreat these matters very largely, when I did rule and moderate the Philosophical Disputations in the Publick Schools. This Position is *sine modo quantitativo*, as by an ensample, you can never bring Heaven to a quantity. So I conclude that he is in the Sacrament *quantum, sine modo quantitativo*.

Aristotle must help to tell us how Christ is in the Sacrament. Christ, *sine modo quantitativo* in the Sacrament.

These words be amplyfied very largely, and so high he climbed into the Heavens with *Duns*'s Ladder, and not with the Scriptures, that it is to be marvelled how he could come down again without falling. To whom Mr. *Cranmer* said, Then thus do I make my Argument.

Dr. Cranmers Argument.

Cran. In Heaven his Body had quantity, in Earth it hath none by your saying.

Ergo, He hath two Bodies, the one in Heaven, the other in Earth.

Here some would have answered him, that he had quantity in both, and so put off the Antecedent: But thus said Mr. *Harpsfield*;

Harps. I deny your Argument, though some would not have had him say so.

Cran. The Argument is good. It standeth upon Contradictories, which is the most sure hold.

Harps. I deny that there are Contradictions.

Cran. I thus prove it. *Habere modum quantitativum & non habere, sunt contradictoria.*

Sed Christus in cœlis, ut dicitis, habet modum quantitativum, in terra non habet:

Aristotle 4. Metaph. Impossibile est, idem simul esse & non esse.

Ergo, Duo sunt corpora ejus in quæ cadunt hæc contradictoria; Nam in idem cadere non possunt.

West. I deny the Minor.

Harps. I answer that the Major is not true. For *Habere quantum, & non habere, non sunt contradictoria, nisi sic considerentur, ejusdem ad idem, eodem modo & simpliciter.*

West. I confirm the same: For one Body may have *modum quantitativum*, and not have; and *idem corpus* was passible and impassible; one Body may have wounds and not wounds.

Anno 1554.

Cran. This cannot be at one time.

West. The ensample of the Potter doth prove that which I say; who, of that which is Clay now, maketh a Pot or Cup forthwith.

Cran. But I say again, that it is so, but at divers times: As one piece of Meat to be raw and sodden cannot be at one time together. But you would have it otherwise, that Christ should be here and in Heaven at one time, and should have *modum quantitativum*, and not have; which cannot be but by such Argument as I have shewed you.

West. But I say, Christs Body was passible and not passible at one (*a*) instant.

(a) Passible and impassible cannot stand together in one Subject. Simul & semel, non secundum & eodem tempore, propter diversum pugnantiam. Christs Body to be passible and not passible at the Supper, it appeareth by these words, That shall be given for you.

Seaton. You may ask as well other Questions, how he is in Heaven? whether he sit or stand? and whether he be there as he lived here?

Cran. You your self, by putting a Natural Presence, do force me to question, how he is here. Therefore next I do ask this Question, Whether good and evil men do eat the Body in the Sacrament?

Harps. Yea, they do so, (*b*) even as the Sun doth shine upon Kings Palaces, and on Dung-heaps.

(b) That remaineth yet unproved. Harpsfield seemed a little before, to note the contrary, where he said, That the Flesh of Christ to them that receive him not worthily is not present, p. 87

Cran. Then do I inquire, how long Christ tarrieth in the eater?

Harps. These are curious Questions, unmeet to be asked.

Cran. I have taken them out of your Schools and Schoolmen, which you your selves do most use: and there also do I learn to ask how far he goeth into the Body.

Harps. We know that the Body of Christ is received to nourish the whole Man, both Body and Soul: *Eousque progreditur corpus quousque* (c) *species.*

(c) Sed species non progreditur usque ad animam: Ergo nec corpus Christi non patitur corpus & animam. These men would needs have a bodily Presence, yet would they not, or else could not bring any reason how.

Cran. How long doth he abide in the Body?

Seaton. S. *Augustine* saith, our flesh goeth into his flesh. But after he is once received into the stomach, it maketh no matter for us to know how far he doth pierce, or whether he is conveyed.

¶ *Here Mr.* Tresham *and one Mr.* London *answered, that Christ being given there under such form and quantity as pleased him, it was not to be inquired of his tarrying, or of his descending into the Body.*

Harps. You were wont to lay to our charge, that we added to the Scripture; saying always that we should fetch the truth out of the Scripture, and now you your self bring Questions out of the Schoolmen, which you have disallowed in us.

Cran. I say as I have said alway, that I am constrained to ask these Questions, because of this Carnal Presence which you imagine; and yet I know right well, that these Questions be answered out of the Scriptures. As to my last Question, How long he abideth in the Body? &c. the Scripture answereth plainly, that Christ doth so long dwell in his People, as they are his Members. Whereupon I make this Argument.

Ba. They which eat the Flesh of Christ do dwell in him, and he in them.

ro. But the wicked do not remain in him, nor he in them:

'co. *Ergo*, The wicked do not eat his Flesh, nor drink his Blood.

Dr. Cranmers Argument in the second Figure and second Mood.

Harps. I will answer unto you as S. *Augustine* saith, not that howsoever a man do eat, he eateth the Body; but he that eateth after a certain manner.

Answer insufficient.

Cran. I cannot tell what manner ye appoint, but I am sure that evil men do not eat the Flesh, and drink the Blood of Christ, as Christ speaketh in the sixth of *John*.

Harps. In the sixth of *John* some things are to be referred to the godly, and some to the ungodly.

Cran. Whatsoever he doth intreat there of eating, doth pertain unto good men.

Harps. If you do mean only of the word of eating, it is true; if concerning the thing, it is not so; And if your meaning be of that which is contained under the word of eating, it may be so taken, I grant.

Evil men do not eat the Body of Christ.

Cran. Now to the Argument, *He that eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.* Doth not this prove sufficiently, that evil men do not eat that the good do?

Tresham. You must add, *Qui manducat digne*, *He that eateth worthily.*

Cran. I speak of the same manner of eating that Christ speaketh of.

West.

Anno 1554.

West. Augustinus *ad Fratres in Eremo, Sermon,* 28. *Est quidam manducandi modus,* That is, There is a certain manner of eating. *Augustine* speaketh of two manners of eating; the one of them that eat worthily, the other that eat unworthily.

The sixth Chapter of *John* is to be referred partly to the Supper, partly to Faith, after the Papists.

Harps. All things in the sixth of *John* are not to be referred to the Sacrament, but to the receiving of Christ by Faith. The Fathers do agree, that there is not intreaty made of the Supper of the Lord, before they come unto, *Panis quem dabo vobis, caro mea est,* &c.

Cran. There is intreating of *Manna* both before and after.

Harps. I will apply another Answer. This Argument hath a kind of Poyson in it, which must be thus bitten away; that *Manna* and this *Sacrament* be not both one. *Manna* hath not his Efficacy of himself, but of God.

Comparison between eating of Manna, and eating the Body of Christ.

Cran. But they that did take *Manna* worthily had fruit thereby: And so by your Assertion, he that doth eat the Flesh of Christ worthily, hath his Fruit by that.

Therefore the like doth follow of them both, and so there should be no difference between *Manna* and this Sacrament, by your Reason.

Harps. When it is said, that they which did eat *Manna* are dead, it is to be understood, that they did want the vertue of *Manna.*

If Master Harpsfield *do mean of Bodily Life, they which eat the Sacrament do dye as well as they which did eat the Manna. If he mean of Spiritual Life, neither be they all damned that did eat Manna, nor all saved that do eat the Sacrament. Wherefore the Truth is, that neither the eating of Manna bringeth Death, nor the eating of the Sacrament bringeth Salvation: But only the Spiritual believing upon Christs Bodily Passion, which only justifieth both them and us. And therefore, as the Effect is Spiritual, which Christ speaketh of in this Chapter; so is the Cause of that Effect Spiritual whereof he meaneth, which is our Spiritual believing in him, and not our Bodily eating of him.*

Cran. They then which do eat either of them worthily, do live.

Harps. They do live which do eat Manna worthily, not by Manna, but by the Power of God given by it. The other which do eat this Sacrament, do live by the same.

Cran. Christ did not intreat of the Cause, but the Effect which followed: He doth not speak of the Cause, whereof the Effect proceedeth.

Harps. I do say, The Effects are divers, Life, and Death, which do follow the Worthy and Unworthy eating thereof.

Cran. Since you will needs have an Addition to it, we must use both in Manna and in the Sacrament, indifferently, either worthily, or unworthily.

Christ spake absolutely of Manna, and of the Supper, so that, after that absolute speaking of the Supper, wicked men can in no wise eat the Flesh of Christ, and drink his Blood.

Aug. in Joan. tract. 26.

Further, *Augustine* upon *John, Tractat.* 26. upon these Words, *Qui manducat, &c.* saith, *There is no such respects in common Meats, as in the Lords Body. For who that eateth other Meats hath still hunger, and needeth to be satisfied daily: but he that doth eat the Flesh of Christ, and drinketh his Blood, doth live for ever.* But you know Wicked Men do not so.

Ergo, Wicked Men do not receive.

Harps. S. *Augustine* meaneth, That he who eateth Christs Flesh, *&c.* after a certain manner, should live for ever. Wicked Men do eat, but not after that manner.

Argument in the second figure and second mood.

Cran. Only they which participate Christ be of the Mystical Body.
Me- But the Evil Men are not of the Mystical Body.
tres. *Ergo,* They do not participate Christ.

D. *Cranmer* commended for his modesty.

West. Your wonderful gentle Behaviour and Modesty (good M. Doctor *Cranmer*) is worthy much commendation: and that I may not deprive you of your right and just deserving, I give you most hearty thanks in my own name, and in the name of all my Brethren. At which saying, all the Doctors gently put off their Caps. Then M. *Weston* did oppose the Respondent on this wise.

West. Tertullian doth call the Sacrament the Sign and Figure of the Lord.

Tertul. cont. Marcion. August. ad Bardan.

S. *Augustine ad Dardanum* saith, *Non dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est Corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis, i.* The Lord did not stick to say, This is my Body, when he gave a Sign of his Body.

Besides this, he giveth rules how to understand the Scriptures, saying: If the Scriptures seem to command some hainous thing, then it is figurative, as by example; *Manducare carnem, & bibere sanguinem est tropicus sermo, i.* To eat the Flesh, and drink the Blood, is a Tropical Speech.

August de Doctrina Christiana.

Answer to *Tertullian.*

Harps. Tertullian did write in that place against *Marcion* an Heretick, who denied Christ to have a True Body, and said, he had only a Fantastical Body. He went about to shew, that we had Christ both in Heaven and in Earth; and though we have the True Body in the Sacrament, yet he would not go about so to confound him, as to say, That Christ was truly in the Sacrament: For that Heretick would have thereat rather marvelled, than believed it. Therefore he shewed him, that it was the Figure of Christ: And a Figure cannot be but of a thing that is, or hath been extant.

Answer to *Augustine.*

To the Text of *Augustine,* the Church hath never taught the contrary. There is an outward thing in the Sacrament, which sometimes hath sundry names. For it may be called a Figure in this Declaration, That Body which is in the Sacrament, is a Figure of Christ dwelling in Heaven.

Answer to *Augustine.* De Doctrina Christiana.

To the third, That which is brought by *Augustine* for example, about the understanding of the Scriptures, is thus to be understood, as tending to a general manner of eating; so *Manducare carnem, & bibere sanguinem, i.* To eat the Flesh, and drink the Blood, may be a figurative Speech to exclude *Anthropophagiam, i. The eating of Mans Flesh.* The which is, when we eat Mans Flesh cut in Morsels, as we eat common Meat; so as we neither have, nor eat Christ in the Sacrament.

The second question.

West. I understand your short and learned Answer, which doth sufficiently content me. But now to the second Question, which is of Transubstantiation.

The Scripture calleth it Bread.

Ergo, It is Bread.

Harps. In the Name of Bread all is signified which we do eat.

Theodoretus Dialog. 1. A single-sole answer to *Theodoretus.*

West. Theodoretus an Ancient Writer, in his first Dialogue, saith, That Christ changed not the Nature, but called it his Body.

Harps. He doth there speak *de Symbolo,* which is *Externa species Sacramenti, i. The outward form of the Sacrament.* He meaneth, that that doth tarry in his own Nature. Moreover, as it was reported, he brought for his Answer, *Augustinum in sententiis Prosperi.*

Theodoret. Dial 2.

West. Theodoret also in his second Dialogue of those kinds of Bread and Wine, saith, *Nec naturam egrediuntur, manent etiam in sua substantia, i. They go not out of their own Nature, but they tarry in their own Substance.*

(a) And how are they turned if they remain *in priori substantia.*

Harps. They are understood to be of the same Substance wherein they are (*a*) turned.

West. But what say you to this? *Manent in priori substantia, i. They remain in their former Substance.*

Harps. Symbola manent, i. The outward signs do tarry.

Symbolum quid.

West. But what is meant here by this word *Symbolum?*

Harps. The outward form or shape only of the Nature.

West. Then you cannot call them a Substance.

Harps. Yes, Sir, every thing hath a certain Substance in his kind.

West. That is true, but Accidents are not Substances in their kind.

Harps. Sunt quid in suo genere. Of this they contended much.

Chrysost. ad Cæsarium Monachum.

West. Chrysostom ad Cæsarium Monachum, saith, *Sicut, antequam consecratur, panis est: sic, postquam consecratur, liberatus est ab appellatione panis, donatusque est appellatione Corporis Domini, cum natura remanet;* That is, Like as before it is consecrated, it is Bread: so after it is consecrated, it is delivered from the name of Bread, and is indued with the name of the Lords Body, whereas the Nature doth remain.

D. Weston compileth his Arguments out of *Peter Martyr's* Story.

Harps. Where read you this place, I pray you?

West. Here in *Peter Martyr* I find it; I have his Book in my Hand.

Harpſ. The Author ſhall be of more Credit, before that I make ſo much of him, as to frame an Anſwer unto it.

Weſt. Indeed I know not well where he findeth it. But *Gelaſius* ſaith, That the Nature of Bread and Wine do tarry.

Gelaſius.

Harpſ. What is that *Gelaſius*?

Weſt. A Biſhop of *Rome*.

Harpſ. Then he allowed the Maſs?

Weſt. Yea, and oftentimes ſaid it: And Purgatory he alſo allowed, and ſo Prayer for the Dead, Reliques, and Invocation to Saints.

Harpſ. Belike then he meant nothing againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

Origen in Mat. cap. 15.

Weſt. It doth appear ſo indeed. But *Origen* upon *Matthew* the 15. Chapter ſaith, That the material Bread doth tarry, and is conveyed into the Privy, and is eaten of Worms.

Harpſ. Tuſh, tuſh, this place appertaineth unto Holy Bread.

Weſt. What, doth it appertain to Holy Bread?

Harpſ. Yea, unto Holy Bread.

Weſt. By what means can you ſhew how this miraculous work bringeth Chriſt into the Sacrament?

Harpſ. By the Scriptures I prove that, which ſaith, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, This is my Body.

Weſt. It doth rejoyce all us not a little, that you have ſo well maintained the ſound Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar, wherein you have faithfully cleaved to the Catholick Church, as an only Stay of our Religion: By the which means you have proved your ſelf meet to be authoriſed further towards the practiſing of the Scripture.

And here, I do openly witneſs, that I do throughly conſent with you, and have, for Diſputations ſake only, brought theſe Arguments againſt you, which you have right learnedly ſatisfied: And now all things being done, after our Form and Manner, we will end this Diſputation, ſaying, *In oppoſitum eſt ſacra Theologia, In oppoſitum eſt, &c.*

¶ Thus have ye heard in theſe aforeſaid Diſputations, about the Holy Supper of the Lord, the Reaſons and Arguments of the Doctors, the Anſwers and Reſolutions of the Biſhops, and the Triumph of the Prolocutor, triumphing before the Victory, with *Vicit veritas*, who rather, in my mind, ſhould have exclaimed, *Vicit poteſtas*; as it happeneth always, *Ubi pars major vincit meliorem*. For elſe if *poteſtas* had not helped the Prolocutor more than *veritas*, there had been a ſmall *victoria*. But ſo it is where Judgments be partial, and Parties be addicted, there all things turn to Victory, though it be never ſo mean and ſimple, as in this Diſputation might well appear.

For firſt, of the Opponents part, neither was there almoſt any Argument in true mood and figure rightly framed: Neither could the Anſwerers be permitted to ſay for themſelves: And if they anſwered any thing, it was condemned before they began to ſpeak. Again, Such diſturbance and confuſion, more like a Conſpiration than any Diſputation, without all Form and Order, was in the Schools during the time of their anſwering, that neither could the Anſwerers have place to utter their Minds, neither would the Opponents be ſatisfied with any Reaſons. Concerning the which Diſturbance of that miſruled Diſputation, you ſhall hear what Maſter *Ridley* himſelf reporteth by his own Deſcription, in manner as followeth.

The Report and Narration of M. Ridley, *concerning the miſordered Diſputation had againſt him and his Fellow-priſoners at* Oxford.

B. Rid'ys report of the miſorder of this Diſputation.

I Never yet, ſince I was born, ſaw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuouſly, than the Diſputation which was with me in the Schools at *Oxford*. Yea verily, I could never have thought that it had been poſſible to have found amongſt men recounted to be of Knowledge and Learning in this Realm, any ſo brazen-faced and ſhameleſs, ſo diſorderly and vainly to behave themſelves, more like Stage-players in Enterludes to ſet forth a Pageant, than to grave Divines in Schools to diſpute. The Sorbonical Clamours (which at *Paris* I have ſeen in times paſt, when Popery moſt reigned) might be worthily thought (in compariſon of this Thraſonical oſtentation) to have had much Modeſty. And no great marvel, ſeeing they which ſhould have been Moderators, and Overſeers of others, and which ſhould have given good Examples in Words and Gravity; they themſelves, above all other, gave worſt Example, and did, as it were, blow the Trump to the reſt, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. By reaſon whereof (good Chriſtian Reader) manifeſtly it may appear, that they never fought for any Truth or Verity, but only for the Glory of the World, and their own bragging Victory. But leſt by the innumerable Railings and reproachful Taunts, wherewith I was baited on every ſide, our cauſe, yea rather Gods cauſe and his Churches, ſhould be evil ſpoken of, and ſlandered to the World through falſe Reports, and untrue Examples given out of our Diſputation, and ſo the Verity might ſuſtain ſome Damage, I thought it no leſs than my Duty to write mine Anſwers; to the intent, that whoſoever is deſirous to know the Truth thereof, may by this perceive as well thoſe things which were chiefly objected, as ſummarily that which was anſwered of me unto every of them. Howbeit (good Reader) I confeſs this to be moſt true, that it is impoſſible to ſet forth either all that was, God knoweth, tumultuouſly and confuſedly objected of their parts, being ſo many, ſpeaking many times altogether ſo thick, that one could not well hear another, neither all that was anſwered on my behalf to them ſo ſundry and divers Opponents.

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No verity but glory fought for in this Diſputation.

Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the Diſputations was vainly conſumed in opprobrious Checks and reviling Taunts, with hiſſing and clapping of hands, and that in the Engliſh Tongue, to procure the Peoples Favour withal. All which things, when I with great grief of Heart did behold, proteſting openly, that ſuch exceſſive and outragious Diſorder was unſeemly for thoſe Schools, and Men of Learning and Gravity, and that they which were the Doers and Stirrers of ſuch things, did nothing elſe but betray the ſlenderneſs of their Cauſe, and their own Vanities: I was ſo far off by this my Humble Complaint, from doing any good at all, that I was inforced to hear ſuch Rebukes, Checks, and Taunts for my Labour, as no perſon of any Honeſty, without bluſhing, could abide to hear the like ſpoken of a moſt vile Varlet, againſt a moſt wretched Ruffian.

Taunts and revilings uſed in this Diſputation.

At the firſt beginning of the Diſputation, when I ſhould have confirmed mine Anſwer to the firſt Propoſition in few words, and that (after the Manner and Law of Schools) afore I could make an end of my firſt Probation, which was not very long, even the Doctors themſelves cryed out, He ſpeaketh Blaſphemies, he ſpeaketh Blaſphemies. And when I on my Knees beſought them, and that heartily, that they would vouchſafe to hear me to the End, (whereat the Prolocutor being moved, cried out on high, Let him read it, let him read it.) Yet, when I began to read again, there followed immediately ſuch ſhouting, ſuch a noiſe and tumult, ſuch confuſion of Voices, crying, Blaſphemies, Blaſphemies, as I, to my Remembrance, never heard or read the like, except it be that one, which was in the Acts of the Apoſtles, ſtirred up of *Demetrius* the Silver-Smith, and other of his Occupation, crying out againſt *Paul*, *Great is* Diana *of the* Epheſians, *great is* Diana *of the* Epheſians: And except it be a certain Diſputation which the *Arrians* had againſt the *Orthodoxes*, and ſuch as were of Godly Judgment in *Africa*, where it is ſaid, that ſuch as the Preſident and Rulers of the Diſputation were, ſuch was the end of the Diſputations. All were in a hurly-burly, and ſo great were the Slanders which the *Arrians* caſt out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This writeth *Victor* in the ſecond Book of his Hiſtory.

D. Ridley could not be ſuffered to read forth his Proteſtation.

The which Cries and Tumults of them againſt me ſo prevailed, that, will I, nill I, I was inforced to leave off reading of my Probations, although they were ſhort. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the ſame ask any one that was there, and not utterly perverted in Popery, and, I am aſſured, he will ſay, I ſpeak the leaſt. But to complain of theſe things further, I will ceaſe.

And further ſpeaking of this Diſputation, he concludeth with theſe Words: And thus was ended this moſt glorious Diſputation of the moſt Holy Fathers, Sacrificers, Doctors and Maſters, which fought moſt manfully, as ye may ſee, for their God and Goods, for their Faith and Felicity, for their Countrey and Kitchin, for their Beauty and

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and Belly, with triumphant Applauſes, and Favour of the whole Univerſity.

The three Priſoners at *Oxford* call'd before the Commiſſioners. April 20.

After the Diſputation of M. *Latimer* ended, which was the 18. day of *April*; the Friday following, which was the 20. day of the ſaid Month, the Commiſſioners ſate in Saint *Maries Church*, as they did the Saturday before, and Doctor *Weſton* uſed particularly Diſſwaſions with every one of them, and would not ſuffer them to anſwer in any wiſe, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to ſay whether they would ſubſcribe, or no. And firſt to the Biſhop of *Canterbury* he ſaid, he was overcome in Diſputations: To whom the Biſhop anſwered, That whereas Doctor *Weſton* ſaid, he hath anſwered and oppoſed, and could neither maintain his own Errors, nor impugn the Verity; all that he ſaid, was falſe. For he was not ſuffered to oppoſe as he would, nor could anſwer as he was required, unleſs he would have brawled with them, ſo thick their Reaſons came one after another. Ever four or five did interrupt him, that he could not ſpeak. Maſter *Ridley* and Maſter *Latimer* were asked what they would ſay: They replyed, That they would ſtand to that they had ſaid. Then were they all called together, and Sentence read over them, that they were no Members of the Church. And therefore they, their Fautors and Patrons, were condemned as Hereticks: And in reading of it, they were asked, Whether they would turn, or no: And they bad them read on in the Name of God, for they were not minded to turn. So they were condemned all three.

D. *Cranmer*, Biſhop *Ridley*, and M. *Latimer* condemned.

After which, Sentence of Condemnation being awarded againſt them, they anſwered again every one in his turn, in manner and effect of words, as followeth: The Archbiſhop firſt beginning *thus:*

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

From this your Judgment and Sentence I appeal to the Juſt Judgment of God Almighty, truſting to be preſent with him in Heaven, for whoſe preſence in the Altar I am thus condemned.

Doctor Ridley.

Although I be not of your Company, yet doubt I not but my Name is written in another place, whether this Sentence will ſend us ſooner, than we ſhould by the courſe of Nature have come.

Maſter Latimer.

I thank God moſt heartily, that he hath prolonged my Life to this End, that I may in this caſe glorifie God by that kind of death.

Doctor Weſtons *Anſwer unto* Latimer.

Weſton giveth Sentence againſt himſelf.

If you go to Heaven in this Faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus perſwaded.

The Archbiſhop and his Fellow-Priſoners ſeparated.

After the Sentence pronounced, they were ſeparated one from another, *videlicet*, The Archbiſhop was returned to *Bocardo*, D. *Ridley* was carried to the Sheriffs Houſe, Mr. *Latimer* to the Bayliffs.

On Saturday following, they had a Maſs with a general Proceſſion and great Solemnity. Doctor *Cranmer* was cauſed to behold the Proceſſion out of *Bocardo*; Doctor *Ridley* out of the Sheriffs Houſe. *Latimer* alſo, being brought to ſee it from the Bayliffs Houſe, thought that he ſhould have gone to Burning, and ſpake to one *Auguſtine Cooper* a Catchpole, to make a quick Fire. But when he came to *Carfox*, and ſaw the matter, he ran as faſt as his old Bones would carry him, to one *Spenſers* Shop, and would not look towards it. Laſt of all, Doctor *Weſton* carried the Sacrament, and four Doctors carried the Canopy over him.

Immediately after the Sentence was given, Doctor *Ridley* writeth to the Prolocutor in manner as followeth.

Doctor Ridley *to the Prolocutor.*

D. *Ridleys* Letter to the Prolocutor.

MAſter Prolocutor, you remember, I am ſure, how you promiſed me openly in the Schools, after my Proteſtation, that I ſhould ſee how my Anſwers were there taken and written of the *Notaries* whom ye appointed (*me ſciente neminem recuſare*) to write what ſhould be ſaid, and to have had Licenſe to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more deliberation ſhould have ſeemed me beſt. Ye granted me alſo, at the delivery of my Anſwer unto your firſt Propoſition, a Copy of the ſame: Theſe Promiſes are not performed. If your ſudden departure be any part of the cauſe thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed; for performance of Promiſe is to be looked for at a Righteous Judges Hands. Now I ſend you here my Anſwers in writing to your ſecond and third Propoſitions, and do deſire and require earneſtly a Copy of the ſame, and I ſhall by Gods Grace procure the pains of the Writer to be paid for, and ſatisfied accordingly. Maſter Prolocutor, in the time of my Anſwering in the Schools, when I would have confirmed my Sayings with Authorities and Reaſons, ye ſaid then openly, that I ſhould have time and place, to ſay and bring whatſoever I could, another time, and the ſame your ſaying was then and there confirmed of other of the Commiſſioners: Yea, and (I dare ſay) the Audience alſo thought then that I ſhould have had another Day, to have brought and ſaid what I could for the Declaration and Confirmation of mine Aſſertions. Now that this was not done, but ſo ſuddenly Sentence given before the Cauſe was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvel, *&c.*

Papiſts have ſmall conſcience in performing of Promiſes.

On Munday next enſuing, after theſe things done and paſt, being the 23. of the ſaid Month of *April*, Doctor *Weſton* Prolocutor took his Journey up to *London*, with the Letters Certificatory from the Univerſity unto the Queen, by whom the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* directed his Letters Supplicatory unto the Councel. The which Letters, after the Prolocutor had received, and had carried them well-near half way to *London*, by the way he opened the ſame, and ſeeing the Contents thereof, ſent them back again, refuſing to carry them, *&c.* Likewiſe Biſhop *Ridley* hearing of the Prolocutors going to *London*, writeth to him his Letters, wherein he deſireth him to carry his Anſwers up to certain Biſhops in *London*, the Form of which Letters, firſt of D. *Ridley*, then of the Archbiſhop; and laſtly, another Letter of D. *Ridley* to the Archbiſhop, here in order followeth. April 23.

A Letter of Biſhop Ridley *to the Prolocutor.*

MAſter Prolocutor, I deſire you, and in Gods Name require you, that you truly bring forth and ſhew all mine Anſwers, written and ſubſcribed with mine own Hand, unto the Higher Houſe of the Convocation, and eſpecially to my Lord Chancellor, my Lords of *Dureſm*, *Ely*, *Worceſter*, *Norwich*, and *Chicheſter*; and alſo to ſhew and exhibit this my Writing unto them, which in theſe few Lines here I write unto you: And that I did make this Requeſt unto you by this my Writing, know ye, that I did take Witneſs of them by whom I ſend you this Writing, and alſo of thoſe which were then with them preſent, *videlicet*, The two Bayliffs of *Oxford*, and of Mr. *Iriſh*, Alderman, then there called to be a Witneſs.

By me Nicholas Ridley, 13 of April, *An.* 1554.

The Copy of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's *Letter to the Councel, ſent by Doctor* Weſton, *who refuſed to deliver them.*

The Archbiſhop writeth to the Councel.

IN right humble wiſe ſheweth unto your Honourable Lordſhips *Thomas Cranmer* late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, beſeeching the ſame to be a Means for me unto the Queens Highneſs for her Mercy and Pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the Will of our late Soveraign Lord King *Edward* the Sixth, and what I ſpake againſt the ſame, wherein I refer me to the Reports of your Honours and Worſhips. Furthermore, this is to ſignifie unto your Lordſhips, that upon Munday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday laſt paſt, were open Diſputations here in *Oxford* againſt me, Mr. *Ridley*, and Mr. *Latimer*, in three matters concerning the Sacrament: Firſt, Of the Real Preſence. Secondly, Of Tranſubſtantiation: And thirdly, Of the Sacrifice of the Maſs. Upon Munday, againſt me; upon Tueſday, againſt Dr. *Ridley*; and upon Wedneſday, againſt Mr. *Latimer*. How the other two were ordered, I know not; for we were ſeparated, ſo that none of us knoweth what

the other ſaid, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning my ſelf, I can report. Doctor *Chedſey* was appointed to diſpute againſt me, but the Diſputation was ſo confuſed, that I never knew the like; every man bringing forth what him liked without Order; and ſuch haſt was made, that no Anſwer could be ſuffered to be taken fully to any Argument, before another brought a New Argument. And in ſuch Weighty Matters the Diſputation muſt needs be ended in one day, which can ſcantly be ended in three Months. And when we had anſwered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our Proofs, that they might anſwer us, being required by me thereunto, whereas I my ſelf have more to ſay, than can be well diſcuſſed, as I ſuppoſe, in twenty days. The means to reſolve the truth, had been to have ſuffered us to anſwer fully to all that they could ſay, and then they again to anſwer us fully to all that we can ſay. But why they would not anſwer us, what other cauſe can there be, but that either they feared their Matter, that they were not able to anſwer us, or elſe for ſome conſideration they made ſuch haſt, not to ſeek the Truth, but to condemn us, that it muſt be done in poſt-haſt before the matters could be throughly heard: For in haſt we were all three condemned of Hereſie. Thus much I thought good to ſignifie unto your Lordſhips, that you may knovv the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the Judgment thereof unto your vvisdoms. And I beſeech your Lordſhips, to remember me, a poor Priſoner, unto the Queens Majeſty; and I ſhall pray, as I do daily unto God, for the long Preſervation of your good Lordſhips in all Godlineſs and Felicity. *April* 23.

The Archbiſhop not ſuffered to anſwer fully to any Argument.

Haſt made in condemning the Archbiſhop and his Fellows.

Doctor Ridley *to the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

B. Ridley writeth to the Archbiſhop.

I Wiſh ye might have ſeen theſe mine Anſvvers before I had delivered them, that ye might have corrected them. But I truſt, in the ſubſtance of the matter vve do agree fully, both led by one Spirit of Truth, and both vvalking after one Rule of Gods Word. It is reported, that Sergeant *Morgan*, the Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, is gone Mad. It is ſaid alſo, that Juſtice *Hales* hath recanted, perverted by Doctor *Moreman*. *Item*, That Maſter *Rogers*, Doctor *Crome*, and Maſter *Bradford* ſhall be had to *Cambridge*, and there be diſputed vvith, as vve vvere here; and that the Doctors of *Oxford* ſhall go likevviſe thither, as *Cambridge*-men came hither. When ye have read mine Anſvvers, ſend them again to *Auſten*, except ye will put any thing to them. I truſt the day of our delivery out of all Miſeries, and of our entrance into perpetual Reſt, and unto perpetual Joy and Felicity, dravveth nigh: The Lord ſtrengthen us vvith his mighty Spirit of Grace. If you have not to vvrite vvith, you muſt make your Man your Friend. And this Bearer deſerveth to be revvarded; ſo he may, and vvill do you pleaſure. My Man is Truſty, but it grieveth both him and me, that vvhen I ſend him vvith any thing to you, your Man vvill not let him come up to ſee you, as he may to Maſter *Latimer*, and yours to me. I have a Promiſe to ſee hovv my Anſwers were written in the Schools, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for me, I pray for you, and ſo ſhall I for you. The Lord have Mercy of his Church, and lighten the Eyes of the Magiſtrates, that God's extream Plagues light not on this Realm of *England*. *Turn, or burn.*

This Juſtice *Morgan* gave ſentence againſt Lady *Jane*.

Diſputation in *Cambridge* intended.

Theſe Diſputations being thus diſcuſſed and ended, which were at *Oxford* in the Month of *April*, as is aforeſaid: Now let us return again to the proſecuting of our Story, touching other things likewiſe that happened in other parts of the Realm, in this Tumultuous Time of Q. *Mary*. And becauſe things that hapned in that Time were ſo many and divers, that it is hard to keep a perfect order in reciting them all: To the intent therefore to inſert things left out before, or elſe to proſecute the ſame more at full, we have thought here a little to interrupt the order of time (albeit not much) returning again to the Month of *July* the Year before, *viz.* 1553. In the which Month of *July* I ſhewed before, how the Duke of *Northumberland* was apprehended by the Guard, and brought to *London* by the Earl of *Arundel*, and other Lords and Gentlemen appointed for that purpoſe, on Saint *James*'s day, being the 25. day of *July*, and ſo to the *Tower*, where he remained. Theſe be the Names of them which were committed to the *Tower* with the Duke.

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The Names of them that were committed to the Tower with the Duke of Northumberland.

Firſt, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Huntington*, Lord *Ambroſe* and Lord *Henry Dudley*, Lord *Haſtings*, who was delivered again the ſame Night; Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Henry Gates*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and D. *Sands* Chancellor of *Cambridge*.

The 26. day, the Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Biſhop of *London*, Lord *Robert Dudley*, and Sir *Richard Corbet* were brought and committed to the *Tower*.

The 27. day, the Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, and the Lord *Mountacute* Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, were committed to the *Tower*.

Upon the Friday, being the 28. of *July*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *John Cheek* were committed to the *Tower*.

The 30. of *July*, the Lord *Ruſſel* was committed to the Sheriff of *London*'s Cuſtody.

The 31. day, the Earl of *Rutland* was committed to the *Fleet*.

The Duke of *Suffolk* delivered out of the Tower.

Upon the Munday, the laſt of *July*, the Duke of *Suffolk* was delivered out of the *Tower* again.

Upon Thurſday the 3. of *Auguſt*, the Queen entred into the City of *London* at *Aldgate*, and ſo to the *Tower*, where ſhe remained ſeven days, and then removed to *Richmond*.

Upon Friday the 4. day, Doctor *Day* was delivered out of the *Fleet*.

Upon the Saturday the 5. day, the Lord *Ferris* was committed to the *Tower*, and the ſame day Doctor *Bonner* was delivered out of the *Marſhalſey*. The ſame day at Night Doctor *Cocks* was committed to the *Marſhalſey*, and one Maſter *Edward Underhill* to *Newgate*. Alſo the ſame day Doctor *Tonſtall* and *Stephen Gardiner* were delivered out of the *Tower*, and *Gardiner* received into the Queens Privy Councel, and made Lord Chancellor.

Priſoners ſet at liberty.

Upon Sunday the 7. day, *Henry Dudley*, Captain of the Guard at *Guines*, which before had been ſent to the *French* King by his Couſin the Duke of *Northumberland*, after the diſpatch of his Ambaſſage with the *French* King, returned to *Guines*, and ſo was taken; and this day brought to the *Tower*.

Upon Monday the 7. day of *Auguſt*, *Dirige* in Latin was ſung within the *Tower*, by all the Kings Chappel, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was Chief Miniſter, whereat was preſent the Queen, and moſt part of the Councel.

King Edwards Body buried.

Upon Tueſday the 8. of *Auguſt*, the Kings Body was brought to *Weſtminſter*, and there buried; where Doctor *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* preached. The ſame day a Maſs of *Requiem* was ſung within the *Tower* by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who had on his Miter, and did all things as in times paſt was done; at which Maſs the Queen was preſent.

Upon Thurſday the Duke of *Norfolk* came forth of the *Tower*, with whom the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* was alſo delivered this Thurſday.

Upon Sunday the 11 of *Auguſt*, Doctor *Bourne* preached at *Pauls* Croſs: Of the which Sermon read before, page 14.

In the Week following, Commandment was given throughout the City, that no Apprentices ſhould come to the Sermon, nor bear any Knife or Dagger.

M. Bradford with others committed to the Tower.

Upon the Wedneſday, being the 16. day of *Auguſt*, Maſter *Bradford*, Maſter *Beacon*, and Maſter *Veron*, were committed to the *Tower*: With whom alſo Maſter *Sampſon* ſhould have been committed, and was ſought for the ſame time at Maſter *Elſings* Houſe in *Fleetſtreet*, where Maſter *Bradford* was taken: and becauſe he was not found, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* fumed like a Prelate with the Meſſenger.

Upon the Friday, being the 18. of *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, were arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, and there the ſame day condemned, the Duke of *Norfolk* that day being the High Judge.

Upon the Saturday the 19. of *Auguſt*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Henry Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer* were arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, and condemned the ſame day, the Lord Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* being High Judge.

Upon

Anno 1554.

Upon which day a Letter was sent unto Sir *Henry Tirril*, *Anthony Brown* and *Edmund Brown*, Esquires, praying them to commit to ward all such as shall contemn the Queens Order of Religion, or shall keep themselves from Church, there to remain until they be conformable, and to signifie their Names to the Councel.

D. Watson preached at Pauls Cross.

Upon Sunday the 20. of *August*, D. *Watson*, the Bishop of *Winchesters* Chaplain, preached at *Pauls-Cross*, at whose Sermon was present the Marques of *Winchester*, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Rich*, and 200 of the Guard with their Halberds, lest the People should have made any stir against the Preacher.

Upon Munday the 21. of *August*, the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marques of *Northampton*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *John Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, heard a Mass within the *Tower*, and after Mass they all five received the Sacrament in one kind only, as in the Popish time was used. On the which day also Queen *Mary* set forth a Proclamation, signifying to the People, That she could not abide any longer the Religion which she from her Infancy had professed, &c. Inhibiting in the said Proclamation, Printing, and Preaching; the Tenor whereof read before, page 14.

Upon the Tuesday, being the 22. of *August*, the Duke of *Northumberland*, Sir *John Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, were beheaded at the *Tower*-Hill, as before is said page 14. The same day certain Noble Personages heard Mass within the *Tower*, and likewise after Mass, received the Sacrament in one kind.

Execution at the Tower-Hill.

Upon Sunday, the 27. day of *August*, Doctor *Chedsey* preached at *Pauls-Cross*, and the same day the Bishop of *Canterbury*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, and the Dean of *Pauls* were cited to appear the Week following before the Queens Commissioners, in the Bishops Consistory within *Pauls*.

In this mean time it was noised abroad by running rumors falsly and craftily devised; either to stablish the credit of the mass, or else to bring *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury* out of credit, that he, to curry Favour with Queen *Mary*, should promise to say Dirige Mass after the old custom for King *Edward*, and that he had already said Mass at *Canterbury*, &c. Wherefore to stop the noise and slanders of those Rumours, the said *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the 7. day of *September* set forth a Letter, which was also printed, in purgation of himself, the Copy of which Letter here ensueth.

A Purgation of *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, against certain Slanders falsly raised upon him.

The Archbishop of Canterbury purgeth himself against false Rumours.

AS the Devil, Christs ancient Adversary, is a Lyar, and the Father of Lyes, even so hath he stirred up his Servants and Members to persecute Christ and his True Word and Religion with lying: which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present time. For whereas the Prince of Famous Memory King Henry *the Eighth, seeing the great abuses of the Latine Mass, reformed some things therein in his Life time, and after, our late Soveraign Lord King* Edward *the Sixth, took the same wholly away, for the manifold and great Errors and Abuses of the same, and restored in the place thereof Christs Holy Supper, according to Christs own Institution, and as the Apostles used the same in the Primitive Church, the Devil seeth about now by lying to overthrow the Lords Supper again, and to restore his Latin satisfactory Mass, a thing of his own Invention and Device. And to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused the Name of me* Thomas *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *bruting abroad, That I have set up the Mass at* Canterbury, *and that I offered to say Mass at the Burial of our late Soveraign Prince King* Edward *the Sixth, and that I offered so say Mass before the Queens Highness, and at* Pauls *Church, and I wot not where. And although I have been well exercised these twenty Years to suffer and bear Evil Reports and Lyes, and have not been much grieved thereat, but have born all things quietly: Yet when untrue Reports and Lyes turn to the hinderance of Gods Truth, they are in no wise to be suffered. Wherefore these be to signifie unto the World, That it was not I that set up the Mass at* Canterbury, *but it was a False, Flattering, Lying, and Dissembling Monk, which caused Mass to be set up there without mine Advice or Counsel*; Reddat illi Dominus in die illo. *And as for offering my self to say Mass before the Queens Highness, or in any other place, I never did it, as her Grace well knoweth. But if her Grace will give me leave, I shall be ready to prove, against all that will say the contrary, that all that is contained in the Holy Communion, set out by the most Innocent and Godly Prince King* Edward *the Sixth, in his High Court of Parliament, is conformable to that Order which our Saviour Christ did both observe, and command to be observed, and which his Apostles, and the Primitive Church used many Years; whereas the Mass, in many things, not only hath no Foundation of Christ, his Apostles, nor the Primitive Church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible Abuses in it. And although many, either Unlearned or Malicious, do report, that M.* Peter Martyr *is unlearned, yet if the Queens Highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said M.* Peter Martyr, *and other four or five, which I shall chuse, will, by Gods Grace, take upon us to defend, not only the Common Prayers of the Church, the Ministration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies, but also all the Doctrine and Religion set out by our Soveraign Lord King* Edward *the Sixth, to be more pure, and according to Gods Word, than any other that hath been used in* England *these* 1000 *Years: So that Gods Word may be Judge, and that the Reasons and Proofs of both Parties may be set out in writing, to the intent, as well that all the World may examine and Judge thereon, as that no man shall start back from his Writings. And where they boast of the Faith, that hath been in the Church these* 1500 *Years, we will joyn with them in this Point; and that the same Doctrine and Usage is to be followed, which was in the Church* 1500 *Years past: And we shall prove, That the Order of the Church, set out at this present in this Realm by Act of Parliament, is the same that was used in the Church* 1500 *Years past, and so shall they be never able to prove theirs.*

This Monk was Doctor Thornton, a cruel murtherer of Gods People of whose horrible end ye shall read hereafter, partly also in the Life of Cranmer.

The same Thursday, being the 7. of *September*, Lord *Mountacute* Chief Justice, and Lord Chief Baron were delivered out of the *Tower*.

The 13. of *September*, the Reverend Father Master *Hugh Latimer* was committed to the *Tower*.

The 14. of *September*, the Bishop of *Canterbury* was committed to the *Tower*.

The 26. of *September*, one Master *Gray* of *Cambridge*, called before him one Master *Garth*, for that he would not suffer a Boy of *Peterhouse* to help him say Mass in *Pembroke-Hall*, which was before any Law was established for that behalf.

The Queen came to the *Tower* of *London* upon the Thursday, being the 28. of *September*, and upon the Saturday following she rode from the *Tower* through the City of *London*, where were made many Pageants to receive her, and so she was triumphantly brought to *Westminster* to *Whitehal*.

Amongst these Pageants stood a certain Man upon the top of the Eagle upon *Pauls* Steeple with a Flag in his hand.

Upon the Sunday, being the first Day of *October*, the Queens Highness went from *Whitehal* to *Westminster*-Abby, accompanied with the most part of the Nobility of this Realm: Namely, these, The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Marques of *Winchester*, the Earls of *Derby*, *Bedford*, *Worcester*, *Cumberland*, *Westmerland*, *Oxford*, *Sussex*, *Devonshire*, *Pembroke*, the Lord *Dacres* of the *North*, Lord *Ferris*, Lord *Cobham*, Lord *Aburgeiny*, Lord *Wentworth*, Lord *Scroupe*, Lord *Rich*, Lord *Vaus*, Lord *Howard*, Lord *Conias*, Lord *Morley*, Lord *Paget*, and the Lord *Willowby*; with other Nobles, and all the Ambassadors of divers Countries, the Mayor of *London* with all the Aldermen. Also out of the Abby, to receive her coming, came three Silver Crosses, and to the number of Fourscore, or near upon, of Singing Men, all in very Rich and Gorgeous Coapes. Amongst whom was the Dean of *Westminster*, and divers of her Chaplains, which bare every one some Enfign in their Hands, and after them followed ten Bishops, Mitred all, and their Croyser Staves in their Hands, and rich Coapes upon them every one. And in this Order they returned from *Westminster*-Hall before the Queen to the *Abby*, where she was Crowned by *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, and

Q. Mary Crowned.

and Lord Chancellor of *England*. At the time of the Coronation Doctor *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* made a Sermon to the Queens Majeſty, and to the reſt of the Nobility.

Dr. *Days* Sermon.

General pardon at the Queens Coronation. Excepted out of the Pardon.

Alſo there was a general Pardon proclaimed within the *Abby* at the ſame time of her Coronation, out of which Proclamation all the Priſoners of the *Tower* and of the *Fleet* were excepted, and 62. more. Whereof M. *Whitchurch* and M. *Grafton* were two.

The third of *October*, the Vicechancellor of *Cambridge* did challenge one Mr. *Pierſon*, for that he miniſtred ſtill the Communion in his own Pariſh, and did receive Strangers of other Pariſhes to the ſame, and would not ſay Maſs. Whereupon within two days after, he was clean diſcharged from farther miniſtring in his Cure.

Upon the Wedneſday following, the Archbiſhop of *York* was committed to the *Tower*.

Q. *Mary* rideth to the Parliament Houſe. Sergeant *Pollard* Speaker in the Parliament.

Upon Thurſday, being the 5. of *October*, 1554. the Queen rode to the Parliament in her Robes, and all the Nobility with her, and when they were ſet in the Parliament Houſe, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* made to them a ſolemn Oration, and Sergeant *Pollard* was choſen Speaker of the Parliament. The ſame day the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, and *Weſtcheſter*, were diſcharged from the Parliament and Convocation.

The Earl of *Huntington* delivered out of the *Tower*.

Alſo the 10. day of *October*, the Earl of *Huntington* was delivered out of the *Tower*.

Upon the Sunday after, being the 15. of *October*, M. *Lawrence Saunders* preached at *Alhallows* in *Breadſtreet* in the Morning: Where he declared the Abomination of the Maſs, with divers other Matters, very notably and godly. Whereof more ſhall be heard (by the Lords leave) hereafter when we come to his Story. In which his doing, as he ſhewed himſelf to be Gods Faithful Miniſter, ſo is he ſure not to be defrauded of Gods Faithful Promiſe, who ſaith, *Omnis qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor & ego illum coram Patre meo qui eſt in Cœlis, Mat.* 10. But about Noon of the ſame day, he was ſent for by the Biſhop of *London*, and from thence committed to the *Marſhalſey*.

M. *Saunders* for preaching againſt the Maſs, committed to the *Marſhalſey*.

Upon the Sunday following, being the 20. of *October*, Doctor *Weſton* preached at *Pauls* Croſs. Who in the beginning of his Sermon willed the People to pray for the Souls departed, on this wiſe: You ſhall pray for all them that be departed, that be neither in Heaven, nor Hell, but in a place not yet ſufficiently purged to come to Heaven, that they may be relieved by your devout Prayers. He named the Lords Table an Oyſter-Board. He ſaid, that the Catechiſm in Latin, lately ſet out, was abominable Hereſie, and likened the ſetters out of the ſame Catechiſm to *Julianus Apoſtata*, and the Book to a Dialogue ſet out by the ſaid *Julianus Apoſtata*, wherein Chriſt and Pilate were the Speakers; with many other things. Which Sermon, with all the points thereof, Maſter *Coverdale* the ſame time learnedly confuted by writing, which remaineth yet in my hands to be ſeen.

D. *Weſtons* Popiſh Sermon at *Pauls*.

Weſtons Sermon confuted by Mr. *Coverdale*.

In the Week following began the Diſputations in the Convocation Houſe in *Pauls* Church, whereof ſufficient hath been before declared.

The 26. day of *October*, the Vicechancellor of *Cambridge* went to *Clare-hall*, and in the preſence of Doctor *Walker*, diſplaced Doctor *Madew*, and placed Maſter *Swyborne* in the Maſterſhip there, by force of the Lord Chancellors Letters, for that he was (as they termed it) *Uxoratus*, that is, married.

Running before the Law.

The 28. day of *October*, the Papiſts in the Kings Colledge in *Cambridge* (not tarrying the making of any Law, but of their blind Zeal) had their whole Service again in the Latin Tongue, contrary to the Law then in force.

The laſt of *October*, the Vicechancellor of *Cambridge* did ſharply reprove and threaten one M. *Thrackold*, for that he challenged the ſaid Vicechancellor, who had ſuffered Maſter *Bovell* (contrary to the Statutes then in force) quietly without puniſhment to depart, notwithſtanding that he refuſed to ſwear to the Supremacy of the Queen, and the Abrogation of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

The Queens proceedings maintained in *Cambridge* before the Law.

The third day of *November*, the Vicechancellor ſent for the Curate of the Round Pariſh in *Cambridge*, commanding him not to miniſter any more in the *Engliſh* Tongue, ſaying, he would have one Uniform Order of Service throughout the Town, and that in Latin, with Maſs, which was eſtabliſhed the *Twelfth* day of this Month.

Anno 1554.

The ſixth day of *November*, Maſter *Pollard* preached at Saint *Michael's*, and in his Sermon approved Purgatory.

The 28. day of *November*, the Archdeacons Official viſited in *Hynton*, where he gave in charge to preſent all ſuch as did diſturb the Queens Proceedings, in letting the Latin Service, the ſetting up of their Altars, and ſaying of Maſs, or any part thereof: Whereby it was eaſie to ſee how theſe good Fellows meant to proceed, having the Law once on their Side, that thus readily againſt a manifeſt Law, would attempt the Puniſhment of any Man.

K. *Edwards* Acts repealed.

The 15. day of *December* there were two Proclamations at *London*; the one for the Repealing of certain Acts made by King *Edward*, and for the ſetting up of the Maſs, for the 20. day of *December* then next following: The other was, That no Man ſhould interrupt any of thoſe that would ſay Maſs.

The Parliament beginning about the 5. day of *October*, continued till the 5. of *December*. In the which Parliament were diſſolved as well all the Statutes made of *Præmunire*, in the time of K. *Henry* the Eighth, *&c.* As alſo other Laws and Statutes concerning Religion and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, decreed under King *Edward* the Sixth, as is partly above touched. In the which Parliament moreover was appointed the 20. day of *December* next inſuing the ſame year 1553. That all the old Form and Manner of Church-Service, uſed in the laſt year of King *Henry*, ſhould now again be reſtored.

On New-years Even being the laſt of *December*, the Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton* was delivered out of the *Tower*.

A Prieſt of *Canterbury* repenting his ſaying Maſs.

About this time a Prieſt of *Canterbury* ſaid Maſs on the one day, and the next day after he came into the Pulpit, and deſired all the People to forgive him; for he ſaid, he had betrayed Chriſt, not as *Judas* did, but as *Peter* did, and there made a long Sermon againſt the Maſs.

The day after New-years day, being the ſecond day of *January*, in the Year of our Lord, 1554. Four Ambaſſadors came into *London* from the Emperor, and were Honourably received. Their Names were theſe: *Le Countie de Egmont*, *Le Countie de Lalen*, *Monſieur Corire*, *Le Chancellor Nigre*.

About this time a great Number of New Biſhops, Deans, &c. were choſen, more than were made at one time ſince the Conqueſt. Their Names are theſe:

New Biſhops made.

D. Holyman *Biſhop of* Briſtol.
D. Coates *Biſhop of* Weſtcheſter.
D. Hopton *Biſhop of* Norwich.
D. Bourne *Biſhop of* Bath.
D. White *Biſhop of* Lincoln.
D. Mores *Biſhop of* Rocheſter.
D. Morgan *Biſhop of S.* Davids.
D. Poolé *Biſhop of S.* Aſaph.
D. Brookes *Biſhop of* Gloceſter.
D. Moreman, *Coadjutor to the Biſhop of* Exeter, *and after his deceaſe Biſhop of* Exeter.
D. Glin *Biſhop of* Bangor.
Maſter Fecknam *Dean of* Pauls.
D. Rainolds *Dean of* Briſtol, *with others*.

The 12. day of *January*, the Vicechancellor of *Cambridge* called a Congregation general, wherein amongſt other things he ſhewed, that the Queen would have there a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt upon the 18. day of *February* then next following, for that it was her Birthday, which was fulfilled the day appointed, and that very Solemnly.

Dr. *Crome* committed to the *Fleet*.

Upon the Saturday, being the 13. of *January*, Doctor *Crome* was committed to the *Fleet*. Alſo upon the Sunday following, one Mr. *Addington* was committed to the *Tower*. Alſo this ſame Sunday knowledge was given in the Court openly by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that the Marriage between the Queens Majeſty and the King of *Spain* was concluded, and the day following, being

The Marriage of Q. *Mary*.

Anno 1554.

being *Monday*, and the 15*th* of *January*, the Mayor with the Aldermen and certain Commons were at the Court, and there they were commanded by the Lord Chancellor to prepare the City ready to receive the ſaid King of *Spain*; who declared unto them what a Catholick, mighty, prudent, and wiſe Prince the ſaid King was, with many other commendations of him.

Upon the *Saturday* following, being the 20*th* of *January*, the Court of the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths was diſſolved.

Upon the *Thurſday* at night following, the 25*th* day of *January*; the Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton* was again committed to the *Tower*, and Sir *Edward Warner* with him. Who were brought to the *Tower* by the Mayor.

Juſtice *Hales* committed to the Marſhalſey, Mr. *Rogers* committed to Newgate.

Upon the *Saturday* following, being the 26*th* of *January*, Juſtice *Hales* was committed to the *Marſhalſey*, and the ſame day Mr. *Rogers* was committed to the *Newgate*. Upon this *Saturday*, *Sunday* and *Monday* following, the *Londoners* prepared a number of Souldiers, (by the Queens Commandment) to go into *Kent* againſt the Commons: whereof were chief Captains the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Wormwood*, Sir *Henry Jerningham*, Sir *George Haward*, and ten other Captains. Which Souldiers when they came to *Rocheſter*-Bridge, where they ſhould have ſet upon their Enemies, moſt of them (as it is ſaid) left their own Captains and came wholly to the *Kentiſh* Men, and ſo the foreſaid Captains returned to the Court both void of Men and Victory, leaving behind them both ſix pieces of Ordnance and Treaſure.

About the latter end of *January*, the Duke of *Suffolk* with his Brethren departed from his Houſe at *Shene*, and took his Voyage into *Leiceſter-ſhire*. After whom was ſent the Earl of *Huntington* to take him and bring him to *London*, who proclaimed the ſaid Duke Traytor by the way as he rode.

Strange ſights ſeen before the coming in of King *Philip*, and ſubverſion of Religion.

And thus paſſing to the Month of *February*, here is to be noted by way of ſtory, that upon the 15*th* day of the ſaid Month, being *Thurſday*, there were ſeen within the City of *London*, about Nine of the Clock in the Fore-noon ſtrange ſights. There were ſeen two Suns both ſhining at once, the one a good pretty way diſtant from the other. At the ſame time was alſo ſeen a Rainbow turned contrary, and a great deal higher than hath been accuſtomed. The common ſtanding of the Rainbow is thus ⌒ but this ſtood thus ⌣ with the Head downward, and the Feet as it were upward. Both theſe ſights were ſeen as well at *Weſtminſter*, in *Cheap-ſide*, on the South-ſide of *Pauls*, as in very many other places, and that by a great number of honeſt men: Alſo certain Aldermen went out of the *Guild-Hall* to behold the ſight.

As touching the riſing of Mr. *Wyat*, with Sir *William Cobham* and others in *Kent*, and their coming to *London* in the Month of *February*; alſo of the Queens coming to *Guild-Hall*, and her Oration there made; and after of the taking of the ſaid *Wyat* and his Company; likewiſe of the apprehenſion of the Duke of *Suffolk* with his Brother Lord *John Gray*; and the next day after of the Beheading of the Lord *Gildford* and Lady *Jane*, which was the 12*th* day of *February*, and how the day before which was the 11*th* of the ſaid Month, Lord *William Howard*, and Sir *Edward Haſtings* were ſent for the Lady *Elizabeth*; and how the ſame *Sunday*, Sir *Henry Iſeley*, Mr. *Culpepper*, and Mr. *Winter* were committed to the *Tower*, the Biſhop of *Winchеſter* the ſame day, being the 11*th* of *February*, preaching before the Queen, and perſwading her to uſe no mercy toward theſe *Kentiſh* Men, but ſevere Execution, all which was in the Month of *February*; becauſe moſt of theſe matters have been briefly touched before or elſe may be found in other Chronicles, I will ceaſe to make any further ſtory of them: having ſomewhat notwithſtanding to declare touching the Arraignment and Death of the D. of *Suffolk*.

The Lady *Elizabeth* ſent for. The Biſhop of *Winchеſter* Preacheth.

The Duke of *Suffolk* Arraigned

Upon *Saturday*, being the 17*th* day of *February*, the Duke of *Suffolk* was Arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, and the ſame day condemned to dye by his Peers; the Earl of *Arundel* was chief Judge for this day.

Upon the *Sunday* following, which was the 18*th* day of the ſaid Month, Seſſions was kept in *London*, which hath not before been kept upon the *Sunday*.

Upon the *Monday*, the 19*th* of *February*, the Lord *Cobhams* three Sons, and four other Men were Arraigned at *Weſtminſter*: of which Sons the youngeſt was condemned, whoſe name was *Thomas*, and the other two came not at the Bar, and the other four were condemned.

The Lord *John Gray* Arraigned.

Upon the *Tueſday*, being the 20*th* of *February*, the Lord *John Gray* was Arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, and there condemned the ſame day, and other three Men, whereof one was named *Nailer*.

Upon *Wedneſday*, the 21. of *February*, the Lord *Thomas Gray* and Sir *James Croft* were brought through *London* to the *Tower* with a number of Horſemen.

Upon the *Thurſday*, being the 22. of *February*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was committed to the Tower.

Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* commited to the Tower.

Upon the *Friday*, being 23. of *February*, 1554. the Duke of *Suffolk* was beheaded at the *Tower-Hill*, the order of whoſe Death here followed.

The godly End and Death of the Duke of Suffolk *Beheaded at* Tower-Hill, *An.* 1554. *February* 23.

ON *Friday* the 23. of *February*, 1554. about Nine of the Clock in the Fore-noon, the Lord *Henry Gray*, Duke of *Suffolk*, was brought forth of the *Tower* of *London* unto the Scaffold on the *Tower-Hill*, with a great Company, &c. and in his coming thither, there accompanied him Dr. *Weſton* as his ghoſtly Father, notwithſtanding, as it ſhould ſeem, againſt the will of the ſaid Duke. For when the Duke went up to the Scaffold, the ſaid *Weſton* being on the left hand, preſſed to go up with him. The Duke with his hand, put him down again off the Stairs: and *Weſton*, taking hold of the Duke forced him down likewiſe. And as they aſcended the ſecond time, the Duke again put him down.

The order and manner of the Duke of *Suffolks* Death. Dr. *Weſton* the Dukes ghoſtly Father againſt the Dukes will.

Weſton put back by the Dukes hand.

Then *Weſton* ſaid, that it was the Queens pleaſure he ſhould ſo do. Wherewith the Duke caſting his hands abroad, aſcended up the Scaffold, and paſed a pretty while after. And then he ſaid: *Maſters, I have offended the Queen, and her Laws, and thereby am juſtly condemned to dye, and am willing to dye, deſiring all Men to be obedient, and I pray God that this my Death may be an enſample to all Men, beſeeching you all to bear me witneſs, that I dye in the Faith of Chriſt, truſting to be ſaved by his Blood only, and by no other Trumpery, the which died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and ſtedfaſtly truſt in him. And I do repent, deſiring you all to pray to God for me; and that when you ſee my Breath depart from me, you will pray to God that he may receive my Soul.* And then he deſired all Men to forgive him, ſaying, that the Queen had forgiven him.

The words of the Duke to the People.

The godly Faith and Confeſſion of the Duke at his Death.

Then Mr. *Weſton* declared with a loud Voice, that the Queens Majeſty had forgiven him. With that divers of the Standers-by ſaid with meetly, good and audible Voice: *Such Forgiveneſs God ſend thee*, meaning Dr. *Weſton*. Then the Duke kneeled down upon his Knees, and ſaid the Pſalm *Miſerere mei Deus* unto the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to Heaven. And when he had ended the Pſalm, he ſaid, *In manus tuas Domine commendo Spiritum meum, &c.* Then he aroſe and ſtood up, and delivered his Cap and his Scarf unto the Executioner.

The Duke prayeth.

Then the ſaid Executioner kneeled down, and asked the Duke forgiveneſs. And the Duke ſaid, God forgive thee, and I do: and when thou doſt thine Office, I pray thee do it well, and bring me out of this World quickly, and God have mercy to thee. Then ſtood there a man and ſaid, My Lord, how ſhall I do for the Mony that you do owe me? And the Duke ſaid, Alas good Fellow, I pray thee trouble me not now, but go thy way to my Officers. Then he knit a Kercher about his Face, and kneeled down and ſaid, *Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.* unto the end. And then he ſaid, *Chriſt have mercy upon me*, and laid down his Head on the Block, and the Executioner took the Ax, and at the firſt chop ſtrook off his Head, and held it up to the People, &c.

The Duke prepareth him to Death.

The End of the Duke of *Suffolk*.

The ſame day a number of Priſoners had their Pardon, and came through the City with their Halters about their Necks. There were in (*a*) number about 200.

(*a*) The number of thoſe were 240. which with Halters about their Necks paſſed through the City to *Weſtminſter*, and had their Pardon.

Upon

Upon the *Saturday*, the 24*th* of *February*, Sir *William Sentlow* was committed as Priſoner to the Maſter of the Horſe to be kept. This Sir *William* was at this time one of the Lady *Elizabeths* Gentlemen.

Upon the *Sunday*, being the 25*th* of *February*, Sir *John Rogers* was committed to the *Tower*.

Prieſts divorced.

In this Week, all ſuch Prieſts within the Dioceſs of *London* as were married, were divorced from their Livings, and commanded to bring their Wives within a fortnight, that they might be likewiſe divorced from them. This the Biſhop did of his own power.

Gentlemen ſent into *Kent* to be Executed.

Upon the *Tueſday* in the ſame Week, being the 27*th* of *February*, certain Gentlemen of *Kent* were ſent into *Kent*, to be Executed there. Their Names were theſe, the two *Mantels*, two *Knevets*, and *Bret*; with theſe Mr. *Rudſton* alſo and certain others were condemned, and ſhould have been Executed, but they had their Pardon.

Mr. *Rudſton* with certain others pardoned.

As touching the foreſaid Mr. *Mantel* the Elder, here by the way is to be noted, that as he was led to Execution, and at his firſt caſting under the Gallows, the Rope brake. Then they would have had him recanted the Truth, and received the Sacrament of the Altar (as they term it) and then they ſaid he ſhould have the Queens Pardon: but Mr. *Mantel*, like a worthy Gentleman, refuſed their Serpentine counſel, and choſe rather to dye, than to live for diſhonouring of God.

Moreover, as touching the ſaid Mr. *Mantel*, for that he was reported falſly to have fallen from the conſtancy of his Profeſſion; to clear himſelf thereof, and to reprove the ſiniſter ſurmiſe of his Recantation, he wrote this brief Apology in purgation of himſelf: the Copy whereof you ſhall hear.

The Apology of Mr. *Mantel* the Elder.

March 20. The Belief of Mr. *Mantel* the Elder.

PErceiving that already certain falſe Reports are raiſed of me concerning my Anſwer in the behalf of my Belief, whiles I was Priſoner in the Tower *of* London, *and conſidering how ſore a matter it is to be an occaſion of* Offence *to any of thoſe Little ones that believe in Chriſt: I have thought it the duty of a Chriſtian man, as near as I can (with the Truth) to take away this* Offence. *It pleaſed the Queens Majeſty to ſend unto me Mr. Doctor* Bourne, *unto whom at the firſt meeting I acknowledged my Faith in all points to agree with the four Creeds, that is, the common Creed, the Creed of* Nicene, Quicunque vult, *and* Te Deum laudamus.

Dr. *Bourne* ſent to Mr. *Mantel*.

Further, as concerning Confeſſion and Penance, I declare that I could be content to ſhew unto any learned Miniſter of Chriſts Church *any thing that troubled my Conſcience, and of ſuch a man I would moſt willingly hear Abſolution pronounced.*

Mr. *Mantel* oppoſed in the Sacrament.

Touching the Sacrament of the Altar (as he termed it) I ſaid that I believed Chriſt to be there preſent as the Holy Ghoſt meant, when theſe words were written, Hoc eſt corpus meum.

Further, when this would not ſatisfie, I deſired him to conſider, that I was a condemned Man to dye by a Law, and that it was more meet for me to ſeek a readineſs and preparation to Death. And inſomuch as I diſſented not from him in any Article of the Chriſtian Faith neceſſary to Salvation, I deſired him for Gods ſake no more to trouble me with ſuch matters, as which to believe, is neither Salvation; nor not to believe, damnation. He anſwered, that if I diſſented but in the leaſt matter from the Catholick Church, my Soul was in great danger; therefore much more in this great matter, alledging this Text, Qui offenderit in minimo, factus eſt reus omnium, *i.* He that offendeth in the leaſt of theſe, is guilty of them all. *Yea, quoth I,* Verum ex hiſce mandatis, *i.* It is true of theſe Commandments of God. *To this I deſired him to conſider it was not my matter, nor could I in theſe matters keep Diſputation, nor minded ſo to do; and therefore to take theſe few words for a full Anſwer, that I not only in the matter of the Sacrament, but alſo in all other matters of Religion, believe as the holy Catholick Church of Chriſt (grounded upon the Prophets and Apoſtles) believeth. But upon this word* Church *we agreed not; for I took exception at the Anti-chriſtian Popiſh Church.*

Matth. 5. James 2.

The Church.

Then fell we in talk of the Maſs, wherein we agreed not; for I both for the occaſion of Idolatry, and alſo the clear ſubverſion of Chriſts Inſtitution, thought it naught; and he, è contra, upon certain conſiderations ſuppoſed it good. I found fault that it was accounted a Sacrifice propitiatory for Sin, and at certain other applications of it. But he ſaid that it was not a Propitiatory Sacrifice for Sin (for the death of Chriſt only was the Sacrifice) and this but a commemoration of the ſame. Then, if ye think ſo, (certain blaſphemous Collects left out) I could be content (were it not for offending my poor Brethren that believe in Chriſt, which know not ſo much) to hear your Maſs. See, quoth he, how vain glory toucheth you. Not ſo Sir, quoth I, I am not now I thank God, in caſe to be vain-glorious.

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Dr. *Bourn* and M. *Mantel* diſagree in the Maſs.

Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a Communion. Yea, ſaith he, one Prieſt ſaying Maſs here, and another there, and the third in another place, &c. is a Communion. This agreeth ſcarcely with theſe words of Paul, *ſaid I,* Non in melius, ſed in deterius convenitis, *i.* Ye come not after a better manner, but after a worſe. *Yea, and it is a Communion too, ſaid he, when they come together. Now draweth on the time (quoth he) that I muſt depart from you to the Court, to ſay Maſs before the Queen, and muſt ſignifie unto her in what caſe I find you, and methink I find you ſore ſeduced. Then I ſaid, I pray you report the beſt: for I truſt you find me not obſtinate. What ſhall I ſay? are ye content to hear Maſs, and to receive the Sacrament of the Maſs? I beſeech you, ſaid I, ſignifie unto her Majeſty, that I am neither obſtinate nor ſtubborn; for time and perſwaſion may alter me; but as yet my Conſcience is ſuch, that I can neither hear Maſs, nor receive the Sacrament after that ſort. Thus, after certain Requeſts made to the Queens Majeſty concerning other matters, he departed.*

Bourn maketh the Maſs a Communion.

1 Cor. 11.

Mantel neither obſtinate nor ſtubborn.

The next day he came to me again, and brought with him St. Cyprians *Works; for ſo I had required him to do the day before, becauſe I would ſee his Sermon* De Mortalitate. *He had in this Book turned and interlined certain places both concerning the Church and the Sacrament, which he willed me to read. I read as much as my time would ſerve, and at his next coming I ſaid, that I was wholly of* Cyprians *mind in the matter of the Sacrament. Dr.* Weſton *and Dr.* Mallet *came after to me, whom I anſwered much after that ſort as I did the other. Dr.* Weſton *brought in the place of St.* Cyprian, Panis iſte non effigie, ſed natura mutatus, &c. *I aſked of him how* Natura *was taken in the Convocation-Houſe, in the Diſputation upon the place of* Theodoret.

To be ſhort, Dr. Bourne *came often unto me, and I always ſaid unto him, that I was not minded, nor able to diſpute in matters of Religion: but I believed as the holy Catholick Church of Chriſt, grounded upon the Prophets and Apoſtles, doth believe: and namely in the matter of the Sacrament, as the holy Fathers, St.* Cyprian *and St.* Auguſtine *do write, and believed; and this Anſwer and none other they had of me in effect; what words ſoever have been ſpread abroad of me, that I ſhould be conformable to all things, &c. The truth is, I never heard Maſs, nor received the Sacrament during the time of my Impriſonment.*

Mr. *Mantel* conſtant in his Religion.

One time he willed me to be confeſſed. I ſaid, I am content. We kneeled down to pray together in a Window. I began without Benedicite, *deſiring him not to look at my hand for any ſuperſtitious particular enumeration of my Sins. Therewith he was called away to the Council;* & ego liberatus. *Thus much I bear only for my Life, as God knoweth. If in this I have offended any Chriſtian, from the bottom of my heart I ask them forgiveneſs. I truſt God hath forgiven me, who knoweth that I durſt never deny him before men, leſt he ſhould deny me before his Heavenly Father.*

Thus I have left behind me written with mine own hand the effect of all the Talk, eſpecially of the worſt that ever I granted unto, to the uttermoſt I can remember, as God knoweth. All the whole Communication I have not written; for it were both too long and too fooliſh ſo to do. Now I beſeech the living God, which hath received me to his mercy, and brought to paſs, that I may ſtedfaſt and undefiled in his Truth, at utter defiance and deteſtation of all Papiſtical and Antichriſtian Doctrine; I beſeech him (I ſay) to keep and defend all his choſen for

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for his Names ſake, from the Tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome *that Antichriſt, and from the aſſault of all his Satellites. Gods indignation is known: he will try and prove who be his. Amend your lives. Deny not Chriſt before men, leſt he deny you before his heavenly Father. Fear not to loſe your lives for him; for ye ſhall find them again. God hold his merciful hand over this Realm, and avert the Plagues imminent from the ſame. God ſave the Queen, and ſend her knowledge in his Truth,* Amen. *Pray, pray, pray ye Chriſtians, and comfort your ſelves with the Scriptures.*

Written the 2. *of* March, An. 1554. *by me* Walter Mantel *Priſoner, whom both God and the World hath forgiven his Offences.* Amen.

And thus much concerning the purgation of M. *Walter Mantel*, who if he had conſented unto the Queen, what time ſhe ſent D. *Bourne* unto him to deny his Faith, it is not otherwiſe to be thought, but he had had his pardon, and eſcaped with life.

March 3. Sir *Gawen Carew*, and M. *Gibbes* brought to the *Tower*.

Upon the Saturday, being the 3. of *March*, Sir *Gawen Carew*, and M. *Gibbes* were brought through *London* to the *Tower* with a Company of Horſemen.

In *London* the 17. day of *March*, every Houſholder was commanded to appear before the Aldermen of their Ward, and there were commanded, that they, their Wives and Servants, ſhould prepare themſelves to ſhrift, and receive the Sacrament at *Eaſter*, and that neither they, nor any of them ſhould depart out of the City, until *Eaſter* was paſt.

March 18. L. *Elizabeth* brought to the *Tower*.

Upon the Sunday following, being the 18. day of *March*, the Lady *Elizabeth*, of whom mention was made before, the Queens Siſter, was brought to the *Tower*.

March 24.

Upon *Eaſter* Even, being the 24. of *March*, the Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *William Cobham* were delivered out of the *Tower*.

March 25. The Pix riſen out of the Sepulchre from all the Watchmen at St. *Pancraſs* Church.

The 25. day (being *Eaſter-day*) in the morning, at S. *Pancraſs* in *Cheap*, the Crucifix with the Pixe were taken out of the Sepulchre, before the Prieſt roſe to the Reſurrection: ſo that when after his accuſtomed manner he put his hand into the Sepulchre, and ſaid very devoutly, *Surrexit, non eſt hic*, he found his words true, for he was not there indeed: Whereupon being half diſmayed, they conſulted amongſt themſelves whom they thought to be likelieſt to do this thing. In which debatement they remembred one *Marſh*, which a little before had been put from that Parſonage becauſe he was married, to whoſe charge they laid it. But when they could not prove it, being brought before the Mayor, they then burthened him to have kept company with his Wife, ſince that they were by commandment divorced. Whereto he anſwered, *That he thought the Queen had done him wrong to take from him both his Living and his Wife:* which Words were then noted, and taken very grievouſly, and he and his Wife was both committed to ſeveral Counters, notwithſtanding that he had been very ſick.

M. *Marſh* burthened with ſuſpicion and with his Marriage.

April 8: A Cat hanged with a ſhaven Crown upon the Gallows in *Cheap*.

The 8*th* of *April* there was a Cat hanged upon a Gallows at the Croſs in *Cheap*, apparelled like a Prieſt ready to ſay Maſs, with a ſhaven Crown. Her two fore-Feet were tied over her Head, with a round Paper like a Wafer-cake put between them: whereon aroſe great evil Will againſt the City of *London*. For the Queen and the Biſhops were very angry withal; and therefore the ſame Afternoon there was a Proclamation, that whoſoever could bring forth the Party that did hang up the Cat, ſhould have xx. Nobles, which Reward was afterwards increaſed to xx. Marks, but none could or would earn it.

The number and occaſion of the Gallowſes ſet up in the City of *London*.

As touching the firſt occaſion of ſetting up this Gallows in *Cheapſide*, here is to be underſtood, that after the Sermon of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (above-mentioned) made before the Queen for the ſtrait Execution of *Wyats* Souldiers, immediately upon the ſame, the 13. of *February*, were ſet up a great number of Gallowſes in divers places of the City; namely, two in *Cheapſide*, one at *Leaden-Hall*, one at *Billings-gate*, one at St. *Magnus Church*, one in *Smithfield*, one in *Fleetſtreet*, four in *Southwark*, one at *Aldgate*, one at *Biſhopsgate*, one at *Aldersgate*, one at *Newgate*, one at *Ludgate*, one at St. *James* Park Corner, one at *Cripplegate*: all which Gibbets and Gallowſes, to the number of 20, there remained for Terrour of other, from the 13. of *February* till the 4. of *June*, and then at the coming in of King *Philip* were taken down.

M. Wyats words touching the Lady *Elizabeth*.

The 11. day of *April* was Sir *Thomas Wyat* beheaded and quartered at the *Tower-Hill*, where he uttered theſe Words touching the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Devonſhire*. *Concerning*, ſaid he, *what I have ſaid of others in my Examination, to charge any others as partakers of my doings, I accuſe neither my Lady* Elizabeths *Grace, nor my Lord of* Devonſhire. *I cannot accuſe them, neither am I able to ſay, that to my knowledge they knew any thing of my Riſing.* And when Dr. *Weſton* told him, that his Confeſſion was otherwiſe before the Council, he anſwered: *That which I ſaid then, I ſaid; but that which I ſay now, is true.*

April 17. Sir *James Croft*. M. *Winter*. Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*.

Upon the Tueſday, being the 17. of *April*, Sir *James Croft* and Mr. *Winter* were brought to the *Guild-Hall*, with whom alſo the ſame time, and to the ſame place was brought Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, and there arraigned of Treaſon, for that he was ſuſpected to be of the Conſpiracy with the Duke of *Suffolk* and the reſt, againſt the Queen: where he ſo learnedly and wiſely behaved himſelf (as well in clearing his own caſe, as alſo in opening ſuch Laws of the Realm as were then alledged againſt him) that the Queſt, which was charged with this matter could not in Conſcience but find him not guilty; for the which, the ſaid 12. Perſons of the Queſt, being alſo ſubſtantial Men of the City, were bound in the Sum of 500 pounds apiece to appear before the Queens Council at a day appointed, there to anſwer ſuch things as ſhould be laid againſt them for his acquitting. Which Queſt appeared accordingly before the Council in the *Star-Chamber* upon Wedneſday, being the 25. of *April*, and S. *Marks* day. From whence, after certain queſtioning, they were committed to Priſon: *Emanuel Lucar* and Mr. *Wheſtone* were committed to the *Tower*, and the other ten to the *Fleet*.

The Queſt troubled for Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*.

April 25.

As concerning the Condemnation of *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of Dr. *Ridley*, and Mr. *Latimer*, which was the 20. of this Month of *April*, and alſo of their Diſputations, becauſe we have ſaid enough before, it ſhall not need now to beſtow any further rehearſal thereof.

Lord *Thomas Gray* beheaded April 27.

The Friday next following, after the Condemnation of them, the 27. of *April*, Lord *Thomas Gray*, the late Duke of *Suffolks* Brother, was beheaded at *Tower-Hill*.

April 28.

Upon the Saturday, being the 28. of *April*, Sir *James Croft* and M. *Winter* were again brought to the *Guild-Hall*, where Sir *James Croft* was arraigned and condemned; and becauſe the day was far ſpent, M. *Winter* was not arraigned.

William Thomas condemned. May 27.

Upon the Thurſday, being the 17. of *May*, *William Thomas* was arraigned at the *Guild-Hall*, and there the ſame day condemned, who the next day after was hanged, drawn and quartered. His Accuſation was, for conſpiring the Queens death: which how true it was I have not to ſay. This is certain, that he made a right godly end, and wrote many fruitful Exhortations, Letters and Sonnets in the Priſon before his death.

A certain Diſputation intended to be had at *Cambridge*.

In the Month of *May* it was given out, and bruted abroad, that a ſolemn Diſputation ſhould be holden at *Cambridge* (as ye heard before in M. *Ridleys* Letter, *p.* 75.) between M. *Bradford*, M. *Saunders*, M. *Rogers*, and other of that ſide, and the Doctors of both the Univerſities on the other ſide, like as had been in *Oxford* before, as you have heard. Whereupon the godly Preachers which were in Priſon having word thereof, albeit they were deſtitute of their Books, neither were ignorant of the purpoſe of the Adverſaries, and how the cauſe was prejudiced before: alſo how the Diſputations were confuſedly handled at *Oxford*: nevertheleſs they thought not to refuſe the offer of Diſputation, ſo that they might be quietly and indifferently heard; and therefore wiſely pondering the matter with themſelves, by a publick conſent directed out of Priſon a Delaration of their mind by Writing, the 8*th*. day of *May*. Wherein firſt, as touching the Diſputation, although they knew that they ſhould do no good, whereas all things were ſo predetermined before; yet nevertheleſs they would not deny to diſpute, ſo that the Diſputation might be either before the Queen,

The Preachers in Priſon refuſe not to Diſpute before indifferent Judges.

or

or before the Council, or before the Parliament-Houſes, or elſe if they might diſpute by Writing: for elſe if the matter were brought to the Doctors handling in their own Schools, they have ſufficient proof, they ſaid, by the Experience of *Oxford*, what little good will be done at *Cambridge*; and ſo conſequently declaring the Faith and Doctrine of their Religion, and exhorting the People withal to ſubmit themſelves with all patience and humility, either to the will or puniſhment of the Higher Powers, they appealed in the end from them to be their Judges in this behalf, and ſo ended their Proteſtation, the Copy and Contents whereof I thought not unfit here to be inſerted.

A Copy of a certain Declaration drawn and ſent out of Priſon by Mr. Bradford, *Mr.* Saunders, *and divers other godly Preachers, concerning their Diſputation, and Doctrine of their Religion, as followeth:*

A Declaration of the godly Preachers, written and ſent abroad out of Priſon.

BEcauſe we hear that it is determined of the Magiſtrates, and ſuch as be in Authority, eſpecially of the Clergy, to ſend us ſpeedily out of the Priſons of the *Kings-Bench*, the *Fleet*, the *Marſhalſey*, and *Newgate*, where at this preſent we are, and of long time ſome of us have been, not as Rebels, Traytors, Seditious Perſons, Thieves, or Tranſgreſſors of any Laws of this Realm, Inhibitions, Proclamations, or Commandments of the Queens Highneſs, or of any of the Councils (Gods Name be praiſed therefore) but alonely for the Conſcience we have to God, and his moſt holy Word and Truth, upon moſt certain knowledge: becauſe we ſay, we hear that it is determined, we ſhall be ſent to one of the Univerſities of *Cambridge* or *Oxford*, there to diſpute with ſuch as are appointed in that behalf: in that we purpoſe not to diſpute otherwiſe than by Writing, except it may be before the Queens Highneſs and her Council, or before the Parliament-Houſes; and therefore perchance it will be bruted abroad, that we are not able to maintain by the Truth of Gods Word, and the conſent of the true and Catholick Church of Chriſt, the Doctrine we have generally and ſeverally taught, and ſome of us have written and ſet forth, where-through the godly and ſimple may be offended, and ſomewhat weakened: we have thought it our bounden duty now whilſt we may, by writing to publiſh and notifie the Cauſes why we will not diſpute otherwiſe than is above-ſaid, to prevent the Offences which might come thereby.

A Talk of a pretended Diſputation to be had at *Cambridge*.

The Cauſes why they will not otherwiſe diſpute than before indifferent Judges. The matter of diſputation is againſt Gods Word.

Firſt, Becauſe it is evidently known unto the whole World; that the Determinations of both the Univerſities in matters of Religion, eſpecially wherein we ſhould diſpute, are directly againſt Gods Word, yea, againſt their own Determinations in the time of our late Soveraign Lord and moſt godly Prince, King *Edward*: and further it is known they be our open Enemies, and have already condemned our Cauſes, before any Diſputation had of the ſame.

The ſecond Cauſe.

Secondly, Becauſe the Prelates and Clergy do not ſeek either us or the Verity, but our deſtruction and their glory. For if they had ſought us (as Charity requireth) then would they have called us forth here-abouts before their Laws were ſo made, that frankly and without peril we *might* have ſpoken our Conſciences. Again, If they had ſought for the Verity, they would not have concluded of Controverſies before they had been diſputed; ſo that it eaſily appeareth, that they ſeek their own glory and our deſtruction, and not us and the Verity: and therefore we have good cauſe to refuſe Diſputation, as a thing which ſhall not further prevail than to the ſetting forth of their glory, and the ſuppreſſion of the Verity.

In the Diſputation neither Charity nor Verity ſought for.

The third Cauſe. The Judges of the Diſputation profeſſed Enemies againſt the Truth.

Thirdly, Becauſe the Cenſors and Judges (as we hear who they be) are manifeſt Enemies to the Truth, and that which worſe is, obſtinate Enemies, before whom Pearls are not to be caſt, by the Commandment of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and by his own Example. That they be ſuch, their doings of late at *Oxford*, and in the Convocation-Houſe in *October* laſt paſt, do moſt evidently appear.

The fourth Cauſe. Want of Books neceſſary for Diſputation.

Fourthly, Becauſe ſome of us have been in Priſon theſe 8 or 9 Months, where we have had no Books, no Paper, no Pen, no Ink, or convenient place for ſtudy, we think we ſhould do evil, thus ſuddenly to deſcend into Diſputation with them, which may alledge, as they liſt, the Fathers and their Teſtimonies, becauſe our Memories have not that which we have read ſo readily, as to reprove, when they ſhall report and wreſt the Authors to their purpoſe, or to bring forth that we may have there for our advantage. Anno 1554.

The fifth Cauſe. Example of the Diſputation at *Oxford*.

Fifthly, Becauſe in Diſputation we ſhall not be permitted to proſecute our Arguments, but be ſtopt when we ſhould ſpeak; one ſaying this, another that, the third his mind, &c. As was done to the godly Learned Fathers, eſpecially Dr. *Ridley* at *Oxford*, who could not be permitted to declare his mind and meaning of the Propoſitions, and had oftentimes half a dozen at once ſpeaking againſt him, always letting him to proſecute his Argument, and to anſwer accordingly: we will not ſpeak of the hiſſing, ſcoffing and taunting, which wonderfully then was uſed. If on this ſort, and much worſe they handled theſe Fathers, much more will they be ſhameleſs bold with us, if we ſhould enter into Diſputation with them.

The ſixth Cauſe.

Sixthly, Becauſe the Notaries, that ſhall receive and write the Diſputations ſhall be of their appointment, and ſuch as either do not or dare not favour the Truth, and therefore muſt write either to pleaſe them, or elſe they themſelves (the Cenſors and Judges we mean) at their pleaſure will put to, and take from that which is written by the Notaries; who cannot, or muſt not have in their cuſtody that which they write, longer than the Diſputation endureth, as their doings at *Oxford* declareth. No Copy nor Scroul could any man have by their good will. For the Cenſors and Judges will have all delivered into their hands. Yea, if any man was ſeen there to write, as the report is, the ſame man was *ſent for*, and his Writings taken from him: ſo muſt the Diſputation ſerve only for the glory, not of God, but of the Enemies of his Truth.

Notaries not indifferent.

For theſe cauſes we all think it ſo neceſſary not to diſpute with them, as if we did diſpute we ſhould do that which they deſire and purpoſely ſeek, to promote the Kingdom of Antichriſt, and to ſuppreſs (as much as may be) the Truth. We will not ſpeak of the offence that might come to the godly, when they ſhould hear, by the report of our Enemies, our Anſwers and Arguments framed (you may be ſure) for their Fantaſies, to the ſlandering of the Verity.

Exceptions taken againſt the Adverſaries.

Therefore we publiſh, and by this Writing notifie unto the whole Congregation and Church of *England*, that for theſe aforeſaid cauſes we will not diſpute with them, otherwiſe than with the Pen, unleſs it be before the Queens Highneſs and her Council, or before the Houſes of the Parliament, as is above-ſaid. If they will write, we will anſwer, and by writing confirm and prove out of the infallible Verity, even the very Word of God, and by the teſtimony of the good and moſt ancient Fathers in Chriſts Church, this our Faith and every piece thereof, which hereafter we, in a Sum, do write and ſend abroad purpoſely, that our good Brethren and Siſters in the Lord may know it: and to ſeal up the ſame, we are ready through Gods help and Grace to give our lives to the Halter or Fire, or otherwiſe, as God ſhall appoint: humbly requiring, and in the bowels of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt beſeeching all that fear God, to behave themſelves as obedient Subjects to the Queens Highneſs and the Superiour Powers, which are ordained of God under her, rather after our example to give their Heads to the Block, than in any point to rebel, or once to mutter againſt the Lords Anointed; we mean our Soveraign Lady Queen *Mary*, into whoſe heart we beſeech the Lord of Mercy plentifully to pour the wiſdom and grace of his holy Spirit, now and for ever. *Amen.*

Conditions aſſigned how they would diſpute.

Exhortation to Obedience.

The Confeſſion and Faith of the priſoned Preachers.

Firſt, We confeſs and believe all the Canonical Books of the Old Teſtament, and all the Books of the New Teſtament, to be the very true Word of God, and to be written by the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, and are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the Judge in all Controverſies and matters of Religion.

The Catholick Church.

Secondly, We confeſs and believe, that the Catholick Church, which is the Spouſe of Chriſt, as a moſt obedient and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the Doctrine of theſe Books in all matters of Religion, and therefore is ſhe to be heard accordingly; ſo that thoſe which will not hear this Church thus following and obeying the word of

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of her Husband, we account as Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, according to this ſaying, *If he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as a Heathen.*

The Creed.

Thirdly, We believe and confeſs all the Articles of Faith and Doctrine ſet forth in the Symbol of the Apoſtles, which we commonly call the Creed, and in the Symbols of the Councils of *Nice*, kept *An. Dom.* 324. of *Conſtantinople*, *An. Dom.* 384. of *Epheſus*, kept *An. Dom.* 432. of *Chalcedon*, kept *An. Dom.* 454. of *Toletum* the firſt and fourth. Alſo in the Symbols of *Athanaſius*, *Ireneus*, *Tertullian*, and of *Damaſus*, which was about the year of our Lord 376. we confeſs and believe (we ſay) the Doctrine of the Symbols generally and particularly; ſo that whoſoever doth otherwiſe, we hold the ſame to erre from the Truth.

Juſtification by Faith only in Chriſt.

Fourthly, We believe and confeſs concerning Juſtification, that as it cometh only from Gods mercy through Chriſt, ſo it is perceived and had of none, which be of years of diſcretion, otherwiſe than by Faith only: which Faith is not an opinion, but a certain perſwaſion wrought by the Holy Ghoſt in the mind and heart of Man, wherethrough as the Mind is illuminated, ſo the heart is ſuppled to ſubmit it ſelf to the will of God unfeignedly, and ſo ſheweth forth an inherent Righteouſneſs, which is to be diſcerned in the Article of Juſtification, from the Righteouſneſs which God endueth us withal, juſtifying us, although inſeparably, they go together. And this we do not for curioſity or contention ſake, but for Conſcience ſake, that it might be quiet, which it can never be, if we confound without diſtinction Forgiveneſs of Sins, and Chriſts Juſtice imputed to us, with Regeneration and inherent Righteouſneſs. By this we diſallow Papiſtical Doctrine of Free-will, of works of Supererogation, of Merits, of the neceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion and Satisfaction to God-wards.

What Faith is.

Righteouſneſs in man, Righteouſneſs without man.

The Doctrine of free Juſtification defended not for curioſity, but for quiet of Conſcience.

Service in the Vulgar Tongue.

Fifthly, We confeſs and believe concerning the exteriour Service of God, that it ought to be according to the Word of God; and therefore in the Congregation all things publick ought to be done in ſuch a Tongue as may be moſt to edifie, and not in Latin, where the People underſtand not the ſame.

Invocation to God alone.

Sixthly, We confeſs and believe that God only by Chriſt Jeſus is to be prayed unto and called upon; and therefore we diſallow Invocation or Prayer to Saints departed this life.

Purgatory and Maſſes ſuffragatory denied.

Seventhly, We confeſs and believe, that as a man departeth this life, ſo ſhall he be judged in the laſt day generally, and in the mean ſeaſon is entred either into the ſtate of the Bleſſed for ever, or Damned for ever; and therefore is either paſt all help, or elſe needs no help of any in this life. By reaſon whereof we affirm Purgatory, Maſſes of *Scala cæli*, Trentals, and ſuch Suffrages as the Popiſh Church doth obtrude as neceſſary, to be the Doctrine of Antichriſt.

Two Sacraments.

Eighthly, We confeſs and believe the Sacraments of Chriſt, which be Baptiſm and the Lords Supper, that they ought to be miniſtred according to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, concerning the ſubſtantial parts of them: and that they be no longer Sacraments, than they be had in uſe, and uſed to the end for which they were inſtituted.

The Supper to be miniſtred in both kinds.

And here we plainly confeſs, that the mutilation of the Lords Supper, and the ſubtraction of the one kind from the Lay People, is Antichriſtian. And ſo is the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation of the Sacramental Bread and Wine after the words of Conſecration, as they be called.

Againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

Item, The Adoration of the Sacrament with honour due unto God: the reſervation and carrying about of the ſame.

Againſt Adoration of the Sacrament.

Item, The Maſs to be a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the quick and dead, or a work that pleaſeth God.

The Maſs to be no Propitiatory Sacrifice.

All theſe we believe and confeſs to be Antichriſts Doctrine: as is the inhibition of Marriage as unlawful to any ſtate. And we doubt not by Gods Grace, but we ſhall be able to prove all our Confeſſions here to be moſt true by the verity of Gods Word, and conſent of the Catholick Church, which followeth and hath followed the governance of Gods Spirit, and the judgment of his Word.

Inhibition of Prieſts marriage Antichriſtian.

And this through the Lords help we will do, either in Diſputation by word before the Queens Highneſs and her Council, either before the Parliament Houſes, of whom we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, or elſe with our Pens, whenſoever we ſhall be thereto by them that have Authority, required and commanded.

In the mean ſeaſon, as obedient Subjects, we ſhall behave our ſelves towards all that be in Authority, and not ceaſe to pray to God for them, that he would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the Spirit of wiſdom and grace. And ſo we heartily deſire, and humbly pray all men to do, in no point conſenting to any kind of Rebellion or Sedition againſt our Sovereign Lady the Queens Highneſs: but where they cannot obey, but they muſt diſobey God, there to ſubmit themſelves with all patience and humility to ſuffer as the will and pleaſure of the higher Powers ſhall adjudge: as we are ready through the goodneſs of the Lord to ſuffer whatſoever they ſhall adjudge us unto, rather than we will conſent to any Doctrine contrary to this which we here confeſs, unleſs we ſhall be juſtly convinced thereof, either by writing or by word, before ſuch Judges as the Queens Highneſs and her Council, or the Parliament Houſes ſhall appoint. For the Univerſities and Clergy have condemned our cauſes already by the bigger, but not by the better part, without all diſputation of the ſame: and therefore moſt juſtly we may, and do appeal from them to be our Judges in this behalf, except it may be in Writing, that to all Men the matter may appear. The Lord of mercy endue us all with the Spirit of his Truth and Grace of perſeverance therein unto the end. *Amen.*

Exhortation againſt Rebellion.

The bigger part againſt the better Appeal from the Univerſity Doctors, as not indifferent Judges.

The 8th *day of* May, *Anno Dom.* 1554.

Robert Menaven, alias *Robert Ferrar.*	*John Hooper.* *Edward Crome.*
Rowland Taylor.	*John Rogers,*
John Philpot.	*Laurence Saunders.*
John Bradford.	*Edmund Laurence.*
John Wigorne, and *Glouc. Epiſcopus*, alias	*J. P.* *T. M.*

The Name of the priſoned Preachers ſubſcribing to this Declaration.

To theſe things aboveſaid, do I Miles Coverdale, *late of* Exon, *conſent and agree, with theſe mine afflicted Brethren being Priſoners, mine own hand.*

And thus much concerning this preſent Declaration ſubſcribed by theſe Preachers, which was on the 8th day of *May*.

May 19. Lady *Elizabeth.* Sir *John Williams.*

Furthermore, the 19th day of the ſaid Month, the Lady *Elizabeth*, Siſter to the Queen, was brought to the *Tower*, and committed to the cuſtody of Sir *John Williams*, after Lord *Williams* of *Tame*, of whom her Highneſs was gently and courteouſly intreated: who afterward was had to *Woodſtock*, and there committed to the keeping of Sir *Henry Benifield* Knight, of Oxborough in *Norfolk*: who on the other ſide both forgetting her eſtate, and his own duty (as it is reported) ſhewed himſelf more hard and ſtreight unto her, than either cauſe was given of her part, or reaſon of his own part would have led him, if either grace or wiſdom in him might have ſeen before, what danger afterward might have enſued thereof. Whereof we have to intreat more at large (the Lord willing) hereafter in the ſtory and life of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Sir *Henry Benifield.*

July 20. King *Philip* arriveth at *Southampton*: King *Philip* carrieth his Sword naked coming into *England.* The Keys of *Southampton* delivered to K. *Philip.*

Upon the Friday following, being the 20th of *July*, and St. *Margarets* day, the Prince of *Spain* landed at *Southampton*. The Prince himſelf was the firſt that landed: who immediately as he ſet foot upon the Land, drew out his Sword, and carried it naked in his hand a good pretty way.

Then met him, a little without the Town, the Mayor of *Southampton* with certain Commoners, who delivered the Keys of the Town unto the Prince, who removed his Sword (naked as it was) out of his right into his left hand, and ſo received the Keys of the Mayor without any word ſpeaking, or countenance of thankfulneſs, and after a while delivered the Keys to the Mayor again. At the Town-Gate met him the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Williams*, and ſo he was brought to his Lodging.

July 25. Marriage between K. *Philip* and Q. *Mary.*

Upon the Wedneſday following, being St. *James* day, and the 25th of *July*, *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, and *Mary* Queen of *England* were married together ſolemnly in the Cathedral Church at *Wincheſter*, by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in the preſence of a great number of Noble Men of both the Realms. At the time of this Marriage the Emperours Ambaſſador being preſent, openly pronounced, that in conſideration of that Marriage the Emperor had granted and given unto his Son the Kingdom of *Naples*, *&c.*

Where-

Auguſt 1. Whereupon the firſt day of *Auguſt* following, there was a Proclamation, that from that time forth the ſtile of all manner of Writings ſhould be altered, and this following ſhould be uſed.

Philip *and* Mary *by the Grace of God, King and Queen of* England, France, Naples, Jeruſalem *and* Ireland, *Defenders of the Faith*, *Princes of* Spain *and* Sicil, *Archdukes of* Auſtrich, *Dukes of* Millaine, Burgundy, *and* Brabant, *Counties of* Haſpurge, Flaunders *and* Tyrol.

Of this Marriage as the Papiſts chiefly ſeemed to be very glad, ſo divers of them after divers ſtudies, to ſhew forth their inward affections, made Interludes and Pageants, ſome drew forth Genealogies, deriving his Pedigree from *Edward* the Third, and *John* of *Gaunt*, ſome made Verſes. Amongſt all other, M. *White*, then Biſhop of *Lincoln* (his Poetical Vein being drunken with joy of the Marriage) ſpued out certain Verſes: the Copy whereof we have here inſerted.

Philippi & Mariæ Genealogia, qua ambo Principes ex *Johanne de Gandavo, Edwardi* Tertii, *Angliæ, Franciæq;* Regis, filio, deſcendiſſe oſtenduntur. *Whito Lincolnienſi* Authore.

ILle parens Regum Gandava *ex urbe* Johannes
Somerſetenſem *Comitem profert* Johannem:
Somerſetenſis *venit hoc patre Dux* Johannes,
Qui Margaretam Richmundi *habuit Comitiſſam.*
Hæc dedit Henricum, *qui Regni ſeptimus hujus*
Henrico *Octavo ſolium Regale eliquit.*
Hoc Patre propitio, & fauſto quaſi ſidere nata
Jure tenes ſacram, teneaſque Maria *coronam.*

Verſes of M. *White* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, concerning the Marriage of *Philip* and *Mary*.

NUbat ut Angla Anglo, Regina Maria Philippo,
Inque ſuum fontem Regia ſtirps redeat,
Noluit humani generis Dæmon vetus hoſtis;
Sed Deus Anglorum *provida ſpes voluit.*
Nollet Scotus *inops, timiduſque ad prælia* Gallus:
Cæſar, *&* Italia, *&* Flandria *tota volet.*
Noluit Hæreticus (ſtirps Caiphæ) *Pontificum grex,*
Pontificum ſed grex Catholicus voluit.
Octo uxorati Patres in Dæmone nollent:
Quinque Cathenati pro pietate volent.
Noluit Johannes Dudley Northumbrius *urſus,*
Sed fidum regni Concilium voluit.
Noluit ætatis noſtræ Catilina *Viatus,*
Sed proceres & plebs & pia turba volet.
Nollet Graius *Dux, &* Cantia *turba rebellans:*
Nos, quoniam Dominus ſic voluit, volumus.
Clarior effectus repetat ſua limina ſanguis,
Cum ſit Philippo *juncta* Maria *viro.*

Anſwer by the Reverend Biſhop of *Norwich* to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

HAterno nubat Maria *ut Regina* Philippo,
Ut ſint pulſa ſuis Sceptra Britanna *locis,*
Vult Dæmon generis noſtri antiquiſſimus hoſtis;
Anglorum *non vult anchora ſola Deus.*
Nolunt hunc Galli, *nolunt* Scoti *armipotentes,*
Vult Cæſar, Flandrus, *vult* Italus *Goliæ:*
Vult grex Pontificum, ſtirps Caiphæ, *turba bicornis,*
Non vult ſanctorum ſed pia turba Patrum.
Nolunt octo, quibus ſunt vincla jugalia curæ,
Quinque cathenati Dæmonis arte volunt.
Hoc neque tu prorſus Dudlæe *animoſe volebas:*
Invitum regni Conſilium voluit.
Dedecus hoc non vult fortiſſimus ille Viatus:
Invitus populus, ſic procereſque volent.
Vos vultis, quoniam ſemper mala cuncta voletis:
Non vult Graius *Dux, nec pia turba volet.*
Quet tulit Hiſpanus *Rex ergo commoda ſecum,*
Reginæ ſocias cum dedit ille manus?

Another Anſwer by the ſaid Author.

HIſpano nubat Maria *ut Regina* Philippo,
Extirpetur ſtirps ut quoque Nobilium,
Vult pater id veſter, diſturbans omnia Dæmon;
Non vult Anglorum *ſed Pater* Altitonans.
Non vult bellipotens Gallus, *non vult* Scotus *acer:*
Vult Cæſar, Flandrus, *Papicolæque volunt.*
Goex mitratorum vult, Cayphæ *ipſa propago:*
Non vult ſanctorum ſed pius ordo Patrum.
Nolunt octo, pios qui jure colunt hymenæos:
Quinque cathenati pro impietate volunt.
Dudlæus *minimè voluit* Northumbrius *Heros:*
Cui ſua perchara eſt Patria, nemo volet.
Libertatis amans non vult bonus ille Viatus,
Non proceres, non plebs, nec pia turba volet.
Vos vultis, pietas qui vultis ut exulet omnis:
Non Graius, *ſed nec* Cantia *turba volet.*
Ergo magis clarus qui ſit (rogo) ſanguis avitus,
Quando jugalis ſit junctus uterque thoro?

Other Verſes anſwering to Biſhop *White*, made by *J. C.*

QUamlibet Anglorum *ſtirps ementita* Philippo,
Et Maria Hiſpanâ *de genetrice fuit.*
Ut tamen Hiſpano, *confuſi ſanguinis* Angla
Nuberet in Gentis dedecus atque Patris.
Noluit Anglorum *priſcæ virtutis amator:*
Sed Deus in noſtram perniciem voluit.
Noluit in noſtram, niſi conſpirata, ſalutem
Turba: quid ad nos ſi gens inimica volet?
Pontifices fati, quaſi Cayphas, *omnia dantes*
Nolebant: at grex cacolucos voluit.
Elegêre pii connubia talia nolle:
Velle quidem demens hæreſis illa fuit.
Conſilium multo præſtantius octo mariti,
Quinque cathenatis ob malefacta dabant.
Noluit hos jungi thalamos Northumbrius *Heros.*
O conſultrores, qui voluere, malos.
Noluit haud æquo confligens Marte Viatus:
Solaque quæ voluit, turba Papalis erat.
Nolebat Graius, *neque terra* Britanna *volebat:*
Nos, quoniam Dominus ſic voluit, tulimus.
Sed tulimus pariter fata infœlicia: quando
Infœlix Maria *eſt nupta,* Philippe, *tibi.*

Other Verſes anſwering likewiſe.

NUbat ut Hiſpano *Regina* Maria Philippo
Dic age, White, *mihi, quos voluiſſe vides?*
Noluit aut voluit quid inanis turba, refert nil.
Velle & nolle Dei eſt: quid volet ille, refert.
Hoc quoniam voluit (inquis) Dominus, voluiſtis:
Quid voluit, quoniam neſcis inepte, ſcias.
Scilicet hoc voluit, vates ut vanus & augur,
Et mendax Whitus *Pſeudopropheta foret.*
Regi non Regi nupſit, non nupſerat, Angla *eſt,*
Non Angla *eſt, gravida eſt, non gravida eſt, gravis eſt.*
Parturit atque parit, ſic vos voluiſtis ovantes,
Nil tamen illa parit: hoc voluit Dominus.
Duxerat ad paucos menſes, mox deſerit idem:
Sponſa eſt, mox vidua eſt: hoc voluit Dominus.
Irrita fruſtrentur ſemper ſic vota malorum,
Perniciem Patriæ qui voluere ſuæ.
Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

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After the conſummation of which Marriage, they both removed from *Wincheſter* to ſundry other places, and by eaſie Journeys came to *Windſor* Caſtle, where he was ſtalled in the Order of the Garter, upon *Sunday*, being the 12. of *Auguſt*. At which time an Herald took down the Arms of *England* at *Windſor*, and in the place of them would have ſet up the Arms of *Spain*, but he was commanded to ſet them up again by certain Lords. From thence they both removed to *Richmond*, and from thence by Water to *London*, and landed at the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* Houſe, through which they paſſed both into *Southwark* Park, and ſo to *Southwark* Houſe called *Suffolk* Place, where they lay that Night, being the 18*th* of *Auguſt*.

King Philip cometh to *Windſor*. The Arms of *England* taken down, and the Arms of *Spain* ſet up.

King Philip comech to *London*.

And the next day, being Saturday, and the 19*th* of *Auguſt*, the King and Queens Majeſties rode from *Suffolk* Place (accompanied with a great number, as well of Noblemen as Gentlemen) through the City of *London* to *White-Hall*, and at *London-Bridge*, as he entred at the Draw-Bridge, was a vain great Spectacle ſet up, two Images preſenting two Giants, one named *Corineus*, and the other *Gogmagog*, holding between them certain Latin Verſes, which for the vain oſtentation of flatterie I overpaſs.

Auguſt 19.

Vain Pageants of *London*.

And as they paſſed over the Bridge, there was a number of Ordnance ſhot off at the *Tower*, ſuch as by old mens report the like hath not been heard or ſeen theſe 100 years.

From

Anno 1554.

From *London-Bridge* they passed the Conduit in *Gracious-street*, which was finely painted, and among other things, the nine Worthies, whereof King *Henry* the 8*th* was one. He was painted in Harness, having in one hand a Sword, and in the other hand a Book, whereupon was written *Verbum Dei*, delivering the same Book (as it were) to his Son King *Edward*, who was painted in a Corner by him.

Winchester cannot abide the Book called Verbum Dei. The Painter sent for to the Bishop of Winchester.

But hereupon was no small matter made: for the Bishop of *Winchester*, Lord Chancellor, sent for the Painter, and not only called him Knave for painting a Book in King *Henries* hand, and specially for writing thereupon *Verbum Dei*, but also rank Traytor and Villain, saying to him that he should rather have put the Book into the Queens hand (who was also painted there) for that she had reformed the Church and Religion, with other things according to the pure and sincere Word of God indeed.

The Painters Answer.

The Painter answered and said, that if he had known that had been the matter wherefore his Lordship sent for him, he could have remedied it, and not have troubled his L^dp.

The Bishop answered and said, that it was the Queens Majesties will and commandment that he should send for him: and so commanding him to wipe out the Book and *Verbum Dei* too, he sent him home. So the Painter departed, but fearing lest he should leave some part either of the Book, or of *Verbum Dei* in King *Henries* hand; he wiped away a piece of his Fingers withal.

Here I pass over and cut off other gawds and Pageants of pastime shewed to him in passing through *London*, with the flattering Verses set up in Latin, wherein were blazed out in one place the five *Philips*, as the five Worthies of the World, *Philip* of *Macedonia*, *Philip* the Emperour, *Philippus Audax*, *Philippus Bonus*, *Philip* Prince of *Spain* and King of *England*.

Five Philips.

In another Poetry King *Philip* was resembled by an Image representing *Orpheus*, and all *English* People resembled to brute and savage Beasts following after *Orpheus* Harp, and dancing after K. *Philips* Pipe. Not that I reprehend the art of the Latin Verses, which was fine and cunning, but that I pass over the matter, having other graver things in hand; and therefore pass over also the sight at *Pauls* Church side, of him that came down upon a Rope tied to the Battlements with his Head before, neither staying himself with his hand nor foot; which shortly after cost him his life.

But one thing by the way I cannot let pass, touching the young flourishing Rood, newly set up against this present time to welcom King *Philip* into *Pauls* Church. The setting up of which Rood was this, and may make as good a Pageant as the best.

The erecting up of the Rood at Pauls.

Anno 2 *Mariæ*, *Boner* in his Royalty, and all his Prebendaries about him in *Pauls* Quire, the Rood laid along upon the Pavements, and also the Doors of *Pauls* being shut, the Bishop with others said and sung divers Prayers by the Rood: that being done, they anointed the Rood with Oil in divers places, and after the anointing, crept unto it, and kissed it.

B. Boners god. The Rood of Pauls set up with Te Deum.

After that, they took the said Rood, and weighed him up, and set him in his old accustomed place, and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole Quire sang *Te Deum*, and when that was ended, they rang the Bells, not only for joy, but also for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

Salutation to the Rood of Pauls.

Not long after this, a merry Fellow came into *Pauls*, and spied the Rood with *Mary* and *John* new set up; whereto, among a great sort of People, he made low Courtesie, and said: Sir, your Mastership is welcom to Town. I had thought to have talked further with your Mastership, but that ye be here clothed in the Queens Colours. I hope that ye be but a Summers Bird, in that ye be dressed in white and green.

The Prince thus being in the Church of *Pauls*, after Dr. *Harpsfield* had finished his Oration in Latin, set forward through *Fleetstreet*, and so came to *White-hall*, where he with the Queen remained four days after, and from thence removed unto *Richmond*.

After this, all the Lords had leave to depart into their Countries, with strait commandment to bring all their Harness and Artillery into the *Tower* of *London* with all speed. Now remained there no *English* Lord at the Court, but the Bishop of *Winchester*. From *Richmond* they removed to *Hampton* Court, where the Hall-door within the Court was continually shut; so that no man might enter, unless his Errand were first known, which seem'd strange to *Englishmen* that had not bin used thereto.

Septemb. 8. About the 8. day of *September* Bishop *Boner* began his Visitation, who charged six men in every Parish to enquire (according to their Oaths) and to present before him the day after S. *Matthews* day, being the 23. of *September*, all such persons as either had or should offend in any of his Articles, which he had set forth to the number of 37. Of the which Visitation of *Boner* I have somewhat more largely to intreat, after that first I shall overpass a few other things following in course of this present story.

Septem. 17. The 17. day of *September* was a Proclamation in *London*, That all Vagabonds and Masterless men, as well Strangers as *Englishmen*, should depart the City within five days; and straitly charging all Inholders, Victuallers, Taverners and Alehouse-keepers, with all other that sell Victuals, that they (after the said five days) should not sell any Meat, Drink, or any kind of Victual to any Servingman whatsoever, unless he brought a Testimonial from his Master to declare whose Servant he was, and were in continual houshold with his said Master, upon pain to run in danger of the Law, if they offended herein.

Septem. 30. The Bishop of *Winchester* preacheth. Upon the Sunday following, being the 30. day of *September*, the Bishop of *Winchester* Lord Chancelor of *England*, preached at *Pauls-Cross*, at whose Sermon were present all the Council that were at the Court: namely, the Marques of *Winchester*, the Earl of *Arundel*, Lord *North*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, M. *Rochester*, M. *Walgrave*, M. *Englefield*, Lord *Fitzwater*, and Secretary *Peter*, and the Bishops of *London*, *Duresm* and *Ely*, which three sate under the Bishops Arms. The Gospel whereof he made his Sermon, is written in the 22. Chapter of *Matthew*. where the *Pharisees* came unto Christ, and amongst them one asked Christ which was the greatest Commandment; Christ answered, *Thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thy heart, &c. and thy Neighbour as thy self, in these two is comprehended the Law and the Prophets.*

A blasphemious Mouth against the true Preachers of Gods Word.

After his long declaration of these Words, speaking very much of Love and Charity, at last he had occasion upon S. *James* his words to speak of the true Teachers, and of the false Teachers; saying, that all the Preachers almost in King *Edwards* time, preached nothing but Voluptuousness, and filthy and blasphemous Lies, affirming their Doctrine to be that false Doctrine whereof S. *James* speaketh; saying, that it was full of perverse Zeal, earthly, full of discord and dissention, that the Preachers aforenamed would report nothing truly, and that they taught that it was lawful for a man to put away his Wife for Adultery, and marry another, and that if a man vowed to day, he might break it to Morrow at his pleasure, with many other things which I omit. And when he spake of the Sacrament, he said, that all the Church from the beginning have confessed Christs Natural Body to be in Heaven, and here to be in the Sacrament, and so concluded that matter: and then willed all Men to say with *Josephs* Brethren, *Peccavimus in fratrem: We have all sinned against our Brother*, and so (said he) have I too. Then he declared what a Noble King and Queen we have, saying, that if he should go about to shew that the King came hither for no necessity or need, and what he had brought with him, it should be superfluous, seeing it is evidently known, that he hath ten times as much as we are in hope and possession of, affirming him to be as wise, sober, gentle, and temperate a Prince as ever was in *England*, and if it were not so proved, then to take him for a false Lyar for his so saying: Exhorting all men to make much of him, and to win him whilst we had him, and so should we also win all such as he hath brought with him, and so made an end.

The Church never confessed the Natural Body of Christ so to be in the Sacrament, that the Substance of Bread was taken away, before the time of Pope Innocent the Third. An. 1215. Winchester preacheth in commendation of King Philip.

Upon the Tuesday following, being the seventh day of *October*, twenty Carts came from *Westminster* laden (as it was noised) with Gold and Silver, and certain of the Guard with them through the City to the *Tower*, and there it was received in by a *Spaniard*, who was the Kings Treasurer, and had custody of it within the *Tower*. It was matted about with Mats, and mailed in little bundles about two foot long, and almost half a foot thick, and in every Cart were six of those bundles. What it was indeed, God knoweth, for it is to us uncertain.

About the ſame time, or a little before, upon *Corpus Chriſti* Day, the Proceſſion being made in *Smithfield*, where after the manner the Prieſt with his Box went under the Canopy, by chance there came by the way a certain ſimple man, named *John Street*, a Joyner of *Coleman-Street*, who having ſome haſte in his buſineſs, and finding no other way to paſs through, by chance went under the Canopy by the Prieſt. The Prieſt ſeeing the man ſo to preſume to come under the Canopy, being belike afraid, and worſe feared than hurt, for fear let his Pix fall down. The poor Man, being ſtreigtways apprehended, was had to the *Counter*, the Prieſt accuſing him unto the Council, as though he had come to ſlay him, whenas the poor Man, (as himſelf hath ſince declared unto us) had no ſuch thought ever in his mind. Then from the *Counter* he was had unto *Newgate*, where he was caſt into the Dungeon, there chained to a Poſt, where he was cruelly and miſerably handled, and ſo extreamly dealt withal, that being but ſimple before, he was now feared out of his Wits altogether, and ſo upon the ſame had to *Bedlam*. Whereupon the brief Chronicle of *London* in this point is not to be credited, which untruly reported that he feigned himſelf in *Newgate* to be mad: which thing we in writing of this Hiſtory, by due Inquiſition of the party, have found to be contrary.

John Street.

The Prieſt worſe feared than hurt. The Prieſt let the Pix fall for fear.

John Street innocently caſt into the Dungeon.

John Street falſly reported of.

About the fifth of *October*, and within a fortnight following, were divers as well Houſholders as Servants and Prentices apprehended and taken, and committed to ſundry Priſons, for the having and ſelling of certain Books which were ſent into *England* by the Preachers that fled into *Germany* and other Countreys; which Books nipped a great number ſo near, that within one fortnight there were little leſs than Threeſcore impriſoned for this matter: among whom was Maſter *Brown* a Goldſmith, Mr. *Spark* a Draper, *Randal Tirer* a Stationer, Mr. *Beſton* a Merchant, with many other.

October 5.

Men priſoned for Books.

October 14. Upon the Sunday, being the 14. day of *October*, the old Biſhop of *Dureſm* preached in the *Shrouds*.

Upon St. *Lukes* day following, being the 18. of *October*, the Kings Majeſty came from *Weſtminſter* to *Pauls* Church along the Streets, accompanied with a great number of Noble men, and there he was received under a Canopy at the Weſt-door, and ſo came in to the Chancel, where he heard Maſs, which a *Spaniſh* Biſhop and his own Chappel ſung, and that done he returned to *Weſtminſter* to Dinner again.

October 26. Upon Friday, being the 26. of *October*, certain men, whereof I ſpake before, which were of Mr. *Throgmortons* Queſt, being in number 8. (for the other four were delivered out of Priſon, for that they ſubmitted themſelves, and ſaid they had offended, like Weaklings, not conſidering truth to be truth, but of force for fear ſaid ſo) theſe eight Men, I ſay, whereof M. *Emanuel Lucas*, and M. *Wheteſtone* were chief, were called before the Council of the Star-Chamber: where they all affirmed that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good Conſciences, even as they ſhould anſwer before God at the day of Judgment. Where M. *Lucas* ſaid openly before all the Lords, that they had done in the matter like honeſt men, and true and faithful Subjects, and therefore they humbly beſought the Lord Chancellor, and the other Lords, to be means to the King and Queens Majeſties that they might be diſcharged and ſet at liberty, and ſaid that they were all contented humbly to ſubmit themſelves to their Majeſties, ſaving and reſerving their Truth, Conſciences, and Honeſty. Some of the Lords ſaid, that they were worthy to pay a thouſand pounds apiece, and other ſome ſaid, that Mr. *Lucas* and Mr. *Wheteſtone* were worthy to pay a 1000 Marks apiece, and the reſt 500 *l.* apiece. In concluſion, Sentence was given by the Lord Chancellor, that they ſhould pay a thouſand Marks apiece, and that they ſhold go to Priſon again, and there remain till further order were taken for their puniſhment.

The trouble of the good men which were of M. Throgmortons Queſt.

October 30. Upon Tueſday, being the 30. of *October*, the Lord *J. Gray* was delivered out of the *Tower*, and ſet at liberty.

Novemb. 4. Upon Sunday the 4. of *November*, five Prieſts did Penance at *Pauls-Croſs*, which were *content to put* away their Wives, and take upon them again to miniſter. Every of them had a Taper in his hand, and a Rod, wherewith the Preacher did diſpel them.

Upon Wedneſday the 7. of *November*, the Lord *Paget*, and Sir *Edward Haſtings* Maſter of the Horſe, were ſent as Ambaſſadors, I know not whither, but, as it was adjudged, to Cardinal *Poole*, who lay all that Summer before at *Bruſſels*: and it was thought they were ſent to accompany and conduct him into *England*, where at that time he was nominated and appointed Bp. of *Canterbury*. Anno 1554.

Novemb. 7. Card. *Poole* nominated Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Upon the Friday following the 9. of *November*, Mr. *Barlow* late Biſhop of *Bathe*, and Mr. *Cardmaker*, were brought before the Council in the Star-Chamber, where after communication they were commanded to the *Fleet*.

Upon the *Saturday*, being the 10. of *November*, the Sheriffs of *London* had commandment to take an Inventory of every one of their goods which were of Maſter *Throgmortons* Queſt, and to ſeal up their Doors, which was done the ſame day. M. *Wheteſtone*, M. *Lucas*, and M. *Kytely*, were judged to pay 1000 pounds apiece, and the reſt 1000 Marks apiece, to be paid within one fortnight after. From this payment were exempted thoſe four which confeſſed a fault, and ſubmitted themſelves, whoſe Names, are theſe, M. *Loe*, M. *Poynter*, M. *Beſwike*, and M. *Carter*.

Novemb. 8.

Mention was made a little before of the Viſitation of *Edmund Boner* Biſhop of *London*, which began (as is ſaid) about the Month of *September*: for the better preparation whereof were ſet forth certain Articles to the number of 37. Which Articles, partly for the tediouſneſs of them, partly for that M. *Bale* in a certain Treatiſe hath ſufficiently painted out the ſame in their colours, partly alſo becauſe I will not infect this Book with them, I ſlip them over, proceeding in the progreſs of this Biſhop in his Viſitation in the County of *Eſſex*. Who paſſing through the ſaid County of *Eſſex*, being attended with divers Worſhipful of the Shire (for ſo they were commanded) arrived at *Sterford* in *Hertfordſhire*, where he reſted certain days, ſolacing himſelf after that painful peregrination with no ſmall feaſting and banqueting with his Attendants aforeſaid, at the houſe of one *Parſons* his Nephew, whoſe Wife he commonly called his fair Neice (and fair ſhe was indeed) he took there great pleaſure to hear her play upon the Viginals (wherein ſhe excelled) inſomuch that every dinner (ſitting by his ſweet ſide) ſhe aroſe and played three ſeveral times at his requeſt of his good and ſpiritual Devotion towards her. Theſe certain days thus paſſed in this Biſhop-like faſhion, he proceeded in his Popiſh Viſitation towards *Hadham* his own Houſe and Pariſh, not paſt two miles from *Sterford*, being there moſt ſolemnly rung out, as in all other places whereas he paſſed. At length drawing near unto *Hadham*, when he heard no ſtirring there in honour of his Holineſs, he grew into ſome Choler, and the nearer he approached the hotter was his fit: and the quieter the Bells were, the unquieter was his Mood. Thus rode he on chafing and fuming with himſelf. *What meaneth* (ſaith he) *that Knave the Clark that he Ringeth not? and the Parſon that he meeteth me not?* with ſundry other furious words of fiery element. There this patient Prelate, coming to the Town, alighted, calling for the Key of the Church, which was then all unready, for that (as they then pretended) he had prevented his time by two hours, whereupon he grew from choler to plain melancholy, ſo as no man willingly would deal with him to qualifie the raging humor ſo far incorporated in his Breſt. At the laſt, the Church-door being opened, the Biſhop entred, and finding no Sacrament hanged up, nor Rood-loft decked after the Popiſh Precept (which had commanded about the ſame time a well favoured Rood, and of tall ſtature univerſally in all Churches to be ſet up) curtailed his ſmall Devotions, and fell from all choler and melancholy to flat madneſs in the uttermoſt degree, ſwearing and raging with an hunting Oath or two, and by no Beggars, that in his own Church, where he hoped to have ſeen beſt order, he found moſt diſorder, to his Honours moſt heavy diſcomfort, as he ſaid, calling the Parſon (whoſe name was Doctor *Bricket*) Knave, and Heretick. Who there humbled himſelf, and yielded, as it were, to his fault, ſaying, He was ſorry his Lordſhip was come before that he and his Pariſh looked for him, and therefore could not do their duties to receive him accordingly: and as for thoſe things lacking, he truſted in ſhort time hereafter he ſhould compaſs that, which hitherto he could not bring about. There-

Bonner goeth in his Viſitation.

Bonners behaviour at Sterford.

Bonner in a peeviſh chafe.

Bonners behaviour at Hadham.

D. *Bricket* Parſon of *Hadham*, called Knave of Boner.

Anno 1554.

Therefore if it pleased his Lordship to come to his poor House (where his Dinner was prepared) he would satisfie him in those things which his Lordship thought amiss. Yet this so reasonable an Answer nothing could satisfie nor asswage his passion unreasonable. For the Catholick Prelate utterly defied him and his Cheer, commanding him out of his sight, saying, as his by-word was, *Before God thou art a Knave, avant Heretick*, and therewithal, whether thrusting or striking at him, so it was that with his hand he gave Sir *Thomas Josselin* Knight (who was then amongst the rest, and stood next the Bishop) a good flewet upon the upper part of the Neck, even under his Ear, as some say which stood by, but, as he himself said, he hit him full upon the Ear: whereat he was somewhat astonied at the suddenness of the Quarrel for that time. At last he spake and said, *What meaneth your Lordship? have you been trained in* Will Sommers *School, to strike him that standeth next you?* The Bishop still in rage either heard not, or would not hear.

Sir Thomas Josselin strucken of Boner.

B. Boner striketh him that standeth next.

Then M. *Fecknam* Dean of *Pauls*, seeing the Bishop still in this bitter rage, said, *O M.* Josselin, *you must bear with my Lord, for truly his long imprisonment in the* Marshalsey, *and the misusing of him there hath altered him, that in these Passions he is not ruler of himself, nor it booteth any man to give him counsel until his heat be past, and then assure your self M.* Josselin, *my Lord will be sorry for those abuses that now he cannot see in himself.* Whereunto he merrily replied and said, *So it seems M.* Fecknam, *for now that he is come forth of the* Marshalsey, *he is ready to go to* Bedlam. At which merry Conceit some laughed, and mo smiled, because the Nail was so truly hit upon the Head. The Bishop, nothing abashed at his own folly, gave a deaf Ear; as no marvel it was that he shamed little to strike a Stranger, which spared not the burning of so many good men.

Fecknam excuseth B. Boner by the Marshalsey.

Sir Thomas Josselin's Apothegm touching B. Boner.

After this worthy combat thus finished and atchieved, this Martial Prelate presently taketh him to his Horse again, notwithstanding he was minded to tarry at *Hadham* three or four days, and so had made provision in his own House, and leaving his Dinner rode that Night with a small company of his houshold to *Ware*, where he was not looked for three days after, to the great wonder of all the Country, why he so prevented his day aforestalled.

At this hasty posting away of this Bishop, his whole Train of Attendants there left him. Also his Doctors and Chaplains (a few excepted) tarried behind, and Dined at Doctor *Brickets* as merrily, as he rode toward *Ware* all chasingly: which Dinner was prepared for the Bishop himself. Now whether the Bishop were offended at those Solemnities which he wanted, and was accustomed to be saluted withal in other places where he journeyed, joyning to that, that his great God was not exalted above-ground over the Altar, nor his Block Almighty set seemly in the Rood-loft to entertain Strangers, and thereupon took occasion to quarrel with Doctor *Bricket* (whose Religion perchance he somewhat suspected) I have not perfectly to say, but so it was supposed of divers the cause thereof to rise, which drave the Bishop so hastily from such a Dinner. Testified by such as there and then were present. *Rich. K. &c.*

Bishop Boner driven from a good Dinner.

A story of a Rood set up in Lancashire.

IN this Visitation of Bishop *Boner* above-mentioned, ye see how the Bishop took on for not setting up the Rood, and ringing the Bells at *Hadham*. Ye heard also of the Precept, which commanded in every Parish a Rood to be erected, both well favoured and of a tall stature. By the occasion whereof it cometh in mind (and not out of place) to story likewise what happened in a certain Town in *Lancashire* near to *Lancaster*, called *Cockram*, where the Parishioners and Church-wardens, having the same time a like Charge for the erecting of a Rood in their Parish-Church, had made their bargain and were at a price with one that could cunningly carve and paint such Idols, for the framing of their Rood: who, according to his Promise, made them one, and set it up in their Church. This done, he demanded his Money: But they, misliking his Workmanship, refused to pay him, whereupon he arrested them, and the Matter was brought before the Mayor of *Lancaster*, who was a very meet Man for such a purpose, and an old Favourer of the Gospel, which is rare in that Country. Then the Carver began to declare how they Covenanted with him for the making of a Rood with the appurtenances, ready c[arved] and set up in their Church, which he according to his Promise had done, and now demanding his Money, they refused to pay him. Is this true, quoth the Mayor to the Wardens? Yea Sir, said they. And why do you not pay the poor Man his due, quoth he? And it please you Master Mayor (quoth they) because the Rood we had before was a well-favoured man, and he promised to make us such another: but this that he hath set us up now is the worst favoured thing that ever you set your eyes on, gaping and grinning in such sort, that none of our Children dare once look him in the face, or come near him. The Mayor thinking that it was good enough for that purpose if it had been worse; My Masters (quoth he) howsoever the Rood like you, the poor mans labour hath been never the less, and it is pity that he should have any hindrance or loss thereby. Therefore I will tell you what you shall do: Pay him the Money ye promised him, and go your ways home and look on it, and if it will not serve for a god, make no more ado, but clap a pair of Horns on his Head, and so he will make an excellent Devil. This the Parishioners took well in worth: the Poor man had his Money, and divers laughed well thereat: but so did not the *Babylonish* Priests.

The men of Cockram not pleased with their Rood.

The Rood of Cockram driving the Children out of the Church.

This Mayor above-mentioned continued a Protestant almost 50 years, and was the only Reliever of *March* the Martyr (whose story followeth hereafter) with Meat, Drink and Lodging, while he lay in *Lancaster* Castle, the space of three Quarters of a year, before he was had to *Chester* to be burned, &c.

The Mayor of Lancaster a good man.

About this time or the month next before, which was *October*, there came a Precept or Mandate from *Boner* B. of *London*, to all Bishops and Curates within his Diocess, for the abolishing of such Scriptures and Writings as had been painted upon Church-Walls before, in King *Edwards* days. The Copy of which Precept or Mandate here we thought good to express, that the World might see the wicked proceedings of their impious Zeal, or rather their malicious Rage against the Lord and his Word, and against the edifying of Christian People: whereby it might appear, by this blotting out of Scriptures, not only how blasphemously they spake against the holy Scriptures of God, but also how studiously they sought by all manner of means to keep the People still in Ignorance.

A Mandate of *Boner* Bishop of *London*, to abolish the Scriptures and Writings painted upon the Church-Walls.

EDmund, *by Gods permission Bishop of* London, *to all and every Parsons, Vicars, Clarks, and Lettered, within the Parish of* Hadham, *or within the precinct of our Dioces of* London, *whersoever being, sendeth Greeting, Grace and Benediction.*

Because some Children of Iniquity, given up to Carnal desires and Noveltres, have by many ways enterprized to banish the ancient manner and order of the Church, and to bring in and establish Sects and Heresies; taking from thence the picture of Christ, and many things besides instituted and observed of ancient time laudably in the same, placing in the room thereof such things, as in such a place it behoved them not to do, and also have procured as a stay to their Heresies (as they thought) certain Scriptures wrongly applied to be painted upon the Church-Walls, all which persons tend chiefly to this end; that they might uphold the liberty of the Flesh, and marriage of Priests, and destroy, as much as lay in them, the reverent Sacrament of the Altar, and might extinguish and enervate Holy-days, Fasting-days, and other laudable Discipline of the Catholick Church, opening a window to all Vices, and utterly closing up the way unto Vertue: Wherefore we being moved with a Christian Zeal, judging that the premisses are not to be longer suffered, do for discharge of our duty, commit unto you joyntly and severally, and by the tenor hereof do straitly charge and command you, that at the receipt hereof, with all speed convenient, you do warn, or cause to be warned, first, second, and third time, and peremptorily, all and singular Church-wardens and Parishioners whosoever within our foresaid Dioces of London, *wheresoever any such Scriptures or Paintings have been attempted, that they abolish and extinguish such manner of Scriptures,*

The Scriptures painted on Church-Walls razed out.

Note well these sauses Reader, why the Scriptures should be razed out.

Scriptures open a window to Vices with Boner:

ſo that by no means they be either read or ſeen, and therein to proceed moreover as they ſhall ſee good and laudable in this behalf. And if after the ſaid monition, the ſaid Churchwardens and Pariſhioners ſhall be found remiſs and negligent, or culpable, then you joyntly and ſeverally ſhall ſee the foreſaid Scriptures to be razed, aboliſhed and extinguiſhed forthwith: citing all and ſingular thoſe Churchwardens and Pariſhioners, (whom we alſo for the ſame do cite here by the tenor hereof) that all and ſingular the Churchwardens and Pariſhioners being ſlack and negligent, culpable therein, ſhall appear before us, our Vicar general and principal Official, or our Commiſſary ſpecial in our Cathedral Church of St. Paul *at* London, *in the Conſiſtory there, at the hour appointed for the ſame, the ſixth day next after their Citation, if it be a Court-day, or elſe at the next Court-day after enſuing, whereas either we or our Official or Commiſſary ſhall ſit: there to ſay and alledge for themſelves ſome reaſonable cauſe, if they have or can tell of any, why they ought not to be Excommunicated, or otherwiſe puniſhed for their ſuch negligence, ſlackneſs and fault, to ſay and to alledge, and further to do and receive, as Law and Reaſon requireth. And what you have done in the premiſſes, do you certifie us, or our Vicar, principal Official, and ſuch our Commiſſary, diligently and duly in all things, and through all things, or let him among you thus certifie us, which hath taken upon him to execute this Mandate: In Witneſs whereof we have ſet our Seals to theſe Preſents. Dated in the Biſhops Palace at* London *the* 25th *day of the Month of* October, *in the Year of our Lord* 1554. *and of our Tranſlation the* 16th.

M. Chriſtopherſon ſent to Cambridge with Gardiners inſtructions

About this time the Lord Chancellor ſent *M. Chriſtopherſon* unto the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, with theſe three Articles, which he enjoyned them to obſerve.

The firſt, That every Scholar ſhould wear his apparel according to his degree in the Schools.

The ſecond was touching the pronunciation of the Greek Tongue.

The third, That every Preacher there ſhould declare the whole ſtile of the King and Queen in their Sermons.

In Cambridge were 24 places void at one time in one Colledge.

In this Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and alſo of *Oxford*, by reaſon of the bringing of theſe things, and eſpecially for the alteration of Religion, many good Wits and Learned men departed the Univerſities: of whom, ſome of their own accord gave over, ſome were thruſt out of their Fellowſhips, ſome were miſerably handled: inſomuch that in *Cambridge*, in the Colledge of St. *John*, there were four and twenty places void together, in whoſe rooms were taken in four and twenty other, which neither in Vertue nor in Religion ſeemed to anſwer to them before. And no leſs miſerable was the eſtate of *Oxford*, by reaſon of the time, and the ſtrait dealing of the Viſitors, that, for ſetting forward their Papiſtical proceedings, had no regard or reſpect to the forwardneſs of good Wits, and the maintenance of good Letters, beginning then more and more to flouriſh in that Univerſity.

A Popiſh Exhortation of Doctor Treſham.

And for ſo much as we have entred into the mention of *Oxford*, we may not paſs over in ſilence the famous Exhortation of Dr. *Treſham*, who ſupplying the room of the Subdean in *Chriſt-Church*, after he had called all the Students of the Colledge together, with great Eloquence and Art perſwaſory, began to commend the dignity of the Maſs unto them, declaring, that there was ſtuff enough in the Scripture to prove the Maſs good. Then

The great Reaſons of D. Treſham.

to allure them to the Catholick Service of the Church, he uſed theſe Reaſons, declaring that there were a goodly company of Copes, that were appointed to *Windſor*, but he had found the Queen ſo gracious unto him, that they ſhould come to *Chriſts-Church*. Now, if they like honeſt men would come to Church, they ſhould wear them on Holy-days. And beſides all this, he would get them the Lady Bells of *Bampton*, and that ſhould make the ſweeteſt Ring in all *England*. And as for an holy Water ſprinkle, he had already the faireſt that was within the Realm. Wherefore he thought that no man would be ſo mad to forgo theſe Commodities, &c.

Which things I rehearſe, that it may appear what want of diſcretion is in the Fathers of Popery, and into what idle Follies ſuch men do fall, whom I beſeech the Lord, if it be his pleaſure, to reduce to a better Truth, and to open their eyes to ſee their own blindneſs.

To proceed now further in the courſe and race of our Story whereas we left, being before in the Month of *November*, it followeth more, that on the * xxii. day of the ſame Month of *November*, being Monday, began the Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, to the beginning whereof both the King and Queen rode in their Parliament Robes, having two Swords born before them. The Earl of *Pembroke* bare his Sword, and the Earl of *Weſtmerland* bare the Queens. They had two Caps of Maintenance born before them, whereof the Earl of *Arundel* bare one, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the other.

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* Where note, that the Printer of Q. *Maries* Statutes doth err in his Suppuration, which ſith that this Parliament began the 11. of this Month, which day was then Sunday.

Cardinal *Poole* landed at *Dover* upon the Wedneſday, being the 21. day of *November*, on which day one Act paſſed in the Parliament for his reſtitution in Blood, utterly repealing as falſe and moſt ſlanderous, that Act made againſt him in King *Henry* the Eighths time, and on the next day being Thurſday, and the 22. of *November*, the King and the Queen came both to the Parliament Houſe to give their Royal Aſſent, and to eſtabliſh this Act againſt his coming.

Card. Poole arriveth in England.

Ex Statut: an. 1 & 2 R. Philip. & Mariæ, c. 8.

Upon the *Saturday*, being the 24. of *November*, the ſaid Cardinal came by Water to *London*, and ſo to *Lambeth* Houſe, which was ready prepared againſt his coming.

Upon the *Wedneſday* following, being the 28. of *November*, there was general Proceſſion in *Pauls* for joy that the Queen was conceived and quick with Child, as it was declared in a Letter ſent from the Council to the Biſhop of *London*.

Novemb. 28.

The ſame day were preſent at this Proceſſion ten Biſhops, with all the Prebendaries of *Pauls*, and alſo the Lord Mayor with the Aldermen, and a great number of Commons of the City in their beſt array. The Copy of the Councils Letter here followeth, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

A Copy of a Letter ſent from the Council unto *Edmund Boner* Biſhop of *London*, concerning Queen *Maries* conceiving with Child.

The Councils Letter to Biſhop Boner of the Queens conceiving with Child.

After our hearty Commendations unto your good Lordſhip: whereas it hath pleaſed Almighty God amongſt other his infinite benefits of late moſt graciouſly poured upon us and this whole Realm, to extend his Benediction upon the Queens Majeſty in ſuch ſort, as ſhe is conceived and quick of Child: Whereby her Majeſty (being our natural Liege Lady, Queen, and undoubted Inheritor of this Imperial Crown) good hope of certain Succeſſion in the Crown is given unto us, and conſequently the great Calamities (which for want of ſuch Succeſſion might otherwiſe have fallen upon us and our Poſterity) ſhall by Gods grace be well avoided, if we thankfully aknowledge this benefit of Almighty God, endeavouring our ſelves with earneſt Repentance to thank, honour and ſerve him, as we be moſt bounden: Theſe be not only to advertiſe you of theſe good news, to be by you publiſhed in all places within your Dioceſs, but alſo to pray and require you, that both your ſelf do give God thanks with us for this his eſpecial grace, and alſo give order that Thanks may be openly given by ſinging of Te Deum *in all the Churches within your ſaid Dioceſs; and that likewiſe all Prieſts and other Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, in their Maſſes, and other Divine Services, may continually pray to Almighty God ſo to extend his holy hand over her Majeſty, the Kings Highneſs, and this whole Realm, as that this thing, being by his Omnipotent Power graciouſly thus begun, may by the ſame be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his Name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not, ye would of your ſelf have had ſpecial regard without theſe our Letters, yet for the earneſt deſire we have to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have alſo written theſe our Letters, to put you in remembrance; and ſo bid your Lordſhip moſt heartily well to fare. From* Weſtminſter *the* 27th *of* November, 1554.

If Q. Mary were quick with Child in the 28. of the month of November, and afterward did Labour in the month of June, then went ſhe almoſt 7 months quick with Child.

Te Deum ſung for Queen Maries Child.

Your aſſured loving Friends,

S. Winton. Cancel. — John Bathon.
Arundel. — R. Rich.
F. Shrewsbury. — Thomas Watthem.
Edward Darby. — John Huddilſtone.
Henry Suſſex. — R. Southwell.

Alſo

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Alſo the ſame day in the Afternoon Cardinal *Poole* came to the Parliament-Houſe, which at that preſent was kept in the great Chamber of the Court at *White-Hall*, for that the Queen was then ſick, and could not go abroad: where the King and Queens Majeſty ſitting under the Cloth of Eſtate, and the Cardinal ſitting on the Right hand, with all the other Eſtates of the Parliament being preſent, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* being Lord Chancellor began in this manner.

The words of *Wincheſter* for receiving of the Cardinal.

Wincheſters Words for Card. Poole.

MY Lords of the Upper Houſe, and you my Maſters of the Nether Houſe, here is preſent the Right Reverend Father in God my Lord Cardinal Poole, *come from the Apoſtolick See of* Rome, *as Ambaſſadour to the King and Queens Majeſties, upon one of the weigh-tieſt Cauſes that ever hapned in this Realm, and which pertaineth to the glory of God, and your Univerſal benefit. The which Ambaſſage their Majeſties pleaſure is to be ſignified unto you all by his own mouth, truſting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankful wiſe as their Highneſſes have done, and that you will give an attent and inclinable ear unto him.*

When the Lord Chancellor had thus ended his Talk, the Cardinal, taking the time then offered, began his Oration, wherein he declared the cauſes of his coming, and what were his deſires and requeſts. In the which mean time the Court Gate was kept ſhut until he had made an end of his Oration.

The tenour of Cardinal Pools *Oration, made in the Parliament-Houſe.*

Card. Poole's Oration in the Parliament Houſe.

MY Lords all, and you that are the Commons of this preſent Parliament aſſembled, which in effect is nothing elſe but the State and Body of the whole Realm. As the cauſe of my repair hither hath been moſt wiſely and gravely declared by my Lord Chancellor, ſo, before that I enter to the particularities of my Commiſſion, I have ſomewhat touching my ſelf, and to give moſt humble and hearty Thanks to the King and Queens Majeſties, and after them to you all, which of a Man exiled and baniſhed from this Commonwealth, have reſtored me to be a Member of the ſame, and of a man having no place neither here, or elſewhere within this Realm, have admitted me in a place, where to ſpeak and to be heard. This I proteſt unto you all, that though I was Exiled my Native Country without juſt cauſe, as God knoweth, yet the Ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and deſire that I had to profit and do you good. If the offer of my ſervice might have been received, it was never to ſeek, and where that could not be taken, you never failed of my Prayer, nor ever ſhall.

But leaving the rehearſal thereof, and coming more near to the matter of my Commiſſion, I ſignifie unto you all. That my principal Travel is for the reſtitution of this noble Realm to the ancient Nobility, and to declare unto you, that the See Apoſtolick, from whence I come, hath a ſpecial reſpect to this Realm above all other, and not without cauſe, ſeeing that God himſelf, as it were by Providence, hath given this Realm prerogative of Nobility above other: which to make more plain unto you, it is to be conſidered that this Iſland firſt of all Iſlands received the light of Chriſts Religion. For as ſtories teſtifie, it was *prima Provinciarum quæ amplexa eſt fidem Chriſti*.

More for the Vantage that was hoped by it, than for any great love.

England, of all Iſlands, received firſt the Faith of Chriſt.

For the *Britains* being firſt Inhabitants of this Realm (notwithſtanding the ſubjection of the Emperours and Heathen Princes) did receive Chriſts Faith from the Apoſtolick See univerſally, and not in parts as other Countries, nor by one and one, as Clocks increaſe their hours by diſtinction of times, but altogether at once, as it were in a moment. But after that their ill Merits or forgetfulneſs of God had deſerved expulſion, and that Strangers being Infidels had poſſeſſed this Land, yet God of his goodneſs, not leaving where he once loved, ſo illuminated the hearts of the *Saxons* being Heathen-men, that they forſook the darkneſs of Heathen Errors, and embraced the light of Chriſts Religion: ſo that within a ſmall ſpace Idolatry and Heathen Superſtition was utterly abandoned in this Iſland.

This was a great Prerogative of Nobility, the benefit whereof though it be to be aſcribed to God, yet the mean occaſion of the ſame came from the Church of *Rome*. In the Faith of which Church we have ever ſince continued and conſented with the reſt of the World in unity of Religion. And to ſhew further the fervent Devotion of the Inhabitants of this Iſland towards the Church of *Rome*, we read that divers Princes in the *Saxons* time with great Travel and Expences went perſonally to *Rome*, as *Offa* and *Adulphus*, which thought it not enough to ſhew themſelves obedient to the ſaid See; unleſs that in their own perſons they had gone to that ſame place from whence they had received ſo great a grace and benefit.

That the Faith of the *Britains* came firſt from *Rome*, neither doth it ſtand with the circumſtance of our ſtories: and if it ſo did, yet that Faith and Doctrine of the *Romaniſts* was not ſuch then as *it is now*. Read before. Of this *Offa* read before. Of *Alcuinus* read before.

In the time of *Carolus Magnus*, who firſt founded the Univerſity of *Paris*, he ſent into *England* for *Alcuinus* a great Learned man, which firſt brought Learning to that Univerſity, whereby it ſeemeth that the greateſt part of the World fetcht the light of Religion from *England*.

Adrian the Fourth being an Engliſh-man converted *Norway* from Infidelity, which *Adrian* afterwards, upon great affection and love that he bare to this Realm being his Native Country, gave to *Henry* the Second, King of *England*, the right and Seignory of the Dominion of *Ireland*, which pertained to the See of *Rome*.

I will not rehearſe the manifold benefit, that this Realm hath received from the Apoſtolick See, nor how ready the ſame hath been to relieve us in all our neceſſities. Nor will I rehearſe the manifold Miſeries and Calamities that this Realm hath ſuffered by ſwerving from that Unity. And even as in this Realm, ſo alſo in all other Countries which refuſing the Unity of the Catholick Faith have followed fantaſtical Doctrine, the like Plagues have happened. Let *Aſia* and the Empire of *Greece* be a Spectacle unto the World, who, by ſwerving from the Unity of the Church of *Rome*, are brought into Captivity and ſubjection of the *Turk*. All ſtories be full of like Examples. And to come unto the later time, look upon our Neighbours in *Germany*, who, by ſwerving from this Unity, are miſerably afflicted with diverſity of Sects, and divided into Factions.

Nay rather what Riches and Treaſures the See of *Rome* hath ſucke out of *England*, it is incredible. The cauſe of their ſubjection to the *Turk* cannot be proved to come by ſwerving from the Unity of the Church of *Rome*, for they never fully joyned unto it. And as touching the ſubjection of *Aſia* and *Greece* to the *Turk*, read in the ſtory of the *Turk* before. And why then do ye more cruelly than the *Turk* perſecute others for their Conſcience?

What ſhall I rehearſe unto you the tumults and effuſion of Blood that hath happened there of late days? Or trouble you with the rehearſal of thoſe Plagues that have happened ſince this Innovation of Religion, whereof you have felt the bitterneſs, and I have heard the Report? Of all which matters I can ſay no more, but ſuch was the miſery of the time. And ſee how far forth this Fury went. For thoſe that live under the *Turk* may freely live after their Conſcience, and ſo was it not lawful here.

If men examine well upon what grounds theſe Innovations began, they ſhall well find that the Root of this, as of many other Miſchiefs, was Avarice, and that the luſt and carnal Affection of one man confounded all Laws both divine and human. And notwithſtanding all theſe Devices and Policies practiced within this Realm againſt the Church of *Rome*, they needed not to have loſt you, but that they thought rather as Friends to reconcile you, than as Enemies to infeſt you. For they wanted not great Offers of the moſt mighty Potentates in all *Europe* to have aided the Church in that Quarrel. Then mark the Sequel: There ſeemed by theſe Changes to riſe a great face of Riches and Gain, which in proof came to great miſery and lack. See how God then can confound the wiſdom of the wiſe, and turn unjuſt Policy to meer folly, and that thing which ſeemed to be done for relief, was cauſe of plain ruine and decay. Yet ſee that goodneſs of God, which at no time failed us, but moſt benignly offered his Grace, when it was of our parts leaſt ſought, and worſe deſerved.

And when all light of true Religion ſeemed utterly extinct, the Churches defaced, the Altars overthrown, the Miniſters corrupted: even like as in a Lamp the light being covered, yet it is not quenched, even ſo in a few remained the confeſſion of Chriſts Faith, namely in the Breaſt of the Queens Excellency, of whom, to ſpeak without adulation, the ſaying of the Prophet may be verified, *Ecce quaſi derelicta!*

And ſee how miraculouſly God of his goodneſs preſerved her Highneſs, contrary to the expectation of man, that when numbers conſpired againſt her, and Policies

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were deviſed to diſinherit her, and armed Power prepared to deſtroy her, yet ſhe being a Virgin helpleſs, naked and unarmed, prevailed and had the Victory of Tyrants, which is not to be aſcribed to any policy of man, but to the Almighty great goodneſs and providence of God, to whom the honour is to be given. And therefore it may be ſaid, *Da gloriam Deo.* For in mans Judgment, on her Graces part was nothing in appearance but deſpair.

What policy is this to make promiſe to get ſtrength, and to break it as the Queen did?

And yet for all theſe practiſes and devices of ill men, here you ſee her Grace eſtabliſhed in her Eſtate, being your lawful Queen and Governeſs, born among you, whom God hath appointed to reign over you for the reſtitution of true Religion, and extirpation of all Errors and Sects. And to confirm her Grace the more ſtrongly in this enterprize, lo how the Providence of God hath joyned her in Marriage with a Prince of like Religion, who being a King of great Might, Armor, and Force, yet uſeth towards you neither Armor nor Force, but ſeeketh you by the way of Love and Amity: in which reſpect great cauſe you have to give thanks to Almighty God, that hath ſent you ſuch a Catholick Governeſs. It ſhall be therefore your part again to love, obey, and ſerve them.

The Cardinal here appeareth to be a falſe Prophet.

And as it was a ſingular favour of God to conjoyn them in Marriage, ſo it is not to be doubted but that he ſhall ſend them Iſſue, for the comfort and ſurety of this Commonwealth.

Of all Princes in *Europe*, the Emperor hath travelled moſt in the cauſe of Religion, as it appeareth by his acts in *Germany*: yet happily by ſome ſecret judgment of God, he hath not atchieved the end. With whom in my Journey hitherwards I had conference touching my Legation: whereof when we had underſtanding, he ſhewed a great appearance of moſt earneſt joy and gladneſs, ſaying, That it rejoyced him no leſs of the reconcilement of this Realm unto Chriſtian Unity, than that his Son was placed by Marriage in the Kingdom, and moſt glad he was of all, that the occaſion thereof ſhould come by me being an *Engliſh-man* born, which is (as it were) to call home our ſelves. I can well compare him to *David*, which though he were a Man elect of God, yet, for that he was contaminate with Blood and War, he could not build the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, but left the finiſhing thereof to *Solomon*, which was *Rex pacifi-cus*. So may it be thought, that the appeaſing of Controverſies of Religion in Chriſtianity, is not appointed to this Emperor, but rather to his Son, who ſhall perform the building that his Father had begun. Which Church cannot be perfectly builded, unleſs univerſally in all Realms we adhere to one Head, and do acknowledge him to be the Vicar of God, and to have Power from above. For all Power is of God, according to the ſaying, *Non eſt poteſtas, niſi à Deo.* And therefore I conſider that all Power being in God, yet, for the conſervation of quiet and godly life in the World, he hath derived that Power from above into the parts here in Earth: which is, into the Power Imperial, and Eccleſiaſtical. And theſe two Powers, as they be ſeveral and diſtinct, ſo have they two ſeveral effects and operations. For Secular Princes, to whom the Temporal Sword is committed, be Miniſters of God to execute Vengeance upon Tranſgreſſors and Evil livers, and to preſerve the well-doers and innocents from Injury and Violence. Which Power is repreſented in theſe two moſt excellent Perſons, the King and Queens Majeſty here preſent, who have this Power committed unto them immediately from God, without any Superiour in that behalf.

Charles the Emperour compared to *David*.

Two Powers on Earth: Eccleſiaſtical and Imperial.

The other Power is of Miniſtration, which is the power of the Keys, and Order in the Eccleſiaſtical State, which is by the Authority of Gods Word, and examples of the Apoſtles, and of all old holy Fathers from Chriſt hitherto, attributed and given to the Apoſtolick See of *Rome*, by ſpecial Prerogative. From which See I am here deputed Legate and Embaſſador, having full and ample Commiſſion from thence, and have the Keys committed to my hands, I confeſs to you that I have the Keys, not as mine own Keys, but as the Keys of him that ſent me, and yet cannot open; not for want of Power in me to give, but for certain impediments in you to receive, which muſt be taken away before my Commiſſion can take effect. This I proteſt before you, my Commiſſion is not of prejudice to any perſon. I come not to deſtroy, but to build, I come to reconcile, not to condemn, I am not come to compel, but to call again, I am not come to call any thing in queſtion already done, but my Commiſſion is of grace and clemency, to ſuch as will receive it. For touching all matters that be paſt they ſhall be as things caſt into the Sea of forgetfulneſs.

The Power of the Keys Clarkly declared.

But the mean, whereby you ſhall receive this benefit, is to revoke and repeal thoſe Laws and Statutes, which be impediments, blocks and bars to the execution of my Commiſſion. For like as I my ſelf had neither place nor voice to ſpeak here among you, but was in all reſpects a baniſhed man, till ſuch time as ye had repealed thoſe Laws that lay in my way: even ſo cannot you receive the benefit and grace offered from the Apoſtolick See, until the abrogation of ſuch Laws, whereby you have diſjoyned and diſſevered your ſelves from the Unity of Chriſts Church.

The Popes Keys cannot work in *England* before the Lack of good Laws be changed.

It remaineth therefore that you, like true Chriſtians and provident men for the weal of your Souls and Bodies, ponder what is to be done in this ſo weighty a cauſe, and ſo to frame your Acts and proceedings, as they may firſt tend to the glory of God, and next to the conſervation of your Commonwealth, ſurety and quietneſs.

The next day after the Three Eſtates aſſembled again in the great Chamber of the Court at *Weſtminſter*: where the King and Queens Majeſties and the Cardinal being preſent, they did exhibit (all kneeling on their knees) a Supplication to their Highneſſes, the tenor whereof enſueth.

The Copy of the Supplication and Submiſſion exhibited to the King and Queens Majeſties, by the Lords and Commons of the Parliament.

The Supplication and Submiſſion of the Lords and Commons, to the King and Queens Majeſties.

WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this preſent Parliament aſſembled, repreſenting the whole Body of the Realm of England *and Dominions of the ſame, in our own names particularly, and alſo of the ſaid Body univerſally, in this Supplication directed to your Majeſties with moſt humble ſuit, that it may by your gracious interceſſion and means, be exhibited to the moſt Reverend Father in God, the Lord Cardinal* Poole *Legate, ſent ſpecially hither from our moſt holy Father Pope* Julius *the Third, and the See Apoſtolick of* Rome, *do declare our ſelves very ſorry, and repentant for the Schiſm and Diſobedience committed in this Realm and Dominions of the ſame, againſt the ſaid See Apoſtolick, either by making, agreeing or executing any Laws, Ordinances or Commandments againſt the Supremacy of the ſaid See, or otherwiſe doing or ſpeaking that might impugn the ſame: offering our ſelves, and promiſing by this our Supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our ſaid Repentance, we be, and ſhall be alway ready, under and with the Authority of your Majeſties, to the uttermoſt of our power, to do that which ſhall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of the ſaid Laws and Ordinances in this preſent Parliament; as well for our ſelves as for the whole Body whom we repreſent.*

O great ſorrow and deep Repentance!

Whereupon we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſties, as perſons undefiled in the offence of this Body towards the ſaid See, which nevertheleſs God by his Providence hath made ſubject unto your Majeſties, ſo to ſet forth this our moſt humble ſuit, that we may obtain from the See Apoſtolick, by the ſaid moſt Reverend Father, as well particularly as univerſally, abſolution, releaſe and diſcharge from all danger of ſuch Cenſures and Sentences, as by the Laws of the Church we be fallen in, and that we may as Children repentant, be received into the boſom and unity of Chriſts Church, ſo as this Noble Realm, with all the Members thereof, may in unity and perfect obedience to the See Apoſtolick, and Pope for the time being, ſerve God and your Majeſties, to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory, Amen.

The Popes Abſolution cannot come, but by interceſſion of Kings and Queens.

The Supplication being read, the King and Queen delivered the ſame unto the Cardinal, who (perceiving the effects thereof to anſwer his expectation) did receive the ſame moſt gladly from their Majeſties: and after he had in few words given thanks to God, and declared what great cauſe he had to rejoyce above all others, that his coming from *Rome* into *England* had taken moſt happy ſucceſs: He by the Popes Authority did give them this Abſolution following.

The Supplication given up by the King and Queen to the Cardinal.

The Popes Keys ſent by the Cardinal.

Anno 1554.

An Abſolution pronounced by Cardinal Poole *to the whole Parliament of* England, *in the Preſence of the King and Queen.*

Abſolution from the Pope given to the Realm of *England*. Chriſts Abſolution not ſufficient, without the Popes be joyned withal. *England* brought from Gods bleſſing into the warm Sun.

OUr Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which with his moſt precious Blood hath redeemed and waſhed us from all our Sins and Iniquities, that he might purchaſe unto himſelf a Glorious Spouſe without Spot or Wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed Head over all his Church, he by his Mercy abſolve you. And we by Apoſtolick Authority given unto us (by the moſt Holy Lord Pope *Julius* the Third, his Vicegerent in Earth) do abſolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole Realm and Dominions thereof, from all Hereſie and Schiſm, and from all and every Judgment, Cenſures and Pains, for that cauſe incurred; and alſo we do reſtore you again unto the Unity of our Mother the Holy Church, as in our Letters more plainly it ſhall appear: In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

Te Deum ſung, but with heavy hearts God knoweth.

When all this was done, they went into the Chappel, and there ſinging *Te Deum*, with great ſolemnity declared the Joy and Gladneſs that for this Reconciliation was pretended.

Great Joy at *Rome* for the Converſion of *England*, and good cauſe why.

The Report of this was with great ſpeed ſent unto *Rome*; as well by the King and Cardinals Letters, which hereafter follow, as alſo otherwiſe. Whereupon the Pope cauſed there at *Rome* Proceſſions to be made, and Thanks to be given to God with great Joy for the Converſion of *England* to his Church, and therefore praiſing the Cardinals Diligence, and the Devotion of the King and Queen, on Chriſtmaſs Even, by his Bulls he ſet forth a General Pardon to all ſuch as did truly rejoyce for the ſame.

A Copy of King *Philips* Letter, written with his own Hand to Pope *Julius*, touching the reſtoring of the Realm of *England*.

Novemb. 30. King *Philips* Letter to the Pope tranſlated out of Spaniſh into Engliſh.

MOſt Holy Father, *I wrote yeſterday unto Don* John Maurique, *that he ſhould declare by word of Mouth, or elſe write to your Holineſs, in what good State the Matter of Religion ſtood in this Realm, and of the ſubmiſſion to your Holineſs, as to the Chief. As this day which is the Feaſt of S.* Andrew, *late in the evening, we have done God that ſervice (to whoſe only Godneſs we muſt impute it, and to your Holineſs, who have taken ſo great pain to gain theſe Souls) that this Realm with full and general conſent of all them that repreſent the State, being very penitent for that was paſt, and well bent for that they come to do, ſubmitted themſelves to your Holineſs, and to that Holy See; whom, at the Requeſt of the Queen and me, your Legate did abſolve. And foraſmuch as the ſaid Don* John *ſhall ſignifie unto your Holineſs all that paſſed in this matter, I will write no more thereof, but only that the Queen and I, as moſt faithful and devout Children of your Holineſs, have received the greateſt Joy and Comfort thereof that may be expreſſed with Tongue: Conſidering that, beſides the Service done to God hereby, it hath chanced in the time of your Holineſs, to place as it were in the Lap of the Holy Catholick Church ſuch a Kingdom as this is. And therefore I think I cannot be thankful enough for that is done this day. And I truſt in him, that your Holineſs ſhall alway underſtand, that the Holy See hath not had a more Obedient Son than I, nor more deſirous to preſerve and increaſe the Authority of the ſame. God guide and proſper the moſt holy Perſonage of your Holineſs as I deſire.*

From London *the* 30. *of* November, 1554.

Your Holineſs moſt Humble Son the King, &c.

Here followeth likewiſe the Cardinals Letter to the ſaid Pope concerning the ſame Matter.

The Cardinals Letter to the Pope for the reclaiming again of *England* to his See.

THoſe things which I wrote unto your Holineſs of late, of that Hope which I truſted would come to paſs, that in ſhort ſpace this Realm would be reduced to the Unity of the Church, and Obedience of the Apoſtolick See, though I did write then not without great Cauſe: yet nevertheleſs I could not be void of all fear, not only for that difficulty which the Minds of our Countrymen did ſhew, being ſo long alienated from the See Apoſtolick, and for the old Hatred which they had born ſo many years to that Name: But much more I feared, leſt the firſt entry into the Cauſe it ſelf, ſhould be put off by ſome other Matter or Convention coming betwixt.

For the avoiding whereof, I made great means to the King and Queen, which little needed: For their own godly Forwardneſs, and earneſt Deſire to bring the thing to paſs, far ſurmounted my great and earneſt Expectation. This day in the Evening, being S. *Andrews* day (who firſt brought his Brother *Peter* to Chriſt) it is come to paſs by the Providence of God, that this Realm is reclaimed to give due obedience unto *Peters* Seat and your Holineſs, by whoſe means it may be conjoyned to Chriſt the Head, and his Body which is the Church. The thing was done and concluded in Parliament (the King and Queen being preſent) with ſuch full conſent and great rejoycing, that incontinently after I had made my Oration and given the Benediction, with a great joy and ſhout there was divers times ſaid, *Amen, Amen.* Which doth evidently declare, that that Holy Seed, although it hath been long oppreſſed, yet was not utterly quenched in them; which chiefly was declared in the "Nobility. Returning home to my Houſe, theſe things I wrote unto your Holineſs upon the ſudden, rejoycing that I had ſo luckily brought to paſs, ſo weighty a Matter by the Divine Providence, thinking to have ſent my Letters by the Kings Poſt, who (as it was ſaid) ſhould have departed ſhortly: But afterwards changing my purpoſe, when I had determined to ſend one of mine own Men, I thought good to add thus much to my Letters, for the more ample Gratulation and Rejoycing at that good Chance: Which thing as it was right great gladneſs to me, through the Event of the ſame (being it ſelf very great, and ſo holy, ſo profitable to the whole Church, ſo healthful to this my Country which brought me forth, ſo honourable to the ſame which received me:) So likewiſe I took no leſs rejoycing of the Princes themſelves, through whoſe Vertue and Godlineſs the matter did take ſucceſs and perfection. Of how many, and how great things may the Church (which is the Spouſe of Chriſt, and our Mother) make her Account through thoſe her Children? Oh notable Zeal of Godlineſs! Oh Ancient Faith! which undoubtedly doth ſo manifeſtly appear in them both, that whoſo ſeeth them, muſt needs (whether he will or no) ſay the ſame which the Prophet ſpake of the firſt Children of the Church; *Iſti ſunt ſemen cui benedixit Dominus. Hæc plantatio Domini ad gloriandum.* That is, Theſe are the Seed which the Lord hath bleſſed. This is the Lords planting to glory in. How holily did your Holineſs with all your Authority and earneſt Affection favour this Marriage? which truly ſeemeth to expreſs a great ſimilitude of the Higheſt King, which being Heir of the World, was ſent down by his Father from the Regal Seat to be Spouſe and Son of the Virgin, and by this means to comfort all Mankind: For even ſo this King himſelf, the greateſt Heir of all Men which are in the Earth, leaving his Fathers Kingdoms that are moſt great, is come into this little Kingdom, and is become both the Spouſe and Son of this Virgin, (for he ſo behaveth himſelf as though he were a Son, whereas indeed he is a Husband) that he might, as he hath in effect already performed, ſhew himſelf an Aider and Helper to reconcile this People to Chriſt, and his Body, which is the Church. Which things, ſeeing they are ſo, what may not our Mother the Church her ſelf look for at his hands, that hath brought this to paſs, to convert the Hearts of the Fathers towards their Sons, and the Unbelievers to the Wiſdom of the Righteous? which Vertue truly, doth wonderfully ſhine in him. But the Queen, which at that time, when your Holineſs ſent me Legate unto her, did riſe up as a Rod of Incenſe ſpringing out of the Trees of Mirrhe, and as Frankincenſe out of the Deſert; She, I ſay, which a little before was forſaken of all men, how wonderfully doth ſhe now ſhine? What a Savour of Mirrhe and Frankincenſe doth ſhe give forth unto her People? which (as the Prophet ſaith of the Mother of Chriſt) brought forth before ſhe laboured, before ſhe was delivered brought forth a Man-Child: Who ever heard of ſuch a thing? and who hath ſeen the like of this? Shall the Earth bring forth in one day, or ſhall a whole Nation be brought forth together? But ſhe now hath brought forth a whole Nation before the time of that Delivery, whereof we are in moſt great Hope.

"The Popes Authority as much welcom to the Nobility of *England*, as water into the Ship.

Oh diſſimulation of a flattering Cardinal!

What ſimilitude is betwixt light and darkneſs? 2 Cor. 6.

Cardinal *Poole* flattereth the King.

Scripture well applyed.

How

How great cauſe is given to us to rejoyce? How great cauſe have we to give thanks to Gods Mercy, your Holineſs, and the Emperors Majeſty, which have been Cauſers of ſo Happy and ſo Godly a Marriage; by which we being reconciled, are joyned to God the Father, to Chriſt, and to the Church? of the which although I cannot comprehend in words the Joy that I have taken, yet I cannot keep ſilence of it. And to this my rejoycing this alſo was joyned (which when I had perceived by the Letters of the Reverend Archbiſhop of *Comſane*, your Holineſs *Nuncio* with the Emperors Majeſty, brought me marvellous great gladneſs) that your ſaid Holineſs began to reſtore to the Ancient Beauty thoſe things, which in the Church of *Rome* through the corruption of times were deformed, which truly, when it ſhall be finiſhed, then indeed may we well cry out with the Prophet, and ſpeak unto your Holineſs with theſe words, *Exue te ſtolâ luctus & vexationis, & indue te decore, qui à Deo tibi eſt in gloria ſempiterna: nominabitur enim tibi nomen tuum à Deo ſempiternum, pax juſtitiæ & honor pietatis. Tum autem dicetur, Circumſpice & vide collectos filios tuos ab oriente ſole uſque in occidentem, verbo ſancto gaudentem.* That is, *Put off the ſtole of Sorrow and Vexation, and put on Comlineſs, which thou haſt of God in everlaſting Glory. For thy Name ſhall be named of God everlaſting, peace of righteouſneſs, and honour of Godlineſs; and then it ſhall be ſaid, Look about and ſee thy Sons gathered together from the Sun-riſing, to the going down of the ſame, rejoycing in the Holy Word.* There is nothing truly (to ſpeak of thy Children gathered together in the Weſt, which prepare themſelves to meet their Mother) which they had rather ſee, than her apparelled (that I may uſe the words of the Prophet) in that Garment of Righteouſneſs wherewith God adorned her in times paſt. This one thing remaineth, That your Holineſs Joy, and the Joy of all the Univerſal Church may be perfected, which, together with us her unworthy Children, ceaſeth not to pray to God for it. The Almighty God preſerve your Holineſs long to continue in Health for the profit of his Church. From *London* the laſt of *November*, 1554.

Your moſt humble Servant
Reginald Poole, *Cardinal.*

The Scripture ſpeaking of *Sion* and *Jeruſalem*, unaptly applyed to the Pope.

December 2. *A Sermon of Stephen Gardiner preached at Pauls Croſs.*

Upon the Sunday following, being the 2. of *December*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, preached at *Pauls* Croſs, at which Sermon was preſent the King and Cardinal *Poole*. He took for his Theam this part of the Epiſtle of S. *Paul* to the *Romans* the 13. Chapter, *This alſo we know the Seaſon (brethren) that we ſhould now awake out of ſleep, for now is our Salvation nearer, than when we believed*, &c. Some Notes whereof as they came to my hands faithfully gathered (as it appeareth by ſundry Copies) I have here thought good to ſet forth.

A dreaming Sermon of the B. of *Wincheſter.*

Firſt, He ſhewed how the ſaying of S. *Paul* was verified upon the Gentiles, who had a long time ſlept in dark Ignorance, not knowing God: Therefore S. *Paul* (quoth he) to ſtir up their heavy dulneſs, willed them to awake out of their long ſleep, becauſe their Salvation was nearer, than when they believed. In amplifying this matter, and comparing our times with theirs, he took occaſion to declare what difference the Jewiſh Sacraments had from theſe of the Chriſtians, wherein he uſed theſe words:

Even as the Sacrament of the Jews did declare Chriſt to come, ſo do our Sacraments declare Chriſt to be already come: But Chriſt to come, and Chriſt to be come, is not all one. For now that he is come, the Jews Sacraments be done away, and ours only remain, which declare that he is already come, and is nearer us, than he was to the Fathers of the Old Law: For they had him but in Signs, but we have him in the Sacrament of the Altar, even his very Body. Wherefore now alſo it is time that we awake out of our ſleep, who have ſlept, or rather dreamed theſe twenty years paſt, as ſhall more eaſily appear by declaring at large ſome of the Properties and Effects of a Sleep or a Dream. And firſt, As Men intending to ſleep, do ſeparate themſelves from company, and deſire to be alone; even ſo have we ſeparated our ſelves from the Sea Apoſtolick of *Rome*: and have been alone, no Realm in Chriſtendom like us.

Secondly, as in ſleep Men dream ſometime of killing, ſometime of maiming, ſometime of drowning, or burning, ſometime of ſuch beaſtlineſs as I dare not name, but will ſpare your Ears: So we have *in this our ſleep* not only dreamed of Beaſtlineſs, but we have done it indeed. For in this our ſleep hath not one Brother deſtroyed another? Hath not half our Money been wiped away at one time? And again, thoſe that would defend their Conſcience, were ſlain, and others alſo otherwiſe troubled; beſides infinite other things, which you all know as well as I, whereof I report me to your own Conſciences. Further, in a mans ſleep all his Senſes are ſtopped, ſo that he can neither ſee, ſmell, nor hear: Even ſo whereas the Ceremonies of the Church were inſtituted to move and ſtir up our Senſes, they being taken away, were not our Senſes (as ye would ſay) ſtopped, and we faſt aſleep? Moreover, when a man would gladly ſleep, he will put out the Candle, leſt peradventure it may let his ſleep, and awake him: So of late all ſuch Writers as did hold any thing with the Apoſtolick See, were condemned, and forbidden to be read; and Images (which were "Lay-mens Books) were caſt down and broken.

Anno 1554.

Wincheſter very expert (as appeareth) in Ghoſtly Dreams.

Who puteth out the Candle, but they which extinguiſh Gods Word, and forbid the Scriptures, that ſhould give us Light? "They forbid Lay-mens Books, but you forbid the Book of God.

The Sleep hath continued with us theſe twenty years, and we all that while without a Head. For when King *Henry* did firſt take upon him to be Head of the Church, it was then no Church at all. After whoſe death, King *Edward* (having over him Governours and Protectors which ruled as them liſted), could not be Head of the Church, but was only a Shadow or Sign of a Head: And at length it came to paſs, that we had no Head at all; no, not ſo much as our two Archbiſhops. For on the one ſide, the Queen being a Woman, could not be Head of the Church; and on the other ſide, they both were convicted of one Crime, and ſo depoſed. Thus, while we deſired to have a Supream Head among us, it came to paſs, that we had no Head at all. When the Tumult was in the North in the time of K. *Henry* the Eighth (I am ſure) the K. was determined to have given over the Supremacy again to the Pope; but the hour was not then come, and therefore it went not forward, leſt ſome would have ſaid, that he did it for Fear.

Then belike Chriſt is no Head at all to give life to his Church, unleſs the Popes Head alſo be clapt on the Churches Shoulders.

After this, Mr. *Knevet* and I were ſent Ambaſſadors unto the Emperor, to deſire him that he would be a Mean between the Popes Holineſs and the King, to bring the King to the obedience of the See of *Rome*, but the time was not yet come. For it might have been ſaid, that it had been done for a Civil Policy. Again, in the beginning of King *Edwards* Reign the matter was moved, but the Time was not yet: For it would have been ſaid, that the King (being but a Child) had been bought and ſold. Neither in the beginning of the Queens Reign was the hour come; for it would have been ſaid, that it was done in a time of weakneſs. Likewiſe when the K. firſt came, if it had been done, they might have ſaid it had been by Force and Violence. But now, even now, "*hora eſt*, the hour is come, when nothing can be objected, but that it is the meer Mercy and Providence of God. Now hath the Popes Holineſs, Pope *Julius* the 3*d*. ſent unto us this Moſt Reverend Father, Cardinal *Poole*, an Ambaſſador from his ſide. What to do? Not to revenge the Injuries done by us againſt his Holineſs, *ſed benedicere maledicentibus*, to give his Benediction to thoſe that defamed and perſecuted him.

"Ignoto poteſtas tenebraram.

Stephen Gardiner claweth the Cardinal.

And that we may be the more meet to receive the ſaid Benediction, I ſhall deſire you that we may alway acknowledge our ſelves offenders againſt his Holineſs; I do not exclude my ſelf forth of the number. I will *flere cum flentibus, & gaudere cum gaudentibus*; That is, *Weep with them that weep, and rejoyce with them that rejoyce.* And I ſhall deſire you, that we may defer the matter no longer; for now, *hora eſt*, the hour is come. The King and Queens Majeſties have already reſtored our Holy Father the Pope to his Supremacy, and the three Eſtates aſſembled in the Parliament, repreſenting the whole Body of the Realm, have alſo ſubmitted themſelves to his Holineſs, and his Succeſſors "for ever, wherefore let us not any longer ſtay. And even as Saint *Paul* ſaid to the *Corinthians*, that he was their Father, ſo may the Pope ſay, that he is our Father: For we received our Doctrine firſt from *Rome*, therefore he may challenge us as his own. We have all cauſe to rejoyce, for his Holineſs hath ſent hither and prevented us, before we ſought him:

Note how the meaning of S. *Pauls* words are here applied "For ever, *Wincheſter* a falſe Prophet. S. *Paul*, though he were the Father of many Churches in Chriſt Jeſus, yet was he never ſo arrogant to take upon him to be Supream Head of any Church, but left that ſolely to Chriſt, and laboured to bring all under him.

ſuch

Anno 1554.

ſuch Care hath he for us. Therefore let us ſay, *Hæc eſt dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea*, Rejoyce in this Day, which is of the Lords working, that ſuch a Noble Birth is come, yea, ſuch a Holy Father (I mean my Lord Cardinal *Pool*) which can ſpeak unto us as unto Brethren, and not as unto Strangers, who hath a long time been abſent. And let us now awake, which ſo long have ſlept, and in our ſleep have done ſo much naughtineſs againſt the Sacraments of Chriſt, denying the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and pulled down the "Altar, which thing *Luther* himſelf would not do, but rather reproved them that did, examining them of their belief in Chriſt.

"So Chriſt pulled down the Hill Altars, which *Manaſſes* afterward did ſet up: and yet we commend the doings of *Ezechias*, and diſprove the fact of the other.

This was the Sum of his Sermon before his Prayers, wherein he prayed firſt for the Pope, Pope *Julius* the Third, with all his Colledge of Cardinals, the Biſhop of *London*, with the reſt of that Order; then for the King and Queen, and the Nobility of this Realm; and laſt, for the Commons of the ſame, with the Souls departed, lying in the pains of Purgatory. This ended, the time being late, they began in *Pauls* to ring to their Evening Song, whereby the Preacher could not be well heard, which cauſed him to make a ſhort end of his Clerkly Sermon.

About this very time a Poſt or Meſſenger was ſent from the whole Parliament to the Pope, to deſire him to confirm and eſtabliſh the Sale of Abby-lands and Chauntry-lands; For the Lords and the Parliament would grant nothing in the Popes behalf, before their Purchaſes were fully confirmed.

Decemb. 6. The Chapter of *Pauls* abſolved by the Cardinal.

Upon the Thurſday following, being the 6 day of *December*, and Saint *Nicholas* day, all the whole Convocation, both Biſhops and others, were ſent for to *Lambeth* to the Cardinal, who the ſame day forgave them all their Perjurations, Schiſms, and Hereſies, and they all there kneeled down and received his Abſolution, and after an Exhortation and Gratulation for their Converſion to the Catholick Church made by the Cardinal, they departed.

Decemb 11. The Queſtmen of Mr. *Throgmorton* put to their Fine, and delivered.

Upon the Wedneſday, being the 12. of *December*, five of the eight men which lay in the *Fleet*, that were of Maſter *Throgmortons* Queſt, were diſcharged, and ſet at liberty upon their Fine paid, which was 220 pound a piece; and the other three put up a Supplication, therein declaring, that their Goods did not amount to the Sum that they were appointed to pay; and ſo upon that Declaration paying 40 li. a piece, they were delivered out of Priſon upon St. *Thomas* day before *Chriſtmaſs*, being the 21. of *December*.

Decemb. 22.

Upon the Saturday following, being the 22. of *December*, all the whole Parliament had ſtrict commandment, that none of them ſhould depart into their Countrey this *Chriſtmaſs*, nor before the Parliament were ended. Which commandment was wonderful contrary to their Expectations. For as well many of the Lords, as alſo many of the Inferiour ſort had ſent for their Horſes, and had them brought hither.

Decemb. 28.

Upon the Friday following, being the 28. of *December*, and *Childermaſs* day, the Prince of *Piedmont* came to the Court at *Weſtminſter*.

ANNO 1555.

January. M. *Roſe* with 30. perſons taken at a Communion in *Bow*-Churchyard.

UPon New-years day at Night following, certain Honeſt Men and Women of the City, to the Number of 30. and a Miniſter with them named Maſter *Roſe*, were taken as they were in a Houſe in *Bow*-Church-Yard at the Communion, and the ſame Night they were all committed to Priſon And on the Thurſday following, being the 3. day of *January*, M. *Roſe* was before the B. of *Wincheſter*, being Lord Chancellor, and from thence the ſame day he was committed to the *Tower*, after certain Communication had between the Biſhop and him.

January 3.

The Act of Supremacy paſſed in the Parliament.

The ſame day the Act of Supremacy paſt in the Parliament. Alſo the ſame day at Night was a great Tumult between *Spaniards* and *Engliſh-men* at *Weſtminſter*, whereof was like to have enſued a great Miſchief through a *Spaniſh* Frier, which got into the Church and rung Alarum. The Occaſion was about two Whores which were in the Cloyſter at *Weſtminſter* with a ſort of *Spaniards*, whereof, whilſt ſome plaid the Knaves with them, other ſome did keep the Entry of the Cloyſter with Dags in harneſs. In the mean time certain of the Deans Men came into the Cloyſter, and the *Spaniards* diſcharged their Dags at them, and hurt ſome of them. By and by the Noiſe of this doing came into the Streets, ſo that the whole Town was up almoſt, but never a ſtroke was ſtricken. Notwithſtanding the Noiſe of this doing with the Deans Men, and alſo the ringing of the Alarum, made much ado, and a great Number alſo to be ſore afraid.

A ſtir between the Spaniards and Engliſh-men at *Weſtminſter*.

Ye heard a little before the Councels Letter ſent to Biſhop *Boner*, ſignifying the good News of Queen *Mary* to be not only conceived, but alſo quick with Child, which was in the Month of *November*, the 28. day. Of this Child great talk began at this time to riſe in every Mans Mouth, with buſie preparation, and much ado, eſpecially amongſt ſuch as ſeemed in *England* to carry *Spaniſh* Hearts in *Engliſh* Bodies. In Number of whom here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condign Commendation for his worthy Affection toward his Prince and her Iſſue, one Sir *Richard Southwell*, who being the ſame time in the Parliament-houſe, whenas the Lords were occupied in other Affairs and Matters of Importance, ſuddenly ſtarting up, for fulneſs of Joy burſt out in theſe Words following: *Tuſh my Maſters*, quoth he, *what talk ye of theſe Matters? I would have you take ſome Order for our Maſter that is now coming into the World apace, leſt he find us unprovided*, &c. By the which words both of him, and alſo by the foreſaid Letters of the Councel, & the common talk abroad, it may appear what an aſſured Opinion was then conceived in mens Heads of Q. *Mary* to be conceived and quick with Child. Inſomuch that at the ſame time, and in the ſame Parliament there was eftſoons *a* Bill exhibited, and an Act made upon the ſame, the words whereof, for the more evidence, I thought good here to exemplifie, as followeth.

The words of Sir *Rich. Southwell* in the Parliament-houſe.

The Words of the Act.

Ex ſtat. an. 1. & 2. Phil. & Mar. cap.

ALbeit we the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, have firm hope and confidence in the Goodneſs of Almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculouſly preſerved the Queens Majeſty from many great imminent Perils and Dangers; even ſo he will of his Infinite Goodneſs give her Highneſs ſtrength, the rather by our continual Prayers, to paſs well the danger of deliverance of Child, wherewith it hath pleaſed him (to all our great comforts) to bleſs her: yet forſomuch as all things of this World be uncertain, and having before our eyes the dolorous experience of this inconſtant Government, during the time of the Reign of the late King Edward *the Sixth, do plainly ſee the manifold Inconveniences, great Dangers and Perils that may enſue in this whole Realm, if foreſight be not uſed to prevent all evil Chances, if they ſhould happen: For the eſchewing hereof, we the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, for and in conſideration of a moſt ſpecial Truſt and Confidence that we have and repoſe in the Kings Majeſty, for and concerning the Politick Government, Order, and Adminiſtration of this Realm in the time of the young years of the Iſſue or Iſſues of her Majeſties Body to be born, if it ſhould pleaſe God to call the Queens Highneſs out of this preſent Life, during the tender years of ſuch Iſſue or Iſſues (which God forbid) according to ſuch order and manner, as hereafter in this preſent Act his Highneſs moſt Gracious Pleaſure is, ſhould be declared and ſet forth, have made our humble Suit, by the Aſſent of the Queens Highneſs, that his Majeſty would vouchſafe to accept and take upon him the Rule, Order, Education, and Government of the ſaid Iſſue or Iſſues to be born, as is aforeſaid: Upon which our Suit, being of his ſaid Majeſty moſt graciouſly accepted, it hath pleaſed his Highneſs not only to declare, That like as for the moſt part his Majeſty verily truſteth that Almighty God (who hath hitherto preſerved the Queens Majeſty, to give this Realm ſo good an Hope of certain Succeſſion in the Blood Royal of the ſame Realm) will aſſiſt her Highneſs with his Graces and Benedictions, to ſee the Fruit of her Body well brought forth, live, and able to govern (whereof neither all this Realm, nay all the World beſides, ſhould or could receive more Comfort than his Majeſty ſhould and would) yet if ſuch chance ſhould happen, his Majeſty at our humble Deſires is pleaſed and contented, not only to accept and take upon him the cure and charge of the Education, Rule, Order, and Government of ſuch Iſſues as of this*

The Judgement of the Parliament deceived in Gods bleſſing.

Order taken by Parliament for Q. *Maries* Child.

Truſt diſappointed.

this moſt happy Marriage ſhall be born between the Queens Highneſs and him; but alſo, during the time of ſuch Government, would by all ways and means, ſtudy, travel, and imploy himſelf to advance the Weal both publick and private of this Realm and Dominion thereunto belonging, according to the ſaid Truſt in his Majeſty repoſed, with no leſs good will and affection, than if his Highneſs had been naturally born amongſt us. In conſideration whereof, be it Enacted by the King and the Queens moſt Excellent Majeſties, by the aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, &c. As it is to be ſeen in the Act more at large ratified and confirmed at the ſame Parliament, to the ſame intent and Purpoſe.

¶ Thus much out of the Act and Statute I thought to rehearſe, to the intent the Reader may underſtand not ſo much how Parliaments may ſometimes be deceived (as by this Child of Q. *Mary* may appear) as rather what cauſe we Engliſhmen have to render moſt earneſt thanks unto Almighty God, who ſo mercifully, againſt the opinion, expectation, and working of our Adverſaries, hath helped and delivered us in this caſe, which otherwiſe might have opened ſuch a Window to the *Spaniards*, to have entred and repleniſhed this Land, that peradventure by this time Engliſhmen ſhould have enjoyed no great quiet in their own Countrey: The Lord therefore make us perpetually mindful of his Benefits: *Amen.*

Thus we ſee then how man doth purpoſe, but God diſpoſeth as pleaſeth him. For all this great Labour, Proviſion and Order taken in the Parliament-houſe for their Young Maſter long looked for, coming ſo ſurely into the World, in the end appeared neither young Maſter, nor young Miſtreſs, that any Man yet to this day can hear of. Furthermore, as the labour of the Lay-ſort was herein deluded; ſo no leſs ridiculous it was to behold, what little Effect the Prayers of the Popes Churchmen had with Almighty God, who travelled no leſs with their Proceſſions, Maſſes and Collects, for the happy deliverance of this young Maſter to come, as here followeth to be ſeen.

The Prayers of the Papiſts, of what little effect they are with God.

A Prayer made by Dr. *Weſton* Dean of *Weſtminſter*, daily to be ſaid for the Queens deliverance.

A prayer for Queen *Mary* and her Child, turned out of Latin into Engliſh.

O *Moſt Righteous Lord God, which for the Offence of the firſt Woman, haſt threatned unto all Women a common ſharp, and inevitable malediction, and hath enjoyned them that they ſhould conceive in ſin, and being conceived, ſhould be ſubject to many and grievous torments; and finally, be delivered with the danger and jeopardy of their Lives: We beſeech thee for thine exceeding great goodneſs and bottomleſs mercy, to mitigate the ſtrictneſs of that Law. Aſſwage thine anger for a while, and cheriſh in the boſam of thy favour and mercy our moſt Gracious Queen* Mary, *being now at the point to be delivered. So help her, that without danger of her Life ſhe may overcome the ſorrow, and in due ſeaſon bring forth a Child, in Body beautiful and Comely, in mind Noble and Valiant. So that afterward, ſhe, forgetting the trouble, may with joy, laud and praiſe the bountifulneſs of thy Mercy, and, together with us, praiſe and bleſs both thee and thy Holy Name World without end. This, O Lord, we deſire thee, we beſeech thee, and moſt heartily crave of thee. Hear us, O Lord, and grant us our Petition: Let not the Enemies of thy Faith, and of thy Church ſay, Where is their God?*

A ſolemn Prayer made for King Philip *and Queen* Maries *Child, that it may be a Male-child, welfavoured, and witty, &c.*

A devout Prayer made by the Catholicks for Q. *Mary*, being great and quick with Child.

O Moſt Mighty Lord God, which regardeſt the Prayer of the humble, and deſpiſeſt not their Requeſt; bow down from thine high Habitation of the Heavens, the eyes of thy Mercy unto us wretched Sinners, bowing the knees of our Hearts, and with many and deep Sighs bewailing our ſins and offences, humbly with eyes intent, and hands diſplayed, praying and beſeeching thee, with the ſhield of thy Protection, to defend *Mary* thy Servant, and our Q. who hath none other Helper but thee, and whom, through thy Grace, thou haſt willed to be conceived with Child: and at the time of her travel graciouſly with the help of thy right Hand deliver her, and from all danger, with the Child in her conceived, mercifully preſerve.

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It hath ſeemed good in thy ſight, merciful Father, by thy Servant *Mary*, to work theſe Wonders; that is to ſay, In her hands to vanquiſh and overthrow the ſtout Enemy, and to deliver us, thy People, out of the hands of "Hereticks, Infidels, Enemies to thee, and to the Croſs of thy beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt, that of thy Servant thou mighteſt ſpeak in far Countries. Therefore for theſe wonderful works, which thou doſt to thy Servants, thou art magnified Lord God, for ever, and we thy People bleſs thee the God of Heaven, which hath wrought upon us this great Mercy, and hath excluded from us the Heretick, the Enemy of Truth, the Perſecutor of thy Church. We know, we know, that we have grievouſly (Lord) ſinned, that we have been deceived by vanity, and that we have forſaken thee our God. Our Iniquities be multiplied on our Head, and our ſins be increaſed up to Heaven: and we our ſelves having offended, and our Princes and our Prieſts, for theſe our Sins, have deſerved an Hypocrite to our Prince, our Sins have deſerved a Tyrant to our Governour, that ſhould bring our life to bitterneſs. We be not worthy to have ſo gentle and merciful a Queen, ſo godly a Ruler, and finally, ſo vertuous a Prince; at the very beginning of whoſe Reign, a new Light, as it were, of Gods Religion ſeemed to us for to ſpring and riſe. The Jews did bleſs the Widow *Judith* with one voice, ſaying, *Thou art the glory of* Jeruſalem, *thou art the joy of* Iſrael, *thou art the honour of our People, for that thou haſt loved Chaſtity, and thou ſhalt be bleſſed for ever.*

"The Papiſts call the Proteſtants Hereticks and Enemies to the Croſs of Chriſt, even as *Achab* called *Elias* the diſturber of *Iſrael*, when he was only the Diſturber himſelf.

Q. *Mary* compared of the Papiſts to Widow *Judith.*

And we the Engliſh People with one agreeable conſent do cry; Thou *Mary* art the glory of *England*, our joy, the honour of thy People, for that thou haſt embraced Chaſtity; thine heart is ſtrengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou ſhalt be bleſſed for ever. But bow down, O moſt merciful Father, thine Ear, and open thine Eyes, and behold our Affliction, and our humble Confeſſion. Thou knoweſt, Lord, that againſt *Philip*, not by Human, but by thy Ordinance our King, and againſt thy Servant *Mary*, by thy Providence our Queen, the Reſtorers and Maintainers of thy Teſtament of the Faith, and moſt conſtant Defenders of thy Church: Thou knoweſt, I ſay, that againſt theſe our two Governors, the enemies of thy Holy "Teſtament, and of the Church thy Spouſe, be moſt rank Rebels and ſpiteful Murmurers, walking after their Luſts, whoſe mouth ſpeaketh words of Pride, to the end they may ſet up the Kingdom of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks. By the Power of their hands they "would change thy Promiſes, and deſtroy thine Inheritance, and ſtop and ſhut up the mouths of them that praiſe thee, and extinguiſh the glory of thy Catholick Church and Altar.

Mark how forgetting his Prayer, he falleth to the praiſing of Q. *Mary.*

"The Teſtament ſeeketh up only the Glory of Chriſt.

It is manifeſt and plain, how many Contentions, how many Conſpiracies and Seditions, how great Wars, what Tumults, how many and how great trouble ſome Vexations, how many Hereſies and Schiſms (for theſe be the moſt ready devices, and evident tokens of Hereticks) for our Sins do hang over us, if thy Servant be taken from this Life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwelling-place in the midſt of his People, to the intent to deliver us out of the hands of our Enemies. Turn therefore thy Countenance unto us, ſhew unto us, O Lord, thy face. Puniſh us for our Sins according to thy Will and Pleaſure, only now deliver us. We bowing the knees of our heart, beſeech thee, that thou wilt not reſerve unto us puniſhment for ever, and we ſhall praiſe thee all the days of our life. Hear our cry, and the Prayer of thy People, and open to them the treaſure of thy Mercy, thy gracious Favour, the Spring of Lively Water. Thou that haſt begun, make in the hand of thy Servant a perfect work. Suffer not, we pray thee, the "faithleſs Rebels to ſay of thy Servant and her Councellors, that they have deviſed matters which they cannot perform. And grant unto thy Servant an happy and an eaſie Travel. For it is not impoſſible to thy Power, nor indecent to thy Juſtice, nor unwonted to thy Mercy.

"If the changing of Gods promiſes, deſtroying his inheritance, ſtopping the mouths of Gods people if contentions, wars, & ſchiſms be tokens of Hereticks, who ſo great Hereticks as the Papiſts?

"Cry up louder you Prieſts, peradventure your God is aſleep.

It is well known unto us, how marvellouſly thou didſt work in *Sarah* of the Age of 90. Years, and in *Elizabeth* the barren, and alſo far ſtricken in Age: For thy Counſel is not in the Power of men. Thou Lord that art the Searcher of Hearts and Thoughts, thou knoweſt that thy Servant never luſted after Man, never gave her ſelf to wanton

The Lord gave a Promiſe to *Sarah* and *Elizabeth*, ſo did he not to Q. *Mary.*

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wanton Company, nor made her ſelf Partaker with them that walk in lightneſs: But ſhe conſented to take an Huſband with thy fear, and not with her luſt. Thou knoweſt that thy Servant took an Husband not for carnal pleaſure, but only for the deſire and love of Poſterity, wherein thy Name might be bleſſed for ever and ever. Give therefore unto thy Servants, *Philip* our King, and *Mary* our Queen, a Male Iſſue, which may ſit in the Seat of thy Kingdom. Give unto our Queen thy Servant, a little Infant, in faſhion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent.

"It is not beſt ſuch a one to be granted unto you, for being like *Abraham, Joſeph, Moſes* and *Solomon*, he may chance to ſpell out your corrupt Doctrine, and to deteſt your bloody tyranny, *&c.*

Grant the ſame to be in obedience like "*Abraham*, in hoſpitality like *Lot*, in chaſtity and brotherly love like *Joſeph*, in meekneſs and mildneſs like *Moſes*, in ſtrength and valour like *Sampſon*. Let him be found faithful as *David* after thy Heart. Let him be wiſe among Kings as the moſt wiſe *Solomon*. Let him be like *Job*, a ſimple and an upright man, fearing God, and eſchewing evil. Let him finally be garniſhed with the comlineſs of all Vertuous conditions, and in the ſame let him wax old and live, that he may ſee his Childrens Children to the third and fourth generation. And give unto our Soveraign Lord and Lady, King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, thy Bleſſings and long life upon Earth; and grant that of them may come Kings and Queens, which may ſtedfaſtly continue in Faith, Love, and Holineſs. And bleſſed be their Seed of our God, that all Nations may know, thou art only God in all the Earth, which art bleſſed for ever and ever: *Amen.*

Another Prayer for Queen *Mary*, and her conceived Child.

Another Prayer for the ſame.

O Almighty Father, which didſt ſanctifie the Bleſſed Virgin and Mother Mary *in her Conception, and in the Birth of Chriſt our Saviour thine only Son: Alſo by thine Omnipotent Power didſt ſafely deliver the Prophet* Jonas *out of the Whales Belly: Defend, O Lord, we beſeech thee, thy ſervant* Mary, *our Queen, with Child conceived, and ſo viſit her, in and with thy Godly Gift of health that not only the Child thy Creature, within her contained, may joyfully come from her into this World, and receive the Bleſſed Sacraments of Baptiſm and Confirmation, enjoying therewith daily increaſe of all Princely and Gracious Gifts both of Body and Soul; but that alſo ſhe the Mother, through thy ſpecial Grace and Mercy, may in time of her Travel avoid all exceſſive Dolor and Pain, and abide perfect and ſure from all peril and danger of Death, with long and proſperous Life, through Chriſt our Lord:* Amen.

January 10.

It followeth now further in proceſs of the Story, that upon the Tueſday, being the 10. of *January*, nineteen of the Lower Houſe of the Parliament with the Speaker, came to the *Whitehal* to the King, and offered him the Government of the Realm and of the Iſſue, if the Queen ſhould fail, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament within ten days after.

January 28. The Popes Supremacy eſtabliſhed by Parliament.

Upon Wedneſday following, being the 28. of *January*, the Parliament was clean diſſolved. In this Parliament amongſt other tidings, the Biſhop of *Rome* was eſtabliſhed, and all ſuch Laws as were made againſt him ſince the twentieth Year of K. *Henry* the 8th. were repealed, and alſo Cardinal *Poole*, Biſhop *Pates*, *Lilly*, and other were reſtored to their Blood.

Matters concluded in the Parliament.

Alſo there was an Act made for ſpeaking of Words; That whoever ſhould ſpeak any thing againſt the King, or Queen, or that might move any Sedition or Rebellion, at the firſt time to have one of his Ears cut off, or to forfeit an hundred Marks; and at the ſecond time, to have both his Ears cut off, or elſe to forfeit an hundred pound; and whoſoever ſhould write, cypher, or print any of the Premiſſes, to have their Right Hand cut off.

Three Statutes againſt Hereticks revived.

Alſo in this Parliament three Statutes were revived for trial of Hereſie: one made in the fifth year of *R.* 2. another in the ſecond year of *H.* 4. and the third in the ſecond year of *H.* 5. Alſo the doing of M. *Roſe*, and the other that were with him, was communed of in this Parliament, and upon that occaſion an Act was made, That certain Evil Prayers ſhould be Treaſon againſt the Queens Highneſs. The Prayers of theſe men were thus; *God turn the Heart of Q.* Mary *from Idolatry, or elſe ſhorten her days.* Whereof read the Statute *An.* 1 & 2 *Reg. Phil. & Mar. cap.* 9.

As touching the taking of Mr. *Roſe* and his Fellows, word was brought thereof to Mr. *Hooper*, being then in the *Fleet*. Whereupon the ſaid Mr. *Hooper* ſendeth Anſwer again; with a Letter alſo of Conſolation ſent to the ſaid Priſoners; the Copy whereof I thought here not to overpaſs.

The Anſwer of Mr. *Hooper* to a Letter ſent unto him concerning certain Priſoners taken in *Bow*-Church-yard.

Mr. Hoopers anſwer to a certain Letter ſent unto him.

THe Grace of God be with you, Amen. *I perceive by your Letter, how that upon New-years day at Night there were taken a godly company of Chriſtians, whilſt they were praying. I do rejoyce in that men can be ſo well occupied in this perilous time, and flee unto God for Remedy by Prayer, as well for their own lacks and neceſſities; as alſo charitably to pray for them that perſecute them. So doth the Word of God command all men to pray charitably for them that hate them, and not to revile any Magiſtrate with words, or to mean him Evil by force or violence. They alſo may rejoyce that in well-doing they were taken to the Priſon. Wherefore I have thought it good to ſend them this little Writing of Conſolation; praying God to ſend them patience, charity, and conſtancy in the Truth of his moſt Holy Word. Thus fare you well, and pray God to ſend his true Word into this Realm again amongſt us, which the ungodly Biſhops have now baniſhed.* Jan. 4. An. 1555.

A Letter of Conſolation ſent from Mr. Hooper *to the Godly Brethren taken in* Bow-Church-yard *in Prayer, and laid in the Counter in* Breadſtreet.

A Letter of Mr. Hooper full of moſt heavenly conſolation.

THe Grace, Favour, Conſolation, and aid of the Holy Ghoſt, be with you now and ever: So be it.

Dearly beloved in the Lord, ever ſince your Impriſonment I have been marvellouſly moved with great affections and paſſions, as well of Mirth and Gladneſs, as of Heavineſs and Sorrow. Of Gladneſs in this, that I perceived how ye be bent and given to Prayer and Invocation of Gods help in theſe dark and wicked Proceedings of men againſt Gods Glory. I have been ſorry to perceive the malice and wickedneſs of men to be ſo cruel, deviliſh, and tyrannical to perſecute the People of God for ſerving of God, ſaying and hearing of the holy Pſalms, and the Word of eternal life. Theſe cruel doings do declare, that the Papiſts Church is more bloody and tyrannical, than ever was the Sword of the *Ethnicks* and *Gentiles*.

Of this perſecution read before.

When I heard of your taking, and what ye were doing, wherefore, and by whom ye were taken, I remembred how the Chriſtians in the Primitive Church were uſed by the cruelty of unchriſtned Heathens, in the time of *Trajan* the Emperor, about 77. years after Chriſts Aſcenſion into Heaven: and how the Chriſtians were perſecuted very ſore, as though they had been Traytors and Movers of Sedition. Whereupon the gentle Emperor *Trajan* required to know the true Cauſe of Chriſtian mens trouble. A great learned Man called *Plinius*, wrote unto him, and ſaid; It was becauſe the Chriſtians ſaid certain Pſalms before day unto one called Chriſt, whom they worſhipped for God. When *Trajan* the Emperor underſtood it was for nothing but for Conſcience and Religion, he cauſed by his Commandments every where, That no man ſhould be perſecuted for ſerving of God. But the Pope and his Church hath caſt you into Priſon, being taken even doing the Work of God, and one of the excelleneſt Works that is required of Chriſtian Men: that is to wit, whilſt ye were in Prayer, and not in ſuch wicked and ſuperſtitious Prayers as the Papiſts uſe, but in the ſame Prayer that Chriſt hath taught you to pray. And in his Name only ye gave God thanks for that ye have received, and for his Sake ye asked for ſuch things as ye want. O, glad may ye be that ever ye were born, to be apprehended whilſt ye were ſo vertuouſly occupied. Bleſſed be they that ſuffer for Righteouſneſs ſake. For if God had ſuffered them that took your Bodies, then to have taken your Life alſo, now had you been following the Lamb in perpetual Joys, away from the Company and Aſſembly of Wicked men. But the Lord would not have you ſuddenly ſo to depart, but reſerveth you, glorioufly to ſpeak and maintain his Truth to the World.

The Pope worſe than *Trajanus* the Heathen Emperor.

Be ye not careful what ye ſhall ſay, for God will go out and in with you, and will be preſent in your Hearts, and in your Mouths to ſpeak his Wiſdom, although it ſeemeth

ſeemeth Fooliſhneſs to the World. He that hath begun this good work in you, continue you in the ſame unto the end; and pray unto him that ye may fear him only, that hath power to kill both Body and Soul, and to caſt them into Hell-fire. Be of good comfort. All the Hairs of your Head are numbred, and there is not one of them can periſh, except your Heavenly Father ſuffer it to periſh. Now ye be in the field, and placed in the Fore-front of Chriſts Barrel. Doubtleſs it is a ſingular Favour of God, and a ſpecial Love of him towards you, to give you this foreward and preheminence, as a Sign that he truſteth you before others of his People. Wherefore (dear Brethren and Siſters) continually fight this Fight of the Lord. Your Cauſe is moſt juſt and godly, ye ſtand for the true Chriſt (who is after the Fleſh in Heaven) and for his true Religion and Honour, which is amply, fully, ſufficiently, and abundantly contained in the Holy Teſtament, ſealed with Chriſts own Blood. How much be ye bound to God who puts you in truſt with ſo Holy and juſt a Cauſe?

Mat. 10. *Luke.* 12.

The firſt onset of this perſecution given in Bow Church yard

Remember what lookers-on you have to ſee and behold you in your fight, God and all his Angels, who be ready always to take you up into Heaven, if ye be ſlain in his fight. Alſo you have ſtanding at your backs all the multitude of the Faithful, who ſhall take courage, ſtrength, and deſire to follow ſuch Noble and Valiant Chriſtians as you be. Be not afraid of your Adverſaries: for he that is in you, is ſtronger than he that is in them. Shrink not although it be pain to you, your pains be not now ſo great, as hereafter your Joyes ſhall be. Read the comfortable Chapters to the *Romans* 8. 10. 15, *Hebrewes* 11. 12. And upon your knees thank God that ever ye were accounted worthy to ſuffer any thing for his Names ſake. Read the ſecond Chapter of S. *Lukes Goſpel*, and there you ſhall ſee how the Shepheards that watched upon their ſheep all night, as ſoon as they heard that *Chriſt* was Born at *Bethlem*, by and by went to ſee him. They did not reaſon nor debate with themſelves, who ſhould keep the wolf from the ſheep in the mean time, but did as they were commanded, and committed their ſheep unto him, whoſe pleaſure they obeyed. So let us do now we be called, commit all other things to him that calleth us. He will take heed that all things ſhall be well. He will help the Husband, he will comfort the Wife, he will guide the ſervants, he will keep the Houſe, he will preſerve the goods; yea, rather than it ſhould be undone, he will waſh the diſhes, and rock the cradle. Caſt therefore all your care upon God for he careth for you.

1 John 4.

Comfort taken out of the Scriptures.

True obedience putteth no doubts.

All carefulnes to be caſt upon the Lord.

Beſides this, you may perceive by your Impriſonment, that your Adverſaries weapons againſt you be nothing but Fleſh, Blood, and Tyranny. For if they were able, they would mantain their wicked Religion by Gods Word: but for lack of that, they would Violently compel us as they cannot by Holy Scripture perſwade, becauſe the Holy Word of God, and all Chriſts doings be contrary unto them. I pray you, pray for me, and I will pray for you. And although we be aſſunder after the World, yet in *Chriſt* (I truſt) for ever joyning in the Spirit, and ſo ſhall meet in the Palace of the Heavenly Joys, after this ſhort and tranſitory life is ended. Gods Peace be with you. Amen. The 14. of *January*, 1555.

All the ſtrength of the Popes Religion ſtandeth in outward force.

January 18 Gentlemen delivered out of the Tower by the Queens pardon.

Upon the Friday following, being the 18. of *January*, all the Councel went unto the *Tower*, and there the ſame day diſcharged and ſet at liberty all the priſoners of the *Tower*, or the moſt part of them, namely, the late *Duke* of *Northumberlands* Sons, *Ambroſe*, *Robert*, and *Henry*; Sir *Andrew Dudly*, Sir *John Rogers*, Sir *James Croftes*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Sir *Nicholas Arnal*, Sir *George Harper*, Sir *Edward Warner*, Sir *William Sentlow*, Sir *Gawen Carew*, Maſter *Gibbes*, *Cuthbert Vaugham*, with many other.

January 22. The Preachers called before the B. of Winchester at St. *Mary Overies.*

Upon the Tueſday following, being the 22. of *January*, all the Preachers that were in priſon were called before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Lord Chancellor, and certain other, at the Biſhops Houſe at Saint *Mary Overies*. From whence (after Communication, being asked whether they would Convert and enjoy the *Queens* Pardon, or elſe ſtand to that they had taught; they all anſwered, that they would ſtand to that they had taught) they were committed to ſtreighter priſon than before they were, with Charge that none ſhould ſpeak with them.

Among the which Number of priſoners, one *James George* the ſame time died in priſon, being there in Bands for Religion and Righteouſneſs ſake; who therefore was exempted to be buried in the Popiſh Churchyard, and was buried in the Field. Anno 1555.

James George died in priſon, and was buried in the fields, *January* 23.

Upon the Wedneſday following, being the 23. of *January*, all the Biſhops with all the reſt of the Convocation Houſe were before the Cardinal at *Lambeth*, where he willed them to repair every man where his cure and Charge lay, exhorting them to intreat the people and their flock with all gentleneſs, and to endeavour themſelves to win the people rather by gentleneſs than by extremity and rigour, and ſo let them depart.

January 25. General Proceſſion for joy of the Realm's Converſion.

Upon the Friday following, being the 25. of *January*, and the day of the Converſion of Saint *Paul*, there was a General and Solemn Proceſſion thorow *London*, to give God thanks for their Converſion to the Catholick Church: wherein (to ſet out their Glorious pomp) there were fourſcore and ten Croſſes, 160. Prieſts and Clerks, who had every one of them Copes upon their backs, ſinging very luſtily. There followed alſo for the better eſtimation of the ſight, eight Biſhops, and laſt of all came Boner the Biſhop of *London*, carrying the Popiſh Pix under a Canopie.

Beſides, there was alſo preſent the Major, Aldermen, and all the Livery of every occupation. Moreover, the King alſo himſelf, and the Cardinal came to *Pauls Church* the ſame day. From whence after Maſs they returned to *Weſtminſter* again. As the King was entred the Church at the ſteps going up to the Quire, all the Gentlemen that of late were ſet at liberty out of the *Tower*, kneeled before the King, and offered unto him themſelves and their ſervices.

After the Proceſſion there was alſo commandment given to make *Banfires* at night. Whereupon did riſe among the people a doubtful talk why all this was done. Some ſaid it was that the *Queen* being (as they ſaid) with Child, might have a ſafe delivery. Others thought that it was for Joy that the Realm was joyned again to the *See* of *Rome*, which opinion, of both, ſeemed moſt true.

January 28. Commiſſion from the Cardinal to ſit upon the perſecuted Preachers for Religion.

Upon the Munday following, being the 28. of *January*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the other Biſhops had Commiſſion from the Cardinal to ſit upon, and order, according to the Laws, all ſuch Preachers and Hereticks (as they termed them) as were in priſon, and according to this Commiſſion, the ſame day the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and the other Biſhops, with certain of the Councel, ſate in S. *Mary Overies* Church and called before them theſe three, M. *Hooper*, M. *Rogers*, and Maſter *Cardmaker*, who where brought thither by the Sheriffs; from whence after Communication they were committed to priſon till the next day, but *Cardmaker* this day ſubmitted himſelf unto them.

January 29. M. Hooper and M. Rogers condemned.

Upon the Tueſday, being the 29. of *January*, *Hooper*, *Rogers*, *Doctor Taylor*, and *Bradford* were brought before them, where Sentence of Excommunication and Judgment Eccleſiaſtical was pronounced upon M. *Hooper* and M. *Rogers*, by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who ſate as Judge in *Caiphas* ſeat, who drave them out of the Church, according to their law and order. Doctor *Taylor* and *Bradford* were committed to priſon till the next day.

January 30. Doctor Ferrar D. Taylor and M. Saunders condemned.

Upon the Wedneſday, being the 30. of *January*, Doctory *Taylor*, Doctor *Crome*, M. *Bradford*, M. *Saunders*, and Doctor *Ferrar*, ſometimes Biſhop of S. *Davids*, were before the ſaid Biſhops, where three of them, that is to ſay, Doctor *Taylor*, Maſter *Saunders*, and M. *Bradford* were likewiſe Excommunicated, and Sentence pronounced upon them, and ſo committed to the Sheriffs. D. *Crome* deſired two moneths reſpite, and it was granted him; and M. *Ferrar* was again committed to priſon till another time. All theſe men ſhewed themſelves to be learned, as indeed they were no leſs: but what availeth either learning, reaſon, or Truth it ſelf, where will beareth rule?

After the examination and Condemnation of theſe good men and Preachers above recited, Commiſſions and Inquiſitors were ſent abroad likewiſe into all Parts of the Realm: by reaſon whereof, a great number of moſt godly and true Chriſtians (out of all the quarters of the Realm, but eſpecially *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Northfolk* and *Suffolk*) were apprehended,

Anno 1554. were apprehended, brought up to *London*, caſt into priſon, and afterward (moſt of them) either conſumed cruelly by fire, or elſe through evil handling died in the Priſons, and were buried on the Dung-Hills abroad in the Fields, or in ſome backſide of the Priſon. Of all which matters, concerning the Tragical handling of the bleſſed *Martyrs* and Witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt, of all the Bloody Perſecution of this time, now followeth (the Lord ſo granting) ſeverally and more particularly in this next Book in order to be declared: after that I ſhall firſt recite a general Supplication, given up in the name of the Preachers aforeſaid lying in Priſon, unto the King and Queen, during the time of the Parliament, as followeth.

Unto the King and Queens moſt excellent Majeſties, and to their moſt Honourable and High Court of Parliament.

A Supplication of the perſecuted Preachers to the King and Queen.

IN moſt humble and lamentable wiſe complain unto your Majeſties, and to your High Court of Parliament, your poor deſolate and obedient Subjects: H. F. T. B. P. R. S. &c. *That whereas your ſaid Subjects, living under the Laws of God, and of this Realm in the days of the late moſt noble King* Edward *the ſixth, did in all things ſhew themſelves true, faithful, and diligent Subjects, according to their vocation, as well in the ſincere miniſtring of Gods moſt Holy Word, as in due obedience to the higher Powers, and in the daily practice of ſuch vertues and good demeanour, as the Laws of God at all times, and the Statutes of the Realm did then allow: Your ſaid Subjects nevertheleſs, contrary to all Laws of Juſtice, Equity, and Right, are in very extream manner, not only caſt into Priſon (where they have remained, now theſe 15. or 16. Months) but their Livings alſo, their Houſes and Poſſeſſions, their Goods and Books taken from them, and they ſlandered to be moſt Hainous Hereticks, their Enemies themſelves being both Witneſſes, Accuſers, and Judges, belying, ſlandering, and miſ-reporting your ſaid Subjects at their pleaſure, whereas your ſaid Subjects, being ſtraightly kept in Priſon, cannot yet be ſuffered to come forth, and make anſwer accordingly.*

The long impriſonment of the Chriſtian Preachers. Underly proceeding of the adverſaries againſt Gods people.

In conſideration whereof, it may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſties, and this your High Court of Parliament, graciouſly to tender the preſent Calamity of your ſaid poor Subjects, and to call them before your Preſence, granting them liberty, either by Mouth or Writing in the plain Engliſh Tongue, to anſwer before you, or before indifferent Arbiters to be appointed by your Majeſties, unto ſuch Articles of controverſie in Religion as their ſaid Adverſaries have already condemned them of, as of Hainous Hereſies: Provided, that all things may be done with ſuch moderation and quiet behaviour, as becometh Subjects and Children of Peace, and that your ſaid Subjects may have the free uſe of all their own Books, and conference together among themſelves.

Requeſt of the Preachers to ſtand to the trial of their Doctrine before indifferent Judges.

Which thing being granted, your ſaid Subjects doubt not but it ſhall plainly appear, that your ſaid Subjects are true and Faithful Chriſtians, and neither Hereticks, neither Teachers of Hereſie, nor cut off from the true Catholick Univerſal Church of Chriſt: yea, that rather their Adverſaries themſelves be unto your Majeſties as were the Charmers of Egypt *to* Pharoah, Zedechias *and his Adherents unto the King of* Iſrael, *and* Barjeſu *to the Proconſul* Sergius Paulus. *And if your ſaid Subjects be not able by the teſtimony of Chriſt, his Prophets, Apoſtles, and Godly Fathers of his Church, to prove, that the Doctrine of the Church, Homiles, and Service taught and ſet forth in the time of our late moſt godly Prince and King,* Edward *the ſixth, is the true Doctrine of Chriſts Catholick Church, and moſt agreeable to the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith; your ſaid Subjects offer themſelves then to the moſt heavy puniſhment, that it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſties to appoint.*

Act. 13.

Wherefore for the tender Mercy of God in Chriſt (which you look for at the day of Judgment) your ſaid poor Subjects in Bonds moſt humbly beſeech your moſt excellent Majeſties, and this your High Court of Parliament, benignly and graciouſly to hear and grant this their Petition, tending ſo greatly to the Glory of God, to the edifying of his Church, to the Honour of your Majeſties, to the commendation and maintenance of Juſtice, Right, and Equity both before God and Man. And your ſaid Subjects, according to their bounden duty, ſhall not ceaſe to pray unto Almighty God for the Gracious preſervation of your moſt excellent Majeſties long to endure.

The end of the Tenth Book.

I THE

Anno 1555.

THE ELEVENTH BOOK:

WHEREIN

Is diſcourſed the bloody Murthering of God's Saints, with the particular Proceſſes and Names of ſuch good Martyrs, both Men and Women, as in this time of Queen *MARY* were put to Death.

The Story, Life, and Martyrdom of Mr. *John Rogers*.

February 4. The life and ſtory of Mr. *John Rogers*.

THE Fourth day of *February* ſuffered the conſtant Martyr of God, Maſter *John Rogers*, concerning whoſe Life, Examinations, and Suffering, here followeth in order ſet forth. And firſt touching his Life and bringing up.

John Rogers brought up in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he profitably travelled in good Learning, at the length was choſen and called by the *Merchants Adventurers* to be their Chaplain at *Antwerp* in *Brabant*, whom he ſerved to their good contentation many years. It chanced him there to fall in Company with that worthy Servant and Martyr of God *William Tindal*, and with *Miles Coverdale*, which both for the hatred they bare to Popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry, and love to true Religion, had forſaken their Native Country. In conferring with them the Scriptures he came to great knowledge in the Goſpel of God, inſomuch that he caſt off the heavy Yoke of Popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy Idolatry, and joyned himſelf with them two in that painful and moſt profitable labour of tranſlating the Bible into the Engliſh Tongue, which is Intituled, *The Tranſlation of Thomas Matthew*. He knowing by the Scriptures, that unlawful Vows may lawfully be broken, and that Matrimony is both honeſt and honourable among all men, joyned himſelf in lawful Matrimony, and ſo went to *Wittenberg* in *Saxony*, where he with much ſoberneſs of living did not only greatly increaſe in all good and godly Learning, but alſo ſo much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch Tongue, that the Charge of a Congregation was orderly committed to his Cure.

Mr. Rogers Chaplain to the Merchants Adventurers at *Antwerp*.

Mr. Rogers brought to the Goſpel by Mr. *Tindall* and Mr. *Coverdale*.

Of Mr. Rogers doing in this Tranſlation, read afore.

Mr. Rogers goeth to *Wittenberg*.

In which Miniſtry he diligently and faithfully ſerved many years, until ſuch time as it pleaſed God, by the faithful travel of his choſen and dear Servant, King *Edward* the Sixth, utterly to baniſh all Popery forth of *England*, and to receive in true Religion, ſetting Gods Goſpel at liberty. He then being orderly called, having both a Conſcience and a ready good will to help forward the Work of the Lord in his Native Country, left ſuch honeſt and certain Conditions as he had in *Saxony*, and came into *England* to preach the Goſpel, without certainty of any Condition. In which Office, after he had a ſpace diligently and faithfully travelled, *Nicholas Ridley*, then Biſhop of *London*, gave him a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of *Paul*; and the Dean and the Chapter choſe him to be the Reader of the Divinity Leſſon there, wherein he diligently travelled, until ſuch time as Queen *Mary* obtaining the Crown, baniſhed the Goſpel and true Religion, and brought in the Antichriſt of *Rome*, with his Idolatry and Superſtition.

Mr. Rogers returneth from *Saxony* into *England* in King *Edwards* time.

Mr. Rogers Reader and Prebendary in *Pauls*.

After the Queen was come to the *Tower* of *London*, he being orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement Sermon at *Pauls* Croſs, confirming ſuch true Doctrine as he and other had there taught in King *Edwards* days, exhorting the People conſtantly to remain in the ſame, and to beware of all peſtilent Popery, Idolatry, and Superſtition. The Councel being then over-matched with Popiſh and Bloody Biſhops, called him to account for his Sermon: To whom he made a ſtout, witty, and godly Anſwer, and yet in ſuch ſort handled himſelf, that at that time he was clearly diſmiſſed. But after that Proclamation was ſet forth by the Queen to prohibite true Preaching, he was called again before the Councel; for the Biſhops thirſted after his Blood. The Councel quarrelled with him concerning his Doctrine, and in concluſion commanded him as Priſoner to keep his own Houſe, and ſo he did: although by flying he might eaſily have eſcaped their cruel hands, and many things there were which might have moved him thereunto. He did ſee the Recovery of Religion in *England*, for that preſent, deſperate: He knew he could not want a Living in *Germany*, and he could not forget his Wife and ten Children, and to ſeek means to ſuccour them. But all theſe things ſet apart, after he was called to anſwer in Chriſts Cauſe, he would not depart, but ſtoutly ſtood in defence of the ſame, and for the trial of that Truth, was content to hazard his Life.

Mr. Rogers called to account for his Sermon at *Pauls* Croſs.

Mr. Rogers again called before the Councel, and commanded to keep his Houſe.

Thus he remained in his own Houſe as Priſoner a long time, till at the length, through the uncharitable procurement of *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, who could not abide ſuch honeſt Neighbours to dwell by him, he was removed from his own Houſe to the Priſon called *Newgate*, where he was lodged among Thieves and Murderers for a great ſpace: During which time, what buſineſs he had with the Adverſaries of Chriſt, all is not known, neither yet any certainty of his Examinations, further then he himſelf did leave in Writing, which God would not to be loſt, but to remain for a perpetual Teſtimony in the Cauſe of Gods Truth, as here followeth recorded and teſtified by his own writing.

Mr. Rogers ſent to *Newgate*.

The Examination and Anſwer of John Rogers *made to the Lord Chancellor, and to the reſt of the Councel, the* 22. *of* January, Anno 1555.

The Lord Chancellor.

FIrſt the Lord Chancellor ſaid unto me thus: Sir, ye have heard the ſtate of the Realm in which it ſtandeth now.

Examination and anſwer of Mr. *John Rogers*.

Rogers. No, my Lord, I have been kept in cloſe Priſon, and except there have been ſome general thing ſaid at the Table when I was at Dinner or Supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any ſpecial thing might be grounded.

L. Chan. Then ſaid the Lord Chancellor; General things, general things, mockingly? Ye have heard of my Lord Cardinals coming, and that the Parliament hath received his Bleſſing, not one reſiſting unto it, but one man which did ſpeak againſt it. Such an Unity, and ſuch a Miracle hath not been ſeen. And all they, of which there are Eight ſcore in one Houſe, (ſaid one that was by, whoſe name I know not) have with one aſſent and * conſent received Pardon of their Offences, for the Schiſm they have lied in *England*, in refuſing the holy Father

* Full ſore againſt their will, if they other-wiſe choſen.

Anno 1555.

Rome to be Head of the Catholick Church. How say ye? Are ye content to unite and knit your self to the Faith of the Catholick Church with us, in the state in which it is now in *England*? Will ye do that?

Rog. The Catholick Church I never did nor will dissent from.

L. Chan. Nay, but I speak of the state of the Catholick Church, in that wise in which we stand now in *England*, having received the Pope to be Supream Head.

No Head of the Catholick Church but Christ.

Rog. I know none other Head but Christ of his Catholick Church, neither will I acknowledge the Bishop of *Rome* to have any more Authority than any other Bishop hath by the Word of God, and by the Doctrine of the old and pure Catholick Church four hundred years after Christ.

L. Chan. Why didst thou then acknowledge K. *Henry* the Eighth to be the Supream Head of the Church, if Christ be the only Head?

The Supremacy of K. Henry 8. how it is to be taken.

Rog. I never granted him to have any Supremacy in Spiritual things, as are the Forgiveness of Sins, Giving of the Holy Ghost, Authority to be a Judge above the Word of God.

Tonstall Bp. of *Durham.* *N.* Bishop of *Worcester.*

L. Chan. Yea, said he, and *Tonstall* Bishop of *Duresme*, and *N.* Bishop of *Worcester*, if thou hadst said so in his days (and they nodded the head at me with a laughter) thou hadst not been alive now.

Rog. Which thing I denied, and would have told how he was said and meant to be Supream Head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a business, that I was constrained to let it pass. There lyeth also no great weight thereupon; for all the World knoweth what the meaning was. The Lord Chancellor also said to the Lord *William Haward*, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Christ to be Supream Head and the Bishop of *Rome* also: And when I was ready to have answered that there could not be two Heads of one Church, and have more plainly declared the vanity of that his Reason, the Lord Chancellor said, What saist thou? Make us a direct Answer whether thou wilt be one of this Catholick Church or not, with us in that state in which we are now?

The meaning why K. *Henry* was tituled *Supream Head.*

Rog. My Lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye your selves do think in your hearts that he is Supream Head in forgiving of Sin, *&c.* (as is before said) seeing you, and all the Bishops of the Realm have now twenty years long preached, and some of you also written to the contrary, and the Parliament hath so long agone condescended unto it. And there he interrupted me thus.

The Bishops contrary to their former doings and writings.

L. Chan. Tush, that Parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the Primacy from the Bishop of *Rome*.

Rog. With cruelty? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way with cruelty to perswade mens Consciences. For it should appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used hath not perswaded your Consciences. How would you then have our Consciences perswaded with cruelty?

L. Chan. I talk to thee of no cruelty, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that Parliament, to let the Act go forward; yea, and even with force driven thereunto, whereas in this Parliament it was so uniformly received, as is aforesaid.

Rog. Here my Lord *Paget* told me more plainly, what my Lord Chancellor meant. Unto whom I answered: My Lord, what will ye conclude thereby; that the first Parliament was of less Authority, because but few condescended unto it? And this last Parliament of great Authority, because more condescended unto it? It goeth not my Lord, by more or lesser part, but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part: And I would have said more, but the L. Chancellor interrupted me with his question, willing me once again to answer him. For, said he, we have, more to speak with than thou, which must come in after thee. And so there were indeed ten persons more out of *Newgate*, besides two that were not called. Of which ten, one was a Citizen of *London*, which granted unto them, and nine were contrary: which all came to Prison again, and refused the Cardinals Blessing, and the Authority of his holy Fathers Church, saving that one of these nine was not asked the question, otherwise than thus, whether he would be an honest man as his Father was before him, and he answering Yea, he was so discharged by the friendship of my L. *William Haward*, as I have understood. He bade me tell him what I would do; whether I would enter into the one Church with the whole Realm as it is now, or not? No, said I, I will first see it proved by the Scriptures. Let me have Pen, Ink, and Books, *&c.* And I shall take upon me plainly to set out the matter, so that the contrary shall be proved to be true, and let any man that will confer with me by writing.

Truth goeth not by number, nor by the greater Part.

Ten Prisoners out of *Newgate* to be convented before *Gardiner*. Nine of these Prisoners refused the Popes Authority, the tenth yielded.

L. Chan. Nay, that shall not be permitted thee? Thou shalt never have so much proferred thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and will not now condescend and agree to the Catholick Church. Here are two things, Mercy and Justice: If thou refuse the Queens Mercy now, then shalt thou have Justice ministred unto thee.

Sir. Gardine refused to have the Truth to be tried by Learning.

Rog. I never offended, nor was disobedient unto her Grace, and yet I will not refuse her Mercy. But if this shall be denied me to confer by writing, and to try out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. Ye your selves (all the Bishops of the Realm) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended Primacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, when I was a young man twenty years past: And will ye now without collation have me to say and do the contrary? I cannot be so perswaded.

The Bishops neither will stand by their Assertion, nor yet will suffer other men so to do.

L. Chan. If thou wilt not receive the Bishop of *Rome* to be Supream Head of the Catholick Church, then thou shalt never have her Mercy thou mayest be sure. And as touching conferring and trial, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to use any conferring and trial with thee. For S. *Paul* teacheth me, that I should shun and eschew an Heretick after one or two Monitions, knowing that such an one is overthrown, and is faulty, insomuch as he is condemned by his own Judgment.

A fair pretence to excuse your ignorance.

Rog. My Lord, I deny that I am an Heretick: Prove ye that first, and then alledge the foresaid Text. But still the Lord Chancellor played on one string, saying:

L. Chan. If thou wilt enter into one Church with us, *&c.* tell us that, or else thou shalt never have so much proferred thee again as thou hast now.

Gardiner will compel to that which he cannot reach to be true.

Rogers. I will find it first in the Scripture, and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be Supream Head.

Wor. Why? Do ye not know what is in your Creed: *Credo Ecclesiam sanctam Catholicam*, I believe the holy Catholick Church.

Rog. I find not the Bishop of *Rome* there. For (Catholick) signifieth not the Romish Church: It signifieth the consent of all true Teaching Churches of all times, and all ages. But how should the Bishop of *Rome*'s Church be one of them, which teacheth so many Doctrines that are plainly and directly against the Word of God? Can that Bishop be the true Head of the Catholick Church that doth so? that is not possible.

The Popes Church proved not to be Catholick.

L. Chan. Shew me one of them, one, let me hear one.

Rog. I remembered my self, that amongst so many I were best to shew one, and said, I will shew you one.

L. Chan. Let me hear that, let me hear that.

Rog. The Bishop of *Rome* and his Church, say, read, and sing, all that they do in their Congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly against the first to the *Corinthians*, the fourteenth Chapter.

Latin Service.

L. Chan. I deny that, I deny that that is against the Word of God. Let me see you prove that; how prove you that?

Rog. Thus I began to say the Text from the beginning of the Chapter, *Qui loquitur lingua, &c.* to speak with tongue, said I, is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin or Greek, *&c.* and so to speak, is not to speak unto men, but to God. But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue, wherefore ye speak not unto men, but unto God * (meaning God only at the most.) This he granted, that they spake not unto men, but unto God.

Speaking in a strange tongue against S. *Paul.*

* Imperfection.

L. Chan. Well, then it is in vain unto men.

Rog. No, not in vain. For one man speaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well.

L. Chan. Nay, I will prove then, that he speaketh neither to God nor to Man, but unto the Wind.

Rog. I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two Texts do agree (for they must agree, they be both the sayings of the Holy Ghost, spoken

1 Cor. 14. To speak to God only.

To ſpeak both to God and Man. To ſpeak neither to God nor Man, but the Wind.

by the Apoſtle *Paul*) as to wit, to ſpeak not to Men, but unto God, and to ſpeak into the Wind: and ſo to have gone forward with the proof of my matter begun, but here aroſe a noiſe and a confuſion. Then ſaid the Lord Chancellor:

L. Chan. To ſpeak unto God, and not unto God, were unpoſſible.

Rog. I will prove them poſſible.

L. Haward. No, ſaid my Lord *William Haward* to my Lord Chancellor: now will I bear you witneſs that he is out of the way: For he granted firſt, that they which ſpeak in a ſtrange ſpeech ſpeak unto God: and now he ſaith the contrary, that they ſpeak neither to God nor to Man.

Rog. I have not granted nor ſaid (turning me to my Lord *Haward*) as you report. I have alledged the one Text, and now I am come to the other. They muſt agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, you underſtand not the matter.

Secretary *Bourne.*

L. Haward. I underſtand ſo much, that that is not poſſible. This is a point of Sophiſtry, quoth Secretary *Bourne.*

A City in *Saxon.*

L. Chan. Then the Lord Chancellor began to tell the Lord *Haward*, that when he was in *High Dutchland*, they at *Hale*, which had before prayed and uſed their Service all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worceſt. Yea, and at *Wittenberg* too.

Mr. *Rogers* could not be heard to ſpeak.

Rog. Yea, (but I could not be heard for the noiſe) in an Univerſity, where men for the moſt part underſtand the Latin, and yet not all in Latin. And I would have told the Order, and have gone forward both to have anſwered my Lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand: but perceiving their talk and noiſe to be too noiſom, I was fain to think this in my heart, ſuffering them in the mean while to talk one of them one thing, and another another. Alas! neither will theſe men hear me if I ſpeak, neither yet will they ſuffer me to write. There is no remedy, but let them alone, and commit the matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, and ſaid, that I would make the Texts to agree, and to prove my purpoſe well enough.

L. Chan. No, no, thou canſt prove nothing by the Scripture. The Scripture is dead: it muſt have a lively Expoſitor.

Rog. No, the Scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpoſe.

Wor. All Hereticks have alledged the Scriptures for them, and therefore we muſt have a lively Expoſitor for them.

Rog. Yea, all Hereticks have alledged the Scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by none other Expoſitor.

Wor. But they would not confeſs that they were overcome by the Scriptures, I am ſure of that.

Confuſed talk without order.

Rog. I believe that: and yet were they overcome by them, and in all Councils they were diſputed with and overthrown by the Scriptures. And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in theſe days, and ſo have come again to my purpoſe, but it was unpoſſible: for one asked one thing, another ſaid another, ſo that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the Lord Chancellor, bade to Priſon with me again; and away, away, ſaid he, we have more to talk withal: If I would not be reformed (ſo he termed it) away, away. Then up I ſtood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Sir *Richard Southwell* ſpeaketh.

Then Sir *Richard Southwell*, who ſtood by in a Window, ſaid to me, Thou wilt not burn in this gear when it cometh to the purpoſe, I know well that.

Rog. Sir, I cannot tell, but I truſt in my Lord God, yes, lifting up mine eyes unto Heaven.

The Bp. of *Ely* ſpeaketh

B. of Ely. Then my Lord of *Ely* told me much of the Queens Majeſties pleaſure and meaning, and ſet it out with large words, ſaying, That ſhe took them that would not receive the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Supremacy, to be unworthy to have her Mercy, *&c.*

Rogers. I ſaid I would not refuſe her Mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my life: And that I beſought her Grace, and all their Honours, to be good to me, reſerving my Conſcience.

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Divers ſpake at once. No, quoth they then, a great ſort of them, and ſpecially Secretary *Bourne*; A married Prieſt, and have not offended the Law?

Divers ſpeak at once.

Rog. I ſaid, I had not broken the Queens Law, nor yet any point of the Law of the Realm therein: For I married where it was lawful.

Divers ſpeak at once.

Divers at once. Where was that, ſaid they? thinking that to be unlawful in all places.

Lawfulneſs of Prieſts marriage.

Rogers. In *Dutchland.* And if ye had not here in *England* made an open Law that Prieſts might have had Wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a Wife and eight Children with me: which thing ye might be ſure that I would not have done, if the Laws of the Realm had not permitted it before.

Mr. *Rogers* brought 8. Children with him into *England.*

Then there was a great noiſe, ſome ſaying that I was come too ſoon with ſuch a ſort: I ſhould find a ſowre coming of it; and ſome one thing, and ſome another. And one ſaid (I could not well perceive who) that there was never a Catholick man or Country, that ever granted that a Prieſt might have a Wife.

Rogers. I ſaid, The Catholick Church never denied Marriage to Prieſts, nor yet to any other man; and therewith was I going out of the Chamber, the Sergeant which brought me thither having me by the Arm.

Wor. Then the Biſhop of *Worceſter* turned his face towards me, and ſaid that I wiſt not where that Church was or is.

Mr. *Rogers* had away to Priſon.

Rogers. I ſaid, yes, that I could tell where it was, but therewith went the Sergeant with me out of the Door.

This was the very true effect of all that was ſpoken unto me, and of all that I anſwered thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect Anſwer to all the former Objections, as alſo a due proof of that which I had taken in hand: but at this preſent I was informed that I ſhould to morrow come to further Anſwer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would moſt gladly have done, deſiring here the hearty and unfeigned help of the Prayers of all Chriſts true Members, the true Imps of the true unfeigned Catholick Church, that the Lord God of all Conſolation will now be my Comfort, Aid, Strength, Buckler and Shield: As alſo of all my Brethren that are in the ſame Caſe and Diſtreſs, that I and they all may deſpiſe all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning Fire, and the dreadful dart of Death, and ſtick like true Souldiers to our dear and loving Captain, Chriſt, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and alſo the only true Head of the Church, that doth all in us all, which is the very property of an Head (and is a thing that all the Biſhops of *Rome* cannot do) and that we do not traiterouſly run out of his Tents, or out of the plain Field from him, in the moſt jeopardy of the Battel, but that we may perſevere in the Fight (if he will not otherwiſe deliver us) till we be moſt cruelly ſlain of his Enemies. For this I moſt heartily, and at this preſent, with weeping tears moſt inſtantly and earneſtly deſire and beſeech you all to pray: And alſo if I dye, to be good to my poor and moſt honeſt Wife, being a poor Stranger, and all my little Souls, hers and my Children. Whom, with all the whole faithful and true Catholick Congregation of Chriſt, the Lord of Life and Death ſave, keep, and defend in all the troubles and aſſaults of this vain World, and bring at the laſt to everlaſting Salvation the true and ſure Inheritance of all croſſed Chriſtians, Amen, Amen.

Mr. *Rogers* careful prayer for his Wife and Children.

The 27. day of January *at night.*

The ſecond Confeſſion of John Rogers, *made, and that ſhould have been made (if it might have been heard) the* 28 *and* 29 *day of* January, 1555.

The ſecond Examination of Mr. *Rogers.*

FIrſt, being asked again by the Lord Chancellor, whether I would come into one Church with the Biſhops and whole Realm, as now was concluded by Parliament (in the which all the Realm was converted to the Catholick Church of *Rome*) and ſo receive the mercy before proferred me, ariſing again with the whole Realm out of the Schiſm and Error in which we had long been, with Recantation of my Errors. I anſwered, That before I could not tell what his mercy meant, but now I underſtand

Winchester's Mercy, what it meaneth.

that

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that it was a Mercy of the Antichristian Church of *Rome*, which I utterly refused, and that the rising which he spake of, was a very fall into Error and false Doctrine. Also that I had and would be able, by Gods grace, to prove that all the Doctrine which I had ever taught was true and Catholick, and that by the Scriptures and the Authority of the Fathers that lived 400. years after Christs Death. He answered, That should not, might not, nor ought not to be granted me: for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the Determination of the whole Realm. Should, quoth he, when a Parliament hath concluded a thing, one, or any private person have Authority to discuss, whether they had done right or wrong? No, that may not be.

To rise to the Pope is to fall from Christ.

Whatsoever is once concluded in a Parliament, ought not to be reformed afterward by Doctrine, nor the Word of God, by the Bishop of Winchester's Divinity.

I answered shortly, That all the Laws of men might not, neither could rule the Word of God, but, that they all must be discussed and judged thereby, and obey thereto: and neither my Conscience, nor any Christian mans, could be satisfied with such Laws as disagreed from that Word: and so was willing to have said much more. But the Lord Chancellor began a long Tale to very small purpose, concerning mine Answer, to have defaced me; that there was nothing in me wherefore I should be heard, but Arrogancy, Pride, and Vain-glory. I also granted mine Ignorance to be greater than I could express, or than he took it: but yet that I feared not, by Gods assistance and strength, to be able by writing to perform my word, neither was I (I thanked God) so utterly ignorant as he would make me; but all was of God, to whom be thanks rendred therefore. Proud man was I never, nor yet vain-glorious. All the world knew well, where and on which side Pride, Arrogancy, and Vain-glory was. It was a poor Pride, that was or is in us, God it knoweth.

Then said he, That I at the first dash condemned the Queen and the whole Realm to be of the Church of Antichrist, and burdened me highly therewithal. I answered, That the Queens Majesty (God save her Grace) would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. He said, the Queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said, without fail I neither could, nor would I ever believe it.

Dr. *Aldrife* witnesseth with the Bp. of *Winchester*.

Then said Dr. *Aldrife* the Bishop of *Carliſle*, that they the Bishops would bear him witness. Yea, quoth I, that I believe well, and with that the People laughed: For that day there were many, but on the morrow they kept the Doors shut, and would let none in, but the Bishops Adherents and Servants in a manner, yea, and the first day the thousand man came not in. Then Mr. Comptroller and Secretary *Bourne* would have stood up also to bear witness, and did.

I said it was no great matter: and to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereunto themselves: but I ceased to say any more therein, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they should be believed before me, yea, and before our Saviour Christ, and all his Prophets and Apostles too, in these days.

The opinion of M. *Rogers* touching the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, required.

Then after many words, He asked me what I thought concerning the blessed Sacrament, and stood up, and put off his Cap, and all his Fellow Bishops, (of which there were a great sort, new men, of whom I knew few) whether I believed in the Sacrament to be the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and hanged on the Cross, really and substantially.

I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no medler, and therefore suspected of my Brethren to be of a contrary Opinion. Notwithstanding, even as the most part of your Doctrine in other Points is false, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty: so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot understand (really and substantially) to signifie otherwise than corporally: but corporally Christ is only in Heaven, and so cannot Christ be corporally also in your Sacrament. And here I somewhat set out his Charity after this sort: My Lord, quoth I, ye have dealt with me most cruelly: For ye have put me in Prison without Law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my House, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in *Newgate* at great Costs and Charges, having a Wife and ten Children to find, and I had never a penny of my Livings; which was against the Law.

Acts 1.

Cruelty shewed without cause.

Mr. *Rogers* year and a half in durance.

He answered, That Dr. *Ridley* which had given them me, was an Usurper, and therefore I was the unjust Possessor of them.

Was the King then an Usurper, quoth I, which gave Dr. *Ridley* the Bishoprick?

Yea, quoth he, and began to set out the wrongs that the King had done to the Bishop of *London*, and to himself also. But yet I do misuse my terms, quoth he, to call the King Usurper. But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before: and I think that he was not very sorry for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

Str. Gardiner calleth King *Edward* an Usurper.

I asked him wherefore he put me in Prison. He said, because I preached against the Queen.

I answered that it was not true: and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the Law, that no man should be able to disprove it, and thereupon would set my life. I preached (quoth I) a Sermon at the Cross, after the Queen came to the *Tower*; but therein was nothing said against the Queen, I take witness of all the Audience, which was not small. I alledged also that he had, after Examination, let me go at liberty after the preaching of that Sermon.

Yea, but thou didst read thy Lectures after, quoth he, against the commandment of the Councel.

That did I not, quoth I, let that be proved, and let me dye for it. Thus have you now against the Law of God and Man handled me, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learning, till now that ye have gotten a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my neck, if I will not condescend to your mind. This Charity doth all the World understand.

Mr. *Rogers* imprisoned against all Law and Right.

I might and would have added, if I could have been suffered to speak, that it had been time enough to take away mens Livings, and thereto to have imprisoned them, after that they had offended Laws: For they be good Citizens that break not Laws, and worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keep men in Prison, until they may catch them in their Laws, and so kill them. I could and would have added the Example of *Daniel*, which by a crafty devised Law was cast into the Lions Den. *Item*, I might have declared, that I most humbly desired to be set at liberty, sending my Wife to him with a Supplication, being great with Child, and with her eight honest Women, or thereabouts, to *Richmond*, at *Christmas* was a twelve month, whiles I was yet in my House.

Mr. *Rogers* punished before any Law was broken.

Item, I wrote two Supplications to him out of *Newgate*, and sent my Wife many times to him. Mr. *Gosnold* also that worthy man, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and so did divers other worthy men also take pains in the matter. These things declare my Lord Chancellors Antichristian Charity, which is, that he hath and doth seek my Blood, and the destruction of my poor Wife and my ten Children.

Mr. *Gosnold* laboured for Mr. *Rogers*.

This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the 28. day of *January* at Afternoon, after that Mr. *Hooper* had been the first, and Mr. *Cardmaker* the second in Examination before me. The Lord grant us Grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we be smitten down together, if the Lords will be so to permit it. For there shall not a hair of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. Whereunto the same Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end, and in the end, Amen: Sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, the Son of *David* and of God: Amen, Amen, let every true Christian say and pray.

Then the Clock being, as I guessed, about four, the Lord Chancellor said, That he and the Church must yet use Charity with me (what manner of Charity it is, all true Christians do well understand, as to wit, the same that the Fox doth with the Chickens, and the Wolf with the Lambs) and gave me respite till to morrow, to see whether I would remember my self well to morrow, and whether I would return to the Catholick Church (for so he calleth his Antichristian false Church) again, and repent, and they would receive me to Mercy.

Great mercy of Winchester, no less than the Fox hath to the Chickens, or the Wolf to suck the blood of Lambs.

I said that I was never out of the true Catholick

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Church, nor would be: but into his Church would I, by Gods Grace, never come.

The Popes Church is the Church of Antichriſt.

Well, quoth he, then is our Church falſe and Antichriſtian.

Yea, quoth I.

And what is the Doctrine of the Sacrament?

Falſe, quoth I, and caſt my hands abroad.

Then ſaid one, that I was a Player. To whom I anſwered not; for I paſſed not upon his mock.

Mr. Rogers warned to appear the next day.

Come again, quoth the Lord Chancellor, to morrow between nine and ten.

I am ready to come again, whenſoever ye call, quoth I.

And thus was I brought up by the Sheriffs to the *Compter* in *Southwark*, Mr. *Hooper* going before me, and a great multitude of People being preſent, ſo that we had much to do to go in the Streets.

Thus much was done the 28. day of *January*.

Mr. Rogers and Mr. *Hooper* brought again before the Chancellor.

THe ſecond day, which was the 29. of *January*, we were ſent for in the Morning about 9. of the Clock, and by the Sheriffs fetched from the *Compter* in *Southwark* to the Church again, as to wit, to St. *Mary Overies*, where we were the day before in the Afternoon, as is ſaid. And when Mr. *Hooper* was condemned, as I underſtood afterward, then ſent they for me. Then my Lord Chancellor ſaid unto me:

Gardiners words to Mr. *Rogers*.

Rogers, quoth he, here thou waſt yeſterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thy ſelf this night, whether thou wouldſt come to the Holy Catholick Church of Chriſt again or not. Tell us now what thou haſt determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and ſorry, and wilt return again and take mercy.

Anſwer of Mr. *Rogers* to the Bp. of *Winchester*.

My Lord, quoth I, I have remembred my ſelf right-well, what you yeſterday ſaid to me, and deſire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to ſay thereunto; and that done I ſhall anſwer you to your demanded queſtion.

Mr. *Rogers* not ſuffered here to defend himſelf by writing.

When I yeſterday deſired that I might be ſuffered by the Scripture and Authority of the firſt, beſt, and pureſt Church to defend my Doctrine by writing (meaning not only of the Primacy, but alſo of all the Doctrine that ever I had preached) ye anſwered me, that it might not, nor ought not to be granted me, for I was a private perſon; and that the Parliament was above the Authority of all private perſons, and therefore the Sentence thereof might not be found faulty and valueleſs by me being but a private perſon. And yet my Lord, quoth I, I am able to ſhew Examples, that one man hath come into a General Councel, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an Act or Article, ſome one man coming in afterward, hath by the Word of God declared ſo pithily, that the Councel had erred in decreeing the ſaid Article, that he cauſed the whole Councel to change and alter their Act or Article before determined. And of theſe Examples, ſaid I, I am able to ſhew two. I can alſo ſhew the Authority of S. *Auguſtine*; that when he diſputed with an Heretick, he would neither himſelf, nor yet have the Heretick to lean unto the determination of two former Conncels, of the which the one made for him, and the other for the Heretick that diſputed againſt him: but ſaid that he would have the Scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

Whole Councels turned by private perſons.

Contra Maxent. l. 3. c. 14

Item, I could ſhew, ſaid I, the Authority of a learned Lawyer *Panormitanus*, which ſaith, that unto a ſimple Lay-man that bringeth the Word of God with him there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole Councel gathered together. By theſe things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to ſay my mind, and to be heard againſt a whole Parliament, bringing the Word of God for me, and the Authority of the old Church 400. years after Chriſt, albeit that every man in the Parliament had willingly and without reſpect of fear and favour agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little of; ſpecially ſeeing the like had been permitted in the old Church, even in General Councels, yea, and that in one of the chiefeſt Councels that ever was, unto which neither any Acts of this Parliament, nor yet any of the late General Councels of the Biſhops of *Rome* ought to be compared. For, ſaid I, if *Henry* the Eighth were alive, and ſhould call a Parliament, and begin to determine a thing (and here I would have alledged the example of the Act of making the Queen a Baſtard, and of making himſelf the Superiour Head; but I could not, being interrupted by one whom God forgive) then will ye (pointing to my Lord Chancellor) and ye, and ye, and ſo ye all (pointing to the reſt of the Biſhops) ſay, Amen: yea, and it like your Grace, it is meet that it be ſo enacted.

Extrav. de Appel. cap. Significaſti.

A Caſe put to the B. of *Winchester*.

Anno 1555.

This was Sir *Anthony Brown*.

Here my Lord Chancellor would ſuffer me to ſpeak no more; but bade me ſit down mockingly, ſaying, that I was ſent for to be inſtructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their Inſtructor.

Mr. *Rogers* not ſuffered to ſpeak.

My Lord, quoth I, I ſtand, and ſit not: Shall I not be ſuffered to ſpeak for my life?

Mark here the Spirit of this Prelate.

Shall we ſuffer thee to tell a Tale, and to prate, quoth he? And with that he ſtood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant proud faſhion, for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them ſomewhat, which he thought to hinder by daſhing me out of my Tale, and ſo he did. For I could never be ſuffered to come to my Tale again, no not to one word of it; but he had much like communication with me, as he had the day before, and as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that caſe, being Gods cauſe, I told him he ſhould not make me afraid to ſpeak.

Lord Chan. See what a Spirit this Fellow hath, ſaid he, finding fault at mine accuſtomed earneſtneſs, and hearty manner of ſpeaking.

The godly Spirit of Mr. *Rogers*.

Rogers. I have a true Spirit, quoth I, agreeing and obeying the Word of God, and would further have ſaid, That I was never the worſe, but the better, to be earneſt in a juſt and true Cauſe, and in my Maſter Chriſts matters; but I could not be heard. And at the length he proceeded towards his Excommunication and Condemnation, after that I had told him that his Church of *Rome* was the Church of Antichriſt, meaning the falſe Doctrine and Tyrannical Laws, with the maintenance thereof by cruel perſecutions uſed by the Biſhops of the ſaid Church (of which the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and the reſt of his fellow Biſhops, that are now in *England*, are the chief Members:) Of Laws I mean, quoth I, and not all men and women which are in the Popes Church. Likewiſe when I was ſaid to have denied their Sacrament (whereof he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his Kingdom thereby, than for the true reverence of Chriſts Inſtitution; more for his own and his Popiſh Generations ſake, than for Religion or Gods ſake) I told him after what order I did ſpeak of it (for the manner of his ſpeaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the Communication that we had in the 28. of *January*) wherewith he was not contented, but he asked the Audience whether I had not ſimply denied the Sacrament. They would have ſaid, and did, what he luſted, for the moſt of them were of his own Servants at that day, the 29 of *January* I mean. At the laſt I ſaid, I will never deny that I ſaid, that is, that your Doctrine of the Sacrament is falſe; but yet I tell you after what order I ſaid it.

The Church of *Rome* to be the Church of Antichriſt, meaning the Laws and Doctrine now uſed in *Rome*.

How the B. of *Wincheſter* ſeeketh for blood.

To be ſhort, he read my Condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two Articles; firſt, That I affirmed the Romiſh Catholick Church to be the Church of Antichriſt; and that I denied the Reallity of their Sacrament. He cauſed me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the Laity, and ſo he gave me over into the Sheriffs hands, which were much better than his.

The Copy of which his Condemnation here I thought good to put down in Engliſh, to the intent that the ſame, being here once expreſſed, may ſerve for all other Sentences Condemnatory thorow the whole Story to be referred unto.

The Sentence Condemnatory againſt Mr. Rogers.

The Sentence definitive againſt Mr. *Rogers*.

IN the Name of God, Amen. We *Steven* by the permiſſion of God Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour by Authority and Vertue of our Office, againſt thee *John Rogers* Prieſt, *alias* called *Matthew*, before us perſonally here preſent, being accuſed and detected, and notoriouſly ſlandered of Hereſie, having heard, ſeen, and underſtood, and with all

Anno 1555. all diligent deliberation weighed, diſcuſſed, and conſidered the merits of the cauſe, all things being obſerved, which by us in this behalf in order of Law ought to be obſerved; ſitting in our Judgment Seat, the Name of Chriſt being firſt called upon, and having only God before our eyes, becauſe by the Acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own Confeſſion judicially made before us, we do find that thou haſt taught, holden, and affirmed, and obſtinately defended divers Errors, Hereſies, and Damnable Opinions, contrary to the Doctrine and Determination of the Holy Church, His Articles. as namely theſe; *That the Catholick Church of* Rome *is the Church of Antichriſt: Item, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not ſubſtantially nor reâlly the Natural Body and Blood of Chriſt.* The which aforeſaid Hereſies and Damnable Opinions being contrary to the Law of God, and Determination of the Univerſal and Apoſtolical Church, thou haſt arrogantly, ſtubbornly, and wittingly maintained, held and affirmed, and alſo defended before us, as well in this Judgment, as alſo otherwiſe, and with the like obſtinacy, ſtubbornneſs, malice and blindneſs of heart, both wittingly and willingly haſt affirmed, that thou wilt believe, maintain and hold, affirm and declare the ſame: We therefore S. *Winchester* Biſhop, Ordinary, and Dioceſan aforeſaid, by the conſent and aſſent as well of our Reverend Brethren the Lord Biſhops here preſent and aſſiſtant, as alſo by the Counſel and Judgment of divers worſhipful Lawyers and Profeſſors of Divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee the ſaid *John Rogers*, otherwiſe called *Matthew*, through thy demerits, tranſgreſſions, obſtinacies, and wilfulneſs (which through manifold ways thou haſt incurred by thine own wicked and ſtubborn obſtinacy) to have been and to be guilty of the deteſtable, horrible, and wicked offences of Heretical Pravity and execrable Doctrine, and that thou haſt before us ſundry times ſpoken, maintained, and wittingly and ſtubbornly defended the ſaid curſed and execrable Doctrine in the ſundry Confeſſions, Aſſertions, and Recognitions here Judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet ſtill doſt maintain, affirm and believe the ſame, and that thou haſt been and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf: We therefore, I ſay, albeit following the example of Chriſt, *Which would not the death of a Sinner, but rather that he ſhould convert and live*; we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and all wholeſom admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true Faith and Unity of the Univerſal Catholick Church, notwithſtanding have found thee obſtinate and ſtiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy Damnable Opinions and Hereſies, and refuſing to return again unto the true Faith and Unity of the Holy Mother Church, and as the Child of wickedneſs and darkneſs ſo to have hardned thy heart, that thou wilt not underſtand the voice of thy Shepheard, which with a Fatherly affection doth ſeek after thee, nor wilt be allured with his Fatherly and Godly Admonitions: we therefore These murderers pretend ſorrow of heart, and yet they will not ceaſe from murdering. *Steven* the Biſhop aforeſaid, not willing that thou which art wicked ſhouldeſt now become more wicked, and infect the Lords Flock with thine Hereſie (which we are greatly afraid of) with ſorrow of mind and bitterneſs of heart do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee the ſaid *John Rogers*, otherwiſe called *Matthew*, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy damnable obſtinacy, as guilty of moſt deteſtable Hereſies, and as an obſtinate impenitent ſinner, refuſing penitently to return to the lap and Unity of the Holy Mother Church, and that thou haſt been and art by Law Excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an Excommunicate perſon. Alſo we pronounce and declare thee, being an Heretick, to be caſt out from the Church, and left unto the Judgment of the Secular Power, and now preſently ſo do leave thee as an obſtinate Heretick, and a perſon wrapped in the Sentence of the Great Curſe, to be degraded worſhily for thy demerits (requiring them notwithſtanding in the bowels of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that this execution and puniſhment worthily to be done upon thee, may ſo be moderated, that the Rigor thereof be not too extream, nor yet the gentleneſs too much mitigated, but that it may be to the Salvation of thy Soul, to the extirpation, terror, and converſion of the Hereticks; to the Unity of the Catholick Faith) by this our Sentence Definitive which we here lay upon and againſt thee; and do with ſorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforeſaid.

M. Rogers and M. Hooper ſent to Newgate. After this Sentence being read; he ſent us (Mr. *Hooper* I mean, and me) to the *Clink*, there to remain till night: and when it was dark, they carried us, M. *Hooper* going before with the one Sheriff, and I coming after with the other, with bills and weapons enow, out of the *Clink*, and led us thorow the Biſhops Houſe, and ſo thorow S. *Mary Overies* Church-yard, and ſo into *Southwark*, and over the Bridge on Proceſſion to *Newgate* through the City. But I muſt ſhew you this alſo, that when he had read the Condemnation, he declared that I was in the Great Curſe, and what a vengeable dangerous matter it was to eat and drink with us that were accurſed, or to give us any thing: for all that ſo did, ſhould be partakers of the ſame Geat Curſe. A vengeable thing to be in the Popes Curſe.

M. Rogers words to the Biſhop of Winchester. Well my Lord, quoth I, here I ſtand before God and you, and all this Honourable Audience, and take him to witneſs, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any falſe Doctrine; and therefore have I a good Conſcience before God and all good men. I am ſure that you and I ſhall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I ſhall be as good a man as you: and I nothing doubt but that I ſhall be found there a true Member of the true Catholick Church of Chriſt, and everlaſtingly ſaved. And as for your falſe Church, ye need not to Excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it theſe twenty years, the Lord be thanked therefore. But now ye have done what ye can, my Lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.

What is that, quoth he?

M. Rogers requeſt, to have his wife come to him while he lived, could not be granted. That my poor Wife, being a ſtranger, may come and ſpeak with me ſo long as I live. For ſhe hath ten Children that are hers and mine, and ſomewhat I would Counſel her; what were beſt for her to do.

No, quoth he, ſhe is not thy Wife.

Yes my Lord, quoth I, and hath been theſe 18. years.

Should I grant her to be thy Wife, quoth he?

Chuſe you, quoth I, whether ye will or not; ſhe ſhall be ſo nevertheleſs.

She ſhall not come at thee, quoth he.

Then I have tried out all your Charity, ſaid I. You make your ſelf highly diſpleaſed with the Matrimony of Prieſts, but you maintain open Whoredom: as in *Wales*, quoth I, where every Prieſt hath his Whore openly dwelling with him, and lying by him: even as your Holy Father ſuffereth all the Prieſts in *Dutchland* and in *France* to do the like. Thereto he anſwered not, but looked as it were a ſquint at it: and thus I departed, and ſaw him laſt.

Other good matter there is beſide penned by Mr. *Rogers* in the Priſon, which he thought and would have anſwered, if he might have been permitted: which matter hereunder followeth to be ſeen by his own ſetting down.

HItherto, dearly beloved, ye have heard what was ſaid: now hear what I purpoſed the night before to have ſaid, if I could have been permitted. Two things I purpoſed to have touched. The one, how it was lawful for a private man to reaſon and write againſt a wicked Act of Parliament, or ungodly Councel, which the Lord Chancellor the day before denyed me. The other was to prove that Proſperity was not always a token of Gods Love.

And this I purpoſed to ſpeak of, becauſe the Lord Chancellor boaſted of himſelf, that he was delivered forth of Priſon as it were by Miracle, and preſerved of God to reſtore true Religion, and to puniſh me and ſuch other, whom he termed Hereticks. Concerning theſe two points, in this matter I purpoſed to have proceeded. It is not unknown to you, that King *Henry* the eighth in his time made his daughter, the Queen that now is, a Baſtard: he aboliſhed the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*: he pulled down Abbeys: And all this he did by the conſent of Parliament.

King *Edward* the ſixth in his time made lawful the marriage of Prieſts, turned the Service into Engliſh, aboliſhed the Idolatrous Maſs, with all like Superſtitious

Trumpery,

Trumpery, ſet up the holy Communion, and all by conſent of Parliament,

The Queen that now is hath repealed the Act that made her Baſtard, hath brought in the Biſhop of *Rome*, and ſet him in his old Authority, beginneth to ſet up Abbeys again, hath made the marriage of Prieſts unlawful, hath turned the *Engliſh* Service into Latin again, hath ſet up the Maſs again, with like baggage, and pulled down the holy Communion: And all this is done by conſent of Parliament.

If the Acts of Parliament, made in King *Henries* time and in King *Edwards*, had their Foundation upon Gods Word, whereupon all poſitive Law ought to be grounded; then theſe which are ſtabliſhed in the Queens time, being clean contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by Gods Word, ſo are they wicked, and therefore to be both ſpoken and written againſt of all men, as well of private as of publick perſons.

If your Acts, my Lord Chancellor, which you have lately coyned (I call them yours, becauſe ye only bear the ſwinge, deviſe, and decree what ye liſt, all other men are forced to follow) be good, and according to Gods Word, then the former Acts were naught, which thing ye ſeem to ſay, in utterly taking of them away, and ſetting up of the contrary: If the former were naught, why then did ye conſent unto them, and confirm them to be good by your voluntary and adviſed writing? as it appeareth, and will do to the Worlds End, in your Book *De vera Obedientia*, where you prove the Queen a Baſtard, and the Biſhop of *Rome* to be an Uſurper, and to have no Authority in the Realm of *England*.

Ye muſt needs confeſs, that the moſt part of your Acts of Parliament in theſe latter days have been according to the fantaſies of a few. King *Henry* in his time eſtabliſhed by Parliament in a manner what he liſted, and many things that might well have been amended.

In King *Edwards* days the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Northumberland* bare a great ſtroke in things, and did not all things ſincerely. Even ſo, ſince the Queen that now is came to the Government of the Realm, all things are ordered by your device, and head, and the whole Parliament Houſe is led as you liſt; by reaſon whereof they are compelled to condeſcend to things both contrary to Gods manifeſt Word, and alſo contrary to their own Conſciences: ſo great is your cruelty.

For to bring your wicked purpoſes to paſs, and to eſtabliſh your Antichriſtian Kingdom (which, I truſt, the Lord with the Breath of his Mouth will ſpeedily blow over) ye have called three Parliaments in one year and an half, that, what ye could not compaſs by ſubtil perſwaſion, ye might bring to paſs by tyrannical threatning: For if ye had not uſed cruel force in your doings, ye had never brought to paſs ſuch things as this day ye have, to the utter defacing and aboliſhing of Gods true Religion, and to the caſting away and deſtruction of your Natural Country, ſo much as in you lieth.

And as it is moſt true, that Acts of Parliament have in theſe latter days been ruled by the fantaſies of a few; and the whole Parliament Houſe, contrary to their minds, was compelled to conſent to ſuch things as a few have conceived: So it muſt needs be granted, that the Papiſts at all times were moſt ready to apply themſelves to the preſent World, and like men-pleaſers to follow the fantaſies of ſuch as were in Authority, and turn with the State, which way ſoever it turned. Yea, if the State ſhould change ten times in one year, they would ever be ready at hand to change with it, and ſo follow the cry, and rather utterly forſake God, and be of no Religion, than that they ſhould forgoe luſt or living, for God or for Religion.

King *Henry* by Parliament, according to Gods Word, put down the Pope: The Clergy conſented, and all men openly by oath refuſed his uſurped Supremacy, knowing by Gods Word Chriſt to be Head of the Church, and every King in his Realm to have, under and next unto Chriſt, the chief Soveraignty.

King *Edward* alſo by Parliament, according to Gods Word, ſet the Marriage of Prieſts at liberty, aboliſhed the Popiſh and Idolatrous Maſs, changed the Latin Service, and ſet up the holy Communion: The whole Clergy conſented hereunto; many of them ſet it forth by their Preaching; and all they by practiſing confirmed the ſame. Anno 1555.

Notwithſtanding, now when the State is altered, and the Laws changed, the Papiſtical Clergy, with other like Worldlings, as men neither fearing God, neither flying Worldly ſhame, neither yet regarding their Conſciences, Oaths, or Honeſty, like wavering Weather-Cocks, turn round about, and putting on Harlots foreheads, ſing a new *ſong*, and cry with an *impudent mouth*; *Come again, come again* to the Catholick Church, meaning the Antichriſtian Church of *Rome*, which is the Synagogue of Satan, and the very Sink of all Superſtition, Hereſie, and Idolatry.

Of what force I pray you may a man think theſe Parliaments to be, which ſcantly can ſtand a year in ſtrength? Or what credit is to be given to theſe Law-makers, which are not aſhamed to eſtabliſh contrary Laws, and to condemn that for evil, which before (the thing it ſelf and the circumſtances remaining all one) they affirmed and decreed to be good. Truly ye are ſo ready, contrary to all right, to change and turn for the pleaſure of man, that at length, I fear, God will uſe you like Changelings, and both turn you forth of his Kingdom, and out of your own Countrey.

Ye charge the Goſpel-Preachers with the undoing of this Realm: Nay, it is the turning Papiſts, which have not only ſet to Sale their Country like Traytors, but alſo troubled the ſimple People, ſo that they cannot tell what they may believe. For that which they affirmed, and Preached to be true Doctrine in King *Edwards* days, now they cry againſt it, as it were moſt abominable Hereſie. This fault, I truſt, ye ſhall never find at our hands.

Therefore to conclude that which I purpoſed, forſomuch as the Acts of Parliament of theſe later times are one contrary to another, and thoſe which ye now have eſtabliſhed in your time are contrary to Gods moſt manifeſt Word, as is the uſurped Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Idolatrous Maſs, the Latin Service, the prohibiting of lawful Marriage (which S. *Paul* calleth the Doctrine of Devils) with many ſuch other: I ſay, it is not only lawful for any private man, which bringeth Gods Word for him, and the Authority of the primitive and beſt Church, to ſpeak and write againſt ſuch unlawful Laws; but it is his duty, and he is bound in very Conſcience to do it. Which thing I have proved by divers examples before, and now will add but one other, which is written in the fifth of the *Acts*, where it appeareth that the High Prieſts, the Elders, Scribes, and Phariſees, decreed in their Councel, and gave the ſame Commandments to the Apoſtles, that they ſhould not preach in the Name of Chriſt, as ye have alſo forbidden us; Notwithſtanding when they were charged therewithal, they anſwered, *Obedire oportet Deo magis quàm hominibus*: that is, We ought more to obey God than man: even ſo we may, and do anſwer you; God is more to be obeyed than man; and your wicked Laws cannot ſo tongue-tye us, but we will ſpeak the truth.

The Apoſtles were beaten for their boldneſs, and they rejoyced that they ſuffered for Chriſts cauſe. Ye have alſo provided Rods for us, and bloody Whips: Yet when ye have done that which Gods hand and Councel hath determined that ye ſhall do, be it Life or Death, I truſt that God will ſo aſſiſt us by his holy Spirit and Grace, that we ſhall patiently ſuffer it, and praiſe God for it: and whatſoever become of me and others, which now ſuffer for ſpeaking and profeſſing of the Truth, yet be ye ſure, that Gods Word will prevail and have the upper hand, when your bloody Laws and wicked Decrees, for want of ſure Foundation, ſhall fall in the duſt: and that which I have ſpoken of your Acts of Parliament, the ſame may be ſaid of the General Councels of theſe latter days, which have been within theſe five hundred years, where the Antichriſt of *Rome*, by reaſon of his uſurped Authority, ruled the roaſt, and decreed ſuch things as made for his gain, not regarding Gods Glory: and therefore are they to be ſpoken, written, and cryed out againſt of all ſuch as fear God and love his Truth.

And thus much I purpoſed to have ſaid concerning the firſt point.

Now

Anno 1555.

Now touching the ſecond Point. That whereas my Lord Chancellor had the day before ſaid his pleaſure of them that ruled the Realm while he was in Priſon, and alſo rejoyced as though God had made this Alteration, even for his ſake and his Catholick Church, as he called it, and to declare as it were by Miracle, that we were before in a Schiſm and Hereſie, and the Realm was now brought unto an Unity, and to a Truth, and I cannot tell whereto: thereto was I fully purpoſed to have ſaid. Secondly, my Lord, whereas ye yeſterday ſo highly diſpraiſed the Government of them that ruled in innocent King *Edwards* days, it may pleaſe your Lordſhip to underſtand, that we poor Preachers, whom ye ſo evil allow, did moſt boldly and plainly rebuke their evil Governance in many things, ſpecially their Covetouſneſs, and neglect and ſmall regard to live after the Goſpel, as alſo their negligence to occaſion other to live thereafter, with more things than I can now rehearſe. This can all *London* teſtifie with us. I would alſo have told him, what I my ſelf for my part did once at *Paul's Croſs*, concerning the miſuſe of Abbeys, and other Church Goods: and I am aſſured right well, that never a Papiſt of them all did ever ſo much therein as I did, I thank the Lord therefore: I was alſo, as is well known, fain to anſwer therefore before all the Councel, and many of my Brethren did the like, ſo that we for the not rebuking of their Faults, ſhall not anſwer before God, nor be blameworthy before men. Therefore let the Gentlemen and Courtiers themſelves, and all the Citizens of *London*, teſtifie what we did.

But, my Lord, you could not abide them, for that which they did unto you, and for that they were of a contrary Religion unto you. Wherefore in that you ſeem ſo infeſt againſt them, it is neither any juſt or publick Cauſe, but it is your own private hate that maketh you to report ſo evil of their Governance. And ye may now ſay what ye liſt of them, when they be partly dead and gone, and partly by you put out of Office.

But what ſhall be ſaid of you when your fall ſhall follow, ye ſhall then hear. And I muſt ſay my Conſcience to you: I fear me, ye have and will with your Governance bring *England* out of Gods Bleſſing into a warm Sun. I pray God you do not.

I am an Engliſh man born, and, God knoweth, do naturally wiſh well to my Countrey. And, my Lord, I have often proved that the things, which I have much feared aforehand ſhould come to paſs, have indeed followed. I pray God I may fail of my gueſſing in this behalf: but truly, that will not be with expelling the true Word of God out of the Realm, and with the ſhedding of Innocent Blood.

And as touching your rejoycing, as though God had ſet you aloft to puniſh us by Miracle (for ſo you report and brag openly of your ſelf) and to miniſter Juſtice, if we will not receive your holy Father's Mercy, and thereby do declare your Church to be true, and ours falſe, to that I anſwer thus: Gods Works be wonderful, and are not to be comprehended and perceived by mans wiſdom, nor by the wit of the moſt wiſe and prudent. Yea, they are ſooneſt deceived, and do moſt eaſily judge amiſs of Gods wonderful Works, that are moſt worldy-wiſe. God hath made all the wiſdom of this World fooliſhneſs, firſt to the *Corinthians*, the firſt, and the ſecond Chapter.

Dedit dilectam animam ſuam in manus inimicorum ejus. Hierem. xii.

That is,

He hath put his beloved and dear heart into the hands of the Enemies thereof.

This thing doth God, which thing all wiſe men accompt to be the moſt fooliſh and unwiſe part that can be. Will the wiſe of the world, trow ye, put their moſt dear friends and tenderly beloved Children into their Enemies hands, to kill, ſlay, burn, *&c.* that is unto them a madneſs, above all madneſs. And yet doth God uſe this order, and this is an high and ſingular wiſdom in his ſight, which the world taketh to be moſt extream madneſs.

Can the world ſhew a cauſe why he ſuffered the great multitude of innocent Children to be murdered of *Herod* of *Aſcalon*, or why he put that moſt holy man, *John Baptiſt*, into the hands of *Herod* his Son to be beheaded, and that in Priſon ſecretly without open Judgment moſt tyrannouſly? Why he ſuffered his beloved Apoſtle *James* to be beheaded of another *Herod*? *Acts* 12. Why he ſuffered his beloved Seed of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, to be four hundred years in thraldom and bondage, and under *Pharaoh*? And all the Stock of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, his beloved Children and Church, to come under the Power, Sword, and Tyranny of *Nebuchadonoſor*? No verily, but his true Catholick Church knoweth divers Cauſes thereof, which are now too long to rehearſe, and which I would right gladly ſhew, if I had time.

But this I am right ſure of, that it was not becauſe that the foreſaid godly men were in Hereſies, and ſubject to falſe Gods Services, and Idolatry, and that their Adverſaries were men of God, and beloved of God: The contrary was true: *John Baptiſt* was beloved of God, and *Herod* hated, and ſo forth of the reſt: And *John Baptiſt*, the innocent Children, *James*, the Children of *Iſrael* in *Egypt*, and in *Babylon*, were the Catholick Members and People of God: And their Adverſaries, into whoſe hands they were put and delivered, and that of God, by his good will and pleaſure, were Idolaters, and the People of the Devil: But they would be called the chief Members of God, and rejoyced that they had the true God, and that it was now declared by Miracle, that the Iſraelites had but a falſe God, and a falſe Religion, ſeeing they were delivered into the Babylonians hands. And all the other (the *Herods* and *Pharaoh* I mean) plainly determined, that if the men, which they killed and handled evil, had been Gods People, God would never have ſuffered them to come into their hands, but rather have done the contrary, and have let *John Baptiſt* kill *Herod*, and the Iſraelites *Pharaoh* and *Nebuchadonoſor*. Even the like is now to be ſeen in us, and in our moſt cruel Adverſaries.

They are not therefore the Catholick Church, becauſe our merciful God hath at this preſent given our lives into their hands: Neither are we therefore Hereticks, becauſe we ſuffer puniſhment at their hands; as the Lord Chancellor by his rejoycing ſeemeth to gather: The contrary is hereby to be gathered, that we be the Members of the true Catholick Church, becauſe we ſuffer for the ſame Doctrine which *John Baptiſt*, *James*, the Iſraelites, yea Chriſt, and the Apoſtles did teach: of which none taught any thing of our Adverſaries Doctrine, namely, that the rotten Antichriſtian Head of *Rome* ſhould be the Head of Chriſts Church: but they have manifeſtly taught the contrary, ſpecially *Paul*, in the ſecond to the *Theſſalonians*, the ſecond Chapter: *John* in the *Apocalyps*: *Daniel* 11. Which thing, if I might have Life and Books, I would ſo (by Gods grace) ſet forth, that all the world ſhould ſee it: and that our Adverſaries, with their Antichriſtian Head, are the Members of the Devils Church, as they undoubtedly are. And in like caſe, as the above-mentioned holy men, though they in their days were counted to be Hereticks, Seditious, and Diſturbers of the whole world; for unto *John Baptiſt* it was ſaid, *Joh.* 1. Wherefore baptizeſt thou, if thou be not *Helias*, nor that Prophet? *&c.* As who ſhould ſay, Thou haſt no ſuch Authority to begin a new Ceremony in the Church. For we be in ordinary poſſeſſion of the Church: and of us thou haſt received no ſuch Power: we abide by our Circumciſion: and the like could I declare of *James*, and of all the Apoſtles and Prophets, and of our Saviour Chriſt himſelf, that were all condemned as Hereticks, and Blaſphemers of God, and Diſturbers of the whole World. *Paul* and *Silas*, *Acts* the ſixteenth, heard like words of the *Philippians*; Theſe men trouble our City, ſeeing they are Jews, and preach Inſtitutions which are not lawful for us to receive, ſeeing we be Romans. And in the ſeventeenth; In *Athens*, the wiſe men of this world, and ſuch as gave their endeavour to wiſdom, ſaid by S. *Paul*; *Quid vult ſpermo-logus hic dicere?* that is, What will this Prater (as my Lord Chancellor ſaid to me, Shall we ſuffer this Fellow to prate, when I would fain have ſaid that thing that I have here written) Trifler, News-carrier or bringer, that telleth whatſoever men will have him for gain and advantage, that will for a piece

of Bread ſay what ye will have him, &c. And another ſaid in the ſame place, He ſeemeth to be a Preacher of new Devils, &c. And *Acts* 21. the Jews ſay by *Paul*, laying hands on him, help O ye Iſraelites, ſay they, this is the man that teacheth all men every where againſt the People (meaning the Jews) and the Law of this place (meaning *Jeruſalem*) and yet was never a word of theſe true. And *Acts* 22. the ſame Jews ſaid of *Paul*: Out of the Earth with that man, or away with him: For it is not lawful for him to live, or he is not worthy to live. And how many more of theſe Examples are to be found in the Bible? Although I ſay theſe men were in their days taken for Hereticks of them that were then in Authority, and of the great multitude of the World, yet it is now well known, yea and very ſhortly after their deaths this was known, yea, and even in their lives alſo unto the true Catholick Church, that they were not only the chief and ſpecial Members of the true Catholick Church, but alſo the founders and builders thereof (notwithſtanding the ſiniſter Judgment that the wiſe and mighty men, and the great multitude of the World had of them) and in their Conſciences they were always aſſuredly certified of the ſame. Even the ſame ſhall the World find true in us, ſhortly after our deaths, as alſo there be at this hour (the Lord be thanked therefore) not a few that already know it, as we our ſelves alſo are by Gods Grace aſſuredly certified in our Conſciences, that we are not Hereticks, but Members of the true Catholick Church, and that our Adverſaries the Biſhops and Popiſh Clergy, which will have that Title, are the Members of Satans Church, and their Antichriſtian Head of *Rome* with them.

But here they will cry out; Loe theſe men will be ſtill *John Baptiſt*, the Apoſtles, and Prophets, &c.

I anſwer, We make not our ſelves like unto them, in the ſingular vertues and gifts of God given unto them; as of doing miracles, and of many other things. The ſimilitude & likeneſs of them & us conſiſteth not in all things, but only in this, that is, that we be like them in Doctrine, and in the ſuffering of Perſecution and Infamy for the ſame.

We have Preached their very Doctrine, and none other thing: That we are able ſufficiently to declare by their writings; and by writing for my part, I have proferred to prove the ſame, as is now often ſaid. And for this cauſe we ſuffer the like reproach, ſhame, and rebuke of the World, and the like perſecution, loſing of our Lives and Goods, forſaking (as our Maſter Chriſt commandeth) Father, Mother, Siſter, Brethren, Wives, Children, and all that there is, being aſſured of a Joyful Reſurrection, and to be Crowned in Glory with them, according to the infallible promiſes made unto us in Chriſt, our only and ſufficient Mediator, Reconciler, Prieſt, and Sacrifice, which hath pleaſed the Father, and quieted and pacified his wrath againſt our Sins, and made us without ſpot or wrinkle in his ſight by imputation, although we, of and in our ſelves, are beſpotted, and be-blotted with many filthy Sins, which if the great Mercy granted in Chriſt did not put away, by not imputing them unto us of his meaſureleſs unſpeakable Mercy and Love to ſave us, they would have brought us to everlaſting Damnation, and Death perpetual: Herein, and in no other, do we affirm our ſelves to be like unto our Head Chriſt, and all his Apoſtles, Prophets, Martyrs, and Saints. And herein ought all Chriſtian men to be like them, and herein are all true Chriſtian men and women like them every one, according to the meaſure of the Faith that God hath dealt unto them, and to the diverſity of the gifts of the Spirit given unto them. But let us now conſider, that if it be Gods good will and pleaſure to give his own beloved heart, that is his beloved Church, and the Members thereof, into the hands of their Enemies, to chaſten, try and prove them, and to bring them to the true unfeigned acknowledging of their own natural ſtubbornneſs, diſobedience towards God and his Commandment, as touching the Love of God and of their Brethren or Neighbours, and their natural inclination, readineſs, and deſire to love Creatures, to ſeek their own luſts, pleaſures, and things forbidden of God, to obtain a true and earneſt repentance, and ſorrowfulneſs therefore, & to make them to ſigh and cry for the forgiveneſs of the ſame, and for the aid of the Spirit, daily to mortifie and kill the ſaid evil deſires and Luſts; yea, and often falling into groſs outward Sins, as did *David*, *Peter*, *Magdalen*, and others, to riſe again alſo thereout with a mighty crying for Mercy, with many other cauſes: let us alſo conſider what he hereafter doth with the ſaid enemies, into whoſe hands he hath given his tender beloved dearlings to be chaſtned and tried. Forſooth, whereas he but chaſteneth his dearlings, and croſſeth them for a ſmall while, according to his good pleaſure, as all Fathers do with their Children, *Heb.* 12. *Prov.* 3. he utterly deſtroyeth, yea and everlaſtingly damneth the unrepentant Enemies. Let *Herod* tell me what he wan by killing *James*, and perſecuting *Peter*, and Chriſts tender dearlings, and beloved Spouſe and Wife, his Church. Verily God thought him not worthy to have death miniſtred unto him by Men or Angels, or any worthy Creatures, but thoſe ſmall, and yet moſt vile vermine, lice, and worms muſt conſume and kill his beaſtly, vile, and tyrannous Body; *Pharaoh* and *Nebuchadonoſor*, for all their pride and moſt mighty power, muſt at the length let Gods dearlings go freely away out of their land, yea out of their bands and tyranny. For when it could not be obtained at their hands that Gods Congregation might have true mercy Miniſtred unto them, but the counterfeit mercy of theſe our days, that is to ſay, extream cruelty, and even the very and that moſt horrible and cruel death, God aroſe and awoke out of his ſleep, and deſtroyed thoſe enemies of his flock with a mighty hand, and ſtretched out arm. *Pharaoh* did with moſt great and intollerable labors and burdens oppreſs and bring under the poor Iſraelites, and yet did the Courtiers undoubtedly noiſe abroad, that the King was merciful unto them, to ſuffer them to live in the land, and to ſet them awork, that they might get them their livings. If he ſhould thruſt them out of his Land whither ſhould they go, like a ſort of Vagabonds and Runnagates? This Title and Name of mercy would that Tyrant have, and ſo did his flattering falſe Courtiers ſpread his vain praiſe abroad. Have not we the like examples now-adays? O that I had now time to write certain things pertaining to our *Wincheſters* mercy! How merciful he hath been to me and to my good Brethren I will not ſpeak of, neither yet unto the D. of *Suffolks* moſt innocent Daughter, and to her as innocent Husband. For although their Fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lack of experience deſerved a pardon by all true merciful Mens Judgments. O that I had time to paint out this matter aright! but there be many alive that can do it much better when I am dead. *Pharaoh* had his Plagues, and his moſt flouriſhing Land was by counterfeit mercy, which was indeed right cruelty and abominable Tyranny, utterly deſtroyed. And think ye that bloody butcherly Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and his moſt bloody Brethren ſhall eſcape? Or that *England* ſhall for their offences, and ſpecially for the maintenance of their Idolatry, and wilful following of them, not abide as great brunts? yes undoubtedly.

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Gods Juſtice upon his Enemies and Perſecutors.

Wincheſters mercy.

If God look not mercifully upon *England*, the ſeeds of utter deſtruction are ſown in it already by theſe Hypocritical Tyrants, and Antichriſtian Prelats, Popiſh Papiſts, and double Traytors to their Natural Countrey. And yet they ſpeak of Mercy, of Bleſſing, of the Catholick Church, of Unity, of Power, and Strengthning of the Realm. This double diſſimulation will ſhew it ſelf one day when the Plague cometh, which will undoubtedly light upon thoſe Crown-ſhorn Captains, and that ſhortly, whoſoever the Godly and the poor Realm ſuffer in the mean while by Gods good ſufferance and will.

Spite of *Nebuchadonaſors* beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall, and miſerable Jews muſt come home again, and have their City and Temple builded up again by *Zorobabel*, *Eſdras*, and *Nehemias*, &c. And the whole Kingdom of *Babylon* muſt go to ruin, and be taken in of ſtrangers, the *Perſians* and the *Medes*. So ſhall the diſperſed *Engliſh* Flock of Chriſt be brought again into their former eſtate, or to a better, I truſt in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King *Edwards* days, and our Bloody Babylonical Biſhops; and the whole Crown-ſhore Company brought to utter ſhame, rebuke,

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rebuke, ruine, decay, and deſtruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not ſuffer for ever their abominable lying falſe Doctrine, their Hypocriſie, Blood-thirſt, whoredom, idleneſs, their peſtilent Life, pampered in all kind of pleaſure, their Thraſonical boaſting pride, their malicious, envious, and poyſoned ſtomacks, which they bear towards his poor and miſerable Chriſtians. *Peter* truly warneth, that *If Judgment beginneth at the Houſe of God, what ſhall be the end of them that believe not the Goſpel? If the righteous ſhall ſcant be ſaved, where ſhall the ungodly and ſinful appear?* Some ſhall have their puniſhment here in this World, and in the World to come; and they that do eſcape in this World, ſhall not eſcape Everlaſting Damnation. This ſhall be your ſawce, O ye wicked Papiſts, make ye merry here as long as ye may.

February. After that *John Rogers*, as ye have heard, had been long and ſtraitly impriſoned, lodged in *Newgate* amongſt Thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably intreated, and at length unjuſtly and moſt cruelly by wicked *Wincheſter* condemned: The fourth of *February*, in the year of our Lord 1555. being *Munday* in the morning he was warned ſuddenly, by the keepers wife of *Newgate*, to prepare himſelf to the fire: who being then found aſleep, ſcarce with much ſhogging could we awaked. At length being raiſed and waked, and bid to make haſt, then, ſaid he, if it be ſo, I need not tye my points: and ſo was had down, firſt to *Boner* to be degraded. That done, he craved of *Boner* but one Petition. And *Boner* asking what that ſhould be: Nothing (ſaid he) but that he might talk a few words with his wife before his burning. But that could not be obtained of him. Then ſaid he, you declare your Charity what it is: and ſo he was brought into *Smithfield* by Mr. *Cheſter*, and Mr. *Woodroofe*, then Sheriffs of *London*, there to be burnt; where he ſhewed moſt conſtant patience, not uſing many words, for he could not be permitted, but only exhorting the people conſtantly to remain in that Faith and true Doctrine which he before had taught, and they had learned, and for the Confirmation whereof he was not only content patiently to ſuffer and bear all ſuch bitterneſs and cruelty as had been ſhewed him, but alſo moſt gladly to reſign up his Life, and to give his Fleſh to the conſuming fire, for the Teſtimony of the ſame.

M. Rogers warned to prepare for Death.

M. Rogers degraded.

M. Rogers could not be ſuffered of Boner to ſpeak to his wife before his burning.

M. Rogers brought to Smithfield.

Briefly, and in few words to comprehend the whole order of his Life, doings and Martyrdom: Firſt, this Godly M. *Rogers* was committed to Priſon, as is aboveſaid, and there continued a year and half. In Priſon he was merry, and earneſt in all he went about. He wrote much; his examinations he penned with his own hand, which elſe had never come to light. Wherein is to be noted, by the way, a memorable working of Gods Providence. Ye heard a little above, how M. *Rogers* craved of *Boner*, going to his burning, that he might ſpeak a few words before with his wife, which could not be granted. What theſe words were, which he had to ſay to his wife, it is for no man certainly to define. Likewiſe it may be ſuppoſed that his purpoſe was, amongſt other things, to ſignifie unto her of the Book written of his Examinations and Anſwers, which he had privily hid in a ſecret corner of the Priſon where he lay. But where mans power lacketh, ſee how Gods providence worketh. For notwithſtanding that during the time of his Impriſonment, ſtrait ſearch there was to take away his Letters and writings; yet after his death, his wife and one of her Sons called *Daniel*, comming into the place where he lay, to ſeek for his Books and writings, and now ready to go away; it chanced her Son aforenamed, caſting his eye aſide, to ſpie a Black thing, (for it had a black cover, belike becauſe it ſhould not be known) lying in a blind corner under a pair of Stairs. Who, willing his Mother to ſee what it was, found it to be the Book written with his own hand, containing theſe his Examinations, and Anſwers with other matter above ſpecified. In the latter end whereof, this alſo was contained; which becauſe it concerneth a Prophetical Forewarning of things pertaining to the Church, I thought to place the ſame his words, as they be there written, which are theſe: If God look not mercifully upon *England*, the ſeeds of utter deſtruction are ſown in it already by theſe Hypocritical Tyrants, and Antichriſtian Prelates, Popiſh Papiſts, and double Traitors to their Natural Countrey. And yet they ſpeak of Mercy, of Bleſſing, of the Catholick Church, of Unity, of Power, and ſtrengthning of the Realm. This double diſſimulation will ſhew it ſelf one day when the plague cometh, which undoubtedly will light upon theſe Crown-ſhorn Captains, and that ſhortly, whatſoever the Godly and the poor Realm ſuffer in the mean while by Gods ſufferance and will.

The Copy of M. Rogers examinations by Gods providence preſerved.

M. Rogers ſeemeth to prophecie here of England, and that truly.

Spite of *Nebuchadonoſor*'s beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall, and miſerable Jews muſt come home again, and have their City and Temple builded up again by *Zorobabel*, *Eſdras*, and *Nehemias*, &c. And the whole Kingdom of *Babylon* muſt go to ruin and be taken of ſtrangers, the Perſians and Meads. So ſhall the diſperſed Engliſh Flock of Chriſt be brought again into their former Eſtate, or to a better, I truſt in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King *Edwards* days; and our Bloody Babylonical Biſhops, and the whole Crown-ſhorn Company brought to utter ſhame, rebuke, ruine, decay, and deſtruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not ſuffer for ever their abominable lying falſe Doctrine, their Hypocriſie, Blood-thirſt, Whoredom, Idleneſs, their peſtilent Life, pampered in all kind of pleaſure, their Thraſonical boaſting Pride, their malicious, envious and poyſoned ſtomacks, which they bear towards his poor and miſerable Chriſtians. *Peter* truly warneth, that *If Judgment beginneth in the Houſe of God, what ſhall be the end of them that believe not the Goſpel? If the righteous ſhall ſcant be ſaved, where ſhall the ungodly and ſinful appear?* Some ſhall have their puniſhment here in this World and in the World to come; and they that do eſcape in this World, ſhall not eſcape everlaſting Damnation. This ſhall be your ſawce, O ye wicked Papiſts, make ye merry as long as ye may.

He meaneth here of the return of the Exiles into England.

1 Pet. 4.

Furthermore, amongſt other words and ſayings, which may ſeem Prophetically to be ſpoken of him, this alſo may be added, and is notoriouſly to be marked, that he ſpake, being then in Priſon, to the Printer of this preſent book, who then alſo was laid up for like cauſe of Religion: Thou, ſaid he, ſhalt live to ſee the Alteration of this Religion, and the Goſpel to be freely preached again: And therefore have me commended to my Brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumſpect in diſplacing the Papiſts, and putting good Miniſters into Churches, or elſe their end will be worſe than ours. And for lack of Good Miniſters to furniſh Churches, his device was (M. *Hooper* alſo agreeing to the ſame) that for every ten Churches ſome one good and learned ſuperintendent ſhould be appointed, which ſhould have under him Faithful Readers, ſuch as might well be got, ſo that Popiſh Prieſts ſhould clean be put out, and the Biſhop once a year to overſee the profiting of the Pariſhes; and if the Miniſter did not his duty, as well in profiting himſelf in his Book, and his Pariſhioners in good inſtructions, ſo that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they do profit, then he to be expelled, and another put in his place: And the Biſhop to do the like with the ſuperintendent: This was his Councel and requeſt: Shewing moreover, and proteſting in his commendations to his Brethren by the Printer aforeſaid, that if they would not ſo do, their end, he ſaid, would be worſe than theirs.

M. Rogers prophecieth of the return of the Goſpel.

M. Rogers councel in placing good Miniſters.

Over and beſides divers things touching M. *Rogers*, this is not to be forgotten, how in the days of King *Edward* the ſixth, there was a controverſie among the Biſhops and Clergy, for wearing of Prieſts Caps, and other attire belonging to that order. M. *Rogers* being one of that number which never went otherwiſe than in a round Cap, during all the time of King *Edward*, affirmed that he would not agree to that decreement of uniformity, but upon this condition, that if they would needs have ſuch an uniformity of wearing the Cap, Tippet, &c. then it ſhould alſo be decreed withal, that the Papiſts, for a difference betwixt them and others, ſhould be conſtrained to wear upon their ſleeves a Chalice with an Hoſt upon it. Whereupon if they would conſent, he would agree to the other; otherwiſe he would not, he ſaid, conſent to the ſetting forth of the ſame, nor ever wear the Cap, as indeed he never did.

A note touching Prieſts Caps.

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Provision by Mr. Rogers for the Priſoners.

To proceed now further in deſcribing the doings of this man, during the time while he remained Priſoner in *Newgate*, he was to the Priſoners beneficial and liberal; for whom he had thus deviſed, that he with his Fellows ſhould have but one Meal a day, they paying notwithſtanding for the Charges of the whole; the other Meal ſhould be given to them that lacked on the other ſide of the Priſon. But *Alexander* their Keeper, a ſtrait man, and a right *Alexander*, a Copperſmith indeed, of whoſe doing more ſhall be ſaid God-willing hereafter, would in no caſe ſuffer that. The *Sunday* before he ſuffered, he drunk to Mr. *Hooper*, being then underneath him, and bade them commend him unto him, and tell him, There was never little Fellow better would ſtick to a man, than he would ſtick to him, preſuppoſing they ſhould both be burned together, although it happened otherwiſe; for Mr. *Rogers* was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the Life and ſuch Acts of Mr *Rogers*, as I thought worthy noting.

Alexander Andrew, Goaler of *Newgate*, compared to *Alexander* the Copperſmith.

Now when the time came, that he being delivered to the Sheriffs, ſhould be brought out of *Newgate* to *Smithfield*, the place of his Execution, firſt came to him Mr. *Woodroofe*, one of the aforeſaid Sheriffs, and calling Mr. *Rogers* unto him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable Doctrine, and his evil Opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar. Mr. *Rogers* anſwered and ſaid, That which I have Preached I will Seal with my Blood. Then, quoth Mr. *Woodroofe*, thou art an Heretick. That ſhall be known, quoth *Rogers*, at the Day of Judgment. Well, (quoth Mr. *Woodroofe*) I will never pray for thee. But I will pray for you, quoth Mr. *Rogers*; and ſo was brought the ſame day, which was *Monday* the Fourth of *February*, by the Sheriffs toward *Smithfield*, ſaying the Pſalm *Miſerere* by the way, all the People wonderfully rejoycing at his Conſtancy, with great Praiſes and Thanks to God for the ſame: And there in the Preſence of M. *Rocheſter*, Comptroller of the Queens Houſhold, Sir *Richard Southwell*, both the Sheriffs, and a wonderful number of People, he was burned into Aſhes, waſhing his hands in the flame as he was in burning. A little before his burning at the Stake, his Pardon was brought, if he would have Recanted, but he utterly refuſed it. He was the firſt *Protomartyr* of all the bleſſed Company that ſuffered in Queen *Mary*'s time, that gave the firſt adventure upon the Fire. His Wife and Children, being eleven in number, and ten able to go, and one ſucking on her Breaſt, met him by the way as he went towards *Smithfield*: This ſorrowful ſight of his own fleſh and blood could nothing move him, but that he conſtantly and chearfully took his Death with wonderful Patience, in the defence and quarrel of Chriſts Goſpel.

The words of Mr. Woodroofe to Mr. *Rogers*.

Mr. *Rogers* refuſeth his Pardon.

The burning of Maſter John Rogers, Vicar of St Pulchers, and Reader of St Pauls in London.

The Hiſtory and Martyrdom of Laurence Saunders, *burned for the Defence of the Goſpel., at* Coventry, *Anno* 1555. *February* 8.

Anno 1555.

AFter that Queen *Mary*, by publick Proclamation in the firſt year of her Reign, had inhibited the ſincere preaching of Gods holy Word, as is before declared, divers godly Miniſters of the Word, which had the Cure and Charge of Souls committed to them, did notwithſtanding, according to their bounden Duty, feed their Flock faithfully, not as Preachers authorized by publick Authority, (as the Godly Order of the Realm was in the happy days of bleſſed King *Edward*) but as the private Paſtors of particular Flocks, among whom *Laurence Saunders* was one, a man of worſhipful Parentage. His bringing up was in Learning from his Youth, in places meet for that purpoſe, as namely in the School of *Eaton*. From whence (according to the manner there uſed) he was choſen to go to the *Kings Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where he continued Scholar of the Colledge three whole years, and there profited in knowledge and learning very much for that time: Shortly after that, he did forſake the Univerſity, and went to his Parents, upon whoſe advice he minded to become a Merchant, for that his Mother, who was a Gentlewoman of good eſtimation, being left a Widow, and having a good Portion for him among his other Brethren, ſhe thought to ſet him up wealthily, and ſo he coming up to *London*, was bound Apprentice with a Merchant, named Sir *William Cheſter* (who afterward chanced to be Sheriff of *London* the ſame year that *Saunders* was burned at *Coventry*.) Thus by the mind of his Friends *Laurence* ſhould needs have been a Merchant; but Almighty God, which hath his ſecret working in all things, ſaw better for his Servant, as it fell out in the end: For although that *Saunders* was bound by faſt Indenture to play the Merchant, yet the Lord ſo wrought inwardly in his heart, that he could find no liking in that Vocation: So that when his other Fellows were buſily occupied about that kind of Trade, he would ſecretly withdraw himſelf into ſome privy Corner, and there fall into his ſolitary Lamentations, as one not liking with that kind and trade of life.

The ſtory of *Laurence Saunders*, a Martyr.

Scholars are taken out of *Eaton Colledge* into the Kings Colledge at *Cambridge*.

M. *Saunders* firſt bound Prentice with M. *Cheſter*.

It

Anno 1555.

It happened that his Maſter, being a good man, and hearing his Prentice thus in his ſecret Prayers inwardly to mourn by himſelf, called him unto him, to know what the cauſe was of that his ſolitarineſs and lamentation: who then perceiving his mind nothing to fantaſie that kind of Life, (for ſo *Sanders* declared unto him) and perceiving alſo his whole purpoſe to be bent to the ſtudy of his book, and ſpiritual contemplation, like a good man directed his Letters incontinently unto his friends, and giving him his Indenture ſo ſet him free: and thus *Laurence Sanders* being raviſhed with the love of learning, and eſpecially with the reading of Gods Word, tarried not long time in the traffick of Merchandize, but ſhortly returned to *Cambridge* again to his ſtudy, where he began to couple to the knowledge of the Latin, the ſtudy of the Greek Tongue, wherein he profited in ſmall time very much: Therewith alſo he joyned the ſtudy of the Hebrew. Then gave he himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of the holy Scripture, to furniſh himſelf to the Office of a Preacher.

M. Sanders appointed to the trade of Merchandize, could not away with that kind of Life.

M. Sanders from Merchandize returneth to his ſtudy.

In ſtudy he was diligent and painful, in Godly Life he declared the fruits of a well exerciſed Conſcience, he prayed often and with great fervor, and in his Prayers as alſo at other times, he had his part of ſpiritual exerciſes, which his hearty ſighing to God declared, in which when any ſpecial aſſault did come, by Prayer he felt preſent relief: then was his company marvellous comfortable. For as his exerciſes were ſpecial teachings, ſo in the end they proved ſingular Conſolations: wherein he became ſo expert, that within ſhort ſpace he was able to comfort others which were in any Affliction, by the conſolation wherewith the *Lord* did comfort him. Thus continued he in the Univerſity, till he proceeded Maſter of Arts, and a long ſpace after.

In the beginning of King *Edwards* Reign, when Gods true Religion was begun to be reſtored, after Licence obtained, he began to preach, and was ſo well liked of them which then had Authority, that they appointed him to read a Divinity Lecture in the Colledge at *Fothringa*, where by Doctrine and Life he edified the Godly, drew many ignorant to Gods true knowledge, and ſtopped the mouth of the Adverſaries. He married about that time, and in the married eſtate led a Life unblamable before all men. The Colledge of *Fothringa* being diſſolved, he was placed to be reader in the Minſter at *Lichfield*: where he ſo behaved himſelf in teaching and living, that the very Adverſaries did give him a full report as well of Learning, as of much Godlineſs. After a certain ſpace, he departed from *Lichfield* to a Benefice in *Leiceſterſhire*, called *Churchlangton*, whereupon he keeping reſidence taught diligently, and kept a liberal houſe. From thence he was orderly called to take a Benefice in the City of *London*, named *Allhallows* in *Breadſtreet*. Then minded he to give over his Cure in the Countrey: and therefore after he had taken poſſeſſion of his Benefice in *London*, he departed from *London* into the Countrey, clearly to diſcharge himſelf thereof. And even at that time began the broyl about the claim that Queen *Mary* made to the Crown, by reaſon whereof he could not accompliſh his purpoſe.

M. Sanders Reader in the Colledge of Fothringa.

Sanders after Reader at Lichfield.

The conſtant purpoſe of M. Sanders.

In this trouble, and even among the beginners of it, (ſuch I mean as were for the Queen) he preached at *Northampton*, nothing medling with the State, but boldly uttered his Conſcience againſt Popiſh Doctrine and Antichriſts damnable Errors, which were like to ſpring up again in *England*, as a juſt plague for the little Love which the *Engliſh* Nation did bear to the Bleſſed Word of God, which had been ſo plentifully offered unto them. The Queens men which were there and heard him, were highly diſpleaſed with him for his Sermon, and for it kept him among them as Priſoner. But partly for love of his Brethren and Friends, which were chief doers for the Queen among them, partly becauſe there was no Law broken by his Preaching, they diſmiſſed him. He, ſeeing the dreadful days at hand, inflamed with the fire of Godly zeal, preached with Diligence at both thoſe Benefices, as time could ſerve him, ſeeing he could reſign neither of them now, but into the hand of a Papiſt.

Thus paſſed he to and fro Preaching, until that Proclamation was put forth, of which mention is made in the beginning. At which time he was at his Benefice in the Countrey, where he (notwithſtanding the Proclamation aforeſaid) taught diligently Gods truth confirming the people therein, and arming them againſt falſe Doctrine, until he was not only commanded to ceaſe, but alſo with force reſiſted, ſo that he could not proceed there in Preaching. Some of his Friends, perceiving ſuch fearful menacing councelled him to flie out of the Realm, which he refuſed ſo to do. But ſeeing he was with violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towards *London* to viſit the Flock, of which he had there the charge.

M. Sanders refuſeth to flie the Realm.

On *Saturday*, the 14. of *October*, as he was coming nigh to the City of *London*, Sir *John Mordant*, a Counſellor to Queen *Mary*, did overtake him, and asked him whether he went. *I have* (ſaid *Sanders*) a Cure in *London*, and now I go to inſtruct my People according to my duty. *If* you will follow my Counſel, quoth Mr. *Mordant*, let them alone, and come not at them. To this *Sanders* anſwered: how ſhall I then be diſcharged before God, if any be ſick, and deſire Conſolation, if any want good Counſel and need inſtruction, or if any ſhould ſlip into Error and receive falſe Doctrine? Did you not, quoth *Mordant*, Preach ſuch a day, and named the day, in *Breadſtreet* in *London*? Yes verily, ſaid *Sanders*, that ſame is my Cure. I heard you my ſelf, quoth Mr. *Mordant*: and will you Preach now there again? If it pleaſe you, ſaid *Sanders* to morrow you may hear me again in that ſame place, where I will confirm by the Authority of Gods Word, all that I ſaid then, and whatſoever before that time I taught them.

I would counſel you (quoth the other) not to Preach. If you can and will forbid me by lawful Authority, then muſt I obey, ſaid *Sanders*. Nay (quoth he) I will not forbid you, but I do give you Counſel. And thus entred they both the City, and departed each from other. M. *Mordant*, of an uncharitable mind went to give warning to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, that *Sanders* would Preach in his Cure the next day. *Sanders* reſorted to his lodging, with a mind bent to do his duty. Where becauſe he ſeemed to be ſomewhat troubled, one which was there about him, asked him how he did. In very deed (ſaith he) I am in Priſon, till I be in Priſon: meaning that his mind was unquiet until he had Preached, and that he ſhould have quietneſs of mind, though he were put in Priſon.

M. Mordant diſſwadeth Laurence Sanders from Preaching.

M. Sanders in Priſon, till he was in Priſon.

The next day, which was Sunday in the forenoon, he made a Sermon in his Pariſh, entreating on that place which *Paul* writeth to the *Corinthians*: *I have coupled you to one man, that ye ſhould make your ſelves a chaſte Virgin unto Chriſt. But I fear leaſt it come to paſs, that as the Serpent beguiled* Eve; *even ſo your wits ſhould be corrupt from the ſingleneſs which ye had towards Chriſt.* He recited a ſum of that true Chriſtian Doctrine, through which they were coupled to Chriſt, to receive of him free juſtification through Faith in his Blood. The Papiſtical Doctrine he compared to the Serpents deceiving: and leſt they ſhould be deceived by it, he made a compariſon between the voice of God, and the voice of the Popiſh Serpent; deſcending to more particular Declaration thereof, as it were to let them plainly ſee the difference that is between the Order of the Church Service ſet forth by King *Edward* in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and comparing it with the Popiſh Service then uſed in the Latine Tongue.

M. Sanders Sermon at Allhallows. 2 Cor. 11.

The firſt he ſaid was good, becauſe it was according to the Word of God, *Corinth.* 14. and the order of the Primitive Church. The other he ſaid was evil, and though in that evil be intermingled ſome good Latin words; yet was it but as a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of Poyſon, to make them drink up all. This was the ſum of his Sermon.

In the Afternoon he was ready in his Church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the Biſhop of *London* interrupted him by ſending an Officer for him. This Officer charged him, upon the pain of Diſobedience and Contumacy, forthwith to come to the *Biſhop* his Maſter. Thus, as the Apoſtles were brought out of the Temple, where they were teaching, unto the Rulers of the Prieſts; ſo was *Laurence Sanders* brought before this Biſhop of this place of *London*, who had

M. Sanders apprehended by B. Boner at his Sermon. Sir John Mordant accuſeth Laurence Sanders.

in his company the aforenamed Sir *John Mordant* and some of his Chaplains. The Bishop laid no more to *Laurence Sanders* charge, but Treason for breaking the Queens Proclamation, Heresie and Sedition for his Sermon.

Preaching of Gods Word made Treason with Bishop Boner.

The Treason and Sedition his charity was content to let slip, untill another time. But an Heretick he would now prove him, and all those, he said, which did teach and believe that the Administration of the Sacraments and all orders of the Church are most pure, which do come most nigh to the order of the Primitive Church. For the Church was then but in her Infancy, and could not abide that perfection which was afterward to be furnished with Ceremonies. And for this cause Christ himself, and after him the Apostles, did in many things bear with the rudeness of that Church. To this *Laurence Sanders* answered with the Authority of S. *Augustine*, That Ceremonies were even from the beginning invented and ordained for the rude infancy and weak infirmity of man, and therefore it was a token of the more perfection of the Primitive Church, that it had few Ceremonies, and of the rudeness of the Church Papistical, because it had so many Ceremonies, partly Blasphemous, partly unsavoury and unprofitable.

Ceremonies invented only for weak infirmity.

B. *Boner* seeketh the Blood of M. *Sanders*

After much talk had concerning this matter, the Bishop willed him to write what he believed of Transubstantiation. *Laurence Sanders* did so, saying; My Lord, ye do seek my Blood, and ye shall have it: I pray God that ye may be so Baptized in it, that ye may thereafter loath blood-sucking, and become a better man. This writing, the Bishop kept for his purpose, even to cut the writers throat, as shall appear hereafter. The Bishop, when he had his will, sent *Laurence Sanders* to the Lord Chancellor, as *Annas* sent Christ to *Caiphas*: and like favour found *Sanders* as Christ his Master did before him. But the Chancellor being not at home, *Sanders* was constrained to tarry for him by the space of four hours, in the utter Chamber, where he found a Chaplain of the Bishops very merrily disposed, with certain Gentlemen playing at the Tables, with divers others of the same Family or House occupied there in the same exercise.

M. *Sanders* sent from *Annas* to *Caiphas*.

All this time *Sanders* stood very modestly and soberly at the Screen or Cupboard bare-headed, Sir *John Mordant* his Guide or Leader walking up and down by him: who (as I said before) was then one of the Councel. At the last the Bishop returned from the Court, whom, as soon as he was entred, a great many suiters met and received: so that before he could get out of one house into another, half an hour was passed. At the last he came into the Chamber where *Sanders* was, and went thorow into another Chamber: where in the mean way *Sanders* leader gave him a writing, containing the Cause, or rather the Accusation of the said *Sanders*: Which when he had perused; where is the man, said the Bishop? Then *Sanders*, being brought forth to the place of Examination, first most lowly and meekly kneeled down, and made curtesie before the Table where the Bishop did sit; unto whom the Bishop spake on this wise:

Winchesters talk with M. *Sanders*.

How happeneth it, said he, that, notwithstanding the Queens Proclamation to the contrary, you have enterprised to preach?

M. *Sanders* answer to *Ste.* Winchester.

Sanders denied not that he did preach: saying, that forsomuch as he saw the perillous times now at hand, he did but (according as he was admonished, and warned by *Ezekiel* the Prophet) exhort his Flock and Parishioners to persevere and stand stedfastly in the Doctrine which they had learned; saying also, That he was moved and pricked forward thereunto by the place of the Apostle, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than man; and moreover, that nothing more moved or stirred him thereunto, than his own Conscience.

Winchester.

A goodly Conscience surely, said the Bishop. This your Conscience could make our Queen a Bastard, or misbegotten: Would it not, I pray you?

M. *Sanders*.

Then said *Sanders*, We, said he, do not declare or say, that the Queen is base, or misbegotten, neither go about any such matter. But for that let them care whose writings are yet in the hands of men, witnessing the same, not without the great reproach and shame of the Author: privily taunting the Bishop himself, which had before (to get the favour of *Henry* the Eighth) written and set forth in print a Book of true Obedience, wherein he had openly declared Queen *Mary* to be a Bastard. Now Mr. *Sanders* going forwards in his purpose, said; We do only profess and teach the sincerity and purity of the Word; the which, albeit it be now forbidden us to Preach with our Mouths, yet notwithstanding, I do not doubt, but that our Blood hereafter shall manifest the same. The Bishop being in this sort pretily nipped and touched, said; Carry away this frenzie fool to Prison. Unto whom M. *Sanders* answered, that he did give God thanks, which had given him at the last a place of rest and quietness, whereas he might pray for the Bishops conversion.

Anno 1555.

Winchesters book de vera obedientia.

Note how Winchester confuteth M. *Sanders*.

A notable example of the Lord comforting his servants in their troubles.

Furthermore, he that did lie with him afterwards in Prison, in the same Bed, reported that he heard him say, that even in the time of his Examination he was wonderfully comforted, insomuch as not only in Spirit, but also in Body, he received a certain taste of that Holy Communion of Saints, whilst a most pleasant refreshing did issue from every Part and Member of the Body unto the seat and place of the Heart, and from thence did ebb and flow to and fro unto all the parts again.

M. *Sanders* in Prison a year and three months.

This *Sanders* continued in Prison a whole year and three months. In all which space he sent divers Letters to divers men; as one to *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*; another to his Wife, and also to others, certifying them both of the Publick Calamity of the time, and also of his private Afflictions, and of sundry his conflicts with his Adversaries: as in writing to his friend he speaketh of *Weston* conferring with him in Prison, whereof ye shall hear anon (by the leave of the Lord) as followeth in the story. In the mean time the Chancellor, after this little talk with Mr. *Sanders* (as is aforesaid) sent him to the Prison of the *Marshalsey*, &c. For the *Caiphas* (*Winchester* I mean) did nothing but bait him with some of his curriish eloquence, and so committed him to the Prison of the *Marshalsey*, where he was kept Prisoner one whole year and a quarter. But of his Cause and Estate, thou shalt now see what L. *Sanders* himself did write.

A parcel of a Letter of Laurence Sanders *sent to the Bishop of* Winchester, *as an answer to certain things wherewith he had before charged him.*

A fragment of M. Sanders Letter.

Touching the cause of my Imprisonment, I doubt whether I have broken any Law or Proclamation. In my Doctrine I did not, forasmuch as at that time it was permitted by the Proclamation to use, according to our Consciences, such service as was then established. My Doctrine was then agreeable unto my Conscience and the same service then used. The Act which I did (he meaneth publick teaching of Gods Word in his own Parish, called Alhallows *in* Breadstreet *in the City of* London) *was such as being indifferently weighed, sounded to no breaking of the Proclamation, or at the least no wilful breaking of it, forasmuch as I caused no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the Pulpit, after the order of Sermons or Lectures. But be it that I did break the Proclamation, this long time of Continuance in Prison may be thought to be more than a sufficient punishment for such a fault.*

He meaneth the Proclamation, of which mention is made before, Sat is peccavit qui resistere non potuit.

Touching the charging of me with my Religion, I say with S. Paul; *this I confess, that after the way which they call Heresie, so worship I the God of my fore-fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law and the Prophets, and have hope towards God, &c. And herein study I to have always a clear Conscience towards God and towards men: So that God I call to witness, I have a Conscience. And this my Conscience is not grounded upon vain fantasie, but upon the infallible verity of Gods Word, with the witnessing of his chosen Church agreeable unto the same.*

Act. 24.

A good Testimony of a good Conscience.

It is an easie thing for them, which take Christ for their true Pastor, and be the very Sheep of his Pasture, to discern the Voice of their true Shepheard, from the Voice of Wolves, Hirelings, and Strangers: forasmuch as Christ saith; My Sheep hear my Voice: Yea, and thereby they shall have the gift to know the right Voice of the true Shepheard, and so to follow him, and to avoid the contrary, as he also saith; The Sheep follow the Shepheard, for they know

John 10.

A privy nip to Winchester.

Anno 1555.

know his voice: A ſtranger they will not follow, but will flye from him; for they know not the Voice of a ſtranger. Such inward inſpiration doth the Holy Ghoſt put into the Children of God, being indeed taught of God, but otherwiſe unable to underſtand the true way of their Salvation. And albeit that the Wolf (as Chriſt ſaith) cometh in ſheeps Cloathing, yet he ſaith, by their fruits ye ſhall know them. For there be certain fruits whereby the Wolf is bewrayed, notwithſtanding that otherwiſe, in ſundry ſorts of devout holineſs in outward ſhew, he ſeemeth never ſo ſimple a Sheep. That the Romiſh Religion is ravening & wolfiſh, it is apparent in three principal points:

Mat. 7. How the Wolf is known from the true Shepherd.

Firſt, it robbeth God of his due and only Honour.

Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of Conſcience, in obſcuring, or rather burying of Chriſt and his Office of Salvation.

The inconvenience of the Romiſh Religion in 3. points.

Thirdly, it ſpoileth God of his true Worſhip and ſervice in Spirit and Truth, appointed in his preſcript commandments, and driveth men unto that inconvenience, againſt the which Chriſt with the Prophet Eſay *doth ſpeak ſharply; This People honoureth me with their Lips, but their Heart is far from me. They Worſhip me in vain, teaching the Doctrine and Precepts of Men. And in another place; Ye caſt aſide the Commandments of God, to maintain your own Traditions.*

Eſay 26. Mat. 25.

Wherefore I in conſcience weighing the Romiſh Religion, and by indifferent diſcuſſing thereof, finding the Foundation unſtedfaſt, and the building thereupon but vain: and on the other ſide having my Conſcience framed after a right and uncorrupt Religion, ratified and fully eſtabliſhed by the Word of God, and the conſent of his true Church, I neither may, nor do intend, by Gods Gracious Aſſiſtance, to be pulled one jot from the ſame; no, though an Angel out of Heaven ſhould preach another Goſpel than that which I have received of the Lord.

And although that for lack either of ſuch deep Knowledge and profound Judgment, or of expedite uttering of that I do know and judge, as is required in an excellent Clerk, I ſhall not be able ſufficiently to anſwer, for the convincing of the gain-ſayer: yet, nevertheleſs this my proteſtation ſhall be of me premiſed, that for the reſpect of the grounds and cauſes before conſidered, albeit I cannot * Explicita fide, *as they call it, conceive all that is to be conceived, neither can diſcuſs all that is to be diſcuſſed, nor can effectually expreſs all that can be expreſſed in the diſcourſe of the Doctrine of this moſt true Religion, whereunto I am profeſſed: yet do I bind my ſelf, as by my humble ſimplicity, ſo by my* fidem * implicitam; *that is, by Faith in generality (as they call it) to wrap my belief in the credit of the ſame, that no authority of that Romiſh Religion repugnant thereunto, ſhall by any means remove me from the ſame, though it may hap that our Adverſaries will labour to beguile us with inticing words, and ſeek to ſpoil us through Philoſophy and deceitful vanity, after the Traditions of men, and after the Ordinances of the World, and not after Chriſt, &c.*

* *Explicita fides*, is when a man hath to anſwer to every point of his Faith by ſufficient ground and learning.

* *Implicita fides* is when a man without inſtruction in himſelf, groundeth only upon the Faith of the Church, not able to render any reaſon of that which he believeth.

And thus much of M. *Sanders* Letter, ſo much as remained thereof. The reſidue, becauſe it was rent away, I could not adjoyn thereunto. Notwithſtanding, by this already expreſſed, it is ſufficient to underſtand, how good was the cauſe and ſtate of this bleſſed Child of God, being priſoner for Chriſts cauſe. For the defence whereof he wholly beſtowed and reſigned himſelf, in ſuch ſort, as he forbad his Wife to ſue for his delivery: and when others of his Friends had by ſuit almoſt obtained it, he diſcouraged them, ſo that they did not follow their ſuit, as by his Letter following may appear.

A Letter of M. Sanders *to his Wife.*

GRace, Mercy, and Peace in Chriſt our Lord. Entirely beloved Wife, even as unto mine own Soul and Body, ſo do I daily in my Hearty Prayer wiſh unto you; for I do daily, twice at the leaſt, in this ſort remember you. And I do not doubt (dear Wife) but that both I and you, as we be written in the Book of Life, ſo we ſhall together enjoy the ſame Everlaſtingly, through the Grace and Mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son our Chriſt. And for this preſent Life, let us wholly appoint our ſelves to the will of our good God, to glorifie him either by Life or by Death; and even that ſame merciful Lord make us worthy to honour him either way as pleaſeth him, Amen. I am merry, I thank my God and my Chriſt, in whom and through whom I ſhall (I know) be able to fight a good fight, and finiſh a good courſe, and then receive the Crown which is laid up in ſtore for me, and all the true Souldiers of Chriſt. Wherefore, Wife, let us, in the Name of our God, fight luſtily to overcome the Fleſh, the Devil, and the World. What our Harneſs and Weapons be in this kind of fight, look in the ſixth chapter unto the *Epheſians*, and Pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no ſuit for me in any wiſe. Thank you know whom, for her moſt ſweet and comfortable putting me in remembrance of my journey whither I am paſſing. God ſend us all good ſpeed, and a joyful meeting. I have too few ſuch friends to further me in that journey, which is indeed the greateſt friendſhip. The Bleſſing of God be with you all, Amen.

1 Tim. 4.

M. Sanders would have no ſuit made for him.

A Priſoner in the Lord,
L. Sanders.

This his conſtancy is ſufficiently commended and declared by his valiant buckling with two mighty enemies, Antichriſt and Death. To neither of theſe did he give place: but by ſuffering their malice got the Victory over them both. One of the conflicts which he had with Antichriſt and his Members, I have gathered out of a Letter of his own hand writing. It was with Doctor *Weſton*, a man, whom though I ſhould praiſe, yet would all good and godly men worthily diſpraiſe. Of this the ſaid *Laurence Sanders* thus writeth in a Letter which he ſent to one of his Friends, which wrote to him to know what Doctor *Weſton* did at the *Marſhalſey*: whereunto he thus anſwereth.

Antichriſt and Death two enemies.

M. *Weſton* came to confer with Maſter *Grimoald*. What he hath concluded with him I know not: I wiſh it may be to Gods Glory, Amen, Amen. M. *Weſton* of his gentleneſs viſited me, and offered me Friendſhip in his Worldly wily ſort, &c. I had not ſo much good manners, as to take it at his hand: for I ſaid, that I was well enough, and ready cheerfully to abide the extremity, to keep thereby a good Conſcience. Ye be aſleep in ſin, ſaid he. I would awake (quoth I) and do not forget *Vigilate & Orate, i. Watch and Pray.* What Church was there, thirty years paſt? What Church was there, quoth I, in *Helias* time? *Joan* of Kent, ſaid he, was of your Church. No. quoth I, we did condemn her as an Heretick.

This Doctor *Weſton* and *M. Grimoald* died both about the Coronation of Q. *Elizabeth.*

Who was of your Church, ſaid he, thirty years paſt? Such (quoth I) as the Romiſh Antichriſt, and his rabble have reputed and condemned as Hereticks: *Wickliff*, ſaid he, *Thorp*, *Oldcaſtle*, &c. Yea, quoth I, with many more, as ſtories do tell.

The Church goeth not always by number.

The Biſhop of *Rome* hath, ſaid he, long time played a part in your railing Sermons: but, now be ye ſure, he muſt play another manner of part. The more pity, quoth I, and yet ſome comfort it is to ſee how that the beſt learned, wiſeſt, and holieſt of you all, have heretofore had him to play a part likewiſe in your Sermons and Writings, though now to pleaſe the World, you do turn with the Weather-Cock. Did you ever, ſaid he, hear me Preach againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*? No (quoth I) for I never heard you Preach. But I trow you have been no wiſer than other, &c. with more about the Sacrament. Pray, pray. God keep your Family, and Bleſs it.

Wincheſters Book De vera obedientia.

What Bleſſed taſt *M. Sanders* had of Chriſts comforts.

What a Bleſſed taſte this good man had of Gods Holy Spirit, by divers and Sundry his Letters may right well appear to him that is diſpoſed to peruſe the ſame: whereof certain we have here thought good, the Lord willing, to expreſs; firſt beginning with that which he wrote out of the *Marſhalſey* to D. *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Latimer* Priſoners for the like cauſe of Chriſt in *Oxford.*

To the Archbiſhop Cranmer, *Biſhop* Ridley, *and Mr.* Latimer, *being priſoned in* Oxford.

IN my moſt humble wiſe I ſalute you, moſt Reverend Fathers in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. Immortal thanks and Everlaſting praiſes be given unto that our Father of

M. Sanders writeth to Doctor *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, &c.

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Coloſſ 1. Coloſſ 3. mercies, *Which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of Saints in light, which hath delivered us from the power of darkneſs, and hath tranſlated us into the Kingdom of his beloved Son, by whom we have redemption through his Blood, &c.* O moſt happy eſtate, that in an unſpeakable wiſe our Life is hid with Chriſt in God: But whenſoever Chriſt which is our Life ſhall

1 Cor 13. ſhew himſelf, then ſhall we alſo appear with him in Glory. In the mean ſeaſon as our ſight is but in a glaſs, even in a dark ſpeaking, ſo we walk in Faith, not after outward appearance: The which Faith although for want of outward appearance, reaſon reputeth but as vain, yet the choſen of God do know the effect thereof, to bring a more ſubſtantial ſtate and lively fruition of very felicity and perfect bleſſedneſs than reaſon can reach, or ſenſes receive. By this Faith we have in our poſſeſſion all good things, yea even them *which*

Eſay 54. 1 Cor. 2. *the eye hath not ſeen, and the ear hath not heard, neither hath entred the heart of man, &c.* Then if hereby we do enjoy all good things, it followeth that we muſt needs poſſeſs, have and enjoy you, moſt Reverend Fathers, who be no ſmall part of our joy and good things given us of God.

We heretofore have had the fruition of you by bodily Preſence to our inexplicable benefit, praiſed be that our moſt Gracious God therefore. And now in Spirit we have the experience of unſpeakable comfort by your Reverend Fatherhoods, for that in this ſo glorious ſort ye

Mat. 5. become a Town ſet upon a Hill, a Candle upon a Candleſtick, a Spectacle unto the World, both to the Angels and unto men. So that as we to our great comfort do feel, you alſo may aſſuredly with

2 Cor. 4. Phil 1. S. *Paul*, that the things which happen unto us, do chance unto the great furtherance of the Goſpel; ſo that our Bonds in Chriſt are manifeſt, not only throughout all the Judgment-hall, but in all whole *Europe*; inſomuch that many of the Brethren in the Lord, being incouraged through our Bonds, dare more boldly ſpeak the word without fear. And herein as you have with S. *Paul* greatly to rejoyce, ſo we rejoyce with you, and we do indeed with you give thanks for this worthy excellent favour of our God towards you, that Chriſt is thus magnified in you, yea, and hereafter ſhall be magnified in your Bodies, whether it be through Life or Death. Of which thing truly we are aſſured in our Prayers for

Phil. 2. Phil. 1. you, and Miniſtring of the Spirit. And although for our own parts, Chriſt is unto you in Life and Death advantage, and that your deſire is (as indeed it were better for you) to be looſed, and to be with Chriſt, yet for the Church of Chriſt were it much more neceſſary, that ye ſhould abide in the Fleſh. Yea, that Merciful God, even for his Chriſts ſake, grant that ye may abide and continue for the furtherance of the Church, and rejoycing of Faith, that the rejoycing thereof may be the more abundant through Chriſt by your reſtoring, Amen, Amen.

But if it ſeem better otherwiſe unto the Divine Wiſdom, that by ſpeedy Death he hath appointed you to glorifie him, the Lords will be done. Yea, even as we do rejoyce both on your behalfs, and alſo on our own, that God is magnified by Life, and ſhould be more abundantly glad for the continuance thereof; ſo we ſhall no leſs rejoyce to have the ſame wrought by Death. We ſhall give thanks for this honour given unto you, rejoycing that ye are accounted worthy to ſuffer for the Name of Chriſt, and that *it is given to you of God, not only that ye ſhould believe in him, but alſo that ye ſhould ſuffer for his ſake.* And herein we ſhall have to rejoyce in the behalf of the Church of Chriſt, whoſe Faith may be the faſter fixed upon Gods verity, being confirmed with three ſuch worthy witneſſes. O thanks be to God for this his unſpeakable gift!

And now moſt Reverend Fathers, that you may underſtand the truth of us, and our eſtate how we ſtand in the Lord; I do aſſure your Reverences, partly by that I perceive by ſuch of your Brethren as be here in Bonds with me, partly by that I hear of them which be in other places, and partly by that inward experience which I, moſt unworthy, have of Gods good comfort (more abundance whereof I know there is in others) you may be aſſured (I ſay) by Gods Grace, that you ſhall not be fruſtrate of your hope of our conſtant continuance in the cheerful confeſſion of Gods everlaſting verity. For even as we have received the Word of Truth, even the Goſpel of our Salvation, wherein we believing are ſealed with the holy Spirit of Promiſe, which is the earneſt of our Inheritance (the which ſpirit certifieth our ſpirit, that we are the Children of God, and therefore God hath ſent the ſpirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, *Abba*, Father) ſo after ſuch portion as God meaſureth unto us, we with the whole Church of Chriſt, and with you Reverend Fathers, receiving the ſame Spirit of Faith, according as it is written, *I believed, and therefore I have ſpoken:* We alſo believe, and therefore ſpeak. For the which we in this dangerous Bondage and other Afflictions, having even ſuch a fight as we have ſeen in you, and have heard of you, are in no wiſe affraid of our adverſaries.

The conſtant ſtanding of a Chriſtian Soldier. Epheſ. 1. Rom. 8. Gal. 4. 1 Cor. 4. Pſal. 116. Phil. 1.

And foraſmuch as we have ſuch an Office, even as God hath had Mercy on us, we go not out of kind, but even with you, after our little power, we labour to maintain the Faith of the Goſpel, knowing moſt certainly, that though *we have this treaſure in earthen Veſſels, that the excellency of this power might be Gods, and not ours*; yet ſhall we not be daſhed in pieces: For the Lord will put his hand under us. When *we are troubled on every ſide, yet are we not without ſhift:* When *we are in poverty, we are not utterly without ſome thing:* When *we ſuffer Perſecution, we are not forſaken therein:* When *we are caſt down, yet we ſhall not periſh:* but to Communicate with our ſweet Saviour Chriſt in bearing the Croſs, it is appointed unto us, that even with him alſo we ſhall be glorified: For it is a true ſaying; *If we be dead with him, we ſhall alſo live with him; If we be patient, we ſhall alſo raign with him: If we deny him, he ſhall alſo deny us.* Wherefore be we of good cheer, *always bearing about in our Body the dying of the Lord Jeſus, that the Life of Jeſus might appear alſo in our Body: For we know, that he which raiſed up the Lord Jeſus, ſhall raiſe up us alſo by the means of Jeſus, & ſhall joyn us to himſelf together with you. Wherefore we are not wearied; but though our outward man periſh, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our Tribulation which is momentany and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternal weight of Glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are ſeen, but on the things which are not ſeen. For the things which are ſeen, are temporal; but the things which are not ſeen, are eternal.*

1 Cor. 4. 1 Cor. 4. 1 Tim. 3. 2 Cor. 4.

We teſtifie unto you, Reverend Fathers, that we draw theſe matters with joy out of the Wells of the Saviour. And I truſt we ſhall continually with you bleſs the Lord, and give thanks unto the Lord out of the Wells of *Iſrael*; we truſt to be merry together at that great Supper of the Lamb, whoſe Spouſe we are by Faith, and there to ſing that ſong of everlaſting *Halelujah, Amen.* Yea, come Lord Jeſus. The Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you, Amen.

Eſay 12. Pſal. 46.

Another Letter written to his wife, wherein is to be ſeen how this worthy Warriour prepared himſelf to the appointed fight, and to keep his ſtanding in Chriſts Camp.

Laurence Sanders *to his wife.*

M. Sanders Letter to his Wife.

GRace and Comfort in Chriſt Jeſus, our only Comfort in all extream aſſaults, Amen.

Fain would this Fleſh make ſtrange of that which the ſpirit doth embrace; Oh! Lord, how loth is this loytering ſluggard to paſs forth in Gods path? It phantaſieth forſooth much fear of fray-hugs: and were it not for the force of Faith which pulleth it forward by the rein of Gods moſt ſweet promiſe, and of hope which pricketh on behind, great adventures there were of fainting by the way. But bleſſed and everlaſtingly bleſſed be that Heavenly Father of ours, who in his Chriſt, our ſufficient Saviour, hath vouchſafed to ſhine in our Hearts, that he giveth us the light of the knowledge of the Glory of God in the face of Jeſus Chriſt: and having this treaſure in our earthen Veſſels, that the excellency of the power might be Gods and not ours, *we are* (according to his good will) *troubled on every ſide, yet are we not without ſhift; we are in poverty, but yet not without that is ſufficient; we ſuffer perſecution, but are not forſaken therein; we are caſt down, nevertheleſs we periſh not; we bear in the Body the dying of the Lord Jeſus, that the Life of Jeſus might alſo appear in our Body.* Wherefore

2 Cor. 4. 2 Cor. 4.

by

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by the Grace of our Christ we shall not be wearied, neither be dismaied by this our probation through the fire of Affliction, as though some strange thing had happened unto us: But by his Power we shall rejoyce, inasmuch as we are partakers of Christs Passion, that when he doth appear, we may be merry and glad, knowing that *our Tribulation, which is momentany and light, prepareth an exceeding and an eternal weight of Glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. They that sow in Tears, shall reap in Joy. For he that goeth on his way weeping and scattering his good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his whole sheaves with him.* Then, then shall the Lord wipe away all Tears from our Eyes. Then, then shall be brought to pass that saying which is written; *Death is swallowed up in victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy Victory? Yea, thanks be to God, which hath given us Victory through our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.*

2 Cor. 4.

Psal. 126.

1 Cor. 15.

In the mean season it remaineth for us to follow Saint *Peters* bidding; *Let them* (saith he) *that are troubled, according to the will of God, commit their Souls to him with well doing, as a Faithful Creator and Maker.* He is our Maker, we are his handy-work and Creatures, whom now when he hath made, he doth not leave and forsake, as the Shipright doth the Ship, leaving it at all adventures to be tossed in the Tempest, but he comforteth us his Creatures, and in him we live, move and have our being: Yea, not only that, but now that he hath in his dear Christ repaired us, being before utterly decayed, and redeemed us, purging us unto himself as a peculiar people by the Blood of his Son, he hath put on a most tender good-will and Fatherly Affection towards us, never to forget us: unto whom by such promises he hath plighted such Faith, that though it were possible that the Mother could forget her Infant, and not be tender-hearted to the Child of her Womb, yet may not it be, that his Faithful Believers should be forgotten of him. He biddeth us to cast our care on him, and saith, that assuredly he careth for us. And what though for a season he doth suffer us to be turmoiled in the troublous Tempests of Temptation, and seemeth as in much anger to have given us over, and forgotten us? let not us for all that leave off to put our trust in him, but let us with Godly *Job* conclude in our selves and say; *Even though he kill me, yet will I put my trust in him.* Let us with the Blessed *Abraham* in hope, even contrary to hope, by Belief lean unto that our loving Lord, who though for our probation he suffereth us to be afflicted, yet *will he not be always chiding, neither keepeth he his anger for ever: for he knoweth whereof we be made; he remembreth that we are but dust.* Wherefore, *look how high the Heaven is in comparison of the Earth, so great is his Mercy towards them which fear him. Look how wide the East is from the West, so far hath he set our sins for us.* Yea, *like as a Father, pitieth his own Children, even so is the Lord merciful unto them that fear him.* Oh! what great cause of rejoycing have we in our most Gracious God? we cannot but burst forth in the praising of such a bountiful Benefactor, and say with the same *Psalmist; Praise the Lord, O my Soul, and all that is within me Praise his holy Name. Praise the Lord, O my Soul, and forget not all his benefits.*

1 Peter 4.

Act. 17.

Gods promise firm and sure. Esay 49.

2 Pet. 9.

Job. 13. Trust upon Gods promise.

Psal. 103.

Dear Wife, Riches I have none to leave behind me, wherewith to endow you after the Worldly manner: But, that Treasure of tasting how sweet Christ is unto hungry Consciences, (whereof, I thank my Christ, I do feel part, and would feel more) that I bequeath unto you, and to the rest of my beloved in Christ, to retain the same in sense of heart always. Pray, pray. I am merry, and I trust I shall be merry, maugre the teeth of all the Devils in Hell. I utterly refuse my self, and resign my self unto my Christ, in whom I know I shall be strong, as he seeth needful. Pray, pray, pray.

Sanders Godly bequest to his Wife.

Experience of the comforts of Christ in Prison.

Laurence Sanders.

As the said Master *Sanders* was in Prison, straight charge was given to the Keeper that no Person should speak with him. His Wife yet came to the Prison Gate with her young Child in her Arms, to visit her Husband. The Keeper, though for his charge he durst not suffer her to come into the Prison, yet did he take the little Babe out of her Arms, and brought him unto his Father: *Laurence Sanders* seeing him, rejoyced greatly, saying, that he rejoyced more to have such a Boy, than he should if two Thousands pounds were given him. And unto the standers by, which praised the goodliness of the Child; he said, What man fearing God, would not lose this Life present, rather than by prolonging it here, he should adjudge this Boy to be a Bastard, his Wife a Whore, and himself a Whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cause, for which a man of my Estate should lose his Life, yet who would not give it, to avouch this Child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?

M. Sanders wife not suffered to speak with him in Prison.

I do, good Reader, recite this saying, not only to let thee see what be thought of Priests marriage: but chiefly to let all married Couples and Parents learn to bear in their bosom true affections: natural, but yet seasoned with the true Salt of the Spirit, unfeignedly and throughly mortified to do the Natural Works and Offices of married Couples and Parents, so long as with their doing they may keep Christ with a free confessing Faith in a Conscience unfoil: Otherwise both they and their own Lives are so to be forsaken, as Christ required them to be denied, and given in his cause.

M. Sanders brought to Examination.

And now to come to the Examination of this good man, after that the Bishops had kept him one whole year and a quarter in Prison, at length they called him, as they did the rest of his fellows, openly to be examined. Of the which his first Examination the effect and purport thus followeth.

The Examination of Laurence Sanders.

The first Examination of *M. Sanders.*

PRaised be our Gracious God who preserveth his from evil, and doth give them Grace to avoid all such offences as might hinder his Honour, or hurt his Church, Amen.

Being convented before the Queens most Honourable Councel, sundry Bishops being present, the L. Chancellor began to speak in such form as followeth:

L. Chan. It is not unknown that you have been a Prisoner, for such abominable Heresies and false Doctrine as hath been sown by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be shewed to such as seek for it. Wherefore if now you will shew your self conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We must say that we have fallen in manner all: but now we be risen again, and returned to the Catholick Church; you must rise with us, and come home unto it. Give us forthwith a direct answer.

Sand. My Lord, and my Lords all, may it please your Honours to give me leave to answer with deliberation.

Chan. Leave of your painting and pride of speech: For such is the fashion of you all, to please your selves in your glorious words. Answer yea, or nay:

Sand. My Lord, it is no time for me now to paint. And as for Pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me; My learning I confess to be but small: and as for riches or wordly wealth I have none at all. Notwithstanding, it standeth me in hand to answer to your demand circumspectly, consideriug that one of these two extream perils are like to fall upon me: the losing of a good Conscience, or the losing of this my Body and Life. And I tell you truth, I love both Life and Liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my Conscience.

M. Sanders standeth upon his Conscience.

Chan. Conscience? You have none at all, but pride and arrogancy, (*a*) dividing your selves by singularity from the Church.

(*a*) Of this dividing speaketh S. *Paul.* 2 Cor. 6. & Jer. 50. Come out and divide your selves from them, &c.

Sand. The Lord is the knower of all mens Consciences. And where your Lordship layeth to my charge this dividing my self from the Church (as you do mean, and is now among you concluded upon, and I do understand) I do assure you, that I live in the Faith wherein I have been brought up since I was fourteen years old: being taught that the Power of the Bishop of *Rome* is but usurped, with many other abuses springing thereof. Yea, this I have received even at your hands that are here present, as a thing agreed upon by the Catholick Church and Publick Authority.

Argument. Conscience ought never to stand upon things uncertain.

Chan. Yea marry, but I pray you, have you received by

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Time and authority be things of themſelves always uncertain: *Ergo*, Conſcience ought never to ſtand upon time and Authority. Si non infanitſatis ſua ſponte, inſtigat.

conſent and authority all your Hereſies of the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar.

Sand. My Lord, it is leſs offence to cut off an arm, hand, or joynt of man, than to cut off the head. For the man may live though he do lack an arm, hand, or joynt, and ſo he cannot without his head. But you, all the whole ſort of you, have agreed to cut off the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, whom now you will have to be the Head of the Church again.

B. of Lond. And if it like your Lordſhip, I have his hand againſt the Bleſſed Sacrament. How ſay you to that?

Sanders. What I have written, that I have written, and farther I will not accuſe my ſelf. Nothing have you to burden me withal, for breaking of your Laws ſince they were in force.

A lawful requeſt, but it could not be heard.

Chan. Well, you be obſtinate, and refuſe liberty.

Sand. My Lord, I may not buy liberty at ſuch a price: but I beſeech your Honours to be means to the Queens Majeſty for ſuch a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our Conſciences unclogged, and we ſhall live as moſt obedient Subjects. Otherwiſe, I muſt ſay for my ſelf, that by Gods Grace I will abide the moſt extremity that man may do againſt me, rather than to do againſt my Conſcience.

To live as the Scripture leadeth us, is not to live as we liſt. The Papiſts deſire the Pope, the proteſtants Chriſt only to be their Head: Now which of theſe two be moſt like the Donatiſts?

Chan. Ah Sirra, you will live as you liſt. The Donatiſts did deſire to live in ſingularity; but indeed they were not meet to live on Earth: No more be you, and that ſhall you underſtand within theſe ſeven days; and therefore away with him.

Sand. Welcome be it, whatſoever the will of God ſhall be, either Life or Death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to dye. But I exhort you to beware of ſhedding of innocent Blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God reſt upon all your Honours, Amen. Thus is the ſum and form of my firſt Examination, Pray, &c.

This Examination being ended, the Officers led him out of the place, and ſo ſtayed until the reſt of his fellows were likewiſe handled; that they might have them altogether to priſon. *Laurence Sanders* ſtanding among the Officers, ſeeing there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth and ſpake freely, warning them all of that which by their falling from Chriſt to Antichriſt they did deſerve; and therefore exhorting them by Repentance to riſe again, and to embrace Chriſt with ſtronger Faith, to confeſs him to the end, in the defiance of Antichriſt, Sin, Death, and the Devil: So ſhould they retain the Lords favour and bleſſing.

M. Sanders freely preacheth Chriſt. The ſecond examination whereof lacketh.

The Copies of his other Examination and Excommunication came to the hands of ſuch as do keep them ſtill in ſecret. But in them, as he defended Chriſts cauſe ſtoutly, ſo warned he the Phariſaical Biſhops and Papiſts of their Hypocriſie and Tyranny freely, and cleared himſelf of their unjuſt quarrellings truly. After he was excommunicate and delivered to the Secular Power, he was brought by the Sheriff of *London* to the Priſon called the *Compter*, in his own Pariſh in *Breadſtreet*: whereat he rejoyced greatly, both becauſe he found there a Fellow-priſoner, M. *Cardmaker*, with whom he had Chriſtian and comfortable conference, and alſo becauſe out of Priſon, as before out of a Pulpit, he might preach to his Pariſhioners; as by his Letter hereafter ſhall be declared.

M. Sanders delivered to the Secular Power.

THe fourth day of *February*, the Biſhop of *London* did come to the Priſon where he was, to degrade him: which when he had done, *Laurence Sanders* ſaid to him, I thank God I am none of your Church.

M. Sanders degraded by B. *Bonner.*

The day following in the morning, the Sheriff of *London* delivered him to certain of the Queens Guard, which were appointed to carry him to the City of *Coventry*, there to be burned. The firſt night they came to S. *Albans*, where Mr. *Grimoald* (a man who had more ſtore of good gifts, than of great conſtancy) did ſpeak with him.

M. Sanders carried to *Coventry.*

After Mr. *Sanders* had given him a leſſon meet for his lightneſs, he took a Cup in his hand, and asked him if he would pledge him of that Cup, of which he would begin to him. *Grimoald.* by his ſhrugging and ſhrinking ſhewing what he was, ſaid, Of that Cup which is in your hand I will pledge you: But of that other which you

The burning of Maſter Laurence Sanders at Coventry.

mean, I will not promiſe you. Well, ſaid Maſter *Sanders*, my dear Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath begun to me of a more bitter Cup than mine ſhall be, and ſhall I not pledge my moſt ſweet Saviour? Yes, I hope.

A good Shoomaker of *Coventry.*

After they were come to *Coventry*, the ſame night a poor Shoomaker, which was wont to ſerve him of ſhoes, came to him after this manner, and ſaid; O my good Maſter, God ſtrengthen and comfort you. Gramercies good Shoomaker, quoth Maſter *Sanders*, and I pray thee to pray for me; for I am the unmeeteſt man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it: but my Gracious God and dear Father is able to make me ſtrong enough. That ſame night he was put into the Common Goal among other Priſoners, where he ſlept little, but ſpent the night in Prayer, and inſtructing of others.

M. Sanders put to the Common Goal in *Coventry.*

The

Anno 1555.

February 8. M. Sanders brought to the place of Execution.

The next day, which was the eighth day of *February*, he was led to the place of Execution in the Park without the City, going in an old gown and a ſhirt, bare-footed, and oft times fell flat on the ground, and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the Officer, appointed to ſee the execution done, ſaid to Mr. *Sanders*, that he was one of them which marred the Queens Realm with falſe Doctrine and Hereſie, wherefore thou haſt deſerved death, quoth he, but yet if thou wilt revoke thine Hereſies, the Queen hath pardoned thee: if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee. To whom Mr. *Sanders* anſwered; it is not I, nor my fellow Preachers of Gods Truth that have hurt the Queens Realm, but it is your ſelf, and ſuch as you are, which have always reſiſted Gods holy Word; it is you which have and do marr the Queens Realm. I do hold no Hereſies; but the Doctrine of God, the bleſſed Goſpel of Chriſt; that hold I, that believe I, that have I taught, and that will I never revoke. With that, this Tormentor cryed, Away with him. And away from him went M. *Sanders* with a merry courage towards the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed: he roſe up again and took the ſtake to which he ſhould be chained, in his Arms, and kiſſed it, ſaying: Welcome the Croſs of Chriſt, welcome everlaſting Life: and being faſtned to the ſtake, and fire put to him, full ſweetly he ſlept in the Lord.

Achab accuſeth Elias for troubling Iſrael.

A Compariſon between Laurence Sanders and S. Laurence.

And thus have ye the full Hiſtory of *Laurence Sanders*, whom I may well compare to S. *Laurence*, or any other of the Old Martyrs of Chriſts Church; both for the fervent zeal of the truth and Goſpel of Chriſt, and the moſt conſtant patience in his ſuffering, as alſo for the cruel torments that he in his patient Body did ſuſtain in the flame of fire. For ſo his cruel enemies handled him, that they burned him with green wood, and other ſmoothering rather than burning fewel, which put him to much more pain, but that the Grace and moſt plentiful Conſolation of Chriſt, which never forſaketh his ſervants, and gave ſtrength to S. *Laurence*, gave alſo patience to this *Laurence*, above all that his torments could work againſt: which well appeared by his quiet ſtanding, and ſweet ſleeping in the fire, as is above declared.

Strength to ſtand in Chriſt cometh not of our ſelves, but it is the Gift of God.

And to the intent to give the Reader to underſtand the better, what the Grace of Chriſt worketh in his ſervants; and again, how feeble and weak man is of himſelf without this Grace given from above, though he ſeem otherwiſe never ſo ſtout in himſelf: here therefore have we added to the foreſaid ſtory of *Laurence Sanders*, the Communication which in the beginning of his trouble was between him and Doctor *Pendleton*, by the example whereof, ſuch as ſtand, may learn to underſtand to take heed with due fear, and not to brag; to lean to the Grace of the Lord, and not to preſume in themſelves.

A certain Communication between Laurence Sanders *and Dr.* Pendleton, *in the beginning of Queen* Maries *time.*

Talk between M. Sanders and Doctor Pendleton.

D. Pendleton a ſtout Preacher of the Goſpel in King Edwards time.

AT the change of Religion in this Realm, and the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, Doctor *Pendleton* and Maſter *Sanders*, men known to the World, not only to be learned, but alſo earneſt Preachers of Gods Word in the time of bleſſed King *Edward*, met together in the Countrey, where by occaſion they were at that time, and as the caſe required (by reaſon of the Perſecution that was then at hand) fell to debate what was beſt for them to do in ſo dangerous a ſeaſon. Whereunto Mr. *Sanders*, whether through very frailty of his weak fleſh, that was loth to taſte the bitter Cup, though his Spirit were ready thereunto; or whether it were upon the miſtruſt of his own ſtrength, that he might receive the greater power from above; or whether it were not for any one of the ſaid cauſes alone, but for both together, or ſuch like; ſeemed ſo fearful and feeble ſpirited, that he ſhewed himſelf in appearance, like either to fall quite from God and his Word, which he had taught, or at leaſt to betake him to his heels, and to fly the Land, rather than to ſtick to his Profeſſion and abide by his Tackle: So as Doctor *Pendleton* (who on the contrary ſide appeared not ſo big of Body, but as bold in courage, nor ſo earneſt before in Pulpit, but as ready now to ſeal the ſame with his Blood) took upon him to comfort M. *Sanders* all that he might, admoniſhing him, as he could do it very well, not to forſake cowardly his flock when he had moſt need to defend them from the Wolf; neither having put his hand to Gods Plough, to ſtart now aſide and give it over, nor yet (that is worſt of all) having once forſaken Antichriſt, to fall either himſelf, or ſuffer others by his example to return to their vomit again.

M. Sanders timerous in Chriſts cauſe at the firſt beginning.

After which and ſuch like perſwaſions bidding him be of good comfort, and to take a good heart unto him; What man, quoth he, there is a great deal more cauſe in me to be afraid than in you, foraſmuch as you ſee, I carry a greater maſs of Fleſh upon my back than you do, and being ſo laden with a heavier lump of this vile carcaſe, ought therefore of Nature to be more frail than you: and yet, ſaid he, I will ſee the uttermoſt drop of this greaſe of mine molten away, and the laſt gobbet of this Fleſh conſumed to aſhes, before I will forſake God and his Truth. Whereunto the other anſwering but little, and wiſhing that Almighty God would give him more ſtrength than he preſently felt in himſelf, acknowledging his own weakneſs, conſented notwithſtanding, though it were ſomewhat faintly, to joyn with him in the profeſſion of the Goſpel, and ſo to go up to *London*, and ſet forth the ſame: whereupon they gave each other their hands.

The ſtout brags of D. Pendleton at the firſt beginning.

God giveth ſtrength where feebleneſs is.

Now when they were come to *London*, Lord, what a great change was there between theſe two perſons! The poor feeble faint-hearted *Sanders*, by the goodneſs of Almighty God, taking heart of Grace to him, ſeeking the ſame in humility, boldly and ſtoutly confirmed his Flock out of the Pulpit, where his charge lay, mightily beating down Antichriſt, and luſtily Preaching Chriſt his Maſter, for the which he afterward ſuffered moſt willingly, as is before declared. Whereas on the other ſide, *Pendleton* the proud (who as it appeared by the ſequele, had been more ſtout in words than conſtant in deeds, and a greater bragger than a good Warriour) followed *Peter* ſo juſtly in cracks, howſoever he did in Repentance (which God only knoweth) that he came not ſo ſoon to *London* but he changed his tippet, and played the Apoſtata, preaching in ſtead of ſound Doctrine nothing almoſt but Errors and Lies, advancing Antichriſt, and overthrowing poor Chriſt with all his main: ſo his former boldneſs come to nothing, unleſs it were a contrary key, becomming of a Faithful Paſtor a falſe Runnagate, and of a true Preacher a ſworn Enemy to Gods everlaſting Teſtament, to the great offence of his Brethren, the hurt of his Flock, and the utter undoing, without Gods greater Mercy, of his own Soul. Wherein are ſpecially to be conſidered the deep and marvellous Judgment of God, who as he can and doth make ſtrong whom it pleaſeth him, when he ſeeth his time, and moſt commonly ſuch as appear moſt feeble: even ſo contrariwiſe, throweth he down other ſome, ſeem they never ſo ſtout, ſtand they never ſo much in their own conceits. Wherefore let him that ſtandeth take heed he fall not, and let us pray continually to Almighty God, though we have Faith, that he will help and increaſe our Faith, that in him it may be made ſtrong, which of it ſelf is ſo weak, that it is ſoon overthrown.

Example how feeble man is of himſelf, without the Lord ſupport him.

He that ſtandeth let him take heed he fall not. Rom. 11.

M. Sanders diligent in writing Letters out of Priſon.

This bleſſed Man of God induring long time in Priſon, did not paſs all this time in unfruitful Idleneſs, but ſtill from time to time did viſit his friends (as is ſaid) and eſpecially his wife, with many Letters full of Godly Inſtruction and Conſolation. All which Letters it ſhall not be greatly needful here to inſert, partly becauſe they are to be found in the Book of Letters, partly becauſe we intend alſo (if God will) to proſecute the ſame more at large. In the mean time it ſhall not be out of place here preſently to comprehend certain of them as in order followeth.

Read the Book of Letters of the Martyrs.

A Letter ſent to M. Ferrar *Biſhop of S.* Davids, *Doctor* Taylor, *Mr.* Bradford, *and Mr.* Philpot.

A Letter of M. Sanders ſent to Biſh. Ferrar, D. Taylor, M. Bradford, and Maſter Philpot.

GRace, *Mercy, and Peace in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, &c. Good Fathers, and dear Brethren, be thankful unto our moſt Gracious God, which hath preſerved us, and ſhall (I doubt not) from blaſpheming his Bleſſed Name: yea, not only that, but alſo* Ex ore Infantium & Lactantium perficiet laudem, &c. i. *Out of the Mouths of very Babes and Sucklings ſhall be ſet forth his praiſe. They offer us* Fol. 2.

(*forſooth*)

(*forsooth*) *our liberty and pardon, so that we will rise with them into that Faith which we with them were fain from. Yea, or no, must be answered in haste. They will not admit any needful circumstances, but all (as heretofore) most detestable and abominable. Rise with them we must unto the unity. And pardon (say I) of me must not so dearly be purchased. A pardon I desire, to live with an unclogged Conscience. The* Donatists (*say they*) *sought for such singularity, but they were not meet to live in a Commonwealth, no more be you, as you shall shortly understand. Wherefore away with him; yea, the time was named within this seven-night. There be twelve hours in the day. Death shall be welcome (say I) as being looked for long since, and yet do Justice ye were best, for* Abels *blood cryed, ye wot what. The Spirit of God be upon you, and God save your Honours. Thus departed I from them. Pray, pray. Ah, ah,* Puer sum, nescio loqui; i. *I am a Child, I cannot speak. My Brother* P. *shall shew you more herein. By him send me word what you have done. Fare ye well, and pray, pray. I would gladly meet with my good Brother* Bradford *on the backside about eleven of the Clock. Before that time I cannot start out, we have such Out-walkers, but then will they be at dinner.*

John 11.

Yours as you know, *L. Sanders.*

A Letter which Laurence Sanders *did write to his Wife, and others of the Faithful, after his Condemnation to the Fire, written the last of* January, *An.* 1555. *out of the* Compter *in* Breadstreet.

THE Grace of Christ, with the Consolation of the Holy Ghost, to the keeping of the Faith and a good Conscience, confirm and keep you for ever Vessels to Gods Glory, Amen.

A comfortable Letter of Mr. Sanders to his Wife and other of the faithful Flock.

Oh! what worthy thanks can be given to our gracious God for his unmeasurable Mercies plentifully poured upon us? And I most unworthy Wretch cannot but pour forth at this present, even from the bottom of my heart, the bewailing of my great ingratitude and unkindness towards so gracious a good God and loving Father. I beseech you all, as for my other many sins, so specially for that sin of my unthankfulness, crave pardon for me in your earnest Prayers, commending me to Gods great Mercies in Christ.

To number these Mercies in particular, were to number the drops of water which are in the Sea, the Sands on the shore, the Stars in the Skie. O my dear Wife, and ye the rest of my Friends, rejoyce with me, I say rejoyce with Thanksgiving for this my present Promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnifie my God, not only in my life, by my flow mouth and uncircumcised lips, bearing witness unto his Truth, and also by my blood to seal the same, to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true Church: And as yet I testifie unto you, that the comfort of my sweet Christ doth drive from my fantasie the fear of death. But if my dear Husband Christ doth for my trial leave me alone a little to my self, alas, I know in what case I shall be then: but if for my proof he do so, yet I am sure he will not be long or far from me. Though he stand behind the Wall and hide himself (as *Solomon* saith in his Mystical Ballet) yet will he peep in by a cleft to see how I do. He is a very tender-hearted *Joseph*; though he speak roughly to his Brethren, and handle them hardly; yea, threaten grievous Bondage to his best beloved Brother *Benjamin*: yet can he not contain himself from weeping with us and upon us, with falling on our necks, and sweetly kissing us. Such, such a Brother is our Christ unto all. Wherefore hasten to go unto him as *Jacob* did with his Sons and Family, leaving their Countrey and Acquaintance. Yea, this our *Joseph* hath obtained for us, that *Pharaoh* the Infidel shall minister unto us Chariots, wherein at ease we may be carried to come unto him: as we have experience how our very Adversaries do help us unto our everlasting Bliss by their speedy dispatch; yea, and how all things have been helpings hereunto; blessed be our God. Be not afraid of Fray-bugs which lye in the way. Fear rather the Everlasting Fire: fear the Serpent which hath that deadly sting, of which by bodily death they shall be brought to taste which are not grafted in Christ, wanting Faith and a good Conscience, and so are not acquainted with Christ the killer of death. But oh my dear Wife and Friends! we, we whom God hath delivered from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the Kingdom of his dear Son, by putting off the Old Man, and by Faith putting on the New, even our Lord Jesus Christ, his Wisdom, Holiness, Righteousness and Redemption; we, I say, have to triumph against the terrible spiteful Serpent the Devil, Sin, Hell, Death, and Damnation. For Christ our brazen Serpent hath pulled away the sting of this Serpent, so that now we may boldly, in beholding it spoiled of sting triumph, and with our Christ, and all his Elect, say, *Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, who hath given (Us) the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.*

The sweet comfort of Christ taketh away the fear of death from *Sanders*, Cant. 22.

Joseph handling of his Brethren applied to Christ.

Christ a sweet Brother unto us

Anno 1555.

The sting of death plucked out. 1 Cor. 15.

Wherefore be merry, my dear Wife, and all my dear fellow Heirs of the everlasting Kingdom, always remember the Lord. Rejoyce in Hope, be patient in Tribulation, continue in Prayer, and pray for us now appointed to the slaughter, that we may be unto our Heavenly Father a fat Offering, and an acceptable Sacrifice. I may hardly write to you. Wherefore let these few words be a Witness of my Commendations to you and all them which love us in the Faith; and namely, unto my Flock, among whom I am resident by Gods Providence, but as a Prisoner.

To this his Flock the Parish of *Allhallowes in Bread-street*, he wrote also a fruitful Letter, exhorting and charging them to beware of the Romish Religion, and constantly to stick to the Truth which they had confessed.

And although I am not so among them, as I have been to preach to them out of a Pulpit, yet doth God now preach unto them by me, by this my Imprisonment and Captivity which now I suffer among them for Christs Gospel sake, bidding them to beware of the Romish Antichristian Religion and Kingdom, requiring and charging them to abide in the Truth of Christ, which is shortly to be sealed with the Blood of their Pastor; who though he be unworthy of such a Ministry, yet Christ their high Pastor is to be regarded, whose Truth hath been taught them by me, is witnessed by my Chains, and shall be by my Death, through the power of that high Pastor. Be not careful, good Wife, cast your care upon the Lord, and commend me, unto him in repentant Prayer, as I do you and our *Samuel*; whom, even at the Stake, I will offer as my self unto God. Fare ye well all in Christ, in hope to be joyned with you in Joy everlasting. This hope is put up in my bosom, Amen, Amen, Amen, Pray, pray.

Another Letter to Mrs. Lucie Harrington, *a godly Gentlewoman, and friendly to him in his Troubles.*

Another comfortable Letter of Mr. *Sanders*.

YOur *most gentle Commendations, whereof this Messenger made remembrance unto me, was for two Causes very comfortable: First, For that thereby I understood of the state of your health and bodily welfare, for the which I give thanks unto God, who grant the long continuance thereof to his honour and fatherly good will, whereunto I will daily say, Amen. And further, I was refreshed by the expressing of your mindful friendship towards me far unworthy thereof. Wherein I take occasion of much rejoycing in our so gracious a God and merciful Father, who as he hath in his immeasurable mercy by Faith hand-fasted us his chosen Children unto his dear Son our Christ, as the Spiritual Spouse of such an Heavenly Husband: so he linketh us by love one unto another, being by that Bond compact together with charitable readiness to do good one to another: so that first to the glory of our God and his Christ, then to our own joying in the testimony of a good Conscience, and last of all to the stopping of the mouths and confusion of our Adversaries, we bear the Badge as the right Spouse of our Christ, which himself noted in this saying; Herein shall all men know that ye be my Disciples, if ye love one another. Then farther, by this Bond of mutual Love is set forth the Fatherly Providence of God towards us his Children; that though it be he that careth for us, in whom we live, move, and be, who feedeth all Flesh with bodily sustenance, yet hath he appointed us in these present necessities to stand in his stead one unto another. Wherein is not only set forth our dignity, but also that unspeakable accord and unity among the the many Members of his Mystical Body. And though that either for lack of ability, or else through distance of place, power and opportunity of helping one another do fail: yet wonderful is the working of Gods Children*

The true Badge of Christ. John 13.

through

Anno 1555.

through the ſpirit of Prayer, as whereby they fetch all heavenly influence from Chriſt their Celeſtial Head by his Spirit, to be meaſured ſeverally, as may ſerve to the maintenance of the whole Body.

John 15. Prayer diſtributeth God's Bleſſings from one to another.

Thus doth our faithful Prayer, which we make one for another, diſtribute and ſcatter Gods bountiful Bleſſings, both ghoſtly and bodily, when ordinary ability lacketh, and when the arm may not reach forth ſuch Gods riches. According hereunto I well perceive and underſtand your readineſs to do good unto all, and eſpecially I have experience of your ready good will towards me in your hearty deſire to ſtretch out your helping hand to relieve my lack: and of your help to be extended to me in the other ſpiritual ſort, by your good prayer, I doubt not; as alſo therein aſſure you of my help, being all that I may do, and yet the ſame not ſo much as I would do.

My need concerning bodily neceſſaries is as yet furniſhed by Gods proviſion, ſo that I am not driven to any extremity, wherefore to be burbenous to you, as your gentle benevolence provoketh me, the Lord reward you therefore. If God make me worthy to be his witneſs at this preſent, in giving this corruptible body to burn for the teſtimony of his Truth, it is enough for me to ſay to you that I have a poor Wife and Child, whom I love in the Lord, and whom I know for my ſake you will tender when I am departed hence, &c.

Another Letter to Mrs. Lucie Harrington.

Another Letter of Mr. *Sanders*:

GRace and Mercy, *&c.* It happeneth oftentimes that abundance of matter bringeth with it much vehemency of friendly affection, maketh men dumb, and even then chiefly, when there is moſt eager purpoſe of ſpeaking, ſilence doth ſuppreſs, and cauſeth the party ſo affected unperfectly to expreſs that he goeth about to utter. Such impediment by much matter, mingled with fervency of affection, feel I ſometimes in my ſelf, letting the utterance, either by tongue or writing, of the abundance of the heart. The love of our moſt gracious God and heavenly Father, beſtowed upon us in the Merits of Chriſt our Saviour, who may by conceit of mind comprehend, paſſing indeed all underſtanding? Much leſs may the ſame by any means be expreſly uttered. And as ſuch heavenly bleſſings, which by faith we fetch from above, be inexplicable, ſo is it hard to utter, when the faithful are ſet on fire by love, their readineſs to reach forth and to give by Charity, as by Faith they have received. *But* (alas!) *we carry this Treaſure in Earthen Veſſels.* Many times Faith is feeble, and then Love looſeth her favour. Pray we therefore, Lord increaſe our Faith, and Love forthwith will be on fire. And immortal thanks be given unto our God, who in our Chriſt hath beſtowed upon us the firſt fruits of his Spirit, who crieth in our hearts, *Abba, Father.* And (as S. *Paul* ſaith) *ſeeing we have the ſame ſpirit of faith, according as it is written; I believed, and therefore I have ſpoken: we alſo believe, and therefore we ſpeak.* Yea, God knoweth, this ſpirit putteth in us a mind to ſpeak, but in attempting thereof we are driven with *Moſes* to ſay; *O Lord, I am ſlow mouthed and of uncircumciſed lips:* and with *Jeremy*, O *Lord, I cannot ſpeak.*

2 Cor. 4. Faith many times in us is feeble.

Rom. 8. 2 Cor. 4.

Exod. 6. Jer. 1.

Albeit, that this infancy reſtraineth the opening of ſuch abundance of heart in my tender Chriſtian Duty to be declared towards you, yet I beſeech you, let this be ſetled in your underſtanding; that as S. *Paul* expreſſeth unto his *Corinthians*, that they were in his heart either to live or to dye, with many other ſuch Sayings uttered unto them and the *Galathians*, expreſſing his vehement affection towards them: ſo in ſome part I would be like affected towards all Gods Children, and eſpecially towards you whom I know in Chriſt, and to whom I will not ſay how much I am indebted. I thank you for your great friendſhip and tender good will towards my Wife: yea, that good gracious God recompence you, which may worthily with the more countervail the ſame, and fulfill that which lacketh of thankful duty in us. And becauſe of that which heretofore I have conceived of you, and of your more than natural Love towards me and mine; I make my ſelf thus bold to lay this burden upon you, even the care and charge of my ſaid poor Wife; I mean, to be unto her a Mother and Miſtreſs to rule and direct her by your diſcreet counſel. I know ſhe conceiveth of you the ſame that I do, and is thankful unto God with me for ſuch a Friend; and therefore I beſeech you even for Chriſts ſake, put never from you this friendly charge over her, whether I live longer, or ſhortly depart. But to charge you otherwiſe, thanks be to God, neither I, neither ſhe have any ſuch extream need: if we had, I would be as bold with you as mine own Mother, I beſeech you give my hearty Salutations unto Mr. *Fitz-Williams*, and my good Lady, with thanks alſo for my poor Wife and Child, the Lord recompence them.

L. Sanders.

Mr. *Sanders* commendeth the care of his Wife to Mrs. *Harrington.*

Furthermore, as touching his Fatherly care and affection to his Wife and his little Child, the ſame is lively ſet forth in another Letter which he did write to his Wife: wherein he admoniſhed her that ſhe would not reſort much to the Priſon where he was, for danger of trouble that might inſue, the tenor of whoſe Letter here followeth.

Another Letter to his Wife, with a certain Remembrance to Mr. Harrington, *and Mr.* Hurland.

Another Letter of Mr. *Sanders* to his Wife.

GRace and Comfort, &c. *Wife, you ſhall do beſt not to come often unto the Grate where the Porter may ſee you. Put not your ſelf in danger where it needs not: you ſhall, I think, ſhortly come far enough into danger by keeping Faith and a good Conſcience: which (dear Wife) I truſt you do not ſlack to make reckoning and account upon, by exerciſing your inward man in meditation of Gods moſt Holy Word, being the Suſtenance of the Soul, and alſo by giving your ſelf to humble Prayer: for theſe two things be the very means how to be made Members of our Chriſt, meet to inherit his Kingdom.*

Do this, dear Wife, in earneſt, and not leaving off, and ſo we two ſhall with our Chriſt and all his choſen Children, enjoy the merry World in that everlaſting immortality, whereas here will nothing elſe be found but extream miſery, even of them which moſt greedily ſeek this worldly wealth: and ſo, if we two continue Gods children graffed in our Chriſt, the ſame Gods bleſſing which we receive ſhall alſo ſettle upon our Samuel. *Though we do ſhortly depart hence and leave the poor Infant (to our ſeeming) at all adventures, yet ſhall he have our gracious God to be his God: for ſo hath he ſaid, and he cannot lye; I will be thy God, ſaith he and the God of thy Seed. Yea, if you leave him in the wilderneſs deſtitute of all help, being called of God to do his will, either to dye for the Confeſſion of Chriſt, either any work of Obedience: that God which heard the cry of the little poor Infant of* Agar, Sarah's *Hand-maiden, and did ſuccour it, will do the like to the Child of you or any other fearing him, and putting your truſt in him.*

Care of Children in time of neceſſity ought to be left to God, who will not ſee them forſaken. What it is to follow Chriſt.

And if we lack Faith, as we do indeed many times, let us call for it, and we ſhall have the increaſe both of it, and alſo of any other good Grace needful for us: and be merry in God, in whom alſo I am very merry and joyful. O Lord, what great cauſe of rejoycing have we, to think upon that Kingdom, which he voucheth ſafe for his Chriſts ſake freely to give us, forſaking our ſelves and following him? Dear Wife, this is truly to follow him, even to take up our Croſs and follow him; and then as we ſuffer with him, ſo ſhall we reign with him everlaſtingly, ſhortly, Amen.

Another Letter to his Wife, to Mr. Robert Harrington *and Mr.* Hurland, *&c.*

Another Letter of M. Sanders to his Wife and other Friends.

GRace and Comfort, *&c.* Dear Wife, rejoyce in our gracious God, and his and our Chriſt; and give thanks moſt humbly and heartily to him for this days work, that in any part I moſt unworthy Wretch ſhould be made worthy to bear witneſs unto his everlaſting Verity, which Antichriſt with his, by main force (I perceive) and by moſt impudent Pride and Boaſting will go about to ſuppreſs. Remember God alway, my dear Wife, and ſo ſhall Gods Bleſſing light upon you and your *Samuel.* O remember always my words for Chriſts ſake, be merry, and grudge not againſt God, and pray, pray. We be all merry here, thanks be unto our God, who in his Chriſt hath given us great cauſe to be merry, by whom he hath prepared for us ſuch a Kingdom, and doth and will give

unto

unto us ſome little taſte thereof, even in this life, and to all ſuch as are deſirous to take it. *Bleſſed* (ſaith our Chriſt) Matth. 5. 6. *be they which hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs, for ſuch ſhall be ſatisfied.* Let us go, yea, let us run to ſeek ſuch Treaſure, and that with whole purpoſe of heart to cleave unto the Lord, to find ſuch Riches in his heavenly Word through his Spirit obtained by Prayer. My dear Friends and Brethren, Mr. *Harrington* and Mr. *Hurland*, pray, pray. *Spiritus quidem promptus eſt, caro autem infirma*; that is, *The Spirit is ready, but the Fleſh is weak.* When I look upon my ſelf, *Quid ego ſtupidus & attonitus habeo quod dicam, niſi illud Petri, Exi à me Domine, quia homo peccator ſum?* i. Being aſtoniſhed and confounded, what have I elſe to ſay but thoſe Luke 5. words of *Peter*, *Lord go from me, for I am a ſinful man?* But then feel I that ſweet comfort, *Lucerna pedibus meis* Pſal. 119. *verbum Domini, lumen ſemitis meis, & hæc mea eſt conſolatio in humilitate mea*; i. *The Word of the Lord is a Lanthorn unto my feet, and a Light unto my paths; and this is my comfort in my trouble.* Then wax I bold with the ſame *Peter* to ſay, *Domine, ad quem ibimus?* John 6. *Verba vitæ æternæ habes*; i. *Lord, to whom ſhall we go? Thou haſt the words of Everlaſting Life.* This comfort have I when the giver thereof doth give it. But I look for Battails, which the root of unfaithfulneſs, the which I feel in me, will moſt eagerly give unto my Conſcience, when we come once to the Combate. We be (I ween) within the ſound of the Trump of our Enemies. Play ye that be abroad the part of *Moſes, Orantes in omni* 1 Tim. 2. *loco, ſuſtollentes puras manus*; i. *Praying in all places,* Wiſd. 5. *lifting up pure hands*; and Gods People ſhall prevail: yea, our blood ſhall be their perdition who do moſt triumphantly ſpill it, and we then being in the hands of our God, ſhall ſhine in his Kingdom, and ſhall ſtand in great ſtedfaſtneſs againſt them which have dealt extremely with us: And when theſe our Enemies ſhall thus ſee us, they ſhall be vexed with horrible fear, and ſhall wonder at the haſtineſs of the ſudden health; and ſhall ſay with themſelves, having inward ſorrow and mourning for very anguiſh of mind: *Theſe are they whom we ſometime* Wiſd. 5. *had in deriſion and jeſted upon: we Fools thought their lives to be very madneſs, and their end to be without honour, but lo how they are accounted among the Children of God,* The Bleſſing of God be with you all, *&c.*

Laurence Sanders.

To his Wife a little before his Burning.

A Letter of *Laurence Sanders* to his Wife.

GRace and Comfort in Chriſt, Amen. Dear Wife, be merry in the Mercies of our Chriſt, and alſo ye my dear Friends. Pray, pray for us every body. We be ſhortly to be diſpatched hence unto our good Chriſt, Amen, Amen.

He writeth for a ſhirt wherein he ſhould be burned.

Wife, I would you ſent me my ſhirt, which you know whereunto it is conſecrated. Let it be ſewed down on both ſides, and not open. O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of thy Chriſt, or elſe I ſhall not be able to abide thy Countenance; ſuch is my filthineſs. He will do ſo, and therefore I will not be afraid what ſin, death, hell and damnation can do againſt me. O Wife, always remember the Lord. God bleſs you, yea, he will bleſs thee, good Wife, and thy poor Boy alſo: only cleave thou unto him, and he will give thee all things. Pray, pray, pray.

Another Letter to Mr. *Robert* and *John Glover*, written the ſame morning that he was burnt.

GRace and Conſolation in our ſweet Saviour Chriſt. Oh my dear Brethren whom I love in the Lord, being loved of you alſo in the Lord, be merry and rejoyce for me, now ready to go up to that mine Inheritance, which I my ſelf indeed am moſt unworthy of, but my dear Chriſt is worthy, who hath purchaſed the ſame for me with ſo dear a price. Make haſte my dear Brethren to come unto me, that we may be merry, Eo gaudio quod nemo tollet à nobis; i. *with that joy which no man ſhall take from us. O wretched ſinner, that I am not thankful unto this my Father, who hath vouchſafed me worthy to be a Veſſel unto his honour. But, O Lord, now accept my thanks, though they proceed out of a not enough circumciſed heart. Salute my good Siſters your Wives; and good Siſters fear the Lord. Salute all other that love us in the Truth. Gods Bleſſing be with you always, Amen. Even now towards the Offering of a burnt Sacrifice. O my Chriſt help, or elſe I periſh.*

Laurence Sanders.

Anno 1555.

After theſe godly Letters of Mr. *Sanders* diverſly diſperſed and ſent abroad to divers of the faithful Congregation of Chriſt, as is afore to be ſeen; now in the latter end we will adjoyn two other Letters not written by Mr. *Sanders* the Martyr, but by Mr. *Ed. Sanders* the Juſtice, his Brother, ſent to this our *Sanders* in Priſon, although containing no great matter worthy to be known, yet to this intent that the Reader may ſee in theſe two Brethren ſo joyned in Nature, and ſo divided in Religion, that word of the Lord verified, truly ſaying; *Brother ſhall be* Matth. 10. *againſt Brother*, &c. as by the Contents of theſe two Letters following may appear.

A Letter of Juſtice Sanders *to his Brother* Laurence.

A Letter of Juſtice Sanders to Laurence Sanders his Brother.

AFter my moſt hearty Commendations, thoſe been to aſcertain you, that I have ſpoken with Mr. Baſſet, *who hath ſhewed me, that four pound (all Deductions being allowed) is the whole that hath come to his hands of the Profit of the Prebendary at* York, *the which you ſhall have, although as he thinkith, it was not due unto you by reaſon of your Deprivation before it was due. As concerning your Conſcience in Religion, I beſeech God it may be lightned by the Holy Ghoſt, and that you may alſo have the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt to follow the counſel of St.* Paul *to* Timothy 2. Rectè tractare verbum veritatis, *that is, To handle rightly the Word of Truth. Wherein you diſſenting from many Holy and Catholick men, eſpecially in the Sacrament, it maketh me in my Conſcience to condemn yours. For although I have* Juſtice ſaith, *Audi alteram partem.* *not hitherto fancied to read* Peter Martyr, *and other ſuch, &c. Yet have I had great deſire to ſee* Theophylact *and divers others of this ſort and opinion, both notable and holy Fathers (if any credit be to be given to the Writings of our Ancient Fathers before us) and ſurely the Sentences and Judgments of two or three of them have more confirmed my Conſcience, than three hundred of the* Zuinglians, *or as many of the* Lutherans *can, or ſhould do. Thus in haſte willing to relieve you, to the end you might convert, if you ſhall need towards your finding, if you ſhall require it of me, you ſhall unfeignedly find my money ready, as knoweth our Lord, who ſend us all things good for us. Scribled this* Thurſday *by your Brother and Petitioner to God.*

Ed. Sanders.

Another Letter of Juſtice *Sanders* to his Brother, wherein he ſeeketh to win him to Popery.

Greeting with Proteſtation.

AS Nature and Brotherly Love with Godly Charity requireth, I ſend you by theſe Letters (quantum licet) *moſt hearty Commendation, being ſorry for your fault and your diſobedient handling of your ſelf towards my* L. Chancellor, *who, I aſſure you, mindeth your good and preſervation, if you can ſo conſider and take it. I would be glad to know whether you have not had with you of late ſome learned men to talk with you by my Lord Chancellors appointment, and how you can frame your ſelf to reform your Error in the Opinion of the moſt bleſſed and our moſt comfortable Sacrament of the Altar. Wherein I aſſure you, I was never in all my life better affected than I am at this preſent, uſing to my great comfort hearing of Maſs, and ſomewhat before the ſacring time, the Meditation of S.* Bernard, *ſet forth in the* He meaneth peradventure when the *ſanctus* is ſinging, for then the Organs pipe merrily, and that may give ſome comfort. *third Leaf of this preſent Book. The accuſtomable uſing whereof I am fully profeſſed unto, during my life, and to give more faith unto that Confeſſion of holy* Bernard, The meditations of S. Bernard ſent by Juſtice Sanders to his Brother. *than to* Luther, *&c.* or Latimer, *&c. for that the Antiquity, the Univerſality of the open Church, and the conſent of all Saints and Doctors do confirm the ſame; aſcertaining you, that I have been earneſtly moved in mine own Conſcience theſe ten or twelve days paſt, and alſo between God and my ſelf, to move you to the ſame, moſt earneſtly deſiring you, and as you tender my natural, godly, and friendly love towards you, that*

you

Anno 1555. *you would read over this Book this holy time, at my request, although you have already seen it, and let me know wherein you cannot satisfie your own Conscience. Thus fare you well for this time.*

By yours, from Serjeants Inn,
Ed. Sanders.

The Life and Martyrdom of Mr. John Hooper *Bishop of* Worcester *and* Gloucester, *burnt for the Defence of the Gospel at* Gloucester, An. 1555. Febr. 9.

The Story, Life, and Martyrdom of Mr. John Hooper Martyr.

JOhn *Hooper* Student and Graduate in the University of *Oxford*, after the Study of the Sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited and proceeded, through Gods secret Vocation was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the Scriptures. In the reading and searching whereof, as there lacked in him no diligence joyned with earnest Prayer; so neither wanted unto him the Grace of the Holy Ghost to satisfie his desire, and to open unto him the light of true Divinity.

Thus Mr. *Hooper* growing more and more, by Gods Grace, in ripeness of Spiritual Understanding, and shewing withal some sparkles of his fervent Spirit, being then about the beginning of the six Articles, in the time of King *Henry* the Eighth, fell eftsoons into displeasure and hatred of certain Rabbines in *Oxford*, who by and by began to stir Coals against him, whereby, and especially by the procurement of Dr. *Smith*, he was compelled to void the University; and so removing from thence, was retained in the House of Sir *Thomas Arundel*, and there was his Steward, *till the time that* Sir *Thomas Arundel*, having intelligence of his Opinions and Religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the Person and Conditions of the man, found the means to send him in a Message to the Bishop of *Winchester*, writing his Letter privily to the Bishop, by conference of Learning to do some good upon him, but in any case requiring him to send home his Servant to him again.

Mr. *Hooper* sent to the Bishop of *Winchester*.

Winchester, after long Conference with Mr. *Hooper*, four or five days together, when he at length perceived, that neither he could do that good which he thought to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to Mr. *Arundel*'s Request, he sent home his Servant again, right-well commending his Learning and Wit, but yet bearing in his Breast a grudging stomack against Mr. *Hooper* still.

Mr. *Hooper* forced to avoid the House of Sir *Thomas Arundel*.

It followed not long after this, as Malice is always working mischief, that Intelligence was given to Mr. *Hooper* to provide for himself, for danger that was working against him. Whereupon Mr. *Hooper* leaving Mr. *Arundel*'s House, and borrowing an Horse of a certain Friend (whose Life he had saved a little before from the Gallows) took his journey to the Sea side to go to *France*, sending back the Horse again by one, which indeed did not deliver him to the Owner. Mr. *Hooper* being at *Paris*, tarried there not long, but in short time returned into *England* again, and was retained of Mr. *Sentlow*, till the time that he was again molested and laid for: whereby he was compelled (under the pretence of being Captain of a Ship going to *Ireland*) to take the Seas, and so escaped he (although not without extream peril of drowning) through *France* to the higher parts of *Germany*. Where he, entring acquaintance with the Learned men, was of them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at *Basil*, and especially at *Zurick* of Mr. *Bullinger*, being his singular Friend. Where also he married his Wife, which was a *Burgonian*, and applyed very studiously the Hebrew Tongue.

Mr. *Hooper* flieth out of *England*.

Great friendship between Mr. *Bullinger* and Mr. *Hooper*.

At length, when God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the six Articles, and to give us King *Edward* to Reign over this Realm, with some peace and rest unto the Gospel, amongst many other English Exiles, which then repaired homeward, Mr. *Hooper* also, moved in Conscience, thought not to absent himself, but seeing such a time and occasion, offered to help forward the Lords Work, to the uttermost of his ability. And so coming to Mr. *Bullinger*, and other of his Acquaintance in *Zurick*, (as duty required) to give them thanks for their singular kindness and humanity toward him manifold ways declared, with like humanity again purposed to take his leave of them at his departing, and so did. Unto whom Mr. *Bullinger* again (who had always a special favour to Mr. *Hooper*) spake on this wise; Mr. *Hooper*, said he, although we are sorry to part with your Company for our own Cause, yet much greater Causes have we to rejoyce, both for your sake, and especially for the Cause of Christs true Religion, that you shall now return out of long Banishment into your Native Country again, where not only you may enjoy your own private Liberty, but also the cause and state of Christs Church by you may fare the better, as we doubt not but it shall.

Mr. *Bullinger's* words to Mr. *Hooper* at his departing from *Zurich*.

Another Cause moreover why we rejoyce with you and for you, is this, that you shall remove not only out of Exile into Liberty: but you shall leave here a barren, a fowre, and an unpleasant Country, rude and savage, and shall go into a Land flowing with Milk and Honey, replenished with all Pleasure and Fertility. Notwithstanding with this our rejoycing one fear and care we have, lest you being absent, and so far distant from us, or else coming to such abundance of wealth and felicity, in your new welfare and plenty of all things, and in your flourishing honours, where ye shall come, peradventure to be a Bishop, and where ye shall find so many new Friends, you will forget us your old Acquaintance and Well-willers. Nevertheless, howsoever you shall forget and shake us off, yet this perswade your self, that we will not forget our old Friend and Fellow Mr. *Hooper*. And if you will please not to forget us again, then I pray you let us hear from you.

The answer of Mr. *Hooper* to Mr. *Bullinger*.

Whereunto Mr. *Hooper* answering again, first gave to Mr. *Bullinger* and the rest right hearty thanks, for that their singular good will, and undeserved affection, appearing not only now, but at all times towards him: declaring moreover, that as the principal Cause of his removing to his Country was the matter of Religion; so touching the unpleasantness and barrenness of that Country of theirs, there was no cause therein, why he could not find in his heart to continue his Life there, as soon as in any place in the World, and rather than in his own Native Country, if there were nothing else in his Conscience that moved him so to do. And as touching the forgetting of his old Friends; although, said he, the remembrance of a mans Country naturally doth delight him, neither could he deny, but God had blessed his Country of *England* with many great Commodities: yet neither the nature of Country, nor pleasure of Commodities, nor newness of Friends should ever induce him to the oblivion of such Friends and Benefactors, whom he was so intirely bound unto: and therefore you shall be sure, said he, from time to time to hear from me, and I will write unto you how it goeth with me. But the last News of all I shall not be able to write: for there, said he, (taking Mr. *Bullinger* by the hand) where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me to be burned to ashes; and that shall be the last News, which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear of me, *&c.*

Mr. *Hooper* prophesieth of himself.

To this also may be added another like Prophetical Demonstration, foreshewing before the manner of his Martyrdom wherewith he should glorifie God, which was this: When Mr. *Hooper* being made Bishop of *Worcester* and *Gloucester*, should have his Arms given him by the Herald, as the manner is here in *England*, every Bishop to have his Arms assigned unto him (whether by the appointment of Mr. *Hooper*, or by the Herald, I have not certainly to say) but the Arms which were to him allotted was this, A Lamb in a fiery Bush, and the Sun Beams from Heaven descended down upon the Lamb, rightly denoting, as it seemed, the order of his Suffering, which afterward followed.

A Note of Mr. *Hooper's* Arms prefigurying his Martyrdom.

But now to the purpose of our Story again. Thus when Mr. *Hooper* had taken his farewel of Mr. *Bullinger* and his Friends in *Zurich*, he made his repair again into *England* in the Reign of King *Edward* the sixth, where he coming to *London* used continually to preach, most times twice, at least once every day, and never failed.

Mr. *Hooper* returneth again into *England*.

In his Sermons, according to his accustomed manner, he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the World, and corrupt abuses of the Church: the People in great Flocks and Companies daily came

The notable diligence of Mr. *Hooper* in preaching

to hear his voice, as the moſt melodious ſound and tune of *Orpheus*'s Harp, as the Proverb ſaith; Inſomuch, that oftentimes when he was preaching, the Church would be ſo full, that none could enter further than the doors thereof. In his Doctrine he was earneſt, in Tongue eloquent, in the Scriptures perfect, in Pains indefatigable.

The ſingular Vertues of Mr. Hooper deſcribed.

Moreover, Beſides other his Gifts and Qualities, this is in him to be marvelled, that even as he began, ſo he continued ſtill unto his lifes end. For neither could his labour and pain-taking break him, neither promotion change him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His Life was ſo pure and good, that no kind of ſlander (although divers went about to reprove it) could faſten any fault upon him. He was of Body ſtrong, his Health whole and ſound, his Wit very pregnant, his invincible Patience able to ſuſtain whatſoever ſiniſter Fortune and Adverſity could do. He was conſtant of Judgment, a good Juſtice, ſpare of Diet, ſparer of Words, and ſpareſt of Time. In Houſe-keeping very liberal, and ſometime more free than his Living would extend unto. Briefly, of all thoſe Vertues and Qualities required of S. *Paul* in a good Biſhop, in his Epiſtle to *Timothy*, I know not one in this good Biſhop lacking. He bare in countenance and talk always a certain ſevere and grave Grace, which might peradventure be wiſhed ſometime to have been a little more Popular and Vulgar-like in him; but he knew what he had to do beſt himſelf.

This by the way I thought to note, for that there was once an honeſt Citizen, and to me not unknown, which having in himſelf a certain conflict of Conſcience, came to his door for counſel, but being abaſhed at his auſtere behaviour, durſt not come in, but departed, ſeeking Remedy of his troubled Mind at other men hands, which he afterward, by the help of Almighty God, did find and obtain. Therefore, in my Judgment, ſuch as are appointed and made Governours over the Flock of Chriſt, to teach and inſtruct them, ought ſo to frame their Life, Manners, Countenance, and External Behaviour, as neither they ſhew themſelves too familiar and light; whereby to be brought into Contempt, nor on the other ſide again, that they appear more lofty and rigorous, than appertaineth to the edifying of the ſimple Flock of Chriſt. Nevertheleſs, as every man hath his peculiar Gift wrought in him by Nature, ſo this diſpoſition of Fatherly Gravity in this man neither was exceſſive, neither did he bear that Perſonage that was in him, without great conſideration. For it ſeemed to him peradventure, that this licentious and unbridled Life of the Common ſort ought to be chaſtened, not only with words and diſcipline, but alſo with the grave and ſevere countenance of good men.

Direction how Miniſters and Preachers ought to behave themſelves.

After he had thus practiſed himſelf in this popular and common kind of Preaching; at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the King's Majeſty, and ſoon after made Biſhop of *Gloceſter* by the Kings Commandment. In that Office he continued two years, and behaved himſelf ſo well, that his very Enemies (except it were for his good doings, and ſharp correcting of ſin) could find no fault with him; and after that he was made Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

Mr. Hooper made Bp. of *Gloceſter* and *Worceſter*.

But I cannot tell what ſiniſter and unluckie Contention concerning the Ordering and Conſecration of Biſhops, and of their Apparel, with ſuch other like Trifles, began to diſturb the good and luckie beginning of the godly Biſhop. For notwithſtanding that godly Reformation of Religion that begun in the Church of *England*, beſides other Ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they uſed to wear ſuch Garments and Apparel as the Popiſh Biſhops were wont to do: Firſt a Chymere, and under that a white Rochet, then a Mathematical Cap with four Angles, dividing the whole World into four parts. Theſe Trifles, tending more to Superſtition than otherwiſe, as he could never abide, ſo in no wiſe could he be perſwaded to wear them. For this cauſe he made Supplication to the Kings Majeſty, moſt humbly deſiring his Highneſs, either to diſcharge him of the Biſhoprick, or elſe to diſpenſe with him for ſuch Ceremonial Orders. Whoſe Petition the King granted immediately, writing his Letter to the Archbiſhop after this tenor.

A Popiſh Attire.

Anno 1555.

The Kings Letters or Grant for the Diſpenſation of John Hooper *elected Biſhop of* Gloceſter, *written to the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *and other Biſhops.*

The Kings Letter to the Archbiſhop in behalf of Mr. Hooper.

Right Reverend Father, and right truſty and welbeloved, we greet you well. Whereas we, by the advice of our Councel, have called and choſen our right welbelcived and well worthy, Mr. John Hooper, *Profeſſor of Divinity, to be our Biſhop of* Gloceſter, *as well for his great Knowledge, deep Judgment, and long Study both in the Scriptures, and other Prophane Learning, as alſo for his good Diſcretion, ready Utterance, and honeſt Life for that kind of Vocation: To the intent all our loving Subjects, which are in his ſaid Charge, and elſewhere, might by his ſound and true Doctrine learn the better their duty towards God, their Obedience towards Us, and love towards their Neighbours: from Conſecrating of whom we underſtand you do ſtay, becauſe he would have you omit and let paſs certain Rites and Ceremonies offenſive to his Conſcience, whereby ye think ye ſhould fall in Premunire of Laws; we have thought good, by the advice aforeſaid, to diſpenſe and diſcharge you of all manner of Dangers, Penalties and Forfeitures you ſhall run and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the ſame. And theſe our Letters ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge therefore.*

Given under our Signet at our Caſtle of Windſor, *the 5th of* Auguſt, *the 4th year of your Reign.*

Ed. Somerſet.

Ed. Somerſet.	*W. Paget.*
W. Wiltſhire.	*An. Wingfield.*
W. North.	*N. Wooton.*

Beſides this Letter of the King, alſo the Earl of *Warwick* (which was afterward Duke of *Northumberland*) adjoyned his Letter to the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to this purpoſe and effect, that Mr. *Hooper* might not be burdened with the Oath uſed then commonly in the Conſecration of Biſhops, which was againſt his Conſcience, as by the purport of the Letter here is to be ſeen, as followeth.

A Letter of the Earl of Warwick to the Archbiſhop in the behalf of Mr. Hooper.

After my moſt hearty Commendations to your Grace, theſe may be to deſire the ſame, that in ſuch reaſonable things, wherein this Bearer, my Lord elect of Gloceſter, *craveth to be borne withal at your hands, you would vouchſafe to ſhew him your Graces favour, the rather at this my inſtance: which thing partly, I have taken in hand by the Kings Majeſties own motion. The matter is weighed by his Highneſs, none other but that your Grace may facily condeſcend unto. The principal cauſe is, that you would not charge this ſaid Bearer with an Oath burdenous to his Conſcience. And ſo for lack of time I commit your Grace to the tuition of Almighty God. From* Weſtminſter *the 23. of* July, 1550.

Your Graces moſt aſſured loving Friend,

J. Warwick.

Both this Grant of the King, and alſo the Earls Letters aforeſaid notwithſtanding, the Biſhops ſtill ſtood earneſtly in the Defence of the aforeſaid Ceremonies, ſaying it was but a ſmall matter, and that the fault was in the abuſe of the things, and not in the things themſelves: adding moreover, That he ought not to be ſo ſtubborn in ſo light a matter, and that his wilfulneſs therein was not to be ſuffered.

Neither the Kings requeſt nor the Earls could take effect.

To be ſhort, whilſt both Parties thus contended about this matter more than reaſon would, in the mean time occaſion was given, as to the true Chriſtians to lament, ſo to the Adverſaries to rejoyce. In Concluſion, this Theological contention came to this end, that the Biſhops having the upper hand, Mr. *Hooper* was fain to agree to this Condition, That ſometimes he ſhould in his Sermon ſhew himſelf apparelled as the other Biſhops were. Wherefore, appointed to preach before the King, as a new Player in

Diſcord about Ritual Garments of Churchmen. Mr Hooper fain to agree to the Biſhops.

Ann. 1554. M. Hooper compelled to Poul's before the King in Bishops Apparel.

in a strange Apparel, he cometh forth on the Stage. His upper Garment was a long Scarlet Chymere down to the foot, and under that a white Linnen Rochet that covered all his Shoulders. Upon his head he had a Geometrical, that is, a four-squared Cap, albeit that his Head was round. What cause of Shame the strangeness hereof was that day to that good Preacher, every man may easily judge. But this private contumely and reproach, in respect of the publick profit of the Church, which he only sought, he bare and suffered patiently. And I would to God in like manner, they, which took upon them the other part of that Tragedy, had yielded their private cause, whatsoever it was, to the publick concord and edifying of the Church: for no man in all the City was one hair the better for that hot contention.

The Cross maketh Peace.

I will name no body, partly for that his Oppugners being afterwards joyned in the most sure bond of friendship with him, in one and for one cause suffered Martyrdom; and partly for that I commonly use, according to my accustomed manner, to keep my Pen from presumptuous judging of any person, yet I thought to note the thing for this consideration, to admonish the Reader hereby, how wholsom and necessary the Cross of Christ is sometime in the Church of Christ, as by the sequel hereof afterward did appear. For as in a civil Governance and Commonwealth, nothing is more occasion of war, than overmuch peace: so in the Church and among Churchmen, as nothing is more pernicious than too much quietness; so nothing more ceaseth private Contentions oftentimes rising amongst them, than the publick Cross of Persecution.

The Fall and Infirmities of holy Saints and Martyrs, left for our Consolation.

Furthermore, so I perswaded my self, the same not to be unexpedient, to have extant such Examples of holy and blessed men. For if it do not a little appertain to our publick consolation and comfort, when we read in the Scriptures of the foul dissention between *Paul* and *Barnaby*; of the Fall of *Peter*, and of *Davids* Murder and Adultery: why may or should it not be as well profitable for our Posterity, to hear and know the Falls of these godly Martyrs, whereby we may the less despair in our infirmity, considering the same or greater infirmities to reign in the holy Saints of God, both Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs?

Note, how Discord and conciliation happeneth many times amongst good men.

And thus by the way thou hast heard, good Reader, hitherto the weakness of these good men, plainly and simply, as the Truth was, declared unto thee, to the end their Fall may minister occasion to us either of eschewing the like, or else to take heart and comfort in the like fall and frailness of ours. Now again on the other part it remaineth to record, after the foresaid discord, the godly Reconciliations of these good men in time of Persecution, who afterward, being in Prison for the Truths sake, reconciled themselves again with most godly agreement, as appeareth by this Letter sent by B. *Ridley* to the said Bishop of *Glocester*. The Copy whereof, as it was written with his own hand in Latin, hereafter followeth translated into English.

To my dear Brother and Reverend fellow Elder in Christ *John Hooper*, Grace and Peace.

A Letter of Reconciliation sent by D. *Ridley* to B. *Hooper*.

MY dearly beloved Brother and fellow Elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto since your Captivity and mine, I have not saluted you by my Letters: whereas I do indeed confess, I have received from you (such was your gentleness) two Letters at sundry times: but yet at such time as I could not be suffered to write to you again; or if I might, yet was I in doubt how my Letters might safely come into your hands. But now, my dear Brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have but superficially seen, that we throughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our Religion, against the which the World so furiously rageth in these our days, howsoever in time past by certain by-matters and circumstances of Religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I grant) hath a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment; now, I say, be you assured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ I love you in the Truth and for the Truths sake, which abideth in us, and, as I am perswaded, shall, by the grace of God, abide in us for evermore.

And because the World, as I perceive, Brother, ceaseth not to play his Pageant, and busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible force and power, Exalting high things against the knowledge of God; *let us* 1 Cor. 10. *joyn hands together in Christ, and, if we cannot overthrow,* B. Ridley and B. Hooper joyn hands together *yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth, let us shake those high Altitudes, not with carnal, but with spiritual Weapons: and withal, Brother, let us prepare our selves to the day of our dissolution, by the which, after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we shall triumph together with him in Eternal glory.*

I pray you, Brother, salute in my name your Reverend fellow Prisoner, and venerable Father D.C. *by whom, since the first day that I heard of his most godly and fatherly Constancy, in confessing the truth of the Gospel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the Lord. For the integrity and uprightness of that man, his gravity and innocency, all* England, *I think, hath known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, which in such abundance of iniquity and decay of all godliness, hath given unto us, in this Reverend Old age, such a witness for the Truth of his Gospel. Miserable and hard-hearted is he, whom the godliness and constant Confession of so worthy, so grave and innocent a Man, will not move to acknowledge and confess the Truth of God.*

I do not now, Brother, require you to write any thing to me again: for I stand much in fear, lest your Letters should be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Nevertheless know you, that it shall be to me great joy to hear of your constancy and fortitude in the Lords quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, sent unto you my mind touching the matter which in your Letters you required to know. Neither can I yet, Brother, be otherwise perswaded: I see me thinks so many perils, whereby I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the publishing of your Works, especially under the title of your own Name. For I fear greatly, lest by this occasion both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the rest of the Prisoners, whereby otherwise, if it so please God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewel in the Lord, my most dear Brother; and if there be any mo in prison with you for Christs sake, I beseech you, as you may, salute them in my Name. To whose Prayers I do most humbly and heartily commend my self and my fellow Prisoners and Concaptives in the Lord, and yet once again, and for ever in Christ, my most dear Brother. Farewel.

N. Ridley.

M. *Hooper*, after all these tumults and vexations sustain'd, about his Investing and Princely Vestures, at length entring into his Diocess, did there imploy his time which the Lord lent him under King *Edward's* Reign, with such diligence, as may be a Spectacle to all Bishops which shall ever hereafter succeed him, not only in that place, but in whatsoever Diocess through the whole Realm of *England*: so careful was he in his Cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the Flock of Christ in the true Word of Salvation, continually labouring in the same. Other men commonly are wont, for lucre or promotions sake, to aspire to Bishopricks, some hunting for them, and some purchasing or buying them, as men use to purchase Lordships; and when they have them are loth to leave them, and thereupon also loth to commit that thing by worldly Laws, whereby to lose them.

The diligent care of B. Hooper.

To this sort of Men M. *Hooper* was clean contrary, who abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to save and preserve the Souls of his Flock. Who, being Bishop of two Dioceses, so ruled and guided either of them, and both together, as though he had in Charge but one Family. No Father in his Houshold, no Gardiner in his Garden, nor Husbandman in his Vineyard, was more or better occupied, than he in his Diocess amongst his Flock, going about his Towns and Villages in Teaching and Preaching to the People there.

M. Hooper Bishop of two Dioceses.

That time that he had to spare from Preaching, he bestowed either in hearing publick Causes, or else in private study, Prayer, and visiting of Schools: with his continual

Doctrine he adjoyned due and discreet Correction, not so much severe to any, as to them which for abundance of riches, and wealthy state, thought they might do what they listed. And doubtless he spared no kind of People, but was indifferent to all men, as well Rich as Poor, to the great shame of no small number of men now-adays. Whereof many we see so addicted to the pleasing of great and rich Men, that in the mean time they have no regard to the meaner sort of Poor people, whom Christ hath bought as dearly as the other.

M. *Hooper a Light to all Churchmen.*

But now again we will return our talk to M. *Hooper*, all whose Life, in fine, was such, that to the Church and all Churchmen, it might be a Light and Example, to the rest a perpetual Lesson and Sermon. Finally, how vertuous and good a Bishop he was, ye may conceive and know evidently by this, That even as he was hated of none but of them which were evil, so yet the worst of them all could not reprove his Life in any one jot.

The order and governance of M. Hooper's House.

I have now declared his usage and behaviour abroad in the publick Affairs of the Church: and certainly there appeared in him at home no less Example of a worthy Prelates life. For though he bestowed and converted the most part of his care upon the publick Flock and Congregation of Christ, for the which also he spent his Blood: yet nevertheless there lacked no provision in him, to bring up his own Children in Learning and good Manners; insomuch that ye could not discern whether he deserved more praise for his Fatherly usage at home, or for his Bishoplike doings abroad. For every where he kept one Religion in one uniform Doctrine and Integrity. So that if you entred into the Bishops-Palace, you would suppose your self to have entred into some Church or Temple. In every corner thereof there was some smell of Vertue, good Example, honest Conversation, and reading of Holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his House any courtly Rioting or Idleness: no Pomp at all, no dishonest Word, no Swearing could there be heard.

The care of M. Hooper in instructing his Family.

As for the Revenues of both his Bishopricks, although they did not greatly exceed, as the matter was handled, yet if any thing surmounted thereof, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was, as I remember, in his House in *Worcester*, where, in his common Hall, I saw a Table spread with good store of Meat, and beset full of Beggars and poor Folk: and I asking his Servants what this meant, they told me, That every day their Lord and Masters manner was, to have customably to Dinner a certain number of poor Folk of the said City by course, who were served by four at a Mess, with whole and wholsom Meats: and when they were served (being before examined by him or his Deputies, of the Lords Prayer, the Articles of their Faith, and Ten Commandments) then he himself sate down to Dinner, and not before.

The Hospitality of M. Hooper.

After this sort and manner M. *Hooper* executed the Office of a most careful and vigilant Pastor, by the space of two years and more, so long as the state of Religion in K. *Edwards* time did safely flourish and take place: And would God that all other Bishops would use the like diligence, care, and observance in their Function. After this, King *Edward* being dead, and *Mary* being Crowned Queen of *England*, Religion being subverted and changed, this good Bishop was one of the first that was sent for by a Pursevant to be at *London*: and that for two causes.

M. *Hooper called up to London at Q. Maries coming in.*

Two causes why Master Hooper was called up.

First, To answer to D. *Heath*, then appointed Bishop of that Diocess, who was before in King *Edwards* days deprived thereof for Papistry.

Secondarily, To render account to D. *Boner* Bishop of *London*, for that he in King *Edwards* time was one of his Accusers, in that he shewed himself not conformable to such Ordinances as were prescribed to him by the King and his Council, openly at *Pauls-Cross*. And although the said M. *Hooper* was not ignorant of the Evils that should happen towards them, (for he was admonished by certain of his Friends to get him away, and shift for himself) yet he would not prevent him, but tarried still, saying: *Once I did flee, and take me to my feet; but now, because I am called to this Place and Vocation, I am throughly perswaded to tarry, and to live and dye with my Sheep.*

M. Hooper refused to fly away.

M. Hooper cometh up to London.

And when at the day of his appearance, which was the first of *September*, he was come to *London*, before he could come to the aforesaid D. *Heath* and *Boner*, he was intercepted, and commanded violently against his will to appear before the Queen and her Council, to answer to certain Bonds and Obligations, wherein they said he was bound unto her. And when he came before them, *Winchester*, by and by, received him very opprobiously, and, railing and rating of him, accused him of Religion. He again freely and boldly told his Tale, and purged himself. But in fine it came to this conclusion, that by them he was commanded to Ward (it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cause of his Imprisonment was only for certain sums of Money, for which he was indebted to the Queen, and not for Religion.) This, how false and untrue it was, shall in his place more plainly appear.

Anno 1555.

M. Hooper charged to answer before the Queen.

M. Hooper commanded to Ward.

The next year, being 1554. the 19. of *March*, he was called again to appear before *Winchester*, and other the Queens Commissioners: where, what for the Bishop, and what for the unruly Multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his Cause, he was deprived of his Bishopricks. Which how, and in what order it was done, here now followeth to be seen by the Testimony and Report of one, which, being present at the doing, committed the same to Writing.

M. Hooper deprived of his Bishopricks.

A Letter or Report of a certain godly man, declaring the order of M. *Hoopers* deprivation from his Bishopricks. *Anno* 1554. *March* 19.

A Letter reporting the order of M. Hoopers deprivation.

FOr somuch as a Rumor is spread abroad of the Talk had at my Lord Chancellors, between him with other Commissioners there appointed, and M. Hooper, *clean contrary to the verity and truth thereof indeed, and therefore to be judged rather to be risen of Malice, for the discrediting of the Truth by false Suggestions and evil Reports, than otherwise: I thought it my duty, being present thereat my self, in Writing to set forth the whole effect of the same: partly that the Verity thereof may be known to the doubtful People; and partly also to advertize them, how uncharitably M.* Hooper *was handled at their hands, which with all humility used himself towards them, desiring, that with patience he might have been permitted to speak; assuring all men, that where I stood in a mammering and doubt, which of these two Relegions to have credited, either that set forth by the Kings Majesty that is dead, or else that now maintained by the Queens Majesty; their unreverend behaviour towards M.* Hooper *doth move me the rather to credit his Doctrine, than that which they with railing and cruel words defended, considering that Christ was so handled before. And that this which I have written here, was the effect of their Talk, as I acknowledge it to be true my self: so I appeal to all the Hearers Consciences, that there were present (so they put affection away) for the Witness of the same.*

The Bishops of Winchester, *of* London, *of* Durefm, *of* Landaff, *of* Chichester, *sate as Commissioners.*

Lord Chancellor.

AT Master *Hoopers* coming in, the Lord Chancellor asked whether he was married.

M. Hooper examined before the Commissioners.

Hooper. Yea my Lord, and will not be unmarried, till Death unmarry me.

Durefm. That is matter enough to deprive you.

Hooper. That it is not, my Lord, except ye do against the Law.

The matter concerning Marriage was no more talked of then for a great space: but as well the Commissioners, as such as stood by, began to make such outcries, and laughed, and used such gesture as was unseemly for the place, and for such a matter. The Bishop of *Chichester* Doctor *Day*, called M. *Hooper* Hypocrite, with vehement words, and scornful countenance. B. *Tonstall* called him Beast; so did *Smith*, one of the Clerks of the Council, and divers other that stood by. At length the B. of *Winchester* said, that all men might live chaste that would, and brought in this Text, *Castraverunt se propter regnum cælorum.* That is, *There be that have gelded themselves for the Kingdom of Heaven*, Matth. 19.

Blessed be you when they shall speak all revyling words against you for my Names sake.

M. *Hooper* said, that Text proved not that all Men could live chast, but such only to whom it was given; and

read

Anno 1555.

read that which goeth before in the Text. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and ſcorning, with calling him Beaſt, that the Text could not be examined. Then M. *Hooper* ſaid, that it did appear by the old *Canons*, that Marriage was not forbidden unto Prieſts, and named the Decrees. But the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſent for another part, namely the *Clementines*, or the *Extravagants*. But Biſhop *Hooper* ſaid, that book was not it which he named.

Prieſts Marriage not forbid by the old Canons

Then cried out the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and ſaid; You ſhall not have any other, until ye be Judged by this. And than began ſuch a Noiſe, Tumult, and ſpeaking together of a great many that favoured not the cauſe, that nothing was done, nor ſpoken orderly, or Charitably. Afterwards Judge Morgan began to rail at Maſter *Hooper* a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words of his doing at *Gloceſter*, in puniſhing of men, and ſaid, there was never ſuch a Tyrant as he was. After that, D. *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* ſaid, that the Council of *Ancyra*, which was before the Council of *Nice*, was againſt the Marriage of Prieſts.

This Morgan ſhortly after fell into a frenzy & madneſs and died of the ſame.

Then cried out my Lord Chancellor, and many with him, that M. *Hooper* had never read the Councils.

The Council of Nice permitteth Prieſts Marriage.

Yea my Lord, quoth Maſter *Hooper*, and my Lord of *Chicheſter* Doctor *Day* knoweth that the great Council of *Nice*, by the meanes of one *Paphnutius*, decreed that no Miniſter ſhould be ſeparated from his Wife. But ſuch Clamours and cries were uſed, that the Councill of *Nice* was not ſeen.

After this long brutiſh talk, Tonſtall Biſhop of *Dureſm* asked M. *Hooper*, whether he believed the Corporal preſence in the Sacrament. And M. *Hooper* ſaid plainly, that there was none ſuch, neither did he believe any ſuch thing.

The corporal preſence.

Then would the Biſhop of *Dureſm* have read out of a book, for his purpoſe belike (what book it was I cannot tell:) but there was ſuch a Noiſe and confuſed talk on every ſide, that he did not read it. Then asked *Wincheſter* of M. *Hooper*, what Authority moved him not to believe the Corporal preſence? He ſaid, the Authority of Gods Word, and alledged this Text, *Quem oportet cælum ſuſcipere, uſque ad tempus reſtaurationis omnium: i. Whom Haven muſt hold untill the Later day.*

Then the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* would have made that Text have ſerved nothing for his purpoſe, and he ſaid, he might be in Heaven, and in the Sacrament alſo.

Articles taken againſt M. H.

Maſter *Hooper* would have ſaid more to have opened the Text, but all men that ſtood next about the Biſhop, allowed ſo his ſaying with Clamors and cries, that M. *Hooper* was not permitted to ſay any more againſt the Biſhop. Whereupon they bad the Notaries write that he was Married, and ſaid, that he would not goe from his Wife, and that he believed not the Corporal preſence in the Sacrament, wherefore he was worthy to be deprived of his Biſhoprick.

This is the Truth of the matter (as farr as I can truly remember) of the confuſed and troubleſome talk that was between them, and except it were haſty and uncharitable words, this is the whole matter of their talk at that time. *Atque hæc ille hactenus.*

The true report of M. Hooper's enterainment in the Fleet, written with his own hand the ſeventh of January 1554.

M. Hooper's report of his impriſonment in the Fleet.

THe firſt of *September*, 1553. I was committed unto the Fleet from *Richmond*, to have the liberty of the Priſon: and within ſix dayes after I paid for my liberty five pounds Sterling to the Warden for Fees: who, immediately upon the payment thereof, complained unto *Steven Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and ſo was I committed to cloſe priſon one Quarter of a Year in the *Tower* Chamber of the Fleet, and uſed very extremly. Then by the meanes of a good Gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to Dinner and Supper, not ſuffered to ſpeak with any of my friends: but as ſoon as Dinner and Supper was done, to repair to my Chamber again. Notwithſtanding whilſt I came down thus to Dinner and Supper, the Warden and his Wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

This good Gentlewoman is thought to be miſtreſs Wilkinſon

After one quarter of a year and ſome what more, *Babington* the Warden and his Wife fell out with me for the wicked Maſs: and thereupon the Warden reſorted to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and obtained to put me in to the Wards where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of ſtraw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the Chamber being vile and ſtinking, untill by Gods means good People ſent me bedding to lie in. Of the one ſide of which priſon is the ſink and filth of the Houſe, and on the other ſide the Town ditch, ſo that the ſtinch of the Houſe hath infected me with ſundry diſeaſes.

Babington Warden of the Fleet, a wicked Tyrant to Gods People.

The barbarous cruelty of the Warden of the Fleet.

During which time I have been ſick; and the Doors, Bars, Haſps, and Chains being all cloſed, and made faſt upon me, I have mourned, called and cryed for help, But the Warden when he hath known me many times ready to dye, and when the poor men of the Wards have called to help me, hath commanded the Doors to be kept faſt and charged that none of his men ſhould come at me, ſaying; Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him. And, amongſt many other times, he did thus the 18. of *October*, 1553. as many can witneſs.

I paid alwaies like a Baron to the ſaid Warden, as well in fees, as for my Boord, which was 20. ſhillings a week, beſides my mans Table, untill I was wrongfully deprived of my Biſhoprick, and ſince that time, I have payed him as the beſt Gentleman doth in his Houſe; yet hath he uſed me worſe, and more vilely than the verieſt ſlave that ever came to the Hall Commons.

W. Downton M. Hoopers Man.

The ſaid Warden hath alſo impriſoned my man *William Downton*, and ſtripped him out of his clothes to ſearch for letters, and could find none but only a little remembrance of good People's names, that gave me their alms to releive me in priſon; and to undo them alſo, the Warden delivered the ſame bill unto the ſaid *Steven Gardiner*, Gods enemy and mine.

M. Hooper 18. Moneths in priſon. Q. Mary in detbed to M Hooper.

I have ſuffered impriſonment almoſt eighteen *Months*, my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from me; the Queen owing me by juſt account 80. pounds or more. She hath put me in priſon, and giveth nothing to find me, neither is there ſuffered any one to come at me whereby I might have relieſe. I am with a wicked man and Woman, ſo that I ſee no remedy (ſaving Gods help) but I ſhall be caſt away in priſon before I come to Judgment. But I commit my Juſt cauſe to God, whoſe will be don, whether it be by life or death.

Thus much wrote he himſelf, of this matter.

Another Examination of M. Hooper.

M. Hooper again convented before the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

THe 22. of *January* following, 1555. *Babington* the Warden of the Fleet was commanded to bring M. *Hooper* before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with other Biſhops and Commiſſioners at the ſaid *Wincheſters* Houſe at Saint *Mary Overies*, wereas in effect thus much was done.

Gardiner exhorteth M. Hooper to return to the Popes Church.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in the name of himſelf and the reſt, moved Maſter *Hooper* earneſtly to forſake the evil and corrupt Doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of King *Edward* the ſixth, and to return to the unity of the Catholik Church, and to acknowledge the Popes Holineſs to be head of the ſame Church, according to the determination of the whole Parliament, promiſing, that as he himſelf, with other his Brethren, had received the Popes Bleſſing, and the Queens mercy; even ſo mercy was ready to be ſhewed to him and others, if he would ariſe with them, and condeſcend to the Popes Holineſs.

The Pope not worthy to be a member of Chriſts Church.

M. *Hooper* anſwered, that foraſmuch as the Pope taught Doctrine altogether contrary to the Doctrine of Chriſt, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Chriſts Church, much leſs to be head thereof, wherefore he would in no wiſe condeſcend to any ſuch uſurped Juriſdiction, neither eſteemed he the Church, whereof they call him head, to be the Catholik Church of Chriſt: for the Church only heareth the voice of her ſpouſe Chriſt, and flieth the ſtrangers. Howbeit (ſaith he) if in any point, to me unknown, I have offended the Queens Majeſty, I ſhall moſt humbly ſubmit my ſelf to her mercy, if mercy may be had with ſafety of conſcience, and without the diſpleaſure of God.

Q. *Mary* will ſhew no mercy but to the Popes friends.

Anſwer was made, that the Queen would ſhew no mercy to the Popes enemies. Whereupon *Babington* was commanded to bring him to the *Fleet* again: who did ſo, and ſhifted him from his former Chamber into another, near unto the Wardens own Chamber, where he remained vi dayes: and in the mean time, his former Chamber was ſearched by D. *Martin* and others, for Writings and Books, which Maſter *Hooper* was thought to have made, but none was found,

Here followeth another examination of Maſter Hooper

Another examination of M. *Hooper* before the B. of *Wincheſter* and his fellows

THe 28. of *January*, *Wincheſter* and other the Commiſſioners ſate in Judgment at S. *Mary Overies*, whereas M. *Hooper* appeared before them at Afternoon again, and there, after much reaſoning and Diſputation to and fro, he was commanded aſide, till M. *Rogers* (whith was then come) had been likewiſe examined. Examinations being ended, the two Sheriffs of *London* were commanded, about four of the Clock, to carry them to the *Counter* in *Southwark*, there to remain till the morrow at Nine a Clock, to ſee whether they would relent and come home again to the Catholick Church. So *M. Hooper* went before with one of the Sheriffs, , and Maſter *Rogers* came after with the other, and being out of Church Door, Maſter *Hooper* looked back, and ſtayed a little till Maſter *Rogers* drew near, unto whom he ſaid; Come Brother *Rogers*, muſt we two take this matter firſt in hand, and begin to frie theſe faggots? Yea Sir, ſaid Maſter *Rogers*, by Gods grace. Doubt not, ſaid M. *Hooper*, but God will give ſtrength. So going forwards, there was ſuch a preaſs of People in the ſtreets, which rejoyced at their conſtancy, that they had much a doe to paſs.

M. Hoopers words to Maſter *Rogers*.

By the way, the Sheriff ſaid to M. *Hooper*; I wonder that ye were ſo haſty and quick with my Lord Chancellor, and did uſe no more patience: He anſwered, M. Sheriff, I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earneſt in my Maſters cauſe, and it ſtandeth me ſo in hand, for it goeth upon life and death, not the life and death of this World onely, but alſo of the World to come. Then were they committed to the keeper of the *Counter*, and appointed to ſeverall Chambers, with commandment that they ſhould not be ſuffered to ſpeak one with another, neither yet any other permitted to come at them that night.

M. *Hooper* earneſt in his Maſters cauſe.

The third and laſt examination of *M. Hooper*.

Upon the next day following, the 29. of *January*, at the hour appointed they were brought again by the Sheriffs before the ſaid Biſhop and Commiſſioners in the Church, where they were the day before. And after long and earneſt talk, when they perceived that M. *Hooper* would by no means condeſcend unto them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, Maſter *Rogers* was brought before them, and in like manner intreated, and ſo they delivered both of them to the ſecular power, the two Sheriffs of *London*, who were willed to carry them to the *Clink*, a priſon not far from the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* Houſe, and there to remain till night.

M. *Hooper* condemned.

When it was dark, Maſter *Hooper* was led by one of the Sheriffs, with many bills and weapons, firſt thorow the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* Houſe, and ſo over *London-Bridg*, thorow the City to *Newgate*. And by the way ſome of the Sergeants were willed to goe before, and put out the Coſtermongers Candles, who uſe to ſit with lights in the ſtreets: either fearing, of likelihood, that the People would have made ſome attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had ſeen him go to that priſon; or elſe, being burdened with an evill conſcience they thought darkneſs to be a moſt fit ſeaſon for ſuch a buſineſs,

Darkneſs left for the Papiſts

But notwithſtanding this device, the People having ſome foreknowledge of his coming, many of them came forth of their doors with lights, and ſaluted him, praiſing God for his conſtancy in the true Doctrine which he had taught them, and deſiring God to ſtrengthen him in the ſame to the end: Maſter *Hooper* paſſed by, and required the People to make their earneſt prayers to God for him, and ſo went through *Cheapſide* to the place appointed, and was delivered as cloſe priſoner to the keeper of *Newgate*, where he remained ſix dayes, no Body being permitted to come to him, or talk with him, ſaving his keepers, and ſuch as ſhould be appointed thereto.

The People rejoycing at the conſtancy of *M. Hooper* and Maſter *Rogers*.

M. *Hooper* ſent to *Newgate*.

Anno 1555.

During this time, *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, and other at his appoint ment, as *Fecknam*, *Chedſey*, and *Harpſfield*, &c. reſorted divers times unto him to aſſay if by any means they could perſwade him to relent, and become a member of their Antichriſtian Church. All the ways they could deviſe, they attempted. For, beſides the diſputations and allegations of Teſtimonies of the Scriptures, and of ancient Writers wreſted to a wrong ſenſe, according to their accuſtomed manner, they uſed alſo all outward gentleneſs and ſignifications of friendſhip, with many great proffers and promiſes of Worldly commodities, not omitting alſo moſt grievous threatnings, if with gentleneſs they could not prevail; but they found him always the ſame man, ſtedfaſt and immoveable. When they perceived that they could by no means reclaim him to their purpoſe, with ſuch perſwaſions and offers as they uſed for his converſion, then went they about by falſe rumors and reports of recantations (for it is well known, that they and their ſervants did ſpread it firſt abroad) to bring him and the Doctrin of Chriſt which he profeſſed, out of credit with the People. So the bruit being a little ſpread abroad, and believed of ſome of the weaker ſort, by reaſon of the often reſort of the Biſhop of *London* and others, it increaſed more, and at the laſt came to Maſter *Hoopers* ears. Where-with he was not a little grieved, that the People ſhould give ſo light credit unto falſe rumors, having ſo ſimple a ground, as it may appear by a letter which he wrote upon that occaſion, the Copie whereof followeth.

B. *Boner* and his Chaplains reaſon with *M. Hooper* in priſon.

Falſe rumors of *M. Hoopers* recantation.

A letter of Maſter Hooper *for the ſtopping of certain falſe rumors ſpread abroad of his recantation.*

THe grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with all them that unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Chriſt, *Amen*.

A purgation of *M. Hooper* againſt falſe rumors ſpread of his recantation

Dear Brethren and Siſters in the Lord, and my fellow-priſoners for the cauſe of Gods Goſpel, I do much rejoyce and give thanks unto God for your conſtancy and perſeverance in affliction, unto whom I wiſh continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoyce in your faith and conſtancy in afflictions that be in priſon; even ſo do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear Brethren that yet have not felt ſuch dangers for Gods truth, as we have, and doe feel, and be daily like to ſuffer more, yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire: yet ſuch is the report abroad (as I am credibly informed) that I *John Hooper*, a condemned man for the cauſe of Chriſt, ſhould now after ſentence of death (being in *Newgate* priſoner, and looking daily for execution) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this talk ariſeth of this, that the Biſhop of *London* and his Chaplains reſort unto me. Doubtleſs, if our Brethren were as godly as I could wiſh them, they would think, that in caſe I did refuſe to talk with them, they might have juſt occaſion to ſay that I were unlearned, and durſt not ſpeak with learned men, or elſe proud and diſdained to ſpeak with them. Therefore to avoid juſt ſuſpicion of both, I have, and do daily ſpeak with them when they come, not doubting but that they report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wiſh all men to do as I do in this point. For I fear not their Arguments, neither is death terrible unto me, praying you to make true report of the ſame, as occaſion ſhall ſerve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore, by their coming.

The occaſion of this rumor how it riſeth.

Therefore, ye that may ſend to the weak Brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with ſuch reports of recatantions as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the World, and ſuffered great pains and impriſonment, and I thank God I am as ready to ſuffer death, as a mortal man may be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report ſuch rumors that be untrue. We have enemies enow of ſuch as know not God truly. But yet the falſe report of weak Brethren is a double Croſs. I wiſh you eternal ſalvation in Jeſus Chriſt, and alſo require your continual prayers, that he which hath begun in us, may continue it to the end.

Falſe reports a grievous croſs.

I have

Anno 1555.

I have taught the Truth with my tongue, and with my Pen heretofore, and hereafter ſhortly ſhall confirm the ſame by Gods Grace with my Blood. Forth of *Newgate* the ſecond of *February*, *Anno* 1554.

Your Brother in Chriſt,
John Hooper.

Upon Monday morning the Biſhop of *London* came to *Newgate*, and there degraded M. *Hooper*, the Sentence of which his degradation here followeth.

Degradatio Hooperi.

The Sentence of Degradation againſt M. Hooper.

IN nomine ✠ Patris, ✠ Filii, ✠ & Spiritus Sancti, Amen. Quoniam per ſententiam definitivam à Reverendo in Chriſto Patre & Domino Stephano *permiſſione divina*, Winton. *Epiſcopo in & contra te* Johan. Hooper *Presbyterum, ſuæ juriſdictionis ratione hæreſis & delicti infra illius Diœceſin* Winton. *notorie commiſſi exiſtentem, nuper rite & legitime prolatam, conſtat ſufficienter & legitime nobis* Edmundo Lond. *Epiſcopo, te præfatum* Joh. Hooper *hæreticum manifeſtum & obſtinatum, ac pertinacem fuiſſe & eſſe, ac conſtat ſimiliter tanquam hæreticum hujuſmodi per dictam ſententiam pronunciatum & declaratum fuiſſe, majoriſque Excommunicationis ſententiæ ob id innodatum & involutum ſimiliter eſſe, ac ab ordine tuo deponendum & degradandum, Curiæque ſeculari ob demerita tua hujuſmodi tradendum fore, prout ex tenore dictæ ſententiæ, ad quam nos in hac parte nos referimus, plenius, planius, & expreſſius liquet & apparet: Idcirco nos* Edmundus *Epiſcopus* Lond. *antedictus, quia noſtra & univerſitatis etiam intereſt noſtras hic partes interponere, & Vicariam operam mutuamque viciſſitudinem impendere, in cujus etiam Diœceſi tu* Joh. Hooper *per idem hæreſis crimen tunc & ſæpius, & ante & poſt commiſiſti, iſtis inquam & aliis prædictis attentis, & exequendo omni meliori & efficaciori modo, quo poſſumus, ſententiam prædictam, ſic ut præmittur, latam in te qui infra fines & limites Diœceſis noſtræ* Lond. *notorie conſiſtens, & in hac parte culpabilis & tranſgreſſor, etiam notorie exiſtens, ad actualem degradationem tui præfati* Joh. Hooper *(culpa tua exigente ac juſtitia id poſcente) duximus procedendum fore, ac ſic etiam realiter procedimus, ut deinde juxta juris exigentiam & temporis retroacti morem laudabilem & normam conſuetam, te in Arca Eccleſiæ manere nolentem Curiæ ſeculari, rite & legitime ac effectualiter tradere poſſumus. Quod ipſum ſic fieri debere, nos per hanc noſtram ſententiam ſive decretum decernimus, pronunciamus, & declaramus in his ſcriptis.*

After the Sentence of Degradation thus declared, now let us ſee the form and manner of their degrading, which here alſo followeth. But firſt here is to be noted, that they, degrading this bleſſed Biſhop, did not proceed againſt him as a Biſhop, but as only againſt a Prieſt, as they termed him; for ſuch as he was, theſe *Baalamites* accounted for no Biſhop.

Here followeth the form and manner uſed in the degrading of B. Hooper.

The form and manner of degrading Biſhop *Hooper*. *Alexander Andrew* Goaler of *Newgate*, a cruel Enomy to Gods People.

THe fourth day of *February*, the year above-mentioned, in the Chappel in *Newgate*, the Biſhop of *London* there ſitting with his Notary and certain other Witneſſes, came *Alexander Andrew* the Goaler, bringing with him M. *Hooper* and M. *Rogers*, being condemned before by the Chancellor: where the ſaid Biſhop of *London*, at the requeſt of the foreſaid *Wincheſter*, proceeded to the degradation of the parties above-mentioned, M. *Hooper* and M. *Rogers*, after this form and manner: Firſt, he put upon him all the Veſtures and Ornaments belonging to a Prieſt, with all other things to the ſame Order appertaining, as though (being reveſted) they ſhould ſolemnly execute their Office. Thus they being apparelled and reveſted, the Biſhop beginneth to pluck off, firſt the uttermoſt Veſture, and ſo by degree and order coming down to the loweſt Veſture, which they had only in taking *Benet* and *Collet*; and ſo being ſtript and depoſed, he deprived them of all order, benefit and priviledge belonging to the Clergy; and conſequently that being done, pronounced, decreed, and declared the ſaid Parties ſo degraded, to be given perſonally to the Secular Power; as the Sheriffs being for that year, M. *Davy Woodroffe*, and M. *William Chester*: who, receiving firſt the ſaid M. *Rogers* at the hands of the Biſhop, had him away with them, bringing him to the place of Execution where he ſuffered. The Witneſſes there preſent were M. *Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *London*, *Robert Coſin*, and *Robert Willerton*, Canons of *Pauls*, *Thomas Mountague*, and *George How* Clerks; *Triſtram Swadock*, and *Richard Clunney* Sumner, &c.

Davy Woodroffe and *William Chester* Sheriffs.

The ſame Monday at Night, being the 4. of *February*, his Keeper gave him an inkling that he ſhould be ſent to *Glouceſter* to ſuffer death, whereat he rejoyced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto Heaven, and praiſing God that he ſaw it good to ſend him amongſt the People, over whom he was Paſtor, there to confirm with his Death the Truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him ſtrength to perform the ſame to his glory: and immediately he ſent to his Servants houſe for his Boots, Spurs, and Cloak, that he might be in a readineſs to ride when he ſhould be called.

M. *Hooper* glad that he ſhoul ſuffer amongſt his own flock.

The next day following, about four of the Clock in the Morning before day, the Keeper with others came to him and ſearched him, and the Bed wherein he lay, to ſee if he had written any thing, and then he was led by the Sheriffs of *London* and other their Officers forth of *Newgate* to a place appointed, not far from S. *Dunſtans* Church in *Fleetſtreet*, where ſix of the Queens Guards were appointed to receive him, and to carry him to *Glouceſter*, there to be delivered unto the Sheriff, who with the Lord *Shandois*, M. *Wicks*, and other Commiſſioners, were appointed to ſee Execution done. The which Guard brought him to the *Angel*, where he brake his Faſt with them, eating his Meat at that time more liberally than he had uſed to do a good while before. About the Break of the Day he went to Horſe, and leapt cheerfully on Horſeback without help, having a Hood upon his Head under his Hat that he ſhould not be known, and ſo he took his Journey joyfully towards *Glouceſter*, and always by the way the Guard learned of him where he was accuſtomed to Bait or Lodge, and ever carried him to another Inn.

M. *Hooper* carried to *Glouceſter* to be burned.

Upon the Thurſday following, he came to a Town in his Dioceſs called *Ciceſter*, 15 miles from *Glouceſter*; about eleven of the Clock, and there Dined at a Womans houſe which had always hated the Truth, and ſpoken all evil ſhe could of M. *Hooper*. This Woman, perceiving the cauſe of his coming, ſhewed him all the Friendſhip ſhe could, and lamented his caſe with Tears, confeſſing that ſhe before had often reported, That if he were put to the Trial, he would not ſtand to his Doctrine.

A Woman of *Ciceſter* confirmed by the conſtancy of M. *Hooper* which ſaw'd at him before.

After Dinner he rode forwards, and came to *Glouceſter* about five of the Clock, and a mile without the Town was much People aſſembled, which cried and lamented his eſtate. inſomuch that one of the Guard rode Poſt into the Town, to require Aid of the Mayor and Sheriffs; fearing leſt he ſhould have been taken from them. The Officers and their Retinue repaired to the Gate with Weapons, and commanded the People to keep their Houſes, &c. but there was no man that once gave any ſignification of any ſuch Reſcue or Violence. So was he lodged at one *Ingram*'s Houſe in *Glouceſter*, and that Night (as he had done all the way) he did eat his Meat quietly, and ſlept his firſt ſleep ſoundly, as it was reported by them of the Guard and others. After his firſt ſleep he continued all that Night in Prayer until the Morning; and then he deſired that he might go into the next Chamber (for the Guard were alſo in the Chamber where he lay) that there being ſolitary he might pray and talk with God: ſo that all the day, ſaving a little at Meat, and when he talked at any time with ſuch as the Guard licenced to ſpeak with him, he beſtowed in Prayer.

M. *Hooper* cometh to *Glouceſter*.

The quiet mind of M. *Hooper* in his Troubles.

Amongſt other that ſpake with him, Sir *Anthony Kingſton*, Knight, was one. Who, ſeeming in time paſt his very Friend, was then appointed by the Queens Letters to be one of the Commiſſioners, to ſee Execution done upon him. M. *Kingſton* being brought into the Chamber found him at his Prayers: and as ſoon as he ſaw M. *Hooper*, he burſt forth in Tears. M. *Hooper* at the firſt bluſh knew him not. Then ſaid M. *Kingſton*, Why, my Lord, do you not know me an old Friend of yours, *Anthony Kingſton*?

Sir *Anthony Kingſton* cometh to M. *Hooper*.

M. *Hooper* and M. *Rogers* degraded together.

Anno 1555.

Yes, M. *Kingſton*, I do now know you well, and am glad to ſee you in health, and do prayſe God for the ſame.

Sir Anthony Kingſtons perſwaſions.

But I am ſorry to ſee you in this caſe; for as I underſtand you be come hither to die. But (alas) conſider that life is ſweet, and death is bitter. Therefore ſeeing life may be had, deſire to live; for life hereafter may do good.

M. Hooper replieth.

Indeed it is true, M. *Kingſton*, I am come hither to end this Life, and to ſuffer death here, becauſe I will not gainſay the former Truth that I have heretofore taught amongſt you in this Dioceſs, and elſewhere; and I thank you for your friendly Counſel, although it be not ſo friendly as I could have wiſhed it. True it is, M. *Kingſton*, that death is bitter, and life is ſweet: but (alas) conſider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more ſweet. Therefore for the deſire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other; I do not ſo much regard this death, nor eſteem this life, but have ſettled my ſelf, through the ſtrength of Gods Holy Spirit, patiently to paſs through the Torments and Extremities of the Fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the Truth of his Word, deſiring you and others, in the mean time, to commend me to Gods Mercy in your Prayers.

Life compared with life, and death with death.

Sir Anthony Kingſton. Sir Anthony Kingſton converted by M. *Hooper*.

Well, my Lord, then I perceive there is no Remedy, and therefore I will take my leave of you: and I thank God that ever I knew you, for God did appoint you to call me, being a loſt Child: and by your good Inſtructions, where before I was both an Adulterer and a Fornicator, God hath brought me to the forſaking and deteſting of the ſame.

M Hooper.

If you have had the grace ſo to do, I do highly praiſe God for it: and if you have not, I pray God ye may have, and that you may continually live in his Fear. After theſe and many other words the one took leave of the other, M. *Kingſton* with bitter tears, M. *Hooper* with tears alſo trickling down his Cheeks. At which departure M. *Hooper* told him, that all the Troubles he had ſuſtained in Priſon, had not cauſed him to utter ſo much Sorrow.

A blind boy commeth to M. Hooper

The ſame day in the Afternoon, a blind Boy, after long interceſſion made to the Guard, obtained Licenſe to be brought unto M. *Hoopers* Speech. The ſame Boy not long afore had ſuffered Impriſonment at *Gloceſter* for confeſſing of the Truth. M. *Hooper*, after he had examined him of his Faith, and the Cauſe of his Impriſonment, beheld him ſtedfaſtly, and (the water appearing in his Eyes) ſaid unto him, Ah poor Boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward ſight, for what reaſon he beſt knoweth: but he hath given thee another ſight much more precious, for he hath endued thy Soul with the eye of Knowledge and Faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou loſe not that ſight, for then ſhouldeſt thou be blind both in Body and Soul.

Gods grace upon a blind boy at Gloceſter.

After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a very Papiſt and a wicked Man, which appeared to be ſorry for M. *Hoopers* trouble, ſaying; Sir, I am ſorry to ſee you thus. To ſee me? Why, ſaid he, art thou ſorry? To ſee you, ſaith the other, in this caſe. For I hear ſay, you are come hither to die, for the which I am ſorry. Be ſorry for thy ſelf man, ſaid M. *Hooper*, and lament thine own wickedneſs; for I am well, I thank God, and death to me for Chriſts ſake is welcom.

M. Hooper committed to the Sheriffs of Gloceſter.

The ſame Night he was committed by the Guard, their Commiſſion being then expired, unto the cuſtody of the Sheriffs of *Gloceſter*. The Name of the one was *Jenkins*, the other *Bond*, who with the Mayor and Aldermen repaired to M. *Hoopers* Lodging, and at the firſt meeting ſaluted him, and took him by the Hand. Unto whom *Hooper* ſpake on this manner. Mr. Mayor, I give moſt hearty thanks to you, and to the reſt of your Brethren, that you have vouchſafed to take me a Priſoner and a condemned man by the hand; whereby to my rejoycing it is ſome deal apparent that your old Love and Friendſhip towards me is not altogether extinguiſhed: and I truſt alſo that all the things I have taught you in times paſt are not utterly forgotten, when I was here, by the godly King that dead is, appointed to be your Biſhop and Paſtor. For the which moſt true and ſincere Doctrine, becauſe I will not now account it Falſhood and Hereſie, as many other men do, I am ſent hither (as I am ſure you know) by the Queens Commandment, to die, and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my Blood. And now Mr. Sheriffs, I underſtand by theſe good Men, and my very Friends (meaning the Guard) at whoſe hands I have found ſo much favour and gentleneſs by the way hitherward, as a Priſoner could reaſonably require (for the which alſo I moſt heartily thank them) that I am committed to your cuſtody, as unto them that muſt ſee me brought to morrow to the place of Execution. My Requeſt therefore to you ſhall be only, that there may be a quick Fire, ſhortly to make an end; and in the mean time I will be as obedient unto you, as your ſelves would wiſh. If you think I do amiſs in any thing, hold up your Finger, and I have done. For I am not come hither as one inforced or compelled to die: For it is well known, I might have had my Life with worldly gain; but as one willing to offer and give my Life for the Truth, rather than to conſent to the wicked Papiſtical Religion of the Biſhop of *Rome*, received and ſet forth by the Magiſtrates in *England*, to Gods high Diſpleaſure and Diſhonour; and I truſt by Gods Grace to morrow to die a Faithful Servant of God, and a true obedient Subject to the Queen.

M. Hoopers petition to the Sheriffs

The words of M. Hooper to the Maior and the Sheriffs of Gloceſter.

Theſe and ſuch-like words in effect uſed Mr. *Hooper* to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithſtanding the two Sheriffs went aſide to conſult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common Goal of the Town, called *Northgate*, if the Guard had not made earneſt Interceſſion for him: who declared at large, how quietly, mildly and patiently he had behaved himſelf in the way, adding thereto, that any Child might keep him well enough, and that they themſelves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that we ſhould be ſent to the common Priſon. So it was determined at the length he ſhould ſtill remain in *Robert Ingram's* Houſe; and the Sheriffs and the Serjeants and other Officers did appoint to watch with him that Night themſelves. His deſire was, that he might go to bed that Night betimes, ſaying, that he had many things to remember: and ſo he did at five of the Clock, and ſlept one ſleep ſoundly, and beſtowed the reſt of the Night in Prayer. After he got up in the morning, he deſired that no Man ſhould be ſuffered to come into the Chamber, that he might be ſolitary till the hour of Execution.

The Guard ſpeaketh for M. Hooper.

M Hooper ſpendeth the night in prayer.

About eight of the Clock came Sir *John Bridges* Lord *Shandoys*, with a great band of men, Sir *Antony Kingſton*, Sir *Edmund Bridges*, and other Commiſſioners appointed to ſee Execution done. At nine of the Clock Mr. *Hooper* was willed to prepare himſelf to be in a readineſs, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his Chamber by the Sheriffs, who were accompanied with Bills, Glieves and Weapons. When he ſaw the multitude of Weapons, he ſpake to the Sheriffs on this wiſe; M. Sheriffs (ſaid he) I am no Traitor, neither needed you to have made ſuch a buſineſs to bring me to the place where I muſt ſuffer: For if ye had willed me, I would have gone alone to the Stake, and have troubled none of you all. Afterward looking upon the multitude of people that were aſſembled, being by eſtimation to the Number of 7000 (for it was Market-day, and many alſo came to ſee his Behaviour towards death) he ſpake unto thoſe that were about him, ſaying; Alas, why be theſe people aſſembled and come together? Peradventure they think to hear ſomething of me now, as they have in times paſt, but alas Speech is prohibited me. Notwithſtanding the cauſe of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their Paſtor, I preached unto them true and ſincere Doctrine, and that out of the word of God: Becauſe I will not now account the ſame to be Hereſie and Untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me.

Sir John Bridges, L. Shandoys, Sir Edmund Bridges, Sir Anthony Kingſton, Commiſſioners.

M. Hooper forpreaching true doctrine put to death.

So he went forward led between the two Sheriffs (as it were a Lamb to the place of Slaughter) in a Gown of his Hoſts, his Hat upon his Head, and a Staff in his Hand to ſtay himſelf withal. For the grief of the *Sciatica*, which he had taken in Priſon, cauſed him ſomewhat to halt. All the way, being ſtraitly charged not to ſpeak, he could not be perceived once to open his Mouth, but beholding the People all the way, which mourned bitterly for him; he would ſometimes lift up his Eyes towards Heaven, and look very chearfully upon ſuch as he knew: and he was never known, during the time of his being amongſt them, to look with ſo chearful and ruddy a Countenance as he did at that preſent. When he came to the

M. Hooper forbidden to ſpeak to the People.

His chearful going to Death.

Anno 1555.

M. Hooper brought to the place of Martyrdom.

the place appointed where he ſhould dye, ſmilingly he beheld the Stake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great Elm-Tree over againſt the Colledge of Prieſts, where he was wont to Preach. The place round about the Houſes, and the Boughs of the Tree were replenifhed with People; and in the Chamber over the Colledge Gate ſtood the Prieſts of the Colledge. Then kneeled he down (foraſmuch as he could not be ſuffered to ſpeak unto the People) to Prayer, and beckned ſix or ſeven times unto one whom he knew well, to hear the ſaid Prayer, to make report thereof in time to come (pouring Tears upon his Shoulders and in his Boſom) who gave attentive Ears unto the ſame: the which Prayer he made upon the whole Creed, wherein he continued the ſpace of half an hour. Now after he was ſomewhat entred into his Prayer, a Box was brought and laid before him upon a Stool, with his Pardon (or at leaſt-wiſe it was fained to be his Pardon) from the Queen, if he would turn. At the ſight whereof he cried, *If you love my Soul, away with it; if you love my Soul, away with it.* The Box being taken away, the Lord *Shandois* ſaid, Seeing there is no remedy, diſpatch him quickly. Maſter *Hooper* ſaid, *Good my Lord, I truſt your Lordſhip will give me leave to make an end of my Prayers.*

M. Hooper refuſeth the Queens Pardon.

Then ſaid the Lord *Shandois* to Sir *Edmund Bridges* Son, which gave ear before to M. *Hoopers* Prayer at his requeſt: *Edmund*, take heed that he do nothing elſe but Pray: if he do, tell me, and I ſhall quickly diſpatch him. Whiles this Talk was, there ſtepped one or two uncalled, which heard him ſpeak theſe words following:

M. Hoopers Prayer.

LOrd, ſaid he, I am Hell, but thou art Heaven; I am ſwill and a ſink of Sin, but thou art a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me moſt miſerable and wretched Offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine ineſtimable goodneſs. Thou art aſcended into Heaven, receive me Hell to be partakers of thy Joys, where thou ſitteſt is equal glory with thy Father. For well knoweſt thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to ſuffer, and why the wicked do perſecute this thy poor Servant; not for my ſins and tranſgreſſions committed againſt thee, but becauſe I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy Blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy Truth, wherewith it did pleaſe thee by thy Holy Spirit to inſtruct me: the which with as much diligence as a poor Wretch might (being thereto called) I have ſet forth to thy glory. And well ſeeſt thou, my Lord and God, what terrible Pains and cruel Torments be prepared for thy Creature: ſuch, Lord, as without thy ſtrength none is able to bear, or patiently to paſs. But all things, that are impoſſible with man, are poſſible with thee. Therefore ſtrengthen me of thy goodneſs, that in the Fire I break not the rules of Patience; or elſe aſſwage the terror of the Pains, as ſhall ſeem moſt to thy glory.

As ſoon as the Mayor had eſpied theſe men which made report of the former words, they were commanded away, and could not be ſuffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himſelf to the Stake, and put off his Hoſts Gown, and delivered it to the Sheriffs, requiring them to ſee it reſtored unto the Owner, and put off the reſt of his Geer, unto his Doublet and Hoſe, wherein he would have burned. But the Sheriffs would not permit that, (ſuch was their greedineſs) unto whoſe pleaſures (good Man) he very obediently ſubmitted himſelf; and his Doublet, Hoſe and Waſtcoat were taken off. Then being in his Shirt, he took a Point from his Hoſe himſelf, and truſſed his Shirt between his Legs, where he had a pound of Gun-powder in a Bladder, and under each Arm the like quantity delivered him by the Guard. So deſiring the People to ſay the Lords Prayer with him, and to pray for him (who performed it with Tears, during the time of his Pains) he went up to the Stake. Now when he was at the Stake, three Irons, made to bind him to the Stake, were brought; one for his Neck, another for his Middle, and the third for his Legs. But he refuſing them ſaid, *Ye have no need thus to trouble your ſelves. For I doubt not, but God will give ſtrength ſufficient to abide the extremity of the Fire, without Bands: notwithſtanding, ſuſpecting the frailty and weakneſs of the Fleſh, but having aſſured confidence in Gods ſtrength, I am content ye do as ye ſhall think good.*

M. Hooper undreſſeth himſelf to the Fire.

M. Hooper bound to the Stake.

So the Hoop of Iron prepared for his Middle was brought, which being made ſome what too ſhort (for his Belly was ſwoln with Impriſonment) he ſhrank and put in his Belly with his hand, until it was faſtened: and when they offered to have bound his Neck and Legs with the other two Hoops of Iron; he utterly refuſed them, and would have none, ſaying, *I am well aſſured I ſhall not trouble you.*

The weeping the People at M. Hoopers Burning.

Thus being ready, he looked upon the People, of whom he might be well ſeen (for he was both tall, and ſtood alſo on an high Stool) and beheld round about him: and in every corner there was nothing to be ſeen but weeping and ſorrowful People. Then lifting up his eyes and hands unto Heaven, he prayed to himſelf. By and by, he that was appointed to make the Fire, came to him, and did ask him forgiveneſs. Of whom he asked why he ſhould forgive him, ſaying, that he knew never any offence he had committed againſt him. O Sir, (ſaid the Man) I am appointed to make the Fire. Therein (ſaid Mr. *Hooper*) thou doſt nothing offend me; God forgive thee thy ſins, and do thine office I pray thee. Then the Reeds were caſt up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, kiſſed them, and put under either Arm one of them, and ſhewed with his hand how the reſt ſhould be beſtowed, and pointed to the place where any did lack.

He forgiveth his Executioner.

Anon commandment was given that the fire ſhould be ſet to, and ſo it was. But becauſe there were put to no fewer green Fagots than two Horſes could carry upon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a pretty while alſo before it took the Reeds upon the Fagots. At length it burned about him, but the Wind having full ſtrength in that place (it was a lowring and cold Morning) it blew the flame from him, ſo that he was in a manner no more but toucht by the Fire.

Fire put to M. Hooper.

Within a ſpace after, a few dry Fagots were brought, and a new Fire kindled with Faggots (for there were no more Reeds) and that burned at the Nether parts, but had ſmall power above, becauſe of the Wind, ſaving that it did burn his Hair, and ſcorch his Skin a little. In the time of which Fire, even as at the firſt flame, he prayed, ſaying mildly and not very loud (but as one without pains) *O Jeſus the Son of* David, *have mercy upon me, and receive my Soul.* After the ſecond was ſpent, he did wipe both his Eyes with his hands, and beholding the People, he ſaid with an indifferent loud voice; *For Gods love (good People) let me have more Fire.* And all this while his Nether parts did burn: for the Faggots were ſo few, that the flame did not burn ſtrongly at his Upper Parts.

A new Fire made to M. Hooper.

M. Hooper called for more Fire.

The third Fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extream than the other two: and then the Bladders of Gun-powder brake, which did him ſmall good, they were ſo placed, and the Wind had ſuch power. In the which Fire he prayed with ſomewhat a loud voice, *Lord Jeſus have mercy upon me, Lord Jeſus have mercy upon me: Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit.* And theſe were the laſt Words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the Mouth, and his Tongue ſwoln, that he could not ſpeak, yet his Lips went till they were ſhrunk to the Gums: and he knocked his Breaſt with his hands, until one of his Arms fell off, and then knocked ſtill with the other, what time the Fat, Water and Blood dropped out at his Fingers ends, until by renewing of the Fire his ſtrength was gone, and his hand did cleave faſt in knocking to the Iron upon his Breaſt. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his Spirit.

The laſt Words of M. Hooper.

The bleſſed Martyr long tormented in the Fire.

In clariſſimi Doctrina & Pietate Viri *Johannis Hoperi* Martyrium, *Conradi Geſneri* carmen.

AUretus Hoperus *flammis invictus & igni,*
Atque ſuum Chriſtum confeſſus ad ultima vitæ
Momenta, integritate ſua præclarus, & ardens
Exterius flammis, divinus Martyr at intus
Eximio fidei fervore accenſus, ad aſtra
Spiritus aſcendit, Cæleſti luce beatus.

In

In terris cineresque manent, & fama coruſca,
Flammæ inſtar lucens, lucebit dum ſtabit orbis,
Utcunque immanes Boreæ, magnæque procellæ
Flatibus adverſis tam clarum abrumpere lumen
Nitantur fruſtra. Nam, quæ Deus ipſe ſecundat,
Quis prohibere queat? mortalia facta ſed ultro
Et commenta ruunt, vaſtaque voragine ſidunt.

Hoperi *exemplo, quotquot ſpiratis Jeſu*
Doctrinam Chriſti, diſcrimina temnere vitæ,
Durare, & voſmet rebus ſervare ſecundis
Diſcite. Namque dabit Deus his meliora; nec auris
Audiit ulla, oculus vel vidit, ſed neque captus
Humanæ mentis potuit complectier unquam,
Qualia, quanta Deus ſervet ſua bona beatis.

Anno 1555.

The burning of M. Iohn Hooper, at Gloceſter. Anno 1555. February 9.

The patient end of this holy Martyr.

Thus was he three quarters of an hour or more in the Fire. Even as a Lamb, patiently he abode the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, or to any ſide: but having his Nether parts burned, and his Bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a Child in his Bed: and he now reigneth as a bleſſed Martyr, in the Joys of Heaven prepared for the Faithful in Chriſt, before the foundations of the World: for whoſe Conſtancy all Chriſtians are bound to praiſe God.

A Letter which M. Hooper *did write out of Priſon to certain of his Friends.*

A Letter exhortatory of M. Hooper to certain of his Friends.

THe Grace of God be with you. *Amen.* I did write unto you of late, and told you what extremity the Parliament had concluded upon concerning Religion, ſuppreſſing the Truth, and ſetting forth the Untruth, intending to cauſe all men by extremity to forſwear themſelves, and to take again, for the Head of the Church, him that is neither Head nor Member of it, but a very Enemy, as the Word of God and all ancient Writers do record: and for lack of Law and Authority, they will uſe force and extremity, which have been the Arguments to defend the Pope and Popery, ſince their Authority firſt began in the World. But now is the time of Trial, to ſee whether we fear more God or Man. It was an eaſie thing to hold with Chriſt whilſt the Prince and World held with him: but now the World hateth him, it is the true Trial who be his.

The Popes Religion ſtandeth only by force and extremity.

Wherefore in the name, and in the vertue, ſtrength and power of his Holy Spirit, prepare your ſelves in any caſe to Adverſity and Conſtancy. Let us not run away when it is moſt time to fight; Remember none ſhall be crowned, but ſuch as fight manfully; and he that endureth to the end ſhall be ſaved. Ye muſt now turn all your Cogitations from the peril you ſee, and mark the felicity that followeth the peril; either victory in this World of your Enemies, or elſe a ſurrender of this life to inherit the everlaſting Kingdom. Beware of beholding too much the felicity or miſery of this World, for the conſideration and too earneſt love or fear of either of them draweth from God.

Neither the felicity nor the miſery of this World to be looked upon.

Wherefore think with your ſelves as touching the felicity of the World, it is good: but yet none otherwiſe than it ſtandeth with the favour of God. It is to be kept; but yet ſo far forth as by keeping of it we loſe not God. It is good abiding and tarring ſtill among our friends here: but yet ſo, that we tarry not therewithal in Gods diſpleaſure, and hereafter dwell with the Devils in fire everlaſting. There is nothing under God but may be kept, ſo that God, being above all things we have, be not loſt.

Of Adverſity judge the ſame. Impriſonment is painful, but yet liberty upon evil conditions is more painful. The Priſons ſtink; but yet not ſo much as ſweet Houſes, whereas the fear and true honour of God lacketh. I muſt be alone and ſolitary: it is better ſo to be and have God with me, than to be in company with the wicked. Loſs of Goods is great: but loſs of Gods grace and favour is greater. I am a poor ſimple Creature, and cannot tell how to anſwer before ſuch a great ſort of Noble, Learned and Wiſe men: it is better to make anſwer before the Pomp and Pride of wicked Men, than to ſtand naked in the ſight of all Heaven and Earth before the juſt God at the latter day. I ſhall dye then by the hands of the Cruel man: he is bleſſed that loſeth his life full of miſeries, and findeth the life of eternal Joys. It is pain and grief to depart from Goods and Friends: but yet not ſo much, as to depart from Grace and Heaven it ſelf. Wherefore there is neither felicity nor adverſity of this World, that can appear to be great, if it be weighed with the joys or pains in the World to come.

Adverſity compared with Adverſity.

Antitheſis between Joys and Pains in this World and in the World to come.

I can do no more, but pray for you; do the ſame for me, for Gods ſake. For my part (I thank the heavenly Father) I have made mine accounts, and appointed my ſelf unto the will of the heavenly Father: as he will, ſo I will by his Grace. For Gods ſake, as ſoon as ye can, ſend my poor Wife and Children ſome Letter from you, and my Letter alſo which I ſent of late to *D.* As it was told me ſhe never had Letter from me ſithence the coming of *M.S.* unto her, the more to blame the Meſſengers, for I have written divers times. The Lord comfort them, and provide for them; for I am able to

do

Anno 1554.

Mr. *Hoopers* care and commendation of his Wife.

do nothing in worldly things. She is a godly and wise Woman. If my meaning had been accomplished, she should have had necessary things: but what I meant, God can perform, to whom I commend both her and you all. I am a precious Jewel, now and daintily kept, never so daintily: for neither mine own man, nor any of the servants of the house may come to me, but my Keeper alone, a simple ride man, God knoweth; but I am nothing careful thereof. Fare you well. The 21 of *January* 1555.

Your bounden,

John Hooper

AMongst many other memorable Acts and Notes worthy to be remembred in the History of Mr. *Hooper*, this also is not to be forgotten which hapned between him, and a bragging Frier, a little after the beginning of his Imprisonment: The Story whereof here followeth.

Talk between Mr. *Hoopir* and a Frier in the Prison.

A Frier came from *France* to *England* with great vaunt, asking who was the greatest Heretick in *England*? thinking belike to do some great act upon him. To whom answer was made, that Mr. *Hooper* had then the greatest name to be the chiefest Ringleader, who was then in the *Fleet*. The Frier coming to him, asked why he was committed to Prison. He said for Debt. Nay, said he, it was for Heresie, which when the other had denied. What saist thou, quoth he, to *Hoc est Corpus meum*? Mr. *Hooper*, being partly moved at the sudden question, desired that he might ask of him another question, which was this; What remained after the Consecration in the Sacrament, any Bread or no? No Bread at all, saith he. And when ye break it, what do you break; whether Bread or the Body, said Mr. *Hooper*? No Bread, said the Frier, but the Body only. If ye do so, said Mr. *Hooper*, ye do great injury, not only to the Body of Christ, but also ye break the Scriptures, which say, *Ye shall not break of him one bone, &c.* With that the Frier, having nothing belike to answer, recoyled back, and with his Circles and his Crosses began to use Exorcism against Mr. *Hooper*, as though, *&c.*

If the material Body of Christ be broken in the Sacrament, then is the Commandment of Gods Word broken.

This and more wrote Mr. *Hooper* to Mrs. *Wilkinson* in a Letter, which Letter was read unto her by *John Kelke*.

Comparison between Mr. Hooper *and* Polycarpus.

A comparison between Mr. Hooper and Polycarpus.

WHen I see and behold the great patience of these blessed Martyrs in our days, in their Sufferings so quietly and constantly abiding the Torments that are ministred unto them of Princes for Gods cause: methinks I may well and worthily compare them unto the old Martyrs of the Primitive Church. In the number of whom, if comparison be to be made between Saint and Saint, Martyr and Martyr: with whom might I better match this blessed Martyr *John Hooper*, through the whole Catalogue of the old Martyrs, than with *Polycarpus* the ancient B. of *Smyrna*, of whom *Eusebius* maketh mention in the Ecclesiastical Story? For as both agreed together in one kind of punishment, being both put to the fire, so which of them shewed more patience and constancy in the time of their suffering, it is hard to be said.

Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15.

And though *Polycarpus* being set in the flame (as the story saith) was kept by miracle from the torment of the fire, till he was stricken down with weapon, and so dispatched: yet *Hooper* by no less miracle, armed with patience and fervent spirit of Gods comfort, so quietly despised the violence thereof, as though he had felt little more than did *Polycarpus* in the fire flaming round about him.

Of this *Polycarpus* read before.

Moreover, as it is written of *Polycarpus* when he should have been tied to the Stake, he required to stand untied, saying these words; *Sinite me, qui namq; ignem ferre posse dedit, dabit etiam ut sine vestra cavorum cautione immotus in rogo permaneam.* That is, *Let me alone I pray you, for he that gave me strength to come to this fire, will also give me patience to abide in the same without your tying.* So likewise *Hooper*, with the like spirit, when he should have been tied with three Chains to the Stake, requiring them to have no such mistrust of him, was tied but with one; who, if he had not been tied at all, yet (no doubt) would have no less answered to that great Patience of *Polycarpus*.

Mr. *Hooper* compared to *Polycarpus* in life.

And as the end of them was both much agreeing, so the life of them both was such, as might seem not far discrepant. In teaching, like diligent both, in zeal fervent, in life unspotted, in manners and conversation inculpable, Bishops and also Martyrs both. Briefly, in teaching so pithy and fruitful, that as they both were joyned together in one Spirit, so might they be joyned in one Name together, Πολύκαρπος, to wit, much fruitful; to which name also ὕπαρος πολύκαρπος is not much unlike. In this the Martyrdom of Mr. *Hooper* may seem in suffering to go before, though in time it followed the Martyrdom of *Polycarpus*, for that he was both longer in Prison, and there also so cruelly handled by the malice of his Keepers, as I think none of the old Martyrs ever suffered the like. To this also add, how he was depraved by *Boner*, with such contumelies and reproaches, as I think in *Polycarpus* time was not used to any.

ὕπαρος.

The cruel handling of Mr. Hooper.

The enemies of Mr. Hooper and of *Polycarpus* compared together.

And as we have hitherto compared these two good Martyrs together, so now if we should compare the Enemies and Authors of their Death one with the other, we should find no inequality betwixt them both, but that the Adversaries of Mr. *Hooper* seemed to be more cruel and unmerciful. For they that put *Polycarpus* to death, yet ministred to him a quick dispatch, moved belike by some compassion not to have him stand in the torment: where the tormentors of Mr. *Hooper* suffered him without all compassion to stand three quarters of an hour in the fire. And as touching the chief doers and authors of his Martyrdom, what Consul or Proconsul was there to be conferred with the Chancellor here, which brought this Martyr to burning? Let this suffice.

Books and Treatises written by Mr. Hooper.

This good Bishop and Servant of God, being in Prison, wrote divers Books and Treatises, to the number of xxiv. whereof some he wrote to the Parliament in Latin, and one to the Bishop of *Chichester* Dr. *Day*: besides he wrote of the Sacraments, of the Lords Prayer, and of the Ten Commandments, with divers others.

Here follow certain of Mr. Hooper's *Letters.*

More of his Letters ye shall read in the Book of Letters of the Martyrs.

AS you have heard the whole Story of the Life and Martyrdom of this good man declared; so now let us consequently adjoyn some part of his Letters, written in the time of his Imprisonment, most fruitful and worthy to be read, especially in these dangerous days, of all true Christians, which by true Mortification seek to serve and follow the Lord through all Tempests and Storms of this malignant World, as by the reading and perusing of the said Letters, you shall better feel and understand.

A Letter of Mr. Hooper *to certain godly Professors and Lovers of the Truth, instructing them how to behave themselves in that woful Alteration and Change of Religion.*

A Letter of Mr. Hooper.

THe Grace, Mercy, and Peace of God the Father through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you my dear Brethren, and with all those that unfeignedly love and imbrace his holy Gospel, Amen.

It is told me, That the wicked Idol, the Mass, is established again by Law, and passed in the Parliament House. Learn the truth of it, I pray you, and what Penalty is appointed in the Act to such as speak against it: Also whether there be any compulsion to constrain men to be at it. The Statute throughly known, such as be abroad and at liberty may provide for themselves, and avoid the danger the better. Doubtless there hath not been seen before our time such a Parliament as this is, that as many as were suspected to be favourers of Gods Word, should be banished out of both Houses. But we must give God thanks for that truth he hath opened in the time of his blessed Servant K. *Edward* the sixth, and pray unto him that we deny it not, nor dishonour it with Idolatry; but that we may have strength and patience rather to die ten times than to deny him once. Blessed shall we be, if ever God

The favourers of Gods Word secluded out of the Parliament both in the higher house and lower, against all right and reason.

make

make us worthy of that honour to ſhed our Blood for his Names ſake: and bleſſed then ſhall we think the Parents which brought us into the World, that we ſhould from this Mortality be carried into Immortality. If we follow the commandment of S. *Paul*, that ſaith, *If ye then be riſen again with Chriſt, ſeek theſe things which are above, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God.* We ſhall neither depart from the vain tranſitory goods of this World, nor from this wretched and mortal life, with ſo great pains as others do.

Coloſ. 3.

Let us pray to our heavenly Father, that we may know and love his bleſſed will, and the glorious Joy prepared for us in time to come, and that we may know and hate all things contrary to his bleſſed Will, and alſo the Pain prepared for the wicked in the World to come.

He exhorteth the Brethren to reſort and confer among themſelves together.

There is no better way to be uſed in this troubleſom time for your conſolation, than many times to have Aſſemblies together of ſuch Men and Women as be of your Religion in Chriſt, and there to take and renew amongſt your ſelves the truth of your Religion, to ſee what ye be by the Word of God, and to remember what ye were before ye came to the knowledge thereof, to weigh and confer the Dreams and falſe Lies of the Preachers, that now preach, with the Word of God that retaineth all Truth: and by ſuch talk and familiar reſorting together, ye ſhall the better find out all their Lies that now go about to deceive you, and alſo both know and love the Truth that God hath opened to us. It is much requiſite, that the Members of Chriſt comfort one another, make Prayers together, confer one with another; ſo ſhall ye be the ſtronger, and Gods Spirit ſhall not be abſent from you, but in the midſt of you, to teach you, to comfort you, to make you wiſe in all godly things, patient in Adverſity, and ſtrong in Perſecution.

Conference among Brethren comfortable.

Ye ſee how the Congregation of the wicked by helping one another, make their wicked Religion and themſelves ſtrong againſt Gods Truth and his People. If ye may have ſome Learned man, that can out of the Scriptures ſpeak unto you of Faith, and true honouring of God, alſo that can ſhew you the deſcent of Chriſts Church from the beginning of it until this day, that ye may perceive by the life of our Fore-fathers theſe two things: the one, that Chriſts words, which ſaid that all his muſt ſuffer perſecution and trouble in the world, be true: the other, that none of all his, before our time, eſcaped trouble; then ſhall ye perceive that it is but a folly for one that profeſſeth Chriſt truly, to look for the love of the World.

Thus ſhall ye learn to bear Trouble, and to exerciſe your Religion, and feel indeed that Chriſts words be true, *In the world ye ſhall ſuffer perſecution.* And when ye ſhall feel your Religion indeed, ſay, Ye be no better than your Fore-fathers; but be glad, that ye may be counted Souldiers for this War: and pray to God when ye come together, that he will uſe and order you and your doings in theſe three ends, which ye muſt take heed to: the firſt, that ye glorifie God; the next, that ye edifie the Church and Congregation; the third, that ye profit your own Souls.

John 16.

Three things to be taken heed to.

In all your doings beware ye be not deceived. For although this time be not yet ſo Bloody and Tyrannous as the time of our Fore-fathers, that could not bear the Name of Chriſt, without danger of life and goods; yet is our time more perillous both for Body and Soul. Therefore of us Chriſt ſaid, *Think ye when the Son of man cometh, ſhall find Faith upon the Earth?* He ſaid not, Think ye he ſhall find any Man or Woman Chriſtened, and in Name a Chriſtian? but he ſpake of the Faith that ſaveth the Chriſtian man in Chriſt: and doubtleſs the ſcarcity of Faith is now more (and will, I fear, increaſe) than it was in the time of the greateſt Tyrants that ever were; and no marvel why. Read the ſixth Chapter of St. *Johns Revelation*, and ye ſhall perceive amongſt other things, that at the opening of the fourth Seal came out a *pale Horſe, and he that ſate upon him was called Death, and Hell followed him.* This Horſe is the time wherein Hypocrites and Diſſemblers entred into the Church under the pretence of true Religion, as Monks, Friers, Nuns, Maſſing-Prieſts, with ſuch others, that hath killed more Souls with Hereſie and Superſtition, than all the Tyrants, that ever, were killed Bodies by Fire, Sword, or Baniſhment, as it appeareth by his name that ſitteth upon the Horſe, who is called Death: for all Souls that love Chriſt, and truſt to theſe Hypocrites, live to the Devil in everlaſting pain, as is declared by him that followeth the pale Horſe which is Hell.

Luke 18.

Faith more ſcarce now than in the old time under Tyrants.

The pale Horſe in the Apocalyps, chap. 6. what it meaneth.

Mo Souls ſlain by Monks and Friers, &c. than Bodies by Tyrants.

Anno 1555.

The 6. Chapter of the Apocalyps opened.

These pretenced and pale Hypocrites have ſtirred the Earth-quakes, that is to wit, the Princes of the World, againſt Chriſts Church, and have alſo darkened the Sun, and made the Moon bloody, and have cauſed the Stars to fall from Heaven, that is to ſay, have darkened with Miſts, and daily do darken (as ye hear by their Sermons) the clear Sun of Gods moſt pure Word; the Moon, which be Gods true Preachers, which fetch only light at the Sun of Gods Word, are turned into Blood, Priſons, and Chains, that their Light cannot ſhine unto the World as they would: whereupon it cometh to paſs, that the Stars, that is to ſay, Chriſtian People fall from Heaven, that is to wit, from Gods moſt true Word to Hypocriſie, moſt deviliſh Superſtition and Idolatry. Let ſome Learned man ſhew you all the Articles of your Belief and monument of Chriſtian Faith, from the time of Chriſt hitherto, and ye ſhall perceive that there was never mention of ſuch Articles as theſe Hypocrites teach. God bleſs you, and pray for me as I do for you.

Out of the Fleet by your Brother in Chriſt,
John Hooper.

To Maſter *Ferrar* Biſhop of St. *Davids*, D. *Taylor*, M. *Bradford*, and M. *Philpot*, Priſoners in the Kings Bench in *Southwark*.

Another Letter of M. Hoopers.

THE Grace of God be with you, Amen. *I am adverti ſed by divers, as well ſuch as love the Truth, as alſo by ſuch as yet be not come unto it, that ye and I ſhall be carried ſhortly to* Cambridge, *there to diſpute for the Faith, and for the Religion of Chriſt (which is moſt true) that we have and do profeſs. I am (as I doubt not ye be) in Chriſt ready, not only to go to* Cambridge, *but alſo to ſuffer, by Gods help, Death it ſelf in the maintenance thereof.* Weſton *and his Complices have obtained forth the Commiſſion already, and ſpeedily (moſt like) he will put it in execution. Wherefore, dear Brethren, I do advertiſe you of the thing before for divers cauſes. The one to comfort you in the Lord, that the time draweth near and is at hand, that we ſhall teſtifie before Gods Enemies Gods Truth. The next, that ye ſhould prepare your ſelves the better for it. The third, to ſhew you what ways I think our ſelves were beſt to uſe in this matter, and alſo to hear of you your better advice, if mine be not good. Ye know ſuch as ſhall be Cenſors and Judges over us breath and thirſt for our Blood, and whether we, by Gods help, overcome after the Word of God, or by force and ſubtilty of our Adverſaries be overcome, this will be the concluſion; our Adverſaries will ſay, they overcome, and ye perceive how they report of thoſe great Learned men and godly Perſonages at* Oxford.

Commiſſion given out for M. Hooper and other to Diſpute at Cambridge.

Wherefore I mind never to anſwer them, except I have Books preſent, becauſe they uſe not only falſe Allegation of the Doctors, but alſo a piece of the Doctors againſt the whole courſe of the Doctors mind. The next, that we may have ſworn Notaries, to take things ſpoken indifferently: which will be very hard to have, for the Adverſaries will have the overſight of all things, and then make theirs better than it was; and ours worſe than it was. Then if we ſee that two or three, or more will ſpeak together, or with Scoffs and Taunts illude and mock us: I ſuppoſe it were beſt to appeal, to be heard before the Queen and the whole Council, and that would much ſet forth the glory of God. For many of them know already the Truth, many of them err rather of Zeal than Malice, and the others that be indurate ſhould be anſwered fully to their ſhame (I doubt not) although to our ſmart and blood-ſhedding. For of this I am aſſured, that the Commiſſioners appointed to hear us and judge us, mean nothing leſs than to hear the cauſe indifferently; for they be Enemies unto us and our cauſe, and be at a point already to give Sentence againſt us: ſo that if it were poſſible with St. Stephen *to ſpeak ſo that they could not reſiſt us, or to uſe ſuch ſilence and patience as Chriſt did, they will proceed to revenging.*

The counſel of M. Hooper, how and upon what Cautions to diſpute with the Adverſaries.

Where-

Anno 1555.

Wherefore, my dear Brethren; in the mercy of Jesus Christ, I would be glad to know your advice this day or to morrow; for shortly we shall be gone, and I verily suppose that we shall not company together, but be kept one abroad from another. They will deny our Appeal, yet let us challenge the Appeal, and take witness thereof, of such as be present, and require for indifferency of hearing and judgment, to be heard either before the Queen and the Councel, or else before all the Parliament, as they were used in King Edwards days. Further, for my part I will require both Books and time to answer. We have been Prisoners now three quarters of a year, and have lacked our Books; and our Memories, by close keeping and ingratitude of their Parts, be not so present and quick as theirs be. I trust God will be with us, yea, I doubt not but he will, and teach us to do all things in his cause godly and constantly. If our Adversaries, that shall be our Judges, may have their purpose, we shall dispute one day, be condemned the next day, and suffer the third day. And yet is there no Law to condemn us (as far as I know) and so one of the Convocation-House said this Week to Doctor Weston. *To whom* Weston *made this Answer,* It forceth not *(quoth he)* for a Law, we have Commission to proceed with them; when they be dispatched let their Friends sue the Law.

Note, how the Papists proceed against all Order and Law.

Now how soon a man may have such a Commission at my Lord Chancellors hand, you know. It is as hard to be obtained as an Indictment for Christ at Caiphas *hand. Besides that the Bishops having the Queen so upon their sides, may do all things both without the advice, and also the knowledge of the rest of the Lords of the Temporality; who at this present have found out the mark that the Bishops shot at, and doubtless be not pleased with their doings. I pray you help, that our Brother* Sanders *and the rest in the* Marshalsey *may understand these things, and send me your Answer betime.* Judas non dormit; nec scimus diem neque horam. Judas *sleepeth not; neither know we the day nor the hour.* Dominus Jesus Christus suo sancto numine nos omnes consoletur & adjuvet. *Amen. The Lord Jesus Christ with his Holy Spirit comfort and strengthen us all.* Amen. *May 6. An.* 1554.

Yours, and with you unto death in Christ,
John Hooper.

An Exhortation to Patience, sent to his godly Wife Anne Hooper: *whereby all the true Members of Christ may take comfort and courage to suffer Trouble and Affliction for the Profession of his holy Gospel.*

Matth. 18. An effectual Letter of M. Hooper sent to his Wife.

OUr Saviour Jesus Christ (dearly Beloved, and my godly Wife) in S. *Matthews* Gospel said to his Disciples, *That it was necessary, Scandals should come:* and that they could not be avoided, he perceived as well by the condition of those that should perish and be lost for ever in the World to come, as also by their Affliction that should be saved. For he saw the greatest part of the people should contemn and neglect whatsoever true Doctrine or Godly ways should be shewed unto them, or else receive and use it as they thought good to serve their pleasures, without any profit to their Souls at all, not caring whether they lived as they were commanded by Gods Word or not; but would think it sufficient to be counted to have the name of a Christian man, with such works and fruits of his Profession and Christianity, as his Fathers and Elders, after their custom and manner, esteem and take to be good Fruits and faithful Works, and will not try them by the Word of God at all. These men, Matth. 24. by the just Judgment of God, be delivered unto the craft and subtilty of the Devil, that they may be kept by one scandalous Stumbling-block or other, that they never come unto Christ, who came to save those that were lost; as ye may see how God delivereth wicked men up unto their own Lusts, to do one mischief after another, careless, until they come into a reprobate mind, that forgetteth it self, and cannot know what is expedient to be done, or to be left undone, because they close their eyes, and will not see the light of Gods Word offered unto them: and being thus blinded, they prefer their own Vanities before the truth of Gods Word. Where such corrupt Minds be, there is also corrupt election and choice of Gods honour: Rom. 1. 24. 1 Thes. 2. so that the mind of Man taketh Falshood for Truth, Superstition for true Religion, Death for Life, Damnation for Salvation, Hell for Heaven, and persecution of Christs Members for Gods Service and Honour. And as these men wilfully and voluntarily reject the Word of God; even so God most justly delivereth them into the blindness of Mind and hardness of Heart, that they cannot understand, nor yet consent to any thing that God would have preached, and set forth to his glory, after his own Will and Word: wherefore they hate it mortally, and of all things most detest Gods holy Word. And as the Devil hath entred into their hearts, that they themselves cannot nor will not come to Christ, to be instructed by his holy Word: even so can they not abide any other man to be a Christian man, and to lead his life after the Word of God, but hate him, persecute him, rob him; imprison him, yea, and kill him; whether he be Man or Woman, if God suffer it. And so much are these wicked men blinded, that they pass off no Law, whether it be Gods or Mans, but persecute such as never offended, yea, do evil to those that have prayed daily for them, and wish them Gods Grace.

Error taken for Truth, and Persecution for Gods Service.

John 8. 9.

In their *Pharaonical* and blind fury they have no respect to Nature. For the Brother persecuteth the Brother, the Father the Son; and most dear Friends, in deviliſh slander and offence, are become most mortal Enemies. And no marvel; for when they have chosen sundry Masters, the one the Devil, the other God, the one shall agree with the other, as God and the Devil agree between themselves. For this cause (that the more part of the World doth use to serve the Devil under cloaked Hypocrisie of Gods title) Christ said, *It is expedient and necessary, that Scandals should come,* and many means be devised to keep the little Babes of Christ from the heavenly Father. But Christ saith, *Wo be unto him by whom the Offence cometh:* Yet is there no remedy, Man being of such corruption and hatred towards God, but that the evil shall be deceived, and persecute the good; and the good shall understand the Truth, and suffer Persecution for it unto the Worlds end. *For as he that was born after the Flesh, persecuted in times past him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now.* Therefore forsomuch as we live in this life amongst so many great perils and dangers, we must be well assured by Gods Word how to bear them, and how patiently to take them as they be sent to us from God. We must also assure our selves, that there is no other remedy for Christians in the time of trouble, than Christ himself hath appointed us. In S. *Luke* he giveth us this commandment, *Ye shall possess your lives in patience,* saith he. In the which words he giveth us both commandment what to do, and also great comfort and consolation in all Troubles. He sheweth what is to be done, and what is to be hoped for in troubles: and, when troubles happen, he biddeth us be patient; and in no case violently nor seditiously to resist our Persecutors, because God hath such care and charge of us, that he will keep in the midst of all troubles the very hairs of our head, so that one of them shall not fall away without the will and pleasure of our heavenly Father. Whether the Hair therefore tarry on the head, or fall from the head, it is the will of the Father. And seeing he hath such care for the hairs of our head, how much more doth he care for our life it self? Wherefore let Gods Adversaries do what they list, whether they take life or take it not, they can do us no hurt: for their cruelty hath no further power than God permitteth them; and that which cometh unto us by the will of our heavenly Father can be no harm, no loss, neither destruction unto us, but rather gain, wealth, and felicity. For all troubles and adversity that chance to such as be of God, by the will of the heavenly Father, can be none other but gain and advantage.

No respect of Nature with the persecuting Adversaries.

Matth. 18.

Gen. 2. Gal. 4.

Luke. Patience Troubles, only the Christian mans remedy.

Rom. 8.

That the Spirit of man may feel these Consolations, the giver of them the heavenly Father must be prayed unto for the merits of Christs Passion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contented, until it be regenerated and possessed with Gods Spirit, to bear patiently the troubles of the mind or of the body. When the mind and heart of a man seeth on every side sorrow and heaviness, and the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but such things as be troublous and wholly bent to rob the Poor of that he hath, and also to take from him his life: except the

Prayer necessary. James 1 1 Cor. 2.

Anno 1555.

man weigh theſe brittle and uncertain treaſures that be taken from him, with the riches of the life to come, and this Life of the Body, with the Life in Chriſts Blood, and ſo for the love and certainty of the Heavenly Joys contemn all things preſent, doubtleſs he ſhall never be able to bear the loſs of good's, Life, or any other thing of this World.

Therefore S. *Paul* giveth a godly and neceſſary Leſſon to all men in this ſhort and tranſitory Life, and therein ſheweth how a man may beſt bear the iniquities and troubles of this World; *If ye be riſen again with Chriſt* (ſaith he) *ſeek the things which are above, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right Hand of God the Father.* Wherfore, the Chriſtian mans Faith muſt be always upon the Reſurrection of Chriſt, when he is in trouble; and in that Glorious Reſurrection he ſhall not only ſee continual and perpetual Joy and conſolation, but alſo the Victory and Triumph over all Perſecution, Trouble, Sin, Death, Hell the Divel, and all other Tyrants and Perſecutors of Chriſt and of Chriſts People, the teares und weeping of the faithfull dried up, their wounds healed, their Bodies made immortal in Joy, their Souls for ever prayſing the Lord, in conjunction and ſociety everlaſting with the bleſſed company of Gods elect in perpetual Joy. But the Words of Saint *Paul* in that place, if they be not marked, ſhall doe little profit to the reader or hearer, and give him no patience at all in this impatient and cruel World.

Coloſ. 3. Aleſſon how to bear trouble.

In this firſt part S. *Paul* commandeth us, *to think or ſet our affections on things that are above.* When he biddeth us ſeek the things that are above, he requireth that our minds never ceaſe from prayer and ſtudy in Gods Word, untill we ſee, know, and underſtand the vanities of this World, the ſhortneſs and miſery of this Life, and the Treaſures of the World to come, the Immortality thereof, the Joys of that Life, and ſo never ceaſe ſeeking, untill ſuch time as we know certainly and be perſwaded, what a bleſſed man he is, that ſeeketh the one and findeth it, and careth not for the other though he loſe it; and in ſeeking, to have right Judgment between the Life preſent and the Life to come, we ſhall find how little the pains, impriſonment, ſlanders, lies, and death it ſelf is in this World, in reſpect of pains everlaſting, the priſon infernal, and Dungeon of Hell, the ſentence of Gods juſt Judgment, and everlaſting Death,

Two things commanded by S. *Paul*. writing to the *Coloſſ.* The firſt is, to ſee and know what things are above, and what things are beneath, and to diſcern rightly between them,

When a man hath, by ſeeking the Word of God, found out what the things above be: then muſt he (as S. *Paul* ſaith) ſet his affections upon them. And this commandment is more hard than the other. For mans knowledge many times ſeeth the beſt, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better than this Life preſent, (as you may ſee how daily men and women can praiſe and commend, yea, and wiſh for Heaven, and to be at reſt there) yet they ſet not their affection upon it: they doe more affect and love indeed a trifle of nothing in this World that pleaſeth their affection, than the Treaſure of all Treaſures in Heaven, which their own Judgment ſaith is better than all Worldly things. *Wherfore we muſt ſet our affections upon the things that be above*; that is to ſay, when any thing, worſe than Heaven, upon the earth, offereth it ſelf to be ours, if we will give our good wils to it, and love it in our hearts, then ought we to ſee by the Judgment of Gods Word, whether we may have the World without offence of God, and ſuch things as be for this Worldly Life without his diſpleaſure. If we cannot, S. *Pauls* commandment muſt take place, *ſet your affections on things that are above.* If the riches of this World may not be gotten nor kept by Gods Law, neither our lives be continued without the denyal of his Honor, we muſt ſet our affection upon the Riches and Life that is above, and not upon things that be on the earth. Therefore this ſecond commandment of Saint *Paul* raquireth, that our minds Judge heavenly things to be better than things upon the earth, and the Life to come better than the Life preſent; ſo we ſhould chuſe them before other, and prefer them, and have ſuch affection to the beſt, that in no caſe we ſet the worſt before it, as the moſt part of the World doth and hath done, for they chuſe the beſt and approve it, and yet follow the worſt.

The ſecond is to ſet our affection upon them that are above, and not upon the other. And this leſſon is harder than the other.

How things of this World may be poſſeſſed, and how not.

But theſe things (my godly Wife) require rather cogitation, meditation, and prayer; than words or talk. They be eaſie to be ſpoken of, but not ſo eaſie to be uſed and practiſed. Wherfore ſeeing they be Gods gifts, and none of ours, to have as our own when we would, we muſt ſeek them at our Heavenly Fathers Hand, who ſeeth, and is privy how poor and wretched we be, and how naked, how ſpoiled, and deſtitute of all his bleſſed gifts we be by reaſon of ſin. He did command therfore his Diſciples, when he ſhewed them that they ſhould take patiently the ſtate of this preſent Life full of troubles and perſecution, to pray that they might well eſcape thoſe troubles that were to come, and be able to ſtand before the Son of man. When you find your ſelf too much oppreſſed (as every man ſhall be ſometimes with the fear of Gods Judgment) uſe the 77. *Pſalm* that beginneth, *I will cry unto God with my voice, and he ſhall hearken unto me.* In which *Pſalm* is both godly doctrine and great conſolation unto the man or woman that is in anguiſh of mind.

Matt. 24. *Luke* 21.

Pſal. 77. Read alſo M. Hoopers expoſition upon this Pſalm, moſt comfortable for all broken and afflicted hearts.

Uſe alſo in ſuch trouble the 88. *Pſalm*, wherein is contained the prayer of a man, that was brought into extreme anguiſh and miſery, and being vexed with adverſaries and perſecutions, ſaw nothing but Death and Hell. And although he felt in himſelf, that he had not only man, but alſo God angry towards him: yet he by prayer humbly reſorted unto God, as the only port of conſolation, and in the midſt of his deſperate ſtate of trouble, put the hope of his ſalvation in him, whom he felt his enemy. Howbe it, no man of himſelf can do this but the ſpirit of God, that ſtriketh the mans heart with fear, prayeth for the man ſtricken and feared, with unſpeakable gronings. And when you feel your ſelf or know any other oppreſſed after ſuch ſort, be glad; For after that God hath made you to know what you be of your ſelf, he will doubtleſs ſhew you comfort, and declare unto you what you be in Chriſt his only Son; And uſe prayer often, for that is the means whereby God will be ſought unto for his gifts. Theſe *Pſalms* be for the purpoſe, when the mind can take no underſtanding, nor the heart any Joy of Gods promiſes: and therefore were the *Pſalms* alſo made, 6. 22. 30. 31. 38. 69. from the which you ſhall learn both patience and conſolation. Remember, that *although your life* (as all Chriſtian mens be) *be hid, and appeareth not what it is, yet it is ſafe* (as S. Paul ſaith) *with God in Chriſt: and when Chriſt ſhall appear, then ſhall our lives be made open with him in glory.* But in the mean time with ſeeking and ſetting our affections upon the things that he above, we muſt patiently ſuffer what ſoever God ſhall ſend unto us in this Mortal life. Notwithſtanding, it might fortune ſome would ſay, who is ſo perfect, that can let all things paſs as they come, and have no care of them; ſuffer all things, and feel nothing, be tempted of the Divel, the World, and the Fleſh, and be not troubled? Verily no man living. But this I ſay, that, in the ſtrength of Jeſus Chriſt things that come may paſs with care, for we be worldly, and yet are we not carried with them from Chriſt, for we be in him godly. We may ſuffer things, and feel them as Mortal men, yet bear them and overcome them as Chriſtian men. We may be tempted of the Divel, the fleſh, and the world: but yet although thoſe things pinch, they doe not pierce, and although they work ſin in us, yet in Chriſt no damnation to thoſe that be grafted in him. Hereof may the Chriſtian man learn both conſolation and patience. Conſolation, in that he is compelled both in his Body and goods to feel pain and loſs, and in the ſoul heavineſs and anguiſh of mind: howbeit none of them both ſhall ſeparate him from the love that God beareth him in Chriſt. He may learn patience, foraſmuch as his enemies both of Body and Soul, and the pains alſo they vex us withal for the time, if they tarry with us as long as we live, yet when death cometh, they ſhall avoid, and give place to ſuch Joys as be prepared for us in Chriſt: for no pains of the world be perpetual, and whether they ſhall afflict us for all the time of our mortal life, we know not; for they be ſervants of God to go and come, as he commandeth them. But we muſt take heed we meddle not forcibly nor ſeditiouſly to put away the perſecution appointed unto us by God, remember Chriſts ſaying, *Poſſeſs you your lives by your patience.* And in this commandment God requireth of every man and Woman this patient obedience. He ſaith not, it is ſufficient that other Holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, Evangeliſts and Martyrs

What pſalms are to be uſed in diſtreſs and tribulation. Read alſo the fourth chap. of *Eueſ. Coloſſ.* 3.

Note this well to thy comfort that are afflicted.

Rom. 8. Conſolation patience.

Afflictions be the meſſengers and ſervants of God.

Luk. 21.

Scriptures would be muſed upon rather than talked upon.

Anno 1555.

Martyrs continued their lives in patience, and patient ſuffering the trouble of this World: but Chriſt ſaith to every one of his People, *By your own patience ye ſhall continue your life*; not that man hath Patience in himſelf, but that he muſt have it for himſelf of God, the only giver of it, if he purpoſe to be a godly man. Now therefore as our Profeſſion and Religion requireth patience outwardly, without reſiſtance and force; ſo requireth it patience of the Mind, and not to be angry with God, although he uſe us, that be his own Creatures, as him liſteth.

Patience the gift of God only.

We may not alſo murmur againſt God, but ſay always, his Judgments be right and juſt, and rejoyce that it pleaſeth him by troubles to uſe us, as he uſed heretofore ſuch as he moſt loved in this World, and have a ſingular care to this Commandment, *Gaudete & exultate, Be glad and rejoyce*; for he ſheweth great cauſe why, *Your reward* (ſaith he) *is great in Heaven.* Theſe Promiſes of him that is the Truth it ſelf ſhall (by Gods Grace) work both Conſolation and Patience in the afflicted Chriſtian perſon. And when our Saviour Chriſt hath willed men in trouble to be content and patient, becauſe God in the end of trouble in Chriſt hath ordained eternal Conſolation; he uſeth alſo to take from us all ſhame and rebuke, as though it were not an honour to ſuffer for Chriſt, becauſe the wicked World doth curſe and abhor ſuch poor troubled Chriſtians. Wherefore Chriſt placeth all his honourably, and ſaith, *Even ſo perſecuted they the Prophets that were before you.* We may alſo ſee with whom the Afflicted for Chriſts ſake be eſteemed, by S. *Paul* to the *Hebrews*, where as the number of the bleſſed and glorious company of Saints appear now to our Faith in Heaven, in Joy; yet in the Letter, for the time of this life, in ſuch pains and contempt as was never more. Let us therefore conſider both them and all other things of the World ſince the Fall of Man, and we ſhall perceive nothing to come to perfection, but with ſuch confuſion and diſorder to the eye of the World, as though things were rather loſt for ever, than like to come to any perfection at all. For of godly men, who ever came to Heaven (no not Chriſt himſelf) until ſuch time as the World had thought verily, that both he, and all his had been clean deſtroyed, and caſt away? as the Wiſe man ſaith of the wicked People, *We thought them to be fools, but they be in peace.*

Matt. 7.

To ſuffer for Chriſt is honourable. Matth. 5. Heb. 11.

Wiſd. 5.

We may learn by things that nouriſh and maintain us, both Meat and Drink, what lothſomneſs and (in manner) abhorring they come unto, before they work their perfection in us. From life they are brought to the fire, and clean altered from that they were when they were alive; from the Fire to the Trencher and Knife, and all to hacked; from the Trencher to the mouth, and as ſmall ground as the Teeth can grind them; and from the Mouth into the Stomach, and there ſo boiled and digeſted before they nouriſh, that whoſoever ſaw the ſame, would loath and abhor his own nouriſhment, before it come to his perfection.

Example taken out of our meat and drink, how things never come to their perfection before they be utterly waſted.

Is it then any marvel if ſuch Chriſtians as God delighteth in, be ſo mangled and defaced in this World, which is the Kitchin and Mill to boil and grind the fleſh of Gods People in, till they atchieve their perfection in the World to come? And as a man looketh for the nutriment of his Meat when it is full digeſted, and not before: So muſt he look for his Salvation when he hath paſſed this troublous World, and not before. Raw-fleſh is not Meat wholſom for man: and unmortified Men and Women be not Creatures meet for God. Therefore Chriſt ſaith, that his People muſt be broken, and all to be torn in the Mill of this world, and ſo ſhall they be moſt fine Meal unto the heavenly Father. And it ſhall be a Chriſtian mans part, and the duty of a mind repleniſhed with the Spirit of God, to mark the order of God in all his things, how he dealeth with them, and how they ſuffer, and be content to let God do his will upon them, as S. *Paul* ſaith, *They wait until the number of the Elect be fulfilled, and never be at reſt, but look for the time when Gods People ſhall appear in Glory.*

Unmortified men be no People of God. Matth. 10.

Rom. 8.

We muſt therefore patiently ſuffer, and willingly attend upon Gods doings, although they ſeem clean contrary, after our Judgment, to our wealth and ſalvation: As *Abraham* did, when he was bid to offer his Son *Iſaak*, in whom God promiſed the bleſſing and multiplying of his Seed. *Joſeph* at the laſt came to that which God promiſed him, although in the mean time, after the Judgment of the world, he was never like to be (as God ſaith he ſhould be) *Lord over his Brethren.* When Chriſt would make the Blind man to ſee, he put Clay upon his Eyes, which after the Judgment of Man, was a means rather to make him double blind, than to give him his ſight; but he obeyed, and knew that God could work his deſire, what means ſoever he uſed contrary to mans Reaſon: and as touching this World, he uſeth all his after the ſame ſort. If any ſmart, his People be the firſt; if any ſuffer ſhame they begin; if any be ſubject to ſlander, it is thoſe that he loveth; ſo that he ſheweth no face or favour, nor love almoſt in this world outwardly to them; but layeth Clay upon their ſore Eyes that be ſorrowful: yet the Patient man ſeeth (as S. *Paul* ſaith) Life hid under theſe miſeries and adverſities, and Sight under foul Clay; and in the mean time he hath the teſtimony of a good Conſcience, and believeth Gods Promiſes to be his Conſolation in the world to come, which is more worthy unto him, than all the world is worth beſides: and bleſſed is that man in whom Gods Spirit beareth record that he is the Son of God, whatſoever troubles he ſuffer in this troubleſom world.

Example of Joſeph.

John 3.

1 Per. 4. Judgment firſt beginneth with the Houſe of God. Coloſſ. 3.

Rom. 8.

And to judge things indifferently (my good Wife) the Troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good Fathers time, ſoon after the Death and Reſurrection of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whereof he ſpake in S. *Matthew.* Of the which place you and I have taken many times great conſolation, and eſpecially of the latter part of the Chapter, wherein is contained the laſt Day and end of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for ſuch as love the coming of our Saviour Chriſt to Judgment. Remember therefore that place, and mark it again, and ye ſhall in this time ſee this great Conſolation, and alſo learn much patience. Was there ever ſuch Troubles, as Chriſt threatned upon *Jeruſalem?* was there ſince the beginning of the world ſuch affliction? who was then beſt at eaſe? The Apoſtles that ſuffered in body Perſecution, and gathered of it eaſe and quietneſs in the Promiſes of God. And no marvel, for Chriſt ſaith, *Lift up your heads, for your Redemption is at hand*, that is to ſay, Your eternal Reſt approacheth and draweth near. The World is ſtark blind, and more fooliſh than Fooliſhneſs it ſelf, and ſo be the People of the World. For when God ſaith, trouble ſhall come, they will have eaſe. And when God ſaith, Be merry and rejoyce in trouble, we lament and mourn, as though we were Caſt-aways. But this our fleſh (which is never merry with Vertue, nor ſorry with Vice; never laugheth with Grace, nor ever weepeth with Sin) holdeth faſt with the World, and letteth God ſlip. But (my dearly beloved Wife) you know how to perceive and to beware of the vanity and crafts of the Devil well enough in Chriſt. And that ye may the better have patience in the Spirit of God, read again the 24. Chapter of S. *Matthew*, and mark what difference is between the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the deſtruction of the whole World, and you ſhall ſee, that then here were left alive many Offenders to repent: but at the later Day there ſhall be abſolute Judgment, and Sentence (never to be revoked) of Eternal life and Eternal death upon all men; and yet towards the end of the World we have nothing ſo much extremity as they had then, but even as we be able to bear. So doth the merciful Father lay upon us now Impriſonment, (and I ſuppoſe for my part ſhortly Death) now ſpoil of Goods, loſs of Friends, and the greateſt loſs of all, the knowledge of Gods Word. Gods will be done. I wiſh in Chriſt Jeſus our only Mediatour and Saviour, your Conſtancy and Conſolation, that you may live for ever and ever, whereof in Chriſt I doubt not; to whom, for his moſt bleſſed and painful Paſſion, I commit you. *Amen.*

Luke 21.

Fleſh never merry with Vertue, nor ſorry with Vice.

Matth. 24.

Deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the whole World compared.

Octob. 13. An. 1553.

To a certain godly Woman, inſtructing her how ſhe ſhould behave her ſelf in the time of her Widowhood.

THe grace of God, and the comfort of his Holy Spirit be with you, and all them that unfeignedly love his holy Goſpel. *Amen.*

Another Letter of M. Hooper.

I thank you, dear Sister, for your moſt loving remembrance: and although I cannot recompence the ſame, yet do I wiſh with all my heart, that God would do it, requiring you not to forget your duty towards God in theſe perillous days, in the which the Lord will try us. I truſt you do increaſe by reading of the Scriptures, the knowledge you have of God, and that you diligently apply your ſelf to follow the ſame: for the Knowledge helpeth not, except the Life be according thereunto. Further, I do heartily pray you, to conſider the ſtate of your Widowhood, and if God ſhall put in your mind to change it, remember the ſaying of S. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 7. *It is lawful for the Widow or Maiden to marry to whom they liſt, ſo it be in the Lord*; that is to ſay, to ſuch an one as is of Chriſts Religion. Dearly beloved in Chriſt, remember theſe words, for you ſhall find thereby great joy and comfort, if you change your ſtate. Whereof I will, when I have better leiſure (as now I have none at all) further advertiſe you. In the mean time I commend you to God, and the guiding of his good Spirit, who ſtabliſh and confirm you in all well-doing, and keep you blameleſs to the day of the Lord. Watch and pray, for this day is at hand.

1 Cor. 7. To marry in the Lord, what it is.

Yours aſſured in Chriſt,
John Hooper.

To all my dear Brethren, my Relievers and Helpers in the City of London.

Another Letter of M. Hooper to his Friends in London.

THe Grace of God be with you, *Amen*. I have received from you (dearly Beloved in our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt) by the hands of my Servant *William Downton*, your liberality, for the which I moſt heartily thank you, and I praiſe God highly in you for you, who hath moved your hearts to ſhew this kindneſs towards me, praying him to preſerve you from all famine, ſcarcity, and lack of the Truth of his Word, which is the lively food of your Souls, as you preſerve my Body from hunger, and other neceſſities which ſhould happen unto me; were it not cared for by the benevolence and charity of godly People. Such as have taken all worldly Goods and Lands from me, and ſpoiled me of all that I had, have impriſoned my Body, and appointed not one half-penny to feed or relieve me withal: but I do forgive them and pray for them daily in my poor Prayer unto God, and from my heart I wiſh their Salvation, and quietly and patiently bear their Injuries, wiſhing no farther extremity to be uſed towards us. Yet if the contrary ſeem beſt unto our Heavenly Father, I have made my reckoning, and fully reſolved my ſelf to ſuffer the uttermoſt that they are able to do againſt me, yea, Death it ſelf, by the aid of Chriſt Jeſus, who died the moſt vile death of the Croſs for us Wretches and miſerable Sinners. But of this I am aſſured, that the wicked World, with all his force and power, ſhall not touch one of the hairs of our Heads without leave and licence of our heavenly Father, whoſe will be done in all things. If he will life, Life be it: if he will death, Death be it. Only we pray, that our wills may be ſubject unto his will, and then although both we and all the World ſee none other thing but death, yet if he think life beſt, we ſhall not die, no, although the Sword be drawn out over our heads: as *Abraham* thought to kill his Son *Iſaak*, yet when God perceived that *Abraham* had ſurrendred his will to Gods will, and was content to kill his Son, God then ſaved his Son.

The Chriſtian Charity of Mr. Hooper to his Enemies.

M. Hooper fully reſolved to ſuffer.

Dearly beloved, if we be contented to obey Gods will, and for his commandments ſake to ſurrender our Goods and our Lives to be at his pleaſure, it maketh no matter whether we keep Goods and Life, or loſe them. Nothing can hurt us that is taken from us for Gods cauſe, nor can any thing at length do us good, that is preſerved contrary unto Gods Commandment. Let us wholly ſuffer God to uſe us and ours after his holy wiſdom, and beware we neither uſe nor govern our ſelves contrary to his will by our own wiſdom: for if we do, our wiſdom will at length prove fooliſhneſs. It is kept to no good purpoſe, that we keep contrary unto his Commandments. It can by no means be taken from us, that he would ſhould tarry with us. He is no good Chriſtian that ruleth himſelf and his, as worldly means ſerveth: for he that ſo doth ſhall have as many changes as chanceth in the World. To day with the World he ſhall like and praiſe the Truth of God, to morrow as the World will, ſo will he like and praiſe the falſhood of man; to day with Chriſt, and to morrow with Antichriſt. Wherefore, dear Brethren, as touching your behaviour towards God, uſe both your inward Spirits and your outward Bodies, your inward and your outward Man (I ſay) not after the manners of Men, but after the infallible Word of God.

Gods will to be obeyed in all things.

Anno 1555.

Difference between the true Chriſtian, and the Worldling.

Reſtrain from Evil in both; and glorifie your heavenly Father in both. For if ye think ye can inwardly in the heart ſerve him, and yet outwardly ſerve with the world in external Service the thing that is not God, ye deceive your ſelves; for both the Body and the Soul muſt together concur in the honour of God, as S. *Paul* plainly teacheth, 1 *Cor.* 6. For if an honeſt wife be bound to give both Heart and Body to faith and ſervice in Marriage, and if an honeſt Wifes Faith in the heart cannot ſtand with an whoriſh or defiled Body outwardly; much leſs can the true Faith of a Chriſtian, in the ſervice of Chriſtianity, ſtand with the bodily ſervice of external Idolatry: for the myſtery of Marriage is not ſo honourable between Man and Wife, as it is between Chriſt and every Chriſtian man, as S. *Paul* ſaith.

Both inward man and outward man muſt concur in the honour of God.

Therefore (dear Brethren) pray to the heavenly Father, that as he ſpared not the Soul nor the Body of his dearly Beloved Son, but applied both of them with extreme pain, to work our Salvation both of Body and Soul; ſo he will give us all grace to apply our Bodies and Souls to be Servants unto him: for doubtleſs he requireth as well the one as the other, and cannot be diſcontented with the one and well pleaſed with the other. Either he hateth both, or loveth both; he divideth not his love to one, and his hatred to the other. Let not us therefore, good Brethren, divide our ſelves, and ſay our Souls ſerve him, whatſoever our Bodies do to the contrary for civil Order and Policy.

But (alas) I know, by my ſelf, what troubleth you, that is, the great danger of the World, that will revenge (ye think) your Service to God with Sword and Fire, with loſs of Goods and Lands. But (dear Brethren) weigh of the other ſide, that your Enemies and Gods Enemies ſhall not do ſo much as they would, but as much as God ſhall ſuffer them, who can trap them in their own counſels, and deſtroy them in the midſt of their furies. Remember ye be the Workmen of the Lord, and called into his Vineyard, there to labour till evening-tide, that you may receive your penny, which is more worth than all the Kingdoms of the Earth. But he that calleth us into his Vineyard, hath not told us how ſore and how fervently the Sun ſhall trouble us in our labour: but hath bid us labour, and commit the bitterneſs thereof unto him; who can and will ſo moderate all Afflictions, that no man ſhall have more laid upon him, than in Chriſt he ſhall be able to bear. Unto whoſe merciful tuition and defence I commend both your Souls and Bodies. *Septemb.* 2. *Anno* 1554.

Gods Enemies can do no more than he giveth them leave. Matth. 10.

Yours with my poor Prayer,
John Hooper.

To a Merchant of London, *by whoſe means he had received much Comfort in his great Neceſſity in the* Fleet.

Another Letter of M. Hooper to a Hearer of his.

GRace, Mercy, and Peace in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. I thank God and you for the great help and conſolation I have received in the time of adverſity by your charitable means; but moſt rejoyce that you be not altered from Truth, although Falſhood cruelly ſeeketh to diſtain her. Judge not, my Brother, Truth by outward appearance; for Truth now worſe appeareth, and more vilely is rejected than Falſhood. Leave the outward ſhew, and ſee by the Word of God what Truth is, and accept Truth, and diſlike her not, though man call her Falſhood. As it is now, ſo it hath been heretofore, the Truth rejected and Falſhood received. Such as have profeſſed Truth, for Truth have ſmarted, and the friends of Falſhood laughed them to ſcorn. The trial of both hath been by contrary ſucceſs: the one having the commendation of Truth by man, but the condemnation of Falſhood by God, flouriſhing for a time, with endleſs deſtruction; the other afflicted a little ſeaſon, but ending with immortal Joys. Wherefore, dear Brother, ask and demand

Truth is not to be eſteemed by outward appearance.

Anno 1555.

demand of your Book, the Teſtament of Jeſus Chriſt, in thoſe woful and wretched days what you ſhould think, and what you ſhould ſtay upon for a certain Truth, and whatſoever you hear taught, try it by your Book, whether it be true or falſe. The days be dangerous and full of peril, not only for the World and worldly things, but for Heaven and heavenly things. It is a trouble to loſe the Treaſure of this life, but yet a very pain, if it be kept with the offence of God. Cry, call, pray, and in Chriſt daily require help, ſuccour, mercy, wiſdom, grace and defence, that the wickedneſs of this World prevail not againſt us. We began well, God preſerve us until the end. I would write more often unto you, but I do perceive you be at ſo much Charges with me, that I fear you would think when I write, I Crave. Send me nothing till I ſend to you for it; and ſo tell the good Men, your Partners: and when I need, I will be bold with you. *Decemb. 3. An. 1554.*

Yours with my Prayer, John Hooper.

To Mrs. *Wilkinſon*, a Woman hearty in Gods Cauſe, and comfortable to his afflicted Members.

This Mrs. *Wilkinſon* afterward lyed in Exile at *Frankford.*

THe grace of God, and the comfort of his Holy Spirit be with you. Amen.

I am very glad to hear of your health, and do thank you for your loving Tokens. But I am a great deal more glad to hear how Chriſtianly you avoid Idolatry, and prepare your ſelf to ſuffer the extremity of the World; rather than to endanger your ſelf to God. You do as you ought to do in this behalf, and in ſuffering of tranſitory Pains, you ſhall avoid permanent Torments in the World to come. Uſe your life, and keep it with as much quietneſs as you can, ſo that you offend not God. The eaſe that cometh of his diſpleaſure, turneth at length to unſpeakable Pains; and the gains of the World, with the loſs of his Favour, is beggary and wretchedneſs. Reaſon is to be amended in this Cauſe of Religion: For it will chuſe and follow an Error with the Multitude, if it may be allowed, rather than turn to Faith and follow the Truth with the People of God. Moſes *found the ſame fault in himſelf, and did amend it, chuſing rather to be afflicted with the People of God, than to uſe the liberty of the Kings Daughter, that accounted him as her Son. Pray for Contentation and Peace of the Spirit, and rejoyce in ſuch Troubles as ſhall happen to you for the Truths ſake: for in that part Chriſt ſaith, you be happy. Pray alſo for me, I pray you, that I may do in all things the will of our heavenly Father: to whoſe tuition and defence I commend you.*

Gains with Gods diſpleaſure is Beggary.

Heb. 11.

Matth. 5.

To my dear Friends in God, Mr. *John Hall* and his Wife.

Another Letter exhorting to ſtand faſt in the Truth.

THe Grace of God be with you, Amen. *I thank you for your loving and gentle friendſhip at all times, praying to God to ſhew unto you ſuch favour, that whatſoever trouble and adverſity happen, ye go not back from him. Theſe days be dangerous and full of peril; but yet let us comfort our ſelves in calling to remembrance the days of our Forefathers, upon whom the Lord ſent ſuch troubles, that many hundreds, yea, many thouſands died for the Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, both Men and Women, ſuffering with patience and conſtancy as much Cruelty as Tyrants could deviſe, and ſo departed out of this miſerable World to the Bliſs everlaſting, whereas now they remain for ever, looking always for the end of this ſinful World, when they ſhall receive their Bodies again to Immortality, and ſee the number of the Elect aſſociated with them in full and conſummate Joys: and as vertuous Men ſuffering Martyrdom, and tarrying a little while in this World with pains, by and by, reſted in Joys everlaſting; and as their pains ended their ſorrows and began eaſe; ſo did their conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſs animate and confirm all good People in the Truth, and gave them encouragement and luſt to ſuffer the like, rather than to fall with the World to conſent unto wickedneſs and Idolatry. Wherefore, my dear Friends, ſeeing God of his part hath illuminated you with the ſame gift and knowledge of true Faith, wherein the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, and all Martyrs ſuffered moſt cruel death; thank him for his grace in knowledge, and pray unto him for ſtrength and perſeverance, that through your own fault ye be not aſhamed or afraid to confeſs it. Yet ye be in the Truth and the gates of Hell ſhall never prevail againſt it, nor Antichriſt with all his Imps can prove it to be falſe. They may kill and perſecute, but never overcome. Be of good comfort, and fear God more than man. This life is ſhort and miſerable; happy be they that can ſpend it to the glory of God. Pray for me, as I do for you, and commend me to all good Men and Women.* Decemb. 22. Anno 1554.

Your Brother in Chriſt, *John Hooper.*

Heb. 11. Conſolation taken by the Example of ancient Martyrs.

To my dearly Beloved Siſter in the Lord, Mrs. Anne Warcop.

THe Grace of God be with you, *Amen.* I thank you for your loving Token. I pray you burthen not your ſelf too much. It were meet for me rather to bear a pain, than to be a hindrance to many. I did rejoyce at the coming of this Bearer, to underſtand of your Conſtancy, and how that you be fully reſolved, by Gods Grace, rather to ſuffer extremity than to go from the Truth of God which you have profeſſed. He that gave you Grace to begin ſo infallible a Truth, will follow you in the ſame unto the end. But, my loving Siſter, as you be travelling this perillous Journey, take this Leſſon with you, practiſed by wiſe men; whereof you may read in the ſecond of S. *Matthews* Goſpel. Such as travelled to find Chriſt, followed only the Star, and as long as they ſaw it, they were aſſured they were in the right way, and had great mirth in their Journey. But when they entred into *Jeruſalem*, whereas the Star led them not thither, but unto *Bethelem*, and there asked the Citizens the thing that the Star ſhewed before: as long as they tarried in *Jeruſalem*, and would be inſtructed where Chriſt was born; they were not only ignorant of *Bethelem*, but alſo loſt the ſight of the Star that led them before. Whereof we learn, in any caſe, whilſt we be going in this life to ſeek Chriſt that is above, to beware that we loſe not the Star of Gods Word, that only is the mark that ſheweth us where Chriſt is, and which way we may come unto him. But as *Jeruſalem* ſtood in the way, and was an impediment to theſe Wiſe men: ſo doth the Synagogue of Antichriſt, that beareth the name of *Jeruſalem*, which by interpretation is called the Viſion of Peace, and amongſt the People now is called the Catholick Church, ſtand in the way that Pilgrims muſt go by through this world to *Bethelem*, the Houſe of ſaturity and plentifulneſs, and is an impediment to all Chriſtian Travellers; yea, and except the more grace of God be, will keep the Pilgrims ſtill in her, that they ſhall not come where Chriſt is at all. And to ſtay them indeed, they take away the Star of Light, which is Gods Word, that it cannot be ſeen: as you may ſee how the Celeſtial Star was hid from the Wiſe men, when they asked of the Phariſees at *Jeruſalem*, where Chriſt was born. Ye may ſee what great dangers happened unto theſe VViſe men, whilſt they were learning of Liars, where Chriſt was. Firſt, they were out of their way, and next they loſt their Guide and Conductor, the heavenly Star. Chriſt is mounted from us into Heaven, and there we ſeek him (as we ſay) and let us go thitherward by the Star of his VVord, beware we happen not to come into *Jeruſalem*, the Church of Men, and ask for him. If we do, we go out of the way, and loſe alſo our Conductor and Guide that only leadeth us ſtrait thither.

Another Letter written to one *Mrs. Warcop*, by Maſter *Hooper.*

The ſureſt way is ever to follow the Star.

Jeruſalem ſignifieth the Viſion of Peace.

Bethelem ſignifieth the Houſe of Bread or of Saturity.

Chriſt is not to be ſought, nor asked for, but only by the Scrip-

The Poets write in Fables, that *Jaſon*, when he fought with the Dragon in the Iſle of *Colchis*, was preſerved by the Medicines of *Medea*, and ſo wan the Golden Fleece. And they write alſo that *Phaeton*, whom they feign to be the Son and Heir of the high god *Jupiter*, would needs upon a day have the conduction of the Sun round about the VVorld; but, as they feigned, he miſſed of the accuſtomed courſe: whereupon when he went too high, he burned Heaven; and when he went too low, he burned the Earth and the Water. Theſe prophane Hiſtories do ſhame us that be Chriſtian men. *Jaſon* againſt the poyſon of the Dragon uſed only the Medicine of *Medea*. What a ſhame is it for a Chriſtian man againſt the poyſon of the Devil,

Example of *Jaſon* and *Phaeton.*

Anno 1555.

Hereſie and Sin, to uſe any other remedy than Chriſt and his Word? Phaeton, for lack of Knowledge, was afraid of every Sign of the Zodiack, that the Sun paſſeth by: wherefore he went now too low, and now too high, and at length fell down and drowned himſelf in the Sea. Chriſtian men for lack of knowledge, and for fear of ſuch dangers as Chriſtian men muſt needs paſs by, go clean out of order, and at length fall into the Pit of Hell.

Lets in the way to the Kingdom of Heaven.

Siſter, take heed; you ſhall in your Journey towards Heaven meet with many a monſtrous Beaſt: have ſalve of Gods Word therefore ready. You ſhall meet Huſband, Children, Lovers and Friends, that ſhall, if God be not with them (as God be praiſed he is, I would it were with all other alike) be very lets and impediments to your purpoſe. You ſhall meet with ſlander and contempt of the World, and be accounted ungracious and ungodly; you ſhall hear and meet with cruel Tyranny to do you all extremities; you ſhall now and then ſee the troubles of your own Conſcience, and feel your own weakneſs; you ſhall hear that you be curſed by the Sentence of the Catholick Church, with ſuch like Terrors: but pray to God, and follow the Star of his Word, and you ſhall arrive at the Port of eternal Salvation, by the Merits only of Jeſus Chriſt: to whom I commend you and all yours moſt heartily.

Yours in Chriſt, John Hooper.

¶ Unto theſe Letters of M. *Hooper* heretofore recited, we thought not inconvenient to annex alſo another certain Epiſtle, not of *M.Hoopers*, but written to him by a famous Learned man *Henry Bullinger*, chief Superintendent in the City of *Zurick*. Of whoſe ſingular love and tender affection toward M. *Hooper* ye heard before in the beginning of *M.Hoopers* Life diſcourſed. Now how loving he writeth unto him, ye ſhall hear by this preſent Letter, as followeth.

To the moſt Reverend Father, Mr. John Hooper, *Biſhop of* Worceſter *and* Gloceſter, *and now Priſoner for the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, my fellow-Elder, and moſt dear Brother in* England.

A Letter of M. *Bullinger* to M. *Hooper*, tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh.

THE Heavenly Father grant unto you, and to all thoſe which are in Bands and Captivity for his Names ſake, Grace and Peace through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, with wiſdom, patience, and fortitude of the Holy Ghoſt.

I have received from you two Letters, my moſt dear Brother, the former in the Month of *September* of the year paſt, the later in the Month of *May* of this preſent year, both written out of Priſon. But I doubting leſt I ſhould make Anſwer to you in vain, whilſt I feared that my Letters ſhould never come into your hands, or elſe increaſe and double your Sorrow, did refrain from the duty of writing. In the which thing I doubt not but you will have me excuſed, eſpecially ſeeing you did not vouchſafe, no not once in a whole year, to anſwer to my whole Libels rather than Letters, whereas I continued ſtill notwithſtanding in writing unto you: as alſo at this preſent, after I heard you were caſt in Priſon, I did not refrain from continual Prayer, beſeeching our heavenly Father, through our only Mediator Jeſus Chriſt, to grant unto you and to your fellow-Priſoners Faith and Conſtancy unto the end. Now is that thing happened unto you (my Brother) the which we did oftentimes prophecy unto our ſelves, at your being with us, ſhould come to paſs, eſpecially when we did talk of the power of Antichriſt, and of his felicity and victories. For you know the ſaying of *Daniel*, His power ſhall be mighty, but not in his ſtrength, and he ſhall wonderfully deſtroy and make havock of all things, and ſhall proſper and practice, and he ſhall deſtroy the mighty and the holy People after his own will. You know what the Lord warned us of before-hand by *Matthew*, in the 10. Chapter, by *John* in the 15. Chapter, and the 16. and alſo what that choſen Veſſel S. *Paul* hath written in the ſecond of *Timothy* and the third Chapter. Wherefore I do nothing doubt (by Gods Grace) of your Faith and Patience, whilſt you know that thoſe things which you ſuffer are not looked for, or come by chance; but that you ſuffer them in the beſt, trueſt, and moſt holy quarrel: for what can be more true and holy than our Doctrine, which the Papiſts, thoſe worſhippers of Antichriſt, do perſecute? All things touching Salvation we attribute unto Chriſt alone, and to his holy Inſtitutions, as we have been taught of him and of his Diſciples: but they would have even the ſame things to be communicated as well to their Antichriſt, and to his Inſtitutions. Such we ought no leſs to withſtand than we read that *Elias* withſtood the *Baalites*. For if Jeſus be Chriſt, then let them know, that he is the fulneſs of his Church, and that perfectly: but if Antichriſt be King and Prieſt, then let them exhibit unto him that honour. How long do they halt on both ſides? Can they give unto us any one that is better than Chriſt? or who ſhall be equal with Chriſt, that may be compared with him, except it be he whom the Apoſtle calleth the Adverſary? But if Chriſt be ſufficient for his Church, what needeth this patching and piecing? But I know well enough, I need not to uſe theſe Diſputations with you which are ſincerely taught, and have taken root in Chriſt, being perſwaded that you have all things in him, and that we in him are made perfect.

The Doctrine of the Proteſtants what it is, wherefore they are perſecuted.

Ephes. 1. 2 Theſſa. Chriſt is ſufficient, and needs not be patched with the Pope.

Go forwards therefore conſtantly to confeſs Chriſt, and to defie Antichriſt, being mindful of this moſt holy and moſt true ſaying of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; *He that overcometh ſhall poſſeſs all things, and I will be his God and he ſhall be my Son: but the fearful, and the unbelieving, and the murtherers, and whoremongers, and ſorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, ſhall have their part in the Lake which burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecond death.* The firſt Death is ſoon overcome, although a Man muſt burn for the Lords ſake: for they ſay well that do affirm this our Fire to be ſcarcely a ſhadow of that which is prepared for Unbelievers, and them that fall from the Truth. Moreover, the Lord granteth unto us, that we may eaſily overcome by his power the firſt Death, the which he himſelf did taſte and overcome; promiſing withal ſuch Joys as never ſhall have end, unſpeakable, and paſſing all underſtanding, the which we ſhall poſſeſs ſo ſoon as ever we do depart hence. For ſo again ſaith the Angel of the Lord; *If any man worſhip the Beaſt and his Image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or on his hand, the ſame ſhall drink of the wrath of God; yea, of the wine which is poured into the Cup of his wrath, and he ſhall be tormented in fire and brimſtone before the holy Angels, and before the Lamb: and the ſmoak of their Torment ſhall aſcend evermore, and they ſhall have no reſt day nor night which worſhip the Beaſt and his Image, and whoſoever receiveth the print of his Name.* Here is the patience of Saints; here are they that keep the Commandments of God, and the Faith of Jeſus. To this he addeth by and by; *I heard a voice ſaying to me, write, Bleſſed be the Dead that die in the Lord*, from henceforth, or ſpeedily, they be bleſſed, *John 5. even ſo ſaith the Spirit; for they reſt from their labours, but their works follow them: for our labour ſhall not be fruſtrate or in vain.*

Revel 21.

Revel 14. Gods wrath upon the Beaſt, and them that take his Mark.

Therefore ſeeing you have ſuch a large Promiſe, be ſtrong in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faithful to the Lord unto the end: conſider that Chriſt the Son of God is your Captain, and fighteth for you, and that all the Prophets, Apoſtles and Martyrs, are your fellow Souldiers. They that perſecute and trouble us, are Men finful and mortal, whoſe favour a wiſe Man would not buy with the value of a Farthing: and beſides, that our Life is frail, ſhort, brittle and tranſitory. Happy are we, if we depart in the Lord, who grant unto you, and to all your fellow Priſoners, Faith and Conſtancy. Commend me to the moſt Reverend Fathers and holy Confeſſors of Chriſt, Dr. *Cranmer* Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, and the good Old Father Dr. *Latimer*. Them and all the reſt of the Priſoners with you for the Lords Cauſe, ſalute in my name, and in the name of all my fellow Miniſters, the which do ſpeak unto you the Grace of God, and conſtancy in the Truth.

The power of Antichriſt deſcribed in Daniel. ch. 8.

Matth 10. John 15, 16. 2 Tim. 3.

Concerning the ſtate of our Church, it remaineth even as it was when you departed from us into your Country. God grant we may be thankful to him, and that we do not only profeſs the Faith with words, but alſo expreſs the ſame effectually with good works, to the praiſe of

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of our Lord. The Word of God increaſeth daily in that part of *Italy*, that is near unto us, and in *France*.

In the mean while the Godly ſuſtain grievous Perſecutions, and with great conſtancy and glory, through Torments they go unto the Lord. I and all my houſhold, with my Son in law, and Kinſmen, are in good health in the Lord. They do ſalute you, and pray for your conſtancy, being ſorrowful for you and the reſt of the priſoners. There came to us *Engliſhmen* Students, both godly and Learned. They be received of our Magiſtrate. Ten of them dwel together, the reſt remain here and there with good men. Amongſt other, *M. Thomas Lever* is dear unto me, and familiar. If there be any thing wherein I may do any pleaſure to your Wife and Children, they ſhall have me wholly at commandment: whereof I will write alſo to your Wife, for I underſtand ſhe abideth at *Frankford*. Be ſtrong and merry in Chriſt, waiting for his deliverance, when, and in what ſort it ſhall ſeem good unto him. The Lord Jeſus ſhew pity upon the Realm of *England*, and illuminate the ſame with his Holy Spirit, to the glory of his Name, and the ſalvation of Souls. The Lord Jeſus preſerve and deliver you from all evil, with all them that call upon his Name. Farewel, and fare wel Eternally. The 10. of *October*. *Anno* 1554. From *Zurich*,

M. Thomas Lever.

You know the hand, H. B.

The Hiſtory of Doctor Rowland Taylor, *which ſuffered for the truth of Gods Word, under the Tyranny of the Roman Biſhop, Anno* 1555. *The* 9. *day of February*

Hadley Town commended

THe Town of *Hadley* was one of the firſt that received the Word of God in all *England*, at the preaching of Maſter *Thomas Bilney*: by whoſe induſtry the Goſpel of Chriſt had ſuch gracious ſucceſs, and took ſuch root there, that a great number in that Pariſh became exceeding well learned in the Holy Scriptures, as well Women as men, ſo that a man might have found among them many, that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have ſaid a great ſort of S. *Pauls* Epiſtles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly learned ſentence in any matter of controverſie. Their Children and Servants were alſo brought up and trained ſo diligently in the right knowledge of Gods Word, that the whole Town ſeemed rather an Univerſity of the learned, than a Town of Cloth-making or labouring People. And that moſt is to be commended, they were for the more part faithful followers of Gods Word in their living.

Thes. Bilney.

D. *Taylor a* Doctor in both lawes, and a Divine

In this Town was Doctor *Rowland Taylor*, Doctor in both the Civil and Canon Laws, and a right perfect Divine, Parſon. Who at his firſt entring into his Benefice, did not, as the common ſort of Beneficed men do, let out his Benefice to a Farmer, that ſhall gather up the Profits, and ſet in an ignorant unlearned prieſt to ſerve the Cure, and ſo they have the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flock: But contrarily, he for-ſook Archbiſhop of *Canterbury Thomas Cranmer*, with whom he before was in Houſhold, and made his perſonal abode and dwelling in *Hadley* among the People committed to his charge. Where he as a good *Shephard*, abiding and dwelling among his Sheep, gave himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of Holy Scriptures, moſt faithfully endeavouring himſelf to fulfill that Charge, which the Lord gave unto *Peter* ſaying; Peter *loveſt thou me? Feed my Lambs, Feed my Sheep, Feed my ſheep.* This love of Chriſt ſo wrought in him, that no *Sunday* nor Holy-day paſſed, nor other time when he might get the People together, but he preached to them the Word of God, the Doctrine of their ſalvation.

The. Cranmer Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*

A good *Shephard* and his conditions. John 20. Feed with word.

Feed with example.

Not only was his Word a preaching unto them but all his life and converſation was an example of unfeigned Chriſtian life and true holineſs. He was void of all pride, humble and meek, as any Child: ſo that none were ſo poor but they might boldly, as unto their Father, reſort unto him, neither was his Lowlineſs childiſh or fearful, but as occaſion time and place required, he would be ſtout in rebuking the ſinfull and evill Doers, ſo that none was ſo rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with ſuch earneſt and grave rebukes as became a good Curate and Paſtor. He was a man very mild, void of all rancour, grudge or evill will, ready to do good to all men, readily forgiving his enemies, and never ſought to do evill to any.

Feed with alms.

To the poor that where blind, lame, ſick, bedrid, or that had many Children, he was a very Father, a careful Patron, and diligent provider; inſomuch that he cauſed the Pariſhioners to make a general proviſion for them: and he himſelf (beſide the continual relief that they always found at his Houſe) gave an honeſt portion yearly to the common almes box. His Wife alſo an honeſt diſcreet, and ſober Matron, and his Children well nurtured, brought up in the fear of God and good learning.

Comendation of D. *Taylors* Wife and his Children.

To conclude, he was a right and lively image or pattern of all thoſe vertuous qualities deſcribed by S. *Paul* in a true Biſhop, a good ſalt of the earth, ſavourly biting the corrupt manners of evil men, a light in Gods Houſe ſet upon a Candleſtick for all good men to imitate and follow.

Thus continued this good *Shephard* among his flock, governing and leading them thorow the wilderneſs of this wicked World, all the days of the moſt innocent and Holy King of bleſſed memory, *Edward* the ſixth. But after it pleaſed God to take King *Edward* from this vale of miſery unto his moſt bleſſed reſt, the Papiſts, who ever ſembled and diſſembled, both with King *Henry* the eighth, and King *Edward* his Son, now ſeeing the time convenient for their purpoſe uttered their falſe hypocriſie, openly refuſing all good reformation made by the ſaid two moſt godly Kings: and contrary to that they had all theſe two Kings days preached, taught, written and ſworn, they violently overthrew the true Doctrin of the Goſpel, and perſecuted with ſword and fire all thoſe that would not agree to receive again the *Roman* Biſhop as Supream Head of the *Univerſal* Church, and allow all the Errors, Superſtitions, and Idolatries, that before by Gods Word were diſproved and juſtly condemned, as though now they were good Doctrin, vertuous, and true Religion.

The Papiſts and their nature

In the beginning of this rage of Antichriſt, a certain pettie Gentleman after the ſort of a Lawyer, called *Foſter*, being a Steward and Keeper of Courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter perſecutor in thoſe days, with one *John Clerk* of *Hadley*, which *Foſter* had ever been a ſecret favourer of all Romiſh Idolatry, conſpired with the ſaid *Clerk* to bring in the Pope and his maumetrie again into *Hadley* Church. For as yet D. *Taylor*, as a good *Shephard*, had retained and kept in his Church the godly Church Service and Reformation made by K. *Edward*, and moſt faithfully and earneſtly preached againſt the Popiſh corruptions, which had infected the whole Countrey round about.

Foſter a Lawyer, and *John Clerk* of *Hadley*, two notorious Papiſts

Therefore the foreſaid *Foſter* and *Clerk* hired one *John Averth*, Parſon of *Aldam*, a very money Mammoniſt, a blind leader of the blind, a Popiſh *Idolater*, and an open Advouterer and Whoremonger, a very fit Miniſter for their purpoſe to come to *Hadley*, and there to give the onſet to begin again the Popiſh Maſs.

John Averth a right Popiſh Prieſt

To this purpoſe they builded up with all haſt poſſible the Altar, intending to bring in their Maſs again, about the *Palm Monday*. But this their device took none effect: for in the night the Altar was beaten down. Wherefore they built it up again the ſecond time, and laid diligent watch, leſt any ſhould again break it down.

Mark how unwilling the People were to receive the Papacy again.

On the day following came *Foſter* and *John Clerk*, bringing with them their Popiſh Sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments to play his Popiſh pageant, whom they and their men guarded with ſwords and bucklers, leſt any man ſhould diſturb him in his Miſſall Sacrifice.

When Doctor *Taylor*, who (according to his cuſtom) ſat at his book ſtudying the Word of God, heard the Bels ring, he aroſe and went into the Church, ſuppoſing ſomething had been there to be done, according to his Paſtoral office: and comming to the Church, he found the Church Doors ſhut and faſt barred, ſaving the Chancel door, which was only latched. Where he entring in, and coming in the Chancel, ſaw a Popiſh Sacrificer in his

D. *Taylors* cuſtom to ſtudy

Maſs brought into *Hadley* with ſwords and bucklers

robes, with a broad new ſhaven Crown, ready to begin his Popiſh ſacrifice, beſet round about with drawn ſwords and bucklers, leaſt any man ſhould approach to diſturb him.

D. *Taylor* rebuketh the Divel. The Papiſts call all their trumpery, the Queens proceedings. For you muſt remember that Antichriſt reigneth by another arm and not by his own power. Read *Daniel*, of the King of Faces, the 8. Chapter. D. *Taylor* there playeth a right *Elias* 3 *Reg.* 18.

Then ſaid Doctor *Taylor*, Thou Divel, who made thee ſo bold to enter into this Church of Chriſt to prophane and defile it with this abominable Idolatry? With that ſtart up *Foſter*, and with an irefull and furious countenance ſaid to Doctor *Taylor*; Thou Traitor, what doeſt thou here, to let and diſturb the Queens proceedings? Doctor Taylor anſwered, I am no Traitor, but I am the *Shephard* that God my Lord Chriſt hath appointed to feed this his flock: wherefore I have good Authority to be here; and I command thee thou Popiſh Wolf, in the Name of God to avoid hence, and not to preſume here with ſuch Popiſh Idolatry to poiſon Chriſts flock.

Then ſaid *Foſter*, Wilt thou traitorouſly, Heretick, make a commotion, and reſiſt violently the Queens proceedings?

D. *Taylor* anſwerd, I make no commotion, but it is you Papiſts that make commotions and Tumults. I reſiſt onely with Gods Word againſt your Popiſh Idolatries, which are againſt Gods Word, the Queens honour, and tend to the utter ſubverſion of this Realm of *England*. And further, thou doſt againſt the law, which commandeth, that no Maſs be ſaid but at a conſecrate Altar.

When the Parſon of *Aldam* heard that, he began to ſhrink back, and would have left his ſaying of Maſs: then ſtart up *John Clerk*, and ſaid, Maſter *Averth*; be not affraid, you have a "*ſuperaltare*, Goe forth with your buſineſs man.

"*Super altare* is a ſtone conſecrated by the Biſhops, commonly of a foot long, which the Papiſts carry inſtead of an altar, when they Maſs for mony in Gentlemens houſes.

Then *Foſter*, with his armed men, took D. *Taylor*, and led him with ſtrong hand out of the Church, and the Popiſh Prelate proceeded in his Romiſh Idolatry. D. *Taylors* Wife, who followed her Husband into the Church, when ſhe ſaw her Huſband thus violently thruſt out of his Church, ſhe kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice ſaid; I beſeech God the righteous Judge to avenge this injury, that this Popiſh Idolater to this day doth to the Blood of Chriſt. Then they thruſt her out of the Church alſo, and ſhut the Doors; for they feared that the People would have rent their Sacrificer in pieces. Notwithſtanding one or two threw in great ſtones at the Windows, and miſſed very little the Popiſh Maſſer.

The Papiſts Arguments wherewith they Maintain their Doctrin.

Thus you ſee, how without conſent of the People the Popiſh Maſs was again ſet up with battel array, with ſwords and bucklers, with violence and Tyranny: which practice the Papiſts have ever yet uſed. As for reaſon, law, or Scripture, they have none on their part. Therefore they are the ſame that ſay; *The law of unrighteouſneſs is your ſtrength: Come, let us oppreſs the righteous without any fear, &c.*

Within a day or two after, with all haſt poſſible, this *Foſter* and *Clerk* made a complaint of D. *Taylor*, by a letter written to Ste. *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and L. *Chancellor*.

D. *Taylor* cited by a letter miſſive

When the Biſhop heard this, he ſent a letter miſſive to D. *Taylor*, commanding him within certain days to come and to appear before him upon his allegiance, to anſwer ſuch complaints as were made againſt him.

When Doctor *Taylors* friends heard of this they were exceeding ſorry and agrieved in mind: which when foreſeeing to what end the ſame matter would come, ſeeing alſo all Truth and Juſtice were trodden under foot, and falſhood with cruel Tyranny were ſet aloft and ruled all the whole rout: his friends, I ſay, came to him and earneſtly counſelled him to depart and fly, alledging and declaring unto him, that he could neither be indifferently heard to ſpeak his conſcience and mind, nor yet look for Juſtice or favor at the ſaid Chancellors hands, who, as it was well known, was moſt fierce and cruel; but muſt needs (if he went up to him) wait for impriſonment and cruel death at his hands.

D. Taylors Friend would have him to flie.

The valiant courage of D. *Taylor* in Chriſts cauſe.

Then ſaid D. *Taylor* to his friends, Dear friends, I moſt heartily thank you, for that you have ſo tender a care over me. And although I know that there is neither Juſtice nor Truth to be looked for at my Adverſaries hands, but rather impriſonment and cruel death: yet know I my cauſe to be ſo good and righteous, and the truth ſo ſtrong upon my ſide, that I will by Gods grace go and appear before them, and to their beards reſiſt their falſe doing.

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Then ſaid his friends, Maſter Doctor, we think it not beſt ſo to do. You have ſufficiently done your duty, and teſtified the truth both by your godly Sermons, and alſo in reſiſting the Parſon of *Aldam*, with other that came hither to bring again the Popiſh Maſs. And foraſmuch as our Saviour Chriſt willeth and biddeth us, that when thy perſecute us in one City, we ſhould fly into another: we think, in flying at this time ye ſhould do beſt, keeping your ſelf againſt another time, when the Church ſhall have great need of ſuch diligent Teachers, and godly Paſtors. Mat. 10.

Oh (quoth D. *Taylor*) what will ye have me to do? I am old, and have already lived too long to ſee theſe terrible and moſt wicked days. Fly you, and do as your conſcience leadeth you; I am fully determined (with Gods grace) to go to the Biſhop, and to his beard to tell him that he doth naught, God ſhall well hereafter raiſe up Teachers of his People, which ſhall with much more diligence and fruit teach them, than I have done. For God will not forſake his Church, though now for a time he trieth and correcteth us, and not without a juſt cauſe. D. *Taylor* refuſeth to fly.

As for me, I believe before God, I ſhall never be able to do God ſo good ſervice, as I may do now; nor I ſhall ever have ſo glorious a calling as I now have, nor ſo great mercy of God profered me, as is now at this preſent. For what Chriſtian man would not gladly dye againſt the Pope and his Adherents? I know that the Papacy is the Kingdom of Antichriſt, altogether full of Lies, altogether full of falſhood, ſo that all their Doctrin, even from Chriſts Croſs be my ſpeed, and Saint *Nicholas* unto the end of their Apocalypſe, is nothing but Idolatry, Superſtition, Errors, Hypocriſie and Lies. The Papacie a Kingdom of lyes.

Wherefore I beſeech you, and all other my friends, to pray for me, and I doubt not but God will give me ſtrength and his Holy Spirit, that all mine Adverſaries ſhall have ſhame of their doings.

When his friends ſaw him ſo conſtant, and fully determined to go, they with weeping eyes commended him unto God; and he within a day or two prepared himſelf to his Journey, leaving his Cure with a godly old Prieſt, named Sir *Richard Yeoman*, who afterwards for Gods Truth was burnt at *Norwich*. Sir Richard Yeoman, D. *Taylors* Curate and Martyr of Chriſt.

There was alſo in *Hadley* one *Alcocke*, a very godly man, well learned in the Holy Scriptures, who after Sir *Rich Yeoman* was driven away) uſed daily to read a Chapter, and to ſay the Engliſh *Litany* in *Hadley* Church But him they fetcht up to *London*, and caſt him in priſon in *Newgate*; where after a years impriſonment he died. *John Alcock* of Hadley troubled for Gods truth, and died in priſon.

But let us return to Doctor *Taylor* again, who being accompanied with a ſervant of his own, named *John Hull*, took his Journey towards *London*. By the way, this *John Hull* laboured to Counſel and perſwade him very earneſtly to fly, and not come to the Biſhop, and profered himſelf to go with him to ſerve him, and in all perils to venture his life for him, and with him. D. *Taylors* journey. *John Hull* a faithful Servant to D. *Taylor*.

But in no wiſe would Doctor *Taylor* conſent or agree thereunto, but ſaid, Oh *John*, ſhall I give place to this thy counſil and Worldly perſwaſion, and leave my flock in this danger? Remember the good Shepheard Chriſt, which not alone fed his flock, but alſo died for his flock. Him muſt I follow, and with Gods grace will do, D. *Taylor* examined to lie, but he ſet ted to do

Therefore good *John* pray for me and if thou ſeeſt me weak at any time, comfort me, and diſcourage me not in this my godly enterpriſe and purpoſe. Thus they came up to *London*, and ſhortly after D. *Taylor* preſented himſelf to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter Steven Gardiner*, then Lord Chancelor of *England*. The firſt meeting between Winchester and D. Taylor.

For this hath been one great abuſe in *England* theſe many years that ſuch offices as have been of moſt importance and weight, have commonly been committed to Biſhops and other ſpiritual men, whereby a diveliſh miſchiefs and inconveniences have hapned in this Realm, to the great diſhonour of God, and utter neglecting of the flock of Chriſt; the which three be theſe. A generation in England and three miſchiefs coming thereof. The firſt miſchief.

Firſt, they have had ſmall leiſure to attend to their Paſtoral Cures, which thereby have been utterly neglected and undone.

Secondly,

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Secondly, it hath alſo puft up many Biſhops and other ſpritual perſons into ſuch haughtineſs and pride, that they have thought no Noble man in the Realm worthy to be their equal and fellow.

The third miſchief.

Thirdly, where they by this means knew the very ſecrets of Princes, they being in ſuch high offices, have cauſed the ſame to be known in *Rome*, afore the Kings could accompliſh and bring their intents to paſs in *England*. By this means hath the Papacy been ſo maintained, and things ordered after their wils and pleaſures, that much miſchief hath happened in this Realm and others, ſomtime to the Deſtruction of Princes, and ſometime to the utter undoing of many Commonwealths.

Now when *Gardiner* ſaw Dr. *Taylor*, he according to his common cuſtom, all to reviled him, calling him Knave, Traitor, Heretick, with many other villanous reproaches; which all Dr. *Taylor* heard patiently, and at the laſt ſaid unto him:

Dr *Taylors* patience and magnanimity.

My Lord; quoth he, I am neither Traitor nor Heretick, but a true Subject, and a faithful Chriſtian man, and am come, according to your commandment, to know what is the cauſe that your Lordſhip hath ſent for me.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, Art thou come, thou Villain? How dareſt thou look me in the face for ſhame? Knoweſt thou not who I am?

Steven Gardiners Lordly looks.

Yes, quoth Dr. *Taylor*, I know who you are. Ye are Doctor *Steven Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Chancellor, and yet but a Mortal man I trow. But if I ſhould be affraid of your Lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare ye for ſhame look any Chriſtian man in the face, ſeeing ye have forſaken the Truth, denied our Saviour Chriſt and his word and done contrary to your own Oath and writing? With what countenance will ye appear before the Judgment ſeat of Chriſt, and anſwer to your Oath made firſt unto that bleſſed K. *Henry* the eighth of famous Memory, and afterward unto bleſſed King *Edward* the ſixth his Son?

The notable anſwer of Dr. *Taylor* to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

Herods oath. Here the Biſhop confeſſeth unlawful oaths ought not to be kept.

The Biſhop anſwered, Tuſh, tuſh, that was *Herods* Oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God, I am come home again to our Mother the Catholik Church of *Rome*, and ſo I would thou ſhouldeſt do.

Dr. *Taylor* anſwered, Should I forſake the Church of Chriſt, which is founded upon the true foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, to approve thoſe Lies, Errours, Superſtition and Idolatries, that the Popes and their company at this day ſo blaſphemouſly do approve? Nay, God forbid.

The true Church of Chriſt, whereunto all men ought to [illegible].

Let the Pope and his return to our Saviour Chriſt and his word, and thruſt out of the Church ſuch abominable Idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will Chriſtian men turn unto him. You wiote truly againſt him, and were ſworn againſt him.

I tell thee, quoth the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, it was *Herods* Oath, unlawful; and therfore ought to be broken, and not kept: and our holy Father the Pope hath diſcharged me of it.

Chriſt will require lawfull oaths and promiſes.

Then ſaid D. *Taylor*, But you ſhall not ſo be diſcharged before Chriſt, who doubtleſs will require it at your hands, as a lawful Oath made to our Leige and Soveraign Lord the King, from whoſe obedience no man can aſſoile you, neither the Pope nor any of his.

Gardiner againſt railing. Railing words become not a Magiſtrate. *Mat.* 5.

I ſee, quoth the Biſhop, thou art an *Arrogant* Knave, and a very fool.

My Lord, quoth Doctor *Taylor*, leave your unſeemly railing at mee, which is not ſeemly for ſuch an one in Authority as you are. For I am a Chriſtian man, and you know, that *he that ſaith to his Brother*, Racha, *is in danger of a Councel, and he that ſaith*, Thou Fool, *is in danger of Hell Fire.*

The Biſhop anſwered, Ye are falſe, and lyars all the ſort of you. Nay quoth Doctor *Taylor*, we are true men, and know that it is written, *Os quod mentitur, occidit animam:* And again, *Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium*, i. The mouth that lieth, ſlayeth the ſoul: And again, Lord God thou ſhalt deſtroy all that ſpeak Lies. And therefore we abide by the truth of Gods Word which ye contrary to your own conſciences deny and forſake.

Marriage obiected to D. *Taylor*. Marriage defended.

Thou art married (quoth the Biſhop.) Yea, (quoth Doctor *Taylor*) that I thank God I am, and have nine Children, and all in lawful Matrimony, and bleſſed be God that ordained Matrimony and commanded that every man, that hath not the gift of continency, ſhould Marry a Wife of his own, and not live in Adultery or Whoredom.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, Thou haſt reſiſted the Queens proceedings, and wouldeſt not ſuffer the Parſon of *Aldam*, a very vertuous and devout Prieſt, to ſay Maſs in *Hadley*. Dr. *Taylor* anſwered, My Lord, I am Parſon of *Hadley*, and it is againſt all Right, Conſcience and Laws, that any man ſhould come into my charge, and preſume to infect the Flock committed unto me, with venom of the Popiſh Idolatrous Maſs.

One Idolater holdeth with another

With that the Biſhop waxed very angry, and ſaid, Thou art a blaſphemous Heretick indeed, that blaſphemeſt the bleſſed Sacrament (and put off his cap) and ſpeakeſt againſt the holy Maſs, which is made a Sacrifice for the quick and the dead. Dr. *Taylor* anſwered, Nay, I blaſpheme not the bleſſed Sacrament which Chriſt inſtituted, but I reverence it is as a true Chriſtan man ought to do, and confeſs, that Chriſt ordained the holy Communion in the remembrance of his death and paſſion, which when we keep according to his ordinance, we (through faith) eat the Body of Chriſt, and drink his Blood, giving thanks for our redemption, and this is our Sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give thanks for his merciful goodneſs ſhewed to us, in that he gave his Son Chriſt unto the death for us.

The Maſs.

The Comunion.

The true ſacrifice for the quick and dead what it is.

Thou ſayſt well (quoth the Biſhop,) It is all that thou haſt ſaid, and more too; for it is a propitiatory Sacrifice for the quick and the dead. Then anſwered Dr. *Taylor*, Chriſt gave himſelf to die for our redemption upon the Croſs, whoſe Body there offered was the propitiatory Sacrifice full, prefect and ſufficient unto Salvation for all them that believe in him. And this Sacrifice did our Saviour Chriſt offer in his own perſon himſelf once for all, neither can any Prieſt any more offer him; nor we need any more propitiatory Sacrifice; and therefore I ſay with Chryſoſtom, and all the Doctors: Our Sacrifice is only Memorative, in the remembrance of Chriſts death and paſſion, a Sacrifice of thankſgiving; and therefore the Fathers called it *Euchariſtia:* And other Sacrifice hath the Church of God none.

Propitiatory Sacrifice offered never more than once. Our Sacrifice is only Memorative.

It is true, quoth the Biſhop, the Sacrament is called *Euchariſtia*, a thankſgiving, becauſe we there give thanks for our redemption, and it is alſo a Sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, which thou ſhalt confeſs e're thou and I have done. Then called the Biſhop his men, and ſaid, Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the *Kings Bench*, and charge the Keeper he be ſtreightly kept.

Wincheſters ſtrong argument, Carry him to priſon.

D. *Taylors* prayer againſt the Pope and his deteſtable enormities.

Then kneeled Dr. *Taylor* down, and held up both his hands, and ſaid, Good Lord I thank thee; and from the Tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and all his deteſtable errours, Idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us: And God be praiſed for good King *Edward*. So they carried him to priſon to the *Kings Bench* where might he lay priſoner almoſt two years.

This is the ſum of that firſt talk, as I ſaw it mentioned in a Letter that Dr. *Taylor* wrote to a friend of his, thanking God for his grace, that he had confeſſed his Truth, and was found worthy for Truth to ſuffer priſon and bands, beſeeching his friends to pray for him, that he perſevere conſtant unto the end.

The godly behaviour and converſation of D. *Taylor* in priſon.

Being in priſon, Doctor *Taylor* ſpent all his time in prayer, reading the holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching, and exhorting the priſoners, and ſuch as reſorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Priſons turned into Churches and Churches into dens of Theeves.

Within a few days after, were divers other learned and godly men in ſundry countries of *England* committed to priſon for Religion, ſo that almoſt all the priſons in *England* where become right Chriſtian Schools and Churches; ſo that there was no greater comfort for Chriſtian hearts, than to come to the priſons to behold their vertuous converſation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, moſt godly exhortations, and conſolations.

Now were placed in Churches blind and ignorant Maſs mongers, with their Latin bablings and Apiſh ceremonies; who like cruel Wolves ſpared not

to

to murther all ſuch, as any thing at all but once whiſpered againſt their Popery. As for the godly Preachers which were in King Edwards time, they were either fled the Realm, or elſe as the Prophets did in King *Achabs* days, they were privily kept in corners. As many as the Papiſts could lay hold on, they were ſent into priſon, there as Lambs waiting when the Butchers would call them to the ſlaughter.

The lamentable diſtreſs of Gods true Worſhippers in thoſe days.

John *Bradford* and D. *Taylor* priſon-fellows in the Kings Bench.

When Doctor *Taylor* was come into the priſon called the *Kings Bench* he found therein the vertuous and vigilant Preacher of Gods Word, M. *Bradford*; which man for his innocent and godly living, his devout and vertuous preaching, was worthily counted a miracle of our time, as even his Adverſaries muſt needs confeſs. Finding this man in priſon, he began to exhort him to faith, ſtrength and patience, and to perſevere conſtant unto the end. M. *Bradford* hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him ſuch a comfortable priſon-fellow: and ſo they both together lauded God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one the other: Inſomuch that Doctor *Taylor* told his friends that came to viſit him, that God had moſt graciouſly provided for him, to ſend him to that priſon where he found ſuch an Angel of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

Doctor Taylor *brought forth to be deprived.*

After that Doctor *Taylor* had lain in priſon a while, he was cited to appear in the Arches at *Bow*-Church, to anſwer unto ſuch matter as there ſhould be objected againſt him. At the day appointed he was led thither, his Keeper waiting upon him. Where when he came, he ſtoutly and ſtrongly defended his Marriage, affirming by the Scriptures of God, by the Doctors of the Primitive Church, by both Laws Civill and Canon, that it is lawful for Prieſts to Marry, and that ſuch as have not the gift of continency are bound in pain of Damnation to marry. This did he ſo plainly prove, that the Judge could give no ſentence of Divorce againſt him, but gave ſentence he ſhould be deprived of his Benefice, becauſe he was Married

D. *Taylor* defendeth Marriage of Prieſts.

D *Taylor* deprived of his Benefice becauſe of his Marriage.

You do me wrong then (quoth Doctor *Taylor*) and alledged many Laws and Conſtitutions for himſelf, but all prevailed not. For he was again carried into priſon, and his Livings taken away, and given to other. As for *Hadley* Benefice, it was given or ſold, I wot not whether, to one Maſter *Newealle*, whoſe great vertues were altogether unlike to Doctor *Taylor* his predeceſſor, as the poor Pariſhioners full well have found.

Doctor Taylor *brought again before* Wincheſter, *and other Biſhops.*

The Papiſts rule and reign.

After a Year and three Quarters, or there about, in the which time, the Papiſts got certain old Tyranous Laws, which were put down by King *Henry* the Eighth; and by King *Edward*, to be again revived by Parliament: ſo that now they might, *Ex officio*, cite whom they would, upon their own ſuſpition, and charge him with what Articles they luſted, and except they in all things agreed to their purpoſe, burn them: When theſe Laws were once eſtabliſhed, they ſent for Doctor *Taylor* with certain other priſoners, which were again conuented before the Chancellor and other Commiſſioners about the 22. of *January*. The purport and effect of which talk between them, becauſe it is ſufficiently deſcribed by himſelf in his own Letter written to a friend of his, I have annexed the ſaid Letter here under, as followeth.

A Letter of Dr. Taylor, *conteining and reporting the talk had between him and the Lord Chancellor and other Commiſſioners the* 22. *of* January.

WHereas you would have me to write the talke between the King and Queens moſt Honourable Council and me on Tueſday, 22. *of* January, *ſo far as I remember: Firſt, my L. Chancellor ſaid, You among other are at this preſent time ſent for, to enjoy the Kings and Queens* Majeſties *favour and mercy, if you will now riſe again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this Realm, from the which (God be praied) we are now clearly delivered, miraculouſly. If you will not riſe with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you ſhall have Judgement according to your demerit. To this I anſwered, that ſo to riſe, ſhould be the greateſt fall that ever I could receive: for I ſhould ſo fall from my dear Saviour Chriſt to Antichriſt. For I do believe, that the Religion ſet forth in King* Edwards *days, was according to the vein of the Holy Scripture, which containeth fully all the rules of our Chriſtian Religion, from the which I do not intend to decline ſo long as I live, by Gods grace.*

The pardon is proffered.

Anno 1555.

Note this anſwer.

The Religion ſet forth in K. *Edwards* days.

Then Maſter Secretary Bourn *ſaid, Which of the Religions mean ye of in King* Edwards *days? For ye know there were diverſe Books of Religion ſet forth in his days. There was a Religion ſet forth in a Catechiſm by my Lord of* Canterbury. *Do you mean that you will ſtick to that?*

Secretary Bourn cavilleth againſt the Religion ſet forth in K. *Edwards* days.

I anſwered, My Lord of Canterbury *made a Catechiſm to be tranſlated into Engliſh, which Book was not of his own making: yet he ſet it forth in his own name; and truly that Book for the time did much good. But there was after that ſet forth by the moſt innocent King* Edward *(for whom God be praiſed everlaſtingly) the whole Church-ſervice, with great deliberation, and the advice of the beſt learned men in the Realm, and authoriſed by the whole Parliament, and received and publiſhed gladly by the whole Realm: which Book was never reformed but once, and yet by that one reformation it was ſo fully perfected, according to the rules of our Chriſtian Religion in every behalf, that no Chriſtian conſcience could be offended with any thing therein contained; I mean of that Book reformed.*

A teſtimony of the book of Service ſet out in K. Edwards days.

Then my Lord Chancellour ſaid, Didſt thou never read the Book that I ſet forth of the Sacrament?

I anſwered, that I had read it.

Then he ſaid, How likeſt thou that Book? With that one of the Council (whoſe name I know not) ſaid, My Lord, that is a good queſtion: for I am ſure, that Book ſtoppeth all their mouths. Then ſaid I, My Lord, I think many things be far wide from the truth of Gods Word in that Book.

His right name might be Sir John Clawback.

Then my Lord ſaid, Thou art a very varlet. To that I anſwered, That is as ill as Racha *or* Fame. *Then my Lord ſaid, Thou art an ignorant Beetle-brow.*

Matth 5.

To that I anſwered, I have read over and over again the holy Scriptures, and S. Auguſtines *works through, S.* Cyprian, Euſebius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzene, *with divers other Booоks through; once therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Beſides theſe, my Lord, I profeſſed the Civil Laws, as your Lordſhip did, and I have read over the* Canon *Law alſo.*

D. *Taylor* learned in Diviniry, and alſo in the Civil law.

Then my Lord ſaid, With a corrupt Judgement thou readeſt all things: Touching my profeſſion, it is Divinity, in which I have written divers Books. Then ſaid I, My Lord, ye did write one Book, De vera obedientia; *I would you had been conſtant in that: for indeed you never did declare a good conſcience that I heard of, but in that one Book.*

Gardiners book *de vera obedientia.*

Then my Lord ſaid, Tut, tut, tut, I wrote againſt Bucer *in Prieſts Marriages: but ſuch Books pleaſe not ſuch wretches as thou art; which haſt been Married many yeers.*

To that I anſwered, I am Married indeed, and I have had nine Children in Holy Matrimony, I thank God: and this I am ſure of, that your proceedings now at this preſent in this Realm againſt Prieſts Marriages, is the maintenance of the Doctrine of Divels, againſt Natural law, Civil law, Canon law, general Councils, Canons of the Apoſtles, ancient Doctors, and Gods Laws.

Prieſts Marriage confirmed by D. Taylor.

Then ſpake my Lord of Dureſm, *ſaying, You have profeſſed the Civil law, as you ſay. Then you know that* Juſtinian *writeth, that Prieſts ſhould at their taking of Orders ſwear, that they were never Married; and he bringeth in to prove that,* Canones Apoſtolorum.

To that I anſwered, That I did not remember any ſuch law of Juſtiniam. *But I am ſure, that* Juſtiniam *writeth in* Titulo de indicta viduitate, *in God. That if one would bequeath to his Wife in his Teſtament a legacie, under a condition that ſhe ſhould never Marry again, and take an oath of her for accompliſhing the ſame, yet ſhe may Marry again*

Juſtinians law approveth Matriage, and condemneth oths againſt it

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again if he die, notwithſtanding the aforeſaid Conditions, and Oath taken and made againſt Marriage: and an Oath is another manner of Obligation made to God, than is a Papiſtical Vow made to man.

Tonſtal throughly anſwered by the Civil law.

Moreover, in the Pandects it is contained, that if a man doth manumit his Handmaid, under a condition that ſhe ſhall never marry; yet ſhe may marry, and her Patron ſhall loſe Jus Patronatus, *for his adding of the unnatural and unlawful Condition againſt Matrimony.*

Then my Lord Chancellor ſaid, Thou ſayeſt that Prieſts may be married by Gods Law. How proveſt thou that?

Scripture approveth Prieſts Marriage, but the Pope muſt be heard before the Scripture. Chryſoſtom calleth it an Hereſie to ſay that a Prieſt may not be Married.

I anſwered, By the plain words and ſentences of S. Paul. *both to* Timothy, *and to* Titus, *where he ſpeaks moſt evidently of the Marriage of Prieſts, Deacons and Biſhops. And* Chryſoſtom *writing upon the Epiſtle to* Timothy, *ſaith, It is an Hereſie to ſay that a Biſhop may not be Married.*

Then ſaid my Lord Chancellor, Thou Lieſt of Chryſoſtom. *But thou doſt, as all they Companions do be-ly ever without ſhame both the Scriptures and the Doctors. Didſt thou not alſo ſay, that by the Canon Law Prieſts may be Married? which is moſt untrue, and the contrary is moſt True.*

Canon Law approveth Prieſts Marriages.

I anſwered, We read in the Decrees, that the four general Councels, Nicene, *Conſtantinopolitane Epheſine* Chalcedone *have the ſame Authority that the four* Evangeliſts *have. And we read in the ſame Decrees (which is one of the chief books of the* Canon *Law) that the Councel of* Nice, *by the means of one* Paphnutius, *did allow Prieſts and Biſhops Marriages: Therefore by the beſt part of the* Canon *Law, Prieſts may be Married.*

Winchester believeth the Councel

Then my Lord Chancellor, ſaid Thou falſifieſt the generall Councell. For there is expreſs mention in the ſaid decree, that Prieſts ſhould be divorced from their wives, which be married.

Then ſaid I, if thoſe words be there, as you ſay, then am I content to loſe this great head of mine, Let the book be fetched.

Tonſtal helpeth Winchester at need.

Then ſpake my Lord of Dureſme; Though they be not there, yet they may be in Eccleſiaſtica Hiſtoria, *which* Euſebius *wrote, out of which book the Decree was taken.*

To that ſaid I, It is not like that the Pope would leave out any ſuch ſentence, having ſuch Authority, and making ſo much for his purpoſe.

Then my Lord Chancellor ſaid, Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to ſnatch up ſuch a patch as maketh for thy purpoſe.

I anſwered, my Lord, I cannot but marvel that you do call one of the chief Papiſts that ever was, but a patcher.

Gardiner denieth his own Canoniſts and calleth them patched law

Then my Lord Chancellor ſaid, Nay I call thee a ſnatcher and patcher. To make an end, Wilt thou not return again with us to the Catholick Church; and wiſh that he roſe.

And I ſaid, by Gods grace I will never depart from Chriſts Church. Then I required that I might have ſome of my friends to come to me in priſon: and my Lord Chancellor ſaid, Thou ſhalt have Judgment within this week: and ſo was I delivered again unto my Keeper. My Lord of Dureſme *would that I ſhould believe as my Father and my Mother did. I alledged S.* Auguſtin, *that we ought to prefer Gods Word before all men.*

Dr. Taylor ſent again to priſon

And thus much was contained in the foreſaid letter of Dr. *Taylor* for that matter.

Beſides this Letter, moreover he directed another writing in like manner to another friend of his concerning the cauſes wherefore he was condemned, which we thought likewiſe here to expreſs as followeth.

The Copie of another Letter to his friend touching his Aſſertions of the Marriage of Prieſts, and other cauſes for the which he was condemned.

The Biſhop of Winchester and his fellowsproved to be open Hereticks by Scripture and by the true Definition of Hereſie.

IT is Hereſie to defend any Doctrine againſt the holy Scripture. Therefore the Lord Chancellor and Biſhops conſenting to his ſentence againſt me, be Hereticks. For they have given ſentence againſt the Marriage of Prieſts, knowing that St. *Paul* to *Timothy* and *Titus* writeth plainly, that Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons may be married; knowing alſo that, by S. *Pauls* Doctine it is the Doctine of Divels to inhibit Matrimony. And S. Paul willeth every faithful Miniſter to teach the People ſo, leſt they be deceived by the marked Merchants, 1 *Tim.* 4. B *Tim.* 4.

Biſhops ſin againſt their own Conſcience and that for 9. or 10. cauſes

Theſe Biſhops are not ignorant, that it is not onely Saint *Pauls* Counſel, and lawful, but Gods commandment alſo to marry, for ſuch as cannot otherwiſe live chaſt, neither avoid fornication.

They know that ſuch as do marry do not ſin. 1 *Cor.* 7.

They know that God, before ſin was, ordained Matrimony, and that in Paradiſe, between two of his principal Creatures, Man and Woman. *Gen.* 2.

They know what ſpirit they have, which ſay it is evill to marry (ſeeing God ſaid, It is not good for Man to be alone without a Wife) having no ſpecial gift, contrary to the general commandment and ordinance, divers times repeated in the book of *Geneſis*, which is, To Increaſe and Multiply. *Gen.* 1.

Marriage is no impediment for a good man to walk in the obedience of Gods commandment

They know that *Abraham* carried into the Land of *Canaan* his old and yet Barren Wife, the Vertuous Woman *Sara* with him, leaving Father and Mother, and Countrey the while, at Gods commandment. For though Father and Mother and other Friends are dear and near, yet none are ſo dearly and nearly joyned together, as Man and Wife in Matrimony, which muſt needs be holy, for that is a figure and ſimilitude of Chriſt and his Church. *Gen.* 12.

They know that S. *Paul* giveth a great praiſe to Matrimony, calling it honourable, and that not only to and among many, but to and among all men without exception, whoſoever have need of that Gods remedy, for Mans and Womans infirmity. *Epheſ.* 5. *Heb.* 14.

They know that if there were any Sin in Matrimony, it were chiefly to be thought to be in the Bed-company. But S. *Paul* ſaith, that the Bed-company is undefiled.

They know that the having of a Wife was not an impediment for *Abraham*, *Moſes*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *David*, &c. to talk with God, neither to the Levites, Biſhops, and Prieſts office in the time of the old Teſtament or the new. Gen. 18. Exod. 18. Gen. 25. Gen. 31. 2 Reg. 7. Matth. 1.

They know that Chriſt would not be conceived, or born of his bleſſed Mother, the Virgin *Mary*, before ſhe was eſpouſed in Marriage, his own ordinance.

It is Hereſie to deny Prieſts Marriage. *Chryſoſtom.*

They know, by S. *Cyprian* and S. *Auguſtin*, that a Vow is not an impediment ſufficient to let Matrimony or to divorce the ſame.

Ambroſe 3. *Quæ integri-tas.*

They know that S. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, it is Hereſie to affirm that a Biſhop may not have a Wife.

They know that *Ambroſe* will have no commandment but Counſel only to be given, touching the obſerving of Virginity.

They know that Chriſt with his bleſſed Mother and the Apoſtles were at a Marriage, and beautified and honoured the ſame with his preſence, and firſt miracle.

To be ſhort, they know that all that I have here written touching the Marriage of Prieſts, is true: and they know that the Papiſts themſelves do not obſerve, touching that matter, their own Laws and Canons, and yet they continue marked in conſcience with an hot-iron, as deteſtable Hereticks in this behalf. The Lord give them grace to repent, if it be his good will, Amen.

The ſecond cauſe of Dr. Taylors condemnation.

My ſecond cauſe why I was condemned an Heretick is, that I denied Tranſubſtantiation and Concomitation, two jugling words of the Papiſts by the which they do believe and will compel all other to believe, that Chriſts Natural Body is made of Bread, and the Godhead by and by to be joyned thereunto, ſo that immediatly after the words (called the words of Conſecration) there is no more Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, but the ſubſtance onely of the Body and Blood of Chriſt together with his Godhead: ſo that the ſame being now Chriſt, both God and man, ought to be Worſhipped with godly Honour, and to be offered to God, both for the quick and the dead, as a Sacrifice propitiatory and ſatisfactory for the ſame. This matter was not long debated in words: but becauſe I denied the foreſaid Papiſticall Doctrine (yea rather, plain, moſt wicked Idolatry, Blaſphemy and Hereſie) I was judged an Heretick. Tranſubſtantiation and Concomitation, two jugling words of the Papiſts.

I did

The 3. Article againſt D. *Taylor.* The 4. Article againſt D. *Taylor.* The 5. Article againſt D. *Taylor.*

I did alſo affirm the Pope to be Antichriſt, and Popery Antichriſtianity.

And I confeſſed the Doctrine of the Bible to be ſufficient Doctrine, touching all and ſingular matters of Chriſtian Religion, and of Salvation.

I alſo alledged, that the Oath againſt the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, was a lawful Oath, and ſo was the Oath made by us all, touching the Kings or Queens preheminence. For *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, that Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, and all men in every Realm were ever, and ought to be ever, touching both Body and Goods, in ſubjection to the Kingly Authority, who hath the Sword in his hand, as Gods principal Officer and Governour in every Realm. I defired the Biſhops to repent for bringing the Realm from Chriſt to Antichriſt, from light to darkneſs, from verity to vanity.

All men muſt obey Kings.

Thus you know the ſum of my laſt Examination and Condemnation. Pray for me, and I will pray for you.

D. *Taylor* never afraid of Death.

God be praiſed, ſince my Condemnation I was never afraid to dye; Gods will be done. If I ſhrink from Gods Truth, I am ſure of another manner of death than had Judge *Hales*. But God be praiſed, even from the bottom of heart, I am unmovably ſetled upon the Rock, nothing doubting, but that my dear God will perform and finiſh the work that he hath begun in me and others. To him be all honour both now and ever, through Chriſt our only and whole Saviour. *Amen.*

And thus much wrote D. *Taylor*, concerning this matter, to his Friend.

You heard in the former Anſwers a little before, certain Allegations touched of D. *Taylor* out of S. *Cyprian*, *Auguſtine*, *Chryſoſtom*, and *Ambroſe*, touching the lawfulneſs of Prieſts marriage. Now ye ſhall hear the places of the ſaid Doctors cited and produced out of their own Books, as here enſueth.

The places of the Doctors alledged before in Doctor *Taylor*'s Letter.

Cyprian. l. 1. Epiſt 11. A Deacon or Virgin, or any other that hath dedicated himſelf to Virginity, if he cannot live chaſte, by S. *Cyprians* Judgment ought to marry.

THis queſtion was asked of S. Cyprian, *What ſhould be done with thoſe Religious perſons, that could not keep their Chaſtity as they had vowed. He anſwered thus, Thou doſt ask what we do judge of Virgins, which, after they had decreed to live chaſtly, are afterward found in Bed with a Man. Of which thou ſaiſt, that one of them was a Deacon. We do with great ſorrow ſee the great ruine of many Perſons, which cometh by the reaſon of ſuch unlawful and perillous companying together. Wherefore, if they have dedicated themſelves unto Chriſt in Faith, to live purely and chaſtly, then let them ſo remain without any Fable, and ſtrongly and ſtedfaſtly abide the reward of Virginity. But if they will not abide, or elſe cannot abide; then it is better to marry, than to fall into the fire of Concupiſcence: And let them give to them, to the Brethren and Siſters, none occaſion of ſlander; &c. Cyprian* in his 11. Epiſtle, Lib. 1.

Aug. de bono conjugali ad Julianum.

CErtain men do affirm, Thoſe men to be Advowterers, that do marry after that they have vowed Chaſtity. But I do affirm, that thoſe Men do grievouſly ſin, the which do ſeparate them, &c. Auguſtine, *in his Book*, De bono conjugali, ad *Julianum.*

The Pope and his Biſhops commandeth and counſelleth not to marry, yea, and to burn men for marrying.

CHaſtity of the Body ought to be deſired of us: which thing I do give for a Counſel, and do not command it imperiouſly. For Virginity is a thing which alonely ought to be counſelled, but not to be commanded: it is rather a thing of voluntary will, and not a Precept. Ambroſe 32. Queſt. 1. Cap. Integritas.

A brief Recapitulation out of Dr. Taylors *Cauſes aforetouched, for the Reader more evidently to ſee how the Papiſts do againſt their own knowledge in forbidding Prieſt's Marriage.*

THe Popes Clergy, forbidding Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to marry, do againſt their Conſcience and Knowledge, as may well be proved by theſe Cauſes here-under following.

1. They know that Matrimony in the Old Teſtament, *De jure inſtituticnis*, is indifferently permitted to all Men without any exception. Anno 1555.

2. Secondly, they know that in the Old Teſtament, *De facto*, both Prieſts, Levites, Prophets, Patriarchs, and all others had their Wives.

3. Thirdly, they know that Matrimony was permitted and inſtituted of God for two principal ends; to wit, for Procreation, and avoiding of Sin.

4. Fourthly, they know that in the Old Teſtament God not only inſtituted and permitted Matrimony to be free, but alſo induceth and appointeth Men to marry and take Wives, in theſe words, *It is not good for a man to be alone, &c.*

5. Fifthly, they know that in the New Teſtament St. *Paul* permitteth the ſtate of Matrimony free to all men, having not the gift of Continency, and forbiddeth none.

6. Sixthly, they know that in the New Teſtament the ſaid S. *Paul* not only permitteth, but alſo expreſly willeth and chargeth Men, having not the gift, to marry, ſaying, *For avoiding Fornication, let every man have his Wife, &c.*

7. Seventhly, they know that in the New Teſtament the ſaid S. *Paul* not only permitteth and commandeth, but alſo commendeth and praiſeth the ſtate of Matrimony, *Heb.* 13. *Calling it honourable, and the Bed-company to be undefiled, &c.*

8. Eighthly, they know that in the New Teſtament Chriſt himſelf not only was not conceived nor born of the Virgin before ſhe was eſpouſed in Matrimony, but alſo that both he and his bleſſed Mother did beatifie and honour the ſtate of Matrimony with their preſence: yea, in the ſame began his firſt Miracle.

9. Ninthly, they know both by the Old Teſtament and New, that Marriage is no impediment to walk in the obedience of Gods Commandment; for both *Abraham* carried into the Land of *Canaan* his old, yea and barren Wife, the vertuous woman *Sarah*, with him: and alſo to *Iſaak*, *Jacob*, *Moſes*, *David*, and others, their Marriage was no impediment to them to talk with God; neither to other Levites, Biſhops and Prieſts, in the time of both the Old Teſtament, and of the New. Again, neither was it a let to *Peter*, *Philip*, and others, both to have their Wives with them, and alſo to ſupply the Office of Apoſtleſhip.

10. Tenthly, they know both by the Old Teſtament and New, that ſinful Fornication and Adultery depriveth Man of Gods Favour and Graces of the Holy Ghoſt, which Graces eſpecially be requiſite in the Men of the Church.

11. Eleventhly, they know in their own ſecret Conſcience, and by experience, that neither they which enjoyn this Vow of Chaſtity, nor they which take it, do obſerve the Vow of Chaſtity. Whereupon riſe inconveniences more than can be expreſſed: but the Lord above knoweth all, beſides the ſecret murders, peradventure, of many a poor Infant, &c.

12. Twelfthly, they know by S. *Cyprian*, *Epiſt.* 11. and S. *Auguſtine*, *Lib. de bono Conjugali, ad Julianum*, that a Vow is no impediment ſufficient to let Matrimony, or to divorce the ſame.

13. Thirteenthly, they know that *Chryſoſtom* affirmeth it to be an Hereſie to ſay, that a Biſhop may not have a Wife.

14. Fourteenthly, they know that S. *Ambroſe*, 32. *q.* 1. *Integritas*, will have no commandment, but counſel only to be given touching the obſerving of Virginity.

15. Fifteenthly, they know that before the time of Pope *Hildebrand*, that is, during the time of 1000 years after Chriſt, marriage was never reſtrained, by any forcible neceſſity of Vow, from Men of the Church.

16. Sixteenthly, they know that S. *Paul* calleth it the *Doctrine of Devils*, to forbid Meats and Marriage, which God hath left free, with Thankſgiving, for neceſſity of Man and Woman.

After that D. *Taylor* thus with great ſpirit and courage had anſwered for himſelf, and ſtoutly rebuked his Adverſaries, for breaking their Oath made before to King *Henry* and to King *Edward* his Son, and for betraying the

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the Realm into the power of the *Roman* Biſhop; they perceiving that in no caſe he could be ſtirred to their wills and purpoſe, that is, to turn with them from Chriſt to Antichriſt, committed him thereupon to Priſon again, where he endured till the laſt of *January*.

D. Taylor *the fourth time, with M.* Bradford, *and M.* Sanders, *brought before* Wincheſter *and other Biſhops.*

Gardiner. Hepton. Boner. Capon. Tonſtall.

UPon which day and year aforeſaid, Doctor *Taylor* and M. *Bradford*, and M. *Sanders* were again called to appear before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Biſhops of *Norwich*, of *London*, of *Salisbury*, and of *Dureſm*, and there were charged again with Hereſie and Schiſm, and therefore a determinate Anſwer was required; Whether they would ſubmit themſelves to the *Roman* Biſhop, and abjure their Errors, or elſe they would according to their Laws proceed to their condemnation.

The Conſtancy of theſe men.

When D. *Taylor* and his Fellows, M. *Bradford* and M. *Sanders* heard this, they anſwered ſtoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the Truth which they had preached in King *Edwards* days, neither would they ſubmit themſelves to the *Romiſh* Antichriſt; but they thanked God for ſo great Mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to ſuffer for his Word and Truth.

Sentence of Death given upon Innocents.

When the Biſhops ſaw them ſo boldly, conſtantly, and unmoveably fixed in the Truth, they read the Sentence of Death upon them, which when they had heard, they moſt joyfully gave God thanks, and ſtoutly ſaid unto the Biſhops; *We doubt not, but God the Righteous Judge will require our Blood at your hands, and the proudeſt of you all ſhall repent this receiving again of Antichriſt; and your Tyranny that ye now ſhew againſt the flock of Chriſt.*

D. Taylor Condemned.

So was D. *Taylor* now condemned, committed to the *Clink*, and the Keepers charged ſtraitly to keep him: for ye have now another manner of Charge (quoth the Lord Chancellor) than they had before: therefore look ye, take heed to it.

D. Taylor removed from the *Clink* to the Counter by Night.

When the Keeper brought him toward the Priſon, the People flocked about to gaze upon him: unto whom he ſaid, *God be praiſed (good People) I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the Truth with my Blood.* So was he beſtowed in the *Clink* till it was toward Night, and then he was removed to the *Counter* by the *Poultry*.

When D. *Taylor* had lain in the ſaid *Counter* in the *Poultry* a Seven-night or thereabouts Priſoner, the fourth day of *February*, *Anno* 1555. *Edmund Boner* Biſhop of *London*, with others, came to the ſaid *Counter* to degrade him, bringing with them ſuch Ornaments as do appertain to their Maſſing-Mummery. Now being come, he called for the ſaid D. *Taylor* to be brought unto him; the Biſhop being then in the Chamber where the Keeper of the *Counter* and his Wife lay. So D. *Taylor* was brought down from the Chamber above that, to the ſaid *Boner*. And at his coming, the Biſhop ſaid, Maſter Doctor, I would you would remember your ſelf, and turn to your Mother holy Church; ſo may you do well enough, and I will ſue for your Pardon. Whereunto M. *Taylor* anſwered, *I would you and your Fellows would turn to Chriſt. As for me, I will not turn to Antichriſt.* Well, quoth the Biſhop, I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on theſe Veſtures. *No*, quoth D. *Taylor*, *I will not.* Wilt thou not, ſaid the Biſhop? I ſhall make thee e're I go. Quoth D. *Taylor*, *You ſhall not, by the Grace of God.* Then he charged him upon his Obedience to do it, but he would not do it for him.

Boner cometh to the *Counter* to degrade D. *Taylor*.

Boner perſwading D. *Taylor* to return.

D. *Taylor* refuſeth to turn from Chriſt to Antichriſt.

D. *Taylor* and *Boner* ſtriving for putting on the Maſſing-Garments.

So he willed another to put them upon his back, and when he was throughly furniſhed therewith, he ſet his hands to his ſide, walking up and down, and ſaid; *How ſay you, my Lord, am not I a goodly Fool? How ſay you, my Maſters? If I were in* Cheap, *ſhould I not have Boys enow to laugh at theſe apiſh Toys, and toying Tyumpery?* So the Biſhop ſcraped his Fingers, Thumbs, and the Crown of his Head, and did the reſt of ſuch like deviliſh Obſervances.

D. *Taylor* derideth the Popes Maſſing Toys.

At the laſt, when he ſhould have given D. *Taylor* a ſtroke on the Breaſt with his Croſier-Staff, the Biſhops Chaplain ſaid. My Lord, ſtrike him not, for he will ſure ſtrike again. *Yea, by S.* Peter *will I*, quoth D. *Taylor*. *The Cauſe is Chriſts, and I were no good Chriſtian, if I would not fight in my Maſters quarrel.* So the Biſhop laid his Curſe upon him, but ſtruck him not. Then D. *Taylor* ſaid, *Though you do curſe me, yet God doth bleſs me. I have the witneſs of my Conſcience, that ye have done me wrong and violence: And yet I pray God, if it be his will, forgive you. But from the Tyranny of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and his deteſtable Enormities, good Lord deliver us.* And in going up to his Chamber, he ſtill ſaid, *God deliver me from you, God deliver me from you.* And when he came up, he told M. *Bradford* (for they both lay in one Chamber) that he had made the Biſhop of *London* afraid: for, ſaith he laughingly, his Chaplain gave him counſel not to ſtrike me with his Croſier-Staff, for that I would ſtrike again; and, by my Troth, ſaid he, rubbing his hands, I made him believe I would do ſo indeed.

D. *Taylor* prayeth againſt the Pope and his deteſtable Enormities.

Boner afraid of D. *Taylor*.

Keepers of Priſon.

The Night after that he was degraded, his Wife and his Son *Thomas* reſorted unto him, and were by the gentleneſs of the Keepers permitted to ſup with him. For this difference was ever found between the Keepers of the Biſhops Priſons, and the Keepers of the Kings Priſons: That the Biſhops Keepers were ever cruel, blaſphemous, and tyrannous like their Maſters: but the Keepers of the Kings Priſons ſhewed, for the moſt part, as much Favour as they poſſibly might.

So came D. *Taylor's* Wife, his Son, and *John Hull* his Servant, to Sup with him: and at their coming in afore-Supper, they kneeled down and prayed, ſaying the Litany.

After Supper walking up and down, he gave God Thanks for his Grace, that had ſo called him, and given him ſtrength to abide by his holy Word: and turning to his Son *Thomas*, *My dear Son* (ſaid he) *Almighty God bleſs thee, and give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true Servant of Chriſt, to learn his Word, and conſtantly to ſtand by his Truth all thy life long. And, my Son, ſee that thou fear God always. Flee from all Sin, and wicked living: be vertuous, ſerve God with daily Prayer, and apply thy Book. In any wiſe ſee that thou be obedient to thy Mother, love her and ſerve her: be ruled by her now in thy Youth, and follow her good Counſel in all things. Beware of lewd Company, of Young men that fear not God, but follow their lewd Luſts and vain Appetites. Fly from Whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembring, that I thy Father do die in the defence of holy Marriage. Another day, when God ſhall bleſs thee, love and cheriſh the Poor people, and count that thy chief Riches is, to be rich in Alms: and when thy Mother is waxed old, forſake her not; but provide for her to thy power, and ſee that ſhe lack nothing: For ſo will God bleſs thee, and give thee long life upon Earth and proſperity: which I pray God to grant thee.*

D. *Taylor* bleſſeth his Son.

D. *Taylor's* godly Exhortation to his Son, worthy of all Youth to be marked.

Then turning to his Wife, *My dear Wife*, quoth he, *continue ſtedfaſt in the fear and love of God; keep your ſelf undefiled from their Popiſh Idolatries and Superſtitions. I have been unto you a faithful Yoke-fellow, and ſo have you been unto me; for the which I pray God to reward you, and doubt not, dear Wife, but God will reward it.*

D. *Taylor* counſelleth his Wife.

Now the time is come that I ſhall be taken from you, and you diſcharged of the Wedlock-Bond towards me: therefore I will give you my Counſel what I think moſt expedient for you. You are yet a Child-bearing Woman, and therefore it will be moſt convenient for you to marry. For doubtleſs you ſhall never be at a convenient ſtay for your ſelf and our poor Children, nor out of Trouble till you be married. Therefore as ſoon as God will provide it, marry with ſome honeſt faithful Man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honeſt Husband for you, and he will be a merciful Father to you and to my Children: whom I pray you bring up in the Fear of God, and in Learning, to the uttermoſt of your power, and keep them from this Romiſh *Idolatry.* When he had thus ſaid, they with weeping Tears prayed together, and kiſſed one the other: and he gave to his Wife a Book of the Church-Service, ſet out by King *Edward*, which he in the time of his Impriſonment daily uſed. And unto his Son *Thomas* he gave a Latin Book containing the notable Sayings of

His laſt token to his Wife and his Son.

the

the old Martyrs, gathered out of Eccleſiaſtica Hiſtoria; and in the end of that Book he wrote his Teſtament and laſt *Vale*, as hereafter followeth.

The laſt Will and Teſtament of Doctor Rowland Taylor, *Parſon of* Hadley.

D.Taylors Will and Teſtament, written in the Book which he gave to his Son. Job 1.2. Apoc.14. Luke 12.

I Say to my Wife, and to my Children; The Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me: bleſſed be the Name of the Lord. I believe that they are bleſſed which die in the Lord. God careth for Sparrows, and for the Hairs of our heads. I have ever found him more faithful and favourable, than is any Father or Husband. Truſt ye therefore in him by the means of our dear Saviour Chriſts Merits: believe, love, fear and obey him: pray to him, for he hath promiſed to help. Count me not dead, for I ſhall certainly live, and never dye. I go before, and you ſhall follow after, to our long home. I go to the reſt of my Children, *Suſan, George, Ellen, Robert* and *Zachary*: I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.

A pure Conſcience fully quieted.

I ſay to my dear Friends of *Hadley*, and to all others which have heard me preach; that I depart hence with a quiet Conſcience, as touching my Doctrine, for the which I pray you thank God with me. For I have after my little Talent, declared to others thoſe Leſſons that I gathered out of Gods Book, the bleſſed Bible. Therefore if I or an Angel from Heaven ſhould preach to you any other Goſpel than that ye have received, Gods great Curſe upon that Preacher.

A grave warning againſt Popery.

Beware for Gods ſake that ye deny not God, neither decline from the word of Faith, leſt God decline from you, and ſo do ye everlaſtingly periſh. For Gods ſake beware of Popery, for though it appear to have in it Unity, yet the ſame is Vanity and Antichriſtianity, and not in Chriſts Faith and Verity.

The Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

Beware of the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, now after ſuch a Light opened ſo plainly and ſimply, truly, throughly and generally to all *England*.

A godly Prayer.

The Lord grant all men his good and Holy Spirit, increaſe of his Wiſdom, contemning the wicked World, hearty deſire to be with God and the Heavenly Company, through Jeſus Chriſt, our only Mediator, Advocate, Righteouſneſs, Life, Sanctification and Hope, *Amen, Amen. Pray, pray.*

Rowland Taylor *departing hence in ſure hope, without all doubting of Eternal ſalvatien, I thank God my Heavenly Father, through Jeſus Chriſt my certain Saviour*, Amen.

The 5. of February, *Anno* 1555.

The Lord is my Light and my Salvation: whom then ſhall I fear? Pſal.27.

God is he that juſtifieth: who is he that can condemn? Rom.8.

In thee, O Lord, have I truſted, let me never be confounded. Pſal.30.

D.Taylor led from the Counter by Night toward Hadley.

On the next Morrow, after that D.*Taylor* had Supped with his Wife in the *Counter*, as is before expreſſed, which was the fifth day of *February*, the Sheriff of *London* with his Officers came to the *Counter* by Two of the Clock in the Morning, and ſo brought forth D. *Taylor*, and without any Light led him to the *Woolſack*, an Inn without *Aldgate*. Dr. *Taylors* Wife, ſuſpecting that her Huſband ſhould that Night be carried away, watching all Night in S. *Butolphs* Church-Porch beſide *Algate*, having with her two Children, the one named *Elizabeth*, of 13. years of Age (whom being left without Father or Mother, D.*Taylor* had brought up of Alms from three years old,) the other named *Mary*, Doctor *Taylors* own Daughter.

Now, when the Sheriff and his Company came againſt S. *Butolphs* Church, *Elizabeth* cried, ſaying, O my dear Father; Mother, Mother, here is my Father led away. Then cried his Wife, *Rowland, Rowland*, where art thou? for it was a very dark Morning, that the one could not ſee the other. D. *Taylor* anſwered, Dear Wife, I am here, and ſtayed. The Sheriffs Men would have led him forth; but the Sheriff ſaid, Stay a little Maſters, I pray you, and let him ſpeak to his Wife, and ſo they ſtayed. Anno 1555.

The laſt meeting and leave-taking with his Wife and Children.

This Sheriff was M. *Chefter.*

Then came ſhe to him, and he took his Daughter *Mary* in his Arms: and he, his Wife and *Elizabeth* kneeled down and ſaid the Lords Prayer. At which ſight the Sheriff wept apace, and ſo did divers others of the Company. After they had prayed, he roſe up and kiſſed his Wife, and ſhook her by the hand, and ſaid, Farewel my dear Wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my Conſcience. God ſhall ſtir up a Father for my Children. And then he kiſſed his Daughter *Mary*, and ſaid, God bleſs thee and make thee his Servant: and kiſſing *Elizabeth*, he ſaid, God bleſs thee. I pray you all ſtand ſtrong and ſtedfaſt unto Chriſt and his Word, and keep you from Idolatry. Then ſaid his Wife, God be with thee, dear *Rowland*, I will with Gods grace meet thee at *Hadley*.

Dr. Taylor brought to the Sign of the Woolſack.

And ſo was he led forth to the *Woolſack*, and his Wife followed him. As ſoon as they came to the *Woolſack*, he was put into a Chamber, wherein he was kept with four Yeomen of the Guard and the Sheriffs Men. D. *Taylor*, as ſoon as he was come into the Chamber, fell down on his Knees and gave himſelf wholly to Prayer. The Sheriff then, ſeeing D. *Taylors* Wife there, would in no caſe grant her to ſpeak any more with her Husband, but gently deſired her to go to his Houſe and take it as her own, and promiſed her he ſhould lack nothing, and ſent two Officers to conduct her thither. Notwithſtanding ſhe deſired to go to her Mothers, whither the Officers led her, and charged her Mother to keep her there till they came again.

The Sheriffs gentleneſs ſhewed to the Woman.

Thus remained D.*Taylor* in the *Woolſack*, kept by the Sheriff and his Company, till 11. of the Clock. At which time the Sheriff of *Eſſex* was ready to receive: and ſo they ſet him on Horſeback within the Inn, the Gates being ſhut.

At the coming out of the Gates, *John Hull*, before ſpoken of, ſtood at the Rails with *Thomas*, D.*Taylors* Son. When D.*Taylor* ſaw them, he called them, ſaying, Come hither my Son *Thomas*. And *John Hull* lifted the Child up, and ſet him on the Horſe before his Father: and D.*Taylor* put off his Hat, and ſaid to the People that ſtood there looking on him, Good People this is mine own Son, begotten of my body in lawful Matrimony; And God be bleſſed for lawful Matrimony. Then lifted he up his eyes towards Heaven and prayed for his Son, laid his Hat upon the Childs Head and bleſſed him; and ſo delivered the Child to *John Hull*, whom he took by the hand and ſaid, Farewel *John Hull*, the faithfulleſt Servant that ever man had. And ſo they rode forth, the Sheriff of *Eſſex*, with four Yeomen of the Guard, and the Sheriffs Men leading him.

D.Taylor taketh his leave of his Son Thomas, and J.Hull.

A good Teſtimony for all Servants to mark.

When they were come almoſt at *Burntwood*, one *Arthur Fayſie*, a Man of *Hadley*, who before time had been D.*Taylor's* Servant, met with them, and he, ſuppoſing him to have been at liberty, ſaid, Maſter Doctor, I am glad to ſee you again at liberty, and came to him and took him by the hand. Soft Sir, quoth the Sheriff, he is a Priſoner; what haſt thou to do with him? I cry you mercy, ſaid *Arthur*, I knew not ſo much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a true Man. The Sheriff was very angry with this, and threatned to carry *Arthur* with him to Priſon; notwithſtanding, he bade him get quickly away, and ſo they rode forth to *Burntwood*: where they cauſed to be made for D.*Taylor* a cloſe Hood, with two holes for his Eyes to look out at, and a ſlit for his Mouth to breath at. This they did, that no man ſhould know him, nor he ſpeak to any man. Which practice they uſed alſo with others. Their own Conſciences told them, that they led innocent Lambs to the ſlaughter. Wherefore they feared, leſt if the People ſhould have heard them ſpeak, or have ſeen them, they might have been much more

Arthur Fayſie.

A cloſe Hood made for D.Taylor, that no man ſhould know him.

Chriſts Adverſaries work all by darkneſs.

Anno 1555.

more ſtrengthned by their godly Exhortations, to ſtand ſtedfaſt in Gods Word, and to flie the Superſtitions and Idolatries of the Papacy.

D. Taylor is joyful in his way.

All the way D. *Taylor* was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himſelf going to a moſt pleaſant banquet or bridal. He ſpake many notable things to the Sheriff and Yeomen of the Guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep through his much earneſt calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes alſo he cauſed them to wonder and rejoyce, to ſee him ſo conſtant and ſtedfaſt, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to dye. Of theſe Yeomen of the Guard, three uſed D. *Taylor* friendly, but the fourth (whoſe name was *Homes*) uſed him very homely, unkindly, and churliſhly.

Homes a notorious Adverſary to D. Taylor.

The Sheriff of *Eſſex* laboureth D. Taylor to return to Papiſm.

At *Chelmsford* met them the Sheriff of *Suffolk*, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into *Suffolk*. And being at ſupper, the Sheriff of *Eſſex* very earneſtly laboured him to return to the Popiſh Religion, thinking with fair words to perſwade him, and ſaid, Good Maſter Doctor, we are right ſorry for you, conſidering what the loſs *is* of ſuch a one as ye might be, if ye would: God hath given you great Learning and Wiſdom, wherefore ye have been in great favour and reputation in times paſt with the Councel and Higheſt of this Realm. Beſides this, ye are a man of goodly perſonage, in your beſt ſtrength, and by nature like to live many years, and without doubt, ye ſhould in time to come be in as good reputation as ever ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloved of all men, as well for your vertues as for your learning: and me think it were great pity you ſhould caſt away your ſelf willingly, and ſo come to ſuch a painful and ſhameful death. Ye ſhould do much better to revoke your Opinions, and return to the Catholick Univerſal Church of *Rome*, acknowledge the Popes Holineſs to be the Supream Head of the Church, and reconcile your ſelf to him. You may do well yet, if you will: doubt ye not but ye ſhall find favour at the Queens hands, I and all theſe your friends will be ſuters for your Pardon: which no doubt, ye ſhall obtain. this Counſel I give you, good M. Doctor, of a good Heart, and Good-will toward you: and thereupon I drink to you. In like manner ſaid all the Yeomen of the Guard: upon that condition, M. Doctor, we will all drink to you.

D. Taylor maketh a jeſt of Death, with a meet anſwer for ſuch Doctors and Counſellors.

When they had all drank to him, and the Cup was come to him, he ſtayed a little, as one ſtudying what anſwer he might give. At the laſt thus he anſwered and ſaid, M. Sheriff, and my Maſters all, I heartily thank you for your good will, I have hearkned to your words, and marked well your Counſels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived my ſelf, and am like to deceive a great many of *Hadley* of their expectation. With that word they all rejoyced. Yea, good Maſter Doctor, quoth the Sheriff, Gods Bleſſing on your heart: hold you there ſtill. It is the comfortableſt word that we heard you ſpeak yet. What? ſhould ye caſt away your ſelf in vain? Play a wiſe mans part, and I dare warrant it, ye ſhall find favour. Thus they rejoyced very much at the word, and were very merry.

At the laſt, good Mr. Doctor, quoth the Sheriff, what meant ye by this, that ye ſay ye think ye have been deceived your ſelf, and think ye ſhall deceive many one in *Hadley*? Would ye know my meaning plainly, quoth he? Yea, quoth the Sheriff, good Mr. Doctor tell it us plainly.

Then ſaid Doctor *Taylor*, I will tell you how I have been deceived, and as I think, I ſhall deceive a great many. I am, as you ſee, a man that hath a very great Carcaſs, which I thought ſhould have been buried in *Hadley* Church-yard, if I had died in my Bed, as I well hoped I ſhould have done; but herein I ſee I was deceived: and there are a great number of worms in *Hadley* Church-yard, which ſhould have had jolly feeding upon this Carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they, for this Carcaſs muſt be burnt to aſhes, and ſo ſhall they loſe their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it.

Apophthegma of D. Taylor.

When the Sheriff and his Company heard him ſay ſo, they were amazed and looked one on another, marvelling at the mans conſtant mind, that thus without all fear made but a jeſt at the cruel Torment, and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation clean diſappointed. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in his chiefeſt Wealth and Proſperity; namely, that he ſhould ſhortly dye, and feed worms in his grave: which meditation if all our Biſhops, and Spiritual men had uſed, they had not for a little Worldly Glory forſaken the Word of God and Truth, which they in King *Edwards* days had Preached and ſet forth, nor yet, to maintain the Biſhop of *Romes* Authority, have committed ſo many to the fire as they did.

A good meditation.

But let us return to Doctor *Taylor*, who at *Chelmsford* was delivered to the Sheriff of *Suffolk*, and by him conducted to *Hadley*, where he ſuffered. When they were come to *Lanham*, the Sheriff ſtayed there two days; and thither came to him a great number of Gentlemen and Juſtices upon great horſes, which all were appointed to aid the Sheriff. Theſe Gentlemen laboured Doctor *Taylor* very ſore to reduce him to the Romiſh Religion, promiſing him his Pardon, which, ſaid they, we have here for you. They promiſed him great promotions, yea a Biſhoprick if he would take it: but all their labour and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his houſe upon the ſand in peril of falling at every puff of wind, but upon the ſure and unmovable Rock, Chriſt. Wherefore he abode conſtant and unmovable unto the end.

Lanham is a Town in *Suffolk*.

After two days, the Sheriff and his Company led D. *Taylor* towards *Hadley*, and coming within two miles of *Hadley*, he deſired to light off his horſe to make water: which done, he leapt, and ſet a friſk or twain, as men commonly do in dauncing. Why Maſter Doctor, quoth the Sheriff, how do you now? He anſwered: Well, God be praiſed, good Maſter Sheriff. Never better: for now I know I am almoſt at home. I lack not paſt two ſtiles to go over, and I am even at my Fathers Houſe. But Maſter Sheriff, ſaid he, ſhall we not go thorow *Hadley*? Yes, ſaid the Sheriff, you ſhall go thorow *Hadley*. Then ſaid he, O good Lord, I thank thee, I ſhall yet once ere I dye ſee my Flock, whom thou Lord knoweſt I have moſt heartily loved, and truly taught. Good Lord bleſs them, and keep them ſtedfaſt in thy Word and Truth.

D. Taylor rejoyceth that he is ſo nigh home.

Another Apothegma of D. Taylor.

D. Taylor deſirous to ſee his Flock.

When they were now come to *Hadley*, and came riding over the Bridge, at the Bridge foot waited a poor man with five ſmall Children: who when he ſaw Doctor *Taylor*, he and his Children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud Voice, and ſaid, O dear Father and good Shepheard, Doctor *Taylor*, God help and ſuccour thee, as thou haſt many a time ſuccoured me and my poor Children. Such witneſs had the Servant of God of his vertuous and Charitable Alms given in his Life-time. For God would now the poor ſhould teſtifie of his good deeds to his ſingular comfort, to the example of others, and Confuſion of his Perſecutors and Tyrannous Adverſaries. For the Sheriff and other that led him to death, were wonderfully aſtonied at this: and the Sheriff ſore rebuked the poor man for ſo crying. The ſtreets of *Hadley* were beſet on both ſides the way with Men and Women of the Town and Countrey, who waited to ſee him: whom when they beheld ſo led to Death, with weeping Eyes and lamentable Voices they cried, ſaying one to another, Ah good Lord! there goeth our good Shepheard from us, that ſo faithfully hath taught us, ſo Fatherly hath cared for us, and ſo godly hath governed us; O Merciful God! what ſhall we poor ſcattered Lambs do? What ſhall come of this moſt Wicked World, Good Lord ſtrengthen him, and comfort him: with ſuch other moſt lamentable and piteous Voices. Wherefore the People were ſore rebuked by the Sheriff and Catchpoles his men, that led him. And D. *Taylor* evermore ſaid to the people; I have Preached to you Gods Word and Truth, and am come this day to Seal it with my Blood.

A poor man with five Children comforted D. Taylor.

The People lament Doctor Taylor.

D. Taylor confeſſeth the Truth, and confirmeth the ſame with his Blood.

Coming againſt the Almſhouſes, which he well knew, he caſt to the poor People Mony, which remained of that good People had given him in time of his Impriſonment. As for his Living, they took it from him at his firſt going to Priſon, ſo that he was ſuſtained all the time of his Impriſonment by the Charitable Alms of good People that viſited him.

Therefore the Money that now remained he put in a glove ready for the ſame purpoſe, and (as is ſaid) gave it to the poor Almeſmen ſtanding at their doors to ſee him.

D. Taylor lived of Alms, and gave Alms.

The Martyrdome of Doctor Taylor, burned at Hadley for the Testimony of the Gospell. February 9. Anno 1555.

And coming to the laſt of the Almſhouſes, and not ſeeing the poor that there dwelt, ready at their doors, as the other were, he asked: Is the blind man and blind woman, that dwelt here, alive? It was anſwered, Yea, they are there *within*. Then threw he glove and all *in* at the window, and ſo rode forth.

Note this cuſtom.

Thus this good Father and Provider for the poor now took his leave of thoſe, for whom all his Life he had a ſingular care and ſtudy. For this was his cuſtom, once in a fortnight at the leaſt, to call upon Sir *Anthony Doyl*, and others the rich Cloth-makers, to go with him to the Almſhouſes, and there to ſee how the poor lived; what they lacked in meat, drink, clothing, bedding, or any other neceſſaries. The like did he alſo to other poor men that had many Children, or were ſick. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and where he found cauſe, rebuke the unruly, and what they lacked, that gave he after his power: and what he was not able, he cauſed the rich and wealthy men to miniſter unto them. Thus ſhewed he himſelf in all things an example to his Flock, worthy to be followed; and taught by his deed, what a great treaſure Alms is to all ſuch as cheerfully for Chriſts ſake do it.

Aldham Common.

At the laſt, coming to *Aldham* Common, the place aſſigned where he ſhould ſuffer, and ſeeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked, What place is this, and what meaneth it that ſo much people are gathered hither? It was anſwered, It is *Aldham* Common, the place where you muſt ſuffer: and the people are come to look upon you. Then ſaid he, Thanked be God, I am even at home, and ſo light from his horſe, and with both his hands rent the hood from his Head.

D. *Taylor* is come home.

B. *Boners* coſt and liberality upon D. *Taylor.*

Now was his head notted evil favouredly, and clipped much like as a man would clip a fools head; which coſt the good Biſhop *Boner* had beſtowed upon him, when he degraded him. But when the people ſaw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white Beard, they burſt out with weeping tears, and cried, ſaying, God ſave thee, good D. *Taylor*, Jeſus Chriſt ſtrengthen thee, and help thee, The Holy Ghoſt comfort thee; with ſuch other like godly wiſhes. Then would he have ſpoken to the people, but the Yeomen of the Guard were ſo buſie about him, that as ſoon as he opened his mouth, one or other thruſt a Tipſtaff into his mouth, and would in no wiſe permit him to ſpeak.

The people wiſh God to help him.

D. *Taylor* could not be ſuffered to ſpeak to the people.

Then deſired he Licence of the Sheriff to ſpeak; but the Sheriff denied it to him, and bad him remember his promiſe to the Counſel.

Well, quoth Doctor *Taylor*, promiſe muſt be kept. What this promiſe was, it is unknown: but the Common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the Counſel ſent for them, and threatned them they would cut their Tongues out of their Heads, except they would promiſe, that at their deaths they would keep ſilence, and not ſpeak to the people. Wherefore they deſirous to have the uſe of their Tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promiſed ſileace. For the Papiſts feared much, leſt this mutation of Religion, from Truth to Lies, from Chriſts Ordinances to the Popiſh Traditions, ſhould not ſo quietly have been received as it was, eſpecially this burning of the Preachers: but they, meaſuring others minds by their own, feared leſt any Tumult or Uprore might have been ſtirred, the people having ſo juſt a cauſe not to be contented with their doings, or elſe (that they moſt feared) the people ſhould more have been confirmed by their godly Exhortations to ſtand ſtedfaſt againſt their vain Popiſh Doctrine and Idolatry. But thanks be to God, which gave to his Witneſſes Faith and Patience, with ſtout and manly hearts to diſpiſe all Torments: neither was there ſo much as any one man that once ſhewed any ſign of diſobedience towards the Magiſtrates. They ſhed their Bloods gladly in the defence of the Truth, ſo leaving example unto all men of true and perfect Obedience: which is to obey God more than men, and if need require it, to ſhed their own Blood rather than to depart from Gods truth.

The Goſpellers are not ſeditious as the Papiſts commonly be.

Doctor *Taylor* perceiving that he could not be ſuffered to ſpake, ſat down, and ſeeing one named *Soyce*, he called him, and ſaid, *Soyce*, I pray thee come and pull off my Boots and take them for thy labour. Thou haſt long looked for them, now take them. Then roſe he up, and put off his Clothes unto his ſhirt, and gave them away. Which done, he ſaid with a loud voice, Good people, I have taught you nothing but Gods Holy Word, and thoſe Leſſons that I have taken out of Gods Bleſſed Book, the Holy Bible: and I am come hither this day to ſeal it with my Blood. With that Word, *Homes*, Yeoman of the Guard aforeſaid, who had uſed Doctor *Taylor* very cruelly all the way, gave him a great ſtroke upon the head with a waſter, and ſaid, Is that the keeping of thy promiſe, thou Heretick? Then he, ſeeing they would not permit him to ſpeak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people ſtepped in, and prayed with him: but her they thruſt away, and threatned to tread her

Soyce pulleth of his Boots.

D. *Taylor* confeſſeth the truth.

Homes a cruel Tyrant: D. *Taylor* Prayeth.

A good woman coming to Pray with him could not be ſuffered.

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her down with Hoes: notwithſtanding ſhe would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the Stake, and kiſſed it, and ſet himſelf into a Pitch-barrel, which they had ſet for him to ſtand in, and ſo ſtood with his back upright againſt the Stake, with his Hands folded together, and his Eyes toward Heaven, and ſo he continually prayed.

Richard Donningham.

Then they bound him with Chains, and the Sheriff called one *Richard Donningham* a Butcher, and commanded him to ſet up Fagots: But he refuſed to do it, and ſaid, I am lame Sir, and not able to lift a Fagot. The Sheriff threatned to ſend him to Priſon; notwithſtanding he would not do it.

The Tormentors. *Warwick* a cruel Tormentor. This *Kyng* was alſo one of them which went with his Halberd to bring them to death which were burnt at *Bury.*

Then appointed he one *Mulleine* of *Carſey*, a man for his Vertues fit to be a Hangman, and *Soyce* a very Drunkard, and *Warwick*, who, in the Commotion time in King *Edwards* days, loſt one of his Ears for his Seditious talk, amongſt whom alſo was one *Robert King* a deviſer of Enterludes, who albeit was there preſent, and had doing there with the Gun-powder; what he meant and did therein (he himſelf ſaith he did it for the beſt, and for quick diſpatch) the Lord knoweth, which ſhall judge all: More of this I have not to ſay.

These four were appointed to ſet up the Fagots, and to make the Fire, which they moſt diligently did: and this *Warwick* cruelly caſt a Fagot at him, which light upon his head, and brake his face, that the blood ran down his Viſage. Then ſaid Dr. *Taylor*, O Friend, I have harm enough, what needed that?

Dr. *Taylor* is patient.

Sir *John Shelton.*

Furthermore, Sir *John Shelton* there ſtanding by, as Dr. *Taylor* was ſpeaking, and ſaying the Pſalm *Miſerere* in Engliſh, ſtruck him on the Lips; Ye Knave, ſaid he, ſpeak Latin, I will make thee. At the laſt they ſet to fire; and Dr. *Taylor*, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and ſaid, Merciful Father of Heaven, for Jeſus Chriſt my Saviours ſake, receive my Soul into thy hands. So ſtood he ſtill without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till *Soyce* with a Halberd ſtruck him on the head that the brains fell out, and the dead Corps fell down into the Fire.

Dr. *Taylors* laſt words.

Soyce ſtriketh him down with an Halberd.

Thus rendred the Man of God his bleſſed Soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his moſt dear and certain Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whom he moſt intirely loved, faithfully and earneſtly preached, obediently followed in living, and conſtantly glorified in death.

Dr. *Taylor* careleſs of his death.

They that were preſent and familiarly converſant with this Doctor *Taylor*, reported of him, that they never did ſee in him any fear of death, but eſpecially and above all the reſt, which beſides him ſuffered at the ſame time, always ſhewed himſelf merry and chearful, in time of his Impriſonment, as well before his Condemnation, as after; he kept one Countenance and like Behaviour. Whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the Company and Preſence of Mr. *John Bradford*, who then was in Priſon and Chamber with him.

The ſame Morning, when he was called up by the Sheriff to go to his burning (about three of the Clock in the Morning) being ſuddenly awaked out of his ſound ſleep, he ſate up in his Bed, and putting on his Shirt, had theſe words, ſpeaking ſomewhat thick after his accuſtomed manner, *Ah horſon Thieves, ah horſon Thieves, rob God of his honour, rob God of his honour*? Afterward being riſen and tying his Points, he caſt his Arms about a Balk which was in the Chamber between Mr. *Bradfords* Bed and his: and there hanging by the hands, ſaid to Mr. *Bradford*; O Mr. *Bradford*, quoth he, what a notable ſway ſhould I give if I were hanged? meaning for that he was a corpulent and big man. Theſe things I thought good here to note, to ſet forth and declare to thoſe that ſhall read this Hiſtory, what a notable and ſingular gift of ſpirit and courage God had given to this godly and bleſſed Martyr.

An example of ſingular Courage in Dr. *Taylor.*

At what time Dr. *Taylor* was deprived of his Benefice of *Hadley*, there was one called Sir *Robert Bracher*, a faſe pretended Proteſtant in King *Edwards* days, and afterward a deadly Enemy to the ſame Religion; who was alſo one of them that ſo unmercifully thruſt Dr. *Taylors* Wife and Children out of the doors, as ſhe her ſelf yet can teſtifie: and notwithſtanding the ſame now ſince became a Proteſtant again.

This Sir *Robert Bracher* aforeſaid, coming to *Hadley* to the Burial of a certain Friend of his, and Gods great Enemy, one *Walter Clark*; albeit he came ſomwhat too late to the Market (as he ſaid) yet deſirous to utter ſuch Popiſh pelf and pack-ware as he brought with him, he opened there his Baggage of Peſtilent Doctrine, preaching in the ſame Town of *Hadley* againſt Juſtification by Faith, of the Corporal Preſence, of Praying for the Dead, and Auricular Confeſſion. Whereof Dr. *Taylor* having underſtanding by Letters, writeth again to them of *Hadley*, directing his Letter to his Wife in confutation of the ſaid Popiſh poyſoned Sermon; the Copy of which Letter we thought not unworthy here in the end of this Story to be annexed; as under followeth.

Sir *Robert Brachers* coming to *Hedley.*

A Popiſh Sermon of Sir *Robert Bracher.*

A Letter of Dr. Taylor *of* Hadley, *written to his Wife.*

DEar Wife, I pray God be ever with us through Chriſt our only Mediator, Amen.

This Cap was a round Cap ſent by *Miles Coverdale* to Dr. *Taylor* by his Wife.

I thank you for my Cap; I am ſomewhat proud of it; for it is one ſtep from the Clergy in theſe days. I thank God, my heart is clean divided from their Proceedings: for I know that no man can ſerve two Maſters, ſpecially if they agree no better than Chriſt and Antichriſt do. I am glad that *Hadley* can skill of ſuch packing ware as was brought thither the firſt day of *May* laſt paſt. Chriſts Sheep can diſcern Chriſts voice from the voice of Strangers, Thieves, or Hirelings. The Pack-bringer was ſorry that he came too late to the Funeral Market of his faithful Friend. But here I will leave them both to Gods Judgment, and ſomthing touch the matter whereof the Packer made mention on his opening day. At the firſt he called the Scripture (as I hear) full of dark Sentences, but indeed it is called of *David*, A Candle to our feet, and a Light to our paths. Our Saviour Chriſt calleth his Word, the Light which evil doers do flee from and hate, leſt their deeds ſhould be reproved thereby. S. *Paul* would have us to walk as Children of Light, and in any wiſe not to continue in Ignorance or Darkneſs. But all we in the World pertain to two Princes, either to the Father of Light and Truth, or elſe to the Prince of Darkneſs and Lies.

This Packer was Sir *Rob. Bracher* preaching Popiſh Doctrine at *Hadley.*

The Scripture falſly accuſed of the Catholicks to be obſcure darkneſs.

In theſe days Preachers declare evidently of whom they are ſent, and with what ſpirit they ſpeak, and to what Prince they belong. For they cry out againſt Gods Lights, Sun, Moon, Stars, Torches, Lamps, Lanthorns, Creſſets, and Candles in Gods Book the Bible, provided of Gods great goodneſs and mercy to avoid all foul darkneſs, clouds and myſts, or dangerous doubtful ways in this our Journey to our Heavenly Father, Long-home, Manſion-houſes, and dearly purchaſed Heritage. *Eſay*, Gods faithful Meſſenger, ſaith, *Wo be unto them that call ſweet ſowre, good evil, and light darkneſs. Therefore cometh my People into Captivity, becauſe they have no underſtanding.* Our Saviour Chriſt pronounceth Error and Hereſies to remain among the People, ſo long as ignorance of the Scriptures remaineth. And hereby it appeareth to all good Conſciences, what they mean, which defame or accuſe Gods bleſſed Word being full of light, as though it were full of darkneſs. Theſe Owls would have all day-lights ſcraped out of Books, Hearts, and Churches. O Lord turn their hearts and tongues; bow them from the way of darkneſs, leſt they go to the Prince of Darkneſs, and be caſt into the Pit of utter darkneſs, where is weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.

The Popes Pack-ware. Juſtification by Works, Corporal Preſence, Prayers for Souls, Auricular Confeſſion.

Now touching the Packs of Wooll, and the Packs of Cloth, I fear they were as all other Wares be, tranſubſtantiate into ſtocks, even his very fineſt packing ſtuff againſt only Faith juſtifying, and for the Corporal Preſence of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, for praying for Souls departed, and for Auricular Confeſſion. *Abrahams* Juſtification by Faith, by Grace, by Promiſe, and not by Works, is plainly ſet forth both in the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, *c.* 4. and to the *Galath. cap.* 3. and *Abrahams* works of Obedience, in offering up his Son ſo long after his Juſtification, muſt needs be taken as a Fruit of a good Tree juſtifying before men, and not of juſtification before God; for then had man to glory in, then did Chriſt dye in vain.

Againſt the Corporal Preſence. Chriſts Body given in the Supper Spiritually, upon the Croſs Corporally.

And whereas Chap. 6. of *John* was alledged, to prove that Chriſt did give his Body Corporally in his Supper, even as he had promiſed in the ſaid Chapter, it is moſt untrue. For only he gave his Body Sacramentally, Spiritually,

and effectually in his ſupper to the Faithful Apoſtles, and corporally he gave it in a Bloody Sacrifice for the Life of the World upon the Croſs once for all. There in his own Perſon, in his own Natural Body he bare all our ſins. By whoſe ſtripes we are healed, as S. *Peter* proceedeth, 1 *Pet.* 2. and *Eſay* 53. Indeed receiving Chriſts Sacrament accordingly as it was inſtituted, we receive Chriſts Body and Chriſts Blood, even as I ſaid before the Apoſtles did.

Againſt the Maſs. The Maſs the Popes youngeſt Daughter. Deſcription of the Popes Kingdom.

But the Popiſh Maſs is another matter. The Maſs as it is now, is but one of Antichriſts youngeſt daughters, in the which the Devil is rather preſent and received, than our Saviour, the Second Perſon in Trinity, God and Man. O Lord God Heavenly Father, for Chriſts ſake, we beſeech thee to turn again *England* to the right way it was in in K. *Edwards* time, from this Babylonical, Jewiſh, ſpiritual whoredom, conſpiracy, tyranny, deteſtable enormities, Falſe Doctrine, Hereſie, hardneſs of Heart, and contempt of thy Word and Commandments, from this evident and open Idolatry, Sacriledge, Symonie, Blaſphemy, Superſtition, Hypocriſie, Tranſubſtantiate Angel of Light, and day-Devil, Kingdom of Lies, foul vain Schiſms, Sects, Sedition, Apoſtaſie, gay ſweet Poyſon, honied and ſugered viperous venome, wily wolfiſhneſs, Satanical ſubtility, and abomination in the ſight of God and all ſuch as put on the true Spectacles of Holy Scripture. I am the more plain now in this matter, becauſe I fear greatly, that many will be too much ready to go from Chriſt to Antichriſt, from the Bible, Gods true Service and Religion, to Latine lying Legends, Portuities, Maſs Books, and Superſtition. They ſay their Church cannot err in any point, when indeed they be not of Gods Church, and therefore they can do nothing but err, even as they do almoſt in all Caſes of true Faith.

Chryſoſt. Popiſhly applied.

But to come again to the Packer rather than Preacher, he bringeth S. *Chryſoſtom*, writing *Ad populum Antiochenum*, where he maketh a compariſon between Chriſts Fleſh and *Elias* Cloak caſt down to *Elizeus*, when *Elias* was taken up in the fiery Chariot; at length he ſaith, that Chriſt, aſcending up to Heaven, took his Fleſh with him, and alſo left his Fleſh behind him in Earth.

The meaning of Chryſoſtom ſightly expounded concerning *Elias* Cloak. Of this memorial Cloak read before in D. *Ridleys* diſputations.

The meaning of it is, he did aſcend with his Fleſh, and left a memorial Cloak of the ſame Body and Fleſh, which he calleth his Fleſh, as he in the Sacramental Phraſe calleth Bread his Body, becauſe it repreſenteth his Body: & as in like manner of Sacramental ſpeech, a Lamb was called the Paſſover, the Circumciſion, Gods Covenant. He took up his Fleſh corporally, and left his Fleſh in Myſtery and Sacrament Spiritually. Or it may be ſaid, that he left his Fleſh upon Earth, that is, his Myſtical Body, his Faithful People; whom S. *Paul* calleth the Members of his Body, of his Fleſh, of his Bones, *Epheſ.* 5.

The place of *Geneſis* 49.

In the 49. Chapter of *Geneſis*, there is no word of Chriſts Sacrament, but there is a prophecy of Chriſts Paſſion wherein his ſole was bound, that is, his Body. And where he ſpeaketh there of Grapes and Wine, it is as that is ſpoken of Chriſt in another place, where he ſaith, *Ergo ſolus torcular calcavi*, I alone did tread the Wine-preſs, meaning thereby, that Chriſt alone ſuffered painful Paſſion for the Remiſſion of Sins, and for the conſolation of his Faithful Souldiers.

Chriſts Natural Body cannot be divided.

It is not true that the Packer ſaid, that Chriſts infinite power may make his Body to be in a thouſand places at once, as a Loaf to be in a thouſand Bellies: for then may Chriſt divide the parts of his Body, as a Loaf is divided, and ſo conſumed, and then might Scripture be falſe, appointing Chriſts Body to be but in one place. *Acts* 3. *Phil.* 3. *Heb.* 3. The Articles of our Faith tell us ſufficiently where Chriſts Body is.

Chriſts Body was never in two places at once.

It was never in two places at once, neither ever ſhall be, neither ever can be corporally and naturally, neither ever was, is, can, or ſhall be eaten ſo with any corporal Mouths, as the Capernaites and the Papiſts moſt erroneouſly and heretically do judge. If our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt hath no other Body natural than is made of the Subſtance of Bread, and is in a thouſand places at once, as I have often ſaid in *Hadley*, we are not yet redeemed, neither ſhall our Bodies riſe again, and be made like unto his Glorious Body. We are ſure that our Saviour Chriſts Body is made of none other ſubſtance than of his Mother the Bleſſed Virgin *Maries* ſubſtance. We are ſure that he taketh not the nature of Angels, much leſs of Bread. Only he taketh on him the ſeed of *Abraham*, *Heb.* 2. In all things like unto us, Sin only except.

Heb. 2.

And this is a comfortable Doctrine to us Chriſtians, believing ſtedfaſtly, as the true Catholick Faith is, that Chriſt hath but two Natures, perfect God, and perfect Man. Upon this Rock Chriſts Church is builded, and the Gates of Hell ſhall never prevail againſt it, *Matth.* 16.

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Auricular confeſſion. Praying for the dead.

I ſpeak nothing now of Auricular Confeſſion, and praying for Souls departed, becauſe I do not hear what Authors the packer brought in for this purpoſe. Sure I am that he can bring no Authentical and Canonical Warrant for ſuch his packware. He may ſay what he will of *Hebriciaus* and *Grecians*, and Fleſh under forms, and not above forms, or above the board. He may conjure and conveigh, paſs and repaſs, even what he will in ſuch Clouds and Myſts. He reproved the Scriptures as full of darkneſs, and yet is full of darkneſs himſelf. He did wittily, to bring proofs out of *Jewry*, *Turkey*, and other ſtrange places, for his round white Cake, for that ſuch his pedlary pelf-pack is contrary to the plain ſimplicity of Chriſts Supper. He glanced at Prieſts marriage. He might againſt that have brought as ancient a Doctor as any be alledged out of Hebrew, for his Maſs and Wafer Cake, that is Dr. *Divel*, 1 *Tim.* 4.

He meaneth by the place 1 *Tim.* 4. Where S. Paul ſpeaketh of the Doctrine of Devils, &c.

I marvel that he did not confute and confound S. *Paul* for the ſentences written above the Altar, of the which he made mention in the Pulpit. For he and his Fellows of *Oxford* be ſo profound, ſo excellent, ſo glorious, and Triumphant Clerks, that they can eaſily prove a man an Aſs, and writers in the Bible ignorant, ſimple, full of Errors, full of Hereſies, and beggarly Fools. Yet they will be called Catholicks, Faithfull and true Chriſtian People, Defenders of the Holy Mother the Church: but truly they take part with the Prince of darkneſs, with Antichriſt, with *Jezabel*, *Apoc.* 2. They will not be called Papiſts, Phariſees, Jews, Turks, Hereticks, and ſo forth: but whatſoever they will be called, Gods Religion had never more evident Adverſaries, and that in all the chief points of it; no not then, when our Saviour Chriſt whipt ſuch Merchants out of the Temple, calling them a company of Thieves, *Mat.* 21. God give them Grace to repent. God be thanked that the Nobility ſomething of late hath ſpied and ſtopped their Tyranny. O unhappy *England*! O more ungrateful People! ſooner bewitched than the fooliſh *Galathians*. We have now no excuſe.

Engliſh People likened to the *Galathians*

We have undoubtedly ſeen the true trace of the Prophetical, Apoſtolical, primitive Catholick Church. We are warned to beware, leſt we be led out of that way, ſociety, and Rule of Religion. Now we ſhall ſhew what Country Men we be, whether ſpiritual and Heavenly, or carnal and Worldly. We had as true knowledge as ever was in any Country, or at any time, ſince the beginning of the World, God be praiſed therefore. If *Hadley*, being ſo many years perſwaded in ſuch Truth, will now willingly and wittingly forſake the ſame, and defile it ſelf with the Cake-God, Idolatry, and other Antichriſtianity thereunto belonging, let it ſurely look for many and wonderful plagues of God ſhortly. Though another have the Benefice, yet as God knoweth, I cannot but be careful for my dear *Hadley*. And therefore as I could not but ſpeak, after the firſt abominable Maſs begun there, I being preſent no more, I cannot but write now being abſent, hearing of the wicked prophanation of my late Pulpit by ſuch a wily wolf. Gods love, mercy, goodneſs and favour hath been unſpeakable, in teaching us the right way of Salvation and Juſtification, let us all have ſome zeal, ſome care how to ſerve him according to his good will written. The God of Love and peace be ever in *Hadley*, through Chriſt our only Advocate. Amen.

The Cake God.

The careful zeal of Doctor *Taylar* for *Hadley*.

Rowland Taylor.

The proceedings of the Pope-Catholicks in maintaining their Religion.

After that *Steven Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, had got the Laws, and the ſecular Arm on his ſide, as ye have heard, with full Power and Authority to reign and rule as he liſted, and had brought theſe godly Biſhops and reverend Preachers aforeſaid under foot, namely, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, Maſter *Latimer*, Mr. *Hooper* Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Sanders*, Doctor *Taylor*, and Maſter *Bradford*, all which he had now preſently condemned, and ſome alſo burned; he ſuppoſed now

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all had been cock-ſure, and that Chriſt had been conquered for ever, ſo that the People, being terrified with example of theſe great Learned men condemned, never would, nor durſt once rout againſt their violent Religion: not much unlike in this behalf, to the manner of the Turks, who when they cannot maintain their Sect by good Learning and Truth of Gods Word, think by violence of Sword to force whom they can to their Belief; and that done, afterward make Laws, no man under pain of Hereſie to diſpute, or once to call in queſtion any of their Proceedings. Even ſo, *Steven Gardiner* and his Fellows, when they ſee they cannot prevail by trial of Gods Word, and Diſcourſe of Learning, neither are diſpoſed ſimply to ſeek for Truth where it is to be found, they take Exceptions againſt Gods Word, affirming it to be intricate, obſcure, and inſufficient to be his own Judge, and therefore that of neceſſity it muſt be judged by the Popes Church; and ſo having Kings and Queens on their ſide, they ſeek not to perſwade by the Word of God, nor to win by Charity, but inſtead of the Law of God, they uſe (as the Proverb ſaith) τῷ νόμῳ χείρων, compelling men by Death, Fire, and Sword (as the Turks do) to believe that in very deed they think not. And indeed after Fleſh and Blood this ſeemeth to be a ſure way. Neither peradventure are they ignorant how gaily this way thriveth with the Turks: and therefore think they to practiſe the ſame, at leaſt wiſe ſo they do, upon what example ſoever they do it. And thus condemned they theſe godly Learned Preachers and Biſhops aforeſaid, ſuppoſing, as I ſaid, that all the reſt would ſoon be quailed by their example. But they were deceived: for within eight or nine days after that *Steven Gardiner* had given Sentence againſt Maſter *Hooper*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Sanders*, Dr. *Taylor*, and Mr. *Bradford*, being the eighth of *February*, ſix other good men were brought likewiſe before the Biſhops for the ſame cauſe of Religion, to be examined, whoſe Names were *William Pigot* Butcher, *Steven Knight* Barber, *Thomas Tomkins* Weaver, *Thomas Haukes* Gentleman, *John Laurence* Prieſt, *William Hunter* Apprentice.

The manner of proceeding like in the Catholicks and the Turks.

Νόμος τῶν χείρων. Proverb.

February.

Six men converted before Bp. *Boner* for Hereſie.

Steven Gardiner ſeeing thus his Device diſappointed, and that Cruelty in this caſe would not ſerve to his Expectation, gave over the matter as utterly diſcouraged, and from that day medled no more in ſuch kind of condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*: who ſupplyed that part right doubtily, as in the further Proceſs of this Hiſtory hereafter evidently and too much may appear. Thus Biſhop *Boner*, taking the matter in hand, called before him in his Conſiſtory at *Pauls*, the Lord Maior, and certain Aldermen ſitting with him, the ſix Perſons afore-named, upon the eighth day of *February* in the year aforeſaid, and on the next day, being the ninth of *February*, read the Sentence of Condemnation upon them, as appeareth in *Boners* own Regiſters: ſuch quick ſpeed theſe men could make in diſpatching their Buſineſs at once. Notwithſtanding, becauſe the Death of theſe Condemned Martyrs did not follow incontinently before the next Month of *March*, I will defer the proſecuting of their matter, till I come by the Grace of the Lord, to the time and day of their Suffering.

St. *Gardiner* giveth over his murdering office to B. *Boner*.

February 9. Ex Regiſt. Boneri London.

Six men condemned by B. *Boner*.

In the mean time, what was the cauſe that their execution was ſo long deferred after their Condemnation, I have not preciſely to ſay, unleſs peradventure the Sermon of *Alphonſus* the Spaniſh Frier, and the Kings Confeſſor, did ſome good. For ſo I find, that when thoſe ſix Perſons aforeſaid were caſt upon *Saturday* the ninth of *February*, upon *Sunday* following, which was the tenth of *February*, the ſaid *Alphonſus* a Gray Frier preached before the King: in which Sermon he did earneſtly inveigh againſt the Biſhops for burning of men, ſaying plainly that they learned it not in Scripture, to burn any for his Conſcience: But the contrary, that they ſhould live and be converted, with many other things more to the ſame purport. But touching the lingring of theſe mens death, as I have not certainly to affirm, ſo let it paſs.

Febr. 19. *Alphonſus* K. *Philips* Confeſſor, preaching againſt the burning of Hereticks.

Upon the 14. of *February* Mr. *Robert Ferrar*, Bp. of S. *Davids*, was ſent towards S. *Davids*, there to be condemned and executed. Touching whoſe Martyrdom, forſomuch as it fell not before the Month of *March*, we will defer the Hiſtory thereof till we come to the day and time of his Suffering.

Febr. 14.

Furthermore, this foreſaid 14. day of *February*, the Lord Chancellor, and other his Fellow Biſhops, cauſed the Image of *Thomas Becket*, that old Romiſh Traytor, to be ſet up over the *Mercers* Chappel door in *Cheapſide* in *London*, in the Form and Shape of a Biſhop, with Miter and Croſier. Howbeit within two days after his Erection, his two Bleſſing Fingers were firſt broken away, and on the next day (being the ſeventeenth of *February*) his Head alſo was ſtriken off: whereupon aroſe great trouble, and many were ſuſpected: among whom one Mr. *John Barnes* Mercer, dwelling over againſt the ſame Chappel, was vehemently by the Lord Chancellor charged withal, as the doer thereof, and the rather, for that he was a Profeſſor of the Truth. Wherefore he and three of his Servants were committed to Priſon; and at his delivery (although it could not be proved upon him) he was bound in a great ſum of Money as well to build it up again as often as it ſhould be broken down, as alſo to watch and keep the ſame. And therefore at this his compelled charges the Image was again ſet up the ſecond day of *March* then next enſuing: but (for lack belike of careful watching) the fourteenth day of the ſame Month in the night, the Head of that dangerous Beaſt, over whom there was ſuch Charge given, was again the ſecond time broken off: which thing was ſo heinouſly taken, that the next day, being the 15. day, there was a Pooclamation made in *London*, that whoſoever would tell who did ſtrike off his Head (though he were of counſel, and not the principal doer) he ſhould have not only his pardon, but alſo one hundred Crowns of Gold, with hearty thanks. But it was not known who did it.

Tho. Becket's Image ſet up at Mercers Chappel.

Febr. 17. Mr. *I. Barnes* troubled for *Becket's* Image.

Becket's Image again broken down.

The 18. of *February*, Queen *Mary* at length, after long delay, made full Anſwer to the King of *Denmark's* Letters, who had written before two Letters to the ſaid Queen, in the behalf of Mr. *Coverdale*, for his deliverance, who at that time went under Sureties, and was in great danger, had he not been reſcued by the great ſuit and Letters of the ſaid King of *Denmark*.

Febr. 18. Q. *Mary* anſwereth to the K. of *Denmarks* Letters touching M. *Coverdale*.

The Matter and Copy of which his Suit and Letters, as they came to our hands, we have here ſet forth and expreſt, whereby the ſingular love of this good King, towards the Truth of Gods Word, and the Profeſſors thereof, might the better appear to the World.

First, This vertuous and godly King *Chriſtianus*, hearing of the Captivity of *Miles Coverdale*, of whom he had had ſome knowledge before (being there in *Denmark* in King *Henry* the Eighths time) and lamenting his dangerous caſe, and partly through the Interceſſion of Mr. *Machabæus*, Superintendent in *Denmark*, who was partly of * Kin to Mr. *Coverdale's* Wife, made Interceſſion by Letters to Q. *Mary*, deſiring and requeſting the ſaid *Miles Coverdale* to be ſent unto him. The date of which his Letters was about the Kalends of *May*, *Anno Dom.* 1554. The Copy whereof here followeth.

M. *Coverdale*.

* This *M. Machabæus* and M. *Coverdale*, married two ſiſters.

Chriſtianus Dei gratia, Daniæ, Norwegiæ, &c. Rex, &c. eadem gratia Sereniſſimæ ac Potentiſſimæ Principi D. Mariæ, Angliæ, Galliæ, & Hiberniæ Reginæ, conſanguineæ noſtræ chariſſ. ſalutem.

Sereniſſima Princeps, conſanguinea chariſſima, pro neceſſitudine mutua ac conjunctione, non ſolum Regij nominis inter nos, ſed etiam ſanguinis, maxime vero utrinq; inter hæc regna noſtra à veuſtiſſimis uſque temporibus propagata ac ſervata, non modo commerciorum, ſed omnium officiorum viciſſitudine & fide, facere non potuimus quin pietatis & doctrinæ excellentis commendatione, verè reverendi viri Johannis Maccabæi, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctoris, & Profeſſoris præſtantiſſimi, ſubditi ac miniſtri noſtri imprimis dilecti, ſupplicibus graviſſimiſq; precibus commoti, ad Serenitatem veſtram has Literas daremus. Expoſuit is nobis, in hac recenti perturbatione ac motu regni Angliæ (quem ex animo eveniſſe dolemus, & nunc indies in melius verti ſperamus) quendam nomine Milonem Coverdalum, nuper diœceſis Exonienſis, piæ laudatiſſimæq; memoriæ proximi Regis Serenitatis veſtræ fratris, conſanguinei itidem noſtri chariſſ. authoritate conſtitutum Epiſcopum, nunc in triſtiſſimas calamitates, carcerem, ac periculum vitæ, nulla atrocioris delicti culpa, ſed illa fatali temporum ruina incidiſſe. Quæ quidem hic Machabæus noſter quod ei affinitate (& quod gravius eſt) pietatis, eruditionis ac morum

The Epiſtle of the K. of *Denmark* to Q. *Mary*, for deliverance of M. *Coverdale*.

rum ſimilitudine, tanquam frater devinctus ſit, non minus ad ſe pertinere exiſtimat. Itaque noſtram opem implorat, ut quam ipſe gratiam & favorem apud nos meretur, hominis innocentis calamitati ac periculo (quod ipſe non minus ſuum putat) accommodemus. Movemur profecto non temere illius viri (cui ſuo merito imprimis benevolumus) commiſeratione, ejuſque maxime teſtimonio de captivi Antiſtitis innocentia atque integritate: de qua quidem eſt, ut eo melius ſpteremus, quod multis jam morte mulctatis fontibus, de ipſo integrum adhuc Deus eſſe voluit. Proinde non dubitavimus Serenitatem veſtram quanta poſſimus diligentia atque animi propenſione rogare, ut noſtra cauſa captivi illius D. Milonis rationem clementer habere dignetur, eumque ut à ſceleris, ita à pœnæ etiam atrocitate alienum eſſe voluit, & temporum offenſam, qua ipſum quoque affligi veriſimile eſt, nobis noſtræque amicitiæ regiæ & precibus, præſertim hoc primo auditu, benigne condonare, ſaltem eatenus, ut ſi fortè hoc rerum ſtatu gravis ejus præſentia ſit, incolumis ad nos cum ſuis dimittatur. Id nobis ſummi beneficij loco, & Serenitati veſtræ in florentiſſ. regni auſpiciis (quæ auguſta, fauſta, ac fortunata ſerenitati veſtræ ex animo optamus) ad clementiæ laudem honorificum erit: & nos dabimus operam, ut cum amicitiæ noſtræ habitam rationem intellexerimus, eo majore ſtudio in mutuam vicem gratitudinis omniumque officiorum erga Serenitatem veſtram ejuſque univerſum regnum & ſubditos incumbamus. Deum optimum maximum precamur, ut Serenitati veſtræ all gloriam ſui nominis, & publicam ſalutem felices omnium rerum ſucceſſus, & incolumitatem diuturnam largiatur. Datæ ex arce noſtra Coldingeum, ſeptimo Calendas Maij, Anno 1555.

Veſter conſanguineus, frater, & amicus, Chriſtianus, Rex.

Q. *Maries* ſlender anſwer to the Kings firſt Letter.

To theſe Letters of the King, Queen *Mary* anſwering again, declared that the ſaid *Miles Coverdale* was in no ſuch Captivity for any Religion, but for certain Debt: ſo neither plainly granting, or expreſly denying his Requeſt, but uſing a colourable excuſe for ſhifting off the matter, as appeareth by his ſecond Letter ſent to the Queen, dated the four and twentieth day of *September*, as followeth.

Chriſtianus Dei gratia Daniæ, Norwegiæ, Gottorum, & Vandalorem Rex: Sleſwici, Holſatiæ, Stormariæ, ac Dithmerſiæ Dux; Comes in Oldenburgh & Delmenhorſt, Sereniſ. Principi Dominæ Mariæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Reginæ, fidei defenſ. &c. Sorori & conſanguineæ noſtræ chariſſimæ ſalutem, & omnium rerum optatos & fauſtos ſucceſſus.

REdditæ ſunt nobis literæ Serenitatis veſtræ, quibus benigne admodum ad deprecationem noſtram, qua pro D. Milonis Coverdali Eccleſiæ Exonienſis nuper nominati Epiſcopi incolumitate uſi ſumus, reſpondetur: ita ut intelligamus, licet alterius cauſæ quam quæ nobis innotuerat, periculum ſuſtineat, tamen Serenitatem veſtram noſtræ interceſſionis eam rationem habituram eſſe, ut illam ſibi profuiſſe ipſe Coverdalus ſentiat. Cui quidem promiſſioni regiæ cum tantum meritum tribuamus, ut ea freti non dubitaverimus ejus captivi propinquos (nobis imprimis charos) à mœrore ac ſolicitudine ad ſpem atque expectationem certæ ſalutis vocare, facere non potuimus, quin & gratias Serenitati veſtræ pro tam prompta ac benigne voluntate, non modo hujus beneficij, ſed etiam perpetuæ inter nos ac regna noſtra conſervandæ ac colendæ amicitiæ ageremus, & quantum in nobis eſſet, quod ad amplectanda perſequendaque hæc auſpicata initia pertineret, nihil prætermitteremus. Neque vero nobis de clementia ac moderatione Serenitatis veſtræ unquam dubium fuit, quam Deus optimus maximus ad gloriam ſui nominis & fructum publicæ utilitatis ut magis ac magis efflorescere velit, ex animo optamus. Proinde cum ob rationes ærarias, neque aliud gravius delictum D. Coverdal. teneri Serenitas veſtra ſcribat, eſt ſanè ut ipſius cauſa lætemur, eoque minus ambigamus, liberationem incolumitatemque ejus noſtris precibus liberaliter donari. Nam & accepimus ipſum Epiſcopatu, cujus nomine ærario obſtrictus fuerat, ceſſiſſe, ut inde ſatisfactio peteretur: maximè cum neque diu eo potitus fuiſſe, neque tantum emolumenti inde percepiſſe dicatur. Quinetiam ſiqua rationum perplexitas, aut alia forte cauſa reperiri poſſet: tamen ſolicitudinem ac dubitationem nobis Serenitatis veſtræ tam amice atque officioſe deferentes literæ omnem exemerunt: ut exiſtimemus Serenitatem veſtram, quoad ejus fieri poſſet, magis honorem noſtrum, quam quid ab eo exigi poſſit, conſideraturam: Itaque Seren. veſtram repetitis precibus urgere non conſtituimus: ſed potius teſtatum facere, quam accepta nobis Seren. veſt. gratificatio ſit, cujus talem eventum omnino ſperamus, ut ipſe Coverd. coram nobis ſuæ incolumitatis à Seren. veſt. exoratæ beneficium propediem repræſentare poſſit. Illud vero imprimis Seren. veſt. viciſſim perſuaſum eſſe cupimus, nos non ſolum referendæ gratiæ, ſed etiam ſtabiliendæ provehendæque inter nos ac regna utrinque noſtra amicitiæ ac neceſſitudinis mutuæ occaſionem aut facultatem nullam eſſe prætermiſſuros. Deus opt. max. Seren. veſt. diu feliciter ac beatè incolumem eſſe velit. Datæ ex oppido noſtro Ottonienſi, 24 Sept. Anno 1554.

Veſter frater & conſanguineus, Chriſtianus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

¶ Chriſtierne *by the Grace of God King of* Denmark, Norway, Gotland *and of the* Vandals; *Duke of* Sleſwick, Holſton, Stormar, *and* Detmarſh; *Earl of* Oldenburgh *and* Delmenhorſt, *&c. To the moſt noble Princeſs and Lady* Mary, *Queen of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. *Our moſt dearly beloved Siſter and Coſin, wiſheth proſperity with good and lucky ſucceß of all things.*

Anno 1555.

WE have received your Majeſties Letter, whereby anſwer is rendered, and that very graciouſly unto our Petition, which we made for the ſafeguard of Mr. *Coverdale*, late called Biſhop of *Exon*. So that we perceive, though he be in danger for another cauſe than was ſignified unto us afore, yet your Majeſty will ſo regard our Interceſſion, that *Coverdale* himſelf ſhall underſtand it to have done him good. To the which Regal Promiſe, ſeeing we (as reaſon would we ſhould do) attribute ſo much, that truſting unto the ſame, we doubt not, whereas he being in Captivity, his Friends, whom we ſpecially tender, are therefore in heavineſs and care, your good Promiſe doth call them from ſuch ſorrow, and ſolicitude, to the hope and expectation of his aſſured welfare: we could not do otherwiſe, but render thanks unto your Majeſty for ſuch your ready and gracious good will, not only in reſpect of this benefit, but alſo of the conſervation and keeping of perpetual Amity betwaen us and our Realms, and ſo, as much as in us lieth, to omit nothing that to the nouriſhing and continuance of theſe fortunate beginnings might appertain. Neither had we ever any doubt concerning the clemency and moderation of your goodneſs, whom we heartily beſeech Almighty God ever more and more to proſper, unto the glory of his Name, and profit of the Commonweal. Wherefore ſeeing your Majeſty writeth, that Mr. *Coverdale* is in danger for certain Accompts of Mony, and not for any other more grievous Offence, we have cauſe on his behalf to rejoyce: and therefore we doubt ſo much the leſs, that at our requeſt he ſhall graciouſly have his deliverance given him, and be out of danger. For as touching the Biſhoprick, by reaſon whereof he came in Debt, we underſtand he yielded it up, that no Payment might thereof be required, ſpecially ſeeing he is reputed neither to have injoyed it long, neither to have had at any time ſo great Commodity of it. Moreover, though it be poſſible to find ſome perplexity in the Accompt, or haply ſome other cauſe, yet your Majeſties Letters, offering ſuch favour and benignity, have taken from us all carefulneſs and doubt: Inſomuch, that we think your Majeſty, as much as may be, will have more reſpect unto our honour, than to that which might of him be required. And therefore we purpoſe not to trouble your Majeſty by repeating of our Petition, but to declare how greatly we eſteem it, that your Majeſty would gratifie us herein: whereof we plainly hope for an end, that *Coverdale* himſelf ſhall ſhortly in our Preſence make declaration concerning the benefit of his welfare obtain'd of your Majeſty. And of this we deſire your Majeſty to be ſpecially aſſured again,

that

Anno 1555. that we will not only omit no occasion or opportunity to requite this benefit but also to establish and amplifie our mutual love and amity between us and our Realms on either side. Almighty God preserve your Majesty in prosperous health and felicity. Given at our City of *Otton*, the 24. of *September*, *An. Dom.* 1554.

¶ To these Letters it was a great while before the Queen would answer. At length through great sute made, the next year, the 18. of *February*, she answered again in this wise.

¶ *Serenis. Principi D. Christiano Dei gratia Daniæ, &c. Regi, Slesvici, &c. Duci: Comiti in Oldenburgh, &c. Fratri & amico nostro charissimo.*

February 18. The answer of Q. *Mary* to the King of *Denmarks* Letter.

MAria Dei gratia Regina Angliæ, Franciæ, Neapolis, Hierusalem, & Hiberniæ, &c. Serenissimo Principi Christiano, eadem gratia, Daniæ, Norvegiæ, Gothorum & Vandalorum Regi: Slesvici, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ, & Ditmersiæ Duci: Comiti in Oldenburg & Delmenhorst, &c. fratri & amico nostro charissimo salutem, prosperumq; rerum incrementum. Cum intellexerimus ex Serenitatis vestræ literis, quas hic nuncius nobis attulit, desiderium vestrum obtinendi à nobis pro M. Coverdalo subdito nostro exeundi è regno nostro, & ad vos proficiscendi facultatem facilè quidem, in V. Serenitatis gratiam, hanc illi facultatem concessimus. Et quanquam ille natus subditus noster nondum explicatus fuerat à debitione certæ cujusdam pecuniæ quam nostro ærario solvere jure tenebatur, tamen majorem vestri desiderii quam nostri debiti rationem habendam esse duximus. Quin insuper animum & voluntatem gratificandi vestræ Serenitati pro nostra mutua amicitia, in qua alia etiam re possum, cum opportunitas feret, libenter offendemus. Deus vestram Serenitatem diutissimè servet incolumem. Ex Regia nostra Westmonasterii, 11. Febru. Anno 1555.

M. Coverdale delivered and sent to the King of *Denmark*.

February 19. The effect of Bishop *Boners* intimation sent into his Dioces, to receive the Cardinals Absolution, and to be reconciled to the Pope in *Lent* next following.

The same Month, the 19. day, was a certain intimation set forth and Printed in the name of *Boner*, wherein was contained a general monition, and streight charge given to every Man and Woman within his Dioces, to prepare themselves against *Lent* then near approaching; to receive the glad tidings of Peace and Reconciliation sent from the Pope *Julius* the third, by *Pool* his Cardinal and Legate *de Latere*, and so receive also the joyful benefit of Absolution, being sent first from the Cardinal to *Boner*, and from him to every of his Archdeacons to be Ministred to every Private Person within his Dioces, that would come the said holy time of *Lent* to his Pastor or Curate to be confessed, and to receive of him wholesom Counsel, Penance, and Absolution. Signifying moreover, that as he was authorised by the foresaid Cardinal, so he for the same purpose had indued with the like Authority all and singular Pastors and Curates within his Dioces, to reconcile and assoil from their former Heresie and Schism, and from the Censures of the Church, such as would resort unto them. And lest any scruple or doubt, rising peradventure in their Consciences, should be any stay or let in this behalf, he hath assigned and deputed therefore through his Dioces certain learned men, to whom they might resort, or else might open their griefs to any of his Archdeacons, or else come to his own person, and so should be resolved.

And therefore all manner of doubts and obstacles set aside, he straitly willed and commanded every Man and Woman to come to Confession, and to enjoy this benefit of Reconciliation, and Absolution, against the first Sunday next after *Easter* insuing, and not to fail. For the which purpose he had specially commanded the Pastors and Curates of every Parish to certifie up in writing the names of every Man and Woman so reconciled, and so forth: The Copy of which intimation here under followeth.

The Declaration of the Bishop of London *to be published to the Lay-people of his Dioces, concerning their Reconciliation.*

EDmund by the permission of God, Bishop of *London*, unto all and singular the Lay-people of his Dioces, doth send greeting in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Whereas this noble Realm of *England*, divided it self from the Unity of the Catholick Church, and from the agreement in Religion with all other Christian Realms, hath been, besides many other miseries and plagues, which Gods indignation hath powred upon it grievously also vexed, and sore infected with many and sundry sorts of Sects of Hereticks, as *Arrians*, *Anabaptists*, *Libertines*, *Zuinglians*, *Lutherans*, and many other, all which Sects be most repugnant, and contrary one against another, and all against Gods Truth, and Christs Catholick Faith; whereupon hath grown such slander to the Realm, such malice and disagreement among our selves, the Inhabitants thereof, such Treasons, Tumults, and Insurrections against our Prince, such Blasphemy and dishonour unto God, as no mans Tongue or Pen is able to express: It hath pleased the goodness of God to cast his eye of mercy and clemency upon us, and to move the Popes Holiness to send his most Godly Messenger, the most reverend Father in God, the Lord Cardinal *Poole* Legate *de Latere*, to bring us the glad tidings of Peace and Reconciliation, and to reduce and bring home unto the fold the lost sheep that were gone astray: whose message, as it hath been honourably received of the King and Queens Majesties, even so the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons at the last Parliament have received it, revoking all Laws the which in the time of Schism were promulgate against the Authority of the Popes Holiness, and restoring the same and the Church of *Rome* to all that Power which they had in this Realm before the said Schism, the which Reconciliation was also most gladly and joyfully embraced, as well of all the Clergy and Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, as also of many other Persons; and being so great and necessary to be extended to every Person of the Realm, it hath pleased the said Lord Legates Grace to give and impart unto me the said Bishop of *London*, for my said Dioces, and to all such as I shall appoint in that behalf, Power and Authority to absolve and reconcile all and every Person thereof, as well of the Clergy as of the Laity, and as well Men as Women, the which will renounce their Errors and (being penitent) will humbly require to be restored to the Unity of the Catholick Church, as by the Letters of the said Lord Legates Grace sent unto me, and from me sent unto every of the Archdeacons within my Dioces, more at large may and doth appear. And forasmuch as in mine own person, as well for the multitude of People, as distance of places, I cannot Minister this benefit unto every private Person my self, and for that also the holy time of *Lent* is now at hand, in which every true Christian Man ought to come unto his own Pastor and Curate, to be of him confessed, and to receive at his hand wholesom Counsel, Penance, and Absolution: these are therefore as well to give knowledge unto every one of you, as also to signifie and declare, that for that purpose, I have by the said Authority chosen, named, and deputed, and so by these presents do chuse and depute all and singular Pastors and Curates having Cure of Souls within my Dioces, and being themselves reconciled herein, that they and every of them by Authority hereof, shall have full Power and Authority to absolve all such as be Lay-persons of their Parishes from Heresie and Schism, and from the Censures of the Church, into which they be faln by occasion thereof also, & to reconcile to the Church all such which shall declare themselves penitent, and desirous to enjoy the benefit of the said reconciliation. And whereas divers Pastors and Curates in Sundry Parishes peradventure be not able to satisfie themselves, and to appease the Consciences of some of their Parishioners in Cases that shall trouble them, I have therefore given also Authority to every Arch-Deacon of my Dioces within his Archdeaconry, to name and appoint certain of the best learned in every Deanary of their Archdeaconry, to supply that lack, so that every man so troubled may repair to any one of them within the said Deanary, whom he shall like best, to be instructed and appeased in that behalf. And also I have appointed, that if this being done, there shall yet remain any scruple in the parties Conscience, and himself not satisfied, then the said party shall repair unto one of mine Archdeacons or Chaplains, unto whom his mind shall be most inclined, or else to repair unto mine own self, to be resolved in his said scruple or doubt, and

to receive and take ſuch order therein, as to one of the ſaid Archdeacons, or unto me ſhall therein appear to be moſt expedient.

Further certifying and declaring unto you, that I have given commandment herein to all my Archdeacons, that they moniſh and command every Paſtor and Curate within their Archdeaconries, that they, having knowledge hereof, do on the firſt Holiday next then following, at the Maſs time, when the Multitude of People is preſent, declare all theſe things unto their Pariſhioners, and exhort them that they eſteem this Grace accordingly, and reconcile themſelves to the Church before the firſt Sunday after *Eaſter* next inſuing: which thing I alſo do command by the tenor hereof, with intimation that the ſaid time being once paſt, and they not ſo reconciled, every one of them ſhall have Proceſs made againſt him, according to the Canons, as the cauſe ſhall require: for which purpoſe the Paſtors and Curates of every Pariſh ſhall be commanded by their Archdeacon, to certifie me in writing of every man and womans name that is not ſo reconciled.

Further, herewith I do ſignifie and declare unto you, that our holy Father the Pope *Julius* the Third of that Name, like a moſt tender and natural Father, hearing of the return and recovery of his Prodigal Child this Realm of *England*, hath himſelf made much joy and gladneſs hereat, and alſo all other true Chriſtian Realms have done the like. Exhorting you therefore in our Lord not to be unthankful your ſelves, or negligent in this behalf, but diligently to ſeek for it, joyfully to imbrace it, and fruitfully to uſe it, remembring withal the monition and charge which came from me the laſt year, concerning your coming to Confeſſion in *Lent*, and receiving the Sacrament at *Eaſter*: which monition to all effects and purpoſes I have now here repeated and renewed, charging you, and alſo all your Curates therewith. And becauſe all our duties is earneſtly and devoutly to pray for the proſperous eſtate of our Soveraigns, the King and the Queen of this Realm, I do finally require and pray you, as heartily as I can, to pray for their Majeſties accordingly; and ſpecially that it may pleaſe Almighty God, to ſend unto her Grace a good time, and to make her a glad Mother, which cannot be but unto us all great joy, much comfort and ineſtimable profit. Given at *London* the 19. day of the Month of *February*, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of *England*, 1554. and of my Tranſlation the 16th.

The Form of Abſolution to be kept by the Paſtors and Curates in private Confeſſions, concerning this Reconciliation.

The Abſolution of B. *Boner* to be uſed in his Diocels.

OUr Lord Jeſus Chriſt abſolve you, and by the Apoſtolick Authority to me granted and committed, I abſolve you from the Sentences of Excommunication, and from all other Cenſures and Pains, into the which you be fallen by reaſon of Hereſie, or Schiſm, or any other ways: and I reſtore you unto the unity of our holy Mother the Church, and the Communion of all Sacraments, diſpenſing with you for all manner of irregularity; and by the ſame Authority I abſolve you from all your ſins, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. Amen.

The lamentable Hiſtory of Mr. James Hales *Judge.*

The Hiſtory of Judge *Hales*.

IN the Hiſtory of Mr. *Hooper* mention was touched a little before of Judge *Hales*, wherefore ſomething would be ſaid more in this place touching that matter. But becauſe the Story of that man, and of his end, is ſufficiently comprehended in our firſt Book of Acts & Monuments, we ſhall not greatly need to ſtand upon rehearſal of every particular matter touching the whole, but only taking the chiefeſt, and leaving the reſt, we will report ſomewhat of the Communication between the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and him; declaring withal how falſe and untrue the excuſe is of our Adverſaries, which ſo preciſely by the Law defend themſelves, and ſay, that in all their doings they did nothing but by the Law, to bear them out. Which if it be ſo, how did they then to *Anne Askew*? What Law had they, when they had condemned her firſt for a dead woman, then afterward to rack her? By what Law did they call up Mr. *Hooper*, and priſon him for the Queens Debt, when the Queen in very deed did owe him fourſcore pounds, and kept him a year and a half in Priſon, and gave him never a peny? By what Law did B. *Boner* condemn and burn *Richard Mekins*, a Lad of 15. years, when the firſt Jury had quit him, and he at the Stake revoked all Hereſies, and praiſed the ſaid *Boner* to be a good man; and alſo having him in Priſon, would not ſuffer his Father and Mother to come to him, to comfort their own Child? What Law had they to put Mr. *Rogers* in Priſon, when he did neither preach nor read Lecture after the time of the Queens Inhibition, and when they had kept him in his own Houſe half a year, being not deprived of any Living, yet would not let him have an half peny of his own Livings to relieve him, his Wife and eleven Children? By what Law was *Thomas Tomkins* hand burnt, and afterward his Body conſumed to Aſhes? What good Law or Honeſty was there to burn the three poor Women at *Garnſey*, with the Infant Child falling out of the Mothers Womb, when as they all before their death recanted their words and opinions, and were never abjured before? So here likewiſe in this caſe, what order or right of Law did *Steven Gardiner* follow in troubling and impriſoning Judge *Hales*, when he had done nothing neither againſt Gods Law, nor Mans Law, in proceeding by Order of Law againſt certain preſumptuous perſons, which both before the Law, and againſt the Law then in force, took upon them to ſay their Maſs? as ye ſhall hear in theſe his Anſwers and Communication had with *Steven Gardiner* here under inſuing.

Anno 1555.

The Catholicks proved to do againſt the Law in Q. *Maries* time.

The Communication between the Lord Chancellor and Judge Hales, *being there among other Judges, to take his Oath in* Weſtminſter-Hall, An. 1553. Octob. 6.

Communication between Judge *Hales* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

MAſter *Hales*, ye ſhall underſtand, that like as the Queens Highneſs hath heretofore conceived good opinion of you, eſpecially for that ye ſtood both faithfully and lawfully in her Cauſe of juſt Succeſſion, refuſing to ſet your Hand to the Book among others that were againſt her Grace in that behalf: ſo now, through your own late deſerts againſt certain her Highneſſes doings, ye ſtand not well in her Graces favor; and therefore before ye take any Oath, it ſhall be neceſſary for you to make your purgation.

Hales. I pray you my Lord what is the cauſe?

Chan. Information is given, that ye have indited certain Prieſts in *Kent* for ſaying Maſs.

Hales. My Lord, it is not ſo, I indited none; but indeed certain Indictments of like matter were brought before me at the laſt Aſſizes there holden, and I gave order therein as the Law required. For I have profeſſed the Law, againſt which in caſes of Juſtice I will never, God willing, proceed, nor in any wiſe diſſemble, but with the ſame ſhew forth my Conſcience, and if it were to do again, I would do no leſs than I did.

Cha. Yea, Mr. *Hales*, your Conſcience is known well enough, I know you lack no Conſcience.

Hales. My Lord, you may do well to ſearch your own Conſcience; for mine is better known to my ſelf than to you: and to be plain, I did as well uſe Juſtice in your ſaid Maſs-caſe by my Conſcience, as by Law, wherein I am fully bent to ſtand in trial to the uttermoſt that can be objected. And if I have therein done any injury or wrong, let me be judged by the Law; for I will ſeek no better defence, conſidering chiefly that it is my Profeſſion.

Juſtice *Hales* for Juſtice ſake troubled.

Chan. Why Mr. *Hales*, although you had the rigour of the Law on your ſide, yet ye might have had regard to the Queens Highneſs preſent doings in that caſe. And further, although ye ſeem to be more than preciſe in the Law, yet I think ye would be very loth to yield to the extremity of ſuch advantage as might be gathered againſt your proceedings in the Law, as ye have ſometime taken upon you in place of Juſtice, and if it were well tried, I believe ye ſhould not be well able to ſtand honeſtly thereto.

Hales. My Lord, I am not ſo perfect, but I may err for lack of knowledge. But both in Conſcience, and ſuch Knowledge of the Law as God hath given me, I will do nothing but I will maintain it, and abide in it: and if my goods and all that I have be not able to counterpoiſe the

caſe,

Anno 1555.

case, my Body shall be ready to serve the turn; for they be all at the Queens Highness pleasure.

Winchester quarrelleth with M. *Hales* Religion.

Cha. Ah Sir, ye be very quick and stout in your answers. But as it should seem, that which you did was more of a will favouring the Opinion of your Religion against the Service now used, than for any occasion or zeal of Justice, seeing the Queens Highness doth set it forth as yet, wishing all her Faithful Subjects to imbrace it accordingly: and where you offer both Body and Goods in your Trial, there is no such matter required at your Hands, and yet ye shall not have your own will neither.

Hales. My Lord, I seek not wilful will, but to shew my self as I am bound in love to God and Obedience to the Queens Majesty, in whose Cause willingly for Justice sake, all other respects set apart, I did of late, as your Lordship knoweth, adventure as much as I had. And as for my Religion, I trust it be such as pleaseth God, wherein I am ready to adventure as well my Life as my Substance, if I be called thereunto. And so in lack of mine own Power and will, the Lords will be fulfilled.

Chan. Seeing you be at this point M. *Hales*, I will presently make an end with you. The Queens Highness shall be informed of your Opinion and Declaration. And as her Grace shall thereupon determine, ye shall have knowledge. Until such time as ye may depart as ye came, without your Oath, for as it appeareth, ye are scarce worthy the place appointed.

Hales. I thank your Lordship: and as for my Vocation, being both a Burden and a Charge more than ever I desired to take upon me; whensoever it shall please the Queens Highness to ease me thereof, I shall most humbly with due contentation obey the same; and so he departed from the Barr.

M. *Hales* committed to the Kings Bench.

Not many days after this Communication or Colloquy in *Westminster-Hall*, which was *October 6. Anno* 1553. M. *Hales* at the commandment of the Bishop was committed to the *Kings Bench*, where he remained constant until *Lent*: then was he removed to the *Counter* in *Breadstreet*, and afterward from thence was carried to the *Fleet*.

Being in the *Fleet*, what it was that he had granted unto the Bishops, by their fraudulent assaults and perswasions; namely, of D. *Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, and of Judge *Portman* (as it is thought) overcome at last, I have not to say.

This is certain, that shortly after, calling himself better to remembrance, he was brought to great repentance and Terrour of Conscience. Insomuch, that for very anguish of Heart he was ready with his Penknife to kill himself there in the Prison, and had (no doubt) so done, had not the Merciful Providence of the Lord rescued him miraculously, as ye shall hear.

It hapned when supper time came that he should be called down, M. *Hales* having little mind either to eat or to drink, gate him straightway to Bed, where he lay all the Night sobbing and groaning, and took (God knoweth) little rest or sleep. At length when morning came, about 6. of the Clock he sent his Servant for a Cup of beer, under pretence as though he were thirsty and desirous to drink; whether this Cause were true or feigned it is unknown: but this followed, that his man was scarce out of the Chamber, when he with his Penknife had wounded himself in divers places of his Body, and was purposed (no doubt) to have destroyed himself, had not the goodness of the Lord given present help in time of opportunity. Whereby it is evident for all men to understand, how Gods favour was not absent from the man, although he thought himself utterly forsaken for his denial, as by the sequel may well appear.

M. Hales about to kill himself in Prison.

Gods Merciful Providence in rescuing M. *Hales*.

For as soon as he had sent his man out of his Chamber (see what God would have done) even afore the Chamber door eftsoons the Butler met him; who being desired to fill the drink, and taking the Cup, the other returned again unto his Master, at the same very time when he was working his own Destruction: whereby M. *Hales* at that time was stopt of his purpose, and preserved, not without Gods manifest good will and providence. When *Winchester* had knowledge of it, straightway he taketh occasion thereby to Blaspheme the Doctrine of the Gospel, which he openly in the *Star-chamber* called Doctrine of Desperation. Master *Hales* being within a while after recovered of those wounds, and delivered out of Prison, getteth himself home unto his House: where he, either for the greatness of his sorrow, or for lack of good Counsel, or for that he would avoid the necessity of hearing Mass, having all things set in order, a good while before that, pertaining to his Testament, casting himself into a shallow River, was drowned therein; which was about the beginning of the Month of *February*, or in the Month of *January* before *Anno* 1555.

Winchester might rather have said how their cruel dealing worketh desperation.

Judge *Hale* drowned himself.

The unhappy chance of this so worthy a Judge was surely the Cause of great sorrow and grief unto all good men, and it gave occasion besides unto certain Divines to stand something in doubt with themselves, whether he were reprobate or saved, about which matter it is not for me to determine either this way or that: for he that is our Judge, the same shall be his Judge; and he it is that will lay all things open when the time cometh. This in the mean time is certain and sure, that the Deed of the man in my mind ought in no wise to be allowed, which if he did wittingly, then do I discommend the mans reason. But if he did it in phrensie, and as being out of his wits, then do I greatly pity his Case.

The cause of Judge *Hales* drowning considered.

Yet notwithstanding, seeing Gods Judgments be secret and we likewise in doubt upon what intent he did thus punish himself, neither again is any man certain, whether he did repent or no before the last Breath went out of his Body; me thinketh, their Opinion is more Indifferent herein, which do rather disallow the example of the Deed, than despair of his Salvation.

Examples in the time of the first persecution.

Otherwise, if we will adjudge all those to Hell that have departed the World after this sort, how many examples have we in the first Persecutions of the Church, of those Men and Women, who being registred in the works of worthy Writers, have notwithstanding their praise and Commendation?

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 8.

For what shall I think of those young men, who being sought for to do Sacrifice to Heathen Idols, did cast down themselves head-long, and break their own Necks, to avoid such horrible pollution of themselves? What shall I say of those Virgins of *Antioch*, who to the end they might not defile themselves with uncleanness, and with Idolatry, through the perswasion of their Mother, casting themselves head-long into a River together with their Mother, did foredo themselves, although not in the same water, yet after the same manner of drowning as this Master *Hales* did? What shall I say of the other two Sisters, which for the self-same quarter did violently throw themselves head-long into the Sea, as *Eusebius* doth record? In whom, though perchance there was no less confidence to bear out the pains which should be ministred of the wicked unto them, yet that their good desire to keep their Faith and Religion unspotted was commended and praised.

Nicephi. lib. 2. c. 13. Brassilia Dyrrachina.

Another like example of Death is mentioned by *Nicephorus*, and that in another Virgin likewise, whose name is expressed in *Hierom* to be *Brassil Dyrrachina*, who to keep her *Virginity* feigned her self to be a *Witch*, and so conventing with the young man which went about to deflowr her, pretended that she would give him an herb which should preserve him from all kind of Weapons; and so to prove it in her self, laid the herb upon her own throat, bidding him smite, whereby she was slain, and so with the loss of her Life her Virginity was saved.

Hereunto may be joyned the like Death of *Sophronia*, a Matron of *Rome*, who when she was required of *Mazentius* the Tyrant to be defiled, and saw her Husband more slack than he ought to have been in saving her honesty, bidding them that were sent for her to tarry a while till she made her ready, went into her Chamber, and with a Weapon thrust her self through the Breast, and dyed. Now who is he that would reprehend the worthy Act of *Achetes*, which biting off his own Tongue spit it out into the Harlots Face?

These Examples I do not here infer, as going about either to excuse, or to maintain the hainous fact of Mr. *Hales*, which I would wish rather by silence might be drowned in oblivion; but yet notwithstanding, as touching the Person of the man, whatsoever his fact, was because we are not sure whether he at the last Breath repented: again, because we do not know, nor are able to comprehend the bottomless depth of the Graces and Mercies

cies which are in Chriſt Jeſus our Saviour; we will leave therefore the final Judgment of him, to the determination of him who is only appointed Judge both of the quick and the dead.

De Jacobo Haliſio Carmen.

Si tua quanta fuit, gravitas, prudentia, norma,
Junctaque ſincera cum pietate fides:
Tum caro firma tibi fortiſque Haliſe fuiſſet,
Sanctorum primo claſſe ferendus eras.
Inſtituit ſed enim ſua quis ſic tempora vitæ
Sanctorum, ut nullis ſint maculata malis?
Quum nihil ergo vides propria quin labe laboret,
Tu tua fac cures, cætera mitte Deo.

The Hiſtory of Thomas Tomkins, *who having firſt his hand burned, after was burned himſelf by Biſhop* Boner, *for the conſtant teſtimony of Chriſt's true Profeſſion.*

March 18. The Hiſtory of Thomas Tomkins Martyr.

MEntion was made before of ſix Priſoners, brought and examined before Biſhop *Boner* the 8. of *February*, whoſe names were *Tomkins*, *Pigot*, *Knight*, *Haukes*, *Laurence*, and *Hunter*. All which, though they received their Condemnation together the next day after, yet becauſe the time of their Execution was then driven off from *February* till the next Month of *March*, I did therefore refer the Story of them to this preſent Month of *March* aforeſaid, wherein now remaineth ſeverally to intreat of the Martyrdom of theſe ſix Perſons, as the order and time of their Sufferings ſeverally do require. Of the which ſix aforenamed Martyrs, the firſt was *Thomas Tomkins* burned in *Smithfield*, the 16. day of *March*, *Anno* 1555.

The godly life and diſpoſition of Tho. Tomkins.

This *Thomas Tomkins*, a Weaver by his Occupation, dwelling in *Shoreditch*, and of the Dioceſs of *London*, was of ſuch Converſation and Diſpoſition ſo godly, that if any woman had come to him with her Webb, as ſometime they did, three or four in a day, he would always begin with Prayer. Or if any other had come to talk of any matter, he would likewiſe firſt begin with Prayer. And if any had ſought unto him to borrow Money, he would ſhew him ſuch Money as he had in his Purſe, and bid him take it. Anno 1555.

And when they came to repay it again, ſo far off was he from ſeeking any Uſury at their hand, or from ſtreight exaction of his due, that he would bid them keep it longer, while they were better able. And theſe were the Conditions of *Thomas Tomkins*, teſtified yet to this preſent day by the moſt part of all his Neighbours, and almoſt of all his Pariſh which knew him, as Mr. *Skinner*, Mr. *Leeke*, and other more. Of whom more than half a dozen at once came to me, diſcreet and ſubſtantial men, reporting the ſame unto me, recordiug moreover as followeth: That Dr. *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, kept the ſaid *Tomkins* with him in Priſon half a year: during which time the ſaid Biſhop was ſo rigorous unto him, that he beat him bitterly about the face, whereby his face was ſwelled. Whereupon the Biſhop cauſed his Beard to be ſhaven, and gave the Barber Twelve pence.

Tomkins maketh the Biſhops hay.

Touching which ſhaving of *Thomas Tomkins* Beard, this is more to be added; Biſhop *Boner* having *Tomkins* with him Priſoner at *Fulham*, in the Month of *July*, did ſet him with his other Work-folks to make Hay. And ſeeing him to labour ſo well, the Biſhop ſitting him down, ſaid, Well, I like thee well, for thou laboureſt well: I truſt thou wilt be a good Catholick. My Lord, ſaid he, S. *Paul* ſaith, *He that doth not labour, is not worthy to eat.* *Boner* ſaid, Ah, S. *Paul* is a * great man with thee. And ſo after ſuch other talk, the Biſhop inferring moreover, wiſhed his Beard off, ſaying, that ſo he would look like a Catholick. My Lord, ſaid *Tomkins*, before my Beard grew, I was, I truſt, a good Chriſtian, and ſo I truſt to be, my Beard being on. But *Boner* in fine ſent for the Barber, and cauſed his Beard to be ſhaven off. The very cauſe was for that *Boner* had pluckt off a piece of his Beard before.

* And ſo ſhould he be with you, if you were a right Biſhop.

The burning of Thomas Tomkins hand by Biſhop Boner.

The burning of the bleſſed Martyr Thomas Tomkins.

The notable Conſtancy in a true Chriſtian Souldier.

The rage of this Biſhop was not ſo great againſt him, but the Conſtancy of the Party was much greater with Patience to bear it: who, although he had not the Learning as other have, yet he was ſo indued with Gods mighty Spirit, and ſo conſtantly planted in the perfect knowledge of Gods Truth, that by no means he could be removed from the Confeſſion of Truth, to Impiety and Error. Whereupon, *Boner* the Biſhop being greatly vexed againſt the poor man, when he ſaw that by no Perſwaſions he could prevail with him, deviſed another practice not ſo ſtrange as cruel, further to try his Conſtancy, to the intent, that ſeeing he could not otherwiſe convince him by Doctrine of Scriptures, yet he might overthrow him by ſome forefeeling and terror of death. So having with him Mr. *Harpsfield*, Mr. *Pembleton*, Doctor *Chedſey*, Maſter *Willerton*, and other

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other ſtanding by, he called for *Thomas Tomkini*, who coming before the Biſhop, and ſtanding as he was wont in defence of his Faith, the Biſhop fell from beating to burning. Who, having there a taper or wax candle of three or four wicks ſtanding upon the Table, thought there to repreſent unto us as it were, the old Image of King *Porſenna*. For as he burned the hand of *Scævola*, ſo this Catholick Biſhop took *Tomkins* by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame, ſuppoſing that by the ſmart and pain of the fire being terrified, he would leave off the defence of his Doctrine, which he had received.

Biſhop *Boner* playeth King *Porſenna* in burning the hand of *Scævola*.

Tomkins thinking no otherwiſe, but there preſently to dye, began to commend himſelf unto the Lord, ſaying, O *Lord, into thy hands I commend my Spirit, &c.* In the time that his hand was in burning, the ſame *Tomkins* afterward reported to one *James Hinſe*, that his Spirit was ſo wrapt, that he felt no pain. In the which burning he never ſhrunk, till the veins ſhrunk, and the ſinews burſt, and the water did ſpirt in Maſter *Harpsfields* face: Inſomuch that the ſaid M. *Harpsfield*, moved with pity, deſired the Biſhop to ſtay, ſaying, that he had tryed him enough. This burning was in the Hall at *Fulham*.

Tomkins compared to *Scævola*. *Boner* more cruel than *Porſenna* the *Hetruſcan*.

And where the Biſhop thought by that means to drive him from his Opinions, it proved much otherwiſe: for this Chriſtian *Scævola* ſo valiantly did deſpiſe, abide, and indure that burning, that we have leſs Cauſe hereafter to marvail at the manfulneſs of that Roman *Scævola*: I would to God the other had aſwell followed the example of that *Hetruſcan* Tyrant. For he, after the left hand of *Scævola* was half burned, either ſatisfied with his puniſhment, or overcome by his manhood, or driven away by fear, ſent him home ſafe unto his people: whereas *Boner*, hitherto not contented with the burning of his Hand, reſted not until he had conſumed his whole Body into aſhes, at *London* in *Smithfield*.

But before we come to his Suffering, we will firſt intreat of ſome part of his Examination and Articles, with his anſwers and confeſſion thereunto annexed, as it is credibly in Regiſter recorded.

The firſt Examination of Thomas Tomkins.

The firſt examination of *Thomas Tomkins* before *Boner* Biſhop of *London*.

THis Faithful and valiant Souldier of God *Thomas Tomkins*, after he had remained the ſpace (as is ſaid) of half a year in priſon, about the 8. day of *February* was brought with certain other before *Boner* ſitting in his Conſiſtory, to be examined. To whom firſt was brought forth a certain Bill or Schedule ſubſcribed (as appeareth) with his own hand, the fifth day of the ſame Month laſt before, containing theſe words following.

The confeſſion of *Tomkins* ſubſcribed with his own hand.

THomas Tomkins of *Shoreditch*, and of the Dioceſs of *London*, hath believed and doth believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in Subſtance, but only a token and remembrance thereof, the very Body and Blood of Chriſt being only in Heaven, and no where elſe.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

Tomkins conſtant in his Faith.

Whereupon he was asked, whether he did acknowledge the ſame ſubſcription to be of his own hand. To the which he granted, confeſſing it ſo to be. This being done the Biſhop went about to perſwade him (with words, rather than with reaſons) to relinquiſh his opinions, and to return again to the unity of the Catholick Church, promiſing if he would ſo do, to remit all that was paſt. But he conſtantly denied ſo to do. When the Biſhop ſaw he could not ſo convince him, he brought forth and read to him another writing, containing Articles and Interrogatories, whereunto he ſhould come the next day and anſwer: in the mean time he ſhould deliberate with himſelf what to do, and ſo the next day, being the 9. day of *March*, at eight of the Clock in the morning to be preſent in the ſame place again, to give his determinate anſwer what he would do in the premiſes, and then either to revoke and reclaim himſelf, or elſe in the afternoon the ſame day to come again and have Juſtice (as he called it) miniſtred unto him. The Copy of which Articles here followeth.

Articles objected and miniſtred the 8. *day of* February *againſt* Thomas Tomkins, *with his own hand ſubſcribing to the ſame.*

Articles miniſtred againſt *T. Tomkins*.

THou doſt believe, *that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is not, by the Omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy Word, really, truly and in very deed, the very true and natural Body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, as touching the Subſtance thereof, which was conceived in the Womb of the Virgin* Mary, *and hanged upon the Croſs, ſuffering paſſion and death there for the life of the World.*

Tranſubſtantiation denied.

I do ſo believe.

Thou doſt believe, that after the Conſecration of the Bread & Wine prepared for the uſe of the Sacrament of the Altar, there doth remain the Subſtance of material Bread and material Wine, not changed nor altered in Subſtance by the Power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

Subſtance of Bread remained in the Sacrament.

I do ſo believe.

Thou doſt believe, that it is an untrue Doctrine, and a falſe Belief, to think or ſay, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is, after Conſecration of the Bread and Wine, the Subſtance of Chriſts Natural Body and Blood, by the Omnipotent Power of Almighty God, and his Holy Word.

The Naturall Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament denied.

I do ſo believe.

Thou doſt believe, that thy Parents, Kinſfolks, Friends, and Acquaintance, and alſo thy Godfathers and Godmother, and all People did err, and were deceived, if they did believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there was, after the Conſecration, the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and that there did not remain the Subſtance of material Bread and Wine.

The errour of the Forefathers touching the Sacrament.

I do ſo believe.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

The ſecond Examination of Thomas Tomkins.

The ſecond Examination.

THe next day being the 9. of *February*, at 8. of the Clock before noon, the ſaid *T. Tomkins* (according to the former Commandment) was brought again into the place aforenamed, before the Biſhop and other his Aſſiſtants, where the foreſaid Articles were propounded unto him: whereunto he anſwered as followeth:

Anſwer of *Tomkins* to the Articles.

To the firſt he ſaid, that he did ſo believe, as in the ſame is contained.

To the ſecond he ſaid, that it was only Bread and a participation of Chriſts death and paſſion, and ſo do the Scriptures teach.

To the third he ſaid and did believe, it was a falſe Doctrine, to believe and think as is contained in this Article.

To the fourth, he did alſo believe the ſame.

After this anſwer, he did alſo ſubſcribe his name to the ſaid Articles. Whereupon, the Biſhop drawing out of his boſom another confeſſion ſubſcribed with *Tomkins*'s own hand, and alſo that Article that was the firſt day objected againſt him, cauſed the ſame to be openly read, and then willed him to revoke and deny his ſaid opinions; the which he utterly refuſed to do; and therefore was commanded to appear before the Biſhop again in the ſame place at two of the Clock in the Afternoon.

The Biſhop repeateth again the confeſſion of Thomas Tomkins, *written before by the ſaid Biſhop of* London, *and ſubſcribed by the ſaid* Tomkins, *the* 26. *of* September, Anno, 1554. *which is this.*

The firſt confeſſion of *Tomkins* offered to *T. Boner*, and now here again repeated.

I Thomas Tomkins *of the Pariſh of* Shoreditch, *in the Dioceſs of* London, *having confeſſed and declared openly heretofore to* Edmund *Biſhop of* London *mine Ordinary, that my belief hath been many years paſt, and is at this preſent; that the Body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt*

Chriſt is not truly and in very deed in the Sacrament of the Altar, but only in Heaven, and ſo in Heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the Sacrament of the Altar.

The Maſs full of Superſtition & Idolatry.

And moreover, having likewiſe confeſſed and declared to my ſaid Ordinary openly many times, that although the Church, called the Catholick Church, hath allowed, and doth allow the Maſs and Sacrifice made and done therein, as a wholeſom, profitable, and a godly thing; yet my belief hath been many years paſt, and is at this preſent, that the ſaid Maſs is full of Superſtition, plain Idolatry, and unprofitable for my Soul, and ſo have I called it many times, and take it at this preſent.

Baptiſm ought to be miniſtred in the Vulgar Tongue.

Having alſo likewiſe confeſſed and declared to my ſaid Ordinary, that the Sacrament of Baptiſm ought to be only in the Vulgar Tongue, and not otherwiſe miniſtred, and alſo without any ſuch Ceremonies, as accuſtomably are uſed in the Latin Church, and otherwiſe not to be allowed.

Tomkins conſtantly ſtandeth to the Truth of the Goſpel.

Finally, being many times and oft called openly before my ſaid Ordinary, and talked withal touching all my ſaid Confeſſions and Declarations, both by the ſaid mine Ordinary and divers other Learned men, as well his Chaplains as other, and counſelled by all them to embrace the Truth, and to recant mine Error in the Premiſſes, which they told me was plain Hereſie and manifeſt Error; do teſtifie and declare hereby, that I do and will continually ſtand to my ſaid Confeſſion, Declaration, and Belief, in all the Premiſſes, and every part thereof, and in no wiſe recant or go from any part of the ſame. In witneſs whereof I have ſubſcribed, and paſſed this writing the 26. day of September *the year aforeſaid.*

By me Tho. Tompkins *aforeſaid.*

The Name of them that ſate upon *Thomas Tomkins* at this Seſſion, were theſe; *Edmund Boner*, *John Feckenam* Dean of *Pauls*, *John Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *London*, *John Morwen* Maſter of Arts, *Thomas Morton* Parſon of *Fulham*, *Triſtram Swadell*, *Thomas More*, *Thomas Bekinſaw*, *James Cline*, Clerks.

The laſt Appearance of Thomas Tomkins *before* Boner *and the Commiſſioners.*

The laſt appearance and condemnation of T. Tomkins, Martyr.

THe ſame day and place, at two of the Clock in the Afternoon, he was (the laſt time) brought before the Biſhops of *London*, *Bathe*, and St. *Davids*, with others; where he was earneſtly exhorted by the ſaid Biſhop of *Bathe* to revoke and leave off his Opinions. Unto whom he anſwered, My Lord, I was born and brought up in Ignorance until now of late years; and now I know the Truth, wherein I will continue unto the death.

Then *Boner* cauſed all his Articles and Confeſſion to be again openly read, and ſo in his accuſtomed manner perſwaded with him to recant. To whom he finally ſaid, My Lord, I cannot ſee but that you would have me forſake the Truth, and to fall into Error and Hereſie.

Sentence read againſt Thomas Tomkins, March 16.

The Biſhop ſeeing he would not recant, did proceed in his Law, and ſo gave Sentence of Condemnation upon him.

Then he delivered him to the Sheriff of *London*, who carried him ſtrait unto *Newgate*, where he remained moſt joyous and conſtant until the 16. day of *March* next after: on which day, he was by the ſaid Sheriff conveyed into *Smithfield*, and there ſealed up his Faith in the flaming Fire, to the Glory of Gods holy Name, and Confirmation of the Weak.

The Martyrdom of Th. Tomkins in Smithfield, Anno 1555. March 16.

A notable Hiſtory of William Hunter, *a young man of* 19 *years, purſued to death by Juſtice* Brown *for the Goſpels ſake, worthy of all young Men and Parents to be read.*

Will. Hunter an Apprentice and Martyr.

THe 26. day of the ſaid Month of *March*, the year aforeſaid, followed the Martyrdom of *William Hunter* a right godly young man, of the Age of 19. years, and born of like godly Parents: by whom he was not only inſtructed in true Religion and Godlineſs, but alſo confirmed by them unto death, after a rare and ſtrange example worthy to be noted and had in admiration of all Parents. Wherein may appear a ſingular Spectacle, not only of a marvellous Fortitude in the party ſo young, but alſo in his Parents, to behold Nature in them ſtriving with Religion, and overcome of the ſame. Whereby Chriſtian Parents may learn what is to be done, not only in their Children, but alſo in themſelves, if need at any time do require, or godlineſs ſhould demand the duty of a Chriſtian man againſt natural Affection. Example whereof in the ſequel of this Hiſtory we have here preſent before our eyes. Which Hiſtory, as it was faithfully drawn out by *Robert Hunter* his own Brother (who being preſent with his Brother *William*, and never left him till his death, ſent the true Report unto us) we have here with like faithfulneſs placed and recorded the ſame, as followeth.

Anno 1555.

Will. Hunter Apprentice in Coleman-ſtreet with Tho. Taylor.

William Hunter, being an Apprentice in *London* in the firſt year of Queen *Mary*, was commanded at the *Eaſter* next following to receive the Communion at a Maſs, by the Prieſt of the Pariſh where he dwelt, called *Coleman-ſtreet*; which becauſe he refuſed to do, he was very much threatned that he ſhould be therefore brought before the Biſhop of *London*. Wherefore *William Hunters* Maſter, one *Thomas Taylor*, a Silkweaver, required *William Hunter* to go and depart from him, leſt that he ſhould come in danger becauſe of him, if he continued in his Houſe. For the which cauſes, *William Hunter* took leave of his ſaid Maſter, and thence came to *Burntwood* where his Father dwelt, with whom he afterward remained about the ſpace of half a quarter of a year.

Will. Hunter threatned for not receiving at a Maſs.

Will. Hunter willed of his Maſter to depart.

Will. Hunter cometh to his Father to Burntwood.

After this it hapned within five or ſix weeks, that *William* going into the Chappel of *Burntwood*, and finding there a Bible lying on a Deſk, did read therein. In the mean time there came in one Father *Atwell* a Sumner, which hearing *William* read in the Bible, ſaid to him, What meddleſt thou with the Bible? Knoweſt thou what thou readeſt? and canſt thou expound the Scriptures?

Father Atwell a Sumner or Promotor.

To whom *William* anſwered and ſaid, Father *Atwell*, I take not upon me to expound the Scriptures, except I were diſpenſed withal; but I, finding the Bible here when I came, read in it to my comfort. To whom Father *Atwell* ſaid, It was never merry world ſince the Bible came abroad in Engliſh.

Talk between Atwell and Will. Hunter concerning the Bible.

To the which words *William* anſwered, ſaying, Father *Atwell*, ſay not ſo for Gods ſake: for it is Gods Book, out of the which every one that hath Grace may learn to know both what things pleaſe God, and alſo what diſpleaſeth him. Then ſaid Father *Atwell*, Could we not tell before this time as well as now, how God was ſerved? *William* anſwered, No, Father *Atwell*, nothing ſo well, as we may now, if that we might have his bleſſed Word amongſt us ſtill as we have had. It is true, ſaid Father *Atwell*, if it be as you ſay.

The Catholicks cannot abide the Bible.

Well, ſaid *William Hunter*, it liketh me very well, and I pray God that we may have the bleſſed Bible amongſt us continually. To the which words Father *Atwell* ſaid, I perceive your mind well enough; you are one of them that miſliketh the Queens Laws: and therefore you came from *London*, I hear ſay. You learned theſe ways at *London*: but for all that, ſaid Father *Atwell*, you muſt turn another Leaf, or elſe you, and a great ſort more Hereticks will broil for this gear, I warrant you. To the which words *William* ſaid, God give me Grace, that I may believe his Word, and confeſs his Name, whatſoever come thereof. Confeſs his Name, quoth old *Atwell*? No, no, ye will go to the Devil all of you, and confeſs his Name.

Atwell not able to reaſon, but he is able to accuſe the innocent.

What, ſaid *William*? You ſay not well Father *Atwell*: At the which words he went out of the Chappel in a great fury, ſaying, I am not able to reaſon with thee: but I will fetch one ſtreight way which ſhall talk with thee, I warrant thee, thou Heretick. And he leaving *William Hunter* reading in the Bible, ſtreight-ways brought one *Thomas Wood*, who was then Vicar of *Southwell*, which was at an Alehouſe even over againſt the ſaid Chappel; who, hearing old *Atwell* ſay, that *William Hunter* was reading of the Bible in the Chappel, came by and by to him, and finding him reading in the Bible, took the matter very heinouſly, ſaying; Sirra, who gave thee leave to read in the Bible, and to expound it?

The Vicar of Southwell angry with Will. Hunter for reading in the Bible

Then

Anno 1555.

Then *William* anſwered, I expound not the Scriptures, Sir, but read them for my comfort. What medleſt thou with them at all, ſaid the Vicar? It becometh not thee, nor none ſuch to meddle with the Scriptures.

But *William* anſwered, I will read the Scriptures (God willing) while I live; and you ought, Maſter Vicar, not to diſcourage any man for that matter, but rather exhort men diligently to read the Scriptures for your diſcharge and their own.

Unto the which the Vicar anſwered, It becometh thee well to tell me what I have to do. I ſee thou art an Heretick by thy words. *William* ſaid, I am no Heretick for ſpeaking the Truth. But the Vicar ſaid, It is a merry World when ſuch as thou art ſhall teach us what is the Truth. Thou art medling, Father *Atwell* tells me, with the ſixth of *John*, wherein thou maiſt perceive how Chriſt ſaith, *Except that ye eat the fleſh of Chriſt, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.* *William* ſaid, I read the ſixth of *John* indeed; howbeit, I made no expoſition on it.

The Catholicks in no wiſe will be controled.

Then ſaid Father *Atwell*, When you read it, I ſaid, that you there might underſtand how that in the Sacrament of the Altar is Chriſts very natural Body and Blood: unto the which you anſwered, how that you would take the Scriptures as they are, and that you would meddle with no great Expoſition, except that ye were diſpenſed withal.

W. Hunter examined of the Sacrament.

Ah, ſaid the Vicar, What ſay you to the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar? Believeſt thou not in it, and that the Bread and Wine is tranſubſtantiated into the very Body and Blood of Chriſt? *William* anſwered, I learn no ſuch thing in the ſixth of *John* as you ſpeak of. Why, ſaid the Vicar, doſt thou not believe in the Sacrament of the Altar? I believe, ſaid *William Hunter* all that Gods Word teacheth. Why, ſaid the Vicar, thou maiſt learn this which I ſay, plainly in the ſixth of *John*.

The Catholicks like to the Capernaites.

Then ſaid *William*, You underſtand Chriſts words much like the carnal *Capernaites*, which thought, that Chriſt would have given them his fleſh to feed upon: which opinion our Saviour Chriſt corrected, when he ſaid, *The words which I ſpeak to you, are ſpirit and life.*

Hereſie miſtaken with the Papiſts.

Now, quoth the Vicar, I have found you out: now I ſee that thou art an Heretick indeed, and that thou doſt not believe in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then ſaid *William Hunter*, whereas you doubt my belief, I would it were tried whether that you or I would ſtand faſter in our Faith. Yea, thou Heretick (ſaid the Vicar) wouldſt thou have it ſo tried? *William Hunter* anſwered, That which you call Hereſie, I ſerve my Lord God withal.

Then ſaid the Vicar, Canſt thou ſerve God with Hereſie? But *William* anſwered, I would that you and I were even now faſt tied to a Stake, to prove whether that I or you would ſtand ſtrongeſt to our Faith. But the Vicar anſwered, It ſhall not be ſo tried. No, quoth *William*, I think ſo: for if I might, I think I know who would ſooneſt recant; for I durſt ſet my foot againſt yours, even to the death. That we ſhall ſee, quoth the Vicar, and ſo they departed; the Vicar threatning *William* much, how that he would complain of him; with other much Communication which they had together.

The Vicar complaineth to Juſtice *Brown* of W. *Hunter*. Juſtice *Brown* ſendeth for *Hunters* Father.

Immediately after, this Vicar of *Welde* told Mr. *Brown* of the Communication which *William Hunter* and he had together. Which when Mr. *Brown* underſtood, immediately he ſent for *Williams* Father and the Conſtable, one *Robert Salmon*. For immediately after *William Hunter* and the Vicar had reaſoned together, he took his leave of his Father and fled, becauſe *Wood* the Vicar threatned him. Now when the Conſtable and *Williams* Father were come, and were before Mr. *Brown*, he asked where *William Hunter* was. His Father anſwered, ſaying, If it pleaſe you, Sir, I know not where he is become: No, quoth Maſter *Brown*? I will make thee tell where he is, and fetch him forth alſo e're I have done with thee. Sir, ſaid *Williams* Father, I know not where he is become, nor where to ſeek for him.

The fruit of the Popes Doctrine to ſet the Father againſt the ſon.

Then ſaid Mr. *Brown*, Why didſt thou not bring him when thou hadſt him? I promiſe thee if thou wilt not fetch him, I will ſend thee to Priſon, till I ſhall get him. Wherefore ſee that thou promiſe me to fetch him, or elſe it is not beſt to look me in the face any more, nor yet to reſt in *Burntwood*. Well, quoth M. *Brown* to *Williams* Father, ſee that thou ſeek him forth, and bring him to me.

An unreaſonable requeſt of Juſtice *Brown*.

Williams Father anſwered; Sir, would you have me ſeek my Son to be burned? If thou bring him to me, quoth M. *Brown*, I will deal well enough for that matter; thou ſhalt not need to care for the matter. Fetch him, and thou ſhalt ſee what I will do for him.

The Father pretends to ſeek the Son.

Moreover, if thou lackeſt mony, quoth he, thou ſhalt have ſome, and bade the Conſtable M. *Salmon* to give him a Crown, but *Williams* Father took none of him. Howbeit M. *Brown* would never reſt, till *Williams* Father had promiſed him to ſeek out his Son. And thus Mr. *Brown* ſent the Conſtable home again, and *Williams* Father, commanding him to ſeek out *William Hunter*, and then to come again and bring him to him.

The Son meeteth with him in the way.

After that Old Father *Hunter* had ridden two or three days journey to ſatisfie M. *Browns* expectation, it happened that *William* met with his Father in the High way as he travelled, and firſt he ſeeing his Father came to him, and ſpake to him, and told him how that he thought that he ſought for him: and then his Father confeſſing it, wept ſore, and ſaid, that Mr. *Brown* charged him to ſeek him, and bring him to him; howbeit, ſaid he, I will return home again, and ſay I cannot find you. But *William* ſaid; Father I will go home with you, and ſave you harmleſs, whatſoever cometh of it.

The working of Nature between the Father, and the Son.

And thus they came home together; but *William*, as ſoon as he was come home, was taken by the ſaid Conſtable, and laid in the Stocks till the day. Maſter *Brown*, hearing that *William Hunter* was come home, ſent for him to the Conſtable, who brought him immediately to Maſter *Brown*.

W. Hunter brought before Juſtice *Brown*.

Now when *William* was come, Mr. *Brown* ſaid to him, Ah ſirra, are ye come? and then by and by he commanded the Bible to be brought and opened it, and then began to reaſon with *William* on this manner, ſaying; I hear ſay you are a Scripture-man, you, and can reaſon much of the ſixth of *John* and expound as pleaſeth you, and turned the Bible to the ſixth of S. *John*, and then he laid to his charge what an expoſition he made, when the Vicar and he talked together. And *William* ſaid, He urged me to ſay ſo much as I did.

Talk between W. Hunter and Juſtice *Brown* about the Sacrament.

Well quoth Mr. *Brown*, becauſe you can expound that place ſo well; how ſay you to another place, turning to the 22. of S. *Luke*? and Mr. *Brown* ſaid, Look here (quoth he) for Chriſt ſaith, that the Bread is his Body.

Bread broken, but not changed.

To the which *William* anſwered, the Text ſaith, how Chriſt took Bread, but not that he changed it into another ſubſtance, but gave that which he took, and brake that which he gave, which was Bread as is evident by the Text. For elſe he ſhould have had two Bodies, which to affirm I ſee no reaſon, ſaid *William*.

M. *Brown* in a perfect chafe.

At the which anſwer Mr. *Brown* was very angry, and took up the Bible and turned the leaves, and then flung it down again in ſuch a fury, that *William* could not well find the place again whereof they reaſoned.

Then M. *Brown* ſaid, Thou naughty boy, wilt thou not take things as they are, but expound them as thou wilt? Doth not Chriſt call the Bread his Body plainly, and thou wilt not believe, that the Bread is his Body after the Conſecration? Thou goeſt about to make Chriſt a lyar.

How Chriſt called Bread his Body.

But *William Hunter* anſwered; I mean not ſo, Sir, but rather more earneſtly to ſearch what the *mind* of Chriſt is in that Holy Inſtitution, wherein he commendeth unto us the remembrance of his death, paſſion, reſurrection, and coming again, ſaying; *This do in the remembrance of me.* And alſo though Chriſt call the Bread his Body as he doth alſo ſay, that he is a Vine, a Door, &c. yet is not his Body turned into Bread, no more than he is turned into a Door or Vine. Wherefore Chriſt called the Bread his Body by a figure.

M. *Brown* in a rage.

At that Word Mr. *Brown* ſaid, Thou art a villain indeed. Wilt thou make Chriſt a lyar yet ſtill? and was in ſuch a fury with *William*, and ſo raged, that *William* could not ſpeak a word, but he croſſed him, and ſcoffed at every word. Wherefore *William* ſeeing him in ſuch fury, deſired him that he would either hear him quietly, and ſuffer him to anſwer for himſelf, or elſe

M. Brown ſendeth up W. Hunter to Biſhop Boner.

ſend him away. To the which Mr. *Brown* anſwered; Indeed I wil ſend thee to morrow to my Lord of *London*, and he ſhall have thee under Examination: and thus left off the talk, and made a Letter immediately, and ſent *William Hunter* with the Conſtable to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, who received *William*.

After that he had read the Letter, and the Conſtable returned home again, the Biſhop cauſed *William* to be brought into a Chamber, where he began to reaſon with him in this manner: I underſtand, *William Hunter*, quoth he, by Mr. *Browns* Letter, how that you have had certain Communication with the Vicar of the Wield, about the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and how that ye could not agree; whereupon Mr. *Brown* ſent for thee to bring thee to the Catholick Faith, from the which, he ſaith that thou art gone. Howbeit if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou ſhalt have no harm for any thing that thou haſt ſaid or done in this matter.

Boners words to W. Hunter.

William anſwered, ſaying; I am not fallen from the Catholick Faith of Chriſt (I am ſure) but do believe it, and confeſs it with all my heart.

Talk between W. *Hunter* and the Biſhop about the Sacrament.

Why, quoth the Biſhop, how ſayeſt thou to the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar? Wilt thou not recant thy ſaying, which thou confeſſedſt before Mr. *Brown*, how that Chriſts Body is not in the Sacrament of the Altar, the ſame that was born of the Virgin *Mary*?

To the which *William* anſwered, ſaying; My Lord, I underſtand that Mr. *Brown* hath certified you of the talk which he and I had together, and thereby ye know what I ſaid to him, the which I will not recant by Gods help. Then ſaid the Biſhop, I think thou art aſhamed to bear a fagot, and recant openly; but if thou wilt recant thy ſayings, I will promiſe thee that thou ſhalt not be put to open ſhame: but ſpeak the word here now between me and thee, and I will promiſe thee it ſhall go no further, and thou ſhalt go home again without any hurt.

Boners fair promiſes to W. Hunter.

William anſwered and ſaid, my Lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my Conſcience I will go to my Father and dwell with him, or elſe with my Maſter again, and ſo if no Body will diſquiet nor trouble my Conſcience, I will keep my Conſcience to my ſelf.

W. Hunter not ſuffered to have his Conſcience free.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, I am content, ſo that thou wilt go to the Church, and receive, and be ſhriven, and ſo continue a good Catholick Chriſtian. No, quoth *William*, I will not do ſo for all the good in the World.

W. Hunter denieth to recant.

Then, quoth the Biſhop, if you will not do ſo, I will make you ſure enough, I warrant you. Well, quoth *William*, you can do no more than God will permit you. Well, quoth the Biſhop, wilt thou not recant indeed by no means? No, quoth *William*, never while I live, God willing.

Then the Biſhop (this talk ended) commanded his men to put *William* in the Stocks in his gatehouſe, where he ſate two daies and nights, only with a cruſt of brown Bread and a Cup of Water.

Boner commandeth William Hunter to the Stocks. W. Hunter two daies and two nights in the Stocks, with a cruſt of Bread and a Cup of Water.

At the two days end the Biſhop came to him, and finding the Cup of Water and the cruſt of Bread ſtill by him upon the Stocks, ſaid to his men; Take him out of the Stocks, and let him break his faſt with you. Then they let him forth of the Stocks, but would not ſuffer him to eat with them, but called him Heretick. And he ſaid, he was as loth to be in their Company, as they were to be in his.

Hunter again refuſeth to recant his Faith in Chriſt.

After the brakefaſt the Biſhop ſent for *William*, and demanded whether he would recant or no. But *William* made him anſwer, how that he would never recant that which he had confeſſed before men, as concerning his Faith in Chriſt.

Then the Biſhop ſaid that he was no Chriſtian, but he denied the Faith in which he whs Baptized. But *William* anſwered; I was Baptized in the Faith of the Holy Trinity, the which I will not go from, God aſſiſting me with his Grace.

W. Hunter laid in the couvict Priſon with as many Irons as he could bear.

Then the Biſhop ſent him to the convict Priſon and commanded the Keeper to lay Irons upon him as many as he could bear: and moreover asked him, how old he was; and *William* ſaid that he was nineteen years old.

Well, ſaid the Biſhop, you will be burned ere you be 20. years old, if you will not yield your ſelf better than you have done yet. *William* anſwered, God ſtrengthen me in his Truth: and then he parted, and the Biſhop allowing him a half-penny a day to live on in Bread or drink.

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Hunter allowed a half-penny a day to live on.

Thus he continued in Priſon three quarters of a year. In the which time he had been before the Biſhop five times, beſides the time when he was Condemned in the Conſiſtory in *Pauls* the 9. day of *February*: at the which time his Brother *Robert Hunter* was preſent, when and where I heard the Biſhop condemn him, and five other more.

These 5. were *Tomkins*, *Piget*, *Knight*, *Hauks*, and *Laurence*.

And then the Biſhop calling *William*, asked him if he would recant, and ſo read to him his Examination and confeſſion, as is above rehearſed, and then rehearſed how that *William* confeſſed that he did believe, that he received Chriſts Body ſpiritually, when he did receive the Communion. Doſt thou mean, quoth the Biſhop, that the Bread is Chriſts Body ſpiritually?

The Bread is Chriſts Body neither Spiritually, nor Bodily, but in receiving the Communion we feed on Chriſt ſpiritually in our Soul.

William anſwered; I mean not ſo, but rather when I receive the Holy Communion rightly and worthily, I do feed upon Chriſt ſpiritually through Faith in my Soul, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Chriſt hath brought unto all faithful Believers through his precious death, paſſion and reſurrection, and not that the Bread is his Body, either ſpiritually or corporally.

Then ſaid the Biſhop to *William*; Doſt thou not think (holding up his Cap) that for example here of my Cap, thou mayſt ſee the ſquarneſs and colour of it, and yet that not to be the Subſtance, which thou judgeſt by the Accidents?

The queſtion is not what God can do, but what he would have us to believe in his Holy Supper.

William anſwered; if you can ſeparate the Accidents from the Subſtance, and ſhew me the Subſtance without the Accidents, I could believe. Then ſaid the Biſhop, Thou wilt not believe that God can do any thing above mans capacity. Yes, ſaid *William*, I muſt needs believe that: for daily experience teacheth all men that thing plainly: but our queſtion is not what God can do, but what he will have us to learn in his holy Supper.

Then the Biſhop ſaid, I always have found thee at this point, and I ſee no hope in thee to reclaim thee unto the Catholick Faith, but thou wilt continue a corrupt number, and then pronounced Sentence upon him, how that he ſhould go from that place to *Newgate* for a time, and ſo from thence to *Burntwood*, where, ſaid he, thou ſhalt be burned.

A Sentence pronounced againſt William Hunter.

Then the Biſhop called for another, and ſo when he had condemned them all, he called for *William Hunter*, and perſwaded with him, ſaying if thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a free man in the City, and give thee 40. pound in good money to ſet up thine occupation withal: or I will make thee Steward of my Houſe, and ſet thee in Office, for I like thee well, thou haſt wit enough, and I will preferr thee if thou recant.

The large Offer of B. Boner to W. Hunter.

But *William* anſwered, I thank you for your great offers: Notwithſtanding, my Lord, ſaid he, if you cannot perſwade my Conſcience with Scriptures, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the World; for I count all things Worldly but loſs and dung, in reſpect of the Love of Chriſt.

W. Hunter refuſeth to come from Chriſt for the love of the World.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, if thou dieſt in this mind thou art Condemned for ever. *William* anſwered, God judgeth righteouſly, and juſtifieth them whom man condemneth unjuſtly.

W. Hunter ſent down to Burntwood to be burnt.

Thus *William* and the Biſhop departed, *William* and the reſt to *Newgate*, where they remained about a Month, which afterward were ſent down, *William* to *Burntwood*, and the others into divers places of the Countrey. Now when *William* was come down to *Burntwood*, which was the *Saturday* before the Annunciation of the Virgin *Mary* that followed on the *Monday* after, *William* remained till the *Tueſday* after, becauſe they would not put him to death then, for the holineſs of the day.

His Father and Mother come to comfort him.

In the mean time *Williams* Father and Mother came to him, and deſired heartily of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun, and his Mother ſaid to him, that ſhe was glad that ever ſhe was ſo happy to bear ſuch a Child, which could find in his heart to loſe his Life for Chriſts Names ſake.

His Father and Mother exhort him to be conſtant,

Then *William* ſaid to his Mother; For my little pain which I ſhall ſuffer, which is but a ſhort braid, Chriſt hath promiſed me, Mother (ſaid he) a Crown of Joy; may you not

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not be glad of that, Mother? With that his Mother kneeled down on her knees, ſaying, I pray God ſtrengthen thee my Son, to the end. Yea, I think thee as well beſtowed as any Child that ever I bare.

At the which words Mr. *Higbed* took her in his Arms, ſaying, I rejoyce (and ſo ſaid the others) to ſee you in this mind, and you have a good cauſe to rejoyce. And his Father and Mother both ſaid, that they were never of other mind, but prayed for him, that as he had begun to confeſs Chriſt before men, he likewiſe might ſo continue to the end. *Williams* Father ſaid, I was afraid of nothing but that my Son ſhould have been killed in the Priſon by hunger and cold, the Biſhop was ſo hard to him. But *William* confeſſed, after a Month that his Father was charged with his Boord, that he lacked nothing, but had meat and cloathing enough, yea, even out of the Court, both money, meat, cloaths, wood and coals, and all things neceſſary.

Mark here whether Bonner did nothing but by the Law.

Thus they continued in their Inn, being the *Swan* in *Burntwood* in a Parlor, whither reſorted many People of the Country to ſee thoſe good men which were there: and many of *Williams* Acquaintance came to him, and reaſoned with him, and he with them, exhorting them to come away from the abomination of Popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry.

A notable thing concerning W. *Hunters* Dream.

Thus paſſing away *Saturday*, *Sunday*, and *Monday*, on *Monday* at night it hapned that *William* had a dream about two of the Clock in the Morning, which was this; How that he was at the place where the Stake was pitcht, where he ſhould be burned, which (as he thought in his Dream) was at the Towns end where the Butts ſtood, which was ſo indeed: and alſo he dreamed that he met with his Father as he went to the Stake, and alſo that there was a Prieſt at the Stake, which went about to have him recant.

To whom he ſaid (as he thought in his Dream) how that he bade him, away falſe Prophet, and how that he exhorted the People to beware of him, and ſuch as he was: which things came to paſs indeed. It hapned that *William* made a noiſe to himſelf in his Dream, which cauſed Mr. *Higbed* and the others to awake him out of his ſleep, to know what he lacked. When he awaked he told them his Dream in order, as is ſaid.

W. *Hunter* lead to the place of Martyrdom.

Now when it was day, the Sheriff Mr. *Brocket* called on to ſet forward to the burning of *William Hunter*. Then came the Sheriffs Son to *William Hunter*, and embraced him in his right Arm, ſaying, *William*, be not afraid of theſe men which are here preſent with Bows, Bills and Weapons, ready prepared to bring you to the place where you ſhall be burned. To whom *William* anſwered, I thank God I am not afraid; for I have caſt my count what it will coſt me already. Then the Sheriffs Son could ſpeak no more to him for weeping.

The Sheriffs Son giveth comfortable words to W. *Hunter*.

W. *Hunters* Dream verified.

Then *William Hunter* plucked up his Gown and ſtepped over the Parlor grounſeil, and went forward chearfully, the Sheriffs Servant taking him by one Arm, and his Brother by another, and thus going in the way, he met with his Father according to his Dream, and he ſpake to his Son, weeping and ſaying, God be with thee Son *William*: and *William* ſaid, God be with you good Father, and be of good comfort; for I hope we ſhall meet again when we ſhall be merry. His Father ſaid, I hope ſo *William*, and ſo departed. So *William* went to the place where the Stake ſtood, even according to his Dream, whereas all things were very unready. Then *William* took a wet Broom Fagot, and kneeled down thereon, and read the 51 *Pſalm*, till he came to theſe words, *The Sacrifice of God is a contrite ſpirit, a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not deſpiſe.*

His words to his Father.

Then ſaid Mr. *Tyrill* of the *Braches*, called *William Tyrill*, Thou lieſt (ſaid he) thou readeſt falſe; for the words are an humble ſpirit. But *William* ſaid, The Tranſlation ſaith a contrite heart. Yea, quoth Mr. *Tyrill*, the Tranſlation is falſe, ye tranſlate Books as ye liſt your ſelves, like Hereticks. Well, quoth *William*, there is no great difference in thoſe words. Then ſaid the Sheriff, *Here is* a Letter from the Queen. If thou wilt recant thou ſhalt live; if not, thou ſhalt be burned. No, quoth *William*, I will not recant, God willing. Then *William* roſe and went to the Stake, and ſtood upright to it. Then came one *Richard Ponde* a Bayliff, and made faſt the Chain about *William*.

Mr. *William Tyrill* of the *Braches* carpeth where he hath no cauſe.

W. *Hunter* refuſeth the Queens Pardon.

The burning of William Hunter, Martyr.

Then ſaid M. *Brown*, Here is not wood enough to burn a Leg of him. Then ſaid *William*, Good People pray for me; and make ſpeed and diſpatch me quickly: and pray for me while you ſee me alive, good People, and I will pray for you likewiſe.

Now, quoth Mr. *Brown*, pray for thee? I will pray no more for thee, than I will pray for a Dog. To whom *William* anſwered, Mr. *Brown*, now you have that which you fought for, and I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the laſt day: howbeit I forgive you. Then ſaid Mr. *Brown*, I ask no forgiveneſs of thee. Well, ſaid *William*, if God forgive you, I ſhall not require my Blood at your hands.

A dogged ſaying of Mr. *Brown*.

An external shew of Christs favour upon W. *Hunter.*

Then said *William*, Son of God shine upon me; and immediately the Sun in the Element shone out of a dark Cloud so full in his Face, that he was constrained to look another way: whereat the People mused, because it was so dark a little time afore. Then *William* took up a Fagot of Broom, and embraced it in his Arms.

The end and martyrdom of W. *Hunter* *Anno* 1555. *March* 26.

Williams Dream verified.

Then the Priest, which *William* dreamed of, came to his Brother *Robert* with a Popish Book to carry to *William*, that he might recant, which Book his Brother would not meddle withal.

Hunters words to a Popish Priest.

Then *William* seeing the Priest, and perceiving how he would have shewed him the Book, said, Away thou false Prophet. Beware of them, good People, and come away from their Abominations, lest that you be partakers of their Plagues. Then, quoth the Priest, look how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in Hell. *William* answered, Thou liest thou false Prophet; Away thou false Prophet, away.

Then was there a Gentleman which said, I pray God have mercy upon his Soul. The People said, Amen, Amen. Immediately fire was made.

Hunter comforted by his Brother *Robert.*

Then *William* cast his Psalter right into his Brothers hand, who said, *William*, think on the holy Passion of Christ, and be not afraid of Death.

And *William* answered, I am not afraid. Then lift he up his hands to Heaven, and said, Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my Spirit; and casting down his Head again into the smothering Smoak, he yielded up his Life for the Truth, sealing it with his Blood to the Praise of God.

Robert Hunter set in the Stocks.

Now by and by after, Mr. *Brown* commanded one old *Hunt* to take his Brother *Robert Hunter*, and lay him in the Stocks till he returned from the burning of *Higbed* at *Hornden* on the Hill, the same day. Which thing old *Hunt* did.

Robert Hunter had before Mr. *Brown.*

Then Mr. *Brown* (when *Robert Hunter* came before him) asked if he would do as his Brother had done. But *Robert Hunter* answered, If I do as my Brother hath done, I shall have as he hath had. Marry, quoth Mr. *Brown*, thou maist be sure of it.

Robert Hunter by Gods Providence delivered.

Then Mr. *Brown* said, I marvel that thy Brother stood so to his Tackling: and moreover, he asked *Robert*, if *Williams* Master of *London* were not at his burning. But *Robert* said, that he was not there; but Mr. *Brown* bare him in hand that his Master was there, and how that he did see him there, but *Robert* denied it. Then Mr. *Brown* commanded the Constable and *Robert Hunter* to go their ways home, and so had no further talk with them.

Here followeth the History of Mr. Higbed *and Mr.* Causton, *two worthy Gentlemen of* Essex, *which for their sincere Confession of their Faith under* Boner *Bishop of* London, *were martyred and burned in* Essex, Anno 1555.

March 26. The story of Mr. *Higbed* and Mr. *Causton*, Martyrs.

ALthough the Condemnation of Mr. *Higbed* and Mr. *Causton* followed after the Condemnation of those other Martyrs which were condemned with *Tomkins* and *Hunter* above mentioned, yet because the time of their Execution was before the burning of the foresaid four Martyrs, forsomuch that they suffered the same day that *William Hunter* did, which was the 26. of *March*, I thought therefore next after the Story of the said *William Hunter*, following the order of time, here to place the same.

This Master *Higbed* and Master *Causton*, two worshipful Gentlemen in the County of *Essex*, the one at *Hornden* of the Hill, the other of the Parish of *Thundurst*, being zealous and religious in the true Service of God; as they could not dissemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the World, so in time of blind Superstition and wretched Idolatry, they could not long lye hid and obscure in such a number of malignant Adversaries, Accusers, and Servants of this World, but at length they were perceived and detected to the foresaid *Edmund Boner* Bishop of *London*, peradventure not without the same organ which sent up *William Hunter*, as is above declared. By reason whereof, by commandment they were committed to the Officers of *Colchester* to be safely kept, and with them also a Servant of *Thomas Causton*, who in this praise of Christian Godliness was nothing inferiour to his Master.

Mr. *Higbed* and Mr. *Causton* detected to *Boner.*

Boner the foresaid Bishop, perceiving these two Gentlemen to be of worshipful Estate, and of great estimation in that Country, lest any tumult should thereby arise, came thither himself, accompanied with Mr. *Fecknam* and certain others, thinking to reclaim them to his faction and fashion: so that great labour and diligence was taken therein, as well by terrors and threatnings, as by large promises and flattering, and all fair means, to reduce them again to the Unity (as they termed it) of the Mother Church. Anno 1555.

Bp. *Boner* cometh himself to *Colchester.*

In fine, when nothing could prevail to make them assent to their doings, at length they came to this point, that they required certain respite to consult with themselves what was best to do. Which time of deliberation being expired, and they remained still constant and unmoveable in their professed Doctrine, and setting out also their confession in writing, the Bishop seeing no good to be done in tarrying any longer there, departed thence, and carried them both with him to *London*, and with them certain other Prisoners also, which about the same time in those quarters were apprehended.

Mr. *Higbed* and Mr. *Causton* carried to *London.*

It was not long after this, but these Prisoners being at *London* committed to streight Prison, and there attempted sundry ways by the Bishop and his Chaplains to revoke their Opinions: at length, when no perswasions would serve, they were brought forth to open examination at the Consistory in *Pauls*, the 17. day of *February*, *Anno* 1555. Where they were demanded as well by the said Bishop, as also by the Bishop of *Bathe*, and others, whether they would recant their Errors and perverse Doctrine (as they termed it) and so come to the Unity of the Popish Church. Which when they refused to do, the Bishop assigned them likewise the next day to appear again, being the 18. of *February*.

The first days Session.

On the which day, among many other things there said and passed, he read unto them severally certain Articles, and gave them respite until the next day to answer unto the same, and so committed them again to Prison. The Copy of which Articles hereunder followeth.

The second days Session.

Articles objected and ministred by Boner *Bishop of* London, *severally against* Thomas Causton, *and* Thomas Higbed *of* Essex.

Articles laid by Bp. *Boner* to Mr. *Higbed* and *Causton.*

FIrst, *That thou* Thomas Causton (*or* Thomas Higbed) *hast been and art of the Diocese of* London, *and also of the Jurisdiction now of me* Edmund *Bishop of* London.

Item, *That thou wast in time past, according to the order of the Church of* England, *baptized and christened.*

Item, *That thou hadst Godfathers and Godmother, according to the said order.*

Item, *That the said Godfathers and Godmother did then promise for thee, and in thy Name, the Faith and Religion that then was used in the Realm of* England.

Item, *That that Faith and Religion, which they did profess and make for thee, was accounted and taken to be the Faith and Religion of the Church, and of the Christian People: And so was it in very deed.*

Item, *Thou coming to the age of discretion, that is to say, to the age of fourteen years, didst not mislike nor disallow that Faith, that Religion, or Promise then used and approved, and promised by the said Godfathers and Godmother, but for a time didst continue in it, as others (taking themselves for Christian people) did likewise.*

Item, *That at that time, and also before, it was taken for a Doctrine of the Church, Catholick and True, and every where in Christendom then allowed for Catholick and True, and to be the Profession of Christian men, to believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the Forms of Bread and Wine, after the Consecration, there was, and is by the Omnipotent Power and Will of Almighty God, and his Word, without any Substance of Bread and Wine there remaining, the true and natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in Substance, which was born of the Virgin* Mary, *and suffered upon the Cross, really, truly, and in very deed.*

The Real Presence.

Item, *That at that time thy Father and Mother, all thine Ancestors, all thy Kindred, Acquaintance, and Friends, and thy said Godfathers and Godmother did then so believe*

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believe, and think in all the ſame as the ſaid Church did therein believe.

Item, *That thy ſelf haſt had no juſt cauſe or lawful ground to depart or ſwerve from the ſaid Religion or Faith, nor any occaſion at all, except thou wilt follow and believe the erroneous Opinion or Belief, that hath been againſt the common order of the Church, brought in by certain diſordered perſons of late, at the uttermoſt within theſe thirty or forty years laſt paſt.*

Item, *That thou doſt know, or credibly haſt heard, and doſt believe, that Dr.* Robert Barnes, John Frith, Thomas Gerrard, Hierome Laſſels, Anne Askew, John Hooper *late Biſhop of* Gloceſter, *Sir* Laurence Sanders *Prieſt*, John Bradford, *Sir* John Rogers *Prieſt*, *Sir* Rowland Taylor *Prieſt*, *Sir* John Laurence *Prieſt*, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, *and* Thomas Hawkes, *have been heretofore reputed, taken, and accounted as Hereticks, and alſo condemned as Hereticks, and ſo pronounced openly and manifeſtly; ſpecially in holding and believing certain damnable Opinions, againſt the Verity of Chriſts Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, and all the ſame perſons, ſaving* John Bradford, *Sir* John Laurence, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, *and* Thomas Hawkes, *have ſuffered Pains of Death by Fire, for the maintenance and defence of their ſaid Opinions and Miſbelief.*

Alſo Sir Edmund Boner Prieſt, before the death of *Cromwel*, to be of that opinion and was ſworn twice againſt the Pope.

Item, *That thou doſt know, or credibly haſt heard, and doſt believe, that* Thomas Cranmer, *late Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and* Nicholas Ridley, *naming himſelf Biſhop of* London, Robert Farrar *late Biſhop of S.* Davids, *and* Hugh Latimer *ſometime Biſhop of* Worceſter; *have been, and are at this preſent reputed, accounted, and taken as Hereticks and Miſbelievers, in maintaining and holding certain damnable Opinions againſt the Verity of Chriſts Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar.*

Verity taken for Hereſie of miſbelieving Hereticks.

Item, *That thou haſt commended and praiſed all the ſaid perſons, ſo erring and believing (or at the leaſtwiſe ſome of them) ſecretly, and alſo openly, taking and believing them to be Faithful and Catholick People, and their ſaid Opinions to be good and true, and the ſame to the beſt and uttermoſt of thy power thou haſt allowed, maintained, and defended at ſundry times.*

Item, *That thou having heard, known, and underſtood all the Premiſſes, thus to be as is aforeſaid, haſt not regarded all or any part thereof, but contrary to the ſame and every part thereof, haſt attempted and done, condemning, tranſgreſſing, and breaking the Promiſe, Faith, Religion, Order, and Cuſtome aforeſaid, and haſt become, and art an Heretick and Miſbeliever in the Premiſſes, denying the Verity of Chriſt Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, and obſtinately affirming, That the Subſtance of the Material Bread and Wine are there remaining, and that the Subſtance of Chriſts Body and Blood, taken of the Virgin* Mary, *are not there in the ſaid Sacrament really and truly being.*

Item, *That all the Premiſſes be true, notorious, famous, and manifeſt, and that upon all the ſame, there have and be amongſt the ſad and good People of the City of* London, *and Dioceſs of the ſame, in great Multitude, commonly and publickly, a common and publick fame and opinion, and alſo in all places where thou haſt been, within the ſaid Dioceſs of* London.

¶ Theſe Articles being given to them in writing by the Biſhop, the next day following was aſſigned to them to give up and exhibit their Anſwers unto the ſame.

The third days Seſſion upon the Examination of Mr. Cauſton *and Mr.* Higbed.

The third Seſſion.

Upon the which day, being the firſt day of *March*, the ſaid *Thomas Cauſton* and *Thomas Highed* Gentlemen, being brought before the Biſhop in the Conſiſtory, there exhibited their Anſwers to the Articles aforeſaid; the tenor of which Anſwers here followeth.

The Anſwers of Thomas Cauſton *and* Thomas Higbed; *ſeverally made to the foreſaid Articles objected as before.*

The Anſwers of the Martyrs to the Articles.

TO *the firſt, they anſwer and confeſs the ſame to be true.*

To the ſecond, they anſwer and believe the ſame to be true.

To the third, they anſwer and believe the ſame to be true.

To the fourth, they anſwer and think the ſame to be true.

To the fifth, until this clauſe (and ſo was it in very deed) they anſwer and believe the ſame to be true. And unto that clauſe (and ſo was it in very deed) they anſwer negatively, and believe that it was not in very deed.

To the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth, they anſwer and believe the ſame to be true.

To the ninth, they anſwer and ſay, that they think they have a juſt and lawful cauſe and ground to ſwerve and go from the ſaid Faith and Religion, becauſe they have now read more Scripture, than either themſelves, or their Parents aud Kinſfolk, Godfathers or Godmothers have read or ſeen heretofore in that behalf.

To the tenth, they anſwer, ſay, and believe, that the ſaid perſons articulate have been named, taken, and counted for Hereticks, and ſo condemned for Hereticks: yet about three years paſt, they were taken for good Chriſtian Perſons. And forſomuch as theſe Reſpondents did never hear them preach concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, they ſay that they preached well, in that they ſaid and preached that Chriſt is not preſent really and truly in the Sacrament, but that there is remaining the Subſtance of Bread and Wine.

Tranſubſtantiation denied.

To the eleventh, they anſwer and ſay, that howſoever other Folks do repute and take the ſaid perſons articulate, yet theſe Reſpondents themſelves did never, nor yet do ſo account and take them. And further they ſay, that in caſe the ſaid perſons articulate named in this Article have preached, that in the Sacrament of the Altar is very material Wine, and not the Subſtance of Chriſts Body and Blood under the Forms of Bread and Wine, then they preached well and truly; and theſe Reſpondents themſelves do ſo believe.

To the twelfth, they anſwer and ſay, that where other folk have diſpraiſed the ſaid perſons articulate, and diſallowed their Opinions, theſe Reſpondents (for ought that they at any time have heard) did like and allow the ſaid perſons, and their ſayings.

To the thirteenth, they anſwer and ſay, that they have not broken or condemned any promiſe made by their Godfathers and Godmothers for them at their Baptiſm, and that they are no Hereticks nor Miſbelievers, in that they believe that there remaineth only Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, and that Chriſts Natural Body is not there, but in Heaven; for they ſay, that the Scriptures ſo teach them.

To the fourteenth, they anſwer and believe, that the Premiſſes before by them confeſſed be true, notorious, and manifeſt.

After theſe Anſwers exhibited and peruſed, then the Biſhop ſpeaking unto them after this ſort, beginneth firſt (as he did ever before) with *Thomas Cauſton*. Becauſe ye ſhall not be ſuddenly trapped, and that men ſhall not ſay that I go about to ſeek ſnares to put you away: I have hitherto reſpited you, that you ſhould weigh and conſider with your ſelf your ſtate and condition, and that you ſhould, while ye have time and ſpace, acknowledge the Truth, and return to the Unity of the Catholick Church. Then the Biſhop, reading their former Articles and Anſwers to the ſame, asked them if they would recant: which when they denied, they were again diſmiſſed and commanded to appear the *Wedneſday* next after, at two of the Clock at Afternoon, there to receive their definitive Sentence againſt them: which thing (as it ſeemeth) was yet deferred.

A Copy of a Catholick Charity ſhewed.

Anno 1555.

Another Examination of Mr. Cauſton *and Mr.* Higbed.

Another Examination.

THe next *Friday*, being the 8. day of *March*, the ſaid *Thomas Cauſton* was firſt called to examination before the Biſhop, *Fecknam* and Dr. *Stempe* being in his Palace, and there had read unto him his foreſaid Articles with his Anſwers thereunto, and after certain Exhortations to recant his former Profeſſion, and to be conformable to the Unity of their Church, they promiſed him (ſo doing) willingly to receive him again thereunto. To whom he anſwered, You go about to catch us in Snares and Gins. But mark, by what meaſure ye meaſure us, look you to be meaſured with the ſame again at Gods hands. The Biſhop ſtill perſwaded with him to recant. To whom he anſwered, No, I will not abjure. Ye ſaid that the Biſhops that were lately burned be Hereticks: but I pray God make me ſuch an Heretick as they were.

This *Stempe* is now Warden of the Colledge in *Wincheſter*.

Mr. *Cauſton* denieth to recant.

The Biſhop then leaving Mr. *Cauſton*, calleth for Mr. *Higbed*: uſing with him the like perſwaſions that he did with the other: But he anſwered, I will not abjure. For I have been of this mind and opinion that I am now, theſe ſixteen years, and do what ye can, ye ſhall do no more than God will permit you to do, and with what meaſure you meaſure us, look for the ſame again at Gods hands.

Mr. *Higbed* called forth, denieth to abjure.

Then *Fecknam* asked him his opinion in the Sacrament of the Altar. To whom he anſwered, I do not believe that Chriſt is in the Sacrament as ye will have him, which is of mans making: Both their anſwers thus ſeverally made, they were again commanded to depart for that time, and to appear the next day in the Conſiſtory at *Pauls*, between the hours of one and three of the Clock at Afternoon.

Mr. *Fecknam* ſtill buſie with the matter of the Sacrament.

The laſt appearance of Mr. Cauſton *and Mr.* Higbed *before* Boner.

Mr. *Cauſton* and Mr. *Higbed* appear again before the Biſhop.

AT which day and hour, being the ninth day of *March*, they were both brought thither: Where the Biſhop cauſed Mr. *Thomas Cauſtons* Articles and Anſwers firſt to be read openly, and after perſwaded with him to recant and abjure his Heretical Opinions, and to come home now at the laſt to their Mother the Catholick Church, and ſave himſelf.

Mr. *Cauſton* and Mr. *Higbed* do exhibit a Confeſſion of their Faith.

But Mr. *Thomas Cauſton* anſwered again, and ſaid, No, I will not abjure: For I came not hither for that purpoſe; and therewithal did exhibit in writing unto the Biſhop (as well in his own name, as alſo in *Thomas Higbeds* name) a Confeſſion of their Faith, to the which they would ſtand: and required leave to read the ſame, which (after great ſuit) was obtained, and ſo he read it openly in the hearing of the People, as followeth.

The Confeſſion and Faith of Thomas Cauſton *and* Thomas Higbed, *which they delivered to the Biſhop of* London, *before the Maior and Sheriffs, and in the Preſence of all the People there aſſembled*, Anno 1555. *the* 9. *of* March, *and were condemned for the ſame in the ſaid Conſiſtory in* Pauls *Church, the year and day aboveſaid.*

The Confeſſion of Mr. *Cauſton*.

1. FIrſt, we believe and profeſs in Baptiſm, to forſake the Devil and all his Works and Pomps, and the Vanities of the wicked World, with all the ſinful Luſts of the Fleſh.

A renouncing of the world.

The Articles of the Creed.

2. We believe all the Articles of our Chriſtian Faith.

The Commandments.

3. We believe, that we are bound to keep Gods holy Will and Commandments, and to walk in the ſame all the days of our Life.

The Lords Prayer.

4. We believe, that there is contained in the Lords Prayer all things neceſſary both for Body and Soul, and that we are taught thereby to pray to our Heavenly Father, and no other Saint or Angel.

The Catholick Church.

5. We believe, that there is a Catholick Church, even the Communion of Saints, *Built upon the Foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles* (as S. *Paul* ſaith) *Chriſt being the Head Corner-ſtone. For the which Church Chriſt gave himſelf, to make it to himſelf a glorious Congregation without fault in his ſight.*

The Church of it ſelf is ſinful, by imputation righteous.

6. We believe, that this Church of her ſelf, and by her own merits is ſinful, and muſt needs ſay, Father forgive us our ſins: but through Chriſt and his Merits, ſhe is freely forgiven: *For he in his own perſon* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *hath purged her ſins, and made her faultleſs in his ſight. Beſides whom, there is no Saviour*, ſaith the Prophet: *Neither is there Salvation*, ſaith S. *Peter*, *in any other Name.*

Chriſt our only Mediatour.

7. We believe, as he is our only Saviour, ſo he is our only Mediator. For the Apoſtle S. *Paul* ſaith, *There is one God, one Mediatour between God and Man, even the Man Jeſus Chriſt.* Wherefore ſeeing none hath this Name, God and Man, but Jeſus Chriſt, therefore there is no Mediator but Jeſus Chriſt.

The condition of the Church, to be perſecuted.

8. We believe, that this Church of Chriſt is and hath been perſecuted, by the words of Chriſt, ſaying, *As they have perſecuted me, ſo ſhall they perſecute you: For the Diſciple is not above his Maſter. For it is not only given unto you to believe in Chriſt*, ſaith S. *Paul*, *but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. For all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer Perſecution.*

The Church only is directed by Gods word, neither adding to, nor taking from.

9. We believe, that the Church of Chriſt teacheth the Word of God truly and ſincerely, putting nothing to, nor taking any thing from: and alſo doth miniſter the Sacraments according to the Primitive Church.

The true Church forbiddeth none to read the Scriptures.

10. We believe, that this Church of Chriſt ſuffereth all men to read the Scriptures, according to Chriſts Commandment, ſaying, *Search the Scriptures*; *for they teſtifie of me.* We read alſo out of the *Acts*, that when St. *Paul* preached, the Audience daily ſearched the Scriptures, whether he preached truly or no. Alſo the Prophet *David* teacheth all men to pray with underſtanding: *For how ſhall the unlearned*, ſaith S. *Paul*, *ſay Amen, at the giving of Thanks, when they underſtand not what is ſaid?* And what is more allowed than true Faith, which, S. *Paul* ſaith, *cometh by hearing of the Word of God?*

God only to be worſhipped after his word.

11. We believe, that the Church of Chriſt teacheth, that God ought to be worſhipped according to his Word, and not after the Doctrine of Men. *For in vain*, ſaith Chriſt, *ye worſhip me, teaching nothing but the Doctrine of Men.*

Gods Precepts to be followed, and not the Conſtitutions of men.

Alſo we are commanded of God by his Prophet, ſaying, *Walk not in the Traditions and Precepts of your Elders: but walk*, ſaith he, *in my Precepts: do that I command you: put nothing thereunto, neither take any thing from it.* Likewiſe ſaith Chriſt, *You ſhall forſake Father and Mother, and follow me.* Whereby we learn, that if our Elders teach otherwiſe than God commanded, in that Point we muſt forſake them.

The Lords Supper is not to be changed from the Inſtitution of Chriſt.

12. We believe, that the Supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and changed, foraſmuch as Chriſt himſelf, being the Wiſdom of the Father, did inſtitute it. For it is written, *Curſed is he that changeth my Ordinances, and departeth from my Commandments, or taketh any thing from them.*

The Lords Supper how many ways it is abuſed.

Now we find by the Scriptures, that this holy Supper is ſore abuſed.

First, In that it is given in one kind, where Chriſt gave it in both.

The 2. abuſe.

Secondly, In that it is made a Private Maſs, where Chriſt made it a Communion: for he gave it not to one alone, but to all the Apoſtles in the name of the whole Church.

The 3. abuſe.

Thirdly, In that it is made a Sacrifice for the quick and the dead, whereas Chriſt ordained it for a remembrance of the everlaſting Sacrifice, which was his own Body offered upon the Altar of the Croſs once for all, as the holy Apoſtle ſaith, *Even the full and perfect price of our Redemption: and where there is remiſſion of ſin* (ſaith he) *there is no more ſacrifice for ſin.*

The 4. abuſe.

Fourthly, In that it is worſhipped contrary to the Commandment, ſaying, *Thou ſhalt worſhip nothing that is made with hands.*

The 5. abuſe.

Fifthly, In that it is given in an unknown Tongue, whereby the People are ignorant of the right uſe thereof, how Chriſt died for our ſins, and roſe again for our juſtification, by whom we be ſet at peace with God, and received to his favour and mercy by his promiſe, whereof this Sacrament is a ſure Seal and Witneſs.

The 6. abuſe.

Beſides this, it is hanged up, and ſhut in a box, yea, many times ſo long, that Worms breed in it, and

ſo

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ſo it putrifieth: whereby the rude People have an occaſion to ſpeak unreverently thereof, which otherwiſe would ſpeak reverently.

Therefore they that thus abuſe it, bring up the ſlander, and not we, which pray daily to God to reſtore it to the right uſe, according to Chriſts Inſtitution.

Chriſts words, Hoc eſt corpus meum not denied, but expounded.

Now concerning Chriſts words, *This is my Body*, we deny them not; but we ſay, that the mind of Chriſt in them muſt be ſearched out by other open Scriptures, whereby we may come to the ſpiritual underſtanding of them, which ſhall be moſt to the Glory of God: For as the H. Apoſtle ſaith; *There is no Scripture that hath any private Interpretation.* Beſides this, the Scriptures are full of the like figurative ſpeeches: as for example: Chriſt ſaith, *This Cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood. The Rock is Chriſt* (ſaith S. *Paul.*) *Whoſoever receiveth a Child in my name* (ſaith our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt) *receiveth me.*

This phraſe of Scripture expounded by other phraſes.

Which Sentences muſt not be underſtood after the Letter, leſt we do err, as the Capernaites did, which thought that Chriſts Body ſhould have been eaten with their teeth, when he ſpake of the eating thereof. Unto whom Chriſt ſaid, *Such a fleſhly eating of my Body profiteth nothing: it is the Spirit* (ſaith our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt) *that quickneth; the Fleſh profiteth nothing: for my words are Spirit and Life.*

The words of the Sacrament ought to be taken ſpiritually, and not literally. Chriſt is to be eaten ſpiritually.

Thus we ſee that Chriſts Words muſt be underſtood ſpiritually, and not literally. Therefore he that cometh to this worthy Supper of the Lord, muſt not prepare his Jaw, but his Heart, neither Tooth nor Belly; but, *Believe* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *and thou haſt eaten it*: ſo that we muſt bring with us a ſpiritual hunger, and as the Apoſtle ſaith; *Try and examine our ſelves, whether our Conſcience do teſtifie unto us, that we do truly believe in Chriſt, according to the Scriptures*; whereof if we be truly certified, being new born from our old Converſation in Heart, Mind, Will, and Deed, then may we boldly with this Marriage Garment of our Faith come to the Feaſt.

The Subſtance of Bread not changed.

In Conſideration whereof we have invincible Scriptures, as of Chriſt himſelf; *This do in remembrance of me.* And S. *Paul*; *As often* (ſaith he) *as ye eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup; ye ſhall remember the Lords death untill he come.* Here is no change, but Bread ſtill. And Saint *Luke* affirmeth the ſame. Alſo Chriſt hath made a juſt promiſe, ſaying; *Me you ſhall not have always with you; I leave the World, and go to my Father: For if I ſhould not depart, the comforter which I will ſend, cannot come unto you.* So according to his promiſe he is aſcended as the *Evangeliſts* teſtifie. Alſo Saint *Peter* ſaith, *That Heaven ſhall keep him untill the laſt day alſo.*

Chriſts Body but in one place at once.

Now as touching his Omnipotent Power, we confeſs and ſay with S. *Auguſtine*, that Chriſt is both God and Man. In that he is God, he is every where; but in that he is Man, he is in Heaven, and can occupie but one place: whereunto the Scriptures do agree. For his Body was not in all places at once when he was here; for it was not in the Grave when the Woman ſought it, as the Angel ſaith: neither was it at *Bethania* where *Lazarus* died, by Chriſts own words, ſaying, *I am glad I was not there.* And thus we conclude with the Scriptures, that Chriſt is in his Holy Supper Sacramentally and Spiritually in all them that worthily receive it, and Corporally in Heaven, both God and Man.

Their proteſtation.

And further, we make here our Proteſtation before God (whom we call to record in this matter) that this which we have ſaid, is neither of ſtubborneſs, nor wilful mind, as ſome judge of us; but even of very Conſcience, truly (we truſt) grounded on Gods Holy Word. For before we took this matter in hand, we beſought God from the bottom of our Hearts, that we might do nothing contrary to his Holy and Bleſſed Word. And in that he hath thus ſhewed his Power in our weakneſs, we cannot worthily praiſe him, unto whom we give hearty thanks, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

M. Cauſton and *M. Higbed* conſtant to death in their Confeſſion.

When he had thus delivered and read their Confeſſion, the Biſhop ſtill perſiſting ſometime in fair promiſes, ſometime threatning to pronounce Judgment, asked them whether they would ſtand to this their Confeſſion and other Anſwers? To whom *Cauſton* ſaid, Yea, we will ſtand to our Anſwers written with our hands, and to our Belief therein contained. After which anſwer the Biſhop began to pronounce Sentence againſt him.

Then he ſaid, that it was much raſhneſs, and without all Love and Mercy to give Judgment without anſwering to their Confeſſion by the Truth of Gods Word, whereunto they ſubmitted themſelves moſt willingly. And therefore I, quoth *Cauſton* (becauſe I cannot have Juſtice at your hand, but that ye will thus raſhly condemn me) do appeal from you to my L. *Cardinal.*

M. Cauſton appealeth to the Cardinal.

Then D. *Smith* ſaid, that he would anſwer their Confeſſion. But the Biſhop (not ſuffering him to ſpeak) willed *Harpsfield* to ſay his mind, for the ſtay of the people; who taking their Confeſſion in his hand, neither touched nor anſwered one ſentence thereof.

D. *Smith* ready to anſwer their Confeſſion, but could not be ſuffered.

Which done, the Biſhop pronounced Sentence, firſt againſt the ſaid *Thomas Cauſton*, and then calling *Thomas Higbed*, cauſed his Articles and Anſwers likewiſe to be read. In the reading whereof *Higbed* ſaid, Ye ſpeak Blaſphemy againſt Chriſts Paſſion, and ye go about to trap us with your ſubtilties and ſnares. And though my Father and Mother, and other my Kinsfolk did believe, as you ſay, yet they were deceived in ſo believing.

Sentence pronounced againſt Mr. *Cauſton* and Mr. *Higbed.*

And further, where you ſay, that my Lord, named *Cranmer* (late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) and others ſpecified in the ſaid Articles, be Hereticks; I do wiſh that I were ſuch an Heretick as they were, and be. Then the Biſhop asked him again, whether he would turn from his Error, and come to the Unity of their Church? To whom he ſaid, No; I would ye ſhould recant: for I am in the Truth, and you in Error.

Well (quoth the Biſhop) if ye will return, I will gladly receive you.

No, ſaid *Higbed*, I will not return as you will have me, to believe in the Sacrament of the Altar your God.

M. Cauſton and *M. Higbed* condemned and ſent to *Newgate.*

Whereupon the Biſhop proceeded, and gave Judgment upon him, as he had done before upon *Thomas Cauſton.* When all this was thus ended, they were both delivered to the Sheriffs, and ſo by them ſent to *Newgate*, where they remained by the ſpace of 14. days, praiſed be God, not ſo much in Afflictions as in Conſolations.

For the increaſe whereof they earneſtly deſired all their good Brethren and Siſters in Chriſt to pray, that God for his Sons ſake would go forth with that great mercy, which already he had begun in them, ſo that they might perſevere unto the end, to the praiſe of the eternal God, and comfort of all their Brethren.

M. Cauſton and *M. Higbed* brought from *Newgate* into *Eſſex.*

Theſe 14. days (after the condemnation) once expired, they were the 23. day of this Month of *March* fetched from *Newgate* at four of the Clock in the morning, and ſo led through the City to *Algate*, where they were delivered unto the Sheriff of *Eſſex*, and there being faſt bound in a Cart, were ſhortly after brought to their ſeveral appointed places of burning: that is to ſay, *Thomas Higbed* to *Hornden* on the Hill, and *Thomas Cauſton* to *Rayly* (both in the Countrey of *Eſſex*) where they did moſt conſtantly, the 26. day of the ſame Month, Seal this their Faith with ſhedding of their Blood by moſt cruel fire, to the Glory of God, and great rejoycing of the Godly.

The conſtant Martyrdom of *M. Thomas Cauſton*, and *M. Higbed*, Martyrs.

At the burning of which *M. Higbed* Juſtice *Brown* was alſo preſent, as is above ſpecified, and divers Gentlemen in the Shire were commanded to be preſent, for fear belike, leſt they ſhould be taken from them. And thus much touching the Apprehenſion, Examination, Confeſſion, Condemnation, and burning of theſe two Godly and conſtant Martyrs of God.

William Pygot, Stephen Knight, *and* John Laurence, *with their Examination and conſtant Martyrdom.*

March 28.

IN the ſtory before of *Thomas Tomkins* and his fellows, mention was made of ſix which were Examined, and Condemned together by Biſhop *Boner*, the 9. day of *February*. Of the which ſix Condemned Perſons, two, which were *Tomkins* and *William Hunter* (as ye heard) were executed, the one upon the 26. of *February*, and the other upon the 26. day of *March*. Other three, to wit, *William Pygot*, and *Stephen Knight*, ſuffered upon the 28. day, and *John Laurence* the 29. of the ſaid Month of *March*.

William Pygot, Stephen Knight, John Laurence, Martyrs.

Touching

Touching the which three Martyrs, now ſomthing to ſay of their Examinations: It was firſt demanded of them, what their opinion was of the Sacrament of the Altar. Whereunto they ſeverally anſwered, and alſo ſubſcribed, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under forms of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Subſtance of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, but a ſpecial partaking of the Body and Blood of Chriſt: the very Body and Blood of Chriſt being only in Heaven, and no where elſe. This Anſwer thus made, the Biſhop cauſed certain Articles to be read unto them, tending to the ſame effect, as did the Articles before of *Tomkins* and of M. *Cauſton*. The tenor whereof here followeth.

Articles or Interrogatories objected by the Biſhop of London *to* William Pygot, Stephen Knight, *and* John Laurence, *the* 8. *of* February. 1555.

Articles objected to *William Pygot* and his fellows.

WHether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that it is a Catholick, Faithful, Chriſtian, and true Doctrine, to teach, preach, and ſay, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is without any Subſtance of Bread and Wine there remaining, by the Omnipotent Power of Almighty God, and his Holy Word, really, truly, and in very deed the true and natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the ſelf ſame in Subſtance (though not in outward form and appearance) which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and ſuffered upon the Croſs, yea, or nay?

Belief of their forefathers.

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that your Parents, Kinſfolk, Friends, and Acquaintance, here in this preſent Realm of *England*, before your Birth a great while, and alſo after your Birth, profeſſing and believing the ſaid Doctrine and Faith, concerning the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, had a true Chriſtian Faith, and were Faithful and true Chriſtian People, or no?

Belief of their Godfathers and Godmothers.

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe that your Godfathers and Godmother, profeſſing and believing the ſaid Doctrine and Faith, concerning the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, had a true Chriſtian Faith, and were Faithful and true Chriſtian People, or no?

Belief of their young Age.

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that your own ſelf in times paſt, being of the Age of 14. years, and above, did think and believe concerning the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar in all points, as your ſaid Parents, Kinſfolks, Friends, Acquaintance, Godfathers, and Godmother, did then think and believe them, or no?

Belief of the King and Queen, and Nobility.

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that our Soveraigns the King and the Queen of this Realm of *England*, and all the Nobility, Clergy, and Laity of this Realm, profeſſing and believing the ſaid Doctrine and Faith, as other Chriſtian Realms do, concerning the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, have a true Chriſtian Faith and believe as the Catholick and true Church of Chriſt hath always believed, preached, and taught, or no?

Belief of the preſent Catholick Church.

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that our Saviour Chriſt and his Holy Spirit hath been, is, and ſhall be with his Catholick Church, even to the Worlds End, governing and ruling the ſame in all things, eſpecially in the neceſſary points of Chriſtian Religion, not ſuffering the ſame to err, or to be deceived therein?

The Real Preſence and Tranſubſtantiation.

Whether is it true, that you being ſuſpected, or infamed to be culpable and faulty in ſpeaking againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and againſt the very true Preſence of Chriſts Natural Body, and the Subſtance thereof in the ſaid Sacrament, and thereupon called before me upon complaint made to me againſt you, have not been a good ſpace in my Houſe, having freely Meat and Drink, and alſo divers times inſtructed and informed, aſwell by one being our Ordinary, as alſo by my Chaplains and divers other learned men, ſome whereof were Biſhops, ſome Deans, and ſome Archdeacons, and every one of them learned in Divinity, and minding well unto you, and deſiring the ſafeguard of your Soul, and that you ſhould follow and believe the Doctrine of the Catholick Church as afore concerning the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, and whether you did not at all times ſince your ſaid coming to me, utterly refuſe to follow and believe the ſaid Doctrine concerning the ſaid Sacrament?

Whether can you now find in your heart and conſcience to conform your ſelf in all points to the ſaid Faith and Catholick Church concerning the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, faithfully, truly, and plainly, without any diſſimulation, believing therein, as our ſaid Soveraigns, with the Nobility, Clergy, and Laity of this Realm, and other Chriſtian Realms: and other perſons aforeſaid, and alſo the ſaid Catholick Church, have and do believe in that behalf? Anno 1556.

In caſe you ſo cannot, what ground have you to maintain your opinion, and who is of the ſame opinion with you, and what conference have you had therein with any, what comfort and what relief have you had therein by any of them, and what are their Names and Surnames, and their dwelling places?

Their Anſwers to theſe Articles were not much diſcrepant from *Tomkins*, and other like Martyrs above mentioned, as here followeth to be ſeen.

The Anſwers of Stephen Knight, *and* William Pygot, *to the aforeſaid Articles.*

Anſwers to the Articles aforeſaid.

TO the firſt Article, they believe, that the contents of this Article is not agreeable to Scripture.

To the ſecond, they anſwer and believe, that their Parents and other expreſſed in the ſaid Article, and ſo believing as is contained in the ſame, were deceived.

To the third they anſwer, that they ſo believed, but they were deceived therein, as they now believe.

To the fourth they ſay, that they have heretofore believed as is contained in the ſaid Article, but now they do not ſo believe.

To the fifth they ſay, that if they ſo believe, they are deceived.

To the ſixth, they believe the ſame to be true.

To the ſeventh they anſwer, and believe the contents of the ſame to be true.

To the eighth they anſwer, that they can no whit conform themſelves to the Faith and Doctrine contained and ſpecified in this Article, untill it be proved by Scripture.

To the ninth they ſay, that they have no ground to maintain their ſaid opinions, but the Truth, which (as they ſaid) hath been perſwaded by Learned Men, as D. *Taylor* of *Hadley*, and ſuch other.

Theſe Anſwers being made and exhibited, they were commanded to appear again the next day, at eight of the Clock in the Morning, and in the mean while to bethink themſelves what they would do.

Another appearance of the ſaid Priſoners before Boner.

Another appearance.

THe next day in the Morning, being the 9. of *February*, before their open appearance, the Biſhop ſent for *William Pygot*, and *Stephen Knight* into his great Chamber in his Palace, where he perſwaded with them to recant, and deny their former Profeſſion.

Who anſwered, that they were not perſwaded in their Conſciences to return and abjure their opinions, whereunto they had ſubſcribed. Within a while after, they were all three (with *Thomas Tomkins*, and *William Hunter* aforenamed) brought openly into the Conſiſtory, the 9. day of *February* aforeſaid, and there had the ſame Articles propounded unto them, which were before propounded unto the foreſaid *Thomas Tomkins* (as appeareth in the diſcourſe of his Hiſtory) and thereto alſo ſubſcribed theſe words; *I do ſo believe.*

Talk between Boner and John *Laurence* Prieſt. John Laurence ſometime a Frier.

The Biſhop alſo uſed certain talk unto *John Laurence* only; Whereunto he anſwered in this manner; that he was a Prieſt, and was conſecrated and made a Prieſt about 18. years paſt, and that he was ſometime a Black Frier profeſſed; that alſo he was aſſured unto a maid, whom he intended to have married.

And being again demanded his opinion upon the Sacrament, he ſaid, that it was a remembrance of Chriſts Body, and that many have been deceived in believing the true Body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, and that all ſuch as do not believe as he doth, do err. And after this talk and other fair words and threatnings, they were all of them commanded to appear again at afternoon,

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The third and laſt appearance.

The third and laſt appearance.

AT the which hour they came thither again, and there after the accuſtomed manner were exhorted to recant and revoke their Doctrine, and receive the Faith. To the which they conſtantly anſwered they would not, but would ſtick to that Faith that they had declared and ſubſcribed unto, for that they did believe that it was no Error which they believed; but that the contrary thereof was very Hereſie.

Stephen Knight, William Pygot, and John Laurence condemned.

When the Biſhop ſaw that neither his fair flatterings, nor yet his cruel threatnings would prevail, he gave them ſeverally their Judgments. And becauſe *John Laurence* had been one of their anointed Prieſts, he was by the Biſhop there (according to their order) ſolemnly degraded, the manner whereof you may ſee in the Hiſtory of Mr. *Hooper* afore-paſſed.

John Laurence degraded.

Their Sentence of Condemnation, and this Degradation once ended, they were committed unto the cuſtody of the Sheriffs of *London*, who ſent them unto *Newgate*, where they remained with joy together, until they were carried down into *Eſſex*, and there the 28. day of *March*, the ſaid *William Pygot* was burned at *Braintree*; and *Stephen Knight* at *Mauldon*, who at the Stake, kneeling upon the ground, ſaid this Prayer which here followeth.

Ste. Knight burned at Mauldon. Will. Pygot at Braintree March 28.

The Prayer that Stephen Knight, *ſaid at his death upon his Knees, being at the Stake, at* Mauldon.

A godly prayer of Ste. Knight at his Martyrdom.

O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for whoſe love I leave willingly this Life, and deſire rather the bitter death of thy Croſs, with the loſs of all earthly things, than to abide the Blaſphemy of thy moſt Holy Name, or to obey men in breaking thy holy Commandment: Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, that where I might live in Worldly Wealth to worſhip a falſe God, and honour thine enemy, I chooſe rather the torment of the Body, and the loſs of this Life, and have counted all things but vile, duſt, and dung, that I might win thee; which death is dearer unto me, than thouſands of Gold and Silver. Such love, O Lord, haſt thou laid up in my Breaſt, that I hunger for thee, as the Deer that is wounded deſireth the Soyl. Send thy holy comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and ſtrengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all ſtrength of it ſelf. Thou remembreſt, O Lord, that I am but duſt, and able to do nothing that is good: Therefore, O Lord, as of thine accuſtomed goodneſs and love thou haſt bidden me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own Cup amongſt thine elect; even ſo give me ſtrength, O Lord, againſt this thine Element, which as to my ſight it is moſt irkſom and terrible, ſo to my mind it may at thy Commandment (as an obedient ſervant) be ſweet and pleaſant, that through the ſtrength of thy holy Spirit, I may paſs through the rage of this fire into thy boſom, according to thy promiſe, and for this mortal receive an immortal, and for this corruptible put on incorruption: Accept this burnt Sacrifice, and Offering, O Lord, not for the Sacrifice, but for thy dear Sons ſake my Saviour, for whoſe Teſtimony I offer this free-Will-offering with all my heart and with all my Soul. O Heavenly Father, forgive me my Sins, as I forgive all the World. O ſweet Son of God my Saviour, ſpread thy wings over me. O Bleſſed and Holy Ghoſt, through whoſe merciful inſpiration I am come hither, conduct me into everlaſting Life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my Spirit. Amen.

Pſalm 42.

Mark the ſpirit of this Prayer and compare it with the Prayer of the Papiſts at the ſacrifice of the Maſs

The death and Martyrdom of John Laurence *Prieſt.*

John Laurence Martyr March 29.

THe next day, being the 29. day of this Month, the ſaid *John Laurence* was brought to *Colcheſter*, and there being not able to go (for that as well his legs were ſore worn with heavy irons in Priſon, as alſo his Body weakned with evil keeping) was born to the fire in a Chair, and ſo ſitting, was in his conſtant faith conſumed with fire.

Jo. Laurence lamed with irons in Priſon.

The Martyrdom of John Laurence, Prieſt, at Colcheſter, Anno 1555.

At the burning of this *Laurence*, he ſitting in the

fire the young Children came about the fire, and cried, as well as young Children could ſpeak, ſaying; Lord ſtrengthen thy Servant, and keep thy promiſe, Lord ſtrengthen thy Servant, and keep thy promiſe: which thing, as it is rare, ſo it is no ſmall manifeſtation of the Glory of God, which wrought this in the hearts of theſe little ones; nor yet a little commendation to their Parents, which from their youth brought them up in the knowledge of God and his Truth.

The Hiſtory of Dr. Robert Farrar, *Biſhop of* S. Davids *in* Wales, *who moſt conſtantly gave his Life for the Teſtimony of the Truth*, March 30. Anno 1555.

THe next day after, which was the 30. day of the ſaid Month of *March*, followed the worthy and conſtant Martyrdom

The burning of D. Robert Farrar, Bishop of S. Davids, and Martyr.

56. Articles against Bishop *Farrar* in K. *Edwards* time, devised by *Thomas Young*, *Constantine*, and other his Adversaries.

Tho. Young Son in law to *Constantine.*

Martyrdom of the Bishop of S. *Davids* in *Wales*, called *Robert Farrar*, who was the next Bishop in this Catalogue of Christian Martyrs, that suffered after Mr. *Hooper*. This aforesaid *Farrar*, by the favour and good will of the Lord Protector, was first called and promoted to that Dignity. This man I may well call twice a Martyr, not only for the cruel death of the fire, which he suffered most constantly in the days of Q. *Mary*, unto the shedding of his Blood, but also for divers other injuries and molestations in K. *Edwards* time, which he no less firmly than unworthily sustained at the hands of his enemies after the fall of the Duke of *Somerset*, Of these his vexations and troubles, with the wrangling Articles and Informations laid against him, to the number of 56. and of the malice conceived against him by certain covetous Canons of the Church of *Carmarthen*, and what were the proceedings of both parts, as well of the innocent, as of the crafty Adversaries, and what were their Names, in their Articles against him, in order here followeth.

The Principal Articles against Bishop Farrar.

1. GEorge *Constantine*, *David Walter* his Servant, *Thomas Young* Chaunter of the Cathedral Church, who was afterward Archbishop of *York*, *Rowland Merick* Doctor of Law, who was afterward Bishop of *Bangor*, *Thomas Lee*, and *Hugh Rawlins*, &c.

THrough the procurement and instance of these his Adversaries, joyning and confederating together, one *Hugh Rawlins* Priest, and *Thomas Lee* Brother in Law to the said *George Constantine*, did exhibit to the Kings most honourable Counsel certain Articles and Informations, conceived and devised by the persons before named, to the intent to blemish the Bishops credit, and utterly (as they thought and made their boast) to pull him from his Bishoprick, and to bring him in a Premunire. The Copy of which Articles we thought here good to express, and so after them to set his answers to the same.

Articles and Informations to the Kings Honourable Counsel, put up and exhibited by Hugh Rawlins *and* Thomas Lee, *against the Blessed Man of God, Master* Farrar *Bishop of S.* Davids.

Abuse of the Authority to him committed.

1. IMprimis, when the said Bishop first came to his Diocess, he appointed his Chancellor by his Letters of Commission, omitting the Kings Majesties Stile and Authority, and grounded his said Commission upon foraign usurped Laws and Authority; by force of which Authority his said Chancellor did visit certain Deanaries of his said Diocess, and monished the Chaunter and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of S. *Davids* aforesaid, against a certain day and place, for like intent and purpose, contrary to the Kings Highness Laws and Statutes, and in derogation of his Highness Supremacy.

2. *Item*, that the said Chaunter and Chapter, perceiving the fault of the said Commission, took the same from the Register into their custody, refusing to appear by vertue thereof, and by secret and charitable ways and means did admonish the said Bishop of the unlawfulness and faults of the said Commission, and of the danger that he had incurred for granting and executing the same; opening also unto him the effect of the Statute made in the 28. year of our late Soveraign Lord *Henry* the 8. Which Monitions notwithstanding, the said Bishop neglecting the same, and continuing in his malicious doing or inexcusable ignorance, about the 20. day of *August*, in the fourth year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord that now is, did confer unto one *John Evans* the Vicarage of *Pembrin*, instituting him by Authority of the old forraign usurped Law, making no mention of the Kings Highness Authority, in contempt and derogation of the same.

3. *Item*, whereas the Chancellor and Vicar General to the said Bishop, did upon a lawful Title, and by the Kings Highness Supream Authority, admit and institute one *John Gough* into the Rectory of *Haskard* with the appurtenances, and gave out in the Kings Name under his Highness Seal Ecclesiastical appointed for that Office, with the *Teste* of the said Bishop, and subscription of the said Chancellour, a Mandate to induct accordingly; by vertue whereof the said *John Gough* was inducted by the Official there, into the real possession of the same Rectory, with the rights and appurtenances to the same belonging; whereupon the Register of the said Diocess, at the request of the foresaid Chancellor did signifie the premisses, with all the circumstances, before divers persons to the forenamed Bishop: Who notwithstanding did institute and cause to be inducted one *Harry Goddard* unto the same Parsonage, making no mention of the Kings Majesties Authority nor Supremacy; in contempt and derogation of the same his Highness Crown and Dignity, and in extolling the forraign usurped Authority, contrary to the form of the Statute, &c.

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4. *Item*, the said Bishop, immediately after the unlawful Institution and Induction of *Goddard* aforesaid, molested the said *John Gough*, lawfully instituted and inducted as before, citing him from place to place, objecting no matter unto him of long season, till at length he articled. Among which Articles was contained, *Item, interrogatur quo titulo tenet Rectoriam de Haskard*: So taking upon him the cognition of the Title of the whole fruits and Patronage, in contempt of the Kings Highness Regal Crown and Dignity, and in derogation of the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

5. *Item*, He hath commonly made his Collations and Institutions, as he did his first Commission, in his own name and Authority, without expressing the Kings Supremacy.

6. *Item*, He made under his Seal one Collation, two Institutions, and three Mandates to induct, in one vacation of one Benefice, three several persons, without order of Law, or revocation of any of them, giving to every one like Authority, Title, and Right. Whereby, except good foresight, as well of Justices of the Peace, as of the Friends had not been, there had insued much inconvenience amongst the partakers of the intituled Incumbents in that behalf.

7. *Item*, the said Bishop decreeing Caveats to be made in Benifices, thereby knowing the Titles Litigious, instituted and caused to be inducted without Trial of any Title or due order of Law.

8. *Item*, He directeth his Mandates of Induction unto private men, and not to the Archdeacons nor their Officials; contrary to the Law and Custom used in that behalf. Notwithstanding he hath been Counselled to the contrary of men that be learned.

9. *Item*, having no manner of knowledge nor practice in the Law, he sitteth every day in Harvest, and other times, upon causes without assistance of learned in the Law, having with him only an unlearned Boy, which is no Notary, to his Scribe, neither observing the Law, nor yet reasonable order. And therefore doth no good, but trifleth the time, as may appear by his Acts, if he have them to be shewed.

10. *Item*, He and his Officers, by his knowledge, useth to dispense with Marriages, to be Solemnized without Banes, contrary to the Laws and Ordinances in that behalf.

11. *Item*, Whereas one *Thomas Prichard*, a Chaplain of his, solemnized Matrimony in a private House without Banes, and that betwixt a Priest, and a Sister of hers that was appointed to be married with the said Priest that day; he also being a Parson, and leaving his Cure unserved that day being Sunday: and notwithstanding that one of the Kings Councel in the Marches of *Wales* informed the said Bishop of the same Misdemeanours, requiring due reformation thereof, He hath done nothing therein but put the same Chaplain in Office, and made him his Commissary General since that time, bearing a special favour to the rest of the offenders.

12. *Item*, Whereas one *Meredith ap Thomas*, his Houshold-servant, was accused of one *Sage Hugh*, to have been Father of her Child; the said Bishop, without purgation of his Servant, caused him to sue the Parents of the said *Sage* of Infamy, first in his principal Consistory, and from thence before a Commissary of his, being his Houshold Chaplain, and at the last took the matter before himself, so railing against all his Officers, because they proceeded not after his partial affection, and against the

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the Law, that honeſt men of *Carmarthen*, where he then ſate upon the Cauſe, judge him to be, or at the leaſt to have been diſtract of his wit, and by this partial handling, the Cauſe remaineth unfiniſhed, and the Child without Father.

13. *Item*, Whereas one *Jenkin Ph.* accuſed *William Chambers*, a Servant of the Biſhops that found this *William* in adulterous manner with his Wife, by reaſon whereof the Biſhop expelled the Wife out of his Houſe, the ſaid Infamy not purged, the parties have been both again in the Biſhops Houſe and Service ſince that time, to the evil example of other.

14. *Item*, By his unlawful ſequeſtration of the fruits of the Benefices of *Langattock*, and *Lamyhangel*, by the undiſcreet handling of the ſame, there were raiſed the number of four hundred people or more, which bickered ſundry times together, to the great danger of the Inhabitants thereabout, had it not been pacified by the diſcreet means of Sir *Roger Vaughan* Knight.

15. *Item*, By his like unlawful collation of the Prebend of *Lambiſter* to one *Stephen Green*, a Chaplain of his, by covenant and promiſe to maintain the Sute, by whoſe crafty and undiſcreet handling of the ſame, there was raiſed in the Country of *Radnor* the 19. day of *Auguſt* laſt paſt, about three or four hundred men to like danger, but that the matter was ſtayed by *John Bradſhaw*, *Rice ap Glin*, and *Stephen ap Rice*, Juſtices of the ſame County. Who with great danger to themſelves and theirs, pacified the matter, committing an hundred of the offenders to ward.

16. *Item*, ſuch as he oweth diſpleaſure unto, he citeth from place to place, and day to day, only for their vexation, laying no matter againſt them; and being divers times required the Copy of his proceedings againſt them, to the intent they might anſwer accordingly, and be at their lawful defence; he denied to all ſuch perſons the Copies of his proceedings.

17. *Item*, He and his Officers wink at the manifeſt and open crimes of his Fautors and Adherents, to the evil example of the whole Dioceſs, and abuſeth the Cenſures of Excommunication and Suſpenſion, making it an Inſtrument of revenging againſt ſuch as they do not favour.

18. *Item*, Having received payment of the Kings Majeſties Subſidy, due in *October*, the 4. year of his Graces Reign, of the foreſaid Chaunter of the Cathedral Church of S. *Davids*, and *Rowland Meyrike*, two of the Reſidentaries there, before *Chriſtmas* laſt, he unjuſtly of a prepenſed mind and purpoſe afterward certified them for Recuſants, to their undoing, if they had not been admoniſhed of his cruel purpoſe, and provided lawful defence for the ſame.

19. *Item*, The ſaid Biſhop celebrating Matrimony in his own perſon, diſpenſed contrary to the Book of Ordinance, with the parties married, for not receiving the holy Communion; the parties both being young, and luſty perſons, having no reaſonable cauſe wherefore they ſhould abſtain. At which celebration the Biſhop Communicated not himſelf. And further, the Communion was celebrated by a Chaplain of his, with ſuperſtitious blowings, kneelings, and knockings both of the Chaplain that Miniſtred, and of all the company, onely one other Prieſt Communicating for the manner.

Maintenance of Superſtition contrary to the Kings Ordinance and Injunctions.

20. *Item*, Where the Official of the Archdeacon of *Carmarthen*, in his viſitation within *Carmarthen*, found, contrary unto the ſaid Ordinance, an Altar ſet up in the Body of the Church, for celebration of the Communion, and cauſed the ſaid Altar to be taken away, and a table to be ſet in the middle of the Church; the Biſhop after the ſame commanded the Vicar of *Carmarthen* to ſet the Table without the Chancel again for the Miniſtration of the Communion.

21. *Item*, He being often in *Carmarthen*, and other places in the Chancel at the time of holy Communion, not only tarried there himſelf, neither Communicating nor Miniſtring bareheaded and uncoyffed, reverently kneeling; but alſo permitteth the people there to continue, the Chancel and Quire full, kneeling and knocking their Breaſts. Which manner is yet uſed in all the Dioceſs, without any reformation or gainſay of him or any of his Officers.

22. *Item*, Whereas ſuperſtitious praying upon beads is not only ungodly, but reproved in the Kings Majeſties Injunctions; the ſaid Biſhop meeting many with Beads in their hands never rebuked any of them.

23. *Item*, The ſaid Biſhop being in the Pulpit, and ſeeing Croſſes there within the Church, with a great number of lights upon them, never ſpake againſt any of them.

24. *Item*, Whereas the Ordinance willeth, that no Children be Baptized but upon the Sunday, or Holy day (only Cauſe of neceſſity excepted) he, having two Children himſelf born without danger, cauſed one of them to be Baptized on the work day. And by his example, without any contradiction or motion of reformation, it is uſed, as it hath been cuſtomed, in all the Dioceſs commonly, contrary unto the Book of Ordinance in that behalf.

Covetuouſneſs.

25. *Item*, From his firſt coming into the Dioceſs, he hath had and yet hath his only ſtudy, labour, and practice, to ſurvey Land, and to look for Mines, &c. neglecting his own bounden duty to apply to his Book and Preaching.

26. *Item*, He keepeth no manner of Hoſpitality, but hath his Servants Table in one Parlour with him, leſt any Stranger ſhould approach his Servants being at their meat.

27. *Item*, He is commonly talking not of Godlineſs, but of Worldly matters; as baking, brewing, incloſing, ploughing, mining of Mill-Stones, diſcharging of Tenants and ſuch like, not only at his Table, but alſo moſt commonly at other places.

28. *Item*, He hath warned divers Tenants out of their Lands, which they and their elders have enjoyed for their rents theſe Hundred years, and more, and occupied with tillage; which he ſaith he will incloſe, and being ſued to of poor men, becauſe of quietneſs, he anſwered; The Crows ſhall eat the Corn, rather than ye ſhall have any profit thereof.

29. *Item*, When the Vicars Choral of Saint *Davids*, for relief of their Hoſpitality, had an Iland of his called the Biſhops Ile, for 40. *s.* rent; he hath ſet it to a Chaplain of his for five pound by year. And where, at the ſuit of the ſaid Vicars, it was granted by the Biſhop in the whole Chapter, that the Vicars ſhould have it for years at 40. s. rent, and pay 20. li. entry; he now covetuouſly, and againſt his promiſe openly made, denieth the ſame, except the Vicars would give 50. pound.

30. *Item*, He cauſed the Curate of S. *Davids* to warn their Tenants out of their ſaid Lands in the Pulpit, to the great Offence of the People, which were wont to have Gods Word Preached there; and ſo they ſaid to the Curate at that time.

31. *Item*, To the Plowing of a Paſture not above ten days work, in *Lent*, *Anno* 1549. he had 32 Ploughs in one day, and thoſe Ploughs the Prieſt bade in the Church, contrary to the Statute of *Gomortha* in that behalf provided, and to the evil example of Gentlemen in that Country.

32. *Item*, Where the Kings Majeſty of godly remembrance, *Henry* the eighth, appointed at *Brecknock* a Schoolmaſter, Uſher, Reader of Divinity, a Miniſter, and certain Scholars, and for the maintenance thereof appointed xl. and xii. li. of the penſions and revenews of *Brecknock*: the Biſhop finding it ſo furniſhed, hath neither Reader nor Miniſter there, covetouſly converting their ſtipends to his own uſe.

33. *Item*, The Biſhop was twice in one day preſented in the great Court, holden in the Court of *Carmarthen*, for incloſing and covetous incroaching of the Kings High-Way.

34. *Item*, He covetouſly occupieth purchaſing of Lands, buying of Cattel, Merchandiſe, and other things, being indebted a notable ſum to the Kings Majeſty, as may by his accounts in the Court of Tenths and firſt fruits appear.

35. *Item*, Whereas one *Lewis John Tho. Bool*, putting from him his lawful wedded Wife, upon *Chriſtmas* Even laſt paſt, without banes had Marriage Solemnized with a Concubine of his in a Church within three miles of the Biſhops abode at that time: The Biſhop ſince knowing the premiſſes, hath not only of a covetous mind entred familiarity with the ſaid *Lewis*, and bought a piece of Land of him, but alſo ever ſince hath (to have his

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lands good cheap) left both the parties and Prieſt unpuniſhed, uſing him ſo familiarly, that whereas a Sumner cited the parties to appear among other criminals for the ſame fact; the Biſhop commanded the ſaid Sumner to let him alone, and ſo they all remain unpuniſhed.

36. *Item*, Whereas the whole Chapter of S. *Davids* (as it was thought) was in aſſured amity with the Biſhop, they all being his Officers or Chaplains, he procured them to be impleaded with a Writ of *Quo Warranto* in the *Kings Bench*, keeping the Writ with him ſecretly, at the leaſt three Months, not delivering it, but only ten days before the day of their appearance, the parties being ſeven days journey diſtant from *London*.

37. *Item*, He is a wilful wrong doer, and troubler of men in their rights, entring upon their lawful poſſeſſions, ſtirring thereby much contention, and ſo notably known, to the offence of the Countrey.

Wilful negligence.

38. *Item*, Whereas the Biſhop aforeſaid was appointed in *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1547. and conſecrated in *September* following, he never came into the Dioceſs himſelf, nor ſent or appointed any Officer there before the Month of *April*, *Anno* 1558. to the great diſorder of the Kings Majeſties Subjects, lack of reformation, and Miniſtration of Juſtice.

39. *Item*, During his viſitation, the ſaid Biſhop did not indeavor himſelf to ſee reformation, but rode ſurveying of Lands, appointing vain incloſures, and ſuch other things. Which are no part of the Office to him committed, nor yet convenient, namely at that time.

40. *Item*. The viſitation finiſhed, he neither appointed his Officers to examine the Clergy of the places of Scripture to them appointed to be ſtudied in the ſame viſitation, nor hath hitherto effectually gone about any godly reformation, according to the ordinance of this Realm.

41. *Item*, The Biſhop ſince his coming to the Dioceſs never Miniſtred the Communion, ſaving only at two times, that he ordered certain Deacons; but in every thing (ſave that he otherwhiles preacheth) ordereth himſelf like no Miniſter, nor man of his vocation.

42. *Item*, He hath ſo alienated himſelf from ſtudy, that he Preacheth undiſcreetly, diſcrediting the Office, not only untruly reporting the Scriptures, but alſo Preaching the ten Commandments in one place in declaration of the eighth of them, for lack of ſtuff, the pith of his matter was Matrimony of Prieſts.

43. *Item*, the 13. day of *September* laſt, he ordained certain Deacons, and making his exhortation, he taught that a man was not bounden to forgive, but him that aſketh forgiveneſs; and being admoniſhed by a Letter better to declare the ſame, becauſe that divers were offended with that Doctrine; he hath hitherto deferred ſo to do, to the maintenance of malicious hearts in theſe parts.

44. *Item*, Since the firſt day of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1549 unto the feaſt of *Candlemas* laſt, he hath Preached but two or three Sermons, of which one was Preached at *Aberguilly* upon Saint *Stephens* day laſt, to a great Audience that underſtood no *Engliſh*, being but a mile from *Carmarthen*, an *Engliſh* Town, and chief of his Dioceſs.

45. *Item*, Since his ordinary viſitation, which was finiſhed in *July*, *Anno* 1548. he hath neither Preached, nor cauſed to be Preached in the Towns of *Tinby*, *Pembroke*, nor *Haverford*, being *Engliſh* Towns, not much diſtant from the place of his moſt continuance.

46. *Item*, The Churches appropriate to the Biſhop have no Paraphraſes in *Engliſh*, and few of them Bibles.

47. *Item*, The Churches of the Dioceſs for the moſt part, and the Clergy almoſt every one lack Paraphraſes, notwithſtanding there hath been theſe two years, and yet be a great number of them to be ſold in the Dioceſs.

Folly.

48. *Item*, To declare his folly in riding, he uſeth Bridle with white ſtuds and ſnaffle, white Scottiſh ſtirrops, white ſpurs, a Scottiſh pad with a little ſtaff of three quarters long, which he hath not only uſed Superſtitiouſly theſe four or five years, in Communication oftentimes boaſting what Countreys he hath compaſſed and meaſured with the ſame ſtaff.

49. *Item*, he hath made a vow, that he will never wear a cap; for he ſaith, it is comly wearing of a hat, and ſo cometh in his long gown and hat, both in to the Cathedral Church, and to the beſt Town of his Dioceſs, ſitting in that ſort in the Kings great Seſſions, and in his Conſiſtory, making himſelf a mock to the People. Ann° 1555.

50. *Item*, He ſaid that he would go to the Parliament on foot: And to his friends that diſſwaded him, alledging that it is not meet for a man in his place; he anſwered, I care not for that, it is no Sin.

51. *Item*, having a Son, he went before the Midwife to the Church, preſenting the Child to the Prieſt, and giving his Name *Samuel*, with a ſolemn interpretation of the Name, appointing alſo two Godfathers and two Godmothers, contrary to the ordinance, making his Son a monſter, and himſelf a laughing ſtock-throughout all the Countrey.

52. *Item*, He daily uſeth whiſtling of his Child, and ſaith that he underſtood his whiſtle, when he was but three days old. And being advertiſed of his friends, that men laughed at his folly, he anſwered; They whiſtle their horſes and dogs, and I am contented; they might alſo be contented that I whiſtle my Child, and ſo whiſtleth him daily, all friendly admonition neglected.

53. *Item*, In his ordinary viſitation among other his ſurveys, he ſurveyed *Milford* Haven, where he eſpied a Seal-fiſh tumbling. And he crept down to the water ſide, and continued there whiſtling by the ſpace of an hour, perſwadtng the company that laughed faſt at him, that by his whiſtling he made the fiſh to tarry there.

54. *Item*, ſpeaking of ſcarcity of Herrings, he laid the fault to the covetuouſneſs of Fiſhers, who in time of plenty took ſo many, that they deſtroyed the Breeders.

55. *Item*, Speaking of the alteration of the Coyn, he wiſhed that what metal ſoever it were of, the penny ſhould be in weight worth a penny of the ſame metal.

56. For a concluſion, the ſaid Biſhop in all his doings, ſince he came to his Dioceſs, hath behaved himſelf moſt unmeet for a man of his vocation, being for a Miniſter of Juſtice, an abuſer of the Authority to him committed, for a teacher of the Truth, and reformer of Superſtition, a maintainer of Superſtition without any Doctrine of reformation, for a liberal and hoſpital, an inſatiable covetuous man: for a diligent overſeer, wilful and negligent: for an example of godly Wiſdom, given wholy to folly: for merciful, a cruel revenger. And further, for a peacemaker, a ſower of diſcord. And ſo in all his behaviour a diſcrediter and ſlanderer of his vocation, and a deceiver of all men; that had hope that he ſhould do any reformation. For he yet hath neither brought into his Dioceſs, nor hath belonging unto him any learned Preacher. But ſuch learned Preachers as he found in the Dioceſs at his entry, he ſo vexeth and diſquieteth, that they cannot attend to apply their preaching, for the defence of their livings, againſt his quarrellous inventions and unjuſt certificates.

After theſe wrangling Articles and Informations were given up, then was the Biſhop called for to anſwer, the hearing whereof was committed unto Dr. *Wotton*, and Sir *John Maſon* Knight, who likewiſe received the Biſhops anſwers to the foreſaid Articles, the Copy and effect of which anſwers hereafter follow.

D. Wotton and Sir John Maſon Commiſſioners for the hearing of the Biſhops matter.

The Anſwer of Robert, *Biſhop of* S. Davids, *to the Articles Miniſtred unto him.*

TO the firſt Article he ſaith, that after lawful Monition in the Kings Majeſties Name and Authority, from the ſaid Biſhop (being then at *London*) given to the Chaunter and Chapter of S. *Davids*, for viſitation at a certain day there to be entred; the ſaid Biſhop himſelf for ſuch purpoſe coming into the Dioceſs, knowing alſo that the Chaunter, and one of the Canons of that Church, and late before Commiſſaries in that Dioceſs, had not only by their own evil example and winking at the faults of other, or neglecting to correct the ſame, left there among Prieſts and others, much deteſtable whoredom; but had alſo ſpoyled the Cathedral Church of Croſſes, Chalices, and Cenſers, with other Plate, Jewels, and Ornaments of the Church, to the value of five hundred Marks or more, for their own private lucre (the Church remaining even yet very vile, & in great decay) and had alſo made further under their Chapter Seal many blanks, to the number

Anno 1555. number of twelve or more, *Sede vacante*, without the Kings licence or knowledge; Therefore he brought with him one *Edmund Farlee*, Bachelour of Law, by Dr. *Toung* and Dr. *Nevilon* to him commended, as a man ſufficient in faithful truth and learning, to be his Chancellour. To whom he granted and ſealed a Commiſſion for that purpoſe, giving credit to him in his faculty, concerning the draught and form thereof. But the Kings *Maieſty's* ſtile of Supremacy was fully ſet forth in the ſame Commiſſion. Whether there were any default of formal words in ſetting forth of the Kings Authority therein, he is not certain. For he committed the doing thereof to his Chancellor, who was commended to him for a learned man. And the Biſhop ſaith, that he did never ground the Commiſſion upon any foraign uſurped Laws or Authority: Neither did his ſaid Chancellour by force of ſuch Authority viſit any Deanry of the ſaid Dioceſs, nor gave any Monition to the Chaunter and Chapiter there, by force of that Commiſſion for any like intent or purpoſe, but onely offered in the Kings *Majeſty's* Name and Authotity (to the ſaid Biſhop committed) to enter Viſitation of the Chaunter and Chapiter of the Cathedral Church, at another day to be executed by the Biſhop himſelf, for reformation of the Chapter Church, and Miniſters there, according to the Kings gracious Ordinances and Injunctions in that behalf. But the aforeſaid Chaunter and Canon of the Church, before the ſight of any Commiſſion, ſtubbornly anſwered the ſaid Chancellor, that they would not receive him, nor any other to Viſit them, except he were one of their Chapiter. And further, deſiring to ſee his Commiſſion, he delivered the ſame into their hands, who would not deliver it him again. And ſo it may appear that he did nothing by force of that Commiſſion.

2 To the ſecond Article he ſaith, that they opened not unto him the danger of any Statute, to his knowledge and remembrance. Nevertheleſs, he not knowing any default in the ſaid Commiſſion, and certainly minding with all diligence the faithful execution of his office of Preaching, and Viſiting the whole Dioceſs in his own perſon, by the Kings *Majeſty's* Authority, for the conſervation of Gods peace and the Kings, in that dangerous time of Rebellion, then begining to ariſe in other places, did neglect and lay apart the ſtubborn behaviour and ungodly doings of the ſaid Chaunter and Canon, and agreed with them, omitting all contempts and reproaches toward him and his ſaid Chancellor, and all manner of contention by them done, fearing elſe that through their unquietnes ſome Tumult might have riſen among the People there, and did alſo make the ſaid Chaunter his Chancellor, and Canon his Commiſſary, according, to their ambitious deſires, to appeaſe their malice in that dangerous time. And further, he ſaith, that he made Collation to Sir *John Evans* of the Vicarage of *Pembrin*, what day or time he remembreth not, not by any old foraign uſurped Authority, but by the Kings Authority onely, making full mention of the Kings Stile and Authority in the ſame Collation.

3. *and* 4. To the third and fourth he ſaith, that whereas he had granted to *George Conſtantine* the office of a Regiſter, who brought unto him a Commiſſion for the Chancellorſhip, to be ſealed and delivered to the foreſaid Chaunter of Saint *Davids*, deſiring the ſaid Biſhop to ſeal it, he utterly refuſed ſo to do, becauſe the ſaid *George* had put therein a clauſe of admitting Clerks into Benefices: the which Authority the ſaid Biſhop would not in any wiſe grant, reſerving the examination and admiſſion of Clerks onely to himſelf, for the avoiding of wicked bribery and partiality. Whereupon the ſaid *George* and the Chaunter promiſed the ſaid Biſhop by their faith and truth, afore three or foure honeſt witneſſes, not to execute that clauſe of Inſtitution into Benefices, but onely to thoſe Clerks whom the Biſhop did firſt examin and admit, and ſend unto them to be inſtituted and inducted; upon which promiſe the Biſhop ſealed the ſaid Commiſſion. And after that time, the Parſonage of Haskard being void, and by the reaſon of Lapſe devolved to the Biſhops gift for that time, he conferred it to one Sir *Henry Godherd*, with a Collation of Inſtitution by the Kings Authority, not extolling any foraign uſurped Authority. In the which Collation or Inſtitution is fully mentioned the renunciation of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and all foraign powers and Authority, with the full ſtile of his *Maieſty's* Supremacy. And this Collation of the Church of *Askard* he gave, before he underſtood or knew that his Chancellor had given out the like, and he ſurely thinketh his Collation was the firſt. That notwithſtanding, the ſaid *George Conſtantine*, and the ſaid Chaunter having a Vowſon determined by reaſon of Lapſe, admitted and inſtituted one *John Gough*, to the ſaid Parſonage of *Askard*, by Vertue of their expired Vowſon, and Sealed his Inſtitution with a wrong Seal (becauſe they had not the right Seal of Office to that purpoſe) contrary to their former earneſt promiſe, and the Biſhops Right, and without any manner of warning or fore-knowledge thereof to him given, which thing by them untruly done, the ſaid *George Conſtantine* nevertheleſs came to the Biſhops Houſe and there did write with his own hand the Letters of Induction for the ſaid Sir *Henry Godherd* Prieſt, compriſing in the ſame the whole Sum of the Inſtitution or Collation which the ſaid Biſhop had made, and the ſame *George* did Seal the ſaid Letters of Induction with his own hand, finding no manner of fault therein, nor making any word or mention of his and the Chaunters former wrong doing, but ſo departed for that time. And afterward he came again, and ſhewed the Biſhop what they had done before concerning the Parſonage aforeſaid. And further, the ſaid Defendant ſaith, that he did not moleſt the ſaid *John Gough*, but lawfully did call him in the Kings *Maieſty's* Name, not for any Title of Patronage, but to know whether he were Parſon of *Haskard*, and how he was thereto admitted, and inſtituted, and inducted, and by what Authority he preſumed to preach there, without the Kings *Majeſty's* licence, with other like lawfull demands, whereunto he ſturdily refuſed to give Anſwer; and ſaith, that the Article contained in his accuſation, ſaying thus: *Item interrogetur quo titulo tenet Rectoriam de* Haskard, was not miniſtred unto the party in that ſort, ſo farr as he knoweth, but in theſe words or like, *Quomodo intravit in Rectoriam, &c.*

5, To the fifth he ſaith, that albeit *George Conſtantine* Regiſter, did wilfully withdraw his bounden Service due to the Kings Highneſs, and to the ſaid Defendant in the Kings Name, refuſing to attend either by himſelf, or his ſufficient Deputy for writing of Records and other Inſtruments, yet the ſaid Defendant made his Collations and Inſtitutions in his own Name, not by his own Authority, nor by another, ſave onely the Kings Authority, according as he hath declared in his Anſwer to the firſt Article, expreſſing in them the Kings Supremacy with the Biſhops own Name and Seale of Office, as he ought to do, according to the proviſion of the Kings Statute in ſuch a caſe.

6. To the ſixth he ſaith, that the Vicarie of *Pembrin* being void, he, as right Patron thereof to his knowledge, conferred it to *John Evans* Clerk, with Letters of Inſtitution and Induction; and after, when the Kings Preſentation came to him for one *David Jenkin* Clerk, he deſired fourteen days reſpite at that time, either to ſhew ancient record for his right, and then the matter to ſtand to the Determination of the Law, or elſe if he ſhewed not, both he and his Clerk to give place to the Kings Clerk, Which condition was by Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight, Doctor M. and the ſaid *David Jenkin* received, and an Inſtitution with an Induction was made conditionally to be put into the hands of Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight, for ſafe cuſtody of the Kings Clerks behoof, after the fourteen dayes to be executed at the hands of the ſaid Defendant, if he failed to ſhew. Within which time the ſaid Defendant did ſhew an old ancient Record, declaring the full right of *Patronage* on the ſaid Defendants behalf, and ſo that Inſtitution and Induction was never by the ſaid Defendant put in execution. Nevertheleſs, the ſaid *David Jenkin* (contrary to his promiſe and Oath giving thereupon his right hand to the ſaid Sir *Thoms Jones* Kinght) took Advantage by the ſaid writing, without knowledge of the ſaid Defendant. After which time the Lord Chancellor, by his Letters written to the ſaid Defendant, adverti ſed him, to admit one *John Ap Powell* Clerk preſented by vertue of a Vowſon which the Lord Chancellor judged to be good, and ſo to be admitted notwithſtanding

his former presentation, whereby he would not abarr the others mans right. And so this Defendant made one Collation, two Institutions, and three Mandates, doing no wrong thereby to his knowledg. And further he saith, that there was no business nor unquietness about the possession of the said Vicarage, but this Defendant giving place, was content to lose his right for that time.

7. To the seventh he saith, that as he now remembreth, he never decreed any Caveats to be made in Benefices, neither did institute, nor cause to be inducted any into Benefices, being known to him litigious.

8. To the eighth he saith, that because the Archdeacons be absent from their Offices, and have not had faithful diligent Officials, he hath directed his Mandates to them or their Officials, or to other lawfull persons in that behalf, so far as he knoweth.

9. & 10. The ninth and tenth Articles he denieth as very untrue.

11. To the eleventh he saith, that whereas Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight advertised him, that *Thomas Prichard* had celebrated Matrimony in a private House, betwixt a certain Priest and a Woman, whose Sister had refused the same, the said *Prichard* leaving his own Cure unserved on that Sunday, this Defendant did put the same *Thomas Prichard* to penance for so doing, Marrying them without Banes. And whereas he made the said *Thomas Prichard*, who is a Bachelour of law, his Commissary; it was for the respect of learning in the law, thereby faithfully to execute his office according to Justice. And the said Defendant did never favor nor bear with any man wittingly in his wrong doings. He confesseth that the Matrimony was solemnized in a private Church, and that the Cure was that day unserved.

12. To the twelfth he saith, that it is slanderous and utterly untrue. And that one Sir *John Hughes*, Priest, made *Sage Hughes* (daughter to his Stepmother) an Harlot at eleven years of age, and after Married openly to another man, being Minister thereof himself. After which doing he took her away from her Husband again, and kept her, alledging a former contract. And when the said *John Hughes* was lawfully convicted before the said *Bishop*, in open Court at *Carmarthen*, of that his abominable Adultery, claiming the Kings pardon thereof, yet the said *Sage* confessed, that he had to do with her the night before that day of appearance. Which later crime he denied. Nevertheless shee proved with Child, affirming, both before the Birth and after, the Child to be his, the Midwife and others being Witnesses thereof. Yet notwithstanding, *George Constantine*, as a wicked Bolsterer of the said Priest in his naughty doings, with the help of the aforesaid Chaunter, first uttered that *Meredith Thomas* was Father of the said Child: which matter was ordered in the Ecclesiastical Court according to Justice, without any partial affection of the said Bishop, or of any other to his knowledge.

13. To the 13. he saith, it is utterly false so far as he knoweth.

14. To the 14. he saith, that by lawful sequestration in the Kings Maiesty's name, he committed the custody of the fruits of *Langatnoke* and *Lanvihangel* to two honest men, for the behoof of the Kings first fruits and tenths, and of the next incumbent, and further he did not meddle nor Minister any cause of unquietness in that behalf.

15. To the 15. he saith, that he made a collation, lawful (as he supposeth) of the Prebend of *Lanbister*, to *Stephen Greene* his Chaplain, without any covenant or colour, and further he did not meddle in that behalf.

16. To the 16. he saith, all is untrue as far as he knoweth.

17. To the 17. he saith, it is untrue for his own part, and his Officers, as far as he knoweth

18. To the 18. he saith, it is untrue as far as he knoweth, and that he did certifie the Recusants justly, as he thinketh, because they refused wilfully to pay the Kings whole Subsidy of their whole dividents, as it standeth in the Kings book, pertaining to the Canons Resident.

19. To the 19. he saith, that after travel of fourteen miles, being not able fasting to celebrate the communion, in a Chappel within the House of Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight, one of the Kings *Majesty*'s Honourable Counsel of the Marches of *Wales*, this Defendant celebrated Matrimony without receiving the Communion for the causes aboveſaid, betwixt *M. Giffith Rice*, and the Daughter of the said Sir *Thomas Jones*, according to the Kings Ordinances. And *Thomas Prichard* Priest, administred the holy Communion there without any Superstition, to this Defendants knowledge: and the Married persons not disposed to receive the holy Communion, he could not compel them against their Consciences, and saith, that he did not dispense with them, as it is contained in the Article.

To the slanderous and untrue title of maintenance of Superstition, &c. he saith, that he did not maintain any Superstition, contrary to the Kings Ordinances and Injunctions, but abhoring in his heart all Superstition, hath Travelled and doth Travel to Abolish the same by True Doctrine, and doing as much as he can, with the Kings peace, among his People there.

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20. TO the 20. he saith, that *George Constantine* in the third year of the Kings *Maiesties* Reign not regarding the dangerous time of Rebellion in other places, rashly caused to be pulled down, without any Authority known to this Defendant, the Communion Altar in *Carmarthen* Church, by his own presumptuous mind, appointing the use thereof in another place of the Church, not without grudge of the People. Wherefore the Bishop fearing Tumult, commanded the Vicar to set up the Communion Table (for the time) near to the place where it was before.

21. To the 21. he saith, that he hath been divers times in the Quire of *Carmarthen*, and hath tarried there in the Communion time, not communicating himself, and that in every Church where he cometh on the Holy day to preach, or to pray, he kneeleth in the Quire bareheaded, as well at *Matins* before the Communion, as at *Evensong* after, without any Superstition: he thinketh it not necessary for the Communions sake to leave kneeling to Christ. But he hath diligently taught the People not to kneel nor knock to the visible shew, or external shew of the Sacrament. And the Quires of *Carmarthen* and other places there, are not close at the sides, so that the People may come in and forth at their pleasure. Moreover the Kings Ordinances do not Authorize him to rebuke the People for knocking on their breasts, in token of repentance of their sins; nor for kneeling, in token of submission to God for mercy in Christ.

22. To the 22. he saith, that in the time of Rebellion in *Devonshire* and *Cornwal*, threatning to come into *Wales*, he teaching the People the true form of Prayer, according to Gods holy Word, and declaring the Prayer upon Beads to be vain and superstitious, yet durst not for fear of Tumult forcibly take from any man his Beads, without Authority. And touching the not reproving of such as he should meet, wearing Beads, he remembreth not that he hath so done, unless it were in the Rebellion time, at which time he durst not rebuke such Offenders.

23. To the 23. he saith, that he being in the Pulpit, his face towards the People; did not see the lights, if any were set up about the Corps behind his back till after that he came down from the Pulpit. But he with *George Constantine* and the aforesaid Chanter, sitting in the Church in *Carmarthen* to hear Causes, and seeing the Vicar with other Priests, with song and lights bringing a Corps up to the Church, called forthwith the Vicar and Priests, and rebuked them in open Court, as Cormorants and Ravens, flying about the dead carcass for lucre sake.

24. To the 24. he saith, that he caused the one Child being born with great peril of death to the Mother, and it self lying for dead a certain space after, to be christned on the working day: the other Child was christned on the working day, because both Father and Mother, and all other People there were in peril of death by reason of the sudden sweat, which all men feared at that time. And touching the rest of the accusation, which is, that by that example, it is used after the old accustomed fashion, he knoweth no such thing.

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To the Title of Covetousness, he saith; His doings prove the contrary, as his Neighbours know.

25. AND the 25. Article he utterly denieth.

26. To the 26. he saith, That his Hall at *Aberguly* being ruinous, he useth for his Hall a great Chamber adjoyning, for himself and his Servants, and all manner of Strangers, and besides twenty Persons in house daily. What other Hospitality he keepeth, honest Neighbours can testifie.

27. To the 27. he saith, That his Talk is according to his Hearers, that is to say, reverently and truly of Faith, Love, ond honest Life, according to the Scripture to like Auditors; and to other unreverend and rash Turmoilers of Scriptures and holy Doctrine, he doth talk of honest worldly things with godly intent; and that he doth not most commonly talk of such things as are expressed in this Article, but when he hath honest occasion so to do.

28. The 28. he saith is untrue, and that he hath warned no man out of their Lands; but where he is destitute of necessary provision, and would have part of his own Demain from certain Freeholders, having it only from year to year at pleasure, he cannot obtain it without brawling. Wherefore he suffereth them to keep it even yet still, against right and reason. And touching the rest, that he had rather the Crows should eat it, &c. he never spake any such word.

29. To the 29. he saith, That whereas his Predecessor Bishop *Barloe* did let to farm the Isle of *Ramsey* to one *William Brown*, after whose hands this Defendant received it into his own possession, the Vicars of S. *Davids* being dispossessed of it long before; he did let it over to *Stephen Green* for 40 shillings the Ground, as it was before, and 3 Pounds more for Seals, Coneys, and Fowls there; and he knoweth of no right the Vicars Choral had therein, who did refuse when this Defendant did diligently upon reasonable Conditions offer the same unto them: and this Defendant made no Promise unto them, as is contained in the Article.

30. To the 30. he saith, He knoweth not but that he advertized his Bayliff to warn the Free-holders; and others having his Demain in Rent, during pleasure, to leave it at a lawful day to this Defendants necessary use; and did not cause the Curate to do as is contained in the Article to his remembrance.

31. To the 31. he saith, That he knoweth not what the Priest bade in the Church, nor how many Plows there came, undesired of this Defendant. But he knoweth certainly, that he desired no mans labour but for his Money.

32. To the 32. he saith, That he knoweth not any such appointment of Schools and Revenues there, but he found there (after the departing of Bishop *Barloe*) a Schoolmaster, an Usher being a Priest, and 20 Scholars, which he hath hitherto maintained better than he found it, to his knowledge: he did never convert any Peny thereof to his own use, albeit he might lawfully have done the same.

33. The 33. he saith, is all untrue, so far as he knoweth.

34. To the 34. Article he saith, He never purchased more than three Parcels, whereof one was two Shillings eight Pence by the year; the second, three Shillings four Pence; and the third, six and twenty Shillings and eight Pence, or thereabout, by year; the rest he denieth.

35. To the 35. he saith, That he never bought of *Lewes John Thomas* his Land good cheap, but after 40 years purchase, not knowing at that time any such thing as is contained in the Article against the said *Lewes John*. Neither bade he the Sumner to let him alone, but as soon as he heard any thing of it, commanded the Sumner to cite him; and so he was cited in this Defendants House, occasioning him to break his bargain: to the which *Lewes* this Defendant said these words, If you would give me your Land with an House full of Gold, I cannot, nor will I suffer you to keep a Lemman. Then the said *Lewes* affirming the latter Woman to be his wife, and the first unknown to this Defendant, he caused the said *Lewes* to be called to the Consistory for Trial, where it hangeth yet: And also by lawful Process Excommunicated the first Woman, for that she would not by any means appear in the Court to claim or to confess Marriage with the said *Lewes*, and so she standeth this day at the point of *Significavit*.

36. To the 36. he saith, That whereas the Chantor, and *R.M.* with other Canons there, would not obey the Kings godly Injunctions, concerning the finding of a School for Poor mens Children, a Lecture of Divinity, Sermons on the Sundays, Repairing of their Church and Mansion Houses, decent Order and Ministration there; but stubbornly counted themselves (with the Chantor) to be a Body Politick, without regard of the Bishop and his lawful Monitions, being himself named in their Shire Statutes, *Decanus & quasi Decanus*, having also their Dean-Stall in the Quire with a Prebend thereunto annexed, and the chief place in the Chapter-House, with a Key of their Chapter-Seal, being also by the Kings Majesties Commission appointed their Ordinary: yet would they not in any wise deliver unto him a Book of their Statutes, for the better knowledge of his and their Duties, nor shew unto him their Records and Monuments, for declaration of the Kings Right and his. For which cause this Defendant, by Writ of *Quo warranto*, lawfully called them to answer, which yet lieth asleep, to the loss of the Kings Majesties Right. The time of delivery of the said Writ, he remembreth not.

37. The 37. he saith is all false, as far as he knoweth.

To the Title of Wilful Negligence; he saith, that he hath used to his power Willing Diligence.

38. TO the 38. he saith, That he being attendant according to his bounden duty) to serve the Kings Highness during the time of the Parliament, from the first unto the last day: then immediately after repaired into his Dioces, and he might not trust *R.M.* the Chantor, and *George Constantine* to execute faithfully the Jurisdiction, because they had before (through their slanderous life, and not punishing Misdoers) left the Country in great enormity of filthy Whoredom. And saith farther, that one cause why he appointed not an Officer, &c. was for that he lacked his Letters of Authority of Jurisdiction.

39, 40. The 39 and 40. he saith are untrue.

41. To the 41. he saith, That how often he did minister the Communion he doth not remember; but in all other things so far as he knoweth, he hath studied to order himself according to his vocation, as far as he believeth, he goeth like a Minister.

42. To the 42. he saith, That he hath not alienated himself from study, neither preached undiscreetly, nor reported the Scriptures untruly to his knowledge: (but he hath been very much hindered both from Study and Preaching, by the malicious, crafty, and covetous behaviour of the forenamed Persons.) And that he did set forth the Doctrine of honest Marriage, as well of all other men as of Priests, even as the Scripture then rehearsed did minister occasion.

43. To the 43. he saith, That reciting the words of *Luke, If thy Brother have offended against thee, blame him, and if he repent forgive him, and if he have offended against thee seven times in one day, and seven times in the day be converted unto thee, saying, I am sorry, forgive him*: He said farther these words in effect, It appeareth by this place of Scripture, that we are not bound (except he repent) to forgive him; but we are bound to pray God to forgive him, and to give him grace to repent, that he may forgive him.

44. To the 44. he saith, That he hath preached right often at *Carmarthen*, as well as at other places; and, he saith, that a great number at *Aberguily* do understand English very well.

45. To the 45. he saith, That after he had preached first at *Brecknock, Carmarthen, Swanzy, Laugharne, Tinby, Pembroch, Hereford*, St. *Davids, Cardigan*, with other notable Towns; he hath since that time preached to a great many other poor Churches, but not in *Tinby* nor *Pembroch*: but for *Hereford* he standeth in doubt. And whereas he brought with him at the first a learned Preacher, of godly life, the ungodly stubborn behaviour of the

perſons before-named wearied him away. And whereas he had waged another Learned man to come into his Dioceſs to preach, *George Conſtantine* by his diſcouragement adviſed him from this Defendant.

46. To the 46. he ſaith, That in all his Churches appropriated, there is both Bible and Paraphraſes, ſo far as he knoweth: and if the Prieſts there would not ſhew him the lack thereof, yet ſhould the Officials declare it unto him, that it might be amended (by his will) without delay.

47. To the 47. he ſaith, That *George Conſtantine* covetouſly ingroſſed into his hands a great number of Paraphraſes; and this Defendant hath admoniſhed the Clergy to buy every one, for his diſcharge: and if the ſaid *George* being Official of two Archdeaconries, and other Officials in their Office would declare unto him what Churches do lack Bibles or Paraphraſes, he would cauſe it to be amended as much as in him lieth.

To the title of Folly, he ſaith, That his deſire is in true ſimple manner of his words, deeds, and other honeſt behaviour, through Gods Grace to ſhew godly Wiſdom.

48. TO the 48. he ſaith, That he thinketh no folly in the decent colour or faſhion with honeſt uſe of Saddle, Bridle, Stirrops, Staff, and other like neceſſary or convenient things; and ſaith, that he uſed a Saddle made after the *Scotiſh* faſhion, with Stirrops of Iron unvarniſhed and like Spurs: and black Bridle without Studs, the Bit and Snaffle white as other mens be.

49. To the 49. he ſaith, That when he goeth abroad in Winter, he weareth a Hat to bear off Rain and Snow, and in Summer to ſhadow him from the Sun, without any vow of Superſtition or offence of the People.

50. To the 50. he ſaith, That all is one to him, to ride or go, as cauſe requireth; and whether he ſaid as is contained in the Article or not, he remembreth not. Howbeit he doth uſe to go a foot.

51. To the 51. he ſaith, That after lawful Prayer it pleaſed God to give him a Son begotten and born in honeſt Marriage; whom he therefore cauſed to be named *Samuel*, preſenting him to the Miniſter to be received into Chriſts Church, as a poor Member of Chriſt: by the holy Sacrament of Baptiſm was this done openly in the Cathedral Church, with earneſt gravity, and without offending any man; and alſo two Wives, being before at variance, deſired both to be Godmothers, which were both received to make Unity between them, not knowing any Law to the contrary, nor any Offence thereby conceived of the People.

52. To the 52. he ſaith, That he doth uſe with gravity all honeſt loving entertainment of his Child, to encourage him hereafter willingly at his Fathers mouth, to receive wholeſom Doctrine of the true Fear and Love of God; and ſaith, that he hath whiſtled to his Child, but ſaid not that the Child underſtood it, and that he anſwered to one that found fault with it, as is contained in the Article.

53. To the 53. he ſaith, That he was never Surveyor, but went to ſee *Milford* Haven for honeſt purpoſe, and not to ſurvey it; and for that he at the ſight of a Seal whiſtled in his fiſt, ſuch as meant folly might turn it to their purpoſe. And it is not true, that he ſtood whiſtling an hour to the Seal, nor that any fault was found with it, nor any ſuch anſwer made by him to his knowledge.

54. To the 54. he ſaith, That if he did ſay, The deſtroying of the Fry letteth plenty of Fiſh, he thinketh the ſame not againſt reaſon: but he remembreth not to have ſaid, as is contained in the Article.

55. To the 55. he ſaith, That he remembreth not that ever he ſaid as they alledge.

To the ſlandrous, untrue, and ungodly concluſion he ſaith, that *George Conſtantine* with other his Adverſaries before-named, and their Adherents, not regarding the Fear of God, and their bounden duty of loving Obedience towards God and the King, and his true Miniſters, have too much ſlanderouſly with falſe Tongues, contumelious words, and ſpiteful deeds, laboured by all means to diſcredit and deface the Kings gracious Authority to him committed. Who, ever ſithence he came to the Dioceſs, hath endeavoured himſelf to ſhew his faithful Miniſtry by his true honeſt doing, and to uſe his Authority according to his Vocation, to Gods glory and the Kings honour. And that he hath been diligent in teaching of Truth, reforming of Superſtition, free of Hoſpitality, diligent in overſeeing with godly wiſdom, peace, and mercifulneſs, as he truſteth in God, may be truly approved. And he is able juſtly to charge his Adverſaries with all the Faults herein by them moſt unjuſtly and ſlanderouſly againſt him objected. And he doth marvel greatly, that *George Conſtantine*, with other his Adherents, are not aſhamed maliciouſly to object (for the intent to ſlander him) moleſting of Preachers found there. For truth it is that he hath moleſted none, but hath juſtly brought under *Significavit*, one *Morice* a Preacher, living lewdly, for his ſtubborn Behaviour and malicious Contempts, even yet continuing in his wilful contempt and irregularity. And he hath (to his knowledge) juſtly certified *Hugh Rawlins*, Parſon of *Timby*, for his wilful Recuſancy of two other Parſonages, ſhamefully deceiving the Kings Majeſty by colour of Commiſſion, as appeareth by the ſame. And as for the railing, contemptuous Preaching of *R. M.* and the unlearned arrogant Preaching of the Chantor, he referreth to diſcreet Hearers, which were offended thereat, as they ſhewed this Defendant. And this Deponent brought into his Dioceſs both learned Preachers, and Learned men in the Law, to his very great charges, which men *George Conſtantine* with his Adherents hath wearied away. Anno 1555.

After theſe Anſwers thus exhibited by the vertuous and godly Biſhop againſt the quarrelling and frivolous Articles of his foreſaid Adverſaries, to wit, *Hugh Rawlins*, and *Thomas Lee*: then came in for witneſs, upon the ſaid Articles and Informations, *George Conſtantine*, and the Chanter of S. *Davids*: againſt whom the Biſhop laid firſt Exceptions, then alſo exhibited matter Juſtificatory, the tenour and proceſs whereof here followeth in order to be ſeen, firſt concerning the exceptions, and after the matter Juſtificatory.

Exceptions general, laid and propoſed on the behalf of Robert, *Biſhop of St.* Davids, *againſt all and ſingular the pretenced Witneſſes, produced on the behalf of* Hugh Rawlins *Clerk, and* Thomas Lee, *upon their untrue ſurmiſed Articles by them exhibited unto and before the Kings moſt honourable Council, by the device and procurement of the Chanter, and* George Conſtantine, *with* R. M. *Clerk, againſt the ſaid Biſhop.*

FIrſt, the ſaid Biſhop ſaith and alledgeth, That by Law there ought no faith or credence to be given unto the Depoſitions and Sayings of the ſaid Witneſſes, or any part thereof, becauſe they are infamous, falſe, perjured, and in ſome part of their Depoſitions diſcording, partial, conducted, ſubornate, inſtructed, and for favour of the Informers and their Bolſterers, have depoſed of malice more than the Articles whereupon they were producted to contain; and beſide, and without the compaſs of the ſame Articles, and in divers other parts of their Depoſitions, they depoſe *unum & eundem præmeditatum ſermonem*, as by their ſaid Depoſitions doth appear, unto the which the ſaid Biſhop referreth himſelf as much as it ſhall be expedient for him, and none otherwiſe. And further, for other cauſes particularly and ſpecially, as is declared in the Book of Exceptions.

Exceptions againſt the unlawful proceedings of Hugh Rawlins *Clerk, and* Thomas Lee, *promoters of the foreſaid untrue Articles, in executing of their Commiſſion for proof of the ſame.*

ITem, The ſaid *Thomas Lee* for himſelf and the other Promoter did contrary to Juſtice, at the Execution of their Commiſſion, examine certain of the Witneſſes himſelf, in the houſe of his Brother in Law *George Conſtantine*, and the ſaid *Lee*, and *David Walter* the Biſhops mortal Enemy, and Servant to the ſaid *George Conſtantine*, did write theſe Depoſitions upon the Articles at their own pleaſures, and alſo after the device of the ſaid *George Conſtantine*, and the Chanter and *R. M.* the Biſhops mortal Enemies, and the very deviſers and procurers of the Informations, and bolſterers and bearers of the Promoters in the ſuit thereof. Theſe are the names of the Witneſſes ſo examined,

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examined, which are already known: *David ap* Sir *Richard of Gettus*, a perjured and an adulterous Perſon, ſtanding in the number for two Witneſſes, written in two places of the Book.

Item, ap Ruddz of *Kennarthe*, *Griffith ap Howel*, *Guyne* of *Kennarthe*, *Lewes David Clerk*, *David ap Harvey Clerk*, Sir *Goghe*, alias *Morgon*, *&c.*

Item, One *John Draper* of *Carmarthen*, and an adherent of the foreſaid Adverſaries and Enemies to the ſaid Biſhop, did alſo, contrary to the tenor of their Commiſſion examine certain Witneſſes, and had to his Clerk one *William Davids*, Servant in Livery unto the foreſaid *Griffith Donne*, the Biſhops utter Enemy: by which ſhameful partiality they have written more matter, more words, other Terms and Sentences, than ſome of the Deponents have depoſed or could depoſe. *Humfrey Toy* the fifth Deponent, *Rice Goughe* the fourteenth Deponent, *William ap Jenkins* the fiftieth Deponent, *John Benguy* the 48*th* Deponent, *Richard Parſon* the 39*th*, which are already known what manner of Men the Promoters are.

Item, The ſaid *Hugh Rawlins* was not preſent at the Biſhops Sermon, whereof his Information maketh mention, neither yet at their cutting off the Commiſſion for the proof thereof: for the foreſaid Adverſaries did deviſe the ſame, and gave it unto the ſaid *Rawlins* to promote, chuſing him for the ſame purpoſe, knowing him to be a man willing (and ſetting his whole delight) to work miſchief, both with word and deed, who abuſeth his Tongue moſt ſhamefully, with moſt unfitting words, ever railing upon the ſaid Biſhop to every man that will hear him, without either reſpect or reverence of the Kings Majeſties Authority to the ſaid Biſhop committed. And the ſaid *Rawlins* hath four or five Benefices about the value of 200 Marks a year, and is reſident upon none of them, but ſpendeth his Living to the hindrance of other men, going about here and there, wandring to and fro, without either Man or Boy waiting on him, more like a light Perſon, than a man of ſuch Livelyhood and of his Vocation, being a Preacher. And indeed he is taken for a lewd Fellow of all that know his behaviour, inſomuch that when a certain Man objected unto the Adverſaries, That it was ill done to put ſo lewd a Fellow as *Rawlins* to promote their Cauſe: They anſwered and reported his honeſty with theſe words, We know *Rawlins* to be a very Knave, and ſo meet for no purpoſe as he is to ſet forward ſuch a matter: of which Report there is a ſufficient Witneſs. And it is thought that he hath done much ill with his ſpiteful Tongue: for he ſpeaketh as boldly in this ſurmiſed matter to all the Council, as though it were true, and much for the Kings profit.

Item, The other Promoter *Thomas Lee* is a Merchant, who hath ſold his Ware and ſpent his Money, and now for want of other buſineſs is become a Promoter of the foreſaid Articles, having his Coſts and Charges born by the ſaid principal Adverſaries, as it is alledged in the Biſhops Exceptions, which ſhall be proved if Commiſſion might be awarded for the purpoſe.

And thus much concerning the Exceptions againſt his pretended Accuſers: next followeth the matter Juſtificatory exhibited by the ſaid Biſhop, in defence of his own Cauſe, as by the effect here appeareth.

Certain Articles miniſtred by Robert *Biſhop of S. Davids, againſt a ſurmiſed Information exhibited by* Thomas Lee, *to the Kings Majeſty his moſt Honourable Council, againſt the ſaid Biſhop.*

Inprimis, viz. That there ought none advantage to be taken againſt the ſaid Biſhop, of the Contents of the ſaid pretended Information, for the Cauſes particularly following. And firſt, whereas it is objected againſt the ſaid Biſhop, in the firſt, ſecond, and fifth Articles of the ſame Information, that he contrary to the Kings Highneſs Laws and Statutes, and in the derogation of his Highneſs Supremacy, paſſed a certain Commiſſion, Inſtitutions, and Collations to Benefices, in his own name, making no mention of the Kings Highneſs Authority, whereas of truth the ſaid Biſhop, if he had paſſed out the Commiſſion, Inſtitutions, and Collations in his own name, and without the Kings Majeſty his Stile, as is ſurmiſed (as he did not) yet had he offended neither the Laws nor Statutes of this Realm therein, as doth and may appear evidently in the ſame Statutes and Laws, to the which he referreth himſelf. Proved by the Statutes.

Item, Whereas it is deduced in the third Article of the ſaid pretenced Information, that the Chancellor of the ſaid Biſhop did admit and inſtitute *J. Gough* into the Rectory of *Haskard*, and gave a Mandate for the induction of the ſaid *John*, under the Kings Majeſties Seal Eccleſiaſtical, for the Dioceſs of S. *Davids*, with the *Teſte* of the ſaid Biſhop and Subſcription of the ſaid Chancellor, which thing ſo deduced, if it be true, yet the ſaid Biſhop cannot be worthily blamed thereof. But the Chantor (then his Chancellor unworthy) ſhewed himſelf therein very ignorant of the Kings Statutes of Parliament, wherein it is expreſly provided, that in ſuch caſes the Ordinary ought to paſs all ſuch Inſtitutions and Inductions in his own Name, and under his own Seal, and not in the Kings Majeſties Name, nor under his Seal. And further, of very truth, the ſaid Chancellor in admitting and inſtituting the ſaid Clerk to the ſaid Benefice, without the knowledge and conſent of the ſaid Biſhop, did exceed his Commiſſion, for as much as the ſaid Biſhop, at the granting of his Commiſſion of his Chancellorſhip unto the ſaid Chantor, had reſtrained him expreſly from the admitting and inſtituting of any Clerk to any Benefice within the ſaid Dioceſs, except the ſame Clerk were firſt examined, found worthy, and admitted by the ſaid Biſhop himſelf to the ſame Benefice. Proved by the Statutes.

Item, Whereas in the fourth Article of the ſaid Information it is contained, that the ſaid Biſhop, after the admitting and inſtituting of the ſaid *John Gough*, as is aforeſaid, objected Articles againſt him, amongſt the which it was contained in effect.

Item, interrogetur quo titulo tenet Rectoriam de Haſkarde.

TRue it is that the ſaid Biſhop, without moleſtation of the ſaid *Gough*, otherwiſe than Law did permit, and without taking upon him the cognition of the Title of the ſaid Fruits and Patronage of the ſaid Benefice, in contempt of the Kings Majeſties Regal Crown and Dignity, and without any derogation of the Kings Majeſties Laws and Statutes of this Realm, did Interrogate the ſaid *John Gough*, how he held the ſaid Benefice, being admitted and inſtituted to the ſame without his knowledge or conſent, as he might lawfully do, and as it is meet every Ordinary ſhould know how Paſtors are admitted to any Cure within their Dioceſs. Act. adduci poſſunt.

Item, Touching the Contents of the ſixth Article of the ſaid Information, the ſaid Biſhop alledgeth that the Vicaridge of *Pembrin*, in the Dioceſs of S. *Davids* being void, he as Patron thereof, to his knowledge, conferred it to *John Evans* Clerk, with Letters of Inſtitution and Induction, and afterwards when the Kings Preſentation came to him for one *David Jenkin* Clerk, he deſired 14 days reſpit, at that day either to ſhew ancient Record for his Right, and then the matter to ſtand to the determination of the Law, or elſe if he ſhewed not, both he and his Clerk to give place to the Kings Clerk: which Condition was by Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight, Dr. *Merike*, and the ſaid *David Jenkins* received; and an Inſtitution with an Induction was made conditionally, to be put into the hands of Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight, for ſafe cuſtody for the Kings Clerk his behoof, after the 14 days to be executed at the hands of the ſaid Biſhop, if he failed to ſhew; within which time the Biſhop did ſhew an old ancient Record, declaring the full right of Patronage on the ſaid Biſhops behalf, and ſo that Inſtitution and Induction was never put in execution by the ſaid Biſhop.

Nevertheleſs the ſaid *David Jenkin* (contrary to his Promiſe and Oath, giving thereupon his Right hand to Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight) took advantage by the ſaid Writing without knowledge of the ſaid Biſhop; after which time the Lord Chancellor, by his Letters written to the ſaid Biſhop, advertized him to admit one *John ap Howel* Clerk, preſented by virtue of a Vowſon, which the Lord Chancellor adjudged to be good, and ſo to be admitted, notwithſtanding his former Preſentation, whereby he would not abar the other mans Right. And ſo the ſaid Biſhop made one Collation, two Inſtitutions, and three

Mandates, doing no wrong thereby to his knowledge. And further, there was no buſineſs nor unquietneſs about the poſſeſſion of the ſaid Vicarage. But the ſaid Biſhop giving place, was content to loſe his right for that time.

Item, Whereas Sir *Thomas Jones* advertized the ſaid Biſhop, that *Thomas Prichard* Clerk had celebrated Matrimony in a private Houſe, betwixt a certain Prieſt and a Woman whoſe Siſter had refuſed the ſame (as it is deduced in the 11*th* Article of the ſurmized Articles laid in againſt the ſaid Biſhop) the ſaid *Prichard* leaving his own Cure unſerved that Sunday, he did put the ſaid *Thomas Prichard* to Penance for ſuch his miſdoings, and the ſaid *Prichard* did ſuch Penance as was enjoyned him to do. And whereas the ſaid Biſhop made the ſaid *Tho. Prichard* (who is Batchelor of Law) his Commiſſary, it was for the reſpect of his Learning in the Law, thereby faithfully to execute his Office, according to Juſtice, and none otherwiſe.

Item, In the 14*th* Article of the ſaid ſurmized Information, it is untruly declared, that through the unlawful Sequeſtration of the Fruits of the Benefices of *Longatoke* and *Llanvihangel Cundy*, and the undiſcreet handling of the ſaid Biſhop, there were raiſed a great number of People, to the great danger of the Inhabitants thereabouts. Truth it is, that the ſaid Biſhop upon good and lawful Conſiderations, and ſpecially for that the Kings Majeſty ſhould be truly anſwered of his Firſt-Fruits and Tenths of the ſaid Benefices, did lawfully (and as he was bound to do) ſequeſter the ſaid Fruits in the Kings Majeſties Name, and by his Authority, and committed the cuſtody thereof for a time unto two honeſt Men, to the effect aforeſaid, and none otherwiſe, without any occaſion of tumult or gathering the People through his default or folly.

Item, Whereas it is alledged in the 19*th* Article of the Information, that the Biſhop did celebrate Matrimony in his own perſon, without receiving or miniſtring the Communion to the Perſons married, it is true, for that the ſaid Biſhop had travelled fourteen long *Welſh* Miles, and not able to celebrate the holy Communion faſting, and for other reaſonable and lawful Cauſes him moving, did in a Chappel within the Houſe of Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight (one of the Kings Honourable Counſel of the Marches of *Wales*) ſolemnize Matrimony betwixt Mr. *Griffith Rice*, and the Daughter of the ſaid Sir *Thomas Jones*, without either receiving the holy Communion himſelf, or miniſtring the ſame to the Perſons married, being as then not diſpoſed ſo to do it lawfully and godly, without any ſuperſtitious Knockings or Bleſſings, or other uncomly geſtures, as is deduced in that Article.

Item, Touching the Contents of the reſidue of all the ſaid Articles, contained in the ſaid Information, the ſaid Biſhop, partly for the avoiding of tedioſuneſs, and partly for that ſome of them be untrue and meer falſe, ſome other general, obſcure, frivolous, vain, and of none effect, but of malice and evil-will, contrary to Truth conceived, leaveth them particularly unanſwered unto.

Item, The ſaid Biſhop alledgeth, that he hath not by all the time that he hath been Biſhop, uſed any Superſtitions or Papiſtry, as it is untruly ſurmiſed againſt him, but hath and doth to the uttermoſt of his power, wit and cunning, ſet forth, maintain teach and preach the true Doctrine of the Goſpel, and ſuch laudable Doctrine as he ought to do by the Kings Laws, Injunctions and Proceedings, and for ſuch a Teacher he hath been and is commonly known, named, reputed, taken, and accepted notoriouſly.

And where the ſaid Chantor and *George* perceived their Depoſitions to be inſufficient, they required, and had Commiſſion into the Country to examine further Witneſſes, which they executed very partially and unlawfully, as is alledged in the Biſhops Exceptions above-mentioned. And whereas the ſaid *Rawlins* and *Lee* were awarded two ſeveral Commiſſions, they by favour of the Officers, and for ſparing of Coſts, conjoyned both in one, and had three Months to make return, as appeareth by the Copy of their Commiſſion, which hereafter followeth.

A Copy of the Commiſſion awarded down into the Country, for the Examination of Witneſſes. Anno 1555.

EDwardus, *Sextus Dei gratia*, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ *Rex, Fidei defenſor, & in terra Eccleſiæ* Anglicanæ, & Hiberniæ *ſupremum caput*, *dilectis & fidelibus ſuis* Georgio Harbert *Militi*, Thomæ Jones *Militi*, & Johanni Wogan *Militi*, *ac dilectis ſibi* David Vaughhan, & Owino ap Owen *Armigeris*; *ſalutem. Sciatis quod nos de fidelitatibus, & providis circumſpectionibus veſtris plurimum fidentes, aſſignavimus vos, quatuor, tres ac duos veſtrum, ac tenore præſentium damus vobis, quatuor, tribus, vel duobus veſtrum plenam poteſtatem, & Autoritatem capiendi & recipiendi Depoſitiones & Examinationes quorumcunque teſtium ex parte* Hugonis Rawlins *Clerici*, & Thomæ Leghe, *de & ſuper quibuſdam Articulis per ipſos* Hugonem & Thomam Leghe *Concilio noſtro exhibitis & præſentibus incluſis. Necnon Depoſitiones & Examinationes in ſcriptis redigendas. Et nos de hujuſmodi Examinationibus, & Depoſitionibus cum ſic per vos, quatuor, tres vel duos veſtrum captæ fuerint, in Cancellariam noſtram in Craſtino Aſcenſionis Domini proximè futuræ, ubicunque tunc fuerit ſub Sigillis veſtris, quatuor, trium, vel duorum veſtrum Clauſis certificandum, remittentes nobis tunc Articulos prædictos una cum hoc brevi. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod circa præmiſſa diligenter intendatis cum effectu. Teſte me ipſo apud* Weſtm. 9. *die* Martii, *Anno regni noſtri Sexto.*

Marten.

DUring all this time of the Examination of the Witneſſes, the ſaid Biſhop was ſtayed at *London*, upon the Allegation of the ſaid Adverſaries, which was, That if the ſaid Biſhop ſhould depart into his Dioceſs, he would let them of their Proofs.

And at the return of their Commiſſion it was ſignified unto the Council what a great number of Witneſſes they had examined, *viz.* Sixſcore and ſeven, which ſounded very heinous in the Councils ears.

And about three Weeks after, publication of their Witneſſes was granted, and after that, it was a fortnight ere the Biſhop could get a Copy written of their Depoſitions, becauſe the Book thereof is ſo huge and monſtrous.

Then the Biſhop deſired time, Firſt, to enquire of what condition the Perſons were that had witneſſed againſt him, and to make Exceptions and Matters to juſtifie direct contrary, and to have a Commiſſion for the proof thereof, which was then granted. And now it is objected, That the Biſhop was appointed ſo to travel with the expedition of his matter, that he ſhould have ſued out his Commiſſion, and have made return thereof at *All-Hallowtide* laſt paſt; but there was no ſuch Decree put in writing. And it was not poſſible for the Biſhop to do it in ſo ſhort a time, theſe Cauſes conſidered which he could not avoid, as followeth.

Firſt, It was the latter end of *July* ere he came home to S. *Davids*, where he began his Viſitation, which before was appointed.

Secondly, He was by force of Law conſtrained to anſwer at the Bar daily, during all the time of the great Seſſions at *Carmarthen*, in defence of his juſt Cauſe againſt the pretenced matter of *Præmunire*, which his Adverſaries of meer malice have procured againſt him.

Thirdly, The ſaid Adverſaries, to moleſt him further, did privily pack a Queſt of ignorant Perſons of no Reputation, and indicted him upon the words of *Rawlins* Information, as appeareth by a Copy of the Indictment, intending thereby to make the matter ſound more hainous, notwithſtanding that the ſame Cauſe dependeth before the Kings high Council undetermined.

Fourthly, He was appointed by the Commiſſioners, before his departure from *London*, to pay two Hundred pound (which was Arrearages) into the Courts of Firſt-Fruits and Tenths, at *Bartholomew* day then next following; which payment he made accordingly, notwithſtanding that his Adverſaries wrought means to have made him break his day; namely, one *Edward Harbert* Gent. who hath a Parſonage of his to Farm, kept back his Rent

to

Anno 1555.

to the very laſt day, becauſe that Money ſhould not help to ſerve his turn; and ſo by crafty cavillation detaineth it ſtill in his hand with a years Rent and an half more: for the ſaid *Edward Harbert* is an Adherent of the ſaid Biſhops Adverſaries.

Fifthly, The Book of their Depoſitions is ſo great, that it asketh a long time to peruſe. And alſo the greateſt part of their Witneſſes were utterly unknown of the Biſhop and all his: And alſo dwelling in ſo many ſundry places of the Dioceſs among the Mountains and elſewhere, ſcarcely within the circuit of two hundred Miles.

Item, Another great Seſſions holden at *Carmarthen* in the Month of *October* laſt, during which time he was attendant there, as is aforeſaid. All which Cauſes conſidered, being alſo in the time of his ordinary Viſitation, which he did execute himſelf, he could not make ready his Exceptions in ſhorter time.

The ſaid Biſhop diſpatched his Man towards *London* the three and twentieth day of *October*, who ever ſithence hath been and is attendant in the ſame Suit, for the obtaining the Commiſſion for proof of this matter againſt his Adverſaries.

A Copy of a certain Letter written by the Biſhop of *S. Davids*.

MOſt humbly ſheweth unto your Honour, your poor Orator Robert, *Biſhop of S.* Davids, *That whereas one* Thomas Lee *(by the procurement of* Thomas Young *and* Rowland Merick, *being both Canons of S.* Davids, *and* George Conſtantine *Regiſter to the ſaid Biſhop) hath exhibited unto your Honour againſt him certain Articles, in the which are mentioned many triſling things, unworthy to be declared in your honourable Audience, and alſo their pretenced weighty Articles (as they have alledged there) are utterly untrue: for proof whereof the ſaid* Thomas Lee *hath had his Commiſſions into the Country: Therefore it may pleaſe your Honour of your favourable goodneſs, to grant unto your ſaid Orator a like Commiſſion for the Examination of Witneſſes, in defence of his Truth and Honeſty againſt the ſaid* Thomas Lee, George Conſtantine, *and the forenamed* Rowland Merick, *and all other Perſons, with their unjuſt Articles, Atteſtations and Sayings, which have depoſed againſt him. And in tender conſideration that your ſaid Orator ſtandeth bounden, and Sureties with him, in the Sum of* 1000 *Mark, to appear before the Kings Juſtice in the Seſſions at* Carmarthen, *in* July *next coming, to anſwer to a forged matter of* Præmunire, *by the procurement and counſel of his forenamed Adverſaries, maliciouſly ſurmiſed againſt him to his utter undoing. And furthermore, your Orator being in debt to the Kings Majeſty, by reaſon of the malicious Vexation of his foreſaid Adverſaries, cannot (if he remain here) ſatisfie the ſame: for whereas there be Arrearages to a great Sum (as well of the Kings Money as of his own Rents) he can receive none thereof, his Adverſaries have made ſuch ill Report to his diſcredit, bearing the People in hand, that he ſhall come no more thither. By reaſon of which bruit, neither his own Tenants will pay their Rents and Arrearages, nor the Prieſts their Arrearages due to the Kings Majeſty, as well for* Anno ſecundo *and* tertio, *as for* quarto *and* quinto. *In conſideration of all which things, it may pleaſe your honourable goodneſs to licence your ſaid Orator to depart into the Dioceſs, for theſe Affairs and other. And he is ready at all times, at your honourable commandment and pleaſure, to repair again, and ever to pray to the Lord Jeſus for the perpetual conſervation of your Honour, to his glory.*

Another Letter written by the Biſhop of S. Davids.

RIght Honourable, and my very ſpecial good Lord, with humble Service and hearty Thanks to God, and to you for your godly favour towards me at all times, as right plainly appeareth by your Fatherly Letters, moſt lovingly to admoniſh me to incline unto that which is very neceſſary, as charitable Concord and Unity; This is, further to beſeech your Lordſhip for the Lords ſake not to be grieved, but benignly to hear, and gravely to ponder that weighty matter, which, appearing (to other) but a light grief to me, is in very deed a right grievous offence to God, with no little hindrance of his holy Word, and diſturbance of the Kings godly proceedings, and may be a great occaſion of much Inobedience and diſorder of good life. Wherefore I am ſtraitly bounden for the true Zeal I ought to bear unto Gods Word of Life, Chriſtian Religion, the Kings Majeſties Honour, and the godly quiet ſtate of his People, not faintly to let fall the burthen of diligent redreſs to be ſought at his Majeſties hands by the godly wiſdom of his moſt honourable and upright Counſel, but with hearty affection to bear it up againſt thoſe high-minded, arrogant, ſtubborn, ambitious, covetous Canons, truſting in their biting Tongues, with crafty prevention, and utterly untrue ſurmiſes, to ſtop the Light that their ungodly miſdoing in darkneſs ſhall either not be ſeen, or at the leaſt may ſeem to appear in colourable appearance of Right. Inſomuch that I do not a little marvel at theſe qualities in M. Chantor, the Canon, and the Dean of *Worceſter*; whoſe ungentle and untrue behaviour I have not only known, but expertly proved, and ſenſibly felt in two of the firſt to my great loſſes, whereof I make no Complaint. But I wonder in my mind, and lament in my heart, the ſtrange alteration and wilful going back of of my old faithful Brother *George Conſtantine*, the which (knowing them all three to have been in times paſt either obſtinate Enemies to the true bearers of the Croſs of Chriſt, or at leaſt private lurkers under pretence of favour towards the Goſpel, to ſting the poor Followers thereof, ſeeking but their own lucre and pleaſure in all their doings) would ſo earneſtly cleave unto them in their wrong Deeds, as to betray me with his Tongue, become untrue of his Promiſe, and a bearer of filthy Sin for Lucres ſake, even yet ſtill perſiſting in the ſame (namely) in things manifeſtly known unto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited. And as for their *Præmunire*, both *George* and they at my firſt coming, ungently detaining from M. *Farlee* his Commiſſion for the Chancellorſhip, would have faced me down with *Præmunire*, becauſe it was written in my own Name according to the Statute: yet was I fain, for the zeal of Unity, not to ſee their uncourteous Deeds, departing with M. *Farlee* for the avoiding of their Malice and Envy, and gave that Office, for the amity of *George*, unto Mr. Chantor his Son in Law, and to D. *Merick* the Office of *Cardigan*. But ſeeing afterward their covetous reſpect to their own glory and lucre, not regarding the Reformation of Sin, and ſpecially of ſhameleſs Whoredom, I was compelled to remove them ſore againſt their wills: and whereas I deſired many and ſundry times Charitable redreſs of their wrong doings in the Vacation time, I obtained many fair words, and nothing in deed. Alſo deſiring to have ſight of the Book of Statutes of the Church, for the knowledge of my duty and theirs, I could not obtain it. Deſiring to have a Key of the Chapter Seal, as my Lord of *Bathe* had, they would not deliver it but upon Conditions; yet was I content to be bridled, receiving it as pleaſed them to give it. And further, requiring the ſight of neceſſary Evidences, for the declaration of divers things in traverſe of my Right, they would in no wiſe grant it. And thereupon conſidering their ungentleneſs, I moved the *Quo warranto*, knowing right well, that if they ſhould ſhew any ſubſtantial Grant under the Kings Seal for their Corporation, it muſt therein appear the Biſhop to be the Head, and ever hath been under the King; for other they never have, nor had, except they would return to *Rome* again, as I truſt they will not. And yet perceiving afterward that they had no ſpecial Grant to ſhew, or elſe ſuch as they would not ſhew, I my ſelf for the reſpect of Unity wrote my Letters to the Kings Attorney, by reaſon whereof the *Quo warranto* was ſtayed, and ſo yet remaineth.

But touching the Certificate, the Kings Subſidy being due at *Michaelmaſs* laſt, and forborn till after *Chriſtmaſs*, and lawfully demanded afore they did utterly refuſe to pay both to my Vice-Collector and to my ſelf, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowing where to ask the reſt, and it is committed to me in the Kings Roll a whole Sum in groſs, to be received of the Canons Reſidentiaries for their divident: who becauſe they cannot agree in dividing, would have the Kings Majeſty to tarry for his Mony, till they can agree to make

diviſion;

diviſion; and I cannot demand it of any particular perſon, nor at any particular place.

Wherefore I moſt humbly beſeech your Fatherly goodneſs, for the Lords ſake, to perſiſt and continue my good Lord and Friend unto ſuch time as ye find me either deſiring to be defended in my wrong, or not willing to put the Judgment of my right Cauſe into your hands. And becauſe that the reſidue of matters touching them and their ungentle, untrue, and ungodly doings is too long, and I have moleſted you too much with this my tedious Letter, I ſhall now ſurceaſe; humbly beſeeching your good Lordſhip to accept in good part this my boldneſs proceeding of neceſſity, and to pardon it for the love of our Lord Jeſus, who ſave and keep you in health, comfort, and honour long to endure, for the advancement of his glory. Written at *Aberguily* this Ninth of *March*.

Your Lordſhips to command during life, R.F.

And thus you have heard the firſt trouble of this bleſſed Martyr of the Lord in King *Edwards* days, with the whole diſcourſe thereof. Which we thought the rather here to expreſs, to give other good Biſhops warning to be more circumſpect, whom they ſhould truſt and have about them. Briefly, in few words to conclude this Proceſs, B. *Farrar* partly upon the importunate ſute of his Adverſaries, partly upon the ſiniſter and infortunate Fall of the good Duke of *Somerſet*, by whom he had been before promoted and maintained, having but ſmall favour ſhewed, was detained in Priſon till the death of King *Edward*, and the coming in of Queen *Mary* and Popiſh Religion, whereby a new trouble roſe upon him, being now accuſed and examined for his Faith and Doctrine. The Proceſs of which his trouble here likewiſe followeth.

After that the foreſaid Mr. *Farrar* Biſhop of St. *Davids* had been long detained in cuſtody under Sureties, in the Reign of King *Edward*, not for any juſt cauſe for his part deſerved, but by reaſon that he had been promoted by the Duke of *Somerſet*; and now after his Fall he found fewer Friends to ſupport him againſt ſuch as hunted after his Biſhoprick, at length after the deceaſe of King *Edward*, by the coming in of Queen *Mary*, the ſtate of Religion begun to be changed and altered. Whereby a new Trouble roſe upon him, being now accuſed and examined, not for any matter of *Præmunire*, but for his Faith and Doctrine. Whereupon he was called before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with Mr. *Hooper*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Bradford*, Mr. *Sanders*, and others aforeſaid, the fourth of *February*. On the which day he ſhould alſo with them have been Condemned: but becauſe leiſure or liſt did not ſo well then ſerve the Biſhop, his Condemnation was deferred, and he ſent to Priſon again, where he continued till the 14. day of the ſaid month of *February*. What his Examinations and Anſwers were before the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſo much as remained and came to our hands, I have here annexed in manner as followeth.

The ſecond Trouble of B. *Farrar*, in the time of Q. *Mary*.

The Anſwer of Robert Farrar, *Biſhop of St.* Davids, *before* Wincheſter *and others.*

The Talk of B. *Farrar* before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and other Commiſſioners.

AT his firſt coming and kneeling before my Lord Chancellor, the Biſhop of *Dureſm*, and the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who ſate at the Table; and Mr. *Rocheſter*, Mr. *Southwel*, Mr. *Bourne*, and others ſtanding at the Tables end, the Lord Chancellor ſaid unto him on this ſort:

Wincheſter, Now Sir, have you heard how the World goeth here?

Farrar, If it like your Honour, I know not.

Win. What ſay you? Do you not know things abroad, notwithſtanding you are a Priſoner?

Far. No, my Lord, I know not.

Winch. Lo, what a froward Fellow is this?

Farrar, If it pleaſe your Lordſhip, how ſhould I know any thing abroad, being a Priſoner?

Winch. Have you not heard of the coming in of the Lord Cardinal?

Farrar, I know not my Lord Cardinal; but I heard that a Cardinal was come in, but I did not believe it, and I believe it not yet.

Worceſt. I pray your Lordſhip (ſaid the Biſhop of *Worceſter*) tell him your ſelf, that he may know what is done.

Winch. The Queens Majeſty and the Parliament hath reſtored Religion into the ſame ſtate it was in at the beginning of the Reign of our King *Henry* the Eighth. Ye are in the Queens debt, and her Majeſty will be good unto you, if you will return to the Catholick Church.

B. *Farrar* charged with the Queens Debt.

Farrar, In what ſtate I am concerning my Debts to the Queens Majeſty, in the Court of *Exchequer*, my Lord Treaſurer knoweth: and the laſt time that I was before your Honour, and the firſt time alſo, I ſhewed you that I had made an Oath never to conſent nor agree, that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould have any Power or Juriſdiction within this Realm: and further, I need not rehearſe to your Lordſhip, you know it well enough.

B. *Farrar* refuſeth the Pope.

Bourne, You were once abjured for Hereſie (ſaid M. *Bourne*) in *Oxford*.

M. *Bourne* lyeth to B. *Farrar* falſly to have abjured at *Oxford*.

Farrar, That was I not.

Bourne, You were.

Far. I was never, it is not true.

Bourne, You went from S. *Davids* to *Scotland*.

Far. That I did not.

Bourne, You did.

Far. That did I never, but I went from *York* into *Scotland*.

Bourne, Ah, ſo ſaid I; you went with *Barlow*.

Farrar, That is true, but never from Saint *Davids*.

Bourne, You carried Books out of *Oxford*, to the Archbiſhop of *York*, *L. Lee*.

Farrar, That did I not.

Bourne, You did.

Farrar, I did not, but I carried old Books from S. *Oſwalds* to the Biſhop of *York*.

B. *Farrar* falſly charged to have ſupplanted his Maſter, whom indeed he defended from danger.

Bourne, You ſupplanted your Maſter.

Farrar, That did I never in my life.

Bourne, By my Faith you did.

Farrar, Forſooth, I did not, never in my life, but did ſhield and ſave my Maſter from danger, and that I obtained of King *Henry* the Eighth, for my true Service, I thank God therefore.

Bourne, My Lord (ſaith Mr. *Bourne* to my Lord Chancellor) he hath an ill Name in *Wales* as ever had any.

Farrar, That is not ſo. Whoſoever ſaith ſo, they ſhall never be able to prove it.

Bourne, He hath deceived the Queen in divers ſums of Money.

Farrar, That is utterly untrue, I never deceived King nor Queen of one Peny in my life, and you ſhall never be able to prove that you ſay.

Winch. Thou art a falſe Knave.

B. *Farrar* ſtoutly ſtandeth upon his Truth.

Farrar, Then *Farrar* ſtood up unbidden (for all that while he kneeled) and ſaid, No, my Lord, I am a true man, I thank God for it. I was born under King *Henry* the Seventh, I ſerved King *Henry* the Eighth, and King *Edward* the Sixth truly, and have ſerved the Queens Majeſty, that now is, truly with my poor heart and word: more I could not do, and I was never falſe, nor ſhall be by the Grace of God.

Wincheſter, How ſaiſt thou, wilt thou be reformable?

B. *Farrar* ſtandeth to his Oath made to the King againſt the Pope.

Farrar, My Lord, if it like your Honour, I have made an Oath to God, and to King *Henry* the Eighth, and alſo to King *Edward*, and in that to the Queens Majeſty, the which I can never break while I live, to die for it.

Dureſm, You have made another Oath before.

Farrar, No my Lord, I never made another Oath before.

Dureſm, You made a Vow.

Farrar, That did I not.

Vow of Chaſtity is not to live without a Wife.

Winch. You made a Profeſſion to live without a Wife.

Farrar, No, my Lord, if it like your Honour, that did I never; I made a Profeſſion to live chaſt, not without a Wife.

Worceſt. You were ſworn to him that was Maſter of your Houſe.

Farrar.

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Farrar. That was I never.

Wincheſt. Well, you are a froward Knave: we will have no more to do with you, ſeeing that you will not come; we will be ſhort with you, and that you ſhall know within this Seven-night.

Wincheſters perjury touch.

Farrar. I am as it pleaſeth your Honour to call me; but I cannot break my Oath which your Lordſhip your ſelf made before me, and gave in example, the which confirmed my Conſcience. Then I can never break that Oath whilſt I live to die for it.

Dureſm. Well, ſaith he, he ſtandeth upon his Oath: call another.

My Lord Chancellor then did ring a little Bell, and Mr. *Farrar* ſaid, I pray God ſave the King and Queens Majeſties long to continue in honour to Gods glory and their comforts, and the comfort of the whole Realm; and I pray God ſave all your Honours, and ſo departed.

After theſe Examinations thus ended, Biſhop *Farrar* ſo remained in Priſon uncondemned, till the fourteenth day (as is aforeſaid) of *February*, and then was ſent down into *Wales*, there to receive Sentence of Condemnation. Who then upon the ſix and twentieth of *February*, in the Church of *Carmarthen*, being brought by *Griffith Leyſon* Eſquire Sheriff of the County of *Carmarthen*, was there perſonally preſented before *Henry* Biſhop of S. *Davids*, and *Conſtantine* the publick Notary: which *Henry* there, and then diſcharged the ſaid Sheriff, and received him into his own cuſtody, further committing him to the keeping of *Owen Jones*, and thereupon declared unto the ſaid Mr. *Farrar* the great mercy and clemency, that the King and Queens Highneſs pleaſure was to be offered unto him, which he there did offer unto the ſaid Mr. *Farrar*; that is to ſay, That if he would ſubmit himſelf to the Laws of this Realm, and conform himſelf to the Unity of the Univerſal Catholick Church, he ſhould be received and pardoned: after that, ſeeing the ſaid Mr. *Farrar* to give no anſwer to the Premiſſes, the ſaid Biſhop miniſtred unto him theſe Articles following.

B. Farrar brought before Dr. Morgan, pretenced Biſhop of S. Davids.

Articles deviſed againſt Biſhop Farrar.

Articles objected againſt B. Farrar.

1. FIrſt, Whether he believeth the Marriage of Prieſts lawful by the Laws of God, and Holy Church, or no?

2. *Item*, Whether he believeth, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Conſecration duly pronounced by the Prieſt, the very Body and Blood of Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially contained, without the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine?

The Anſwer of Biſhop Farrar.

Unto the which Articles the ſaid Biſhop required the ſaid M. *Farrar* to anſwer upon his Allegiance.

To which he ſaid, he would anſwer when he ſaw a lawful Commiſſion, and would make no further anſwer at that time. Whereupon the ſaid Biſhop taking no advantage upon the ſame Anſwer, committed him to the ſaid Keeper, to be kept in Priſon until a new Monition, and in the mean time to deliberate with himſelf for his further anſwer to the Premiſſes.

Another Examination of the Biſhop of S. Davids, *before* Henry Morgan *the pretenced Biſhop of Saint* Davids, George Conſtantine *his Regiſter, and others, the laſt of* February, An. 1555.

Another Examination of B. Farrar.

THis day and place, *Morgan* the pretenced Biſhop of S. *Davids* ſitting as Judge, miniſtred unto Biſhop *Farrar* there perſonally preſent before him, certain Articles and Interrogatories in writing: which being openly read and miniſtred unto him, the ſaid Biſhop *Farrar* refuſed to anſwer, till he might ſee his lawful Commiſſion and Authority. Whereupon the aforeſaid pretenced Biſhop of S. *Davids*, did pronounce him as *Contumax*, and for the puniſhment of this his Contumacy to be counted *pro confeſſo*, and ſo did pronounce him in writing. Which being done, he committed the ſaid Biſhop to the cuſtody of *Owen Jones*, until Monday next, being the fourth of *March*, then to be brought again into the ſame place, between one and two.

Another appearance of the ſaid Biſhop Farrar, *before* Morgan *the pretenced Biſhop of* S. Davids.

Another appearance of B. Farrar.

Item, The day and place appointed, the ſaid Biſhop appearing again before the pretenced Biſhop, humbly ſubmitting himſelf as ready to anſwer to the Articles and Poſitions above-mentioned, gently required the Copy of the Articles, and a competent term to be aſſigned unto him, to anſwer for himſelf: which being granted unto him, and the Thurſday next being aſſigned unto him between One and Three to anſwer preciſely and fully; ſo he was committed again to Cuſtody, as above.

Another Appearance of the ſaid Biſhop.

Another appearance of the ſaid Biſhop.

ON Thurſday, as was appointed, which was the ſeventh of *March*, the ſaid Biſhop perſonally again appeared, where he exhibited a certain Bill in writing, containing in it his Anſwer unto certain Articles objected and miniſtred unto him before. Then after *Henry* the pretenced Biſhop of S. *Davids* offered him again the ſaid Articles as before: the tenor whereof tendeth to this effect,

Articles again miniſtred againſt Biſhop Farrar.

Firſt, That he willed him being a Prieſt to abrenounce Matrimony.

Secondly, To grant the Natural preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, under the forms of Bread and Wine.

Thirdly, That the Maſs is a propitiatory Sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

Fourthly, That general Councils lawfully congregated never did, nor can erre.

Fifthly, That men are not juſtified before God by Faith only, but that Hope and Charity are alſo neceſſarily required to Juſtification.

6. Sixthly, That the Catholick Church which only hath Authority to expound Scriptures, and to define Controverſies of Religion; and to ordain things appertaining to publick Diſcipline, is viſible, and like unto a City ſet upon a Mountain for all men to underſtand.

B. Farrar denieth to ſubſcribe to the Articles.

To theſe Articles thus objected to him, he refuſed to ſubſcribe, affirming that they were invented and excogitated by man, and pertain nothing to the Catholick Faith. After this, the Biſhop above-named, delivered unto him the Copy of the Articles, aſſigning him Monday next following, to anſwer and ſubſcribe to the ſame, either Affirmatively or Negatively.

Another Appearance of Biſhop Farrar.

Another appearance, or Examination of B. Farrar.

UPon the which Monday, being the 11. of *March*, he appearing again before the Biſhop, and the aforeſaid Notary *George Conſtantine*, exhibited in a written Paper his mind and anſwer to the foreſaid Articles, which the Biſhop had twice now objected againſt him before, to the which Articles and Anſwers he did ſo ſubſcribe, adding theſe words, as *tenens ſe de æquitate & juſtitia eſſe Epiſcopum Menevenſem*, that the Biſhop aſſigned the next Wedneſday, in the Fore-noon, to hear his final and definitive Sentence.

The laſt Appearance of Biſhop Farrar.

The laſt appearance and Examination of the bleſſed Biſhop M. Farrar.

THe which day and place the ſaid Biſhop and true Servant of God M. *Farrar*, perſonally there appearing, was demanded of *Henry* the pretenced Biſhop of S. *Davids*, whether he would renounce and recant his Hereſies, Schiſms, and Errors (as he called them) which hitherto he had maintained, and if he would ſubſcribe to the Catholick Articles, otherwiſe than he had done before.

B. Farrar appealeth from the Biſhop of S. Davids to the Cardinal.

After this the ſaid godly Biſhop, M. *Farrar*, did exhibit a certain Schedule written in *Engliſh*, and remaining in the Acts; appealing withal by expreſs word of mouth from the Biſhop, as from an incompetent Judge, to Cardinal *Poole*, *&c.*

Sentence pronounced againſt B. Farrar.

All which notwithſtanding, the ſaid Biſhop proceeding in his rage, pronounced the definitive Sentence againſt him contained in Writing, and there left in the Acts: by the which Sentence he pronounced him as an Hereticke Excommunicate, and to be given up forthwith to the Secular Power, namely, to the Sheriff of the Town

of

of *Carmarthen*, Mr. *Leyſon*. The tenour of which Sentence, as well of his Condemnation, as of his Degradation, here followeth.

The Sentence of Condemnation againſt B. *Farrar*.

IN *Dei nomine*, Amen. *Nos* Henricus *permiſſione divina* Meneven. *Epiſcopus judicialiter, & pro Tribunali Sedentes, in quodam inquiſitionis & hæreticæ pravitatis negotio, contra te* Robertum Farrar *Presbyterum, coram nobis in judicio perſonaliter comparentem, & nobis ſuper Hæretica pravitate traditum, ac fama, & notorietate facti delatum, ac in ea parte legitime procedendo auditis, viſis, & intellectis, rimatis, ac matura deliberatione diſcuſſis, & ponderatis dicti negotii meritis & circumſtantiis, ſervatiſque in omnibus per omnia in eodem negotio de jure ſervandis, ac quomodolibet requiſitis, Chriſti nomine invocato, ac ipſum ſolum Deum præ oculis noſtris habentes: Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, confeſſata, & ex parte tua coram nobis eodem in negotio ſæpius recognita, aſſerta & confirmata, comperimus te, tum per confeſſiones tuas varias, tum per recognitiones tuas judiciales coram nobis judicialiter factas, Errores, Hæreſes, & falſas Opiniones ſubſcriptas, Juri divino, ac Catholicæ univerſalis & Apoſtolicæ Eccleſiæ Determinationi obviantes, contrarias, & repugnantes tenuiſſe, credidiſſe, affirmaſſe, prædicaſſe, & dogmatizaſſe infra Diocæſem noſtram* Meneven. *Viz. Quod licet cuicunque Religioſo etiam expreſſe profeſſo & Presbytero, poſt ſuſceptam profeſſionem, & poſt ſuſceptum Presbyteratus ordinem, ducere uxorem, ac cum eadem tanquam cum uxore legitima converſari. Item ſacras Religiones, ab Eccleſia Catholica inſtitutas, cum ſcandalo damnaſſe & reprobaſſe. Item, quod in Euchariſtia, ſive Altaris Sacram. una cum Corpore & Sanguine Chriſti remanet ſubſtantia Panis & Vini. Item, quod Miſſa non eſt ſacrificium N. Teſtamenti, propitiatorium pro vivis atque defunctis. Et Sacramentum Altaris non eſſe in Altari miniſtrandum, elevandum, vel aliquo modo adorandum. Item, quod homo ſola fide juſtificatur. Quos quidem Errores, Hæreſes, et falſas Opiniones Juri divino ac Catholicæ univerſalis et Apoſtolicæ Eccleſiæ Determinationi obviamus, &c.*

Anno 1555.

Here followeth the Copy of his Degradation.

The Sentence of Degradation againſt B. *Farrar*.

IN *nomine Patris*, ✠ *Filii*, ✠ *& Spiritus Sancti*, ✠ Amen. *Quia nos* Henricus *permiſſione divina* Meneven. *Epiſc. per viam Inquiſitionis in negotio Hæreticæ pravitatis, cognoſcentes te* Robertum Farrar *Clericum propter tuam manifeſtam contumaciam & obſtinaciam per nos nunciatum fuiſſe, & eſſe in illud deteſtabile crimen Hæreſis multipliciter incidiſſe & commiſiſſe: quod cum non ſolum grande, ſed etiam damnabile & damnoſum ſit, & adeo enorme, quod exinde non tantum divina Majeſtas offenſa, ſed & univerſa Diœceſis* Menevenſis *commota eſt, & ob hoc indignus officio Sacerdotali & Eccleſiaſtico ſis redditus: Idcirco nos autoritate Dei Patris Omnipotentis, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, & noſtra, te ab omni hujuſmodi officio ſententialiter perpetuo privamus in hiis ſcriptis, teque ab illis verbo deponimus realiter, & actualiter ſecundum traditionem Canonum deponendum, & degradandum, prout in Ordinario & Pontificali continetur degradamus, prout ſequitur. In primis amovemus à te, &c.*

Thus this godly Biſhop being condemned and degraded, was committed to the Secular Power, who not long after was brought to the place of Execution in the Town of *Carmarthen*, where he in the Market place in the South-ſide of the Market-Croſs, the thirtieth day of *March*, being Saturday next before Paſſion-Sunday, moſt conſtantly ſuſtained the torments and paſſion of the Fire.

Biſhop Farrar brought to the place of Execution.

The cruell burning of Doctor Farrar, Biſhop of S. Davids.

The burning of Rawlins White, Martyr.

Touching the which Conſtancy of this bleſſed Martyr, this is moreover to be added and noted, that one named *Richard Jones*, a Knights Son, coming to M. *Farrar* a little before his death, ſeemed to lament the painfulneſs of the Death he had to ſuffer; unto whom the Biſhop anſwered again to this effect, ſaying, That if he ſaw him once to ſtir in the pains of his Burning, he ſhould then give no credit to his Doctrine. And as he ſaid, ſo he right well performed the ſame; for ſo patiently he ſtood, that he never moved, but even as he ſtood, holding up his Stumps, ſo ſtill he continued, till one *Richard Gravell* with a Staff daſhed him upon the head, and ſo ſtruck him down.

A memorable Example of Conſtancy in this bleſſed Biſhop and Martyr.

¶ *Letters.*

As touching the Letters of M. *Farrar*, we do not find many that he did write. And peradventure in Queen *Maries* time his impriſonment was ſo ſtrait, that at no time it was permitted him to write. Albeit in his other Troubles in King *Edwards* time, certain Letters he wrote to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Cranmer*, and to the Earl of *Warwick*: which Letters although they might be well referred to the firſt Edition of this ſtory; yet becauſe in the ſaid Letters is contained briefly and in

few

few lines, the whole diſcourſe of his unjuſt vexation at that time wrought by his Adverſaries, I thought good not to paſs them over, but to communicate them unto the Reader, for the better underſtanding both of the innocency of that bleſſed Biſhop, and of the crafty iniquity of his conſpired Enemies; as in the ſaid Letters here following to the indifferent Reader may eaſily appear.

1555.

The Copie of a certain Letter of the Biſhop of Saint Davids, *written belike to the Lord Chancellour Doctor* Goodrick *Biſhop of* Ely.

MOſt humbly ſheweth unto your Honour, your poor Orator *Robert* Biſhop of Saint *Davids*, That whereas one *Thomas Lee* (by the procurement of *Thomas Young*, and *Rowland Merick* being both Canons of Saint *Davids*, and *George Conſtantine* Regiſter to the ſaid Biſhop) hath exhibited unto your Honour againſt him certain Articles, in the which are mentioned many trifling things, unworthy to be declared in your Honourable Audience, and alſo their pretenſed weighty Articles (as they have alledged there) are utterly untrue: for proof whereof the ſaid *Thomas Lee* hath had Commiſſions into the Country. Therefore it may pleaſe your Honour of your favourable goodneſs, to grant unto your ſaid Orator a like Commiſſion for the Examination of witneſſes, in defence of his Truth and honeſty againſt the aforenamed *Thomas Lee*, *George Conſtantine*, *Thomas Young*, *Rowland Merick*, and all other perſons with their unjuſt Articles, atteſtations, and ſayings, depoſed againſt him. And in tender conſideration that your ſaid Orator ſtandeth bounden, and Sureties with him in the ſum of a Thouſand Marks, to appear before the Kings Juſtice, in the Seſſions at *Carmarthen*, in *July* next coming to anſwer to a forged matter of *Præmunire*, by the procurement and counſell of his forenamed Adverſaries, maliciouſly ſurmiſed againſt him to his utter undoing. And furthermore that your Orator being in debt to the Kings *Majeſty*, by reaſon of the malicious vexation of the foreſaid Adverſaries, cannot (if he remain here) ſatisfy the ſame: for whereas there be Arrerages to a great ſum (as well of the Kings money as of his own rents) he can receive none thereof, his Adverſaries have made ſuch ill report to his diſcredit, bearing the People in hand, that he ſhall come no more thither. By reaſon of which bruit, neither his own Tenants will pay their Rents and Arrerages, nor the Prieſts their Arrerages due to the Kings *Majeſty*, as well for *Anno ſecundo*, and *tertio*, as for *quarto*, and *quinto*. In conſideration of all which things, it may pleaſe your Honourable goodneſs to licence your ſaid Orator to depart into the Dioceſs, for theſe affairs and other. And he ſhall be ready at all times, at your honourable commandment and pleaſure, to repair again, and ever to pray to the Lord Jeſus for the perpetual conſervation of your Honour, to his glory.

Biſhop *Farrar* with his ſureties in a thouſand Marks to appear in a matter of Premunire.

Beſides this letter he wrote another likewiſe to the ſaid Lord (who was, as ſeemeth, Dr. *Goodrick* L. Chancellor afore mentioned) wherin he declareth the whole cauſe of his trouble, how it roſe againſt him by his Adverſaries, as here followeth.

Another Letter written by the Biſhop of S. Davids *to the Lord Chancellor aforeſaid.*

Another letter of Biſhop Farrar to the Lord Chancellour.

RIght honourable, and my very ſpecial good Lord, with humble ſervice and hearty thanks to God, and to you for your godly favor towards me at all times, as right plainly appeareth by your Fatherly Letters, moſt lovingly admoniſhing me to incline unto that which is very neceſſary, as charitable concord and Unity; This is further to beſeech your Lordſhip for the Lords ſake not to be grieved, but benignely to hear, and gravely to ponder that weighty matter, which, appearing to other but a light grief, to me is in very deed a right grievous offence to God-ward, with no little hinderance of his holy Word, and diſturbance of the Kings godly proceedings, and may be a great occaſion of much inobedience, and diſorder of good life.

Wherefore I am ſtraitly bounden for the true Zeal that I am to bear unto the Word of Life, Chriſtian Religion, the Kings *Majeſty*'s honour, and the godly quiet ſtate of his People, not faintly to let fall the burden of diligent redreſs to be ſought at his *Majeſty*'s hands by the godly wiſdom of his moſt honourable and upright councel, but with hearty affection to bear it up againſt thoſe high-minded, arrogant, ſtubborn, ambitious, covetous Canons, truſting in their biting tongues, whith crafty prevention, and utterly untrue ſurmiſes, to ſtop the light that their ungodly miſdoings in darkneſs ſhall either not be ſeen, or at the leaſt may have a colourable appearance of right. In ſo much that I do not a little marvel at theſe qualities in Maſter *Chaunter*, the Canon, and the Dean of *Worceſter*, whoſe ungentle and untrue behaviour I have not only known, but expertly proved, and ſenſibly felt in two of the firſt to my great loſſes whereof I make no complaint.

The unkind dealing of *George Conſtantine* againſt B. *Farrar.*

But I wonder in my mind and lament in my heart the ſtrange alteration and wilful going backward of mine old faithfull Brother *George Conſtantine*, the which (knowing them all three to have been in times paſt either obſtinate enemies to the True bearers of the Croſs of Chriſt, or at the leaſt privy lurkers under pretence of favour towards the Goſpell, to ſting the poor followers thereof, ſeeking but their own lucre and pleaſure in all their doings) would ſo earneſtly cleave unto them in their wrong deeds, as to betray me with his tongue, become untrue of his promiſe, and a bearer of filthy Sin for Lucres ſake, even yet ſtiffly perſiſting in the ſame, namely, in a thing manifeſtly known unto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited.

This *Farlee* was Chancellor to B. *Farrar.*

And as for their *præmunire*, both *George* and they at my firſt coming, urgently detaining from M. *Farlee* his commiſſion for the Chancellorſhip, would have faced me down with *præmunire*, becauſe it was written in my own name according to the Statute: yet was I fain, for the Zeal of Unity, not to ſee their uncourteous deeds, departing with M. *Farlee* for the avoiding of their malice and envy, and gave that office for the amity of *George* unto M. *Chaunter* his Son in Law, and to M. *Merick* the Office of *Cardigan*. But ſeeing after their covetous reſpect to their own glory and lucre, not regarding the reformation of Sin, and eſpecially of ſhameleſs whoredom, I was compelled to remove them, ſore againſt their wils: and whereas I deſired many and ſundry times charitable redreſs of their wrong doings in the vacation time, I obtained many fair words, and nothing in deed.

This Chaunter was D. *Young.*

Dr. *Young* and Dr. *Merick*, removed by B. *Farrar* from their offices.

And deſiring to have ſight of the Book of Statutes of the Church, for the knowledge of my duty and theirs, I could not obtain it. Deſiring to have a key of the Chapter Houſe Seal, as my Lord of *Bath* had, they would not deliver it but upon conditions; yet was I content to be bridled, receiving it as it pleaſed them to give it. And further requiring the ſight of neceſſary Evidences, for the declaration of divers things in traverſe of my right, they would in no wiſe grant it. And thereupon conſidering their ungentleneſs, I moved the *Quo warranto*, knowing right well, if they ſhould ſhew any ſubſtantial grant under the Kings Seal for the Corporation, it muſt therein appear the Biſhop to be the Head, and ever hath been under the King: for other they never have, nor had, except they would return to *Rome* again, as I truſt they will not. And yet perceiving afterward, that they had no ſpecial grant to ſhew, or elſe ſuch as they would not ſhew, I my ſelf for the reſpect of Unity, wrote my Letters to the Kings Attourney, by reaſon whereof the *Quo warranto* was ſtayed, and ſo yet remaineth.

The wrongs which B. *Farrar* received by Tho: *Yeung* and Dr. *Merick.*

But as touching the certificate, the kings Subſidy being due at *Michaelmas* laſt, and forborn till after *Chriſtmas*, and lawfully demanded afore, they did utterly refuſe to pay both to my *Vicecollector* and to my ſelf, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowing where to ask the reſt, and it is committed unto me in the Kings Roll a whole ſum in groſs, to be received of the Canons Reſidentiaries for their dividents: who, becauſe they cannot agree in dividing, would have the Kings *Majeſty* to tarry for his money, till they can agree to make diviſion; and I cannot demand it of any particular perſon, nor at any particular place.

Wherefore

Wherefore I moſt humbly beſeech your Fatherly goodnes for the Lords ſake, to perſiſt and continue my good Lord and Friend unto ſuch time as ye find mee either deſiring to be defended in my wrong, or not willing to put the Judgement of my right cauſe into your hands. And becauſe that the reſidue of matters touching them and their ungentle, untrue, and ungodly doings is too long, and I have moleſted you too much whith this my tedious Letter, I ſhall now ſurceaſe; Humbly beſeeching your good Lordſhip to accept in good part this my boldneſs proceeding of neceſſity, and to pardon it for the Love of our Lord Jeſus, who ſave and keep you in health, comfort, and Honour long to endure, for the advancement of his glory Written at *Aburguily* this 9. of *March*.

Your Lordſhips to command during life, R. F.

The Hiſtorie of one Rawlins White, *burned at* Cardiffe *in* Wales *about the Month of* March, *for the Teſtimony of Chriſt's Goſpel, reported by* I. Dane *being yet alive, who was almoſt Continually with him during his trouble, unto his death.*

Rawlins White Martyr, burned at Cardiffe in Wales.

FOr ſo much as we have here paſſed the Hiſtory of *Maſter Farrar*, burned at the Town of *Carmarthen* in *Wales*, I thought to adjoyn and accompany with the ſame the Hiſtory alſo of one *Rawlins White*, a Fiſher-Man, which both in the like cauſe, and in the ſame Country of *Wales*, and alſo about the ſame Month of *March*, and year aforeſaid, gave his Life like a Valiant Souldier of Jeſus Chriſt to Martyrdom, and was burned at *Cardiffe*; the proceſs of whoſe ſtory here followeth expreſſed more at large.

This *Rawlins* was by his calling and occupation a Fiſherman, living and continuing in the ſaid trade by the ſpace of Twenty years at the leaſt, in the Town of *Cardiffe*, being (as a man of his vocation might be) one of a very good Name, and well accounted amongſt his Neighbors. As touching his Religion at the firſt, it cannot otherwiſe be known, but that he was a great partaker of the Superſtition and Idolatry that then was uſed, I mean in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth. But after that God of his mercy had raiſed up the light of his Goſpel, through the bleſſed Goverment of King *Edward* the ſixth, here in this *Realm* of *England*, this *Rawlins* began partly to miſlike that which before he had embraced, and to have ſome good opinion of that which before by the iniquity of the time had been concealed from him: and the rather to bring this good purpoſe and intent of his to paſs, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great ſearcher out of the Truth.

The deſirous mind of Rawlins to ſearch for truth.

But becauſe the good man was altogether unlearned, and withall very ſimple, he knew no ready way how he might ſatisfie his great deſire. At length it came in his mind to take a ſpecial remedy to ſupply his neceſſity which was this: He had a little Boy which was his own Son, which Child he ſet to School to learn to read Engliſh. Now after the little Boy could read indifferently well, his Father every night after ſupper, Summer and Winter, would have the Boy to read peice of the holy Scripture, and now and then of ſome other good Book. In which kind of Vertuous Exerciſe the old man had ſuch a delight and pleaſure, that, as it ſeemed, he rather practiſed himſelf in the ſtudy of the Scripture, than in the Trade or Science which before time he had uſed: ſo that *Rawlins* within few years in the ſaid time of King *Edward*, through the help of his little Son, a ſpecial Miniſter appointed by God (no doubt) for that purpoſe, and through much conference beſides, profited and went forward in ſuch ſort, that he was able not only to reſolve himſelf touching his own former Blindneſs and Ignorance, but was alſo able to Admoniſh and Inſtruct others: and therefore when occaſion ſerved he would goe from one place to another Viſiting ſuch as he had beſt hope in. By which his doing he became in that Country, both a notable and open Profeſſor of the Truth, being at all times and in all ſuch places, not without the Company of his little Boy, whom (as I have ſaid) he uſed as an aſſiſtance to this good purpoſe. And to this his great induſtry and endeavour in the holy Scripture, God did alſo add in him a ſingular gift of Memory, ſo that by the benefit thereof hee would and could do that in vouching and rehearſing of the Text, which men of riper and more profound knowledg, by their notes and other helps of Memory could very hardly accompliſh. Inſomuch that he, upon the alledging of Scripture, very often would cite the book, the leafe, yea and the very ſentence; ſuch was the wonderful working of God in this ſimple and unlearned Father.

The means whereby Rawlins firſt came to knowledge. Rawlins by the means of his young ſon came to the knowledge of the Scripture.

The gift of Memory in Rawlins.

Anno 1555.

Now when he had thus continued in his profeſſion the ſpace of five years, King *Edward* died, upon whoſe deceaſe Queen *Mary* ſucceeded, and with her all kind of Superſtition and Papiſtry crept in. Which thing being once perceived, *Rawlins* did not altogether uſe open inſtruction and admonition (as before he was wont) and therefore oftentimes in ſome private place or other he would call his truſty Friends together, and with earneſt Prayer and great lamentation paſs away the time, ſo that by his Vertuous inſtructions, being without any blemiſh, of Error, he converted a great number, which number (no doubt) had greatly increaſed, had not the cruel ſtorm of perſecution been.

The extremity and force whereof at the laſt ſo purſued this good Father *Rawlins*, that he looked every hour to go to priſon: whereupon many of thoſe, which had received comfort by his inſtructions, did reſort unto him, and by all means poſſible began to perſwade him to ſhift for himſelf, and to diſpoſe his goods by ſome reaſonable order to the uſe of his Wife and Children, and by that means he ſhould eſcape that danger, which was imminent over his head.

Rawlins exhorted to ſhift for himſelf.

But *Rawlins* nothing abaſhed for his own part through the iniquity of the time, and nothing at all moved with theſe their fleſhly perſwaſions, thanked them moſt heartily for their good will, and told them plainly, that he had learned one good leſſon touching the confeſſion end denial of Chriſt; adverti ſing them, that if he upon their perſwaſions ſhould preſume to deny his Maſter Chriſt, Chriſt in the laſt day would deſy and utterly condemn him: and therefore (quoth he) I will by favourable grace confeſs and bear witneſs of him before men, that I may find him in everlaſting life.

Rawlins promiſeth to be conſtant to the death.

Notwithſtanding which Anſwer, his Friends were very importunate with him. Howbeit Father *Rawlins* continued ſtill in his good purpoſe ſo long, till at the laſt he was taken by the Officers of the Town, as a man ſuſpected of Hereſie; upon which apprehenſion he was convented before the Biſhop of *Landaffe* that then was, the ſaid Biſhop lying then at his Houſe beſides *Chepſtow*: by whom after divers combates and conflicts with him and his Chaplains, this good Father *Rawlins* was committed to priſon in *Chepſtow*. But this his keeping, whether it were by the Biſhops means, becauſe he would rid his hands of him, or through the favour of his Keeper, was not ſo ſevere and extreme, but that (if he had ſo liſted) he might have eſcaped oftentimes.

Rawlins apprehended and convented before the Biſhop of Landaffe named Anthony Rechin. Rawlins might eſcape and would not

But that notwithſtanding, he contiued ſtill, inſomuch that at the laſt he by the aforenamed Biſhop was removed from *Chepſtow* to the Caſtle of *Cardiffe*, where he continued by the ſpace of one whole year: During whith time, this Reporter reſorted to him very often, with Money and other reliefe from this Reporters Mother (who was a great favourer of thoſe that were in affliction in thoſe days) and other of his Friends: which he received not without great thanks and praiſes given to the Name of God. And albeit that he was thus troubled and impriſoned as ye have heard, to his own undoing in this World, and to the utter decay of his poor Wife and Chrildren: yet was his heart ſo ſet to the inſtruction and furtherance of others in the way of Salvation, that he was never in quiet, but when he was perſwading or exhorting ſuch of his familiar Friends, as commonly came unto him. Inſomuch that on the Sundays and other times of leaſure, when his Friends came to viſit him, he would paſs away the time in prayer and exhortations, admoniſhing them always to beware of falſe Prophets which come in Sheeps Clothing.

Rawlins a whole year in priſon. A godly Woman ſtirred up to relieve Rawlins.

Exhortation of Rawlins to his Frieds.

Now when he had continued in *Cardiffe* Caſtle by the ſpace of one whole year (as I have ſaid) the time of his further tryal was at hand. Wherupon the forenamed Biſhop of *Landaffe* cauſed him to be brought again from the Caſtle of *Cardiffe* unto his own Houſe beſides *Chepſtow* and whileſt he continued there, the Biſhop aſſayed many ways how to reduce him to ſome conformity. But

when

Anno 1555.

Rawlins by no means could be reduced to return to Popery.

when all means either by their threatning words, or flattering promiſes, were to no purpoſe: the Biſhop willed him to adviſe, and be at a full point with himſelf, either to recant his Opinions, or elſe to abide the rigour of the Law, and thereupon gave him a day of determination. Which day being come, the Biſhop with his Chaplains went into his Chappel, not without a great number of other By-dwellers, that came to behold the manner of their doings. When the Biſhop with his Retinue were placed in order, poor *Rawlins* was brought before them. The Biſhop after a great deliberation in addreſſing himſelf (as it ſeemed, and ſilence forewarned to the reſt that were there preſent) uſed a long kind of Talk to him, declaring the cauſe of his ſending for, which was for that he was a man well known to hold Heretical Opinions, and that through his Inſtruction many were led into blind Error. In the end he exhorted him to conſider his own eſtate wherein he ſtood: for (ſaid the Biſhop) *Rawlins*, you have oftentimes ſince your firſt trouble, both here in my houſe, and elſewhere been travelled with al touching your Opinions, and that notwithſtanding ye ſeem altogether obſtinate and wilful. Now hereupon we thought good to ſend for you, to ſee if there were any conformity in you: ſo that the matter is come to this point, That if you will ſhew your ſelf Repentant for that which you have done againſt God and the Princes Law, we are ready to uſe favour towards you; but if by no means we can perſwade with you touching your Reformation, we are minded at this time to miniſter the Law unto you, and therefore adviſe with your ſelf what you will do.

Rawlins brought before the Biſhop of *Landaff* in open Judgment.

The words of the Biſhop to *Rawlins*

Rawlins anſwereth to the Biſhop.

When the Biſhop had made an end of his long Tale, this good Father *Rawlins* ſpake boldly to him, and ſaid, My Lord, I thank God I am a Chriſtian man, and I hold no Opinions contrary to the Word of God; and if I do, I deſire to be reformed out of the Word of God, as a Chriſtian man ought to be. Many more words in like ſort were between the Biſhop and *Rawlins*, which this Reporter doth not well remember. But in the end, when *Rawlins* would in no wiſe recant his Opinions, the Biſhop told him plainly, that he muſt proceed againſt him by the Law, and condemn him as an Heretick.

The B. of *Landaff* proceedeth with Prayer in condemnation of *Rawlins*; which commonly the Popiſh Perſecutors are not wont to do.

Proceed in your Law a Gods name, ſaid *Rawlins*; but for an Heretick you ſhall never condemn me while the World ſtandeth. But (ſaid the Biſhop to his Company) before we proceed any further with him, let us pray unto God that he would ſend ſome ſpark of Grace upon him, (meaning *Rawlins*) and it may ſo chance, that God through our Prayer will here turn and convert his heart. When *Rawlins* heard the Biſhop ſay ſo; Ah my Lord, quoth he, now you deal well and like a goodly Biſhop, and I thank you moſt heartily for your great charity and gentleneſs. Chriſt ſaith, *Whereas two or three be gathered together in my Name, I will be in the midſt of them*: and there be more than two or three of you.

The Biſhop prayeth to his God, and *Rawlins* to his.

Now if it be ſo that your Requeſt be godly and lawful, and that ye pray as ye ſhould pray, without doubt God will hear you. And therefore my Lord go to, do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God. I know that my God will both hear my prayer, & perform my deſire.

By and by the Biſhop with his Company fell to Prayer. And *Rawlins*, turning himſelf to a Pew that ſtood ſomewhat near him, fell down upon his Knees, covering his Face with his hands: and when they had prayed a while, the Biſhop with his Company aroſe from Prayer. And then alſo aroſe *Rawlins*, and came before the Biſhop.

Rawlins confirmed in his Doctrine.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, Now *Rawlins*, how is it with thee? Wilt thou revoke thy Opinions, or no? Surely (ſaid *Rawlins*) my Lord, *Rawlins* you left me, and *Rawlins* you find me, and by God's Grace *Rawlins* I will continue. Certainly if your Petitions had been juſt and lawful, God would have heard them: but you honour a falſe God, and pray not as ye ſhould pray; and therefore hath not God granted your deſire. But I am one poor ſimple man, as you ſee, and God hath heard my complaint, and I truſt he will ſtrengthen me in his own Cauſe.

Popiſh Biſhops pray to a falſe God, and therefore are not heard.

The Biſhop, when he perceived that this Hypocriſie of theirs took none effect, then with hot words he reproved him, and forthwith was ready to read the Sentence. Howbeit, upon ſome advice given to him by his Chaplains that were there preſent, he thought beſt firſt to have a Maſs, thinking that indeed by ſo doing ſome wonderful work ſhould be wrought in *Rawlins*, and thereupon a Prieſt began a Maſs.

A Maſs ſaid for Converſion of *Rawlins*.

In the mean time poor *Rawlins* betook himſelf to Prayer in a ſecret place there by; until ſuch time as the Prieſt came to the Sacring, as they term it, which is a principal point of their Idolatry. When *Rawlins* heard the Sacring-Bell ring (as the uſe was) he roſe out of his place, and came to the Quire-door, and there ſtanding a while, turned himſelf to the People, ſpeaking theſe words, Good People, if there be any Brethren amongſt you, or at the leaſt, if there be but one Brother amongſt you, the ſame one bear witneſs at the Day of Judgment, that I bow not to this Idol (meaning the Hoſt that the Prieſt held over his Head.)

The words of *Rawlins* to the People at the Sacring time.

The Maſs being ended, *Rawlins* eftſoons was called for again. To whom the Biſhop uſed many perſwaſions; but the bleſſed Man continued ſo ſtedfaſt in his former Profeſſion, that the Biſhops Talk was altogether in vain, and to no purpoſe. Whereupon the Biſhop cauſed the definitive Sentence to be read. Which being ended, *Rawlins* was diſmiſſed, and from thence he was by the Biſhops commandment carried again to *Cardiff*, there to be put into the Priſon of the Town, called *Cockmarel*, a very dark, loathſom, and moſt vile Priſon.

Rawlins ſtill conſtant in the Profeſſion of Gods Truth.

Sentence read againſt *Rawlins*. *Rawlins* ſent to Priſon to *Cardiffe* Caſtle.

Rawlins in the mean time paſſed away the time in Prayer, and chiefly in ſinging of Pſalms: which kind of godly Exerciſe he always uſed, both at *Cardiff* Caſtle, and in all other places.

Now after he had thus continued a Priſoner in *Cockmarel* Priſon at *Cardiff* (as is aforeſaid) a good ſpace, about three weeks before the day wherein he ſuffered, the Head Officers of the Town, that had the charge of his Execution, were determined to burn him, becauſe they would be ſooner rid of him; having not indeed a Writ of Execution awarded, as by the Law they ſhould have. Whereupon one *H. Lewes*, the Recorder of the Town that then was, ſeeing that they went about to burn him without any Warrant by Writ, came to them and told them, That if they did burn him before they had the Writ, *De Hæreticis comburendis*, the Wife of the ſaid *Rawlins* would upon juſt cauſe, by Law, call their doings into queſtion.

The Officers intending to burn *Rawlins* without a Writ.

Immediately upon this Advertiſement, they ſent to *London* for the Writ above-named: upon the receit whereof they made ſome ſpeed to the Execution of the ſaid *Rawlins*. Now when the day was come, wherein the good Father ſhould perform and accompliſh the laſt act of this his worthy conflict, he was the Night before willed to prepare himſelf.

The Writ awarded for burning of *Rawlins*.

Now when he perceived his time was no leſs near than it was reported unto him, he ſent forthwith to his Wife, and willed her by the Meſſenger, that in any wiſe ſhe ſhould make ready and ſend unto him his Wedding-garment, meaning a Shirt, which afterward he was burned in. Which requeſt, or rather commandment of his, his Wife with great ſorrow and grief of heart did perform, and early in the Morning did ſend it to him, which he received moſt gladly and joyfully.

Rawlin's Wedding-Garment.

Now when the hour of his Execution was come, this good and conſtant Father *Rawlins* was brought out of Priſon, having on his Body the long Shirt, which (as you heard before) he called his Wedding-garment, and an old Ruſſet-Coat which he was wont to wear. Beſides this, he had upon his Legs an old pair of Leather-Buskins, which he had uſed long afore. And thus being brought out of Priſon (as I have ſaid) he was accompanied, or rather guarded with a great company of Bills and Gleaves. Which ſight when he beheld, Alas (quoth he) what meaneth all this? All this needeth not. By God's Grace I will not ſtart away: but I with all my heart and mind give unto God moſt hearty Thanks, that he hath made me worthy to abide all this for his holy Names ſake.

Rawlins going to the place of Execution.

So he came to a place in his way, whereas his poor Wife and Children ſtood weeping, and making great lamentation: the ſudden ſight of whom ſo pierced his heart that the very Tears trickled down his Face. But he ſoon after, as though he had miſliked this Infirmity of his fleſh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himſelf: Inſomuch, that ſtriking his Breaſt with his hand, he uſed theſe words, Ah Fleſh, ſtayeſt thou me ſo? wouldeſt thou fain prevail? Well, I tell thee do what thou canſt, thou ſhalt not, by God's Grace, have the Victory.

Rawlins ſomewhat moved at the ſight of his Wife and Children.

Rawlins wreſtleth againſt his Fleſh.

By this time this poor Innocent came to the very Altar of his Sacrifice (I mean the place appointed for his death) and there found a Stake ready ſet up, with ſome Wood toward the making of the Fire. Which when he beheld, he ſet forward himſelf very boldly; but in going toward the Stake, he fell down upon his knees and kiſſed the ground; and in riſing again, the Earth a little ſticking on his Noſe, he ſaid theſe words, *Earth unto Earth, and Duſt unto Duſt: thou art my Mother, and unto thee I ſhall return.* Then went he chearfully and very joyfully, and ſet his Back cloſe unto the Stake; and when he had ſtood there a while, he caſt his eye upon this Reporter, and called him unto him, and ſaid, I feel a great fighting between the Fleſh and the Spirit, and the Fleſh would very fain have his ſwing; and therefore I pray you, when you ſee me any thing tempted, hold your finger up to me, and I truſt I ſhall remember my ſelf.

The Agony and Fight of this Chriſtian Warriour.

As he was thus ſtanding with his Back cloſe unto the Stake, a Smith came with a great Chain of Iron: whom when he ſaw, he caſt up his hand with a loud voice, and gave God great thanks. Then the Smith caſt a Chain about him, and as he was making it faſt on the other ſide, *Rawlins* ſaid unto him, I pray you good Friend knock in the Chain faſt; for it may be that the Fleſh would ſtrive mightily, but God of thy great mercy give me ſtrength and patience to abide the extremity.

Rawlins faſtned to the Stake.

Now when the Smith had made him ſure to the Stake, the Officers began to lay on more Wood, with a little Straw and Reed: wherein the good Old man was no leſs occupied than the beſt; for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the Straw and Reed, and lay it about him in places moſt convenient for his ſpeedy diſpatch. Which thing he did with ſuch a chearful Countenance and familiar Geſture, that all men there preſent were in a manner aſtoniſhed.

The chearfulneſs of Father *Rawlins* at his Death.

Thus when all things were ready, ſo that there lacked nothing but the putting to of the Fire, directly over againſt the Stake, in the face of *Rawlins*, there was a Standing erected, whereon ſtept up a Prieſt, addreſſing himſelf to ſpeak to the People, which were many in number, becauſe it was Market-day. When *Rawlins* perceived him, and conſidered the cauſe of his coming, he reached a little Straw unto him, and made two little Stays and ſet them under his Elbows. Then went the Prieſt forward in his Sermon, wherein he ſpake of many things touching the Authority of the Church of *Rome*. In the mean time *Rawlins* gave ſuch good ear and attention, that he ſeemed nothing at all moved or diſquieted. At the laſt, the Prieſt came to the Sacrament of the Altar, and there he began to inveigh againſt *Rawlins* Opinions: in which his Invection he cited the common place of Scripture, and thereupon made a Clerkly Interpretation.

A Popiſh Sermon preached at *Rawlin's* Martyrdom.

Now when *Rawlins* perceived that he went about not only to teach and preach the People falſe Doctrine, but alſo to confirm it by Scripture, he ſuddenly ſtart up, and beckned his hands to the People, ſaying twice; Come hither good People, and hear not a falſe Propher preaching: and then ſaid unto the Preacher, Ah thou naughty Hypocrite, doſt thou preſume to prove thy falſe Doctrine by Scripture? Look in the Text what followeth; Did not Chriſt ſay, *Do this in remembrance of me?* After which words, the Prieſt being rather amazed than interrupted, forthwith held his peace.

Rawlins words to the falſe Propher.

Then ſome that ſtood by cried out, Put fire, ſet to fire; which being ſet to, the Straw and Reed, by and by, caſt up both a great and ſudden flame. In the which flame this good and bleſſed man bathed his hands ſo long, until ſuch time as the Sinews ſhrunk, and the Fat dropped away, ſaving that once he did, as it were, wipe his Face with one of them. All this while, which was ſomewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, *O Lord, receive my Soul*; *O Lord, receive my Spirit*, until he could not open his mouth. At the laſt the extremity of the Fire was ſo vehement againſt his Legs, that they were conſumed almoſt before the reſt of his Body was burned, which made the whole Body fall over the Chain into the Fire ſooner than it would have done. During which time of his burning, it cannot be ſaid that he felt any great pain, conſidering that not without his perfect memory he abode both quietly and patiently, even unto the departing of his life. Thus died this godly and old man *Rawlins* for the Teſtimony of Gods Truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, with the Crown of eternal Life.

The Martyrdom of *Rawlins White*, a Fiſherman, at *Cardiff*, An. 1555.

The conſtant patience of *Rawlins* at his burning.

Anno 1555.

It is recorded furthermore of the ſaid good Father *Rawlins*, by this Reporter, that as he was going to his death, and ſtanding at the Stake, he ſeemed in a manner to be altered in Nature. For as before he was wont to go ſtooping, or rather crooked, through the infirmity of Age, having a ſad Countenance and a very feeble Complexion, and withal very ſoft in Speech and Geſture, now he went and ſtretched up himſelf not only bolt upright, but alſo bore withal a moſt pleaſant and comfortable Countenance, not without great courage and audacity both in Speech and Behaviour. He had (of which thing I ſhould have ſpoken before) about his Head a Kerchief, the Hairs of his head (ſomewhat appearing beneath his Kerchief) and alſo of his Beard, were more inclining to white than to gray, which gave ſuch a ſhew and countenance to his whole Perſon, that he ſeemed to be altogether Angelical.

A ſudden alteration of Nature marvellous in *Rawlins* before his death.

It is alſo ſaid by this Reporter, that a little before the Fire flaſhed up to his Body (as ye have heard) many of his Friends came to him, and took him by the hand, amongſt whom the Reporter of this ſtory held him ſo long by the hand, till the flame of the Fire roſe and forced them to ſunder. In the mean time the Prieſt, of whom I ſpake afore, cried out and ſaid, that it was not lawful for any man to take him by the hand, becauſe he was an Heretick, and condemned by the Church. The chief cauſe of his Trouble, was his Opinion touching the Sacrament of the Altar. He was at that time of his death of the Age of Threeſcore years, or thereabouts.

The Reporter of this ſtory was one M. *Dane*.

The ſum of the words ſpoken by Queen Mary *to certain of her Counceollrs*, March 28. An. 1555. *touching the reſtitution of Abby-Lands.*

BEfore I paſs over this Month of *March*, I cannot but leave a little *Memorandum* of the words or conſultation of Q. *Mary*, uſed to certain of the Council the 28. day of the ſaid Month of *March*, touching the reſtoring again of the Abby-Lands. Who after ſhe had called unto her preſence four of her Privy Council, the day and month aforeſaid (the names of which Councellors were theſe.)

1. *William*, Lord Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, High Treaſurer of *England*.
2. Sir *Robert Rocheſter* Knight, the Queens Controller.
3. Sir *William Peter* Knight, Secretary.
4. Sir *Francis Ingleſield* Kt. Maſter of the Wards.

The names of the Councellors called before Q. *Mary*.

The ſaid Queen *Mary* inferred theſe words, the principal effect and ſum whereof here followeth. You are here of our Council, and we have willed you to be called unto us, to the intent you might hear of me my Conſcience, and the reſolution of my mind, concerning the Lands and Poſſeſſions as well of Monaſteries, as of other Churches whatſoever, being now preſently in my poſſeſſion.

The effect of Q. *Maries* words touching Abby-lands to be reſtored.

First, I do conſider, that the ſaid Lands were taken away from the Churches aforeſaid in the time of Schiſm, and that by unlawful means, ſuch as are contrary both to the Law of God and of the Church. For the which cauſe my Conſcience doth not ſuffer me to detain them; and therefore I here expreſly refuſe either to claim or to retain the ſaid Lands for mine, but with all my heart freely and willingly, without all paction or condition, here and before God I do ſurrender and relinquiſh the ſaid Lands and Poſſeſſions, or Inheritances whatſoever, and do renounce the ſame with this mind and purpoſe, that order and diſpoſition thereof may be taken, as ſhall ſeem beſt liking to our moſt holy Lord the Pope, or elſe his Legate the Lord Cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our Realm.

The Queen makeeth a Conſcience in keeping Abby-lands.

The Queen ſurrendreth from her ſelf the poſſeſſion of Abby-lands.

And albeit you may object to me again, that conſidering the ſtate of my Kingdom, and the Dignity thereof, my Crown Imperial cannot be honourably maintained and furniſhed without the poſſeſſions aforeſaid: yet notwithſtanding I ſet more by the ſalvation of my Soul, than by ten Kingdoms; and therefore the ſaid Poſſeſſions I utterly refuſe here to hold after that ſort and title, and give moſt hearty thanks to Almighty God, which hath given me an Husband likewiſe minded, with no leſs good affection in this behalf, than I am my ſelf.

Where-

Anno 1555.

Promiſes for reſtitution of Abby-Lands.

Wherefore I charge and command, that my Chancellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before) and you four, to morrow together do reſort to the moſt Reverend Lord Legate, and do ſignifie to him the Premiſſes in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the ſtate of my Kingdom, and of the foreſaid Poſſeſſions accordingly, as you your ſelves do underſtand the matter, and can inform him in the ſame.

This Intimation being given by the Queen, firſt unto the Councellors, and then coming to the Cardinals hand, he drawing out a Copy thereof in Latin, ſent the ſame to thePope: which Copy drawn in Latin, and coming afterward to my hand, I have thus tranſlated into Engliſh, as you have heard.

Ambaſſadors ſent from *England* to *Rome*, Febr. 19.

Furthermore, here by the way is to be underſtood, that in the Month before, which was *February*, and in the 19. day of the ſaid Month, the Biſhop of *Ely*, with the Lord *Montacute* and Sevenſcore Horſe, were ſent as Embaſſadors from the King and Queen unto *Rome*. For what cauſe, in ſtory *it is* not expreſſed; but by conjecture it may be well ſuppoſed to be for the ſame cauſe of Abby-Lands, as by the ſequel thereof may probably appear.

The Popes Bull for reſtitution of Abby-Lands.

For it was not long after, but the Pope did ſet forth in print a Bull of Excommunication for all manner of ſuch Perſons, without exception, as kept any of the Church or Abby-Lands: by virtue of which Bull, the Pope Excommunicated as well ſuch as had any of the Church or Abby-Lands, as alſo all ſuch Princes, Biſhops, and Noblemen, Juſtices of Peace and other in Office, who had not, or did not forthwith put the ſame Bull in Execution. Albeit this execution (God be thanked) yet to this day was never put in practice.

Note the nature of the Papiſts, where they can overcome they are Lions; where they are overmatched they play the Foxes.

Wherein again is to be obſerved another Catholick ſtretch, not unworthy (perchance) of marking. For where this kind of Catholicks by rigor and force may overmaſter, they ſpare for no coſt, but lay on load enough. This well appeared, and ſtill doth appear in burning the poor patient Chriſtians, whom becauſe they ſee to be deſtitute of power and ſtrength to reſiſt them, and content with patience to receive whatſoever is put unto them, there they play the Lions, and make no end of burning and perſecuting. But where they ſpy themſelves to be over-matched, or fear to receive a foil in preſuming too far, there they keep in, and can ſtay the execution of their Laws and Bulls, be they never ſo Apoſtolical, till they ſpy their time convenient for their purpoſe, as in this caſe is evident for all the world to ſee.

Here lacked no good will in the Biſhops, but time as yet did not ſerve them.

For notwithſtanding that the Popes Bull, coming down with full Authority for reſtitution of Abby-Lands, did ſo thunder out moſt terrible Excommunication, not only againſt them which detained any ſuch Lands, but alſo againſt all other that did not ſee the Popes commandment to be executed; yet neither *Wincheſter*, nor any of all the Popes Clergy, would greatly ſtir in that matter, perceiving the Nobility to be too ſtrong for them to match withal; and therefore were contented to let the Caſe fall, or at leaſt to ſtay for a time, while time might better ſerve them.

Falſe diſſembling in the Popes Catholick Church.

Yea, and moreover under a crafty pretence, that the Nobility and men of Lands at the firſt coming out of the Bull ſhould not be exaſperate too much againſt them, they ſubtilly abuſed the Pulpits, and diſſembled with the People, affirming that the ſaid Popes late Bull, ſet forth in print for reſtitution of Abby-Lands, was not meant for *England*, but for other forreign Countries: where in very deed the meaning of that Bull, was only for *England*, and no Country elſe, as both by this Intimation of Queen *Mary* here mentioned, and by many other conjectures, and alſo by Mr. *Fecknams* Ballet of *Caveat Emptor*, may appear. Whereby it is eaſie for all men to underſtand what the purpoſe of thoſe men was to do, if time, which they obſerved, might have ſerved their Devotion. But to let this matter paſs of the Popes Bull, the time now ſerveth to intreat of Pope *Julius* death, forſomuch as he made his end about the latter end of this foreſaid Month of *March*.

Mr. *Fecknams* Ballet of Caveat Emptor.

Concerning the Deeds and Acts of which Pope, to make a full declaration, it were not ſo much tedious to the Reader, as horrible to all good Ears. Under this *Julius* flouriſhed the Archbiſhop of *Beneventanus*, a *Florentine*, named *Johannes à Caſa*, Dean of the Popes Chamber, and chief Legate to the *Venetians*: who well declaring the fruit of that filthy See, ſo far forgot both Honeſty and Nature, that he ſhamed not only to play the filthy *Sodomite* himſelf, and to boaſt openly of the ſame; but alſo took upon him moſt impudently in *Italian* Metre, to all mens ears, to ſet forth the praiſe and commendation of that beaſtly Iniquity, ſaying, That he himſelf never uſed other: and this Book was printed at *Venice* by one *Trojanus Navus*; and yet the Pope could ſuffer this ſo great Iniquity and ſhameleſs Beaſtlineſs, even under his noſe in his own Chamber, which could not abide the true Doctrine of Chriſt in Chriſtian Books.

Read more of this in a Book called a Warning to *England*. The death Pope *Julius* the Third. Vide ſcriptum *Pauli Vergerii* contra hunc Archiepiſc. Note here what an holy Catholick Church this is.

Amongſt other Pranks and Deeds of this foreſaid Pope, in his *Jubilee*, and in the Synod of *Trent*, and in confirming of the Idol of *Lauretane*, this is alſo reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatly in Pork-fleſh and Peacocks. Upon a time when he was admoniſhed of his Phyſician to abſtain from all Swines-fleſh, for that it was noyſom for his Gout, and yet would not follow his counſel; the Phyſician afterward gave warning to his Steward or Orderer of his Diet, that he ſhould ſet no more Pork-fleſh before him.

A Porkiſh Pope.

Whereupon when the Pope perceived the ſaid Pork-fleſh to be lacking in his accuſtomed ſervice: Where (ſaid he) is my Pork? And when his Steward had anſwered that his Phyſician had forbidden any Pork to be ſerved: then the Pope burſting out into a great rage, ſaith theſe words, Bring me, ſaid he, my Pork-fleſh, *Al diſpetto de Dio*, that is to ſay in *Engliſh*, *In the deſpight of God*.

Monſtrous Blaſphemy in the Pope.

At another time, he ſitting at Dinner, pointing to a Peacock upon his Table, which he had not touched; Keep (ſaid he) this cold Peacock for me againſt Supper, and let me ſup in the Garden: for I ſhall have Gueſts. So when Supper came, and amongſt other hot Peacocks, he ſaw not his cold Peacock brought to his Table: the Pope, after his wonted manner, moſt horribly blaſpheming God, fell into an extream rage, &c. Whereupon one of his Cardinals ſitting by, deſired him, ſaying; Let not your Holineſs, I pray you, be ſo moved with a matter of ſo ſmall weight. Then this *Julius* the Pope anſwering again, What, ſaid he, if God was ſo angry for an Apple, that he caſt our firſt Parents out of Paradiſe for the ſame, why may not I, being his Vicar, be angry then for a Peacock, ſince a Peacock is a greater matter than an Apple? Behold here (good Reader) by this Pope, the holineſs of that blaſphemous See: and yet thou ſhalt ſee here what affection was born to this Pope here in *England*, by the Diriges, Hearſes, and Funerals commanded to be had and celebrated in all Churches by the Queen and her Council, as may appear by the Copy of their Letters here following.

Pope *Julius* blaſphemeth God for a Peacock. O vocem Antichriſto dignam!

A Letter from the Biſhop of Wincheſter *(being Lord Chancellor) unto* Boner *Biſhop of* London, *touching the celebrating of the Popes Funeral.*

April 20. Winchſters Letter to Boner for the Popes Funeral.

After my hearty Commendations to your good Lordſhip. the King and Queens Majeſty having certain knowledge of the death of the Popes Holineſs, thought good there ſhould be as well ſolemn Obſequies ſaid for him throughout the Realm, as alſo theſe Prayers (which I ſend you herein incloſed) uſed at Maſs time in all places at this time of Vacation; and therefore willed me to ſignifie their pleaſures unto you in this behalf, that thereupon ye might proceed to the full accompliſhment thereof, by putting the ſame in due execution within your own Diocеſs, and ſending word to the reſt of the Biſhops, to do the like in theirs.

Thus doubting not but that your Lordſhip will uſe ſuch diligence in this matter at this time, as ſhall be neceſſary, I bid your Lordſhip heartily well to fare. From my Houſe at Aſher, *the tenth of* April 1555.

Your aſſured Friend and Brother,
Stephanus Winton, Chancel.

Prayers commanded to be uſed in the Funeral Maſſes for the Pope, *Apoſtolica ſede vacante.*

A Collect for the Pope

Supplici te Domine humilitate depoſcimus, ut tua immenſa pietas Sacroſanctæ Romanæ *Eccleſiæ concedat Pontificem illum qui & pro in nos ſtudio ſemper tibi*

gratus, & tuo populo pro ſalubri regimine ſit aſſidue ad glorjam tui nominis venerandus, per Dominum noſtrum.

Secreta.

TUæ nobis Domine pietatis abundantia indulgeat, ut gratum Majeſtati tuæ Pontificem ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ regimini præeſſe gaudeamus, per Dominum noſtrum.

Poſt Communionem.

Another Prayer for chuſing of the Pope.

PRecioſi Corporis & Sanguinis tui Domine, Sacramento refectos merifica tuæ Majeſtatis gratia de illius ſummi Pontificis aſſumptione lætificet, qui & plebem tuam virtutibus inſtruat, & fidelium mentes, ſpiritualium Aromatum odore perfundat, per Dominum noſtrum.

A Woman of S. *Magnes* Impriſoned for not praying for the Pope.

Upon this Commandment, on Wedneſday in *Eaſter* Week there were Hearſes ſet up, and Diriges ſung for the ſaid *Julius* in divers places. At which time it chanced a Woman to come into S. *Magnes* Church at the Bridge-foot in *London*, and there ſeeing an Hearſe and other preparation, asked what it meant: and other that ſtood by, ſaid that it was for the Pope, and that ſhe muſt pray for him. Nay (quoth ſhe) that will I not, for he needeth not my Prayers: and ſeeing he could forgive us all our Sins, I am ſure he is clean himſelf; therefore I need not to pray for him. She was heard ſpeak theſe words of certain that ſtood by: which, by and by, carried her unto the Cage at *London-Bridge*, and bid her coolher ſelf there.

A Spectacle for all Chriſtians to behold, and to take heed of the Popes blaſphemous Doctrine.

BY many and ſundry ways Almighty God hath admoniſhed Men of all Nations in theſe our later years to embrace, and not violently to repugh againſt the light of his Goſpel: as firſt, by preaching of his Word; ſecondly, by the Blood of the Martyrs; and thirdly, by terrible Examples ſhewed from time to time upon his Adverſaries. In the number of whom cometh here to be remembred the notable working of Gods hand upon a certain Prieſt in *Kent*, named *Nightingal*, Parſon of *Crondall* beſides *Canterbury*: who upon *Shrove-Sunday*, which was about the third day of the ſaid Month of *March*, and Year of our Lord aforeſaid, rejoycing belike not a little at this alteration of Religion, began to make a Sermon to his Pariſhioners, taking his Theme out of the words of S. *John*; *He that ſaith that he hath no ſin, is a liar, and the truth is not in him, &c.* And ſo upon the ſame very impertinently declared to them all ſuch Articles as were ſet forth by the Popes Authority, and by the commandment of the Biſhops of this Realm; ſaying moreover unto the People in this wiſe, Now Maſters and Neighbours rejoyce and be merry, for the Prodigal Son is come home. For I know that the moſt part of you be as I am, for I know your hearts well enough. And I ſhall tell you what hath hapned in this Week paſt: I was before my Lord Cardinal *Pooles* Grace, and he made me as free from Sin, as I was at the Font-ſtone: and on Thurſday laſt being before him, he hath appointed me to notifie (I thank him for it) the ſame unto you. And I will tell you what it is. And ſo reading the Popes Bull of Pardon that was ſent into *England*, he ſaid, he thanked God that ever he had lived to ſee that day; adding moreover that he believed, that by the virtue of that Bull he was clean from Sin, as that Night that he was born: and immediately upon the ſame fell ſuddenly down out of the Pulpit, and never ſtirred hand nor foot, and ſo lay he. Teſtified by *Robert Auſten* of *Cartham*, which both heard and ſaw the ſame, and is witneſſed alſo by the whole Country round about.

A Popiſh Parſon preaching to his Pariſhioners.

A terrible Example of Gods ſtrere puniſhment upon *Nightingal*, Parſon of *Crondal* in *Kent*.

Blaſphemy to Chriſts Goſpel puniſhed.

The deſcription of a Popiſh Prieſt who, when he had taken away the Glory and office of Chriſt, fell down ſuddenly, and died.

The ſudden death of one Nightingal, Parſon of Crondal in Kent, who was made by the Cardinals Authority, chief Penitentiary of that Deanry.

John Awcock.

April 2. *John Awcock* Martyr.

IN the beginning of *April*, and the ſecond day of the ſaid Month, died in Priſon *John Awcock*, who after was buried in the Fields as the manner of the Papiſts was, to deny their Chriſtian Burial to ſuch as died out of their Popiſh Antichriſtian Church.

Now forſomuch as having paſſed the Month of *March*; we are entred into the Month of *April*, to ſet down in order out of publick Records what happend in the ſaid Month, here followeth to be noted: That the firſt day of *April*, *Anno* 1555. a Letter was ſent to the Sheriff of *Kent*, to apprehend *Thomas Wodgat* and *William Maynard*, for Preaching ſecretly, and to ſend them up to the Council.

The ſeventh day of the ſaid Month, another Letter was ſent to the ſaid Sheriff for the apprehenſion of one *Harwich*, who went about with a Boy with him, Preaching from place to place.

The

Anno 1555.

The 15. of of *April* a letter was directed to Sir *Nicolas* Hare, and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, willing them to examin M. *Flower*, alias *Branch*, what he meant to wear about his neck written, *Deum time, Idolum fuge* and whom elſe he knew to wear the like, praying them alſo to ſpeak to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, ſpeedily to proceed againſt him for his Religion according to the Laws, and that the Juſtices of Peace of *Middleſex* ſhould likewiſe proceed againſt him for Shedding of Blood in the Church, according to the Statute, ſo as if he continue his opinion, he might be executed at the fartheſt by the latter end of this week, and that his Right Hand be the day before his execution, or the ſame day, ſtriken off.

The 22. of *April* there was a like letter ſent to the Juſtices of Peace of *Middleſex*, with a Writ for the Execution of the ſaid *Flower*, commanding them to ſee his Hand ſtriken off before his burning.

The 29. of *April*, M. *Robert Hornebey*, Servant than to the Lady *Elizabeth*, was convented before the Councel for his Religion; and ſtanding conſtantly to the Truth, notwithſtanding their threats and other perſwaſions, was therefore committed to the *Marſhalſea*.

A declaration of the life, examination, and burning of George Marſh, *who ſuffered moſt conſtant Martyrdom for the profeſſion of the Goſpel of Chriſt, at* Weſtminſter, *the 24. day of* April, *Anno* 1555.

April 24. G. Marſh. Martyr.

THe ſaid *George Marſh* was born in the Pariſh of *Deane*, in the County of *Lancaſter*, and was well brought up in learning and honeſt trade of living by his Parents, who afterwards about the 25. year of his age took to Wife an honeſt maiden of the Countrey; with whom he continued, earning their living upon a Farm, having Children between them lawfully begotten: and then God taking his Wife out of this World, he being moſt deſirous of godly ſtudies (leaving his Houſhold and Children in good order) went unto the Vniverſity of *Cambridge*, where he ſtudied, and much increaſed in learning and godly Vertues, and was a Miniſter of Gods Holy Word and Sacraments, and for a while was Curate to *Laurence Saunders*, as himſelf reporteth. In which condition of life he continued for a ſpace, earneſtly ſetting forth Gods true Religion, to the defacing of Antichriſts falſe Doctrin, by his godly readings and Sermons, as well there and in the Pariſh of *Deane*, as elſwhere in *Lancaſhire*.

G. Marſh, firſt a Farmer.

G. Marſh made Miniſter.

Whereupon at length, by detection of certain Adverſaries, he was apprehended, and kept in cloſe priſon by *George Cotes* then Biſhop of *Cheſter*, in ſtreit priſon in *Cheſter*, within the precinct of the Biſhops Houſe, about the ſpace of four Months, being not permitted to have relief and comfort of his Friends; but charge being given unto the porter, to mark who they were, that asked for him, and to ſignifie their Names unto the Biſhop, as by the particular Deſcription of his Story, teſtified and recorded with his own pen, more evidently may appear in the proceſs hereunder following.

D. Cotes Biſh. of Cheſter, a perſecutor of G. Marſh detected.

The handling, Intreating, and Examination of George Marſh, *being ſent firſt by the Earl of* Darby *to Doctor* Cotes, *Biſhop of* Cheſter.

The examination of G. Marſh written with his own hand. M. Barton gentleman, and perſecutor.

ON the *Monday* before *Palm-ſundy*, which was the 12. day of *March*, it was told me at my Mothers Houſe, that *Roger Wrinſtone*, with other of M. *Bartons* Servants did make diligent ſearch for me in *Bolton*, and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave ſtrict charge to *Robert Ward* and *Robert Marſh*, to find and bring me to M. *Barton* the day next following, with others, to be brought before the Honourable Earl of *Darby*, to be examined in matters of Religion, &c.

G. Marſh adverſtiſed by his Friends to flie.

I knowing this, by relation of divers of my Friends was diverſly affected; my Mother, and other my Friends advertiſing me to flie, and to avoid the peril, which thing I had intended afore after a week then next enſuing, if this in the mean while had not chanced; ſeeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of Religion (as they thought I would not, and as God ſtrengthening and aſſiſting me with his Holy Spirit I never will) it would not only have put them to great ſorrow, heavineſs and loſſes, with coſts and charges, to their ſhame and rebuke in this World, but alſo mine own ſelf, after troubles and painful priſonment, unto ſhameful Death.

G. Marſh. in a perplexity whether to flie or to tarry.

This conſidered, they adviſed me and counſelled me to depart and flie the Countrey, as I had intended to have done, if this had not hapned. To whoſe Counſel my weak Fleſh would gladly have conſented, but my Spirit did not fully agree; thinking and ſaying thus to my ſelf, that if I fled ſo away, it would be thought, reported, and ſaid, that I did not only flie the Countrey, and my Neareſt and Deareſt Friends: but much rather from Chriſts Holy Word, according as theſe years paſt I had with my heart, or at leaſt with mine outward living profeſſed, and with my mouth and word taught, according to the ſmall talent given me of the Lord. I being thus with their Councel and Advice, and the Cogitations and Counſels of mine own mind drawn as it were divers ways, went from my Mothers Houſe, ſaying, I would come again at evening.

G. Marſh conſulteth with God:

In the mean time I ceaſed not by Earneſt Prayer to ask and ſeek Counſel of God (who is the giver of all good gifts) and of other my Friends, whoſe godly Judgments and knowledge I much truſted unto. After this, I met with one of my ſaid Friends on *Dean* Moor, about Sun going down: and after we had conſulted together of my buſineſs, not without Hearty Prayer kneeling on our knees, we departed. I not fully determining what to do, but taking my leave with my Friend, ſaid; I doubted not but God (according as our Prayer and truſt was) would give me ſuch Wiſdom and Councel, as ſhould be moſt to his Honour and Glory, the Profit of my Neighbors and Brethren in the World, and obtaining of mine Eternall Salvation by Chriſt in Heaven.

Marſhes Brethren chargedto ſeek him.

This done, I returned to my Mothers Houſe again, where had been divers of M. *Bartons* Servants ſeeking after me; who, when they could not find me, ſtraitly charged my Brother and *William Marſh* to ſeek me that night, & to bring me to *Smethehils* the next day: who being ſo charged, were gon to ſeek me in *Adderton*, or elſwhere I know not. Thus intending afore to have been all night with my Mother, but then conſidering that my tarrying there would diſquiet her with her Houſhold, I departed from thence, and went beyond *Dean* Church, and there tarried all night with an old Friend of mine, taking ill reſt, and conſulting much with my ſelf of my Trouble.

The marvellous providence of God in reſoluing G. Marſh not to flie, but to tarry

So at my firſt awaking, one came to me from a faithfull Friend of mine with Letters, which I never read nor yet looked on, who ſaid this: My Friends Advice was that I ſhould in no wiſe flie, but abide and boldly Confeſs the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt. At whoſe Words I was ſo confirmed and eſtabliſhed in my Conſcience, that from thenceforth I conſulted no more. whether it were better to fly or to tarry; but was at a point with my ſelf, that I would not fly, but to go to M. *Barton* who did ſeek for me, and there preſent my ſelf, and patiently bear ſuch Croſs as it ſhould pleaſe God to lay upon my ſhoulders. Whereupon my Mind and Conſcience afore being much unquieted and troubled, was now merry and in quiet Eſtate.

G. Marſh took his leave of his Friends.

So betimes in the Morning I aroſe, and after I had ſaid the *Engliſh* Litany (as my cuſtom was) with other Prayers, kneeling on my knees by my Friends bed ſide, I prepared my ſelf to go toward *Smethehils*: and as I was going thitherward, I went into the Houſes of *Henry Widdowes*, of my Mother in Law, of *Ralf Yeton*, and of the Wife of *Thomas Richardſon*, deſiring them to pray for me, and have me commended to all my Friends and to comfort my Mother, and be good to my little Children: for (as I ſuppoſed) they ſhould not ſee my face any more before the laſt day; and ſo took my leave of them not without tears ſhed on both parts, and came to *Smethehils* about nine of the Clock, and preſented my ſelf afore M. *Barton*: who ſhewed me a Letter from the Earl of *Darby*, wherein he was commanded to ſend me with others to *Latham*.

G. Marſh of his own voluntary mind offereth himſelf to his enemies.

Whereupon he charged my Brother and *William Marſh* to bring and deliver me the next day by ten of the Clock, before the ſaid Earl or his Counſel. I made earneſt ſute with other ſpecial Friends, which I had there at the ſame time, to M. *Barton*, that the would take ſome one of them, or them all bound by Recognizance or otherwiſe, for mine appearing before the ſaid Earl or his ſaid Counſel,

that my brother and *William Marſh* might be at home, becauſe it was the chiefeſt time of ſeeding, and their ploughs could no go if they were not at home; but nothing could be obtained.

G. Marſh taketh his leave of his Mother.

So we went to my Mothers, and there I dined and ſhifted part of my Cloths; and ſo praying, took my leave of my Mother, the Wife of *Richard Marſh*, and both their Houſholds, they and I both weeping, and ſo departed from them, and went toward *Latham*, and were all night a mile and an half on this ſide *Latham*. So the next day, which was Wedneſday, we aroſe, prayed, and came to *Latham* betimes, and tarried there till four of the Clock at Afternoon.

G. Marſh brought before the Earl of Darby.

Then was I called by *Roger Mekinſon* to my Lord and his Councell, and ſo I was brought into the Chamber of preſence, where was preſent Sir *William Nores*, Sir *Pierce Alee*, Maſter *Sherburn* the Parſon of *Grapnal*, Maſter *More*, with others. Where when I had tarried a little while, my Lord turned him toward me, and asked what was my name: I anſwered, *Marſh*.

Then he asked, whether I was one of thoſe that ſowed evil ſeed and diſſention amongſt the People: Which thing I denied, deſiring to know mine accuſers, and what could be laid againſt me: but that I could not know.

G. Marſh examined before the Earl of Darby.

Then, ſaid he, he would with his Councill examine me themſelves, and asked me whether I was a Prieſt; I ſaid no. Then he asked me, what had been my living. I anſwered I was a Miniſter, ſerved a Cure, and taught a School. Then ſaid my Lord to his Councel, this is a wonderful thing. Afore he ſaid he was no Prieſt, and now he confeſſeth himſelf to be one. I anſwered, by the Laws now uſed in this Realm (as farre as I do know) I am none.

Then they asked me who gave me Orders, or whether I had taken any at all. I anſwered, I received Orders of the Biſhop of *London* and *Lincoln*.

Then ſaid they one to another, thoſe be of theſe new Hereticks, and asked me what acquaintance I had with, them? I anſwered, I never ſaw them but at the time when I received Orders.

They asked me how long I had been Curate, and whether I had Miniſtred with a good Conſcience; I anſwered, I had been Curate but one year, and had Miniſtred with a good Conſcience, I thanked God, and if the Laws of the Realm would have ſuffered me, I would have Miniſtred ſtill; and if the Laws at any time hereafter would ſuffer me to Miniſter after that ſort, I would Miniſter again.

The blaſphemous mouth of the Parſon of Grapnal.

Whereat they murmured, and the Parſon of *Grapnal* ſaid, this laſt Communion was the moſt Diveliſh thing that ever was deviſed. Then they asked me what my Belief was,

I anſwered, I believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, according as the Scriptures of the old and new Teſtaments do teach, and according as the four Simbols or Creeds, that is to wit, the Creed Commonly called *Apoſtolorum*, the Creed of *Nice* Councel, of *Athanaſius*, and of *Auſtin* and *Ambroſe* do teach.

And after a few Words, the Parſon of *Grapnal* ſaid; But what is thy Belief in the Sacrament of the Altar?

G. Marſhes belief in the Sacrament

I anſwered, I believed that whoſoever, according to Chriſts Inſtitution, did receive the Holy Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood, did eat and drink Chriſts Body and Blood with all the Benefits of his Death and Reſurrection to their Eternal Salvation; for Chriſt (ſaid I) is ever preſent with his Sacrament.

Then asked they me, whether the Bread and Wine, by the Vertue of the words pronounced by the Prieſt, were changed into the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt, and that the Sacrament, whether it were received or reſerved, was the very Body of Chriſt;

G. Marſh loth to anſwer to the queſtion of Tanſubſtantiation.

Whereunto I made Anſwer, I knew no further than I had ſhewed already. For my knowledge is unperfect ſaid I; deſiring them not to aſk me ſuch hard and unprofitable queſtions, whereby to bring my Body into Danger of death, and to ſuck my Blood. Whereat they were not a little offended, ſaying, they were no Blood-Suckers, and intended nothing to me but to make me a good Chriſtian.

So after many other Queſtions, which I avoided as well as I could, remembring the ſaying of *Paul*, *Fooliſh and unlearned queſtions avoid, knowing they doe but ingender Strife*; my Lord commanded me to come to the Boord, and gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to write mine Anſwers to the Queſtions of the Sacrament above named; and I wrote as I had anſwered before. Whereat he being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct Anſwer, ſaying, I ſhould not chuſe but do it.

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G. Marſh commanded by the Earl of Darby to write his Anſwers.

Then I took the Pen and wrote, that further I knew not. Whereat he being ſore grieved, after many threatnings, ſaid, I ſhould be put to ſhamefull death like a Traytor, with ſuch other like words; and ſometimes giving me fair words if I would turn and be conformable as other were, how glad he would be.

The Earl of Darby commandeth Marſh into priſon

In concluſion, after much ado, he commanded me to ward in a cold, windy, ſtone houſe, where was little room; where I lay two nights without any bed, ſaving a few great canvaſs tent-clothes, and the done, I had a pair of ſheets, but no woollen clothes, and ſo continued till Palm-ſunday, occupying my ſelf as well as I could in meditation, Prayer and ſtudy; for no man could be ſuffered to come to me but my Keeper twice a day when he brought me meat and drink.

Another examination of Gorge Marſh *before the Earl of* Darby.

ON Palm-ſunday after dinner I was ſent for to my Lord and his Councel (ſaving Sir *William Nores* and Sir *Pierce Alee* were not then preſent in place) amongſt whom was Sir *John Beram*, and the Vicar of *Preſcot*. So they Examined me yet once again of the Sacrament. And after I had communed apart with the Vicar of *Preſcot* a good ſpace concerning that matter, he returned to my Lord and his Councel with me, ſaying; That Anſwer which I had made before, and then did make (as it is above written) was ſufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profeſs a perfect knowledge in that matter, until ſuch time as I had learned further. Wherewith the Earl was very well pleaſed, ſaying, he doubted not but by the means and help of the Vicar of *Preſcot* I would be conformable in other things. So after many fair words he commanded I ſhould have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go amongſt his Servants, ſo that I would do no harm whith my communication amongſt them.

Marſh again examined about the Sacrament.

Marſh yet keepeth himſelf cloſe in the Sacrament.

And ſo after much other communication I departed, much more troubled in my ſpirit than afore, becauſe I had not with more boldneſs confeſſed Chriſt, but in ſuch ſort as mine Adverſaries thereby thought they ſhould prevail againſt me; whereat I was much grieved: For hitherto I went about as much as in me lay, to rid my ſelf out of their hands: if by any means without open denying of Chriſt and his word that could be done.

Marſh troubled in his Conſcience for being no more bold touching the Sacrament.

This conſidered, I cried more Earneſtly unto God by Prayer, deſiring to him ſtrengthen me with his Holy Spirit, with Boldneſs to confeſs him: and to deliver me from their inticing words, and that I were not ſpoiled through their Philoſophy and deceitful vanity after the Traditions of men and Ordinances of the World, and not after Chriſt.

Marſh prayeth for more boldneſs.

And ſo after a day or two I was ſent for to the Vicar of *Preſcot*, and the Parſon of *Grapnal*; where our moſt communication was concerning the Maſs: and he asked what offended me in the Maſs. I Anſwered, the whole Maſs did offend me, firſt becauſe it was in a ſtrange language, whereby the People were not edified, contrary to St. *Pauls* Doctrin, 1 *Corinth.* 14. and becauſe of the manifold and intolerable abuſes and Errors contained therein, contrary to Chriſts Prieſt-hood and Sacrifice.

Marſh again examined before the Biſhops Chaplains. Talk about the Maſs. Allegations againſt the Maſs.

Then they asked me in what place thereof and I named certain places; which places they went about with gentle and far ſought interpretations to mitigate, ſaying thoſe places were underſtood far otherwiſe than the words did purport, or than I did take them.

Sacrificium Miſſe quid ſit.

I anſwered, I did underſtand them as they did purport, and as their own books do comment & gloſs upon them.

They ſaid, *Sacrificium* or *Oblatio* did not in the Maſs ſignifie any thing elſe, than either a Sacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving, or elſe a memorial of a Sacrifice or Oblation. So they cauſed a Maſs-book to be ſent for

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for, and ſhewed me where in ſome places of the Maſs was written. *Sacrificium laudis.* Whereto I anſwered, that it followed not therefore that in all places it ſignified a Sacrifice or oblation of praiſe or thankſgiving; and although it did, yet was not a Sacrifice of praiſe or thankſgiving to be offered for the ſins of the People, for that did Chriſt by his own paſſion once offer on the Croſs: where the words of the Maſs were, that the Prieſt did offer an oblation and Sacrifice for the ſins and offences both of himſelf, and of the People; for them that were dead, and for the ſalvation of the living: and that the commixtion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt was health both of Body and Soul.

Sacrifice of the Maſs expounded by the Papiſts, to be nothing elſe but the Sacrifice only of thankſgiving.

The Vicar Anſwered, that was to be underſtood of the commixtion of Chriſts Body and Blood with his Church or People. So after much exhortation unto me that I ſhould be conformable to the true Catholick Church (which, as they meant was the Romiſh Church) I departed, not conſenting unto them.

The Articles of D. *Cromes* recantation brought to G. *Marſh.*

So within a day or twain came to me Maſter *More*, bringing with him certain Articles, whereunto Doctor *Crome* had conſented and ſubſcribed in the preſence of certain witneſſes in the days of K. *Henry* the Eighth, and willed me to read them over, and asked me whether I would conſent and ſubſcribe unto thoſe Articles: and after communication had of one or two of the ſaid Articles, I confeſſed plainly I would in no wiſe conſent and ſubſcribe to thoſe Articles: for then I did againſt mine own Conſcience; and ſo he departed.

So within a ſhort ſpace after, which was on Shier-thurſday, the ſaid Parſon and Vicar ſent for me again, ſaying, my Lord would be at a ſhort point with me: for if I would not conſent and ſubſcribe unto four Articles drawn out of the Articles aforeſaid, I muſt go to priſon ſtraightways.

Four Popiſh Articles for *Marſh* to ſubſcribe unto.

The firſt was, whether the Maſs now uſed in the Church of *England* was according to Chriſts Inſtitution, and with faith, reverence, and devotion to be heard and ſeen?

2 Tranſubſtantiation.

The ſecond, whether the Almighty, by the words pronounced by the Prieſt, did change the Bread and Wine after the words of Conſecration into the Body and Blood of Chriſt, whether it were received or reſerved?

3 Receiving in one kind.

Thirdly, whether the lay People ought to receive but under the form of Bread only, and that the one kind was ſufficient for them?

4 Confeſſion.

Fourthly, whether Confeſſion to the Prieſt now uſed in *England* were godly and neceſſary?

G. Marſh denieth the Articles.

Theſe four Queſtions or Articles they delivered me in writing, and bade me go to my chamber and ſubſcribe my Anſwers with mine own hand, and come again. So within one half hour I came to them again, and delivered them the Queſtions with mine Anſwers. The firſt I denied. The ſecond I anſwered, as I did to my Lord afore, and as is above written. To the third I anſwered, that the lay-People by Chriſts inſtitution ought to receive under both kinds, and that it ſufficeth not them to receive under the one kind only. Fourthly, that though confeſſion auricular were a commodious mean to inſtruct the rude People, yet it was not neceſſary nor commanded of God.

G. Marſh exhorted to the Catholick Church.

They much exhorted me then to leave mine opinions, ſaying; I was much deceived, underſtanding the Scriptures amiſs, and much counſelled me to follow the Catholick Church of Chriſt, and to do as other did. I anſwered, my Faith in Chriſt conceived by his holy Word I neither could nor would deny, alter, or change, for any living creature whatſoever he were, deſiring them to ſpeak to my Lord, that during my life and impriſonment my Poor Friends might be ſuffered to relieve me with neceſſary things according to their powers. And ſo after much exhortation of them, to do and believe as the Catholick Church did, we departed; I from thence forth continuing in the Porters ward, not coming forth of my chamber, ſaving at noon and night while I dined and ſupped.

M. Shereburn and *M. More* examiners of *G. Marſh.*

Upon one of the *Eaſter* Holy days Maſter *Sherburn* and Maſter *More* ſent for me, perſwading me much to leave mine opinions; ſaying, all the bringers up and favourers of that Religion had evil luck, and were either put to death or in priſon, and in Danger of Life. Again, the favourers of the Religion now uſed had wondrous good luck and proſperity in all things: with many other Wordly reaſons of mans Wiſdom; for as for the Scriptures *M. Shereburn* confeſſed himſelf Ignorant.

Gods truth is not to be eſteemed by Proſperity or Adverſity.

I anſwered, that I believed and leaned only to the Scriptures, not judging things by Proſperity or Adverſity: but they earneſtly adviſed me to refuſe mine opinions, and not to let for any Worldly Shame.

I anſwered, that that which I did, I did not for the avoiding of any Wordly ſhame, ſaying; My Soul and Life were dearer to me than the avoiding of any Worldly Shame: neither yet did I it for any vain praiſe of the World, but in the reverent fear of God.

Then M. *More* queſtioned with me of receiving the Sacrament under the one kind. I ſaid, Chriſts Inſtitution was plain, that all men ſhould Drink of the Cup. Then he told me of the 24. of *Luke*, and the 20. of the Acts, where was but mention of Breaking Bread onely: where-of he gathered, that they received the Sacrament but under one kind.

Chriſts breaking of Bread *Luke* 24 proveth not the receiving under one kind.

That I denied ſaying, thoſe places either did not ſpeak of the Celebration of the Lords Supper, or els under the Name of Breaking Bread was ſignified and meant the receiving of the Sacrament, both of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, according to his Inſtitution. So after much communication of that matter, M. *Shereburn* ſaid, It was great pity that I being a welfavoured young man, and one that might have good living and do good, would ſo fooliſhly caſt my ſelf away, ſticking ſo hard to ſuch fooliſh opinions.

G. *Marſh* forſaketh kindred and altogether to ſtick to Chriſt.

I anſwered as afore I had done to my Lord and to his Councel, that my Life, Mother, Children, Brethren, Siſters, and Friends, with other delights of Life, were as dear and ſweet unto me as unto any other man, and that I would be as loath to loſe them as another would, if I might hold them with good Conſcience, and without the Ignominy of Chriſt; and ſeeing I could not do that, my truſt was, that God would ſtrengthen me with his Holy Spirit to loſe them all for his ſake: for I take my ſelf (ſaid I) for a Sheep appointed to be ſlain, patiently to ſuffer what Croſs ſoever it ſhall pleaſe my merciful Father to lay on me. And ſo after I had deſired them that if I were committed to priſon my Friends might be ſuffered to relieve me, they departed.

Alphonſus book brought to *G. Marſh.*

M. *More* after this brought unto me a book of one *Alphonſus* a Spaniſh Friar, of all hereſies wherewith the Church of *Rome*, which he called Chriſts true Church, had been troubled ſince Chriſts time, willing me to read and take Counſel of that Book; and appointed me a place, where this Author did write againſt them that ſay, the lay-people ought to receive under both kinds.

This Author I perceived did vehemently write againſt *Luther*, *Melanchthon*, *Pelican*, and other *Germanes* of this our time, in all points defending the blaſphemous abuſes and enormities of the Romiſh Church, condemning as deteſtable Hereſies whatſoever was written, taught, or believed contrary to the ſame, uſing for his ſtrongeſt and ſureſt Arguments, the Conſent, Agreement, and Determination of the Romiſh Church. So within a few days M. *More* came to me again, asking me how I liked the Book I ſaid the Author of the Book did in all points, being a Papiſt, allow the Rites and abuſes of the Romiſh Church; and ſhewed him further, that this Author without Authority, and contrary both to the Scriptures and old Doctors, did condemn for Hereſie the lay people receiving of this Sacrament under both kinds, whereas this Author witneſſeth his own ſelf, Chriſts Church nine hundred years after Chriſt uſed the contrary.

Marſhes judgment of Alphonſus book.

So in concluſion he rebuked me, ſaying I was unlearned, and erred from the Catholick Faith, ſtubborn, and ſtood altogether in mine own conceit. I anſwered, for my learning, I knowledge my ſelf to know nothing but Jeſus Chriſt, even him that was crucified, and that my Faith was grounded upon Gods holy Word onely, and ſuch as, I doubted not, pleaſed God, and as I would ſtand in until the laſt day, God aſſiſting me, and that I did not ſay or do any thing either of ſtubbornneſs, ſelfe wilfulneſs, vain-glory, or any other Worldly purpoſe, but with good Conſcience, and in the fear of God: and deſired him to ſpeak to my Lord and his Councel, that I might find ſome gentleneſs and mercy at their hands. He made me

ſhort

ſhort anſwer. Than I ſaid, I commit my cauſe unto God, who hath numbred the hairs of my head, and appointed the days of my life, ſaying; I am ſure God which is a righteous Judge, would make inquiſition for my Blood, according as he hath promiſed. Then he took his book from me, and departed.

Marſh carried to *Lancaſter* Caſtle.

I continued ſtill in ward untill Low-ſunday, and after dinner my Keeper *Richard Scot* came to me into my Chamber, and told me that two young men were come to carry me to *Lancaſter*, and ſo delivered me unto them, a great company both of my Lords Servants and others, accompanying and bringing me on the way, unto *Richard Addertons*, and ſomwhat further, counſelling and perſwading like as is aforeſaid.

To whom I made plain anſwer, that in matters of Faith I would give place to no earthly creature. So they comforted me, and ſaid that they were ſorry for me, ſaying; If I knew mine opinion to be good, I did well, and ſo they departed, willing my bringers to intreat me honeſtly.

My bringers by the way ſhewed me they were willed and adviſed to bind me, and that they deſired firſt to ſee me: and after they had looked on me ſitting at dinner, they anſwered they would take charge of me being looſe; for they ſaid I ſeemed to be an honeſt man.

The firſt night we were all night at *Broughton*, and the ſecond day we came to *Lancaſter* betimes at afternoon, and ſo they kept me all night with them of their Gentleneſs, and on the morrow delivered me to the Jaylor, who brought me into the higeſt priſon, where I do remain.

G. Marſh cauſed to hold up his hand at *Lancaſter* amongſt other priſoners.

After that, the ſaid *George* came to *Lancaſter* Caſtle, and there being brought with other priſoners unto the Seſſions, was made to hold up his hand with the malefactors. The Earl of *Darby* had this cummunication with him as here followeth.

Communication between George Marſh, *and the Earl of* Darby.

Talk betwen *G. Marſh.* and the Earl of *Darby.*

I Said unto my Lord, I had not dwelled in the Countrey theſe three or four years paſt, and came home but lately to Viſit my Mother, Children, and other my Friends, and to have departed out of the Countrey before *Eaſter* then next, and to have gon out of the Realm. Wherefore I truſted, ſeeing nothing could be laid againſt me, wherein I had offended againſt the Laws of this Realm, his Lordſhip would not with captious Queſtions examin me, to bring my Body into danger of Death, to the great diſcomfort of my Mother, but ſuffer me to avoid peaceably, ſeeing I might have fled out of the Countrey, and yet of mine own will came to his Lordſhip.

He ſaid to his Counſel, he had heard tell of me above at *London*; and intended to make ſearch for me, and take me either in *Lancaſhire* or above at *London*, and asked me into what Land I would have gon.

The Earl of *Darby* chargeth the Realme of *Denmark* of Hereſie.

I Anſwered, I would have gon either into *Almain*, or elſe into *Denmark*. He ſaid to his Councel; in *Denmark* they uſed ſuch Hereſie as they have don in *England*; but as for *Almain*, he ſaid the *Emperor* had deſtroyed them.

So after ſuch like words I ſaid unto him, my truſt was, that his Lordſhip being of the Honourable Councel of the late King *Edward*, conſenting and agreeing to Acts concerning Faith toward God and Religion, under great pain, would not ſo ſoon after conſent to put poor men to Shameful Death, as he had threatned me for embracing the ſame with ſo good a Conſcience.

The Earl of *Darby*, Lord *Windſor*, and Lord *Dacres* in K. *Edwards* time agreed not to the Acts of Religion.

He Anſwered, that he, with the Lord *Windſor* and Lord *Dacres*, with one mo, whoſe name I have forgotten, did not conſent to thoſe Acts, and that the names of them four would be to be ſeen, as long as the Parliament Houſe ſtood. Then my Lord did rehearſe the evil luck of the *Dukes* of *Northumberland and Suffolk*, with others, becauſe they favoured not the true Religion; and again the good hap and proſperity of the Queens Highneſs, becauſe ſhe favoured the true Religion, thereby gathering the one to be good, and of God, and the other to be wicked, and of the Divel, and ſaid that the *Duke* of *Northumberland* confeſſed ſo plainly.

Anno 1555

G. Marſh writeth his own examination.

George Marſh to the Reader.

FOrſomuch as not onely when I was at Lathum, *but alſo ſince I departed thence, I hear that there be divers and ſundry Reports and Opinions of the cauſe of mine impriſonment, as well at* Lathum *as at* Lancaſter *(as by credible perſons I am informed) ſome ſaying it was onely becauſe I would not do open penance, and ſome becauſe I could not agree with my Lord and his Councel concerning the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood, and the manner of Chriſts preſence there, ſome becauſe I would not grant it ſufficient, and according to Chriſts Inſtitution, the lay-people to receive the ſaid Sacrament under the one kind onely: I thought it good, dearly Beloved in Chriſt, and my bounden Duty, to certifie you by mine own hand-writing, of mine Examination and handling at* Lathum, *and to tell you the truth as near as I could, to quiet your mind in this behalf; and therefore I have here written with mine own hand the Certainty of thoſe things, as near as I could, here above expreſſed, not omitting any thing at all concerning Religion, whereof they did examine me: how be it I perceive in ſome things I keep not the ſame order in writing that thing which was asked by them, and anſwered by me afore or after, as it was in very deed in all points, ſaving this, telling the truth as near as I can, deſiring you to accept in good worth this my good will, and to pray for me and all them that be in bonds, that God would aſſiſt us with his Holy Spirit; and that we may with boldneſs Confeſs his Holy Name; and that Chriſt may be Magnified in our Bodies, that we may ſtand full and perfect in all the will of God; to whom be all Honour and Glory World without end,* Amen.

And thus you have heard all the whole trouble which *George Marſh* ſuſtained both at *Lathum*, and alſo at *Lancaſter*, teſtified and written with his own hand, whereto he addeth moreover, and ſaith:

While I was, ſaith he, in ward at *Lathum*, divers at ſundry times came unto me. Some ſaid unto me that all my fellows had recanted, and were gon home, whereas indeed that was not ſo; for I ſaw divers of them divers times after. Other ſaid, that it was reported amongſt my Lords Houſhold, that I had conſented and agreed in all things with my Lord and his Councel.

Furthermore, while I was at *Lancaſter*, at this Seſſion many came to me to talk with me, ſome of good will towards me, but without knowledg gave me ſuch like Counſel as *Peter* gave Chriſt as he went up to *Jeruſalem*, when he took him aſide and began to rebuke him, ſaying; Maſter, favour thy ſelf, this thing ſhall not be unto thee. But I anſwered with Chriſts ſharp anſwer unto *Peter* again; who turned about, and ſaid unto *Peter*, *Come after me Satan*: and perceiving that they were an hinderance unto me, and that they favoured not the things which are of God, but the things that are of men, I made them plain anſwer, that I neither could, nor would follow their Counſel, but that by Gods grace I would both live and die with a pure conſcience, and according as hitherto I had believed and profeſſed. For we ought in no wiſe to flatter and bear with them, though they love us never ſo well, which go about to pluck us away from the obedience that we ow unto God and to his word, but after Chriſts example ſharply to rebuke them for their Counſel.

Peters Counſel to Chriſt to gave himſelf.

G. Marſh followeth Chriſts anſwer to *Peter*.

Some others, yea even ſtrangers alſo came to me far unlike to theſe, who after ſober communication had, conſented with me in all things, lamenting much my troubleous eſtate giving me Comfortable words, and ſome money too, and reſorted to me oftentimes, for the ſpace of two, three, or four days. There came alſo many Prieſts to me, by two, three, four, five, or ſix at once, whoſe mouths it was a thing eaſie enough to ſtop; for the Prieſts (which is much to be lamented) be not always the greateſt Clerks, and beſt learned in the Law of God; At their departing they either conſented with me, or els had nothing to ſay againſt me, ſaying they could find no fault with my words. My comunication with

Prieſts not always the greateſt Clerks.

them

them was about the Sacrament. There came also into the Prison to me Mr. *Westby*, Mr. *Ashton* of *Hull*, Mr. *Ashton* of *Chaterton*, and many more, both Gentlemen and others, to my great comfort. Unto whom I had good occasion to utter a great part of my Conscience: for God so strengthened me with his Spirit of Boldness, according to my humble Request and Prayer before (everlasting Thanks be given him therefore) that I was nothing afraid to speak to any that came to me, no not even to Judges themselves, before whom I was thrice arraigned at the Bar, amongst the Thieves, with Irons on my feet, and put up my hand as other did; but yet with boldness I spake unto them so long as they would suffer me.

Geo. Marsh strengthned in Prison with the boldness of Gods Spirit.

They also sent for me the fourth time into their Chamber, where amongst other things they laid it straitly to my charge, that I had reported, that I knew a whole Mess of good Gentlemen in *Lancashire* of mine Opinion, and straitly charged me, upon pain of Allegiance to the Queens Grace, to shew who they were. But I denied that I had spoken any such thing (as it was indeed a false forged Lye of some wicked Wretches.) After that, they threatned and rebuked me, for my Preaching to the People out of the Prison, as they called it, and for my Praying and Reading so loud, that the People in the Streets might hear. The truth is, I and my Prison-Fellow *Warbarton*, every day kneeling on our Knees, did read Morning and Evening Prayer, with the English Litany every day twice, both before Noon and after, with other Prayers more, and also read every day certain Chapters of the Bible, commonly towards Night: and we read also these things with so high and loud a voice, that the People without in the Streets might hear us, and would oftentimes, namely in the Evenings, come and sit down in our sights under the Windows and hear us read, wherewith others being offended, complained.

G. Marsh reproved for his loud Praying and Reading in Prison.

Warbarton, Fellow-Prisoner with *Marsh.*

All this while *George Marsh* was not yet brought before the Bishop, whose name was Doctor *Cotes*, placed the same time in the Bishoprick of *Chester*. Of whose coming then into *Lancaster*, the said *George Marsh* reporteth himself as followeth.

How the Bishop came to Lancaster, *and of his doings there.*

D. *Cotes* Bishop of *Chester.*

The Bishops coming to *Lancaster*, and setting up Idolatry.

THe Bishop being at *Lancaster*, there set up and confirmed all blasphemous Idolatry, as Holy-Water casting, Procession, Gadding, Mattins mumbling, Children confirming, Mass hearing, Idols up setting, with such Heathenish Rites forbidden by God; but no Gospel-Preaching, which Christ, Gods Son, so earnestly commanded. He was informed of me, and willed to send for me and Examine me. Which thing he refused to do, saying he would have nothing to do with Hereticks so hastily: So hasty in Judgment, and calling men Hereticks, are our Bishops in their Lordly Dignities, afore they hear or see what is to be amended or condemned, contrary to the express Commandment of Gods Word, which saith, *Condemn no man before thou hast tried out the Truth of the matter; and when thou hast made Inquisition, then reform righteously. Give no Sentence before thou hast heard the Cause, but first let men tell out their Tale: and he that giveth Sentence in a matter before he hear it, is a Fool, and worthy to be confounded.*

The Bishop judgeth *Marsh* to be an Heretick, before he heareth him.

Hasty Judgment of Bishops reproved by Gods Word.

And instead of his liberality towards me poor Prisoner, he sent for the Jaylor, and rebuked him because he suffered me to fare so well, willing him to have me more strictly kept and dieted: but if his Lordship were Tabled but one Week with me, I do think he would judge our Fare but slender enough.

The unmerciful straitness of the Bishop towards *G. Marsh* in Prison.

Also he, and his Chaplains and Chancellor did find fault with the School-master and others, for speaking to me as to a most heinous Heretick, and also with the Jaylor for suffering them. Such is the mercy that those Religious Fathers shew to the Friendless and Comfortless in their Adversities. If we may know the Tree by the fruits (as Christ saith) no man can judge such for any other, but for very Enemies to Christ and his true Religion. God lay it never to their charges, but forgive them, and turn their hard hearts, if it be his will.

The School-master of *Lancaster* rebuked for coming to *Marsh* in Prison.

Popish Bishops declare themselves by their fruits to be very Enemies to Gods Word.

But it is no new thing for the Bishops to persecute the Truth, and the Prophets of the Lord for their constancy in Preaching of the true Faith; for so did their Pharisaical Fore-fathers, if ye mark well the Histories of the Holy Bible. *Pashur* was the head Bishop of the Temple, the Ring-leader of false Prophets, the chief Heretick-taker, that is as much as to say, the Out-thruster of true Godliness. After that the Dignity of Priesthood was given unto him, he abused it. For he taught not, neither reproved by the Word, but feared the godly with Cruelty. He not only strook, but also imprisoned the holy Prophet *Jeremy*, though he withstood him not, but presently looked for the help of God, stedfastly preaching the Truth of God.

No new thing for Bishops to be Persecutors.

Examples of persecuting Bishops in the old time.

What mischief the ungracious Bishop *Jason* wrought among the *Jews*, destroying all Godliness, and setting up abominable Idolatrous Laws, ye may read in the fourth Chapter of the second of *Maccabees*. How the execrable and blind Bishops, *Annas* and *Caiphas*, which never spake the Truth of God themselves, unless it were against their wills, unwittingly to their utter destruction, how (I say) they pressed the Truth in Christ and his Apostles, is so well known that I need not to rehearse it.

Bishop *Jason.*

Bishop *Annas* and *Caiphas.*

And thus much hitherto concerning the Prisonment of *George Marsh*, and his Examinations before the Earl of *Darby* and his Deputies above-named. Now proceeding further in the troublesom Persecution of this blessed man, let us likewise consider the later part of his Troubles and Examinations which followed under the Bishop of the same Dioceses, which was Doctor *Cotes*; the effect whereof being drawn out of his own Writing, here briefly is to be seen, as followeth.

The Troubles and Examination of George Marsh *under* D. Cotes *Bishop of* Chester.

G. Marsh appeareth before the Bishop.

YE heard before how *George Marsh* being first Imprisoned at *Latham*, and afterward translated unto *Lancaster*, was troubled by the Earl. Again, within few days after, the said *Marsh* was removed from *Lancaster*, and coming to *Chester*, was sent for by Dr. *Cotes* then Bishop to appear before him in his Hall, no Body being present but they twain; and then he asked him certain Questions concerning the Sacrament: who made such Answers as the Bishop seemed therewith to be content, saving that he utterly denied Transubstantiation, and allowed not the abuse of the Mass, nor that the Lay-people should receive under one kind only, contrary to Christs Institution; in which point the Bishop went about to persuade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vain. Much other talk he had with him, to move him to submit himself to the Universal Church of *Rome*; and when he saw he could not prevail, he sent him to Prison again: and after being there, came to him divers times one *Massie*, a Fatherly old Man, one *Wrench* the School-Master, one *Hensham* the Bishops Chaplain, and the Arch-deacon, with many more; who with all probability of Words and Philosophy, or worldly Wisdom and deceitful Vanity, after the Tradition of Men, and the beggarly Ordinances and Laws of the World, but not after Christ as it were all singing one Song) went about to persuade him to submit himself to the Church of *Rome*, and to acknowledge the Pope to be Head thereof, and to interpret the Scriptures none otherwise than that Church did; with many such like Arguments and persuasions of fleshly Wisdom.

Great labour to make *G. Marsh* to recant.

To whom the said *George Marsh* answered, that he did acknowledge and believe (though much Evil be withal annexed) one holy Catholick and Apostolick Church; without which there is no Salvation, and that this Church is but one, because it ever hath, doth, and shall confess and believe one only God, and him only worship, and one only Messiah, and in him only trust for Salvation: which Church also is ruled and led by one Spirit, one Word, and one Faith, and that this Church is Universal and Catholick, because it ever hath been since the Worlds beginning, is, and shall endure to the Worlds end, and comprehending within it all Nations, Kindreds and Languages, degrees, states, and conditions of Men; and that this Church *is* builded only upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head Corner-stone, and not upon the *Romish* Laws and Decrees, the Bishop of *Rome* being the Supream Head.

The Church Apostolick. The Church, how it is one.

The Nature, Condition, and Notes of the true Church.

And

The nature, condition, and notes of the falſe Church.

And where they ſaid, the Church did ſtand in ordinary ſucceſſion of Biſhops, being ruled by General Councils, Holy Fathers, and the Laws of Holy Church, and ſo had continued by the ſpace of fifteen hundred years and more; he made anſwer, that the holy Church, which is the Body of Chriſt, and therefore moſt worthy to be called Holy, was before any ſucceſſion of Biſhops, General Councils, or *Romiſh* Decrees; neither yet was bound to any time or place, ordinary Succeſſion, General Councils, or Traditions of Fathers, either had any Supremacy over Empires and Kingdoms: but that it was a little poor ſilly Flock, diſperſed and ſcattered abroad, as Sheep without a Shepherd in the midſt of Wolves, or as a Flock of Orphans and Fatherleſs Children; and that this Church was led and ruled by the only Laws, Counſels, and Word of Chriſt, he being the Supream Head of this Church, and aſſiſting, ſuccouring and defending her from all Aſſaults, Errors, Troubles and Perſecutions, wherewith ſhe is ever compaſſed about.

Confutation of the falſe Church, fully declared.

Examples declaring the true Church. The falſe Church ever greater in number.

He ſhewed and proved unto them alſo by the Flood of *Noah*, the deſtruction of *Sodom*, the *Iſraelites* departing out of *Egypt*; by the Parables of the Sower, of the Kings Sons Marriage, of the great Supper, and by other plain Sentences of Scripture, that this Church was of none eſtimation, and little in compariſon of the Church of Hypocrites and wicked Wordlings.

He was thruſt at with all violence of craft and ſubtilty, but yet the Lord upheld him and delivered him. Everlaſting thanks be to that merciful and faithful Lord, which ſuffereth us not to be tempted above our might, but in the midſt of our troubles ſtrengtheneth us with his moſt Holy Spirit of Comfort and Patience, giveth us a mouth and wiſdom how and what to ſpeak; whereagainſt all his Adverſaries were not able to reſiſt.

Another appearance of George Marſh *before the Biſhop.*

G. Marſh again brought before the Biſhop and his Collegues.

NOw, after that the ſaid Biſhop had taken his pleaſure in puniſhing this his Priſoner, and often reviling him, giving taunts and odious names of Heretick, &c. he cauſed him to be brought forth into a Chappel, in the Cathedral Church of *Cheſter*, called our *Lady Chappel*, before him the ſaid Biſhop, at two of the Clock in the Afternoon, who was there placed in a Chair for that purpoſe, and *Fulk Dutton* Mayor of the ſaid City, Dr. *Wall*, and other Prieſts aſſiſting him, placed not far from the ſaid Biſhop, but ſomewhat lower, *George Wenſloe* Chancellor, and one *John Getham* Regiſter, ſate directly over againſt the ſaid Biſhop.

The Biſhop with his Colleagues ſitting upon G. Marſh.

Marſh ſworn to anſwer before the Biſhop.

Then they cauſed the ſaid *George Marſh* to take an Oath upon a Book, to anſwer truly unto ſuch Articles as ſhould be objected againſt him. Upon which Oath taken, the Chancellor laid unto his charge, that he had preached and openly publiſhed moſt heretically and blaſphemouſly within the Pariſh of *Dean*, *Eccles*, *Bolton*, *Berry*, and many other Pariſhes within the Biſhops Dioceſs, in the Months of *January*, *February*, or ſome other time of the year laſt, proceeding directly againſt the Popes Authority and Catholick Church of *Rome*, the bleſſed Maſs, the Sacrament of the Altar, and many other Articles.

G. Marſh purgeth himſelf.

Unto all which in ſum he anſwered, That he neither heretically nor blaſphemouſly preached or ſpake againſt any of the ſaid Articles; but ſimply and truly, as occaſion ſerved, and (as it were thereunto forced in Conſcience) maintained the Truth touching the ſame Articles, as (he ſaid) all you now preſent did acknowledge the ſame in the time of the late King *Edward* the Sixth.

The Biſhops Clergy more able to examine, than to diſpute.

Then they examined him ſeverally of every Article, and bade them anſwer directly Yea or Nay, without circumſtance; for they were come to Examine, and not to Diſpute at that preſent.

Then he anſwered them unto every Article, very modeſtly, according to the Doctrine by publick Authority received, and taught in this Realm at the death of the ſaid King *Edward*: whoſe Anſwers were every one noted and written by the Regiſter, to the uttermoſt that could make againſt him, which cannot at this preſent be gotten. After this, the Company for that time brake up, and he was returned to his Priſon again.

The laſt and final appearance of George Marſh *before the Biſhop.*

Anno 1555.

The laſt appearance of Marſh before the Biſhop.

WIthin three Weeks after this, or thereabouts, in the ſaid Chappel, and in like ſort as before, the ſaid Biſhop and others before-named, there being aſſembled, the ſaid *G. Marſh* was brought by the Keeper and others with Bills and divers Weapons before them; where firſt the ſaid Chancellor, by way of an Oration, declared unto the People preſent the ſaid Biſhops charge and burning Charity, who even like as a good Shephard doth ſee to his Flock, that none of his Sheep have the Scab or other diſeaſe for infecting other clean Sheep, but will ſave and cure the ſaid ſcabbed Sheep: ſo his Lordſhip had ſent for the ſaid *G. Marſh* there preſent, as a ſcabbed Sheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in ſhewing his charitable diſpoſition toward the ſaid *Marſh*, to reduce him from his naughty Hereſies; but all that he could do would not help: ſo that he was now determined, if the ſaid *Marſh* would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give Sentence definitive againſt him. Wherefore he bade the ſaid *George Marſh* to be now well adviſed what he would do, for it ſtood upon his life: and if he would not at that preſent forſake his Heretical Opinions, it would be (after the Sentence given) too late, though he would never ſo gladly deſire it.

The Chancellors Oration.

Then the ſaid Chancellor firſt asked him, whether he were not one of the Biſhops Dioceſs? To the whieh he anſwered, That he knew not how large his Dioceſs was, for his continuance was at *Cambridge*. But then they replied and asked, whether he had not lately been at *Deane* Pariſh in *Lancaſhire*, and there abode? And he anſwered, Yea.

Interrogatories put to G. Marſh.

Then the Chancellor read all his former Anſwers that he made in that place at his former Examination, and at every one he asked him, whether he would ſtick to the ſame, or no? To the which he anſwered again, Yea, yea.

How ſay ye then to this, quoth the Chancellor? In your laſt Examination, amongſt many other damnable and ſchiſmatical Hereſies, you ſaid, That the Church and Doctrine taught and ſet forth in King *Edwards* time, was the true Church, and the Doctrine of the true Church, and that the Church of *Rome* is not the true and Catholick Church.

Note here the great Hereſie of G. Marſh.

I ſo ſaid indeed, quoth *Marſh*, and I believe it to be true. Here alſo others took occaſion to ask him (for that he denied the Biſhop of *Romes* Authority in *England*) whether *Linus*, *Anacletus*, and *Clement*, that were Biſhops of *Rome*, were not good men, and he anſwered, Yes, and divers others: but (ſaid he) they claimed no more Authority in *England*, than the Biſhop of *Canterbury* doth at *Rome*; and I ſtrive not, quoth he, with the place, neither ſpeak I againſt the perſon of the Biſhop, but againſt his Doctrine, which in moſt points is repugnant to the Doctrine of Chriſt.

Argument. *Linus* and *Anacletus* were good men: *Ergo* the Pope is the Supream Head of all Churches.

Neither the place nor perſon of the Pope ſpoken againſt, but only his Doctrine.

Thou art an arrogant Fellow indeed then, ſaid the Biſhop. In what Article is the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* repugnant to the Doctrine of Chriſt?

To whom *George Marſh* anſwered and ſaid, Oh my Lord, I pray you judge not ſo of me: I ſtand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my caſe hath no cauſe to be Arrogant, neither am I, God is my Record. And as concerning the diſagreement of the Doctrine, among many other things the Church of *Rome* erreth in the Sacrament. For where Chriſt in the Inſtitution thereof did as well deliver the Cup, as the Bread, ſaying, *Drink ye all of this*, and *Mark* reporteth, that they did drink of it: in like manner S. *Paul* delivered it unto the *Corinthians*. And in the ſame ſort alſo was it uſed in the Primitive Church by the ſpace of many hundred years. Now the Church of *Rome* doth take away one part of the Sacrament from the Laity. Wherefore, if I could be perſwaded in my Conſcience by Gods Word that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point.

Wherein the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* erreth.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, *Non diſputandum eſt cum Hæretico*, that is, *There is no diſputing with an Heretick*. And therefore when all his Anſwers were read, he asked him whether he would ſtand to the ſame; being as they were, ſaid he, *full* of Hereſie, or elſe forſake them, and come unto the Catholick Church.

So ſaith the *Turk* in his *Alcoran*, that no man muſt diſpute of his Law.

To

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To whom he made this full answer, and said, That he held no Heretical Opinion, but utterly abhorred all kind of Heresie, although they most untruly so did slander him. And he desired all the People present to bear him witness (if hereafter any would slander him, and say that he held any grievous Heresie) that in all Articles of Religion he held none other Opinion than was by Law most godly established, and publickly taught in *England* at the death of King *Edward* the Sixth, and in the same pure Religion and Doctrine he would, by Gods Grace, stand, live and dye. And here the Chancellor spake to one *Leach*, which stood near unto *Marsh*, and bade him stand farther from him: for his presence did him no good.

G. Marsh cleareth himself of Heresie.

Leach bid to stand from *Marsh*.

This being done, the Bishop took a Writing out of his bosom, and began to read the Sentence of Condemnation: but when the Bishop had read almost half thereof, the Chancellor called him, and said, Good my Lord, stay, stay; for if ye proceed any farther, it will be too late to call it again, and so the Bishop stayed. Then his Popish Priests, and many other of the ignorant People, called upon *Marsh*, with many earnest words, to recant, and amongst other one *Pulleyn* a Shoe-maker said to him, For shame man remember thy self, and recant. They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him: So they kneeled down, and he desired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

Sentence of Condemnation read against *Marsh*.

The Bishop stayeth in his Sentence.

The Bishop then asked him again, whether he would not have the Queens mercy in time; and he answered, he did gladly desire the same, and did love her Grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he durst not deny his Saviour Christ, for losing his Mercy everlasting, and so win everlasting Death.

Gods mercy preferred before the Queens mercy.

Then the Bishop put his Spectacles again upon his Nose, and read forward his Sentence about five or six Lines, and there again the Chancellor with a glavering and smiling Countenance called to the Bishop, and said, Yet, good my Lord once again stay, for if that word be spoken all is past, no relenting will then serve: and the Bishop (pulling off his Spectacles) said, I would stay, if it would be.

The Bishop proceedeth in his Sentence.

Another stay in reading the Sentence.

How saist thou, quoth he, wilt thou Recant? Many of the Priests and ignorant People bade him do so, and call to God for Grace; and pulled him by the Sleeve, and bade him recant and save his life. To whom he answered, I would as fain live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my Master Christ, and again he should deny me before his Father in Heaven.

G. Marsh exhorted to recant, but could not be turned.

So the Bishop read out his Sentence unto the end, and strait after said unto him, Now will I no more pray for thee, than I will for a Dog. And *Marsh* answered, That notwithstanding he would pray for his Lordship: and after this the Bishop delivered him unto the Sheriffs of the City. Then his late Keeper bade him farewel good *George*, with weeping Tears, which caused the Officers to carry him to a Prison at the North-Gate, where he was very straitly kept until the time he went to his Death, during which time he had small comfort or relief of any worldly Creature.

The Bishop readeth out the Sentence.

A dogged saying of the Bishop.

G. Marsh delivered to the Sheriffs.

The strait keeping of *Marsh* in Prison.

For being in the Dungeon or dark Prison, none that would him good could speak with him, or at least durst enterprize so to do for fear of Accusation: and some of the Citizens which loved him in God, for the Gospels sake (whereof there were but a few) although they were never acquainted with him, would sometime in the Evening at a hole upon the Wall of the City (that went into the said dark Prison) call to him, and ask him how he did. He would answer them most chearfully, that he did well, and thanked God most highly, that he would vouchsafe of his mercy to appoint him to be a Witness of his Truth, and to suffer for the same, wherein he did most rejoyce; beseeching him that he would give him Grace not to faint under the Cross, but patiently bear the same to his glory and comfort of his Church: with many other like godly sayings at sundry times, as one that most desired to be with Christ. Once or twice he had Money cast him in at the same hole, about Ten pence at one time, and Two shillings at another time: for which he gave God thanks, and used the same to his Necessity.

The Brotherly zeal of good men comforting *G. Marsh*.

When the time and day appointed came that he should suffer, the Sheriffs of the City, whose names were *Agmy* and *Couper*, with their Officers and a great number of poor simple Barbers with rusty Bills and Poll-Axes, went to the North-Gate, and there took out the said *George Marsh*, who came with them most humbly and meekly, with a Lock upon his feet. And as he came upon the way towards the place of Execution, some Folks proffered him Money, and looked that he should have gone with a little Purse in his hand (as the manner of Felons was accustomed in that City in times past, at their going to Execution) to the end to gather Money to give unto a Priest to say Trentals or Masses for them after their death, whereby they might, as they thought, be saved: but *Marsh* said, he would not as then be troubled with medling with Money, but willed some good Man to take the Money, if the People were disposed to give any, and to give it unto the Prisoners or poor People. So he went all the way unto his death with his Book in his hand, looking upon the same; and many of the People said, This man goeth not unto his death as a Thief, or as one that deserveth to dye.

Agmy and *Couper*, Sheriffs of *Chester*.

Marsh led to his Martyrdom.

The old use in *Lancashire* to give Money to buy Trentals.

G. Marsh refuseth to receive Money going to his death.

Now when he came to the place of Execution without the City, near unto *Spittle-Boughton*, one *Cawdrey* being then a Deputy Chamberlain of *Chester*, shewed *Marsh* a Writing under a Great Seal, saying, That it was a Pardon for him if he would recant. Whereat *Marsh* answered, That he would gladly accept the same (and said farther, that he loved the Queen) but forasmuch as it tended to pluck him from God, he would not receive it upon that condition.

G. Marsh refuseth the Queens Pardon.

After that, he began to speak to the People, shewing the cause of his Death, and would have exhorted him to stick unto Christ. Whereupon one of the Sheriffs said: *George Marsh*, we must have no Sermoning now. To whom he said, Master, I cry you mercy: and so kneeling down made his Prayers, and then put off his Clothes unto his Shirt, and then was he chained to the Post, having a number of Faggots under him, and a thing made like a Firkin, with Pitch and Tar in the same over his Head: and by reason the Fire was unskilfully made, and that the Wind did drive the same to and fro, he suffered great extremity in his death, which notwithstanding he abode very patiently.

G. Marsh not suffered to speak to the People.

The Martyrdom of *G. Marsh* at *Westchester*, Anno 1555. April 24.

Wherein this in him is to be noted, That when as he had been a long time tormented in the Fire without moving, having his Flesh so broiled and pufft up, that they which stood before him underneath could see the Chain wherewith he was fastned, and therefore supposed no less but he had been dead, notwithstanding, suddenly he spread abroad his Arms, saying, Father of Heaven have mercy upon me, and so yielded his Spirit into the hands of the Lord.

The Patience of *G. Marsh* the blessed Martyr.

Upon this, many of the People said that he was a Martyr, and died marvellous patiently and godly. Which thing caused the Bishop shortly after to make a Sermon in the Cathedral Church, and therein affirmed, That the said *Marsh* was an Heretick, burnt like an Heretick, and was a Fire-brand in Hell.

In recompence of this his good and charitable Sermon, within short time after, the just Judgment of God appeared upon the said Bishop, recompencing him in such wise, that not long after he turned up his heels and died. Upon what cause his death was gendred, I have not here precisely to pronounce, because the rumor and voice of the People is not always to be followed. Notwithstanding such a Report went in all mens Mouths, that he was burned of an Harlot. Wherefore, whether he died so or no, I am not certain, neither dare lean too much upon publick Speech. Albeit this is certain, that when he was afterward searched, being dead, by some of his secret Friends and certain Aldermen for stopping the rumor of the People, this Maidenly Priest and Bishop was found not to be free from certain appearance, which declared but small Virginity in him, and that the Rumor was not raised up altogether upon nought amongst the People. But of this I will stay, and proceed no further; not because more cannot be said, but because I will not be so uncharitable in defacing these Men, as they are cruel in condemning Gods Servants to death,

Gods just revenging hand upon a persecuting Bishop.

Letters

Anno 1555.

Letters of George Marſh.

This good Man wrote divers and ſundry Letters out of Priſon, beſides his Examinations, as before ye have heard. Touching the which his Examinations, this Letter firſt he ſendeth to his Friends, the Copy whereof here followeth.

A Letter of *G. Marſh* to the Reader, touching the matter of his Examination.

A Letter of Geo. Marſh to the Reader.

HEre have you, dearly beloved Friends in Chriſt, the chief and principal Articles of Chriſtian Doctrine briefly touched, which heretofore I have both believed, profeſſed and taught, and as yet do believe, profeſs and teach, and am ſurely purpoſed by Gods Grace, to continue in the ſame until the laſt day. I do want both time and opportunity to write out at large the probations, cauſes, parts, effects, and contraries or errors of theſe Articles, which whoſo deſireth to know, let them read over the common places of the godly Learned men, Philip Melanchthon *and* Eraſmus Sarcerius, *whoſe Judgment in theſe matters of Religion, I do chiefly follow and lean unto. The Lord give us underſtanding in all things, and deliver us from this preſent evil World, according to his will and pleaſure, and bring us again out of this Hell of Affliction, into which it hath pleaſed the merciful Lord to throw us down: and deliver us out of the mouth of the Lion, and from all evil doing, and keep us unto his everlaſting and heavenly Kingdom.* Amen.

Though Sathan be ſuffered as Wheat to ſift us for a time, yet faileth not our Faith through Chriſts aid, but that we are at all times able and ready to confirm the Faith of our weak Brethren, and always ready to give an anſwer to every man that asketh us a reaſon of the Hope that is in us, and that with meekneſs and reverence, having a good Conſcience; and whereas they backbite us as Evil-doers, they may be aſhamed, foraſmuch as they have falſly accuſed our good Converſation in Chriſt. I thought my ſelf now of late years, for the Cares of this life, well ſettled with my loving and faithful Wife and Children, and alſo well quieted in the peaceable poſſeſſion of that pleaſant Euphrates, *I do confeſs it: but the Lord, who worketh all things for the beſt to them that love him, would not there leave me, but did take my dear and beloved Wife from me; whoſe death was a painful croſs to my Fleſh.*

1 Pet. 3.

Alſo I thought my ſelf now of late well placed under my moſt loving and moſt gentle Mr. Lawrence Sanders, *in the Cure of* Langhton. *But the Lord of his great mercy would not ſuffer me long there to continue (although for the ſmall time I was in his Vineyard, I was not an idle workman.) But he hath provided me, I perceive it, to taſt of a far other Cup; for by violence hath he yet once again driven me out of that glorious* Babylon, *that I ſhould not taſt too much of her wanton pleaſures, but with his moſt dearly beloved Diſciples to have my inward rejoycing in the Croſs of his Son Jeſus Chriſt: the glory of whoſe Church, I ſee it well, ſtandeth not in the harmonious ſound of Bells and* Organs, *nor yet in the gliſtering of Mitres and Copes, neither in the ſhining of gilt Images and Lights, (as the blind Papiſts do judge it) but in continual labours and daily afflictions for his Names ſake.*

G. Marſh Curate to L. Sanders.

The glory of the Church ſtandeth not in outward ſhews.

God at this preſent here in England *hath his Fan in his hand, and after his great Harveſt, whereinto theſe years paſt he hath ſent his Labourers, is now ſifting the Corn from the Chaff and purging his floor, and ready to gather the Wheat into his Garner, and burn up the Chaff with unquenchable fire.*

Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Scribes and of the Sadduces. I mean the erroneous Doctrine of the Papiſts, which with their gloſſes deprave the Scriptures. For as the Apoſtle St. Peter *doth teach us, There ſhall be falſe Teachers amongſt us, which privily ſhall bring in damnable Sects: And ſaith, that many ſhall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of Truth ſhall be evil ſpoken of, and that through covetouſneſs they ſhall with fained words make merchandize of us; and Chriſt earneſtly warneth us, to beware of falſe Prophets, which come to us in Sheeps cloathing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves. By their fruits you ſhall know them. The fruits of the Prophets are their Doctrine. In this place are we Chriſtians taught, that we ſhould try the Preachers, and others that come under colour to ſet forth true Religion unto us, according to the ſaying of S.* Paul, *Try all things, and chuſe that which is good. Alſo the Evangeliſt St.* John *ſaith, Believe not every Spirit, but prove the Spirits whether they be of God or not; for many falſe Prophets, ſaith he, are gone out into the world. Therefore if thou wilt know the true Prophets from the falſe, try their Doctrine by the true Touch-ſtone, which is the Word of God: and as the godly* Bereans *did, Search ye the Scriptures, whether thoſe things which be preached unto you be even ſo or not; or elſe by the outward converſation of them ye may eaſily be deceived.* Deſunt fortaſſis aliqua.

Anno 1555.

A Letter Exhortatory of George Marſh *to the faithful Profeſſors of* Langhton.

A Letter of G. Marſh to the men of Langhton.

GRace be unto you, and Peace be multiplied in the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

I thought it my duty to write unto you, my beloved in the Lord at *Langhton*, to ſtir up your minds, and to call to your remembrance the words which have been told you before, and to exhort you (as that good man, and full of the Holy Ghoſt, *Barnabas* did the *Antiochians*) that with purpoſe of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye ſtand faſt, and be not moved away from the hope of the Goſpel, whereof, God be thanked, ye have had plenteous preaching unto you by your late Paſtor Mr. *Sanders*, and other faithful Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, which now, when Perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the Word, do not fall away like ſhrinking Children, and forſake the Truth, being aſhamed of the Goſpel whereof they have been Preachers, but are willing and ready for your ſakes (which are Chriſts Myſtical Body) to forſake not only the chief and principal Delights of this Life (I do mean) their Native Countries, Friends, Livings, *&c.* but alſo to fulfil their Miniſtry to the utmoſt, that is to wit, with their painful Impriſonments and Blood-ſheddings, if need ſhall require, to confirm and ſeal Chriſts Goſpel, whereof they have been Miniſters; and (as S. *Paul* ſaith) they are ready not only to be caſt into Priſon, but alſo to be killed for the Name of the Lord Jeſus.

Acts 11.
Luke 8.
Rom. 1.
Acts 21.

Whether theſe being that good Salt of the Earth, that is, true Miniſters of Gods Word, by whoſe Doctrine, being received through Faith, men are made ſavoury unto God, and which themſelves loſe not their ſaltneſs, now when they be proved with the boiſterous Storms of Adverſity and Perſecution; or others being that unſavoury Salt which hath loſt his ſaltneſs, that is to wit, thoſe ungodly Miniſters, which do fall from the Word of God into the Dreams and Traditions of Antichriſt: whether of theſe, I ſay, be more to be credited and believed, let all men judge.

Matth. 5.
True Salt diſcerned from the corrupt and unſavoury Salt.

Wherefore my dearly Beloved, receive the Word of God with meekneſs, that is graſted in you, which is able to ſave your Souls: And ſee that ye be not forgetful hearers, deceiving your ſelves with ſophiſtry, but doers of the Word; whom Chriſt doth liken to a wiſe man, which buildeth his Houſe on a Rock, that when the great Rain deſcended, and the Floods came and beat upon the Houſe, it fell not, becauſe it was grounded upon a Rock: this is to wit, that when Satan, with all his Legion of Devils, with all their ſubtile ſuggeſtions, and the World with all the mighty Princes thereof, with their crafty counſels, do furiouſly rage againſt us, we faint not, but abide conſtant in the Truth, being grounded upon a moſt ſure Rock, which is Chriſt, and the Doctrine of the Goſpel, againſt which the Gates of Hell, (that is, the power of Satan) cannot prevail.

James 2.
Matth. 7.
Pſalm 2.
Matth. 16.

And be ye followers of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and receive the Word in much Affliction (as the godly *Theſſalonians* did:) for the true Followers of Chriſt and the Apoſtles, be they which receive the Word of God. They only receive the Word of God, which both believe it, and alſo frame their lives after it, and be ready to ſuffer all manner of adverſity for the name of the Lord, as Chriſt and all the Apoſtles did, and as all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt do: for there is none other way into the Kingdom of Heaven, but through much Tribulation. And if we ſuffer any thing for the Kingdom of Heavens ſake, and for Righteouſneſs ſake, we have the Prophets, Chriſt, the Apoſtles and Martyrs for an enſample to comfort us: for they did all enter into the Kingdom of Heaven at the ſtrait Gate and narrow way that leadeth unto Life, which few do find. And unleſs we will be content to deny our own ſelves, and take up the Croſs of Chriſt, and his Saints, it is an evident Argument, that we ſhall never reign with him.

1 Theſſ. 2.
True receivers of the word, who they be.
2 Tim. 3.
Acts 14.
Matth. 5.
Matth. 7.
Mark 8.
Mortification and bearing of the Croſs, neceſſary for all them that will reign with Chriſt.

And again, If we can find in our hearts patiently to ſuffer Perſecutions and Tribulations, it is a ſure token of the righteous Judgment of God, that we are counted worthy of the Kingdom of God, for which we alſo ſuffer. *It is verily* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *a righteous thing with God, to recompence tribulation to them that trouble us, and reſt to us that be troubled:* For after this life, the godly being delivered from their tribulations and pains, ſhall have a moſt quiet and joyful reſt: whereas the wicked and ungodly contrariwiſe ſhall be tormented for evermore with intolerable and unſpeakable pains, as Chriſt by the Parable of the rich Glutton and wretched *Lazarus*, doth plainly declare and teach. Theſe ought we to have before our eyes always, that in the time of Adverſity and Perſecution (whereof all that will be the Children of God ſhall be partakers, and wherewith it hath pleaſed God to put ſome of us in ure already) we may ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Lord, and endure even unto the end, that we may be ſaved. For unleſs we, like good warriours of Jeſus Chriſt, will endeavour our ſelves to pleaſe him, who hath choſen us to be Souldiers, and fight the good fight of Faith even unto the end, we ſhall not obtain that Crown of Righteouſneſs, which the Lord, that is a righteous Judge, ſhall give to all them that love his coming.

2 Theſſ. 1.
Luke 16.
Hebr. 12.
1 Tim. 2.

Let us therefore receive with meekneſs the Word that is graffed in us, which is able to ſave our Souls, and ground our ſelves on the ſure Rock Chriſt. *For* (as the Apoſtle ſaith) *other foundation can no man lay, beſides that which is laid already, which is Jeſus Chriſt. If any man build on this foundation, gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, timber, hay, ſtubble, every mans work ſhall appear, for the day ſhall declare it, and it ſhall be ſhewed in the fire. And the fire ſhall try every mans work what it is. If any mans work that he hath builded upon abide, he ſhall receive a reward: if any mans work burn, he ſhall ſuffer loſs; but he ſhall be ſaved himſelf, nevertheleſs yet as it were through fire.*

James 1.
1 Cor. 3.

By Fire here doth the Apoſtle underſtand Perſecution and Trouble, for they which do truly preach and profeſs the Word of God, which is called the Word of the Croſs, ſhall be railed upon and abhorred, hated, thruſt out of company, perſecuted and tried in the Furnace of Adverſity, as gold and ſilver are tried in the Fire.

Fire in Scripture, what it ſignifieth.

By gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, he underſtandeth them that in the midſt of Perſecution abide ſtedfaſt in the Word. By timber, hay, and ſtubble, are meant ſuch, as in time of Perſecution do fall away from the Truth. And when Chriſt doth purge his floor with the wind of Adverſity, theſe ſcatter away from the face of the Earth like light Chaff which ſhall be burned with unquenchable fire. If they then which do believe, do in time of Perſecution ſtand ſtedfaſtly in the Truth, the Builder (I do mean the Preacher of the Word) ſhall receive a reward, and the work ſhall be preſerved and ſaved: but if ſo be that they go back and ſwerve, when Perſecution ariſeth, the Builder ſhall ſuffer loſs, that is to ſay, ſhall loſe his labour and coſt, but yet he ſhall be ſaved, if he, being tried in the Fire of Perſecution, do abide faſt in the Faith.

1 Cor. 3.
Matth. 5.
Luke 6.
Matth. 3.
Pſalm 1.
The place of S. *Paul*, 1 Cor. 3. expounded.

Wherefore, my Beloved, give diligent heed, that ye as living ſtones be builded upon this ſure Rock, and be made a ſpiritual Houſe and a holy Prieſthood to offer up ſpiritual Sacrifices, acceptable unto God by Jeſus Chriſt. For we are the true Temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in us, if ſo be that we continue in the Doctrine of the Goſpel. We are alſo an holy and royal Prieſthood, to offer up ſpiritual Sacrifices and Oblations; for the Sacrifices of the New Teſtament are ſpiritual and of three manners.

1 Pet. 2.
2 Cor. 3.
1 Pet. 2.

The firſt is the Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankſgiving, which S. *Paul* doth call the fruits of thoſe lips which confeſs the Name of God.

Three ſorts of Sacrifices of the New Teſtament.

The ſecond is Mercy towards our Neighbours, as the Prophet *Oſee* ſaith, *I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice.* Read the five and twentieth Chapter of *Matthew.*

Heb. 13.
Oſee 6.

The third is, when we make our Body a quick Sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, that is, when we mortifie and kill our fleſhly Concupiſcences and carnal Luſts, and ſo bring our fleſh, through the help of the Spirit, under the obedience of Gods holy Law. This is a Sacrifice to God moſt acceptable, which the Apoſtle calleth *Our reaſonable ſerving of God.* And let us be ſure, that unleſs we do now at this preſent take better heed to our ſelves, and uſe thankfully the grace of God offered to us by the Goſpel preached theſe years paſt, whereby we are induced and brought to the knowledge of the Truth; unleſs, I ſay, we keep Chriſt and his holy Word dwelling by Faith in the Houſe and Temple of our hearts, the ſame thing that Chriſt

Rom. 12.
Epheſ. 3.
Matth. 14.

threatneth unto the Jews, shall happen unto us; that is to wit, the unclean Spirit of Ignorance, Superstition, Idolatry, and Infidelity and Unbelief, the Mother and Head of all Vices, which by the Grace of God was cast out of us, bringing with him seven other Spirits worse than himself, shall to our utter destruction return again unto us: and so shall we be in worse case than ever we were before. For if we, after we have escaped from the filthiness of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, be yet tangled therein again and overcome, then is the latter end worse than the beginning: and it had been better for us not to have known the way of righteousness, than after we have known it, to turn from the holy Commandment given to us.

Exhortation to persist in the Word of God, and not to abide of it. 2 Pet. 2.

Prov. 26. For it is then happened unto us according to the true Proverb, The Dog is turned to his Vomit again, and the Sow that was washed to wallowing in the Mire. And thus to continue and persevere in Infidelity, and to kick against the manifest and known Truth, and so to dye without Repentance, and with a despair of the Mercy of God in Jesus Christ, is to sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come. For it is not possible (saith Saint *Paul*) that they which were once lightned, and have tasted of the heavenly Gift, and have tasted of the good Word of God, and of the Power of the World to come, if they fall away, should be renewed again by Repentance: Forasmuch as they have, as concerning themselves, crucified the Son of God again, making a mocking of him.

Matthew. Heb. 6.

The place of the Heb. expounded.

S. *Pauls* meaning in this place is, that they that believe truly and unfeignedly Gods Word, do continue and abide stedfast in the known Truth.

If any therefore fall away from Christ and his Word, it is a plain token that they were but dissembling Hypocrites for all their fair Faces outwardly, and never believed truly; as, *Judas*, *Simon Magus*, *Demas*, *Hymenens*, *Philetus*, and others were, which all fell away from the known Verity, and made a mock of Christ: which S. *Paul* doth call here, to crucifie Christ anew, because that they turning to their old Vomit again, did most blasphemously tread the benefits of Christs Death and Passion under their feet. They that are such can in no wise be renued by Repentance: For their Repentance is fleshly, as the Repentance of *Cain*, *Sa. l.* and *Judas* was, which being without godly comfort, breedeth desperation unto death. These are not of the number of the Elect: and as S. *John* doth say, *They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would have remained with us unto the end.* Also the Apostle saith in another place, *If we sin willingly after we have received the knowledge of the Truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a fearful looking for judgment and violent fire, which shall devour the Adversaries.*

Matth. 26. Falling from Christ.

To crucifie Christ anew, what it is.

1 John 2.

Hebr. 10.

They sin willingly, which of a set malice and purpose do withold the Truth in Unrighteousness and Lying, kicking against the manifest and open known Truth, which although they do perfectly know that in all the World there is none other sacrifice for sin, but only that omni-sufficient sacrifice of Christs death: yet notwithstanding they will not commit themselves wholly unto it, but rather despise it, allowing other sacrifices for sin, invented by the imagination of man (as we see by daily experience) unto whom, if they abide still in their wickedness and sin, remaineth a most horrible and dreadful Judgment. This is that sin unto death, for which Saint *John* would not that a man should pray.

Rom. 1. Wilful kicking against open-known Truth.

Sin unto death.

1 John 5.

Wherefore, my beloved in Christ, let us (on whom the ends of the world are come) take diligent heed unto our selves, that now in these last and perillous times (in the which the Devil is come down, and hath great wrath because he knoweth his time is but short, and whereof the Prophets, Christ and the Apostles have so much spoken, and given us an earnest forewarning) we withhold not the Truth in Unrighteousness, believing, doing, or speaking any thing against our knowledge and conscience, or without faith. For if we so do, for whatsoever cause it be, it is a wilful and obstinate infidelity, and a sin unto death: And as our Saviour Christ saith, *If ye believe not, ye shall die in your own sins.* For unless we hold fast the Word of Life, both believing it, and also bringing forth fruit worthy of Repentance, we shall

1 Cor. 10.

Apoc. 22. Matth. 24.

Rom. 1.

John 8.

Phil. 2.

with the unprofitable Fig-tree, which did but cumber the ground, be cut down, and our Talent taken from us, and given unto another that shall put it to a better use: and we, through our own unthankfulness put from the Mercy of God, shall never be able to pay our Debts, that is to say, we shall altogether be lost and undone. For the Earth that drinketh in Rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth Herbs meet for them that dress it, receiveth blessing of God: but that ground that beareth Thorns and Bryars, is reproved and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned.

Anno 1555.

Matth 3. The fruitless Fig-tree. Luke 13. Matth. 18. Hebr. 6.

Nevertheless, dear Friends, we trust to see better of you, and things which accompany Salvation, and that ye being the good ground, watered with the moistness of Gods Word plenteously preached among you, will with a good heart hear the Word of God and keep it, bring forth fruit with patience. And be none of those forgetful and hypocritish hearers, which although they hear the Word, yet the Devil cometh, and catcheth away that which was sowen in their heart; either having no root in themselves, endure but a season, and as soon as Tribulation or Persecution ariseth because of the Word, by and by they are offended; either with the cares of this World and deceitfulness of Riches choak the Word, and so are unfruitful. Read the Parable of the Sower, and among other things note and mark, that the most part of the hearers of Gods Word are but Hypocrites, and hear the Word without any fruit or profit, yea, only to their greater condemnation; for only the fourth part of the Seed doth bring forth fruit. Therefore let not us that be Ministers, or Professors, and Followers of Gods Word, be discouraged, though that very few do give credit, and follow the Doctrine of the Gospel, and be saved.

The good ground. Luke 8. James 1. Matth. 13. The most part of the hearers of Gods word are but Hypocrites.

Whosoever therefore hath ears to hear, let him hear: for whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away, even that he hath: that is to say, they that have a desire of Righteousness, and of the Truth, shall be more and more illuminated of God: on the contrary part, they that do not covet after Righteousness and Truth, are more hardened and blinded, though they seem unto themselves most wise. For God doth here follow an example of a loving Father, which when he seeth that fatherly love and correction doth not help towards his Children, useth another way. He ceaseth to be beneficial unto them, and to minister unto them fatherly correction: he giveth them over unto themselves, suffering them to live as they list themselves.

To him that hath shall be given, and how. Example of Gods dealing with stubborn Children.

But we trust to see better of you, my dearly beloved, and that ye like very *Gaderenites*, for fear to lose your worldly substance or other delights of this Life, will not banish away Christ and his Gospel from among you; but that ye with all diligence of mind will receive the Word of God, taught you by such Ministers, as now when Persecution ariseth because of the Word, are not ashamed of the Testimony of our Lord Jesus, but are content to suffer Adversity with the Gospel, and therein to suffer trouble as evil doers, even unto Bonds. And if ye refuse thus to do, your own Blood will be upon your own heads. And as ye have had plenteous preaching of the Gospel, more than other have had: so ye shall be sure, if ye repent not and bring forth fruits worthy of Repentance, to be sorer plagued, and to receive greater vengeance at Gods hand, than others, and the Kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and be given to another Nation, which will bring forth the fruits thereof.

Heb. 6. Matth. 6. Acts 14. 2 Tim. 1. 2 Tim. 2. Acts 18. The more preaching with less following draweth greater vengeance at Gods hand.

Wherefore, my dearly beloved in Christ, take good heed to your selves, and ponder well in your minds, how fearful & horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the Living God. And see that ye receive not the Word of God in vain, but continually labour in Faith, and declare your Faith by your good Works, which are infallible witnesses of the true justifying Faith, which is never idle, but worketh by Charity. And see that ye continually give your selves unto all manner of good Works: Amongst the which, the chiefest are to be obedient to the Magistrates (sith they are the Ordinance of God, whether they be good or evil) unless they command idolatry and ungodliness, *i.e.* things contrary unto true Religion. For, then ought we to say with *Peter*, *We ought more to*

James 2. Gal 5. Tit. 2.

obey

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obey God than man. But in any wiſe we muſt beware of Tumult, Inſurrection, Rebellion, or Reſiſtance.

Rom. 13. Acts 5. Epheſ. 6. John 19. Job 35. Rom. 13.

The Weapon of a Chriſtian in this matter, ought to be the Sword of the Spirit, which is Gods Word and Prayer, coupled with Humility and due Submiſſion, and with readineſs of heart, rather to die than to do any ungodlineſs. Chriſt alſo doth teach us, that all Power is of God, yea even the power of the wicked, which God cauſeth oftentimes to reign for our ſins and diſobedience towards him and his word. Whoſoever then doth reſiſt any Power, doth reſiſt the Ordinance of God, and ſo purchaſe to himſelf utter deſtruction and undoing.

1 Pet. 2.

We muſt alſo by all means be Promoters of Unity, Peace and Concord. We muſt honour and reverence Princes, and all that be in Authority, and pray for them, and be diligent to ſet forth their profit and commodity.

Epheſ. 6. 1 Tim. 5.

Secondly, We muſt obey our Parents, or them that be in their rooms, and be careful for our Houſholds, that they be provided for and fed, not only with bodily food, but much rather with ſpiritual food, which is the Word of God.

Matth. 7.

Thirdly, We muſt ſerve our Neighbours by all means we can, remembring well the ſaying of Chriſt; *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, do ye likewiſe unto them, for this is the Law and the Prophets.*

1 Tim. 2. Praying for all Eſtates. Matth. 5. Forbearing our Adverſaries. Patience in ſuffering adverſity and trouble. 2 Pet. 2. Acts 20.

Fourthly, We muſt diligently exerciſe the neceſſary work of Prayer for all Eſtates: knowing that God therefore hath ſo much commanded it, and hath made ſo great promiſes unto it, and doth ſo well accept it. After theſe works, we muſt learn to know the Croſs, and what affection and mind we muſt bear towards our Adverſaries and Enemies, whatſoever they be, to ſuffer all Adverſities and Evils patiently, to pray for them that hurt, perſecute, and trouble us: and by thus uſing our ſelves, we ſhall obtain an hope and certainty of our Vocation, that we be the Elect Children of God.

This Letter was written the yeas before in the month of *June.* Rom. 15. Coloſſ. 4.

And thus I commend you, Brethren, unto God and to the Word of his Grace, which is able to build further, and to give you an Inheritance among all them which are ſanctified; beſeeching you to help Mr. *Sanders* and me your late Paſtors, and all them that be in Bonds for the Goſpels ſake, with your Prayers to God for us, that we may be delivered from all them that believe not, and from unreaſonable and froward men, and that this our Impriſonment and Affliction may be to the glory and profit of our Chriſtian Brethren in the world, and that Chriſt may be magnified in our Bodies, whether it be by death or by life. Amen.

Phil. 1.

Salute from me all the faithful Brethren: and becauſe I write not ſeveral Letters to them, let them either read or hear theſe my Letters. The Grace of our Lord be with you all, Amen. The 28. of *June*, by the unprofitable Servant of Jeſus Chriſt, and now alſo his Priſoner,

George Marſh.

Acts 2.

Save your ſelves from this untoward Generation. Pray, pray, pray: never more need.

Another Letter of the ſaid George Marſh, *to certain of his dearly beloved Friends at* Mancheſter *in* Lancaſhire.

Another godly Letter of *G. Marſh* to them of *Mancheſter.*

GRace be with you and Peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

Col. 2. Phil. 2: 1 Pet. 3. Matth. 10. Luke 11. Adverſaries not to be feared. Gods help always ready with his Servants.

After Salutations in Chriſt to you, with thanks for your friendly remembrances of me, deſiring and wiſhing unto you, not only in my Letters, but alſo in my daily Prayers, ſuch Conſolation in Spirit, and taſte of heavenly Treaſures, that ye may thereby continually work in Faith, labour in Love, perſevere in Hope, and be patient in all your Tribulations and Perſecutions, even unto the end and glorious coming of Chriſt: theſe ſhall be earneſtly to exhort and beſeech you in Chriſt, as ye have received the Lord Jeſus, even ſo to walk, rooted in him, and not to be afraid of any terror of your Adverſaries, be they never ſo many and mighty, and you on the other ſide never ſo few and weak: for the Battel is the Lords. And as in times paſt, God was with *Abraham, Moſes, Iſaac, David,* the *Machabees*, and other, and fought for them, and delivered all their Enemies into their hands, even ſo hath he promiſed to be with us alſo unto the worlds end, and ſo to aſſiſt, ſtrengthen and help us, that no man ſhall be able to withſtand us. For as I was with *Moſes*, ſo will I be with thee, ſaith God, and will never leave thee nor forſake thee. Be ſtrong and bold; neither fear nor dread: for the Lord thy God is with thee, whetherſoever thou goeſt. Now if God be on our ſide, who can be againſt us?

Joſhua 2. Rom. 8.

Spiritual warfare. Epheſ. 6. 2 Cor. 11, 12. Acts 21.

In this our ſpiritual warfare is no man overcome, unleſs he traiterouſly leave and forſake his Captain, either cowardly caſt away his Weapons, or willingly yield himſelf to his Enemies, either fearfully turn his back and fly? Be ſtrong therefore in the Lord, dear Brethren, and in the power of his might, and put on all the Armour of God, that ye may be able to ſtand ſtedfaſt againſt the crafty Aſſaults of the Devil.

A Chriſtian mans life is a perpetual warfare.

Now what Weapons ye muſt fight withal, learn of S. *Paul*, a Champion both much exerciſed, and alſo moſt valiant and invincible. For we muſt think none other, but that the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon Earth, as the examples of all godly men throughout all Ages do declare. The valiant Warriour S. *Paul* being delivered into the hands of the ungodly, and that ſo many times, and alſo from ſo many extream perils and dangers of death, as he his own ſelf doth witneſs, is fain to commit himſelf in the end to the rough Waters of the Sea, where he was in great peril and jeopardy of his own life: yet was God always (to the great comfort of all that hear of it) moſt ready to comfort and ſuccour him, and gloriouſly delivered him out of all his troubles; ſo that no man that invaded him, could do him any harm, and in the end he was compelled to ſay, I have finiſhed my courſe, the time of my departing is at hand, I long to be looſed, and to be with Chriſt, which is the beſt of all, moſt heartily deſiring death.

The manifold deliverances of S. *Paul* be examples for our comfort. Acts 28. 2 Tim. 4. Phil. 1.

Rom. 15.

Theſe things be written for our learning and comfort, and be to us a ſure Obligation, that if we ſubmit our ſelves to God and his holy Word, no man ſhall be able to hurt us, and that he will deliver us from all troubles, yea from death alſo, until ſuch time as we covet and deſire to dye. Let us therefore run with patience unto the Battel that is ſet before us, and look unto Jeſus the Captain and Finiſher of our Faith, and after his example, for the Rewards ſake that is ſet out unto us, patiently to bear the Croſs, and deſpiſe the ſhame. For all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall ſuffer Perſecution.

Heb. 12. Perſecution followeth Chriſtian godlineſs. 2 Tim. 3.

Matth. 3, 4. Where Chriſt is, Satan there is always ready. Epheſ. 6.

Chriſt was no ſooner baptized, and declared to the world to be the Son of God, but Satan was by and by ready to tempt him: which thing we muſt look for alſo: yea, the more we ſhall increaſe in faith and vertuous living, the more ſtrongly will Satan aſſault us: whom we muſt learn, after the example of Chriſt, to fight againſt, and overcome with the Holy and Sacred Scriptures the Word of God (which are our heavenly Armour) and Sword of the Spirit. And let the faſting of Chriſt, while he was tempted in the Wilderneſs, be unto us an example of ſober living, not for the ſpace of forty days (as the Papiſts do fondly fancy of their own brains) but as long as we are in the wilderneſs of this wretched life, aſſaulted of Satan, who like a roaring Lion walketh about, and ceaſeth not, ſeeking our utter deſtruction.

Matth. 4. The faſt of Chriſt is to us example of ſober living. 1 Pet. 5.

Neither can the Servant of God at any time come and ſtand before God, that is, lead a godly life, and walk innocently before God, but Satan cometh alſo among them, that is, he daily accuſeth, findeth fault, vexeth, perſecuteth, and troubleth the godly: for it is the nature and property of the Devil always to hurt, and do miſchief, unleſs he be forbidden of God: for unleſs God doth permit him, he can do nothing at all, not ſo much as enter into a filthy Hog: but we are more of price than many Hogs before God, if we cleave unto his Son by Faith.

Job 1. 2. When the Servants of God ſtand before him, Satan cometh alſo. Matth. 8.

Let us therefore, knowing Satans deceits, and rancour, walk the more warily, and take unto us the Shield of Faith, wherewith we may be able to quench and to overcome all the fiery and deadly darts of the wicked. Let us take to us the Helmet of Salvation, and Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, and learn to uſe the ſame according to the example of our grand Captain Chriſt. Let us faſt and pray continually. For this frantick kind of Devils goeth not out otherwiſe, as Chriſt doth

Epheſ. 6. The Shield of Faith. The Helmet of Salvation. The Sword of the Spirit. Matth. 4. Matth. 17.

teach us, but by faithful Prayer and Faſting, which is true Abſtinence and Soberneſs of Living, if we uſe the ſame according to the Doctrine of the Goſpel and Word of God. Faſting is acceptable to God, if it be done without Hypocriſie, that is to ſay, if we uſe it to this intent, that thereby this mortal Body and diſobedient Carkaſs may be tamed and brought under the ſubjection of the Spirit: And again, if we faſt to this intent, that we may ſpare wherewith to help and ſuccour our poor needy Brethren.

Prayer and Faſting. True Faſt, what it is. How to Faſt without Hypocriſie.

This Faſt do the true Chriſtians uſe all the days of their life, although among the common ſort of People remaineth yet ſtill that ſuperſtitious kind of Faſting, which God ſo earneſtly reproveth by his Prophet *Eſay*. For as for true chaſtening of the Body, and abſtaining from Vice, with ſhewing Mercy towards our needy Neighbours, we will neither underſtand nor hear of it, but ſtill think with the Jews, that we do God a great pleaſure when we Faſt, and that we then Faſt, when we abſtain from one thing, and fill our bellies with another. And verily in this point doth our Superſtition much exceed the Superſtition of the Jews: For we never read that they ever took it for a Faſt, to abſtain from Fleſh, and to eat either Fiſh or White-meat, as they call it.

Abuſe of faſting among Chriſtians. Elay 58.

The Jewiſh manner of faſting reproved. The Chriſtians in ſuperſtitious faſting exceed the Jews.

To Faſting and Prayer muſt be joyned Alms, and Mercy towards the Poor and Needy: And that our Alms may be acceptable unto God, three things are chiefly required.

Mercy to the Poor.

2 Cor. 9. In Alms three things required.

Firſt, That we give with a cheerful and joyful heart; for the Lord loveth a cheerful giver.

Secondly, That we give liberally, putting aſide all niggardſhip, knowing that he that ſoweth little, ſhall reap little, and he that ſoweth plenteouſly, ſhall reap plenteouſly. Let every man therefore do according as he is able. The pooreſt Caitiff in the world may give as great and acceptable an Alms in the ſight of God, as the richeſt man in the world can do. The poor Widow that did offer but two Mites, which make a Farthing, did highly pleaſe Chriſt: Inſomuch that he affirmed with an Oath, That ſhe of her Penury had added more to the Offerings of God, than all the rich men, which of their Superfluity had caſt in very much. For if there be firſt a willing mind (as S. *Paul* ſaith) it is accepted, according to that a man hath, and not according to that a man hath not.

Mark 12.

2 Cor. 8.

Thirdly, We muſt give without Hypocriſie and Oſtentation, not ſeeking the Praiſe of men, or our own glory or profit. And although the Scriptures in ſome places make mention of a Reward to our Alms and other good Works, yet ought we not to think that we do merit or deſerve any thing: but rather we ought to acknowledge, that God in his meer mercy rewardeth in us his own gifts. For what hath he that giveth Alms, that he hath not received? He then that giveth to a poor man any manner of thing, giveth not of his own, but of thoſe goods which he hath received of God. *What haſt thou,* ſaith the Apoſtle, *that thou haſt not received? If thou haſt received it, why rejoyceſt thou, as though thou hadſt not received it?*

Alms without oſtentation.

Works of Mercy do not merit with God touching ourſalvation any thing.

1 Cor. 4.

This Sentence ought to be had in remembrance of all men. For if we have nothing, but that which we have received, what can we deſerve? or what need we to diſpute and reaſon of our own Merits? it cometh of the free gift of God, that we live, that we love God, that we walk in his fear. Where is our deſerving then? We muſt alſo in this our ſpiritual warfare arm our ſelves with continual Prayer, a very neceſſary, ſtrong, and invincible weapon, and after the example of Chriſt and all other godly men, cry heartily unto God in Faith, in all our diſtreſſes and anguiſhes. Let us go boldly to the Seat of Grace, where we ſhall be ſure to receive Mercy, and find Grace to help in time of need. For now is Pride and Perſecution encreaſed: Now is the time of deſtruction and wrathful diſpleaſure.

Continual Prayer. Matth. 26. Heb. 4. 1 Mach. 4.

Wherefore, my dear Brethren, be ye fervent in the Law of God, and jeopard ye your lives, if need ſhall require, for the Teſtament of the Fathers, and ſo ſhall ye receive great honor, and an everlaſting name. Remember *Abraham*: Was not he found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteouſneſs? *Joſeph* in time of his trouble kept the Commandment, and was made a Lord of *Egypt*. *Phineas* was ſo fervent for the honour of God, that he obtained the Covenant of an Everlaſting Prieſthood. *Joſhua* for the fulfilling of the Word of God, was made the Captain of *Iſrael*. *Caleb* bare record before the Congregation, and received an Inheritance. *David* alſo in his merciful kindneſs obtained the Throne of an Everlaſting Kingdom. *Elias* being zealous and fervent in the Law, was taken up into Heaven. *Ananias, Azarias,* and *Miſael* remained ſtedfaſt in the Faith, and were delivered out of the Fire. In like manner *Daniel* being unguilty, was ſaved from the mouth of the Lions.

To be faithful in temptation.

Gen. 22. Gen. 41. Num. 25.

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Joſhua 1. Numb. 14. 1 Reg. 24. 4 Reg. 2. Dan. 3. Dan. 6.

And thus ye may conſider throughout all Ages, ſince the world began, that whoſoever put their truſt in God were not overcome. Fear not ye then the words of ungodly men; for their glory is but dung and worms; to day they are ſet up, and to morrow are they gone; for they are turned into Earth, and their memorial cometh to nought. Wherefore let us take good hearts unto us, and quit our ſelves like men in the Law: for if we do the things that are commanded us in the Law of the Lord our God, we ſhall obtain great honour therein.

Pſal. 38. He exhorteth to zeal and courage.

Acts 14.

Beloved in Chriſt, let us not faint becauſe of Affliction, wherewith God trieth all them that are ſealed unto Life everlaſting: for the only way into the Kingdom of God is through much Tribulation. For the Kingdom of Heaven (as God teacheth by his Prophet *Eſdras*) is like a City builded and ſet upon a broad Field, and full of all good things, but the entrance is narrow and ſudden (full of ſorrow and travel, perils and labours:) Like as if there were a fire at the right hand, and a deep Water at the left; and as it were one ſtreight path between them both, ſo ſmall, that there could but one man go there. If this City were now given to an Heir, and he never went through the perillous way, how could he receive his Inheritance? Wherefore ſeeing we are in this narrow and ſtreight way, which leadeth unto the moſt joyful and pleaſant City of everlaſting Life: let us not ſtagger, either turn back, being afraid of the dangerous and perillous way, but follow our Captain Jeſus Chriſt in the narrow and ſtreight way, and be afraid of nothing, no not even of Death it ſelf: for it is he that muſt lead us to our Journeys end, and open us the door unto everlaſting Life.

4 Eſdras 7.

Strait is the way which the Elect muſt walk in.

Death is a door to life.

Conſider alſo the courſe of this world, how many there be which for their Maſters ſake, or for a little Promotions ſake, would adventure their lives in worldly affairs, as commonly in wars, and yet is their reward but light and tranſitory, and ours is unſpeakable, great and everlaſting. They ſuffer pains to be made Lords on Earth for a ſhort ſeaſon: how much more ought we to endure like pains, yea peradventure much leſs to be made Kings in Heaven for evermore? Conſider alſo the wicked of this world, which for a little pleaſures ſake, or to be avenged on their Enemies, will fight with Sword and Weapons, and put themſelves in danger of Impriſonment and Hanging. So much as Vertue is better than Vice, and God mightier than the Devil, ſo much ought we to excel them in this our Spiritual Battel.

If worldly men jeopard ſo much for earthly things, how much more ought we to jeopard for everlaſting things?

And ſeeing Brethren, it hath pleaſed God to ſet me, and that moſt worthy Miniſter of Chriſts *John Bradford*, your Countrey-men, in the Fore-front of this Battel, where (for the time) is moſt danger, I beſeech you all, in the Bowels of Chriſt, to help us, and in all our Fellow-ſouldiers ſtanding in like perillous place, with your Prayers to God for us, that we may quit our ſelves like men in the Lord, and give ſome example of boldneſs and conſtancy mingled with patience in the fear of God, that ye and others our Brethren, through our example, may be ſo encouraged and ſtrengthened to follow us, that ye alſo may leave example to your weak Brethren in the world, to follow you, Amen.

Conſider what I ſay, the Lord give us underſtanding in all things. Brethren, the time is ſhort; it remaineth that ye uſe this world as though ye uſed it not: for the faſhion of this world vaniſheth away. See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world: but ſet your affection on heavenly things, where Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God. Be meek, and long ſuffering, ſerve and edifie one another, with the gift that God hath given you. Beware of ſtrange Doctrine, lay aſide the old Converſation of greedy Luſts, and walk in a new life. Beware of unclenneſs, covetouſneſs, fooliſh talking, falſe Doctrine and drun-

2 Tim. 2. 1 Cor. 7. 1 John. 2. Coloſ. 3.

Doctrine of good Works.

Anno 1555.

drunkenneſs: rejoyce and be thankful towards God, and ſubmit your ſelves one to another. Ceaſe from ſin, ſpend no more time in vice, be ſober and apt to pray; be patient in trouble, love each other, and let the glory of God and profit of your Neighbour be the only mark ye ſhoot at in all your doings. Repent ye of the life that is paſt, and take better heed to your doings hereafter. And above all things cleave ye faſt to him, who was delivered to death for our ſins, and roſe again for our juſtificaion. To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and rule for evermore. Amen.

Salute from me in Chriſt all others which love us in the Faith, and at your diſcretion make them partakers of theſe Letters: and pray ye all for me and others in Bonds for the Goſpel, that the ſame God (which by his Grace hath called us from wicked Papiſtry unto true Chriſtianity, and now of love proveth our patience by perſecution) will of his mercy and favor in the end glorioufly deliver us, either by death, or by life, to his glory, Amen. *At Lancaſter the 30. of Auguſt, 1555.*

By me an unprofitable Servant of Chriſt,
George Marſh.

To his welbeloved in Chriſt, Jenkin Crampton, James Leiver, Elice Fogge, Ralph Bradſhaw, *the wife of* Richard Bradſhaw, Elice Cramptor, *and to every one of them, be theſe delivered from* Lancaſter. George Marſh.

1 Cor. 13. Another Letter of *Mr. Marſh* to certain of his Friends.

THe Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt be with you all, Amen.

After ſalutations in Chriſt, and hearty thanks for your friendly Tokens and your other Remembrances towards me, beſeeching God that ye may increaſe in faith, fear, and love, and all good gifts, and grow up into a perfect man in Chriſt: Theſe be earneſtly to exhort you, yea and to beſeech you in the tender mercy of Chriſt, that with purpoſe of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye worſhip and ſerve him in ſpirit, in the Goſpel of his Son. For God will not be worſhipped after the Commandments and Traditions of men, neither yet by any other means appointed, preſcribed and taught us, but by his holy Word. And though all men for the moſt part defile themſelves, with the wicked Traditions of Men, and Ordinances after the World, and not after Chriſt: yet do ye after the enſample of *Toby*, *Daniel*, and his three Companions, *Mattathias* and his three Sons, be it at a point with your ſelves, that ye will not be defiled with the unclean meats of the Heathen; I do mean the filthineſs of Idolatry, and the very Heatheniſh Ceremonies of the Papiſts: but as the true Worſhippers, ſerve ye God in Spirit and Verity, according to the Sacred Scriptures, which I would wiſh, and will you above all things continually and reverently (as both Saint *Paul* and Chriſt command you) to ſearch and read, with the wholſome Monitions of the ſame: to teach, exhort, comfort and edifie one another, and your Brethren and Neighbours, now in the time of this our miſerable Captivity, and great famiſhment of Souls, for want of the Food of Gods Word. And doubt not but that the merciful Lord, who hath promiſed to be with us even unto the worlds end, and that whenſoever two or three be gathered together in his Name, he will be in the midſt of them, will aſſiſt you, and teach you the right meaning of the Sacred Scriptures, will keep you from all Errors, and lead you into all Truth, as he hath faithfully promiſed.

Ephe. 4. Acts 11. Rom. 1. Col. 2. Tob. 1. Dan. 1. 1 Mach. 1. John 4. John 5. 1 Tim. 5. Matth. 28. Matth. 18. John 12. Matth. 14.

And though you think your ſelves unable to teach, yet at the commandment of Chriſt, now in time of Famine, the hungry People being in a Wilderneſs far from any Towns, which if they be ſent away faſting, are ſure to faint and periſh by the way, employ and beſtow thoſe five Loaves and two Fiſhes that ye have, upon that hungry Multitude, although you think it nothing among ſo many. And he that increaſed the five Loaves and two Fiſhes to feed five thouſand men, beſides women and children, ſhall alſo augment his gifts in you, not only to the edifying and winning of others in Chriſt, but alſo to an exceeding great increaſe of your knowledge in God and his holy Word. And fear not your Adverſaries; for either according to his accuſtomed manner God ſhall blind their eyes that they ſhall not ſpie you, either get you favour in their ſight, or elſe graciouſly deliver you out of their hands by one means or other. Phil. 1.

Leſſons of Chriſtian manners.

Obey with reverence all your Superiors, unleſs they command Idolatry or Ungodlineſs. Make proviſion for your Houſholds, chiefly that they be inſtructed and taught in the Law of God. Love your Wives even as your own ſelves, and as Chriſt loved the Congregation. Love your Children, but rate them not, leſt they be of a deſperate mind: and bring them up in the nurture and information of the Lord, and teach them even as the godly Parents of *Toby* the younger, and *Suſanna* did teach their Children, even from their infancy to reverence God according to his Law, and to abſtain from ſin, providing that in no wiſe they be brought up in idleneſs and wantonneſs, ſeeing that ye reckon your ſelves to be the Children of God, and look for the Life which God ſhall give to them which never turn their belief from him. See that ye ever fear God, and keep his Commandments: and though the Plague of God chance upon you, yet remain ye ſtedfaſt in the faith and fear of God, and thank him, and ſerve him in ſuch holineſs and righteouſneſs as are acceptable before him all the days of your life. Comfort your ſelves in all your adverſities, and ſtay your ſelves in him, who hath promiſed not to leave you as fatherleſs and motherleſs Children without any comfort; but that he will come to you like a moſt gentle and merciful Lord. He will continually ſtand by you in all your troubles, aſſiſting, helping, and ſuccouring you at all times. *I will be with you* (ſaith he) *unto the end of the world.* And cleave you faſt unto him, which was incarnate, lived, wrought, taught, and died for your ſins, yea, roſe again from death, and aſcended into Heaven for your juſtification. Repent ye of the life that is paſt, and ceaſe from ſin, and from hence forward live as much time as remaineth in the fleſh, not after the luſts of men, but after the will of God. To do good and diſtribute, forget not. Faſt and pray buſily, and as every man hath received the gift, miniſter the ſame one to another as good Miniſters of the manifold Graces of God, that God in all things may be glorified through Jeſus Chriſt, to whom be praiſe and dominion for ever, and while the world ſtandeth, Amen. Tob. 2. Tob. 3.

Yours George Marſh.

Another Letter.

Another Letter of *G. Marſh* to certain faithful Brethren in the Congregation.

THe ſame Grace and Peace (dearly beloved in Chriſt) do I intirely deſire and wiſh unto you, which the Apoſtle S. *Paul* wiſheth to all them, unto whom he did write and ſend his Epiſtles, than which two things no better can be wiſhed and deſired of God. Grace is throughout all the Epiſtles of *Paul*, taken for the free mercy and favour of God, whereby he ſaveth us freely without any deſervings or works of the Law. In like manner peace is taken for the quietneſs and tranquillity of the Conſcience, being throughly perſwaded that through the only Merits of Chriſts Death and Blood-ſhedding, there is an attonemont and peace made between God and Us, ſo that God will no more impute our ſins unto us, nor yet condemn us.

Grace. Peace, what it is?

Dearly Beloved, I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of things, though that you know them your ſelves, and be alſo eſtabliſhed in the preſent Truth; notwithſtanding, I think it meet, as long as I am in this Tabernacle, to ſtir you up by putting you in remembrance. Wherefore I beſeech you Brethren, and exhort you in the Lord Jeſus, that ye increaſe more and more, even as ye have received, how ye ought to walk and to pleaſe God. And as *Barnabas*, that good man, and full of the Holy Ghoſt, exhorted the *Antiochians*, with purpoſe of heart cleave ye continually unto the Lord. And ſtand faſt, and be not moved from the hope of the Goſpel, whereof God be thanked, ye have had plenteous preaching unto you theſe years paſt, by the faithful Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, *Leiver*, *Pilkinton*, *Bradford*, *Sanders*, and others like, which now, when Perſecution ariſeth, becauſe of the Word, do not fall away like ſhrinking Children, and forſake the Truth, but are preſt and ready for your ſakes, which are his Myſtical Body, to

He exhorteth to ſtedfaſtneſs in the Goſpel.

Leiver, Pilkinton, Bradford, Sanders.

forſake the chief and principal delights of this life, and ſome of them in giving place to the ouragious tyranny of the world, to forſake their Livings, Friends, Native Land, and other chief Pleaſures of this Life, and to commit themſelves to painful Exile, that if it pleaſe God, Chriſt may come again out of *Egypt*. And other ſome are ready to fulfil their Miniſtry unto the uttermoſt: that is to wit, with their painful impriſonments and blood-ſhedding, if need ſhall ſo require, to confirm and ſeal Chriſts Goſpel whereof they have been Miniſters: and as S. *Paul* ſaith, not only to be caſt into Priſon, but alſo to dye for the Name of the Lord Jeſus.

Men baniſhed for the Goſpel in Q. Marie. days.

Be ye not therefore aſhamed of the teſtimony of our Lord Jeſus, neither be ye aſhamed of us which are his Priſoners, but ſuffer ye adverſity with the Goſpel, for which Word we ſuffer as evil doers, even unto bonds: but the Word of God is not bound with us. Therefore we ſuffer all things for the Elects ſake, that they alſo may obtain the ſalvation which is in Chriſt Jeſus with eternal glory: wherefore ſtand ye faſt in the Faith, and be not moved from the hope of the Goſpel, and ſo ſhall ye make us even with joy to ſuffer for your ſakes, and as the Apoſtle ſaith, To fulfil that which is behind of the Paſſions of Chriſt in our fleſh, for his Bodies ſake, which is the Congregation. S. *Paul* doth not here mean, that there wanteth any thing in the Paſſion of Chriſt, which may be ſupplied by man: for the Paſſion of Chriſt, as touching his own Perſon, is that moſt perfect and omni-ſufficient Sacrifice, whereby we are all made perfect, as many as are ſanctified in his Blood: but theſe his words ought to be underſtood of the Elect and Choſen, in whom Chriſt is, and ſhall be perſecuted unto the worlds end. The Paſſion of Chriſt then, as touching his myſtical Body, which is the Church, ſhall not be perfected till they have all ſuffered, whom God hath appointed to ſuffer for his Sons ſake. Wherefore ſtabliſh your ſelves, and be of good comfort, and be not moved in theſe Afflictions, knowing that we are appointed thereunto. For on our parts nothing can be greater conſolation and inward joy unto us in our adverſity, than to hear of your faith and love, and that ye have a good remembrance of us always, praying for us as we do for you, as the Apoſtle writeth of the *Theſſalonians*, ſaying, Now are we alive, if ye ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Lord: for good Shephards do always count the welfare and proſperous eſtate of Chriſts Flock to be their own: for while it goeth well with the Congregation, it goeth well with them alſo in whatſoever Affliction or Adverſity they be: but when they ſee the Church in any peril or weakneſs, then be they weary of their own lives, then can they have no reſt nor joy. Who is weak, ſaith S. *Paul*, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I do not burn? But this Affection is not in them that ſeek their own lucre and glory.

The meaning of S. Pauls words opened.

The condition of a true Paſtor.

And foraſmuch as the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon Earth, let us run with joy unto the battel that is ſet before us, and like good warriours of Jeſus Chriſt pleaſe him, who hath choſen us to be Souldiers, and not like ſhrinking Children faint and fall away from the Truth now in time of Adverſity and Tribulation, wherewith all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt be tried, even as gold and ſilver is proved in the fire, and whereof all the Scriptures have given us ſo much forewarning. For God is wont for the moſt part, to warn his Elect and Choſen, what affliction and trouble ſhall happen unto them for his ſake, not to the intent to fray them thereby, but rather to prepare their minds againſt the boiſterous ſtorms of Perſecution. As we have a notable example in the Apoſtle S. *Paul*, unto whom God ſent *Agabus*, who propheſied unto him of the Impriſonment and Bands that he ſhould ſuffer at *Jeruſalem*: in whom we have alſo a good example of conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſs, which regarding nothing the tears of his familiar Friends, nor yet the peril of his own life, did through fire and water go on ſtill to ſet forth the glory of God; and he being delivered from the hands of his ungodly and blood-thirſty Enemies, and that ſo many times, is in concluſion fain to commit himſelf to the rough waters of the Sea, where he was a long ſeaſon in great peril and jeopardy of his own life. But God was always (to the great comfort of all that ſhall hear of it) moſt ready to help and ſuccour him. Firſt, he did ſend him a moſt friendly and ſweet company, I mean *Ariſtarchus* and *Lucas*, ſo ruling the heart of the under Captain *Julius*, that he courteouſly intreated him, and gave him liberty to go to his Friends, and to refreſh himſelf, and he was beneficial unto him at all times. In like manner was God with *Joſeph*, and delivered him from all his Adverſities, and gave him favour and wiſdom in the ſight of *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*, inſomuch that he made him Governour over all *Egypt*, and over all his Houſhold. In like manner was he with *Jeremy* and *Daniel*, in their great troubles, and appointed men for them in their moſt troubles, to relieve, ſuccour, and help them, to their ſingular comfort.

A Chriſtian mans life is a warfare upon Earth.

The Church is ever forewarned before Affliction.

Acts 17.

Anno 1555.

Alſo when *Peter* was in *Herods* Priſon, ſleeping between two Souldiers, bound with two Chains, and the Keepers before the door keeping the Priſon, the ſame night that *Herod* had intended to have brought him out unto the People the day following, and to have put him unto death to pleaſe the Jews withal, as a little before he had killed *James* the Brother of *John* with the Sword; God ſent his Angel, and the Chains fell off from *Peters* hands, and the Iron gate opened unto him by its own accord, and ſo was *Peter* wonderfully delivered by God. For it is the true living God that looſeth all Bands, and delivereth out of Priſon, and not that fained God S. *Leonard*. On that true God did S. *Peter* call, unto him did he aſcribe the glory of his deliverance, ſaying, Now I know of a truth, that God hath ſent his Angel, *&c.*

Peter delivered out of Priſon.

Theſe things are written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope. The God of patience and comfort, grant that we be like minded one towards another, after the enſample of Chriſt Jeſus, that we all agreeing together, may with one mouth glorifie God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

A poor Priſoner for Chriſt,
George Marſh.

Another Letter of George Marſh *to* Robert Langley.

THe Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Love of God, and the Fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt, be with you good Brother in Chriſt, *Robert Langley*, and with all them that love the Lord Jeſus unfeignedly, Amen.

Another Letter of *G. Marſh* to *R. Langley* and others.

After hearty Commendations to you, with thanks for that ye did viſit me a Priſoner in Chriſt, and unacquainted with, to your coſts, this ſhall be to let you know, that ye ſhall receive from me mine Examination and handling at *Lathum*, and the cauſe of mine Impriſonment, according as I did promiſe you: and this ye ſhall receive by my Brother, or ſome one of the *Bradſhaws* of *Bolton* within this ſevennight, willing you to ſhew the ſame to ſuch faithful men about *Mancheſter* or elſewhere, as you do take to be favourers of true Religion, and Chriſts holy Word, and then to deliver it again. And whereas you did put me in comfort, that if I did want any thing neceſſary unto this life, you with ſome others would be bearers with me in this my coſtly and painful Affliction; I give you moſt hearty thanks, and rejoyce greatly in the Lord, who ſtirs up the hearts of others to be careful for me in this my great neceſſity. I thank God, as yet I do want nothing, and intend to be as little chargeable to others (ſaving my Mother) as I can. If I do want, I will be bold with you and others, to ſend for your relief and help in my neceſſity; deſiring you in the mean while to pray for me, and all others in the Bonds of Chriſt, that God would perform the thing which he hath begun in us, that we may with boldneſs confeſs Jeſus Chriſt, and fight the good fight of Faith.

Yours *George Marſh.*

A Letter of George Marſh *to a certain godly Friend.*

GRace be with you, and Peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God, and Jeſus the Lord.

Another Letter of *G. Marſh* to his friend.

After hearty commendations and thanks to you, not only for your large token, but much more for your loving Letters, full of conſolation to me as touching my perſon to you unknown: theſe ſhall be to certifie you, that I rejoyce greatly in the Lord, when I do perceive how my ſweet Saviour Chriſt doth ſtir up the minds, not only of my familiar friends in times paſt, but alſo of ſundry & divers heretofore

Anno 1559.

tofore unto me unknown and unacquainted, to bear part with me in this my painful and coſtly Impriſonment, ſending me things not only neceſſary for this preſent Life, but alſo comfortable Letters, encouraging and exhorting mee to continue grounded and ſtabliſhed in the Faith, and not to be moved away from the hope of the Goſpel, whereof, according to my ſmall talent, I have been a Miniſter: and daily I call and cry unto the Lord in whom is all my truſt. And without whom I can do nothing, that he which hath begun a good work in me, would vouchſafe to go forth with it until the day of Jeſus Chriſt, being ſurely certified in my Conſcience of this, that he will ſo do, foraſmuch as he hath given me, that not only I ſhould believe on him, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake. The Lord ſtrengthen me with his Holy Spirit, that I may be one of the number of thoſe bleſſed, which induring to the end, ſhall be ſaved.

And whereas you ſay, that my ſuffering of perſecution with Chriſt is a thing to you moſt comfortable, I make anſwer, that in all mine adverſity and neceſſity nothing on your behalf is greater conſolation unto me, than to hear of the Faith and Love of others, and how they have good remembrance of us always, even as the Apoſtle reporteth by the *Theſſalonians*, ſaying. Now are we alive, if ye ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Lord. For my truſt in the Lord is, that this my buſineſs ſhall happen to the furtherance of the Goſpel, and that you will be none of thoſe forgetful and hypocritiſh hearers, whereof ſome being but wayſide hearers, the devil cometh and taketh away the word out of their hearts, leſt they ſhould believe and be ſaved, (but let Prayer be made without ceaſing by the Congregation unto God for them) and (no doubt) God will to your Conſolation glorioufly deliver by one means or other his oppreſſed. Only tarry ye the Lords leaſure; be ſtrong, let your heart be of good comfort, and wait ye ſtill for the Lord. He tarrieth not that will come, look for him therefore and faint not, and he will never fail you.

Wayſide hearers of the Word.

Yours, George Marſh.

A Letter of a Godly Brother, one James Bradſhaw, *ſent to* George Marſh *in Priſon.*

A Letter of *James Bradſhaw* to *George Marſh.*

GRace and Peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you alway, Amen.

We had a Letter from you, which is a great comfort unto us, to ſee you take the Croſs ſo thankfully. Trouble and affliction doth prove, try, inſtruct, confirm and ſtrengthen the Faith, provoke and ſtir up Prayer, drive and force us to amendment of Life, to the fear of God, to meekneſs, to patience, to conſtancy to gentleneſs, to ſobernes, temperancy, and to all manner of vertues, and are the occaſion of exceeding much good, as well tranſitory as eternal, in this World as in the World to come. There is neither good nor bad, godly nor ungodly, but he hath one croſs or other. And although ſome there be that can ſhift for a while, and make proviſion for themſelves for a time, by craft and ſubtilty and diſſimulation, or by ſome falſhood in fellowſhip (as they call it) yet they bring themſelves at length into the higheſt danger, confuſion and ſhame, both in this World, and in the World to come. And ſeeing that all the troubles and adverſity in this World are a thouſand times more light and eaſie, yea nothing in compariſon of the eternal fire, which is prepared and already kindled for the unfaithful wicked enemies of God; all Faithful and Godly Perſons ought to bear and ſuffer their tranſitory affliction and adverſity the more patiently, willingly, and thankfully; conſidering and remembring all the dearly beloved friends of God, which were wonderfully vexed and plagued of their enemies, *Abraham* of the *Caldees*, *Lot* of the *Sodomites*, *Iſaac* of *Iſhmael*, *Jacob* of *Eſau*, *Moſes* of his People, *David* of *Saul*, and of his own Son. As for *Job*, he had not a drop of Blood in his Body. *John Baptiſt*, the holieſt that ever was born of a Woman, was, without any Law, right or reaſon, beheaded in Priſon, as though God had known nothing at all of him.

What good affliction worketh in the godly.

Examples of holy men ſuffering affliction.

We have many thouſands fellow Martyrs and companions of our miſery and adverſity, in reſpect of whoſe impriſonment, racking, chains, fire, wild beaſts, and other means wherewith they were tormented, all that we ſuffer is but a blaſt of wind. Therefore now, whoſoever is aſhamed of the croſs of Chriſt, and agrieved therewith, the ſame is aſhamed to have Chriſt for his fellow and companion, and therefore ſhall the Lord Jeſus Chriſt be aſhamed of him again at the latter day.

Thus I leave for this time, beſeeching you to let me have your advice, becauſe I do not outwardly ſpeak that with my Tongue that I do not think in my Heart. Pray for me, as I for you. I beſeech the Holy Ghoſt have you in his keeping alway, Amen.

By your friend,
James Bradſhaw.

A Prayer of G. Marſh, *which he uſed daily to ſay.*

A Prayer of G. Marſh, Martyr.

O *Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which art the only Phyſitian of wounded Conſciences, we miſerable Sinners truſting in thy gracious goodneſs, do briefly open unto thee the evil tree of our heart, with all the roots, boughs, leaves, and fruits, and with all the crooks, knots and knoures, all which thou knoweſt: for thou throughly perceiveſt as well the inward luſts, doubtings, and denying thy providence, as thoſe groſs outward Sins which we commit inwardly and deadly. Wherefore we beſeech thee, according to the little meaſure of our infirmity, although we be far unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldeſt mercifully circumciſe our ſtony Hearts, and for theſe old Hearts create new within us, and repleniſh us with a new Spirit, and water us, and moiſten us with the juice of Heavenly Grace, and wells of Spiritual Waters, whereby the inward venom and noyſom juice of the fleſh may be dryed up, and cuſtom of the Old Man changed, and our Heart, always bringing forth thorns and briars to be burned with fire, from henceforth may bear ſpiritual fruits in righteouſneſs and holineſs, unto Life everlaſting, Amen.*

Beloved, among other exerciſes, I do daily on my knees, uſe this Confeſſion of Sins, willing and exhorting you to do the ſame, and daily to acknowledge unfainedly to God your unbelief, unthankfulneſs, and diſobedience againſt him. This ſhall ye do, if ye will diligently conſider and look your ſelves firſt in the pure glaſs of Gods Commandments and there ſee your outward filthineſs and uncleanneſs, and ſo learn to vanquiſh the ſame, that is to wit, fall in hearty diſpleaſure againſt Sin, and therby be provoked to long after Chriſt, for we truly are Sinners; but he is juſt, and the juſtifier of all them that believe on him. We are poor, but he is rich in mercy toward all them that call upon him. If we hunger and thirſt for righteouſneſs, let us reſort unto his Table, for he is a moſt liberal feaſtmaker. He will ſet before us his own holy Body, which is given to us to be our meat, and his precious Blood, which was ſhed for us, and for many for the remiſſion of Sins, to be our drink. He biddeth, willeth, and calleth for gueſts, which hunger and thirſt. *Come* (ſaith he) *all ye that labor and are laden, and I will refreſh you, cool and eaſe you, and you ſhall find reſt unto your Souls.*

1 Cor. 10. Mat. 26.

Mat. 11.

The Life and Story of W. Flower, *who for ſtriking of a Prieſt, was apprehended, firſt having his hand cut off, and after Martyred for his conſtant ſtanding to the Truth.*

WIlliam *Flower*, otherwiſe named *Branch*, firſt concerning his trade of Life, and bringing up, he was born at *Snowhill* in the County of *Cambridge*, where he went to School certain years, and then came to the Abbey of *Ely*; where, after he had remained a while, he was a profeſſed Monk according to the Order and Rule of the ſame Houſe wherein he remained, uſing and bearing the Habit of a Monk, and obſerving the Rules and Order of the ſame Houſe, untill he came to one and twenty years of Age, or thereabout: and before he came to that Age, and being a profeſſed Monk, he was made a Prieſt alſo in the ſame Houſe, and there did celebrate and ſing Maſs a good ſpace together: After that, by reaſon of a Viſitation, and certain Injunctions given in the ſame time by the Authority of King *Henry* the eighth, he forſook the ſame Houſe, and caſting from him the ſaid Monks Habit and Religion aforeſaid, took upon him and uſed the Habit of a Secular Prieſt, and returned to *Snowhill*, where he

W. *Flower* Martyr.

W. *Flower* firſt a Monk then a Prieſt in the houſe of *Ely*.

W. *Flower* at the ſuppreſſion of Abbies, turned his Religion.

W. *Flower* a Maſs Prieſt.

was born; and there he did celebrate and ſing Maſs, and taught Children their Primar and Accidence about half a year together.

Then he went from thence to *Ludgate* in *Suffolk*, and there ſerved as a ſecular Prieſt about a quarter of a year; and from thence he then went to *Stoniland*, where he tarried and ſerved as a ſecular Prieſt alſo, until the coming out of the ſix Articles: And then he departed from thence, and went into *Gloceſterſhire*, where after he had made his abode in the Countrey a while, at length in *Tewksbury*, according to Gods Holy Ordinance, hee Married a Wife, with whom he ever after Faithfully and Honeſtly continued: and after his Marriage, he tarried in *Tewksbury* about two years together, and then from thence he went unto *Broſley*, where he tarried three quarters of a year, and practiſed Phyſick and Chirurgery, and from thence he removed to *Northamptonſhire*, where under a Gentleman he taught Children their Primars, and to write and read, a good ſpace. And ſo departing from thoſe parts; he came to *London*, and there remained for a certain ſpace. After that, being deſirous to ſee his Country, he returned to *Snowhill* where he was Born: from thence to *Brankſtrey* in *Eſſex*, then to *Coxall*, where he taught Children a ſpace, and ſo came to *Lambeth* beſide *London*, where he hired a Houſe, and placed his Wife, where he and his Wife did ever ſince dwell together till this time: howbeit for the moſt part he was always abroad; and ſeldom at home, except once or twice in a Month, to viſit and ſee his Wife; where he being at home upon *Eaſter* day aboubt 10. or 11. a Clock in the Forenoon of the ſame day, came over the Water from *Lambeth* into S. *Margarets* Church at *Weſtminſter*, where he finding and ſeeing a Prieſt called *John Cheltam* Miniſtring and giving the Sacrament of the Altar to the People, and therewith being greatly offended in his Conſcience with the Prieſt for the ſame his doing (for that he judged him not to be a Catholick Miniſter, neither his Act to be Catholick and laudable according to Gods Word) did ſtrike and wound him upon the Head, and alſo upon the Arm and Hand with his Woodknife, the Prieſt having the ſame time in his Hand a Chalice, with certain Conſecrated Hoſts therein, which were ſprinkled with the Blood of the ſaid Prieſt.

M Flower marrieth a Wife.

W. Flower cometh to *Lambeth.*

W. Flower ſtriketh a Popiſh Prieſt at the Altar in *Weſtminſter.*

In the which ſo doing as indeed he did not well or Evangelically, ſo afterward, being examined before Biſhop *Boner*, did no leſs confeſs his not well doing in the ſame, ſubmitting therefore himſelf willingly to puniſhment, when it ſhould come. Howbeit touching his Belief in the Sacrament, and the Popiſh Miniſtration; he neither would nor did ſubmit himſelf.

W. Flower repenteth his Act in ſtriking. *W. Flower* conſtant in his Faith.

Whereupon the foreſaid *W. Flower*, being firſt apprehended and laid in the *Gatehouſe* at *Weſtminſter* (where he had given two Groats the ſame day a little before to the Priſoners, ſaying, he would ſhortly after come to them) with as many Irons as he could bear: afterward was convented before *Boner* his Ordinary, *April* 19. *Anno* 1555. where the Biſhop after he had ſworn him upon a Book (according to his ordinary manner) miniſtred Articles and Interrogatories to him. But before I ſpeak of the Articles, firſt we have here to ſet forth what Communication paſſed betwixt him and *Robert Smith* being then alſo there Priſoner with him in *Newgate*, concerning his Fact done at *Weſtminſter*, the tenor and effect of which Communication here followeth.

W. Flower laid in the *Gatehouſe* at *Weſtminſter.*

W. Flower brought before Biſhop *Boner.*

A Communication or debating between Robert Smith *Priſoner in* Newgate, *and* W. Flower, *concerning his ſtriking of the Prieſt at* Weſtminſter.

Robert Smith.

The talk between *Robert Smith* and W. *Flower.*

FRiend, for as much as I do underſtand that you do profeſs the Goſpel, and alſo have ſo done along ſeaſon, I am bold to come unto you, and in the way of Communication to demand and learn a truth at your own Mouth, of certain things by you committed, to the aſtoniſhing not only of me, but of divers other, that alſo profeſs the verity.

Flower. I praiſe God for his great goodneſs, in ſhewing me the light of his holy word; and I give you hearty thanks for your viſitation, intending by Gods Grace to declare all the Truth that ye ſhall demand lawful of me, in all things.

Smith. Then I deſire you to ſhew me the Truth of your deed, committed on *John Cheltam* Prieſt in the Church, as neer as you can, that I may hear from your own Mouth how it was. Anno 1555.

Flo. I came from my Houſe at *Lambeth* over the Water, and entring into S. *Margarets* Church (ſo called) and there ſeeing the People falling down before a moſt ſhameful and deteſtable Idol, being moved with extream zeal for my God, whom I ſaw before my Face diſhonored, I drew forth my Hanger, and ſtrake the Prieſt which Miniſtred the ſame unto them: whereupon I was immediately apprehended, and this is moſt true, as the Act is manifeſt.

The zeal of W. *Flower* in ſeeing the Lords Honour defaced.

Smi. Did ye not know the perſon that ye ſtrake, or were ye not zealous upon him for any evil will or hatred between you at any time.

Flo. No verily, I never to my knowledge ſaw the Perſon before that preſent, neither ought him or any man alive evil will, or malice; for if he had not had it, another ſhould, if I had any time come where the like occaſion had been miniſtred, if God had permitted me to do it.

Smith. Do ye think that thing to be well done, and after the Rule of the Goſpel?

Extraordinary zeals are no general rules to be followed.

Flo. I do confeſs all Fleſh to be ſubject to the Power of Almighty God, whom he maketh his Miniſters to do his will and pleaſure; as in example, *Moſes*, *Aaron*, *Phinees*, *Joſhua*, *Zimry*, *Jehu*, *Judith*, *Mattathiah*, with many others, not only changing degrees, but alſo planting zeals to his honour, againſt all order and reſpect of Fleſh and Blood. For, as ſaith S. *Paul*, *His Works are paſt finding out*: by whoſe Spirit I have alſo given my Fleſh at this preſent unto ſuch order, as it ſhall pleaſe the good will of God to appoint, in death, which before the Act committed I looked for.

Smith. Think you it convenient for me, or any other, to do the like by your example?

W. Flower intending at *Pauls* to have done the like.

Flo. No verily, neither do I know if it were to do again, whether I could do it again, or no: for I was up very early at *Pauls* Church (ſo called) upon Chriſts day in the morning, to have done it in my jealouſie: but when I came in place I was no more able to do it, than now to undo that is done; and yet now being compelled by the ſpirit, not only to come over the Water, and to enter the Church, but being in mind fully content to dye for the Lord, gave over my Fleſh willingly without all fear, I praiſe God. Wherefore I cannot learn you to do the like. Firſt, becauſe I know not what is in you. Secondly, becauſe the rules of the Goſpel commandeth us to ſuffer with patience all wrongs and injury; yet nevertheleſs, if he make you worthy, that hath made me zealous, ye ſhall not be letted, judged, nor condemned: for he doth in his People his unſpeakable works in all Ages, which no man can comprehend. I humbly beſeech you to judge the beſt of the Spirit, and condemn not Gods doings: for I cannot expreſs with my Mouth the great Mercies that God hath ſhewed on me in this thing, which I repent not.

Smith. Are ye not aſſured to have death miniſtred unto you for the ſame Act committed, and even with extremity?

W. Flower prepared himſelf to death before the fact committed.

Flo. I did before the deed committed, adjudg my Body to dye for the ſame: whereupon I carried about me in writing, mine Opinion of God and the Holy Scriptures; that if it had pleaſed God to have given them leave to have killed my Body in the Church, they might in the ſaid writing have ſeen my hope, which (I praiſe God) is laid up ſafe within my breaſt, notwithſtanding any death that may be miniſtred upon my Body in this World; being aſcertained of everlaſting Life through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and being moſt heartily ſorry for all mine offences committed in this Fleſh, and truſting ſhortly through his mercy, to ceaſe from the ſame.

Smith. It is no need to examine or commune with you of the hope that ye have any further: for I perceive (God be praiſed) ye are in good Eſtate, and therefore I beſeech God for his mercies ſpread his Wings over you, that as for his love you have been zealous, even to the loſs of this Life, ſo he may give you his Holy Spirit to conduct you out of this Death into a better Life, which I think will be ſhortly.

Flo. I hunger for the ſame (dear friend) being full aſcertained

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aſcertained that they can kill but the Body, which I am aſſured ſhall receive life again everlaſting, and ſee no more death; entirely deſiring you and all that fear the Lord, to pray with me to Almighty God, to perform the ſame in me ſhortly. And thus *Robert Smith* departed, leaving him in the Dungeon, and went again to his Ward. And this (gentle Reader) is the Truth, as near as the ſaid *Smith* could report it.

And thus much concerning the talk between him and *Robert Smith* in *Newgate*, concerning his Fact in ſtriking the Prieſt. Now to return again to the matter of his Examination, where we left: We ſhewed before how this *William Flower*, after his ſtriking the Prieſt, firſt was laid in the *Gatehouſe*; then, being Examined before *Boner*, had Articles miniſtred againſt him the Copy whereof here followeth,

Articles objected and miniſtred by Boner, *againſt* William Branch, alias Flower, *late of* Lambeth *in the County of* Surry.

Articles objected againſt W. Flower by B. Boner.

FIrſt, that thou being of a lawful Age and diſcretion at the leaſt of ſeventeen years Old waſt profeſſed a Monk in the late Abbey of *Ely*, wherein after thy profeſſion thou remainedſt until the Age of 21. years, uſing all the mean time the Habit and Religion of the ſame Houſe, and waſt reputed and taken notoriouſly for ſuch a perſon.

In the latter days certain ſhall depart from the Faith forbidding marriage and eating of meats. 1 Tim. 4.

Item, that after the premiſſes, thou waſt ordered and made Prieſt, according to the laudable cuſtom of the Catholick Church, and afterward thou diſt execute and miniſter as a Prieſt, and waſt commonly reputed, named, and taken for a Prieſt.

Item, that after the premiſſes thou forgettlng God, thy Conſcience, honeſty, and the laudable order of the Catholick Church, didſt contrary to thy Profeſſion and Vow, take, as unto thy Wife, one Woman, commonly called *Alice Pulton*, in the Pariſh Church of *Tewkſbury* in the Dioceſs of *Gloceſter*, with whom thou haddeſt mutual cohabitation, and carnal copulation, as Man and Wife, and begateſt of her two Children.

A great Hereſie.

Item, that thou being a Religious Man and a Prieſt, didſt contrary to the order of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, take upon thee to practiſe in divers places within the Dioceſs of *London*, Phyſick, and Chirurgery, when thou waſt not admitted, expert, nor learned.

Item, that upon *Eaſter* day laſt paſt, that is to wit, the fourteenth day of this preſent Month of *April*, within the Pariſh Church of S. *Margarets* at *Weſtminſter*, within the County of *Middleſex* and Dioceſs of *London*, thou didſt malicioufly, outragiouſly, and violently pull out thy Weapon, that is to wit, thy Woodknife or Hanger. And whereas the Prieſt and Miniſter there, called Sir *John Chelton*, was executing his Cure and Charge, eſpecially in doing his ſervice, and miniſtring the Sacrament of the Altar to Communicants, then didſt thou wickedly and abominably ſmite with hy ſaid Weapon the ſaid Prieſt, firſt upon the head very ſore, and afterwards upon his hands or other parts of his Body, drawing Blood abundantly upon him; the ſaid Prieſt then holding the ſaid Sacrament in his hand, and giving no occaſion why thou ſhouldeſt ſo hurt him; the people being grievouſly offended therewith, and the ſaid Church polluted thereby, ſo that the Inhabitants were compelled to repair to another Church to Communicate, and to receive the ſaid Sacrament.

Item, that by reaſon of the premiſſes, thou waſt and art by the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of the Church, amongſt other penalties, Excommunicate and accurſed, *ipſo facto*, and not to be companied withal, neither in the Church, nor otherwhere, but in ſpecial Caſes.

Item, that thou, concerning the verity of Chriſts Natural Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, haſt been by the ſpace of theſe years, 20. 19. 18. 17. 16. 15. 14. 13. 12. 11. 10. 9. 8. 7. 6. 5. 4. 3. 2. and 1. or any one of them, and yet art at this preſent of this opinion; that is to ſay, that in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Conſecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained (under the forms of Bread) the very true and Natural Body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

His Faith in the Sacrament.

Item, that thou for the hatred and diſdain that thou haddſt and didſt bear againſt the ſaid Sacrament, and the vertue thereof, and againſt the ſaid Prieſt miniſtring the ſame (as before) didſt ſmite, wound, and hurt him in manner and form as before is declared.

Item, that thou, over and beſides the pains due unto thee for the doing of the cruel fact, art alſo by the order of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of the Church, and the laudable Cuſtom and Ordinance of the ſame, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged (as thou art indeed) a very Heretick, and to be puniſhed by and with the pains due for Hereſie, by reaſon of the ſaid Hereſie & Damnable Opinion.

Item, that all the premiſſes be true, manifeſt, and notorious and famous, and that upon the ſame, and every part thereof, there was and is within the ſaid Pariſh of S. *Margarets* and other places thereabout, a publick voice and fame.

The Anſwer of William Flower *made to the Articles aforeſaid.*

Flower anſwereth to the Articles.

TO the firſt Article he anſwereth and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof, except that he ſaith and confeſſeth that he never conſented and agreed in his heart to be a Monk.

Flower made Monk againſt his will.

To the ſecond Article he anſwereth and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof. Howbeit he ſaith, that he never did, nor yet doth eſteem the ſaid order of Prieſthood, according to the ſaid order of the Catholick Church, becauſe he was offended therewith in his Conſcience.

Flower confeſſeth his Matrimony to be honeſt and lawful. W. Flower more devout to God being in the ſtate of Matrimony, than before

To the third Article he anſwereth and confeſſeth, that he intending to live in godly Matrimony, and not forgetting God, did marry with the ſaid *Alice Pulton* named in this Article, wherein he believed that he did well, and according to Gods Laws. Further, confeſſing and believing, that all the time when he was profeſſed Monk, and made Prieſt; he did thereby utterly forget God: but when he did ſo marry the ſaid *Alice Pulton*, and in continuing with her did beget three Children, he did remember God, as he ſaith, and believeth that he did then lawfully.

To the fourth Article he anſwereth, and believeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

The order of Flowers ſtriking the Prieſt at the Altar. Note that the ſaid W. Flower afterward in his next appearance corrected and reformed this Anſwer.

To the fifth Article he anſwereth and confeſſeth, that his Conſcience being greatly offended with the ſaid Sir *John Chelton* Prieſt, for miniſtring of the Sacrament of the Altar to the people at the place and time ſpecified in this Article, he did ſo ſmite and ſtrike the ſame Prieſt with his Hanger or Woodknife, as well upon his head, as upon other parts and places of his Body, which he remembreth not, whereby the Blood ran out, and was ſhed in the ſaid Church, as he believeth, having, as he ſaith, none other cauſe or matter ſo to do, but only that his Conſcience was offended and grieved, in that the ſame Prieſt did ſo give and miniſter the ſaid Sacrament to the People: which People he believeth was greatly abaſhed and offended with his ſaid fact and doing, and were enforced and compelled to go out of the Church, and to repair to another to receive the ſaid Sacrament. And further, being then demanded and Examined, whether he did then mind and intended to have killed the ſaid Prieſt, or not: he ſaid he would not anſwer thereunto. And being further examined, whether he did well or evil in ſtriking the ſaid Prieſt; he would make no anſwer thereunto, as he ſaid.

Flower will not anſwer whether he intended to kill the Prieſt.

To the ſixth he anſwereth and ſaith, that whether he be ſo Excommunicate or accurſed, as is contained in this Article, he referreth himſelf herein to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws.

To the ſeventh he anſwereth and ſaith, that by the ſpace of ſix and twenty years now paſt, he hath always been, and yet is of this opinion touching the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, as followeth; *videlicet*, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Conſecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained under the form of Bread, the very true and Natural Body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

To the eighth he anſwereth, and believeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the ninth he anſwereth, and herein he referreth himſelf to the ſaid Laws, Cuſtom, and Ordinance ſpecified in this Article, that is to ſay, the Canonical Laws.

To

To the laſt he anſwereth and believeth, that thoſe things before by him confeſſed be true, and thoſe which he hath denied, be untrue; and that the ſaid common Voice and Fame hath and doth only labour and go upon thoſe things by him before confeſſed.

By me W. Flower, *alias* Branch.

W. Flower exhorted to recant.

After this Examination done, the Biſhop began after the beſt ſort of his fine Divinity to inſtruct him, and to exhort him to return again to the Unity of his Mother the Catholick Church, with ſuch reaſons as he is commonly wont to uſe to others, promiſing many fair things if he would do ſo, beſides the remitting of that was paſt.

To this *William Flower* anſwering again, thanked him for his offer: And where it was in his power to kill or not to kill his Body, he ſtood therewith contented, let him do therein what he thought; yet over his Soul he had no ſuch power, which being once ſeparated from the Body, is in the hands of no man, but only of God either to ſave or ſpill. As concerning his opinion of the Sacrament, he ſaid he would never go from that he had ſpoken, do he with him what he would.

W. Flower refuſeth to revoke his Faith and Doctrine.

Then the Biſhop aſſigned him again to appear in the ſame place at afternoon, betwxt 3. and 4. In the mean time to adviſe himſelf of his former Anſwers, where he would ſtand to the ſame his opinions or no: which if he ſo did, *he would further proceed againſt him*, &c.

Another appearance of W. Flower before B. Boner.

At Afternoon the ſaid *William Flower*, appeared again before the ſaid Biſhop the hour and place appointed. To whom the Biſhop ſitting in his Conſiſtory, ſpake theſe words: *Branch*, ye were this forenoon here before me, and made Anſwer to certain Articles; and thereupon I reſpited you till now, to the intent you ſhould conſider and weigh with your ſelf your ſtate, and to remember while you have time, both your abominable Act, and alſo that evil opinion which ye have conceived touching the verity of Chriſts true Natural Body in the Sacrament of the Altar.

W. Flower ſtandeth to his Doctrine.

To whom the ſaid *Branch* anſwered again, and ſaid as followeth: That which I have ſaid, I will ſtand to; and therefore I require that the Law may proceed againſt me. Whereupon the Biſhop commanded his Notary (*Harward* by name) to read to him again his Articles, as before. Which being read, the ſaid *William Flower* perſiſting in his Godly Sentence, anſwered to all parts of the Articles, as in the forenoon before, ſave only that he requeſted the Biſhop concerning the fifth Article, he might alter ſomething his Anſwer therein, after this tenor and manner of words, to wit, and moreover confeſſeth and ſaith, that whereas he ſtrake the Prieſt on *Eaſter* day laſt paſt, in S. *Margarets* Church in *Weſtminſter*, he hath ſince that time, and yet doth miſlike himſelf in that doing, and doth now judge and believe that the ſame his Act was evil and naught. Howbeit he ſaith and believeth that for the matter and cauſe wherefore he ſo ſtrook the ſaid Prieſt (which was for miniſtring of the Sacrament of the Alter, which he taketh and judgeth abominable) he neither did nor doth miſlike himſelf at all therein.

Flower miſliked his own act in ſtriking the Prieſt.

Flower reformeth his Anſwer to the ninth Article.

Moreover, he deſireth of the ſaid Biſhop Licence to be granted him, to alter and take out ſomewhat of the ninth Article, and in place thereof, theſe words to be placed; to wit, Herein he referreth himſelf to the Laws, Cuſtom and Ordinance ſpecified in this Article, &c. At which requeſt, *Boner* granted to the altering of both the Articles according as he deſired, and ſo put in the Acts.

After this, the Biſhop turning again to his old manner of exhorting, went about with words (and words only) to perſwade him to ſubmit himſelf to the Catholick Church, and to the Faith thereof. All which his perſwaſions notwithſtanding, *William* ſtill remained in the conſtancy of his Sentence, ſaying, that he would not be removed from that he had ſpoken, to dye therefore. Whereupon the Biſhop aſſigned him the next day (being the twentieth day of *April*) to appear in the ſame day and place, between the hours of 8. and 9. before noon, there and then to hear the Sentence pronounced, in caſe he would not relent, &c.

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The laſt appearance of William Flower *before Biſhop* Boner.

The laſt appearance of W. Flower before B. Boner.

IN the which day, hour, and place, the ſaid *William Flower* as he was appointed, was brought by the Keeper, belonging to the Warden of the *Fleet*, before *Boner*, who after his wonted manner of perſwaſion going about to reduce him to his Catholick Church and the Unity thereof, that is, from Chriſt to Antichriſt; ſometime with fair promiſes alluring, ſometime with menaces, and terrors, fearing him, &c. To this *William* anſwering, ſaid on this wiſe; Do what ye will, I am at a point: for the Heavens ſhall as ſoon fall, as I will forſake mine opinion &c. Whereupon the Biſhop after he had commanded theſe words to be regiſtred, called for the depoſitions of certain witneſſes, producted for the better information of this matter, the names of which witneſſes were theſe: *William Jennings*, *John Bray*, *Robert Graunt*, *Richard Dod*, *William Pampion*, *Robert Smalwood*, the Pariſh Prieſt of S. *Margarets* at *Weſtminſter*. The ſum and effect of whoſe depoſitions here enſueth.

W. Flowers conſtancy.

Witneſs producd againſt W. Flower.

The Depoſitions or Atteſtations producted upon the Anſwers of William Flower.

ROBERT *Graunt* of *Weſtminſter*, Examined upon the ſaid Anſwers of *William Flower*, ſaith and depoſeth; that he did hear and ſee the ſaid *Flower* acknowledge and recognize the ſaid Anſwers, and ſubſcribe to the ſame with his own hand, and alſo was preſent in the Church of S. *Margarets* in *Weſtminſter*, when the ſaid *William Flower* did ſmite and wound the Prieſt, when (as he ſaith) he was Miniſtring the Sacrament; and how this examinate among other preaſed towards him to take him, and was hurt thereby upon his Chin, and after he was taken, this examinate holp to conduct him to the *Gatehouſe* at *Weſtminſter*.

RICHARD *Dod* of *Weſtminſter*, examined upon the ſaid Anſwers, ſaith and depoſeth; that he did hear and ſee the ſaid *Flower* acknowledge and recognize the ſaid Anſwers, and ſubſcribe to the ſame with his own hands; and alſo did ſee and was preſent, when the ſaid *Flower* upon Eaſter day laſt paſt drew his Wood-knife, and ſtrake the Prieſt upon the head, hand, and arm: who being wounded therewith, and having a Chalice with conſecrated Hoſts there in his hand, ſprinkled with the ſaid Prieſts Blood, was holpen and reſcued by this examinate, and the ſaid *Flower* carried to the *Gatehouſe* at *Weſtminſter*, and his Wood-knife taken away by this examinate.

WILLIAM *Pampion*, one of the Churchwardens of the ſaid Pariſh Church of S. *Margarets* in *Weſtminſter*, examined upon the ſaid Anſwers of the ſaid *Flower*, ſaith and depoſeth, that the ſame Anſwers be true, and in his ſight were ſubſcribed with the hand of the ſaid *Flower*. And that upon Eaſter day laſt paſt, about eleven of the Clock in the forenoon, in the Pariſh Church of S. *Margarets* in *Weſtminſter*, among a great number of the People ready to be houſeled, the Prieſts back being turned toward the ſaid *Flower*, he the ſaid *Flower* ſuddenly drew forth his Wood-knife, and Strake Sir *John Cheltham* the Prieſt both upon his head, hand, and arm, whereby he was wounded, and bled abundantly, and the Chalice with conſecrated Hoſts being in his hand, were ſprinkled with his Blood, and the People in great fear cried out lamentably, as though they ſhould preſently have been killed.

ROBERT *Smalwood* of *Weſtminſter*, examined upon the ſaid Anſwers, ſaith and depoſeth that he did hear and ſee the ſaid *Flower* acknowledge and recognize the ſaid Anſwers, and ſubſcribe the ſame with his own hand; and touching the ſtriking and wounding the Prieſt in S. *Margarets* Church in *Weſtminſter* upon *Eaſter* day laſt, this examinate ſaith, he was not there when the fact was done, but immediately after, he came to Church, and found Sir *John* hurt, and wounded in the head

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head, hand, and arm, by the ſaid *Flower*, and the People in great heavineſs by reaſon thereof. Alſo the People did report (as this examinate ſaith) That *Flower* did the deed, as the Prieſt had the Chalice in his hand, miniſtring the Sacrament to the People.

William Jenings of Weſtminſter, being examined upon the Anſwers of the ſaid *William Flower*, ſaith and depoſeth by vertue of his Oath, that he did hear and ſee the ſaid *Flower* acknowledge and recognize the ſaid Anſwers, and ſubſcribe to the ſame with his own hand in the Conſiſtory place: and further depoſeth, that he (upon *Eaſter* day laſt paſt) was preſent in the Church of S. *Margarets* in *Weſtminſter*, where *Flower* ſtrake the ſaid Sir *John Cheltam* Prieſt, firſt upon the head, and afterward upon his arm two ſore ſtrokes, whereby the ſaid Prieſt is like to loſe his hand. Alſo this Jurate depoſed, that the ſaid Sir *John Cheltam* had a Chalice with certain Conſecrated hoſts therein) in his hand) which were ſprinkled with the Blood of the ſaid Prieſt, and after the ſaid *Flower* was apprehended by this examinate and others, they carried him immediately to the *Gatehouſe* in *Weſtminſter*.

John Bray one of the Churchwardens of the Pariſh Church of S. *Margarets* in *Weſtminſter*, ſworn and examined upon the ſaid Anſwers, ſaith and depoſeth, that he did hear and ſee the ſaid *Flower* acknowledge and recognize the ſaid Anſwers, and alſo ſubſcribe unto the ſame. And further depoſeth of *Flowers* ſtriking the Prieſt, in effect, as the reſt of the examinates do, and that this ſaid Jurate was preſent there at the deed doing.

After the depoſitions of theſe foreſaid witneſſes being taken, publiſhed, and denounced, the ſaid Biſhop ſpeaking to *William Flower*, asked him if he knew any matter or cauſe why his Sentence ſhould not be read, and he to be pronounced as an Heretick. Whereunto the Martyr of God anſwered again as followeth; I have nothing at all to ſay, for I have already ſaid unto you all that I have to ſay; and that I have ſaid I will not go from: and therefore do what you will, &c.

Sentence of Condemnation and degradation pronounced againſt William Flower.

Which when he had ſpoken, the Biſhop proceeded to the Sentence, Condemning and Excommunicating him for an Heretick, and after pronounced him alſo to be degraded, and ſo committed him to the Secular Power. Upon the 24. day of the foreſaid Month of *April*, which was S. *Marks* Even, he was brought to the place of Martyrdom, which was in S. *Margarets* Churchyard at *Weſtminſter*, where the fact was committed: and there coming to the Stake where he ſhould be burned, firſt he maketh his Prayer to Almighty God, with a Confeſſion of his Chriſtian Faith, in manner as followeth.

A Prayer and Confeſſion of William Flower.

Flowers Prayer.

O Eternal God, moſt mighty and Merciful Father, who haſt ſent down thy Son upon the Earth, to ſave me and all Mankind, who aſcended up into Heaven again, and left his Blood upon the Earth behind him, for the redemption of our Sins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for thy dear Son our Saviour Jeſus Chriſts ſake in whom I confeſs only to be all Salvation and Juſtification, and that there is none other mean, nor way, nor holineſs, in which or by which any man can be ſaved in this World. This is my Faith, which I beſeech all men here to bear witneſs of.

Then he ſaid the Lords Prayer, and ſo made an end.

Talk between W. Flower and M. Cholmeley.

Then M. *Cholmeley* came to him, willing him to recant his Hereſie, whereby he might do good to the People, or elſe he would be damned.

Flower anſwered as followeth: Sir, I beſeech you for Gods ſake to be contented: for that I have ſaid, I have ſaid, and I have been of this Faith from the beginning; and I truſt to the living God he will give me his holy Spirit to continue to the end. Then he deſired all the World to forgive him whom he had offended, as he forgave all the World.

This done, firſt his hand being held up againſt the Stake, was ſtriken off, his left hand being ſtayed behind him. At the which ſtriking off his hand, certain that were preſent beholders of the matter, and purpoſely obſerving the ſame, credibly informed us, that he in no part of his Body did once ſhrink at the ſtriking thereof, but once a little he ſtirred his ſhoulders.

And thus fire was ſet unto him, who burning therein, cried with a loud Voice; *O the Son of God have mercy upon me, O the Son of God receive my Soul*, three times, and ſo his Speech being taken from him, he ſpake no more, lifting up notwithſtanding his ſtump with his other arm as long as he could.

And thus indured this conſtant witneſs and Faithful Servant of God the extremity of the fire, being therein cruelly handled, by reaſon that to his burning little wood was brought, ſo that for lack of fagots there not ſufficient to burn him, they were fain to ſtrike him down into the fire. Where he lying a long (which was doleful to behold) upon the ground, his neither part was conſumed in the fire, whilſt his upper part was clean without the fire, his Tongue in all mens ſight ſtill moving in his Mouth.

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The third of *May* a Letter was ſent to *George Colt* and *Thomas Daniel*, to make ſearch for, and apprehend *John Bernard* and *John Walſh*, who uſed to repair to *Sudbury*, and carrying about with them the Bones of *Pigot* that was burned; do ſhew them to the People, perſwading them to be conſtant in his Religion, and upon Examination to commit them to further ordering, according to the Laws.

This day *Stephen Appes* was committed to the Little Eaſe in the *Tower*, there to remain two or three days, untill further Examination.

The 12. day M. *Thomas Roſs* Preacher, was by the Councels Letters delivered from the *Tower* to the Sheriff of *Norfolk*, be to conveighed and delivered to the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and he either to reduce him to recant, or elſe proceed againſt him according to the Law.

The 16. a Letter was ſent to the Lord Treaſurer, ſignifying what the L. *L.* had done for *Roſs*, and that order ſhould be given, according to his Lordſhips requeſt, for Letters to the Biſhops: and for *Appes*, whom the Lieutetenant of the *Tower* reporteth to be mad, his Lordſhip perceiving the ſame to be true, ſhould commit him to *Bethlem*, there to remain untill their further order.

The 26. a Letter was ſent to the Lord Treaſurer, to confer with the Biſhop of *London*, and the Juſtices of the Peace of that County, wherein they are to be executed, that are already Condemned for Religion, and upon agreement of places, to give order for their Execution accordingly.

The 28. a Letter was ſent to the Lord Treaſurer, to cauſe ſpeedy preparation to be made of ſuch money as was appointed for ſuch perſons as ſhould carry the joyful tydings of Queen *Maries* good delivery of Child, to divers Princes, ſo as they be not compelled to ſtay when time ſhall come. The Embaſſadors were, to the Emperor the Lord Admiral, to the French King the Lord *Fitzwater*, to the King of *Romans* Sir *Henry Sidney*, to the King of *Portugal Richard Shelley*, whoſe free paſſage through *France* M. Doctor *Wotton* was willed to procure by Letters the 24. of *June*.

The 29. was a Letter directed to Sir *Francis Ingleſield* to make ſearch for one *John D.* at *London*, and to apprehend him, and ſend him to the Councel, and to make ſearch for ſuch Papers and Books as he thinketh may touch the ſame D. or one *Benger*.

The Burning and Martyrdom of John Cardmaker *and* John Warne Upholſter *which ſuffered both together in Smithfield*, Anno. 1555.

May 30. John Cardmaker and John Warne, Martyrs.

Upon the 30. day of *May* ſuffered together in *Smithfield John Cardmaker*, otherwiſe called *Taylor*, Prebendary of the Church of *Wels*; and *John Warne* Upholſter, of the Pariſh of S. *John* in *Walbrook*. Of whom it remaineth now particularly to entreat, beginning firſt with M. *Cardmaker*, who firſt was an obſervant Frier before the diſſolution of the Abbeys: then after was a married Miniſter, and in King *Edwards* time

M. Cardmaker Reader in Paul's.

time appointed to be a Reader in *Pauls*, where the Papiſts were ſo much agrieved with him for his Doctrines ſake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his Gown with their Knives. This *Cardmaker* being apprehended in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, with M. *Barlow* Biſhop of *Bathe*, was brought to *London*, and laid in Priſon in the *Fleet*, King *Edwards* Laws yet being in force. But after the Parliament was ended, in which the Pope was again admitted as ſupream Head of the Church, and the Biſhops had alſo gotten Power and Authority, *Ex officio*, to exerciſe their Tyranny, theſe two were brought before *Wincheſter* Chancellor, and others appointed by Commiſſion (as before is mentioned) to examine the Faith of ſuch as were then Priſoners, and as unto others before, ſo now unto them the Chancellor offered the Queens mercy, if they would agree, and be conformable, &c.

Cardmaker with M. Barlow apprehended and laid in the Fleet.

Barlow and *Cardmaker* acceptable to Wincheſter as Catholicks.

To this they both made ſuch an Anſwer, as the Chancellor with his fellow Commiſſioners allowed them for Catholicks. Whether they of weakneſs ſo anſwered, or he of ſubtilty would ſo underſtand their Anſwer, that he might have ſome forged Example of a ſhrinking Brother to lay in the diſh of the reſt, which were to be examined, it may eaſily be perceived by this, that to all them which followed in Examination, he objected the example of *Barlow* and *Cardmaker*, commending their ſoberneſs, diſcretion, and learning. But whatſoever their Anſwer was, yet notwithſtanding *Barlow* was led again to the *Fleet*, from whence he afterward being delivered, did by exile conſtantly bear witneſs to the Truth of Chriſts Goſpel. *Cardmaker* was conveighed to the *Counter* in *Breadſtreet*, the Biſhop of *London* procuring it to be publiſhed, that he ſhould ſhortly be delivered, after that he had ſubſcribed to Tranſubſtantiation and certain other Articles. To the ſame Priſon where *Cardmaker* was, *Laurence Sanders* was brought (after the Sentence of Excommunication and Condemnation was pronounced againſt him) where theſe two Priſoners had ſuch Chriſtian Conference, that whatſoever the Breath of the Biſhop bluſtred, and the tickle ears of the People too lightly believed, in the end they both ſhewed themſelves conſtant Confeſſors and worthy Martyrs of Chriſt: as of *Lawrence Sanders* it is already written. After whoſe departure *Cardmaker* remained there Priſoner, to be baited of the Papiſts, which would needs ſeem to have a certain hope that *Cardmaker* was become theirs. Continual and great Conference divers of them had with him, with reaſonings, perſwadings, threatnings, and all to none effect. To the end that their doings might appear, he required them to put their reaſons in writing, and promiſed by writing to anſwer them.

M. Barlow exiled for the Truth.

Conference between *Laurence Sanders* and *John Cardmaker*.

Doctor *Martin*, who bare alſo a part in thoſe pageants, took upon him to be the chief doer by writing, whoſe long unſavoury Letters and ſimple reaſons for Tranſubſtantiation, and ſuch papiſtical traſh, this *Cardmaker* anſwered largely, learnedly, and ſubſtantially, confuting the ſame, opening the falſhood of his Arguments, and delivering the Sentences of the Fathers (which *Martin* abuſed for his purpoſe) to their true underſtanding; which his Anſwers I would had come to our hands. Thus conſtantly abode this Man of God all the enemies doings, as he did alſo the death which he ſuffered in *Smithfield* in *London*: whereof ye ſhall hear more anon. But firſt we will ſurvey the matter and manner of his Articles objected againſt him by B. *Boner*, with his Anſwers annext to the ſame, as conſequently hereunder followeth.

Dr. Martin writeth againſt Cardmaker.

Articles objected by Boner *againſt* John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, *with his Anſwers unto the ſame.*

May 24. Articles miniſtred againſt John Cardmaker by the Biſhop of London.

FIrſt, I *Edmund* Biſhop of *London*, object againſt thee Sir *John Taylor*, *alias Cardmaker*, that thou waſt and art of the City and Dioceſs of *London*, and ſo of the Juriſdiction of me *Edmund* Biſhop of *London*.

John Cardmaker miſt an obſervant Frier.

Item, that thou in times paſt didſt profeſs the rule of S. *Francis*, and didſt by Vow promiſe to keep poverty, chaſtity, and obedience, according to the rule of S. *Francis*.

Item, that thou in times paſt didſt receive all the orders of the Church then uſed: to wit, *tam majores quàm minores*.

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Item, that thou after thy ſaid entry into Religion and profeſſion and orders aforeſaid, didſt take to Wife a Widow, and with her hadſt carnal Copulation, and didſt get of her a Woman Child, breaking thereby thy Vow and Order, and alſo the Ordinance of the Church.

John Cardmaker married.

Item, that thou haſt believed and taught, and ſo doſt believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar under the viſible ſigns there, that is to ſay, under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is really and truly the true and very Natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Item, that the Belief of the Catholick Church is, that in having the Body and Blood of Chriſt really and truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, is to have (by the Omnipotent Power of Almighty God) the Body and Blood of Chriſt there inviſibly and really preſent under the ſaid Sacrament, and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Chriſt, or a new Body of Chriſt.

The belief of the Popes Catholick Church.

Item, that it may ſtand well together, and ſo is the Faith of the Catholick Church; that the Body of Chriſt is viſibly and truly aſcended into Heaven, and there is in the viſible form of his Humanity; and yet the ſame Body in ſubſtance is inviſibly and truly contained in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar.

To ſpeak naturally of the Natural Body of Chriſt, theſe two cannot ſtand together at one time, unleſs we grant Chriſt to have two Bodies.

Item, that Chriſt at his laſt Supper taking Bread into his hands, bleſſing it, breaking it, giving it to his Apoſtles, and ſaying; *Take, eat, this is my Body*; did inſtitute a Sacrament there, * willing that his Body really and truly ſhould be contained in the ſaid Sacrament, no ſubſtance of Bread and Wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof.

* That Chriſt never willed, neither can the Scriptures bear it.

Anſwers of Cardmaker *to the Articles aforeſaid.*

TO the firſt Article he anſwereth, and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

John Cardmaker anſwereth to the Articles.

To the ſecond Article he anſwereth and confeſſeth, that he, being under Age, did profeſs the ſaid Order and Religion, and afterward by the Authority of King *Henry* the eighth, he was diſpenſed with for the ſame Religion.

To the third he anſwereth, and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the fourth he anſwereth and confeſſeth, the firſt part thereof to be true: and to the ſecond part of the ſame Article he anſwereth and ſaith, that in marriage he brake no vow, becauſe he was ſet at liberty to marry, both by the Laws of this Realm, and alſo by the Laws and Ordinances of the Church of the ſame.

To the fifth he anſwereth and confeſſeth, that he hath believed and taught, as it is contained in this Article, but he doth not now ſo believe nor teach.

To the ſixth he anſwereth, that he doth not believe the ſame to be true in any part thereof.

To the ſeventh he anſwereth, that he doth not believe the ſame to be true in part thereof.

To the eighth he anſwereth and doth believe, *videlicet*, that it is true; that is to ſay, that Chriſt taking Bread at his laſt Supper into his hands, bleſſing it, breaking it, giving it to his Diſciples, and ſaying; *Take, eat, This is my Body*, did inſtitute a Sacrament there. And to the other part of his Article, *videlicet* (willing that his Body really and truly ſhould be contained in the ſaid Sacrament, no ſubſtance of Bread and Wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof) he anſwereth that he doth not believe the ſame to be true.

The firſt part of this Article is true: the ſecond is falſe.

By me John Cardmaker.

Maſter *Cardmaker* calling to mind afterwards the ready cavillings of the Papiſts, and thinking himſelf not to have fully and according to his true meaning anſwered the latter part of the laſt eighth Article, did the next day after the foreſaid Anſwers exhibit unto the Biſhop in a ſchedule this hereafter following.

Where in my Anſwer to your Articles I deny the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, I mean not his Sacramental Preſence, for that I confeſs; but my denial is of his Carnal Preſence in the ſame. But yet further, becauſe this word is oftentimes taken of the holy Fathers, not only for Bread and Wine, but alſo for the whole adminiſtration

A more full Anſwer to the ſecond part of the eighth Article.

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ſtration and receiving of the ſame, according to Chriſts Inſtitution: ſo I ſay, that Chriſt is preſent ſpiritually too, and in all them which worthily receive the Sacrament; ſo that my denial is ſtill of the Real, Carnal, and Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament, and not of the Sacramental, nor Spiritual Preſence.

Sacramental Preſence in the Sacrament.

Carnal Preſence in the Sacrament denied.

This have I thought good to add to my former Anſwer, becauſe no man ſhould miſunderſtand it.

By me *John Cardmaker.*

Next to theſe Articles of Mr. *Cardmaker*, I thought beſt to infer the Articles and Anſwers likewiſe of *John Warne* his Martyr fellow, in manner as followeth.

Articles miniſtred againſt John Warne *Upholſter, of the Pariſh of S.* John *in* Walbrook, *with his Anſwers to the ſame.*

Articles againſt John Warne Upholſter in Walbrook.

FIrſt, That thou *John Warne*, being of the age of 29 years, and of the Pariſh of S. *John* of *Walbrook* in *London*, haſt believed, and doſt believe firmly and ſtedfaſtly, that in the Sacrament, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, there is not the very true and natural Body of our Saviour Chriſt in Subſtance, under the forms of Bread and Wine.

Againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

Item, That thou haſt believed, and doſt believe, that after the words of Conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, there is not (as the Church of *England* doth believe and teach) the Body of Chriſt; but that there doth only remain the Subſtance of material Bread, as it is before the Conſecration, or ſpeaking of the words of Conſecration; and that the ſaid Bread is in no wiſe altered or changed.

Againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs.

Item, That thou haſt ſaid and doſt believe, that if the Catholick Church do believe and teach, that there is in the Maſs, now uſed in *England*, and in other places of Chriſtendom, a Sacrifice wherein there is a Sacrament containing the Body and Blood of Chriſt really and truly; then that Belief and Faith of the Church is naught, againſt Gods Truth and the Scripture.

Hereſie for laughing at a Spaniel ſhorn on the Head.

Item, That thou haſt ſaid, that where about a twelve month agon, and more, a great rough Water Spaniel of thine was ſhorn on the Head, and had a Crown like a Prieſt made in the ſame, thou didſt laugh at it and like it, though thou didſt it not thy ſelf, nor kneweſt who did it.

Item, That thou neither this *Lent* laſt paſt, nor at any time ſince the Queens Majeſties Reign, haſt come into the Church, or heard Maſs, or been confeſſed, or received the Sacrament of the Altar; and haſt ſaid, that thou art not ſorry that thou haſt ſo done, but thou art glad, becauſe thou haſt not therewith defiled thy Conſcience, which otherwiſe thou ſhouldſt have done.

Upon all which Articles *John Warne* being examined by the ſaid *Boner*, in preſence of divers Witneſſes, the 23. of *May*, the year 1555. did confeſs and believe the ſame, and ſubſcribe hereunto his Name with his own Hand.

By me *John Warne.*

Another addition of Articles.

Alſo it was objected againſt the ſaid *John Warne*, by the Biſhop aforeſaid, as followeth.

John Warne about the time of Anne Askew was condemned to be burned, and had his Pardon.

Item, That thou *John Warne* waſt in time paſt here in the City of *London*, convented in the *Guildhall* for Hereſie againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, according to the order of the Laws of this Realm of *England* in the time of King *Henry* the Eighth, and when Alderman *Barnes* was Sheriff, and the *Thurſday* after that *Anne Askew* was burnt in *Smithfield*, and thereupon thou waſt ſent a Priſoner to *Newgate*, to whom *Edmund* Biſhop of *London* did repair with his Chaplains, to inſtruct thee in the true Faith of Chriſt, touching the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, and to bring thee from thy Error, which was, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the Body of Chriſt, nor any Corporal Preſence of Chriſts Body and Blood, under the forms of Bread and Wine; but that in the ſaid Sacrament there is only material Bread and Wine, without any Subſtance of Chriſts Body and Blood at all: and becauſe thou wouldſt not leave and forſake thy ſaid Hereſie therein, but perſiſt and abide obſtinately and wilfully therein, thou wert according to the ſaid Laws condemned to death and to be burnt; and thereupon labour being made for thee to the King and other in the Court, thou hadſt a Pardon of King *Henry* the Eighth, and ſo thereby didſt ſave thy life.

John Warne pardoned by K. Henry 8.

Nevertheleſs, in thy Heart, Conſcience, and Mind, thou didſt both then, and alſo afore believe no otherwiſe than at this preſent thou doſt believe; that is to ſay, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is neither the very true Body or Blood of Chriſt, nor no other Subſtance but the Subſtance of material Bread and Wine. and to receive the ſaid material Bread and Wine, and to break it, and to diſtribute it among the People, only is the true receiving of Chriſts Body, and no otherwiſe: ſo that thy Faith and belief is, that in the ſaid Sacrament there is no Subſtance of Chriſts material Body and Blood: but all the thing that is there, is material Bread, and the receiving thereof as afore; and that the Subſtance of the natural and true Body of Chriſt, born of the Virgin *Mary*, is only in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament of the Altar. In which thine Opinion thou haſt ever hitherto ſince continued, and ſo doſt continue at this preſent, thou confeſſing all this to be true, and in witneſs thereof ſubſcribing thy Name thereunto, as followeth.

John Warne denieth Tranſubſtantiation.

By me *John Warne.*

John Warne being examined upon the foreſaid Articles by the Biſhop before certain Witneſſes, whoſe names were *John Roſwell*, *John Heywood*, *Robert Ravens*, the 23. of *May*, did anſwer to the ſame, confeſſing and granting the Articles and the Contents thereof to be true, according as they were objected in every part, ſubſcribing alſo the ſame with his Hand. Such ſtrength and fortitude Gods holy Spirit wrought in him, to ſtand ſtoutly and confidently to the defence of the ſincere Doctrine of his Son.

The plain Anſwer of John Warne to the Articles.

Whereupon the Biſhop exhorting him with many words to leave his Hereſies (as he called them) and to return to the boſom of his Mother the holy Church, commanded him to appear again the next day, being the 24. of the ſame Month.

Who ſo doing (and anſwering as he did before) was willed to come thither again at Afternoon, and ſo he did: where and at what time he was earneſtly exhorted by the ſaid Biſhop to recant his Opinions. To whom he anſwered, that he would not depart from his received Profeſſion, unleſs he were thereunto throughly perſwaded by the holy Scriptures.

The ſecond Seſſion againſt John Warne.

Upon which Anſwer he was willed to come again the next day, being the 25. day of the ſame Month, at one of the Clock in the Afternoon. At which day and hour the Biſhop examined him again upon all his former Articles before objected, to the which he moſt conſtantly did ſtick, with this further Anſwer thereunto added: I am perſwaded (quoth he) that I am in the right Opinion, and I ſee no cauſe to repent; for all Filthineſs and Idolatry is in the Church of *Rome.*

The third Seſſion. *May* 25.

John Warne conſtant againſt the Biſhops perſwaſions.

The Biſhop then ſeeing that notwithſtanding all his fair Promiſes, and terrible Threatnings (whereof he uſed ſtore) he could not any thing prevail; finiſhed this Examination with the definitive Sentence of Condemnation pronounced againſt the ſaid *John Warne*, and ſo charged the Sheriffs of *London* with him, under whoſe Cuſtody he remained in the Priſon of *Newgate*, until the 30. day of the ſame Month of *May*.

Sentence given againſt John Warne.

Upon the which 30. of *May*, being the day appointed for their Execution, *John Cardmaker*, with the ſaid *John Warne*, were brought by the Sheriffs to the place where they ſhould ſuffer. Who being come to the Stake, firſt the Sheriffs called *Cardmaker* aſide, and talked with him ſecretly, ſo long, that in the mean time *Warne* had made his Prayers, was chained to the Stake, and had Wood and Reed ſet about him, ſo that nothing wanted but the ſtring; but ſtill abode *Cardmaker* talking with the Sheriffs.

May 30. *Cardmaker* and John Warne brought to Execution.

John Warne tied to the Stake.

The People which before had heard that *Cardmaker* would recant, and beholding this manner of doing, were in a marvellous dump and ſadneſs, thinking indeed that *Cardmaker* ſhould now recant at the burning of

The People afraid of *Cardmaker's* recanting.

Warne. At length *Cardmaker* departed from the Sheriffs, and came towards the Stake, and (in his Garments as he was, kneeled down and made a long Prayer in ſilence to himſelf: yet the People confirmed themſelves in their fantaſie of Recanting, ſeeing him in his Garments, praying ſecretly, and no ſemblance of any burning.

John Cardmaker ſtandeth conſtantly to the fire.

His Prayers being ended, he roſe up, put off his Clothes unto his Shirt, went with bold Courage to the Stake, and kiſſed it ſweetly: he took *Warne* by the hand, and comforted him heartily, and ſo gave himſelf to be alſo bound to the Stake moſt gladly. The People ſeeing this ſo ſuddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy (with ſo great a ſhout as hath not lightly been heard a greater) ſaying, God be praiſed, the Lord ſtrengthen thee *Cardmaker*, the Lord Jeſus receive thy Spirit. And this continued while the Executioner put fire to them, and ſonſtancy;

Anno 1555.

Cardmaker and Warne joyn hands. The rejoycing of the People at Cardmakers conſtancy.

The Martyrdome of Iohn Cardmaker, and Iohn Warne Upholſter, Anno 1555 May 30.

they both paſſed thorow the fire to the bleſſed Reſt and Peace among Gods holy Saints and Martyrs, to enjoy the Crown of Triumph and Victory prepared for the Elect Souldiers and Warriours of Chriſt Jeſus in his bleſſed Kingdom. To whom be Glory and Majeſty for ever. Amen.

The Confeſſion of the Faith of John Warne *Citizen of* London, *which he wrote the day before he was burned, the 30th day of* May, *Anno* 1555.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, and Maker of Heaven and Earth.

The Confeſſion of John Warne.

A Father, becauſe he is the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is the everlaſting Word, whom before all worlds he hath begotten of himſelf, which Word was made Fleſh, and therein alſo manifeſted to be his Son; in whom he hath adopted us to be his Children, the Inheritors of his Kingdom, and therefore he is our Father; An Almighty God, becauſe he hath of nothing created all things viſible and inviſible, both in Heaven and in Earth, even all Creatures contained therein, and governeth them.

And in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord.

The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal Power in all things, of the ſame Subſtance, of like Glory, by whom all things were made, and have life, and without whom nothing liveth: He was made alſo perfect Man, and ſo being very God, and very Man in one Perſon, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ranſomer of them which were loſt in *Adam* our Foreſather. He is the only mean of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the ſurety of our ſalvation.

Which was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin Mary.

According to the Fathers moſt merciful promiſe, this eternal Son of God, forſaking the heavenly Glory, humbled himſelf to take Fleſh of a Virgin, according to the Scriptures, uniting the Subſtance of the Godhead to the Subſtance of the Manhood, which he took of the Subſtance of that bleſſed Virgin *Mary* in one Perſon, to become therein the very Meſſiah, the anointed King and Prieſt, for ever appointed to pacifie the Fathers wrath, which was juſtly gone out againſt us all for our ſin.

Suffered under Pontius Pilate, *was crucified, dead, and buried, and deſcended into Hell.*

He was Arraigned before *Pontius Pilate* the Ruler of *Jewry*, and ſo unjuſtly accuſed of many Crimes, that the Ruler judged him innocent, and ſought means to deliver him; but contrary to known Juſtice, he did let go *Barrabbas* which had deſerved death, and delivered Chriſt to be crucified, who deſerved no death: which doth declare unto us manifeſtly, that he ſuffered for our ſins, and was buffeted for our offences, as the Prophets do witneſs, thereby to have it manifeſted to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the ſins of the world. Therefore ſuffering for our ſins, he received and did bear our deſerved condemnation, the pains of death, the taſte of abjection, the very terror of Hell, yielding his Spirit to his Father, his Body to be buried in Earth.

The third day he roſe again from death to life.

To make full and perfect the whole work of our Redemption and Juſtification, the ſame crucified Body which was laid in the Grave, was raiſed up again the third day from death, by the Power of his Father, and Glory of his Godhead: he became the firſt fruits of the Reſurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by him might be raiſed up from death. Through whom all true penitent ſinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remiſſion of their ſins.

He aſcended into Heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty.

After that in his Death and Reſurrection he had conquered Sin, Death, and the Devil, and had been converſant forty days in the Earth, being ſeen of the Apoſtles, and more than five hundred Brethren at once, in the ſame Body in which he wrought the work of our Salvation,

The triumphant victory over death.

Anno 1555.

Body in which he wrought the work of our Salvation, he aſcended into Heaven with eternal Triumph, for the victory over Death, Sin, Hell, leaving the Paſſage open, by which all true Believers may and ſhall enter into his Kingdom, where he now ſitteth at his Fathers right hand, is to ſay, in Power and Glory equal, in Majeſty coeternal.

From thence he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead.

He ſhall appear again in great Glory to receive his Elect unto himſelf, and to put his Enemies under his feet, changing all living men in a moment, and raiſing up all that be dead, that all may be brought to his Judgment. In this ſhall he give each man according to his Deeds. They which have followed him in Regeneration, which have their ſins waſhed away in his Blood, and are cloathed with his Righteouſneſs, ſhall receive the everlaſting Kingdom, and reign with him for ever; and they, which after the race of the corrupt Generation of *Adam* have followed Fleſh and Blood, ſhall receive everlaſting damnation with the Devil and his Angels.

I believe in the Holy Ghoſt.

I do believe that the Holy Ghoſt is God, the third Perſon in Trinity, in Unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through Chriſt to inhabit our Spirits, by which we are made to feel and underſtand the great power, vertue, and loving kindneſs of Chriſt our Lord. For he illuminateth, quickneth, and certifieth our Spirit, that by him we are ſealed up unto the day of Redemption, by whom we are regenerate and made new Creatures, ſo that by him and through him we do receive all the abundant goodneſs promiſed us in Jeſus Chriſt.

The Holy Catholick Church.

The Church. This is an holy number of *Adams* Poſterity, elected, gathered, waſhed, and purified by the Blood of the Lamb from the beginning of the world, and is diſperſed through the ſame by the tyranny of *Gog* and *Magog*; that is to ſay, the Turk and his Tyranny, and Antichriſt, otherwiſe named the Biſhop of *Rome*, and his Angels, as this day alſo doth teach.

The Communion of Saints.

Which moſt holy Congregation (being as *Paul* teacheth, builded upon the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Chriſt being the Head-corner-ſtone) though it be by the tyranny of Satan and his Miniſters perſecuted, ſome by Impriſonment, ſome by Death, and ſome by other Afflictions and painful Torments; yet doth it remain in one perfect Unity, both in Faith and Fellowſhip: which Unity is knit in an unſpeakable knot, as well of them which are departed from this mortal life, as of them which now be living, and hereafter ſhall be in the ſame, and ſo ſhall continue until they all do meet in the Kingdom, where the Head Jeſus Chriſt, with all his holy Members (of which number through Chriſt I aſſuredly believe I am one) ſhall be fully compleat, knit, and united together for evermore.

The forgiveneſs of ſins.

Remiſſion only through Chriſt. I do believe that my ſins, and all their ſins which do rightly believe the holy Scripture, are forgiven only through Jeſus Chriſt, of whom only I do profeſs that I have my whole and full Salvation and Redemption, which S. *Paul* ſaith, cometh not through our works and deſervings, but freely by Grace; leſt any ſhould boaſt himſelf. Through the Blood of the Croſs all things in Heaven and Earth are reconciled, and ſet at Peace with the Father; without him no heavenly life given, nor ſin forgiven.

The Reſurrection of the Body.

Reſurrection. I do believe, that by the ſame my Saviour Chriſt, I and all men ſhall riſe again from death; for he, as S. *Paul* ſaith, is riſen again from the dead, and is become the firſt fruits of them which ſleep. For by a man came death, and by a man cometh the Reſurrection from death. This man is Chriſt, through the power of whoſe Reſurrection I believe that we all ſhall riſe again in theſe our Bodies; the Elect clothed with Immortality to live with Chriſt for ever; the Reprobate alſo ſhall riſe Immortal to live with the Devil and his Angels in death everlaſting.

And the Life everlaſting.

Through the ſame Jeſus, and by none other, I am ſure to have life everlaſting. He only is the way and entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven. *For ſo God loved the world, that he did give his only Son Jeſus Chriſt, to the end that ſo many as do believe in him might have everlaſting life.* The which I am ſure to poſſeſs ſo ſoon as I am diſſolved, and departed out of this Tabernacle, and in the laſt day ſhall both Body and Soul poſſeſs the ſame for ever, to the which God grant all men to come. John 3. Life and Salvation only by Faith in Chriſt.

I believe, that the Sacraments, that is to ſay, of Baptiſm and of the Lords Supper, are Seals of Gods moſt merciful Promiſes towards Mankind. In Baptiſm, as by the outward Creature of water I am waſhed from the filthineſs which hangeth on my fleſh; ſo do I aſſuredly believe, that I am by Chriſts Blood waſhed clean from my ſins, through which I have ſure confidence of my certain Salvation. In the partaking of the Lords Supper, as I receive the Subſtance of Bread and Wine (the Nature of which is to ſtrengthen the Body) ſo do I by Faith receive the redemption wrought in Chriſts Body broken on the Croſs, life by his death, reſurrection by his reſurrection, and in ſum, all that ever Chriſt in his Body ſuffered for my Salvation, to the ſtrengthening of my Faith in the ſame. And I believe, that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the Creatures of Bread and Wine in his holy Supper according to his Word, to move and to ſtir up my mind to believe theſe Articles above written. Two Sacraments of the New Teſtament.

This is my faith; this do I believe; and I am content by Gods Grace to confirm and ſeal the truth of the ſame with my Blood.

By me *John Warne.*

A Letter of John Cardmaker *to a certain Friend of his.*

The Peace of God be with you.

A Letter of Mr. *Cardmaker* to a certain Friend of his. YOu ſhall right well perceive that I am not gone back, as ſome men do report me, but as ready to give my life, as any of my Brethren that are gone before me, although by a Policy I have a little prolonged it, and that for the beſt, as already it appeareth unto me, and ſhall ſhortly appear unto all. That day that I recant any point of Doctrine, I ſhall ſuffer twenty kinds of death, the Lord being mine aſſiſtance, as I doubt not but he will. Commend me to my Friend, and tell him no leſs. The the Lord ſtrengthen you, me, and all his Elect: My Riches and Poverty is as it was wont to be, and I have learned to rejoyce in Poverty as well as Riches, for that I account now to be be very Riches. Thus fare ye well in Chriſt. Salute all my Brethren in my Name. I have conferred with ſome of my Adverſaries, learned men, and I find that they be but Sophiſts and Shadows.

A note concerning Mr. Cardmaker.

A note concerning the talk between Mr. *Cardmaker* and *Beard* a Promoter. MAſter *Cardmaker* being Condemned, and in *Newgate*, one *Beard* a Promoter came to him two or three days before he was burned, and ſaid unto him, Sir, I am ſent unto you by the Councel, to know whether ye will recant or no?

Card. From which Councel are ye come? I think ye are not come, nor yet ſent from the Queens Councel, but rather from the Commiſſioners, unto whom (as I ſuppoſe) ye belong. And whereas ye would know, whether I will recant or no, thus I pray you report of me to thoſe whom ye ſaid ſent you. I know you are a Taylor by your Occupation, and have endeavoured your ſelf to be a cunning Workman, and thereby to get your living: ſo I have been a Preacher theſe twenty years, and ever ſince that God by his great Mercy hath opened mine eyes to ſee his eternal Truth, I have by his Grace endeavoured my ſelf to call upon him, to give me the true underſtanding of his holy Word, and I thank him for his great Mercy; I hope I have diſcharged my Conſcience in the ſetting forth of the ſame, to that little Talent that I have received.

Beard. Yea Sir; but what ſay you to the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar?

Card. I ſay, and mark it well, that Chriſt the night

before his bitter Paſſion, ordained the holy and bleſſed Communion, and hath given commandment, that his death ſhould be preached before the receiving thereof, in remembrance of his Body broken, and his precious Blood ſhed for the forgiveneſs of our ſins, to as many as faithfully believe and truſt in him.

The Sentence and Judgment of Mr *Cardmaker* touching the Sacrament.

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly with him, he asked of him, Whether the Sacrament he ſpake of had a beginning or no? Whereunto when he had granted and affirmed the ſame to be, then Mr. *Cardmaker* again thus inferred thereupon: If the Sacrament (ſaid he) as you confeſs, have a beginning and an ending, then it cannot be God; for God had no beginning nor ending: and ſo willing him well to note the ſame, he departed from him.

The fifth day, Mr. Secretary *Bourne*, the Maſter of the Rolls, Sir *Francis Engleſield*, Sir *Richard Read*, and Doctor *Hughes*, authorizing them, or two or three of them at the leaſt, to proceed to further Examination of *Benger*, *Cary*, *D.* and *Field*, upon ſuch Points as they ſhall gather out of their former Confeſſions, touching their lewd and vain practiſes of Calculating or Conjuring, preſently ſent unto them with the ſaid Letters.

The ſeventh day there was another Letter to Sir *John Tregonwell*, willing him to joyn in Commiſſion with the ſaid Lord *North*, and others above named, about the Examination of the ſaid Parties and others, for Conjuring and Witchraft.

And the 29. of *Auguſt*, *Cary* and *D.* were ſet at liberty upon Bands for their good Appearing until *Chriſtmas* after.

The twelfth day a Letter was ſent to the Lord Treaſurer, to cauſe Writs to be made to the Sheriff of *Suſſex*, for the burning and executing of *Dirike* a Brewer, at *Lewes*, and other two, the one at *Stainings*, the other at *Chicheſter*,

The 23th of *June* a Letter was ſent to *Boner*, to examine a Report given to the Councel of four Pariſhes within the Soken of *Eſſex*, that ſhould ſtill uſe the Engliſh Service, and to puniſh the Offenders, if any ſuch be.

The Story of John Ardeley *and* John Simſon *of the Pariſh of* Wigborow *the Great, in* Eſſex.

The Story of *John Simſon* and *John Ardeley*, Martyrs.

With Mr. *Cardmaker* and *John Warne*, upon the ſame day, and in the ſame Company, and for the ſame Cauſe was alſo condemned *John Ardeley* and *John Simſon*, which was the 25th day of *May*. But before we come to the Story of them, firſt here is to be noted the Copy of the King and Queens Letter, directed from the Court the ſame day, and ſent by a Poſt early in the morning to the Biſhop, in tenor and form as followeth.

To the right reverend Father in God, our right truſty and welbeloved, the Biſhop of London.

The King and Queens Letter to B. Boner.

Right Reverend Father in God, right truſty and welbeloved, we greet you well. And where of late we addreſſed our Letters to the Juſtices of Peace within every of the Counties of this our Realm, whereby amongſt other Inſtructions given them for the good order and quiet government of the Country round about them, they are willed to have a ſpecial regard unto ſuch diſordered perſons as (forgetting their duties towards God and Us) do lean to any erroneous and heretical Opinions, refuſing to ſhew themſelves conformable to the Catholick Religion of Chriſts Church; wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform them, they are willed to deliver them to the Ordinary, to be by him charitably travelled withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty Opinions, or elſe if they continue obſtinate, to be ordered according to the Laws provided in that behalf: underſtanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the ſaid diſordered perſons, being by the Juſtices of Peace for their contempt and obſtinacy, brought to the Ordinaries to be uſed as is aforeſaid, are either refuſed to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither ſo travelled with, as Chriſtian Charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of Juſtice, but are ſuffered to continue in their Errors, to the diſhonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others; like as we find this matter very ſtrange, ſo we have thought convenient both to ſignifie our knowledge, and therewith alſo to admoniſh you to have in this behalf ſuch regard henceforth to the Office of a good Paſtor and Biſhop, as when any ſuch Offenders ſhall be by the ſaid Officers or Juſtices of Peace brought unto you, you to uſe your good wiſdom and diſcretion in procuring to remove them from their Errours, if it may be, or elſe in proceeding againſt them (if they ſhall continue obſtinate) according to the order of the Laws; ſo as through your good furtherance, both Gods glory may be better advanced, and the Commonwealth more quietly governed. Given under our Signet, at our Honour of Hampton Court, *the 24th of* May, *the firſt and ſecond years of our Reigns.*

Anno 1555.

Q. Mary ſtirreth Boner to ſhed innocent blood.

This Letter thus coming from the Court to the Biſhop, made him the more earneſt and haſty to the condemnation, as well of others, as of theſe men, of whom now we have preſently to intreat, of *John Simſon* I mean, and *John Ardeley*. Which being both of one Country, and of one Town together, and of one Trade, that is, being both Husbandmen in the Town of *Wigborow* in *Eſſex*, and alſo almoſt both of one age, ſave that *Simſon* was of the age of 34. the other of 30. were brought up both together by the under Sheriff of *Eſſex*, to *Boner* Bp. of *London*, upon the Accuſation (as in that time it was called) of Hereſie.

John Ardeley and John Simſon, both Husbandmen in the Town of Wigborow.

As touching the order and manner of their Examinations before the Biſhop; as the Articles miniſtred againſt them, were much like, ſo their Anſwers again unto the ſame were not much diſcrepant in manner and form; as out of the Biſhops own Regiſters here followeth expreſſed.

Articles objected againſt John Simſon *and* John Ardeley *of the Pariſh of* Wigborow *the Great in* Eſſex, *Husbandmen, by* Boner *Biſhop of* London, *at* Fulham, May 22. Anno 1555.

Articles miniſtred againſt John Simſon and John Ardeley.

1. FIrſt, that thou *John Simſon* (or *John Ardeley*) Husbandman, of the age of 34. years or thereabout, waſt and art of the Pariſh of great *Wigborow*, within the Dioceſs of *London*, and thou haſt not believed, nor doſt believe, that there is here in Earth one Catholick and Univerſal whole Church, which doth hold and believe all the Faith and Religion of Chriſt, and all the neceſſary Articles and Sacraments of the ſame.

Item, That thou haſt not believed, nor doſt believe, that thou art neceſſarily bounden, under the pain of damnation of thy Soul, to give full faith and credence unto the ſaid Catholick and Univerſal Church, and to the Religion of the ſame, in all neceſſary Points of the ſaid Faith and Religion, without wavering or doubting in the ſaid Faith or Religion, or in any part thereof.

3. *Item*, That thou haſt not believed, nor doſt believe that that Faith and Religion, which both the Church of *Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland*, and all other Churches in *Europe*, being the Members and Parts of the ſaid Catholick and Univerſal Church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the ſaid Catholick and Univerſal Church, and the Faith and Religion of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true Faith and Religion which all Chriſtian People ought to believe, obſerve, follow, and keep: but contrariwiſe thou haſt believed, and doſt believe, that that Faith and Religion, which the ſaid Church of *Rome*, and all the other Churches aforeſaid have heretofore believed, and do now believe, is falſe, erroneous, and naught, and in no wiſe ought to be believed, obſerved, kept, and followed of any Chriſtian man.

The Church of *Rome, Italy, Spain*, and other Forreign Countries in *Europe*.

4. *Item*, That albeit it be true, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is in Subſtance the very Body and Blood of Chriſt under the forms of Bread and Wine, and albeit that it be ſo believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the ſaid Church of *Rome*, and all other the Churches aforeſaid, yet thou haſt not ſo believed; nor doſt ſo believe; but contrariwiſe thou haſt and doſt believe firmly and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, under the ſaid forms of Bread and Wine, the very Subſtance of Chriſts Body and Blood, but that there is only the Subſtance of material and common Bread and

The Subſtance of Chriſts Body under forms of Bread and Wine.

Anno 1555.

and Wine, with the forms thereof; and that the ſaid material and common Bread and Wine, are only the Signs and Tokens of Chriſts Body and Blood, and by Faith to be received, only for a remembrance of Chriſts Paſſion and Death, without any ſuch Subſtance of Chriſts Body and Blood at all.

Tranſubſtantiation denied.

5. *Item*, That thou haſt believed and taught, and thou haſt openly ſpoken, and to thy power maintained and defended, and ſo doſt believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Chriſts Body and Blood, is only to take material and common Bread, and to break it, and to diſtribute it amongſt the People, remembring thereby the Paſſion and Death of Chriſt only.

The Maſs abominable.

6. *Item*, That thou haſt likewiſe believed, taught and ſpoken, that the Maſs now uſed in this Realm of *England*, and other the Churches aforeſaid, is abominable and naught, and full of Idolatry, and is of the Ordinance of the Pope, and not of the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and hath no goodneſs in it, ſaving the *Gloria in Excelſis*, and the Epiſtle and the Goſpel, and that therefore thou haſt not, nor will not come to be preſent at the Maſs, nor receive the Sacrament of the Altar, or any other Sacrament of the Church, as they are now uſed in this Realm of *England*, and other the Churches aforeſaid.

7. *Item*, That thou haſt in times paſt believed preciſely, and obſtinately affirmed and ſaid, and ſo doſt now believe and think, that Auricular Confeſſion is not needful to be made unto the Prieſt, but it is a thing ſuperfluous and vain, and ought only to be made to God, and to none other perſon: and likewiſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the Ceremonies of the Church and the Service of the ſame, and haſt ſaid, that no Service in the Church ought to be ſaid but in the Engliſh tongue, and if it be otherwiſe ſaid, it is unlawful and naught.

The Anſwers of John Simſon, *and alſo of* John Ardeley, *to the foreſaid Articles.*

Their Anſwers to the Articles.

TO the firſt, they believe, that here in Earth there is one Catholick and Univerſal holy Church, which doth hold and believe as is contained in the firſt Article, and that this Church is diſperſed and ſcattered abroad throughout the whole world.

To the ſecond, they believe, that they be bound to give Faith and Credence unto it, as is contained in the ſecond Article.

To the third, as concerning the Faith and Religion of the Church of *Rome*, of *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, *Ireland*, *Scotland*, and other Churches in *Europe*, they ſay, they have nothing to do with that Faith and Religion: But as concerning the Faith and Religion of *England*, that if the ſaid Church of *England* be ruled and governed by the Word of Life, then the Church of *England* hath the Faith and Religion of the Catholick Church, and not otherwiſe; and do ſay alſo, that if the Church of *England* were ruled by the Word of Life, it would not go about to condemn them and others of this Hereſie.

Tranſubſtantiation denied.

To the fourth they anſwer, that in the Sacrament, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, there is very Bread and very Wine, not altered nor changed in Subſtance in any wiſe, and that he that receiveth the ſaid Bread and Wine, doth ſpiritually and by faith only receive the Body and Blood of Chriſt, but not the very Natural Body and Blood of Chriſt in Subſtance under the forms of Bread and Wine.

To the fifth they ſay, they have anſwered, anſwering to the ſaid fourth Article, and yet nevertheleſs they ſay, that they have believed, and do believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the very Subſtance of Chriſts Body and Blood, but only the Subſtance of the Natural Bread and Wine.

The Maſs deteſted.

To the ſixth they ſay, that they believe, that the Maſs is of the Pope, and not of Chriſt; and therefore it is not good, nor having in it any goodneſs, ſaving the *Gloria in Excelſis*, the Epiſtle and Goſpel, the Creed, and the *Pater noſter*; and for this cauſe they ſay they have not, nor will not come and hear Maſs.

To the ſeventh *John Ardeley* anſwereth and ſaith, that he believeth the Contents of the ſame to be true; but *John Simſon* doth anſwer, that he is not as yet fully reſolved with himſelf, what anſwer to make thereunto; and further, that as touching the common and daily Service ſaid and uſed in the Church, he ſaith, that he never ſaid, that Service in the Church ought to be ſaid but in the Engliſh Tongue, nor yet he never ſaid, that if it be otherwiſe ſaid and uſed than in Engliſh, it is unlawful and naught.

John Ardeley and *John Simſon.*

Another appearance of *Simſon* and *John Ardeley* before the Biſhop.

Thus theſe Articles being to them objected, and their Anſwers made unto the ſame, as before, the Biſhop, according to the old trade of his Conſiſtory Court, reſpited them to the Afternoon, bidding them to make their Appearance the ſaid day and place, between the hours of two and three. At what time the ſaid Biſhop repeating again the ſaid Articles unto them, and beginning with *John Ardeley* did urge and ſolicitate him, according to his manner of words, to recant.

The words of J. *Ardeley* to *Boner*.

To whom *John Ardeley* again, conſtantly ſtanding to his profeſſed Religion, gave anſwer in words as followeth; My Lord (quoth he) neither you, nor any other of your Religion, is of the Catholick Church; for you be of a falſe Faith: and I doubt not but you ſhall be deceived at length, bear as good a face as ye can. Ye will ſhed the innocent Blood, and you have killed many, and yet go about to kill more, *&c.*

And added further, ſaying, If every hair of my head were a man, I would ſuffer death in the Opinion and Faith that I am now in. Theſe with many other words he ſpake. Then the Biſhop yet demanded if he would relinquiſh his erroneous Opinions (as he called them) and be reduced again to the Unity of the Church. He anſwered as followeth, No, God foreſhield that I ſhould ſo do, for then I ſhould loſe my Soul.

John Ardeley and *John Simſon* condemned.

After this, the ſaid Biſhop asking *John Ardeley* (after his formal manner) if he knew any cauſe why he ſhould not have Sentence condemnatory againſt him; ſo read the Condemnation, as he alſo did againſt *John Simſon*, ſtanding likewiſe in the ſame cauſe and conſtancy with *John Ardeley*; which was done the 25th day of *May*, and ſo were they both committed to the Secular Power, that is, to the hands of the Sheriffs, to be conveighed to the place where they ſhould be executed. But before I come to their Execution, here is not to be paſſed a thing not unworthy the looking upon, which hapned in the cloſing up the Examination of theſe two innocent Martyrs of God, which is this.

A note of the ſudden fear of Boner.

At the time of the Examination of this *Simſon* and *John Ardeley* aforeſaid, there was aſſembled ſuch a great multitude of People, that becauſe the Conſiſtory was not able to hold them, they were fain to ſtand in the Church, near about the ſaid Conſiſtory, waiting to ſee the Priſoners when they ſhould depart. It hapned in the mean time, that the Biſhop being ſet in a heat with the ſtout and bold Anſwers of the ſaid two Priſoners (eſpecially of *John Simſon*) burſt out in his loud and angry voice, and ſaid, Have him away, have him away.

The ridiculous fear of Boner and his Doctors.

Now the People in the Church hearing theſe words, and thinking (becauſe the day was far ſpent) that the Priſoners had their Judgment, they being deſirous to ſee the Priſoners had to *Newgate*, ſevered themſelves, one running one way, another another way, which cauſed ſuch a noiſe in the Church, that they in the Conſiſtory were all amazed, and marvelled what it ſhould mean: wherefore the Biſhop alſo being ſomewhat afraid of this ſudden ſtir, asked what there was to do. The ſtanders by anſwering ſaid, That there was like to be ſome tumult; for they were together by the ears.

When the Biſhop heard this, by and by his heart was in his heels, and leaving his Seat, he with the reſt of the Court betook them to their legs, haſtning with all ſpeed poſſible to recover the door that went into the Biſhops Houſe: but the reſt being ſomewhat lighter of foot than my Lord, did ſooner recover the door, and thronging haſtily to get in, kept the Biſhop ſtill out, and cried, Save my Lord, ſave my Lord, but meaning yet firſt to ſave themſelves if any danger ſhould come, whereby they gave the ſtanders by good matter to laugh at; reſembling in ſome part a ſpectacle not much unlike to the old ſta-

gers at *Oxford*, worſe feared than hurt, when as the Church there was noiſed to be ſet on fire, whereof ye may read before. But of this matter enough.

John Simſon and John Ardeley ſent into Eſſex to be executed. Now *John Simſon* and *John Ardeley* being delivered (as is aforeſaid) to the Sheriffs, were ſhortly after ſent down from *London* to *Eſſex*, where both they in one day (which was about the Tenth day of *June*) were put to death, albeit in ſeveral places; for *John Simſon* ſuffered at *Rochford*, *John Ardeley* the ſame day was had to *Rayley*, where he finiſhed his Martyrdom moſt quietly in the quarrel of Chriſts Goſpel. *The martyrdom of Simſon and Ardeley. June 10.*

A Note of John Ardeley.

FOr the better conſideration of the rigorous cruelty of theſe Catholick days, this is furthermore not unworthy of all men to be noted and known to all Poſterity, concerning the Examinations of this *Ardeley* and his Company, how that they being brought before the Commiſſioners, were by them greatly charged of ſtubbornneſs and vain-glory. Unto whom they anſwered in defence of their own ſimplicity, that they were content willingly to yield to the Queen all their Goods and Lands, ſo that they might be ſuffered to live under her, in keeping their Conſcience free from all Idolatry and Papiſtical Religion. Yet this would not be granted, although they had offered all to their heart blood; ſo greedy and ſo thirſty be theſe Perſecutors of Chriſtian blood. The Lord give them Repentance if it be his will, and keep from them the juſt reward of ſuch cruel dealing. Amen.

The ridiculous handling and proceeding of Biſhop Boner *and his Mates againſt* John Tooly, *firſt ſuſpected and condemned after his death, and then digged out of his Grave, and given to the Secular Power, and ſo burned for an Heretick.*

The Story of John Tooly. ABout the ſame time of the burning of theſe two aforeſaid, in the beginning of the ſaid Month of *June*, fell out a ſolemn Proceſs, and much ado was made about the Popes Spiritualty againſt *John Tooly* in a caſe of Hereſie. The ſtory is this: There was about the time that the Spaniards began firſt to keep a ſtir in *England*, one *John Tooly* a Citizen and Poulter in *London*, who conſpired with certain other of his Society, to rob a Spaniard at S. *James's*: and although the deed were heinous and wicked of it ſelf, yet was it aggravated and made greater than it was by other, being committed againſt ſuch a perſon, and againſt ſuch a Country, which both the Queen and her whole Court did highly favour. The robbery being known, and brought into Judgment, this *Tooly* was found guilty, and judged to be hanged, whereas notwithſtanding in this Realm there are many more Theſts committed than Thieves executed.

The foreſaid *Tooly* being led to the Gallows (which ſtood faſt by *Charing Croſs*) a little before he died, ſtanding upon the Cart, read a certain Prayer in a printed Book, and two other Prayers written in two ſeveral Papers: who then having the Halter about his Neck, deſired the People there preſent to pray for him, and to bear him witneſs that he died a true Chriſtian man, and that he truſted to be ſaved only by the Merits of Chriſts Paſſion, and ſhedding of his precious Blood, and not by any Maſſes, or Trentals, Images, or Saints, which were (as he ſaid) meer Idolatry and Superſtition, and deviſed by the Biſhop of *Rome*: and as the ſame *Tooly*, and two other his Fellows which were there hanged with him, did ſteal and rob for Covetouſneſs, ſo the Biſhop of *Rome* did ſell his Maſſes and Trentals, with ſuch other Paltry, for Covetouſneſs, and there being in a great anger (as appeared) againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſpake with a loud voice theſe words following; *From the tyranny of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and all his deteſtable Enormities*; *From falſe Doctrine and Hereſie, and from the Contempt of thy Word and Commandment, Good Lord deliver us.* *John Tooly died a true Chriſtian man.* *The Chriſtian Confeſſion of Tooly.*

And then adding further to the ſame, he ſpake unto the People; All you that be true Chriſtian men, ſay with me, Amen. And immediately thereupon 300 perſons and more, to the judgment and eſtimation of thoſe that were there preſent, anſwered and ſaid, Amen, three times together at the leaſt. Ex Regiſtro.

After this it hapned, that when *Tooly* had read the Bill the firſt time, it fell from him, and a certain young man (who was thought to be a Prentice) ſtooped down and took up the Bill, and climbed up by the Cart; and delivered it unto *Tooly* again, which he again did read to the People. That done, he delivered unto one of the Marſhals Officers the Book aforeſaid, and willed him to deliver it unto one *Haukes*, ſaying, that it was his Book. Furthermore, he delivered one of the Prayers, written in a Paper, to one *Robert Bromeley* Sergeant, which deſired to have it of him. Upon the top of which Bill was written a line, containing theſe words, *Beware of Antichriſt*; and ſubſcribed underneath, *Per me* Thomam Harold, *Priſoner in the* Marſhalſea, *enemy to Antichriſt*. For the Bill aforeſaid, *Robert Bromely* was brought afterward *coram nobis*, and was fain to ask Pardon of the Biſhop, and to deteſt all the words of *Tooly*, and glad ſo to eſcape. Anno 1555.

Thus while *Tooly* had made his Prayers, as is aboveſaid, to be delivered from the Popes Tyranny, by the ſame Prayer he fell into great tyranny. For ſo ſoon as the brute of this fact came unto the ears of the Prieſts and Mitred Prelates, they were not a little mad thereat, thinking it not tolerable that ſo great a Reproach ſhould be done againſt the holy Father. Calling therefore for a Councel together, as though it had been a matter of great importanee. *Tooly*'s talk at his death was debated among themſelves. *A Councel called againſt Tooly.*

At laſt (after much *Pro* and *Contra*) they all conſented to thoſe mens judgment, which thought it meet that the violating of the Popes Holineſs ſhould be revenged with fire and fagot. And I do eaſily believe that Cardinal *Pool* was no ſmall doer in this Sentence: for as *Wincheſter* and *Boner* did always thirſt after the blood of the living, ſo *Poole*'s lightning was for the moſt part kindled againſt the dead; and he reſerved this Charge only to himſelf, I know not for what purpoſe, except peradventure being loth to be ſo cruel as the other, he thought nevertheleſs by this means to diſcharge his duty towards the Pope. By the ſame Cardinals like lightning and fiery fift the Bones of *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Phagius*, which had lien almoſt two years in their Graves, were taken up and burned at *Cambridge*, as *Tooly*'s Carkaſs was here at *London*. And beſides this, becauſe he would ſhew ſome token of his diligence in both Univerſities, he cauſed *Peter Martyrs* Wife, a Woman of worthy memory, to be digged out of the Church-yard, and to be buried on the Dunghil. Of theſe two prodigious acts ye ſhall hear more hereafter. But now to our purpoſe of *Tooly*, which having ended his Prayer, was hanged and put into his Grave, out of which he was digged again, by the commandment of the Biſhops, and becauſe he was ſo bold to derogate the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, at the time of his death, it pleaſed them to judge and condemn him as an Heretick, upon the commandment of the Councels Letter, as here appeareth. *Card. Poole a great doer in burning dead mens Bones.* *Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, Peter Martyrs wife, and John Tooly, burned for Hereticks after their death.*

A Letter ſent unto Boner *Biſhop of* London, *from the Councel.*

AFter our very hearty Commendations to your Lordſhip, underſtanding that of late amongſt others that have ſuffered about London *for their Offences, one lewd perſon that was condemned for Felony, died very obſtinately, profeſſing at the time of his death ſundry heretical and erroneous Opinions; like as we think it not convenient that ſuch a matter ſhould be overpaſſed without ſome example to the world, ſo we thought good to pray your Lordſhip to cauſe further inquiry to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceed to the making out of ſuch Proceſs as by the Eccleſiaſtical Laws is provided in that behalf. And ſo we bid your Lordſhip heartily well to fare. From* Hampton Court, *the* 28. *of* April, 1555. The Councels Letter to B. Boner concerning Tooly.

Your Lordſhips loving Friends,

Ste. Winton Chancel. — *R. Rocheſter.*
F. Shrewesbury. — *William Peter.*
John Gage. — *Rich. Southwell.*
Thomas Cheney.

Anon

Anno 1555

Anon after a Citation was ſet up upon *Pauls* Church door under the Biſhop of *Londons* great Seal; the tenor whereof here enſueth.

The Writ or Mandate of Boner *Biſhop of* London, *ſet up at* Charing Croſs, *on* Pauls *Church door, and at S.* Martins *in the field, for the citing and further inquiring out of the caſe of* John Tooly.

A citation ſet up by *Boner*. and that in Latin, commanding his kin and kinſfolks to ſay for him what they could before the Sentence given, or elſe to hold their peace for ever.

EDmund by the ſufference of God, Biſhop of *London*, to all and ſingular Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and others, Clerks and learned Men, being within our Dioceſs of *London*, and ſpecially onto *Richard Clenie*, our ſworn Sumnor, greeting, ſalutation, and benediction. Forſomuch as it is come to our hearing by common fame, and the declaration of ſundry credible perſons, that one *John Tooly* late Citizen and Poulter of *London*, the Son of perdition and iniquity, coming to the profundity of malice in the ſelf ſame time in the which he ſhould go to hanging, according to the Laws of the Realm, for the great theft lately by him committed, at which time chiefly he ſhould have cared for the wealth of his Soul, and to have died in the Unity of the Catholick Church, did utter divers and ſundry damnable, blaſphemous and heretical opinions and errors, utterly contrary and repugnant to the Verity of the Catholick Faith and Unity of the ſame, and did exhort, ſtir up, and encourage the People, there ſtanding in great multitude, to hold and defend the ſame errors and opinions: And moreover, certain of the People there ſtanding, as it did appear, affected with Errors and Hereſies, as fautors and defenders of the ſaid *John*, did confirm and give expreſs conſent to the foreſaid words, propoſitions, and affirmations; which thing we do utter with ſorrow and bitterneſs of heart.

Note how *Boner* here pretenderh Conſcience in proſecuring this matter, when only he was commanded unto it by the Councels Letters.

We therefore the foreſaid *Edmund* and Biſhop aboveſaid, not being able, nor daring to paſs over in ſilence, nor winck at the foreſaid hainous Act, leſt by our negligence and ſlackneſs the Blood of them might be required at our hands at the moſt terrible day of Judgment, deſiring to be certified and informed whether the premiſſes declared unto us, be of the truth, and leſt that any ſcabbed ſheep, lurking amongſt the ſimple flock of our Lord, do infect them with peſtiferous Hereſie: to you therefore we ſtraightly charge and command that you cite, or cauſe to be cited all and ſingular, having or knowing the truth of the premiſſes, by ſetting up this Citation upon the Church door of S. *Martins* in the field, being within our Dioceſs of *London*, and alſo upon the Cathedral Church door of Saint *Paul* in *London*, leaving there the Copy hereof, or by other means or ways, the beſt you can, that this Citation and Monition may come to their knowledge.

All which and ſingular by the tenor of theſe preſents we cite and admoniſh that they appear, and every one of them do appear before us, our Vicar general, or Commiſſary, whatſoever he be in that behalf, in our Cathedral Church of S. *Paul* in *London*, in the Conſiſtory place, upon *Thurſday* the ſecond day of *May* now next enſuing, betwixt the hours of nine and ten of the Clock in the forenoon the ſame day, to bear witneſs of the truth in this behalf, and to depoſe and declare faithfully the truth that they know or have heard of the premiſſes, and moreover to do and receive what Law and reaſon doth require.

The Wife, Children and Kindred of John Tooly cited.

Further we commit unto you as before, and ſtraightly enjoyning you do command, that ye will generally cite the Wife of the ſaid *Tooly* that is dead, and his Children, and his kindred by Father and Mother, his friends and his familiars in eſpecial, and all other and every of them, if there be any perhaps that deſire to defend and purge the remembrance of the perſon in the premiſſes, that ye admoniſh them after the manner and form aforeſaid, whom we likewiſe by the tenor of theſe preſents, do in ſuch ſort cite and moniſh that they appear all, and that every one of them do appear (under pain to be compelled to keep ſilence for ever hereafter in this behalf) before us, or our Vicar general in ſpiritual matters, or ſuch our Commiſſary, at the day, hour, and place aforeſaid, to defend the good name and remembrance of him that is dead, and to ſay, alledge and propoſe in due form of Law a cauſe reaſonable, if they have or can tell of any, why the ſaid *John Tooly*, that is dead, ought not to be determined, and declared for ſuch an Heretick and excommunicate perſon, and his remembrance condemned, in the deteſting and condemning of ſo hainous a deed and crime, and his Body or carcaſs to lack Church burial, as a rotten member cut off from the Church, and the ſame to be committed to the arm and Power Secular, and they compelled hereafter for ever to hold their peace.

The carkaſs of Tooy cut off from Chriſtian burial.

And furthermore, to do, receive, and to ſuffer as Law and reaſon will, and as the quality of ſuch matter, and the nature of themſelves do conſtrain and require; and moreover, that you cite and moniſh, after the manner aforeſaid, all and every of the receivers, fautors, and creditors of the ſaid *John Tooly* that is dead, eſpecially if any of them do incline and give conſent to thoſe wicked and deteſtable affirmations, propoſitions, and rehearſals aforeſaid, that on this ſide the ſaid *Thurſday* they return and ſubmit themſelves unto us, and to the lap of the Mother holy Church: which thing if they do, we truſting upon the mercy of Almighty God, do promiſe that we will receive them being penitent for ſuch their Errors and faults, with thanks, benignity, mercy, and favour, to the comfort and health of their own Souls, and in that behalf ſave their honeſties to the uttermoſt of our power; otherwiſe, if they will not provide thus to come of their own accord, but to abide the ordinary proceſs of the Law, let thoſe Men know that we will puniſh more ſeverely this offence, according to the uttermoſt of the Law, and as far as the Law will bear it; and what ye ſhall do in the premiſſes, let him among you, which ſhall execute this our preſent Mandate, certifie us, or our Vicar general in ſpiritual matters, either by his own perſon, or by his Letters Patents, together with theſe authentically ſealed.

The Biſhop layeth his bail to catch whom he may trouble.

Dated at *London* under our Seal, the laſt day of *April*. 1555. and of our tranſlation the 11.

When the time of this Citation was expired, and this *Tooly* being cited did not appear: next in order of Law came the Suſpenſion (whereas one ſuſpenſion had been enough for him) and after that cometh the Excommunication, that is, that no man ſhould eat and drink with him; or if any met him by the way, he ſhould not bid him good morrow, and beſides that, he ſhould be excluded from the Communion of the Church. Theſe things being prepared in ſuch manner, as in ſuch caſes full wiſely they uſe to do, at length one ſtood out for the nonce, that made Anſwer to certain Articles, rehearſed in Judgment openly and that in the behalf of the dead Man. But when the poor dead Man could neither ſpeak for himſelf, nor did (as they ſaid) ſufficiently Anſwer them by the other, to avoid the name of an Heretick: firſt witneſſes were provided againſt him, whoſe names were *Henry Clark* Eſquire, *Thomas Way* Keeper of the *Marſhalſey*, *Philip Andrew* Undermarſhal, *William Holingworth* Fiſhmonger, *William Gellard*, *William Walton* Chandler, *Richard Longman* Merchantaylor, *Philip Britten*, *John Burton* Brewer, *Thomas Smith* Sergeant. Then he was for an Heretick condemned, and ſo committed to the ſecular power, namely to the Sheriffs of *London*, which with the like diligence went about to execute their charge. Therefore receiving the man being Suſpended Excommunicated, Condemned as an Heretick, and beſides that, dead, they laid him on the fire to be burned namely, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, for a continual remembrance thereof: This was done the fourth day of *June*.

Tooly ſuſpended and Excommunicated.

Witneſs againſt *John Tooly*.

Tooly given to the ſecular power.

Here followeth the Hiſtory and Martyrdom of the worthy ſervant of Chriſt, Thomas Haukes *Gentleman*, *with his Examinations and Anſwers had with* B. Boner, *recorded and penned with his own hand.*

IMmediately after the Story of Doctor *Taylor*, mention before was made of ſix men brought and convented before Biſhop *Boner* upon the eighth day of *February*. The names of which Martyrs were *Stephen Knight*, *W. Pigot*, *Thomas Tomkins*, *J. Laurence*, *W. Hunter*. In which number whs alſo *Tho. Haukes*, and condemned likewiſe with them the 9. day of the foreſaid Month

The Story of M Thomas Haukes Martyr.

Month of *February*. But becauſe his Execution did not ſo ſhortly follow with theirs, but was prolonged to this preſent 10. day of the Month of *June*, wherewith we are now in hand, it followeth therefore now conſequently to enter tractation thereof; firſt, beginning briefly with his Godly Converſation and Inſtitution of Life, then ſhewing of his Troubles, alſo of his Examinations and Conflicts with the Biſhop and other Adverſaries, according as the order of his ſtory doth requite.

The Life and converſation of *Tho. Haukes.*

As touching therefore his education and order of Life, firſt he was of the Country of *Eſſex*, born of an honeſt ſtock, in calling and profeſſion a Courtier, brought up daintily from his Childhood, and like a Gentleman. Beſides that, he was of ſuch comlineſs and ſtature, ſo well endued with excellent qualities, that he might ſeem on every ſide a Man (as it were) made for the purpoſe. But his gentle behaviour toward other, and eſpecially his fervent ſtudy and ſingular love unto true Religion and Godlineſs did ſurmount all the reſt. Wherein as God did ſingularly adorn him: even ſo he, being ſuch a valiant Martyr of God, may ſeem to nobilitate the whole company of other holy Martyrs, and as a bright ſtar to make the Church of God and his Truth, of themſelves bright and clear, more glorioully to ſhine by his Example.

The Victory of Martyrs, is the Triumph of Chriſt. *Ambroſe.*

For if the Conqueſts of Martyrs are the Triumphs of Chriſt (as S. *Ambroſe* doth notably and truly write) undoubtedly Chriſt in few Men hath either Conquered more notably, or Triumphed more glorioully, than in this young Man: he ſtood ſo wiſely in his cauſe, ſo godly in his Life, and ſo conſtantly in his death.

Tho. Haukes firſt in Service with the Earl af *Oxford.*

But to the Declaration of the matter: firſt this *Haukes* following the guiſe of the Court, as he grew in years, entred ſervice with the Lord of *Oxford*, where he remained a good ſpace, being there right well eſteemed and loved of all the houſhold, ſo long as *Edward* the ſixth lived. But he dying, all things began to go backward, Religion to decay, godlineſs not only to wax cold, but alſo to be in danger every where, and chiefly in the Houſes of good Men. *Haukes* miſliking the ſtate of things, and eſpecially in ſuch Mens Houſes, rather than he would change the Profeſſion of true godlineſs, which he had taſted, thought to change the place; and ſo, forſaking the Noblemans Houſe, departed thence to his own home, where more freely he might give himſelf to God and uſe his own Conſcience.

Haukes compelled to leave the Earl of *Oxfords* Houſe.

But what place in this World ſhall a Man find ſo ſecret for himſelf, whither the old wicked Serpent cannot creep, whereby he may have ſome matter to overthrow the quietneſs of the godly? Now in the mean ſeaſon (as it happened) *Haukes* keeping his Houſe at home, had born unto him a young Son, whoſe Baptiſm was deferred to the third week, for that he would not ſuffer him to be Baptized after the papiſtical manner, which thing the Adverſaries not able to ſuffer, laying hands upon him, did bring him to the Earl of *Oxford*, there to be reaſoned with, as not ſound in Religion, in that he ſeemed to contemn the Sacraments of the Church.

Haukes Child three weeks unchriſtened.

Haukes brought before the Earl.

Haukes ſent up by the Earl to Biſhop *Boner.*

The Earl either intending not to trouble himſelf in ſuch matters, or elſe ſeeing himſelf not able, to weigh with him in ſuch caſes of Religion, ſent him up to *London* with a Meſſenger, and Letters, and ſo, willing to clear his own hands, put him in the hands of *Boner* B. of *London*; the contents of which his Letter ſent to *Boner*, be theſe.

A Letter of the Earl of Oxford *to* Boner.

The Earls Letter to Boner.

MOſt reverend Father in God, be it known unto you, that I have ſent you one Thomas Haukes, *dwelling in the County of* Eſſex, *who hath a Child that hath remained unchriſtened more than three weeks; who, being upon the ſame examined, hath denied to have it Baptized, as it is now uſed in the Church, whereupon I have ſent him to your good Lordſhip, to uſe as ye think beſt, by your good diſcretion.*

When the Biſhop had peruſed this Letter, and afterward read it to M. *Haukes*, he hearing the ſame, thought with himſelf that he ſhould not be very well uſed, ſeeing he was put to his diſcretion. Then wrote the Biſhop a Letter again to him that ſent the Priſoner, with many great thanks for his diligence in ſetting forth the Queens proceedings. Then began the Biſhop to enter Communication with M. *Haukes*, firſt asking, what ſhould move him to leave his Child unchriſtned ſo long? To whom M. *Haukes* anſwered thus again as followeth. Anno 1555.

Private talk or conference between Mr. *Haukes* and B. *Boner.*

Haukes. Becauſe we be bound to do nothing contrary to the Word of God.

Boner. Why? Baptiſm is commanded by the Word of God.

Haukes. His Inſtitution therein I do not deny.

Boner. What deny ye then?

Haukes. I deny all things invented and deviſed by Man.

Boner. What things be thoſe that be deviſed by Man, that ye be ſo offended withal?

Mans Invention added to Baptiſm.

Haukes. Your, Oyl, Cream, Salt, Spittle, Candle, and conjuring of Water, &c.

The forefathers.

Boner. Will ye deny that which all the whole World, and your Father hath been contented withal?

Haukes. What my Father and all the whole World hath done, I have nothing to do withal: but what God hath commanded me to do, to that ſtand I.

The Catholick Church.

Boner. The Catholick Church hath taught it.

Haukes. What is the Catholick Church?

Boner. It is the Faithful Congregation, whereſoever it be diſperſed thorowout the whole World.

Haukes. Who is the Head thereof?

Boner. Chriſt is the Head thereof.

Haukes. Are we taught in Chriſt, or in the Church now?

Boner. Have ye not read in the eighth of *John* where he ſaid, he would ſend his Comforter which ſhould teach you all things?

Haukes. I grant you it is ſo, that he would ſend his comforter, but to what end? Forſooth to this end, that he ſhould lead you into all Truth and Verity, and that is not to teach a new Doctrine.

Boner. Ah Sir, ye are a right Scripture Man. For ye will have nothing but the Scripture. There is a great number of your Country-Men of your Opinion. Do you know one *Knight* and *Pygot*?

Haukes. *Knight* I know, but *Pygot* I do not know.

Boner. I thought ye were acquainted with him: it ſeemeth ſo by your Judgment. What Preachers do ye know in *Eſſex*.

Haukes. I know none.

Boner. Do ye not know one *Baget* there?

Haukes. Yes forſooth, I know him.

Boner. What manner of Man is he?

Haukes. An honeſt Man ſo far as I know.

Boner. Do you know him if ye ſee him?

Haukes. Yea that I do. Then ſaid he to one of his Servants, Go call me *Baget* hither. And then he ſaid to me; Ye ſeem to be a very proud Man and a ſtubborn. He that brought me up ſtood all this while by.

Boner looketh to be courtiſed.

Haukes. What ſhould move your Lordſhip ſo to ſay?

Boner. Becauſe I ſee in a Man that came with you much humility and lowlineſs.

Haukes. It ſeemeth your Lordſhip ſpeaketh that to me, becauſe I make no courteſie to you: and with that came *Baget*. Then the Biſhop ſaid to *Baget*: How ſay ye, Sir, know ye this man?

Baget brought to the ſight of *Tho. Haukes.*

Baget. Yea forſooth my Lord; with that *Baget* and I ſhook hands. Then ſaid the Biſhop to *Baget*, Sir, this Man hath a Child which hath lyen three weeks unchriſtened (as I have Letters to ſhew) who refuſeth to have it Baptiſed, as it is now uſed in the Church: how ſay you thereto?

Baget. Forſooth, my Lord, I ſay nothing thereto (with low courteſie to the hard ground.)

Boner. Say you nothing thereto? I will make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequented and uſed in the Church or not.

Baget. I beſeech your Lordſhip to pardon me, he is old enough, let him anſwer for himſelf.

Boner chafeth at *Bagets* Anſwer.

Boner. Ah Sir knave, are ye at that point with me? Goe call me the Porter, ſaid he, to one of his Men, Thou ſhalt ſit in the Stocks, and have nothing but Bread and Water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made thus much of you, and have I you at this point? Then came the Biſhops Man, and ſaid, The Porter is gone to *London*: Then ſaid the Biſhop to *Baget*,

Come

Anno 1555.

Come with me, and he went away with him, and commanded me away, and bade one of his Gentlemen to talk with me (who was one of his own teaching) who deſired amongſt other things to know of me, with whom I was acquainted in *Eſſex*, and what men they were that were my teachers.

Boner taketh *Baget* with him aſide to conjure him.

Haukes. When I ſee your Commiſſion, I will make you Anſwer. And then immediately came the Biſhop again: but ere he came, his man and I had much talk. Then the Biſhop ſate down under a Vine in his Orchard, and called *Baget* to him, whom he carried away, and brought again, and called me alſo, and ſaid to *Baget*: How ſay ye now Sir unto Baptiſm? Say whether it be to be frequented and uſed in the Church, as it is now, or no?

Baget taught to ſay after *Boner*.

Baget. Forſooth my Lord, I ſay it is good.

Boner. I befool your heart, could ye not have ſaid ſo before? Ye have wounded this mans Conſcience. Then the Biſhop turned to me, and ſaid; How ſay ye now, Sir, this man is turned and converted.

Tho. Haukes builded his Faith upon no man.

Haukes. I build my Faith neither upon this man, neither upon you, but only upon Chriſt Jeſus, who (as *Paul* ſaith) is the founder and author of all mens Faith.

Boner. I perceive ye are a ſtubborn fellow. I muſt be glad to work another away with you, to win you.

Tho. Haukes forbidden to talk in the Biſhops Houſe.

Haukes. Whatſoever ye do, I am ready to ſuffer it: for I am in your hands to abide it.

Boner. Well ye are ſo, Come on your waies, ye ſhall go in, and I will uſe you Chriſtianlike: You ſhall have meat and drink, ſuch as I have in my Houſe: but in any wiſe talk not.

Haukes. I purpoſe to talk nothing but the Word of God and Truth.

Boner. I will have no Hereſie talked on in my Houſe.

Haukes. Why, Is the Truth become Hereſie? God hath commanded that we ſhould have none other talk in our Houſes, in our Beds, at our Meat, and by the way, but all Truth.

Boner. If ye will have my favor, be ruled by my Counſel.

Haukes. Then I truſt you will grant me my requeſt.

Boner. What is that?

Tho. Haukes and *Baget* ſeparated aſunder.

Haukes. That your Doctors and Servants give me none occaſion: for if they do, I will ſurely utter my Conſcience. Then commanded he his Men to take in *Baget*, and let not *Haukes* and him talk together. And ſo thus we departed, and went to dinner, and I dined at the Stewards Table.

Talk between *Darbiſhire* and *Tho: Haukes*.

After Dinner, his Chaplains and his Men began to talk with me. But amongſt all other, there was one *Darbiſhire* principal of *Broadgates* in *Oxford*, and the Biſhops kinſman, who ſaid to me, that I was too curious: for ye will have (ſaid he) nothing but your little pretty Gods Book.

Haukes. And is it not ſufficient for my Salvation? Ye, (ſaid he) it is ſufficient for our Salvation, but not for our Inſtruction.

Salvation. Inſtruction.

Haukes. God ſend me the Salvation, and you the Inſtruction. And as we thus reaſoned, came the Biſhop, who ſaid unto me; I gave you a Commandment that you ſhould not talk.

Haukes. And I deſired you that your Doctors and Servants ſhould give me none occaſion, Then went we into his Orchard again, he and his Doctors and I.

Talk between M. *Haukes*, and *Boner*. Bapтiſm after K. *Edwards* Booke.

Boner. Would not ye be contented to have, that your Child ſhould be Chriſtened after the Book that was ſet out by King *Edward*?

Haukes. Yes, with a good will: it is a thing that I deſire.

Boner. I thought ſo: ye would have the ſame thing. The principal is in the Name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, and in the neceſſity it may ſerve.

Haukes. Chriſt did uſe it without any ſuch neceſſity: and yet we lack the chiefeſt point.

Boner. What is that?

Haukes. Go teach all Nations, Baptizing them, &c.

Boner no Preacher.

Boner. Thou ſpeakeſt that becauſe I am no Preacher.

Haukes. I ſpeak the Text: I do not mean you. Then ſpake all the Doctors and his Men that were with him: he ſpake it of you my Lord (with a great noiſe that they made.)

Boner. Will ye be content to tarry here, and your Child ſhall be Baptized, and you ſhall not know of it, ſo that you will agree to it?

Haukes. If I would ſo have done, I needed not to have come to you: For I had the ſame Counſel given before.

Boner. You ſeem to be a luſty young Man; you will not give your head for the waſhing; you will ſtand in the defence of it for the honor of your Country. Do ye think that the Queen and I cannot command it to be done in ſpite of your teeth?

M. Hauk. will not conſent to have his Child Chriſtened after the Popiſh Order.

Haukes. What the Queen and you can do, I will not ſtand in it: but ye get my conſent never the ſooner.

Boner. Well, you are a ſtubborn young Man: I perceive I muſt work another way with you.

Haukes. Ye are in the hands of God, and ſo am I.

Boner. Whatſoever you think, I will not have you ſpeak ſuch words unto me. And ſo we departed untill even ſong time: and ere evenſong was begun, my Lord called for me to come to him into the Chappel, and ſaid; *Haukes*, thou art a proper young Man, and God hath done his part unto thee; I would be glad to do thee good. Thou knoweſt that I am thy Paſtor, and one that ſhould anſwer for thee. If I would not teach thee well, I ſhould anſwer for thy Soul.

Haukes. That I have ſaid, I will ſtand to it, God willing: there is no way to remove it.

Boner. Nay, nay *Haukes*, thou ſhalt not be ſo wilfull. Remember Chriſt bade two go into his Vineyard, the one ſaid he would, and went not, the other ſaid he would not, and went.

Haukes. The laſt went.

Boner enteth talk of the Sacrament.

Boner. Do thou likewiſe, and I will talk friendly with thee; how ſayeſt thou? It is in the ſixth of S. *John*; *I am the Bread of Life, and the Bread that I will give is my Fleſh, which I will give for the Life of the World. And whoſoever eateth my Fleſh and drinketh my Blood, hath everlaſting Life. My Fleſh is very meat indeed, and my Blood is drink indeed. And he that eateth my Fleſh and drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.* Do ye believe this?

Haukes. Yea, I muſt needs believe the Scriptures.

Boner. Why? then I truſt that you be found in the Bleſſed Sacrament.

Haukes. I beſeech your Lordſhip to feel my Conſcience no farther then in that, that I was accuſed in unto you.

Boner. Well, well, let us go unto Evenſong.

Haukes. With that I turned my Back to go out of the Chappel.

Tho. Haukes refuſeth to hear *Boners* Evenſong.

Boner. Why, will you not tarry Evenſong?

Haukes. No forſooth.

Boner. And why?

Haukes. For I will not.

Boner And why will ye not?

Haukes. For becauſe I have no edifying thereby, for I underſtand no Latin.

Boner. Why? you may pray by your ſelf. What Books have ye?

Haukes. I have the New Teſtament, the Books of *Solomon*, and the Pſalter.

Boner. Why I pray you tarry here, and pray you on your Pſalter.

Haukes. I will not pray in this place, nor in any ſuch. Then ſaid one of his Chaplains; let him go my Lord, and he ſhall be no partaker with us in our Prayers.

Haukes. I think my ſelf beſt at eaſe when I am fartheſt from you And ſo the Biſhop went to Evenſong, and I came down and walked between the Hall and the Chappel in the Court, and tarried there till Evenſong was done, and within an hour after that Evenſong was done, the Biſhop ſent for me into his Chamber where he lay himſelf, and when I came, there was he, and three of his Chaplains.

Tho. Haukes called for again by *Boner*.

Boner. Ye know of the talk that was between you and me, as concerning the Sacrament. You would not have your Conſcience ſought any farther, than in that ye were accuſed of.

Haukes. I thought you would not be both mine accuſer and judge.

Boner

Boner. Well, ye shall Answer me to the Sacrament of the Altar, the Sacrament of Baptism, the Sacrament of Penance, and the Sacrament of Matrimony.

Haukes. There is none of these, but I dare speak my Conscience in them.

Tho. Haukes knoweth no Sacrament of the Altar.

Boner. The Sacrament of the Altar ye seem to be found in.

Haukes. In the Sacrament of the Altar? why Sir, I do not know it.

Boner. Well, we will make you to know it, and believe in it too, ere ever we have done with you.

Haukes. No, that shall ye never do.

Boner. Yes, a Fagot will make you do it.

Haukes. No, no, a point for your fagot. What God thinketh meet to be done, that shall ye do and more ye shall not do.

The matter and substance of the Sacrament.

Boner. Do ye not believe that there remaineth in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration be spoken, no more Bread, but the very Body and Blood of Christ? and at that word he put off his Cap.

Haukes. I do believe as Christ hath taught me.

Boner. Why? did not Christ say, *Take, eat, this is my Body?*

Haukes. Christ said so: but therefore it followeth not, that the Sacrament of the Altar is so as you teach, neither did Christ ever teach it so to be.

Boner. Why? the Catholick Church taught it so, and they were of Christs Church.

Haukes. How prove you it? The Apostles never taught it so. Read the Acts, the second, and the twenty. Neither *Peter* nor *Paul* ever taught it, neither instituted it so.

Boner. Ah Sir, ye will have no more than the Scripture teacheth, but even as Christ hath left it bare.

Haukes. He that teacheth me any otherwise, I will not believe him.

Boner. Why? then ye must eat a Lamb, if ye will have but Christs Institution only.

Touching the necessary points of Doctrine and Sacraments, only the Word is to be followed.

Haukes. Nay, that is not so, before that Christ did Institute the Sacrament, that Ceremony ceased, and then began the Sacrament.

Boner. Alas, you know not how it began, neither of the Institution thereof.

Haukes. Then I would be glad to learn.

Boner. Marry, we will teach you: but you are so stubborn that ye will not learn.

Haukes. Except ye learn me by the word of God, I will never credit you, nor believe you: and thus we concluded. Then the Bishop and his Chaplains laughed and said: Jesu, Jesu, what a stubbornness and arrogantness is this? and this was in his Chamber where he lay. Then said the Bishop to me, go ye down and drink, for it is fasting day: it is *Midsummer* Even, but I think ye love neither fasting nor Praying.

A false conceived opinion of *Boner* against the Protestants. Fasting and Praying no man denieth.

Haukes. I will never deny fasting neither Praying, so that it be done as it ought to be done, and without Hypocrisie or vain glory.

Boner. I like you the better for that: and so we left for that night.

The next day the Bishop went to *London*: for *Feckenam* was made Dean that day, and I tarried still at *Fulham*.

Then did the Bishops men desire me to come to Mass, but I did utterly refuse it, answering them as I did their Master.

Boner returneth from *London*.

That Night the Bishop came home to *Fulham* again.

Talk between Harpsfield *and* Thomas Haukes.

Talk between *Tho. Haukes* and *Harpsfield*.

THen upon the *Monday* Morning very early, the Bishop did call for me. There was with him *Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *London*, to whom the Bishop said, this is the Man which I told you of, who would not have his Child Christened, nor will have any Ceremonies.

Harpsfield. Christ used Ceremonies. Did he not take Clay from the ground, and took spittle, and made the Blind Man to see?

But Christ never made any ordinance or custom of that Ceremony.

Haukes. I wot well that, but Christ did never use it in Baptism. If ye will needs have it, put it to the use that Christ put it unto.

Harpsfield. Admit your Child die unchristened: what a heavy case stand you in?

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Haukes. I admit that if it do, what then?

The state of Children dying without Baptism.

Harps. Marry then are ye damned, and your Child both.

Haukes. Judge you no farther than ye may by the Scriptures.

Harps. Do ye not know that your Child is born in Original Sin?

Haukes. Yes that I do.

Harps. How is Original Sin washed away?

Haukes. By true Faith and Belief of Christ Jesus.

Harps. How can your Child being an Infant believe?

Haukes. The Deliverance of it from Sin standeth in the Faith of his Parents.

Harps. How prove you that?

Haukes. By S. *Paul*, in the seventh and the first to the *Corinthians*, saying; *The unbelieving man is sanctified by the believing Woman, and the unbelieving Woman is sanctified by the believing Man, or else were your Children unclean.*

The believing Parents Sanctifie the Child.

Harps. I will prove that they whom thou putteſt thy trust in, will be against thee in this Opinion.

Haukes. Who be those?

Harps. Your great learned Men in *Oxford*.

Haukes. If they do it by the Scriptures, I will believe them.

Boner. Recant, recant: do ye not know that Christ said, Except ye be Baptized ye cannot be saved?

Christianity standeth not in outward Ceremonies.

Haukes. Doth Christianity stand in outward Ceremonies, or no?

Boner. Partly it doth: what say you to that?

Haukes. I say as S. *Peter* saith, *Not the washing of Water purgeth the filthiness of the Flesh, but a good Conscience consenting unto God.*

Harps. Beware of Pride, Brother, beware of Pride.

Haukes. It is written, *Pride serveth not for Men, nor yet for the Sons of Men.*

Sirach. 10.

Boner. Let us make an end here. How say you to the Mass, Sirra?

Boner cometh in with his Mass.

Haukes. I say it is detestable, abominable, and profitable for nothing.

Mass profitable for nothing.

Boner. What nothing profitable in it? what say you to the Epistle and Gospel?

Haukes. It is good, if it be used as Christ left it to be used.

Boner. Well, I am glad that ye somewhat recant: recant all, recant all.

Haukes. I have recanted nothing, nor will do.

Boner. How say you to *Confiteor*.

Confiteor in the Mass a thing detestable.

Haukes. I say it is abominable and detestable, yea, and a Blasphemy against God and his Son Christ, to call upon any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, save only to Christ Jesus.

Boners similitude to prove praying to Saints.

Boner. To trust to any, we bid you not: but to call upon them, and to pray to them, we bid you. Do ye not know when ye come into the Court ye cannot speak with the King and the Queen, unless ye call to some of the privy Chamber that are next to the King and Queen?

We ought not to believe in Saints. Ergo, we ought not to call upon them.

Haukes. They that list receive your Doctrine. You teach me that I should not believe nor trust in any, but to call on them: and S. *Paul* saith, *How should I call upon him . on whom I believe not?*

Praying for the dead.

Boner. Will you have no Body to pray for you when you be dead?

Haukes. No surely, except you can prove it by the Scriptures. Then the Bishop pointed unto *Harpsfield*, and said unto me; Is it not well done to desire this man to pray for me?

Haukes. Yes surely, so long as we live, Prayer of the Righteous Man is available: but this Mans Prayers, you being dead, profiteth nothing at all.

Boner. Will ye grant the Prayer of the Righteous Man to prevail?

Haukes. I grant it doth for the living, but not for the dead.

Boner. Not for the dead?

Haukes. No forsooth, for *David* saith, *No Man can deliver his Brother from death, nor make agreement unto* Psal. 49.

God

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God for him: for it coſt more to redeem their Souls, ſo ſo that ye muſt let that alone for ever.

Alſo *Ezekiel* ſaith. *Though* Noah, Daniel, *or* Job *dwelt among them, yet can they in their righteouſneſs exceed no farther than themſelves.* Then the Biſhop ſaid to *Harpsfield*, Sir, ye ſee this Man hath no need of our Lady, neither of any of the BleſſedSaints. Well, I will trouble you no longer; I did call you hoping that you ſhould do ſome good on him, but it will not be. And he ſaid to me, Sir, It is time to begin with you; we will rid you away, and then we ſhall have one Heretick leſs.

Ezek. 14.

Boner when he cannot overcome by Doctrine, goeth about to oppreſs by Authority.

Harpſ. What Books have you?

Haukes. The New Teſtament, *Salomons* Books, and the Pſalter.

Harpſ. Will you read any other Books?

Haukes. Yea, if you will give me ſuch Books as I will require.

Harpſ. What Books do you require?

Haukes. *Latimers* Books, my Lord of *Canterburies* Book, *Bradfords* Sermons. *Ridleys* Books.

Boner. Away, away, he will have no Books but ſuch as maintain his Hereſies: and ſo they departed, for *Harpsfield* was booted to ride unto *Oxford*, and I went to the Porters lodg again.

The next days talk.

The next days talk. The Biſhops name was *Bird*, Biſhop ſometime of *Cheſter*, and Suffragane before of *Coventry*, of whom read before.

THe next day came thither an Old Biſhop, who had a Pearl in his Eye, and he brought with him to my Lord a diſh of Apples, and a Bottle of Wine. For he had loſt his living, becauſe he had a Wife. Then the Biſhop called me again into the Orchard, and ſaid to the Old Biſhop: this young Man hath a Child, and will not have it Chriſtened.

Haukes. I deny not Baptiſm.

Boner. Thou art a Fool thou canſt not tell what thou wouldeſt have, and that he ſpake with much anger.

Boner reproved for his Anger.

Haukes. A Biſhop muſt be blameleſs or faultleſs, ſober, diſcreet, no chider, nor given to anger.

Boner. Thou judgeſt me to be angry: no by my Faith am I not, and ſtroke himſelf upon the Breaſt

Then ſaid the Old Biſhop, Alas good young Man, you muſt be taught by the Church, and by your ancients, and do as your forefathers have done before you.

Boner. No, no, he will have nothing but the Scriptures, and God wot he doth not underſtand them. He will have no Ceremonies in the Church, no not one. What ſay you to Holy Water?

Haukes. I ſay to it, as to the reſt, and to all that be of his making that made them.

Boner. Why, the Scriptures do allow it.

Haukes. Where prove you that?

See how *Boner* proveth holy Water by the Scripture.

Boner. In the Book of *Kings*, where *Elizeus* threw ſalt into the Water.

Elizeus put Salt in the Water, not to waſh away Sin, but only to make the Water ſweet.

Haukes. Ye ſay truth; that it is written in the fourth Book of the *Kings*, the ſecond Chapter; the Children of the Prophets came to *Elizeus*, ſaying *The dwelling of the City is pleaſant, but the Waters be Corrupted.* This was the cauſe that *Elizeus* threw Salt into the Water, and it became ſweet and good: and ſo when our Waters be corrupted, if ye can by putting in of Salt make them ſweet, clear and wholeſom, we will the better believe your Ceremonies.

Boner. How ſay you to Holy Bread?

Haukes. Even as I ſaid to the other. What Scripture have you to defend it?

Boner proveth holy Bread by the five Loaves and three Fiſhes.

Boner. Have ye not read where Chriſt fed five thouſand men five with Loaves, and three Fiſhes.

Haukes. Will ye make that Holy Bread? There Chriſt deale Fiſh with his Holy Bread.

Boner. Look I pray you how Captious this Man is.

Haukes. Chriſt did not this miracle, or other, becauſe we ſhould do the like miracle, but becauſe we ſhould believe and credit his Doctrine thereby.

Boner. We believe no Doctrine, but that which is wrought by miracles.

Mark, 16.

Haukes. No forſooth, for Chriſt ſaith, *Theſe Tokens ſhall follow them that believe in me: They ſhall ſpeak with new Tongues, they ſhall caſt out Devils, and if they drink any deadly poiſon, it ſhall not hurt them.*

Boner With what new Tongues do ye ſpeak?

How converted Chriſtians do ſpeak with Tongues.

Haukes. Forſooth, where before that I came to the knowledg of Gods Word, I was a foul Blaſphemer and filthy talker, ſince I came to the knowledge thereof, I have lauded God, praiſed God, and given thanks unto God, even with the ſame Tongue; and is not this a new Tongue?

Boner. How do you caſt out Devils?

Haukes. Chriſt did caſt them out by his word, and he hath left the ſame word, that whoſoever doth credit and believe it, ſhall caſt out Devils.

Boner. Did you ever drink any deadly Poyſon?

Haukes. Yea forſooth that I have, for I have drunken of the peſtilent Traditions and Ceremonies of the Biſhop of *Rome.*

Boner. Now you ſhew your ſelf to be a right Heretick.

B. *Boner* an Heretick by his own definition.

Haukes. I pray you, what is Hereſie.

Boner. All things that are contrary to Gods Word.

Haukes. If I ſtand in any thing contrary hereto, then am I worthy to be ſo called.

Boner. Thou art one, and thou ſhalt be burned, if thou ſtand and continue in this Opinion. Ye think we are afraid to put one of you to death: yes, yes, there is a Brotherhood of you, but I will break it; I warrant you.

The Papiſts do beſides Gods Book in burning men for their Faith.

Haukes. Where prove you that Chriſt or his Apoſtles did kill any Man for his Faith?

Boner. Did not *Paul* Excommunicate?

Haukes. Yes my Lord, but there is a great difference between Excommunicating and Burning.

Boner. Have ye not read of the Man and the Woman in the Acts of the Apoſtles, whom *Peter* deſtroyed.

Haukes. Yes forſooth, I have read of one *Ananias*, and *Sapphira* his Wife, which were deſtroyed for lying againſt the Holy Ghoſt, which ſerveth nothing to your purpoſe,

This Biſhop here forgetteth his leſſon, Benedicite perſequentibus vos.

Boner. Well you will grant one yet.

Haukes. Well, if you will have us to grant you be of God, then ſhew mercy, for that God requireth.

Boner. We will ſhew ſuch mercy unto you, as ye ſhewed unto us: for my Benefice or Biſhoprick was taken away from me, ſo that I had not one penny to live upon.

Haukes. I pray ye my Lord what do you give him now that was in the Biſhoprick or Benefice before that ye came again to it? whereunto he anſwered me never a word: for he turned his Back unto me, and talked with other Men, ſaying that he was very ſorry for me, but he truſted that I would turn with S. *Paul*, becauſe I was ſo earneſt, and ſo he departed and went to Dinner, and I to the Porters Lodge again.

Tho. Haukes afterwards called for again to talk with the Old Biſhop.

After Dinner I was called into the Hall again and the Biſhop deſired the Old Biſhop to take me into his Chamber: for I would be glad (ſaid he) if ye could convert him. So he took me into his Chamber, and ſate him down in a Chair, and ſaid to me; I would to God I could do you ſome good. Ye are a young Man, and I would not wiſh you to go too far, but learn of your elders to bear ſome what.

Haukes. I will bear with nothing that is contrary to the Word of God. And I looked that the Old Biſhop ſhould have made me an Anſwer, and he was faſt a ſleep.

Then I departed out of the Chamber alone, and went to the Porters Lodge again, and there ſaw I the Old Biſhop laſt: I ſuppoſe he is not yet awake.

Talk between Fecknam *and* Haukes.

The next days talk with *Fecknam.*

THe next day came *Fecknam* unto me and ſaid; Are ye he that will have no Ceremonies?

Haukes, What mean you by that?

Fecknam. Ye will not have your Child Chriſtned, but in Engliſh, and you will have no Ceremonies.

Haukes. Whatſoever the Scripture commandeth to be done I refuſe not.

Fecknam. Ceremonies are to be uſed by the Scriptures.

Haukes. Which be thoſe?

Fecknam. How ſay you by *Pauls* Breeches?

Fecknam reaſon lyeth in *Pauls* Breeches.

Haukes. I have read no ſuch thing.

Fec. Have ye not read in the Acts of the Apoſtles, how

how things went from *Pauls* Body, and they received health thereby?

Acts 19.

Haukes. I have read in the xix. of the *Acts*, how there were Partlets and Napkins from *Pauls* Body, is it that you mean?

Fecknam maketh every Act ſpoken of in the New Teſtament to be a Ceremony. Mark 5. Luke 8.

Fecknam. Yea the ſame is it: what ſay you to thoſe Ceremonies?

Haukes. I ſay nothing to the Ceremonies. For the Text ſaith, that God did ſo work by the hands of *Paul*, that there went Partlets and Napkins from him, &c. So that it ſeemed by the Text, that it was God that wrought, and not the Ceremonies.

Fecknam. How ſay ye to the Woman that came behind Chriſt, and touched the hem af his veſture? did not her diſeaſe depart from her by that Ceremony?

Fecknam taken ſhort in his own ale.

Haukes. No forſooth: for Chriſt turned back, and ſaid to *Peter*, *Who is it that toucheth me?* And *Peter* ſaid, *Thou ſeeſt the People thruſt thee, and askeſt thou, Who touched me? Some Body hath touched me* (ſaith Chriſt) *for vertue hath gone out of me.* I pray you, whether was it the vertue that healed this Woman, or his veſture?

Fecknam. Both.

Fecknam driven in a ſtrait, driveth him to the Sacrament.

Haukes. Then is not Chriſt true: for he ſaid, *Go thy way thy Faith hath made thee whole.*

Boner. Away, away to the Sacrament, for theſe are but meer trifles to that.

Fecknam. How ſay ye Sirra? Chriſt took Bread, and brake it, and ſaid, *Take, eat, This is my Body.*

It is his Sacramental Body, or the Sacrament of his Body, but not his true Body.

Haukes. I grant Chriſt ſaid ſo.

Fecknam. And is it not ſo?

Haukes. No forſooth, I do not underſtand it ſo.

Fecknam. Why: then is Chriſt a lyer?

Haukes. I think ye will ſo prove him.

Fecknam. Will I? why I have ſpoken the words that Chriſt ſpake.

The words of Chriſt are to be underſtood, not as he ſpake, but as he meant them.

Haukes. Is every word to be underſtood as Chriſt ſpake it? Chriſt ſaid, I am a door, a Vine, I am a King, a way, &c.

Feckn. Chriſt ſpake theſe words in parables.

Haukes. And why ſpeaketh he this in parables when he ſaid, I am a Door, a Vine, a King, a Way, &c. more than this when he ſaid, *This is my Body*? For after the ſame phraſe of ſpeech, as he ſaith, *This is my Body*: ſo ſaith he, I am a Door, a Vine, a King, a Way, he ſaith not, I am like a Door, like a Vine, &c.

Then *Fecknam* ſtood up, and ſaid, I had ſuch a one before me this other day. Alas, theſe places ſerve nothing for your purpoſes. But I perceive ye hang and build on them that be at *Oxford*.

Haukes. What mean you by that?

Feck. I mean *Latimer*, *Cranmer*, and *Ridley*.

Haukes. I know nothing elſe by them, but that they be both godly and learned.

Fecknam falleth out of his matter to raylng.

Fecknam. Wilt thou truſt to ſuch dolts? One of them hath written a Book, wherein he affirmeth a real preſence in the Sacrament.

Haukes. What he hath done, I know not, but what he doth I know.

Fecknam. *Ridley* hath preached at *Pauls* Croſs openly, that the Devil believeth better than you: for he believeth that Chriſt is able of ſtones to make Bread, and ye will not believe, Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, and yet thou buildeſt thy Faith upon them.

Tho. Haukes buildeth his Faith upon no Man.

Haukes. I build my Faith upon no Man, and that ye well know: for if thoſe men, and as many more as they be, ſhould recant, and deny that they have ſaid or done, yet will I ſtand to it, and by this ſhall ye know that I build my Faith upon no man.

Boner. If any of thoſe recant, what will ye ſay to it?

Haukes. When they recant, I will make you an anſwer.

Boner. Then thou wilt ſay as thou doſt now for all that.

Haukes. Yea indeed will I, and that truſt to it, by Gods Grace.

B. Boner judgeth other Men by his own art.

Boner. I dare ſay, *Cranmer* would recant, ſo that he might have his living. And ſo the Biſhop and *Fecknam* departed from me with great laughing, and I went again to the Porters lodge.

Talk between Haukes *and* Chadſey.

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Another daies talk with D. *Chadſey.*

The next day came D. *Chadſey* to the Biſhop and him. The Biſhop declared unto him that I had ſtood ſtubbornly in the defence againſt the chriſtening of my Child, and againſt the Ceremonies of the Church, and that I would not have it Chriſtened but in Engliſh.

Then ſaid D. *Chadſey*; then he denieth the order of the Catholick Church.

Bon. Yea, he thinketh that there is no Church but in *England* and in *Germany*.

The Church of *Rome.*

Haukes. And ye think that there is no Church, but the Church of *Rome*.

Chad. What ſay ye to the Church of *Rome*.

Haukes. I ſay it is a Church of a ſort of vicious Cardinals, Prieſts, Monks and Friars, which I will never credit nor believe.

The Biſhop of *Rome.*

Chad. What ſay ye to the Biſhop of *Rome*?

Haukes. *From him and all his deteſtable enormities, Good Lord deliver us.*

Chad. Marry ſo may we ſay, from K. *Henry* the eighth, and all his deteſtable enormities, Good Lord deliver us.

Haukes. Where were ye whiles that he lived, that ye would not ſay ſo?

Chad. I was not far.

Haukes. Where were ye in his Sons days?

Chad. In Priſon.

Haukes. It was for your well doing.

Chadſeyes Argument: Chriſt never ſpake Engliſh: *ergo*, we muſt not pray in Engliſh.

Boner. He will by no means come within my Chappel, nor hear Maſs: for neither the Maſs, neither the Sacrament of the Altar can he abide, neither will he have any ſervice but in Engliſh.

Chad. Chriſt never ſpake in Engliſh.

An Inſtance given againſt *Chad.*

Haukes. Neither ſpake he ever any Latin but always in ſuch a Tongue as the People might be edified thereby. And *Paul* ſaith, *That Tongues profit us nothing.* He maketh a ſimilitude between the Pipe and the Harp, and except it be underſtood what the trumphet meaneth, who can prepare himſelf to the battel: ſo if I hear the Tongue which I do not underſtand, what profit have I thereby? no more than he hath by the Trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth.

Chad. If he underſtand *Pauls* ſaying, he ſpeaketh it under a prophecy, If one prophecy to you in Tongues, &c.

Haukes. Forſooth *Paul* ſpeaketh plainly of Tongues: for Tongues ſerve not for them that believe.

Chad. I tell you *Paul* ſpeaketh altogether upon prophecy.

Haukes. *Paul* maketh a diſtinction between prophecying and Tongues, ſaying, *That if any Man ſpeak with Tongues, let it be by two or three at the moſt, and let another interpret it. But if there be no Interpreter, let them keep ſilence in the Congregation, and let himſelf pray unto God: and then let the Prophets ſpeak two or three, and that by courſe, and let the other judge: and if any Revelation be made to him that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace:* ſo that it ſeemeth that *Paul* maketh a diſtinction between Tongues and prophecying.

Latin ſervice.

Boner. The order was taken in the Catholick Church that the Latin Tongue ſhould ſerve thorow the whole World, becauſe that they ſhould pray all generally together in one Tongue, and that to avoid all contention and ſtrife, and to have one univerſal order thorow the whole World.

Haukes. This did your Councels of *Rome* conclude.

Boner. Underſtand ye what the general Councels of *Rome* meant?

The general Councels of *Rome.*

Haukes. Indeed all your general Councels of *Rome* be in Latin, and I am an Engliſh Man: therefore I have nothing to do with them.

Chad. Ye are too blame, being an unlearned Man to reprove all the Councels thorowout all the whole World.

Haukes. I reprove them not, but *Paul* rebuketh them, ſaying, *If any Man Preach any other Doctrine than that which I have taught, do you hold him accurſed.*

Chad. Hath any Man Preached any other Doctrine unto you?

Haukes.

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Other doctrine taught in the Church of *Rome* than ever *Paul* taught.

Haukes. Yea, I have been taught another Goſpel ſince I came into this Houſe.

Chad. What Goſpel have ye been taught?

Haukes. Praying to Saints, and to our Lady, and truſt in the Maſs, holy Bread, holy Water, and in Idols.

Chad. He that teaches you ſo, teaches you not amiſs.

Haukes. Curſed be he that teacheth me ſo: for I will not truſt him nor believe him.

Boner. You ſpeak of Idols, and you know not what they mean.

Idols.

Haukes. God hath taught us what they be: for whatſoever is made, graven, or deviſed by mans hand, contrary to Gods Word, the ſame is an Idol. What ſay you to that?

Chad. What be thoſe that ye are ſo offended withal?

The Croſs.

Haukes. The Croſs of Wood, Silver, Copper, or Gold, &c.

Boner. What ſay ye to that?

Haukes. I ſay it is an Idol. What ſay you to it?

Images.

Boner. I ſay every Idol is an Image, but every Image is not an Idol.

Haukes. I ſay, what difference is there between an Idol and Image?

Note here *Boners* definition of an Idol.

Boner. If it be a falſe God, and an Image made of him, that is an Idol: but if an Image be made of God himſelf, it is no Idol, but an Image, becauſe he is a true God.

Note here how groſly *Chadſey* underſtandeth the words of S. *Paul.*

Haukes. Lay your Image of your true God and of your falſe God together, and ye ſhall ſee the difference. Have not your Images feet and go not, eyes and ſee not, ears and hear not, hands and feel not, mouths and ſpeak not? and even ſo have your Idols.

Chad. God forbid, ſaith S. *Paul, that I ſhould rejoyce in any thing elſe, but in the Croſs of Chriſt Jeſus.*

Haukes. Do ye underſtand *Paul* ſo? Do ye underſtand *Paul?* Unto the which he anſwered me never a word.

Boner. Where can we have a godlier remembrance when we ride by the way, than to ſee the Croſs?

Haukes. If the Croſs were ſuch a profit unto us, why did not Chriſts Diſciples take it up and ſet it on a Pole, and carry it in proceſſion, with *Salve, feſta dies?*

Chad. It was taken up.

Haukes. Who took it up? *Helene,* as ye ſay; for ſhe ſent a piece of it to a place of Religion, where I was with the Viſitors when that Houſe was ſuppreſſed, and the piece of the holy Croſs (which the Religious had in ſuch eſtimation, and had robbed many a Soul, committing Idolatry to it) was called for, and when it was proved, and all come to all, it was but a piece of a Lath covered over with Copper, double gilded as it had been clean Gold.

The People ſeduced by falſe pieces of the holy Croſs.

Boner. Fie, fie, I dare ſay thou ſlandereſt it.

Haukes. I know it to be true, and do not believe the contrary. And thus did the Biſhop and the Doctor depart in a great fume: and *Chadſey* ſaid unto me, as he was about to depart, It is pity that thou ſhouldeſt live, or any ſuch as thou art. I anſwered, In this caſe I deſire not to live, but rather to dye.

Note here diſcreetly the ſpirit of *Chadſey.*

Chad. Ye dye boldly, becauſe ye would glory in your death, as *Joan Butcher* did.

Haukes. What *Joan Butcher* did, I have nothing to do withal: but I would my part might be to Morrow. God make you in a better mind, ſaid they both, and ſo they departed, and I went to the Porters Lodge with my Keeper.

The next day Dr. *Chadſey* preached in the Biſhops Chappel, and did not begin his Sermon until all the Service was done: and then came the Porter for me, and ſaid, My Lord would have you come to the Sermon, and ſo I went to the Chappel Door, and ſtood without the Door.

Boner. Is not this Fellow come?

Haukes. Yes I am here.

Boner. Come in man.

T. *Haukes* Will not come in to *Boners* Chappel.

Haukes. No, that I will not. He called again, and I anſwered, I will come no nearer, and ſo I ſtood at the Door. Then ſaid the Biſhop go to your Sermon.

Then Dr. *Chadſey* put the ſtole about his Neck, and carried the holy Water-Sprincle unto the Biſhop, who bleſſed him and gave him holy Water, and ſo he went to his Sermon.

His Theme. *Chadſeyes* Sermon.

The Text that he treated on was the 16. of *Matthew, Whom do men ſay that I the Son of man am?* Peter *ſaid, Some ſay that thou art* Helias, *ſome ſay that thou art* John Baptiſt, *ſome ſay thou art one of the Prophets. But whom ſay ye that I am? Then ſaid* Peter, *Thou art Chriſt the Son of the ever-living God.* Then left he the Text there, and ſaid, *Whoſe Sins ſoever ye bind, are bound:* which Authority (ſaid he) is left to the Heads of the Church, as my Lord here is one, and ſo unto all the reſt that be underneath him. But the Church hath been much kicked at ſith the beginning: yet kick the Hereticks, ſpurn the Hereticks never ſo much, the Church doth ſtand and flouriſh. And then he went ſtraitway to the Sacrament, and ſaid his mind on it, exalting it above Heaven (as the moſt of them do) and ſo returned to his place again, ſaying, *Whoſe Sins ye do remit, are remitted and forgiven:* and ſo he applied it to the Biſhops and the Prieſts to forgive Sins, and ſaid, All that be of the Church will come and receive the ſame. And this he proved by S. *John* in the 11. Chap. ſaying, that Chriſt came to raiſe *Lazarus,* which when he was riſen, was bound in bands: then ſaid Chriſt to them that were in Authority (who were his Diſciples) go ye and looſe him, looſe him you. And this was the effect of his Sermon, applying all to them, that they have the ſame Authority that Chriſt ſpake of to his Apoſtles, and ſo ended his Sermon, and they to Dinner.

Chadſey exalteth the Sacrament.

Scripture clerkly applied.

Another Communication between Tho. Haukes *and the Biſhop.*

AND after Dinner I was called into the Chappel, whereas were certain of the Queens Servants, and other Strangers, whom I did not know.

Boner. Haukes, how like you the Sermon?

Haukes. As I like all the reſt of his Doctrine.

Boner. What? are ye not edified thereby?

Haukes. No ſurely.

Boner. It was made only becauſe of you.

Another talk between Tho. *Haukes* and *Boner* and the Queens men.

Haukes. Why? then am I ſorry that ye had no more Hereticks here, as ye call them: I am ſorry that ye have beſtowed ſo much labour on one, and ſo little regarded.

Boner. Well, I will leave you here, for I have buſineſs, I pray you talk with him: for if ye could do him good (ſaid he) I would be glad.

This the Biſhop ſpake to the Queens men, who ſaid unto me, Alas, what mean you to trouble your ſelf about ſuch matters againſt the Queens proceedings?

T. *Haukes* refuſeth to talk with the Queens men.

Haukes. Thoſe matters have I anſwered before them that be in Authority: and unleſs I ſee you have a farther Commiſſion, I will anſwer you nothing at all. Then ſaid the Biſhops Men, (which were many) my Lord hath commanded you to talk with them.

Haukes. If my Lord will talk with me himſelf, *I* will anſwer him. They cried, Fagots, burn him, hang him, to Priſon with him; it is pity that he liveth, lay Irons upon him, and with a great noiſe they ſpake theſe words. Then in the midſt of all their rage I departed from them, and went to the Porters Lodge again.

The next days Talk.

THE next day the Biſhop called me into his Chamber, and ſaid, Ye have been with me a great while, and ye are never the better, but worſe and worſe: and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but ſend you to *Newgate.*

Another days Talk between *Haukes* and *Boner.*

Haukes. My Lord, you can do me no better pleaſure.

Boner. Why? would you ſo fain go to Priſon?

Haukes. Truly I did look for none other, when I came to your hands.

Boner. Come on your ways, ye ſhall ſee what I have written. Then did he ſhew me certain Articles, and theſe are the Contents of them:

Boner ſheweth *Haukes* Articles in Writing.

Whether the Catholick Church do teach and believe, that Chriſts real Preſence doth remain in the Sacrament or no, after the words of Conſecration, according to the words of Saint *Paul*, which are theſe; *Is not the Bread which we break the partaking of the Body of*

Chriſt, and the Cup which we bleſs, the partaking of the Blood of Chriſt? which if it were not ſo, *Paul* would never have ſaid it.

Haukes. What your Church doth, I cannot tell: but I am ſure that the holy Catholick Church doth never ſo take it, nor believe it.

Boner. Whether doth the Catholick Church teach and believe the Baptiſm that now is uſed in the Church, or no?

Anſwer of Haukes to the firſt Article. Anſwer to the ſecond Article.

Haukes. I anſwered to it, as I did to the other queſtion before. Then did the Biſhop with much flattery counſel me to be perſwaded, and to keep me out of Priſon, which I utterly refuſed, and ſo we departed. And I ſuppoſed that the next day I ſhould have gone to Priſon, and ſo I had, ſave for the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, whoſe name is *Harpsfield*, whom the Biſhop had deſired to talk with me, and began to perſwade me concerning the Sacrament, and the Ceremonies: and after much talk he ſaid, that the Sacrament of the Altar was the ſame Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, which did hang upon the Croſs.

Talk between Haukes and D. Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

A queſtion put to Harpsfield.

Haukes. He was upon the Croſs both alive and dead: which of them was the Sacrament?

Harpſ. The Archdeacon anſwered, alive.

Haukes. How do you prove that?

Harpſ. You muſt believe. Doth not S. *John* ſay, *He is condemned already that believeth not?*

Haukes. St. *John* ſaith, *He that believeth not in the Son of God is already condemned*, but he ſaith not, He that believeth not in the Sacrament is already condemned.

Harpſ. There is no talk with you: for ye are both without Faith and Learning, and therefore I will talk no more with you in Scripture.

Another queſtion put to Harpsfield, why the Rood-loft is ſet between the Church and the Chancel

Haukes. Then two that ſtood by bade me enter further in talk with him; and then ſaid I unto him, Why is the Rood-loft ſet betwixt the body of the Church and the Chancel?

Harpſ. I cannot tell: for ye have asked a queſtion which you cannot aſſoil your ſelf.

Haukes. Yes that I can: for this ſaith one of your own Doctors, That the body of the Church doth repreſent the Church Militant, and the Chancel the Church Triumphant: and ſo becauſe we cannot go from the Church Militant to the Church Triumphant, but that we muſt bear the Croſs of Chriſt; this is the cauſe of the Rood-loft, being between the body of the Church and the Chancel.

Harpſ. This is well and Clerkly concluded.

Haukes. As all the reſt of your Doctrine is; and ſo with many perſwaſions on his part we ended, and ſo departed: and I to the Porters Lodge again.

Another days Talk.

Haukes ſent to the Gate-Houſe at Weſtminſter with the Biſhops Warrant.

THE next day in the Morning, which was the firſt day of *July*, the Biſhop did call me himſelf from the Porters Lodge, commanding me to make me ready to go to Priſon, and to take ſuch things with me as I had of mine own. And I ſaid, I do neither intend to bribe, neither to ſteal, God willing. Then he did write my Warrant to the Keeper of the Gate-houſe at *Weſtminſter*, and delivered it to *Harpsfield*, who with his own man and one of the Biſhops men brought me to Priſon, and delivered the Warrant and me both to the Keeper: and this was contained in the Warrant.

The Biſhops Warrant.

I will and command you, that you receive him who cometh named in this Warrant, and that he be kept as a ſafe Priſoner, and that no man ſpeak with him, and that ye deliver him to no man, except it be the Council, or to a Juſtice: for he is a Sacramentary, and one that ſpeaketh againſt Baptiſm, a ſeditious man, a perillous man to be abroad in theſe perillous days. And thus was I received, and they departed. And there I remained thirteen days, and then the Biſhop ſent two of his Men unto me, ſaying, My Lord would be glad to know how ye do. I anſwered them, I do like a poor Priſoner. They ſaid, My Lord would know, whether ye be the ſame man that ye were when ye departed. I ſaid, I am no Changling. They ſaid, My Lord would be glad that ye ſhould do well. I ſaid, if my Lord will me any good, I pray you deſire him to ſuffer my Friends to come to me. So they ſaid they would ſpeak for me, but I heard no more of them.

The Biſhops men ſent to Haukes in the Gate-Houſe.

Anno 1555.

This is the firſt Examination of me *Thomas Haukes*, being examined by *Edmund Boner*, then Biſhop of *London*, and by his Chaplains and Doctors at *Fulham*, four miles from *London*, where I lay, till I came to Priſon to *Weſtminſter*: and after his two Men had been with me, I heard no more of him till the third day of *September*.

Here followeth the ſecond time of mine Examination, the which was the third day of September, *for the Biſhop did ſend his Men for me to come to his Palace of* London; *and ſo my Keeper and his Men brought me to his Palace the ſame day.*

The ſecond time of Haukes his Examination.

THE Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, then being Chancellor, Preached that day at *Pauls-Croſs*, and the Biſhop of *London* ſaid to my Keeper, I think your Man will not go to the Sermon to day.

Haukes. Yes my Lord, I pray you let me go: and that that is good I will receive, and the reſt I will leave behind me, and ſo I went. And when the Sermon was done, I and my Keeper came to the Biſhops Houſe, and there we remained till Dinner was done: and after Dinner the Biſhop called for me, and asked me, if I were the ſame Man that I was before.

Haukes. I am no Changling, nor none will be.

Boner. Ye ſhall find me no Changling neither. And ſo he returned into his Chamber, and there he did write the ſide of a ſheet of Paper, and all that while I ſtood in the great Chamber, and as many with me as might well ſtand in the Chamber. And as I ſtood there, Dr. *Smith* came unto me, (who once recanted, as it appeared in Print) ſaying, That he would be glad to talk Brotherly with me. I asked him what he was. Then ſaid they that ſtood by, he is Dr. *Smith*. Then ſaid I, Are you he that did recant? And he ſaid, it was no recantation, but a declaration.

Dr. Smith cometh to Haukes. Dr. Smith's recantation.

Haukes. You were beſt to term it well for your own Honeſty.

Dr. *Smith.* Shall I term it as it pleaſeth you?

Haukes. To be ſhort with you, I will know whether ye will recant any more or no, before that I talk with you, credit you, or believe you: and ſo I departed from him to the other ſide of the Chamber. Then ſaid the Biſhops Men and his Chaplains, that my Lord commanded me to talk with him. Then they that ſtood by cried with a great noiſe, Hang him, burn him; it is pity that he liveth, that diſobeyeth my Lords commandment.

Miles Huggard's words to T. Haukes

Then ſaid one *Miles Huggard*, Where prove you that Infants were baptized?

Haukes. Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son; and of the Holy Ghoſt. Sir, here is none excepted.

Mr. *Huggard.* What ſhall we go to teach Children?

Haukes. That word doth trouble you; it might be left out full well: it is too much for you to teach. *Is* not your name *Miles Huggard?*

Miles Huggard.

Mr. *Hug.* So am I called.

Haukes. Be you not a Hoſier, and dwell in *Pudding-Lane?*

Mr. *Hug.* Yes that I am, and there I do dwell.

Huggard more meet to eat a Pudding, than to diſpute of Scripture.

Haukes. It ſhould ſeem ſo, for ye can better skill to eat a Pudding, and make a Hoſe, than in Scripture either to anſwer or oppoſe. With that he was in great rage, and did chafe up and down. Then I deſired that ſome man would take ſome pain to walk the Gentleman, he did fret ſo for anger. Then one that ſtood by me (who was Parſon of *Horn-Church* and *Rumford* in *Eſſex*) ſaid, Alas, what do you mean? a young Man to be ſo ſtubborn? there ſeemeth too much Pride in you.

Haukes. Are ye not the Parſon of *Horn-Church.*

Parſon. Yes that I am.

Haukes. Did you not ſet ſuch a Prieſt in your Benefice?

Parſon. Yes for a ſhift.

Haukes.

Anno 1555.

Haukes. Like will to like; ſuch Maſter, ſuch Man. For I know the Prieſt to be a very vile man, as any could be. I asked the Parſon, what kin he was to the Weather-Cock of *Pauls?* and he fell into a great Laughter with the reſt of his Companions. He ſaid, that *I* did Rail.

Parſon of *Horn-Church* compared to the Weather-Cock of *Pauls.* Frivolous Queſtion. *Eſay* 53.

Then ſaid another that ſtood by unto me; what Book have you here? I anſwered, the New Teſtament. May I look in it, ſaid he? Yea, that ye may, ſaid I. And ſo he looked in my Book, and ſaid it was corrupt. I anſwered him, if the things contained in it be true, then are ye falſe Prophets. He ſaid that he would oppoſe me in the firſt word of the Teſtament, ſaying, Here is a generation of Chriſt: and *Eſay* ſaith, No man can tell his Generation.

Haukes. What meaneth *Eſay* by that?

I would learn of you, ſaid he.

Haukes. Ye would be angry if the Scholar ſhould teach the Maſter: but if ye will have me to teach you, I will tell you *Eſays* meaning.

Then ſaid he, No man can tell the Generation between the Father and the Son: but you (I dare ſay) did know it before.

Haukes. Why then *Eſay* denieth not the Generation.

Then ſaid he, Why is Chriſt called Chriſt?

Haukes. Becauſe he is a Meſſias.

Then ſaid he, Why is he called a Meſſias?

Haukes. Becauſe he was ſo prophecied by the Prophets.

Then ſaid he, Why is your Book called a Book?

Haukes. Theſe words do breed more ſtrife than godly edifying.

Beware, ſaid he, that ye do not decline from the Church, for if you do, you will prove your ſelf an Heretick.

Difference between the true Prophets and the falſe. The falſe Prophets ſay, Dicit Eccleſia, Thus ſaith the Church. The true Prophets ſay, Dicit Dominus, Thus ſaith the Lord.

Haukes. Even as ye do call us Hereticks, that do incline to Chriſt's Church from your Church: ſo are ye all falſe Prophets that do decline from Chriſts Church to your own Church. And by this ſhall all men know you to be falſe Prophets, if ye ſay, This ſaith the Church: and will not ſay, This ſaith our Lord. And ſo he went his way, as though he had a Flea in his Ear.

Then came another and ſaid unto me, He would talk with me; for he perceived (as he ſaid) that I was angry, and out of patience.

Haukes. I will ſee your Commiſſion, or ever I talk with you, or with any man more. For I wiſt not how to be rid of them, they came ſo thick about me. For I ſaid, that I came to talk with my Lord, and not with any of them.

The Biſhop writeth *Hauke's* Confeſſion.

With that came the Biſhop, bringing a Letter in his hand, the which he had written in my Name, and read it unto me after this manner: I *Thomas Haukes* do here confeſs and declare before my ſaid Ordinary *Edmund* Biſhop of *London*, that the Maſs is abominable and deteſtable, and full of all Superſtition; and alſo as concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt (commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar) that Chriſt is in no part thereof, but only in Heaven: this I have believed, and this I do believe, &c.

Haukes. Stop there my Lord: what I have believed, What have you to do withal? But what I do believe, to that ſtand I, and will. Then he took his Pen, and ſaid that he would ſcrape it out for my pleaſure, and ſo he did to my thinking.

Then he went further with his writing, and ſaid, I *Tho. Haukes* have talked with my ſaid Ordinary, and with certain good, godly and learned Men. Notwithſtanding I ſtand ſtill in mine Opinion.

Haukes. Shall I grant you to be good, godly and learned Men, and yet grant my ſelf to ſtand in a contrary Opinion? No, I will not grant you to be good, godly and learned Men.

Boner. Ye will grant that ye have talked with us: The other I will put out for your pleaſure. Then ſaid all his Doctors, If your Lordſhip be ruled by him, he will cauſe you to put out all together: and then he read more to me. Here unto this Bill have I ſet my hand; and then he offered me the Bill and his Pen, and bade me ſet my hand to it.

Haukes. Ye get not my hand to any thing of your making or deviſing.

Tho. Haukes denieth to ſet his hand to *Boner's* Writing.

Boner. Wilt not thou ſet to thy hand? It ſhall be to thy ſhame for the denying of it.

And then he called all his Doctors, and ſaid, he would have every mans hand to it that was in the Chamber; and ſo he had all their hands to it and ſaid: He that will not ſet his hand to it, I would he were hanged, and ſo ſaid all his Chaplains and Doctors with a great noiſe.

Boner in a fume with *Haukes.*

Then the Biſhop thruſt me on the Breaſt with great anger; and ſaid he would be even with me; and with all ſuch proud Knaves in *Eſſex.*

Haukes. Ye ſhall do no more than God ſhall give you leave.

Boner. This Jeer ſhall not be unpuniſhed, truſt to it.

Haukes. As for your Curſings, Railings and Blaſphemings, I care not for them: for I know the Moths and Worms ſhall eat you, as they eat Cloth or Wool.

Biſhop. I will be even with you, when time ſhall come.

Haukes. You may in your malice deſtroy a man: but when ye have done, ye cannot do ſo much as make a finger, and ye be meetly even with ſome of us already.

Boner. If I do thee any wrong, take the Law of me.

Haukes. Solomon ſaith, *Go not to Law with a Judge; For he will judge according to his own honour.*

Boner. Solomon ſaith, *Give not a Fool an anſwer.*

Haukes. What, do you count me a Fool?

Boner. Yea, by my Troth do I, and ſo doſt thou me too: but God forgive thee, * and ſo do I.

* And even now ye ſaid, you would be even with him.

Haukes. Thought is free, my Lord. Then took *Boner* the Bill and read it again; and when he ſaw that he could not have my hand to it, then he would have had me to take it into my hand, and to give it to him again.

Haukes. What needeth that Ceremony? Neither ſhall it come into my hand, heart or mind. Then he wrapt it up, and put it in his Boſom, and in a great anger went his way, and called for his Horſe and went to Horſe-back, for the ſame day he rode in Viſitation into *Eſſex*: and ſo went I to Priſon, from whence I came with my Keeper. And this was the ſecond time of my Examination.

Written by me *Tho. Haukes*, who deſireth all Faithful men and Brethren to pray unto God, to ſtrengthen me in his Truth unto the end. Pray, pray, pray, gentle Brethren pray.

The publick Examination of Tho. Haukes.

AFter all theſe private Conferences, Perſwaſions and long Debatings had with *T. Haukes* in the Biſhops Houſe, as hitherto hath been declared, the Biſhop ſeeing no hope to win him to his wicked ways, was fully ſet to proceed openly againſt him after the ordinary courſe of his Popiſh Law. Whereupon *T. Haukes* ſhortly after was cited with the reſt of his other Fellows above-ſpecified, to wit, *T. Tomkins*, *S. Knight*, *W. Pygot*, *J. Lawrence*, and *W. Hunter*, to appear in the Biſhops Conſiſtory, the 8. day of *February*, this preſent year, *viz.* 1555. Upon which appearance, was laid againſt him in like order as to the other, firſt the Bill of his Confeſſion, written with *Boner's* hand, to the which Bill ye heard before how the bleſſed Servant of God denied to ſubſcribe.

Tho. He cited, the Biſhop Conſiſt.

The Regiſtro. the firſt day's Seſſion againſt T. *Haukes.*

After which Bill of Confeſſion, being read, and he conſtantly ſtanding to the ſaid Confeſſion, the Biſhop then aſſigned him with the other five the next day following, which was the 9*th* of *February*, to appear before him again, to give a reſolute Anſwer what they would ſtick unto. Which day being come, and theſe foreſaid ſix Priſoners being ſeverally called before the Biſhop, at the coming of *Thomas Haukes*, the Biſhop willed him to remember what was ſaid to him yeſterday, and now while he had time and ſpace, to adviſe with himſelf what he would anſwer, for he ſtood upon Life and Death. Well quoth Mr. *Haukes* again, I will willingly receive whatſoever ſhall be put upon me. Then were certain other Interrogatories or Articles commenced againſt him by the ſaid Biſhop (in like manner as

The ſecond days Seſſion againſt T. *Haukes.*

The Anſwer of T. *Haukes.*

to the other) to the number of four, with another bill alſo which *Boner* brought out of his Boſom, containing private matters againſt the ſaid *Thomas Haukes*, which the Biſhop called Hereſies and Errors, but we may better call them Chriſtian Verities. To the which matter being read, the ſaid *Haukes* anſwered openly again, ſaying that it was true, and that he was glad it was ſo true as it was, with moe words to the like effect. And this was in the forenoon, the ix. day of *February*. In the afternoon again the ſaid *Haukes* appearing and hearing the foreſaid bill of his Confeſſion, with the Articles and Interrogatories read unto him, with like Conſtancie in anſwering again to the Biſhop; My Lord (ſaid he) as you being my Friend have cauſed theſe my ſayings to be written; ſo do you cauſe them to be read: and yet I will never go from them. And then being exhorted by the Biſhop, with many fair words, to return again to the Boſom of the Mother Church: No my Lord (ſaid he) that will I not: for if I had an Hundred Bodies, I would ſuffer them all to be torn in pieces, rather than I will abjure or recant. And ſo continuing ſtill in the ſame ſong, notwithſtanding that the Doctors and Lawyers were ever calling upon him to come again to the Unity of the Church, he ever kept them off with this Anſwer, that he would never go from the belief he was in, ſo long as he believed. Whereupon *Boner* at the laſt read the Sentence of Death upon him, and ſo was he condemned the ſame day with the reſidue of his fellowes, which was the ninth of *February*. Nevertheleſs his execution was prolonged, and he remained in priſon till the 10. day of *June*. Then was he committed to the hands and charge of the Lord *Rich*, who, being aſſiſted with power ſufficient of the Worſhipful of the Shire, had the foreſaid *Thomas Haukes* down into *Eſſex*, with Six other fellow priſoners whoſe Stories hereafter follow, there to ſuffer Martyrdom, *Haukes* at *Cox-Hall*, the other ſeverally in other ſeveral places. Anno 1555.

Thomas Haukes by the way uſe much exhortation to his Friends, and whenſoever opportunity ſerved to talk with them he would familiarly Admoniſh them.

A little before his Death, certain there were of his familiar Acquaintance and Friends, who frequented his company more familiarly, which ſeemed not a little to be confirmed both by the example of his conſtancy, and by this talk; yet notwithſtanding, the ſame again, being feared with the ſharpneſs of the puniſhment which he was going to privily, deſired that in the midſt of the Flame he would ſhew them ſome token, if he could, whereby they might be more certain, whether the pain of ſuch burning were ſo great that a man might not therein keep his mind quiet and patient. Which thing he promiſed them to do: and ſo ſecretly between them it was agreed, that if the rage of the pain were tolerable and might be ſuffered, then he ſhould lift up his hands above his head toward Heaven, before he gave up the Ghoſt.

Agreed between *Tho. Haukes* and Friends to give them a token in the fire, whether the pain of burning were ſo grievous as it ſeemeth or no?

Not long after, when the hour was come, *T. Haukes* was led away to the place appointed for the ſlaughter, by the *L. Rich* and his Aſſiſtants who being now come unto the ſtake, there mildly and patiently addreſſed himſelf to the fire, having a ſtrait chain caſt about his middle, with

Tho. Haukes carried to the place of execution.

The words of *Thomas Haukes* at his judgment. The invincible conſtancy of *Tho. Haukes*.

Tho. Haukes condemned by Biſhop *Boner*.

The death of *Haukes* declared. *Tho. Haukes* brought down to *Eſſex* by the Lord *Rich*.

no ſmall multitude of People on every ſide compaſſing him about. Unto whom after he had ſpoken many things, eſpecially unto the L. *Rich* reaſoning with him of the innocent Blood of Saints, at length after his fervent prayers firſt made, and poured out unto God, the fire was ſet unto him.

Tho. Haukes ſtanding at the ſtake reaſoneth with the Lord *Rich*

In the which when he continued long, and when his ſpeech was taken away by Violence of the flame, his ſkin alſo drawn together, and his fingers conſumed with the fire, ſo that now all men thought certainly he had been gone, ſuddenly and contrary to all expectation the bleſſed Servant of God, being mindful of his promiſe afore made, reached up his hands burning on a light fire, which was marvellous to behold, over his head to the living God. and with great rejoycing, as ſeemed, ſtrook or clapped theme three times together. At the ſight whereof there followed ſuch applauſe and out-cry of the People, and eſpecially of them which underſtood the matter, that the like hath not commonly been heard: and ſo the bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt, ſtraightway ſinking down into the fire, gave up his Spirit, An. 1555. *June* 10. And thus have you plainly and expreſly deſcribed unto you the whole ſtory, as well of the Life, as of the death of *T. Haukes*, a moſt conſtant and faithful witneſs of Chriſts Holy Goſpel.

A token given in the fire that burning is not ſo intolerable a pain as it was thought

The end and Martyrdom of Thomas Haukes at Coxhall

Letters.

An Epiſtle to the Congregation, by Thomas Haukes.

A letter of *Th. Haukes* to the congregation.

GRace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be alway with you all (my dear Brethren and Siſters in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt) for ever; and his Holy Spirit conduct and lead

you

Anno 1555.

you all in all your doings, that you may always direct your deeds according to his Holy Word; that when he ſhall appear to reward every man according to their works, ye may as obedient Children, be found watching, ready to enter into his everlaſting Kingdom, with your lamps burning, and when the Bridegroom ſhall ſhew himſelf, ye need not to be aſhamed of this life which God hath lent you, which is but tranſitory, vain, and like unto a vapour, that for a ſeaſon appeareth and vaniſheth away: ſo ſoon paſſeth away all our terreſtriall honour, glory and felicity. *For all Fleſh* (ſaith the Prophet) *is graſs, and all his glory as the flower of the field, which for a ſeaſon ſheweth her beauty, and as ſoon as the Lord bloweth upon it, it withereth away, and departeth.* For in this tranſitory and dangerous wilderneſs, we are as Pilgrims and ſtrangers following the footſteps of Moſes, among many unſpeakable dangers, beholding nothing with our outward man, but all vain vanities and vexation of mind, ſubject to hunger, cold, nakedneſs, bonds, ſickneſs, loſs, labours, baniſhment, in danger of that dreadful Dragon, and his ſinful ſeed, to be devoured, tempted and tormented, who ceaſeth not behind every buſh to lay a bait, when we walk awry to have his pleaſure upon us, caſting abroad his apples in all places, times, and ſeaſons, to ſee if *Adam* will be allured and enticed to leave the living God and his moſt holy commandments, whereby he is aſſured of everlaſting life, promiſing the World at will, to all that will fall down in all ages, and for a meſs of pottage ſell and ſet at naught the Everlaſting Kingdom of Heaven. So frail is Fleſh and Blood; *And in eſpecial Iſrael is moſt ready to walk awry, when he his filled with all manner of Riches,* as ſaith the Prophet.

The manifold danger which a true Chriſtian hath to paſs through in this World.

Therefore I am bold in bonds (as entirely deſiring your everlaſting health and felicity) to warn you, and moſt heartily deſire you to watch and pray: For our eſtate is dangerous, and requireth continual prayer. For on the high Mountains, doth not grow moſt plenty of graſs, neither are the higheſt trees fartheſt from danger, but ſeldom ſure, and always ſhaken of every wind that bloweth. Such a deceitful thing (ſaith our Saviour) is Honour and Riches, that without grace it choketh up the good ſeed ſown on his creatures, and blindeth ſo their ſeeing, that they go groping at noon day in darkneſs: it maketh a man think himſelf ſomewhat, that is nothing at all. For though for our Honour we eſteem our ſelves and ſtand in our own light, yet when we ſhall ſtand before the living God, there ſhall be no reſpect of perſons. For riches helpeth not in the day of vengeance: neither can we make the Lord partial for money. But as ye have miniſtred unto the Saints, ſo ſhall ye receive the reward, which I am fully perſwaded and aſſured ſhall be plenteouſly poured upon you all, for the great goodneſs ſhewed unto the Servants of the Living God. And I moſt heartily beſeech Almighty God to pour forth a plenteous reward upon you for the ſame, and that he will aſſiſt you with his Holy Spirit in all your doings, that ye may grow, as ye have begun, unto ſuch a perfection as may be to Gods Honour, your own ſalvation, and the ſtrengthening of the weak members of Chriſt. For though the World rage, and blaſpheme the elect of God, ye know that it did ſo unto Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and to all that were in the Primitive Church, and ſhall be unto the Worlds End,

The higher in dignity the nearer to danger.

Prov. 11. Riches help not before God

Gods elect always bear the ſlander in this World.

Therefore believe in the light while ye have it, leſt it be taken away from you; if you ſhall ſeem to neglect the great Mercy of God that hath been opened unto you, and your hearts conſented unto it, that it is the very and only truth pronounced by Gods only Son Jeſus Chriſt, by the good will of our Heavenly Father. Therefore I ſay in the Bowels of my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſtick faſt unto it; let it never depart out of your hearts and converſation, that you with us, and we with you at the great day, being one flock, as we have one Shephard, may riſe to the life immortall, through Jeſus Chriſt our only Saviour. *Amen.*

Yours in him that liveth for ever, Thomas Haukes.

Here followeth another letter of *Thomas Haukes*, ſent to his Wife after his condemnation, being priſoner in *Newgate*: the copie whereof is this.

The copie of Thomas Haukes *Letter to his Wife.*

A letter of *Tho. Haukes* unto his Wife.

GRace be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which gave himſelf for our ſins, to deliver us from this preſent Evil World, through the good will of God our Father, to whom be praiſe for ever and ever, *Amen.*

My dear yoke-fellow in the Lord, foraſmuch as the Lord hath not only called me to work in his vineyard, but hath alſo fulfilled his good work in me (I truſt to his glory, and to the comfort of all thoſe that look for his coming) I thought it my duty, dear yoke-fellow, to write unto you ſome leſſons out of Gods Book; and if you will direct your ſelf thereafter, doubt not of it but God, who refuſeth none that will come to him with their whole heart, will aſſiſt you with his Holy Spirit, and direct you in all his ways, to his Honour and Glory, who grant it for his mercy ſake, *Amen.*

Leſſons for inſtructions to his wife.

Firſt, I exhort you to fear God, to ſerve and honour his holy Name, to love him with all your heart, ſoul, and mind, to believe faithfully all his promiſes, to lay ſure hold upon them, that in all your troubles whatſoever they are, ye may run ſtraight to the great mercy of God, and he will bring you forth of them: Keep you within his wings; then ſhall ye be ſure that neither Divel, Fleſh, nor Hell ſhall be able to hurt you.

But take heed; If you will not keep his Holy Precepts and Laws, and to the uttermoſt of your power call for the help of God to walk in the ſame, but will leave them, and run to all abominations with the wicked World, and do as they do; then be ſure to have your part with the wicked World in the burning Lake that never ſhall be quenched. Therefore beware of Idolatry, which doth moſt of all ſtink before the face of Almighty God, and was of all good men moſt deteſted from the beginning of the World. For the which, what Kingdoms, Nations, and Realms God hath puniſhed with moſt terrible plagues, with fire, brimſton, hunger, ſword, and peſtilence, &c. to the utter ſubverſion of them, *it is* manifeſtly to be ſeen though the whole Bible. Yea, his own peculiar People, whom he had done ſo much for, when they fell from him, and went and ſerved other gods, contrary to his commandment, he utterly deſtroyed and rooted them out from off the Earth: and as many as died in that damnable ſtate, not repenting their abominable evil, he threw them into the Pit of Hell. Again, how he hath preſerved thoſe that abhor Superſtition and Idolatry, and that have only taken hold upon God with their whole heart, to ſerve him, and to love him, to fear him, &c. it is moſt manifeſtly to be ſeen even from the beginning, out of what great dangers he hath ever delivered them: yea when all hope of deliverance was paſt as touching their expectation, even then in the ſight of all his enemies would he work his godly will and purpoſe, to the utter amazing and deſtruction of all thoſe that were his manifeſt enemies.

He exhorteth her to beware of Idolatry.

Idolatry puniſhed of God.

Further, I exhort you in the bowels of Chriſt that you will exerciſe and be ſtedfaſt in prayer; for prayer is the onely mean to pierce the Heavens, to obtain at the hand of God whatſoever we deſire, ſo that it be asked in faith. Oh what notable things do we read in Scriptures that have been obtained through fervent prayer? We are commanded to call upon him for help, aid, and ſuccour in neceſſities and troubles, and he hath promiſed to help us. Again, they that will not call upon him with their whole heart, but upon other dead creatures, in whom there is no help (for there was none found worthy to open the book, but only the Lamb Chriſt which was killed for our ſins) I ſay, who that will refuſe his help, muſt even by the terrible Judgments of God come utterly to confuſion: as it hath, and is daily manifeſt to be ſeen. And whatſoever you deſire of God in your prayer ask it for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, for whom and in whom God, hath promiſed to give us all things neceſſary. And though that which we ask come not by and by at the firſt and ſecond calling, yet continue ſtill knocking, and he will at the length open his Treaſures of mercy, ſo that ye ſhall be ſure to obtain; for he hath ſo promiſed, if ye continue in faith, hoping ſurely in him. Theſe former leſſons, with all ſuch inſtructions as I have told you by mouth,

Exhortation to prayer.

Praying to God, and not to creatures.

To continue in prayer, and to pray only in the name of Chriſt.

I do wiſh that you would moſt earneſtly learn; and then I doubt not, but God who is the giver of all grace, will aſſiſt you in all your doings, that ye may be found worthy of his Kingdom, which is prepared through Chriſt.

Care for his Children.

Further, where it hath pleaſed God to ſend us Children: my deſire is that they may be brought up in the fear of God, and in his Laws. And this is to certifie you, that ye deliver in any wiſe my Eldeſt Son unto M. *Throgmorton*, who upon his good will hath promiſed me to bring him up according to my deſire; and (I truſt) as God hath put into his heart. See therefore that ye deliver him in any wiſe without delay: and as for the other, if ye ſhall ſeem to be burdened with him (which I think nature will not ſuffer) my deſire is, that it be brought up in the fear of God to the uttermoſt of your indeavour, with ſome honeſt man that hath the fear of God before his eyes, and let us give thanks unto God which hath given them us beſeeching him that they may be counted worthy to be of that flock that ſhall ſtand on the Right Hand of the *Majeſty* of God, when he ſhall judg the World, *Amen*.

He meaneth M. *Clement Throgmorton*, who deſired to have the bringing up of his Child.

Yet once again I warn you, that ye continue in fervent prayer, as I ſaid before; then ſhall ye be ſure, that God even of his own mercy, according as he hath promiſed, will be an Husband unto you, and provide better for you than ever I was able to do: yea, he will cauſe all men that fear him to pitie you, to help you, to ſuccour you in all your neceſſities, ſo that if any will do you wrong, he will be avenged on him. Moreover, I wiſh you to keep company with thoſe of whom ye may learn to come to a more perfect knowledge in God, and I doubt not but God will provide that ſuch will be glad to receive you, if you ſhall profeſs and go forward in his truth.

Keeping of good company.

Finally, and to make an end, I deſire you that ye take heed with whom ye couple your ſelf. See that he be a man that feareth God, loveth his Laws, and will walk in the ſame to the uttermoſt of his power: ſuch a one as can be content to love you, and to care for you. Take heed he be no brawler, no drunkard, no wicked perſon, not given to filthineſs, no worldling, no dicer nor carder. In fine, no filthy perſon, but chuſe you ſuch a one as God may be glorified in both your lives. And again on your part, love him, ſerve him, obey him in all godlineſs, as long as God ſhall give you life in this World. Then ſhall ye both be ſure to obtain that Kingdom which God the Father hath prepared, and Jeſus Chriſt obtained for you, that never ſhall have end, where I truſt to abide your coming, *Amen*.

Exhortation to take heed whom ſhe marrieth, and that ſhe marry in the Lord.

By your Husband, Thomas Haukes.

Ye heard before in the Letter of *Tho. Haukes* written to his Wife, mention made concerning his Eldeſt Son to be ſent to M. *Throgmorton*. Now what he writeth to the ſaid M. *Throgmorton* touching the ſame matter, by this his Letter to the ſaid party hereunder enſuing, may appear.

A Letter of Thomas Haukes to *M.* Clement Throgmorton.

Another letter of Thomas Haukes written to M. *Clement Throgmorton*.

GRace, mercy and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be with you, and aſſiſt you in all your thoughts, words, and works, that be in all things, as moſt worthy, may be glorified, and that the bleſſing of Abraham *may be poured plenteouſly on you and all your poſterity.*

Whereas the Love of God hath moved you to require my Son to be brought up before your eyes, and the ſelf ſame love hath alſo moved me in like caſe to leave him in your hands, as unto a Father in mine Abſence, I ſhall require you in Gods behalf according to your promiſes, that ye will ſee him brought up in the Fear of the Lord, and inſtructed in the knowledge of his Holy Word, that he may thereby learn to leave the evil, and know the good, and alwayes be pricked forward with Fatherly Inſtructions to follow my Footſteps, that as Almighty God hath made me worthy through his ſpecial grace to work his will in Obedience, he may learn to follow me his Father in the like, to Gods Honour and Praiſe: And this I require you in Gods behalf to fulfill, or cauſe to be fulfilled, as ye before the living God will make Anſwer for the ſame. I have left for the Child certain Books which ſhall be delivered unto you, wherein his Inſtruction and Salvation lieth, if he learn and practiſe the ſame. And thus moſt humbly beſeeching you once again, to be as good to him, as your promiſe was unto me, that is, to be a Father, and a wall of defence unto him in all troubles, I leave him in your hand through the Lord Jeſus, and deſire him to bleſs both him and you according to his good promiſe: and all that good which ye ſhall do unto him, I ſhall moſt heartily deſire the everlaſting God to recompence unto you in his Kingdom, where I hope to meet both him and you among all Gods Elect. To which God be all Praiſe, Honour, and Glory, Amen.

Yours and all mens in Chriſt Jeſus,
Thomas Haukes.

Anno 1555

The Hiſtory of Thomas Wats, *examined, tried, and burnt for the truth of the Goſpel.*

THomas Wats *of Billerica*, within the Country of *Eſſex*, of the *Doceſs* of *London*, was by his occupation a Linnen Draper: who before he was apprehended, had ſold and made away his cloth in his ſhop, and diſpoſed his things being ſet in order to his Wife and Children, and gave away much of his cloth unto the poor. For he looked always to be taken by Gods Adverſaries and his, as ſhortly after came indeed to paſs: ſo that upon the 26. day of *April*, he was apprehended and brought before the Lord *Rich*, and other Commiſſioners at *Chelmsford*, and there being accuſed for not coming to the Church, was upon the ſame examined before the Lord *Rich*, *Henry Tyrel*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, *Edmund Tyrel*, *Thomas Mildmay*, John *Wiſeman*, *Roger Appleton*, *Richard Weſton*, Juſtice *Gaudy*, *&c.* The ſumme and principal effect of which examination, hereunder followeth briefly expreſſed.

June 10. The Story of Thomas Wats, Mar. 1555.

Tho. Wats diſpoſeth his goods before he ſhould be apprehended.

The Examination of Thoms Wats *before the Lord* Rich, *and others.*

WHen this *Thomas Wats* came before the Lord *Rich* and other the Juſtices, whoſe Names are ſpecified in the letter following (which they ſent unto the Biſhop of *London* againſt him) at the Seſſions at *Chelmsford*, the Lord *Rich* ſaid theſe Words or the like in effect unto him.

The examination of *Tho. Wats* before the Lord *Rich*, and other the Queens Commiſſioners.

Wats, ye be brought hither, as I underſtand, becauſe of diſobedience to the King and the Queens Laws. Ye will not come to the Church, ye will not hear Maſs, *&c.* but have your Conventicles a ſort of you in corners, contrary to the Kings and Queens proceedings. Unto which his words *Wats* anſwered and ſaid.

The words of the Lord *Rich* to *Tho. Wats*

My Lord, if I have offended a Law, I am ſubject here to the Law. Then *Anthony Brown* Juſtice ſaid unto him; *Wats*, I pray thee tell me who hath been thy Schoolmaſter to teach thee this geer, or where didſt thou firſt learn this Religion? Forſooth, quoth *Wats*, even of you, Sir: you taught it me, and none more than you. For in King *Edwards* days in open Seſſions you ſpake againſt this Religion now uſed, no Preacher more. You then ſaid the Maſs was abominable, and all their Trumpery beſides, wiſhing and earneſtly exhorting that none ſhould believe therein, and that our belief ſhould be only in Chriſt: and you ſaid then whoſoever ſhould bring in any ſtrange Nation to rule here, it were Treaſon, and not to be ſuffered. Then ſaid *Brown* to my Lord *Rich*, he belies me my Lord. What a knave is this? he will ſoon belie me behind my back, when he doth it before my face; and my Lord *Rich* ſaid again, I dare ſay he doth ſo.

Wats words to the Lord *Rich*. Sir *Anthony Brown* a Goſpeller in King *Edwards* days, and a perſecutor in Q. *Maries* days.

After theſe words, *Wats* took occaſion to ſpeak ſomwhat of King *Philip* and of his coming in, but what it was, I could not juſtly learn. But thus much was heard, that after thoſe words ſpoken, the Bench among themſelves ſtood up, and ſaid one to another, Treaſon, ſaving one good man called Juſtice *Gawdy*, who a little before was about to ſpeak: but when he heard them cry Treaſon, he held down his head as one grieved and troubled at their doings.

Juſtice *Gaudy* a good man

In concluſion, the Commiſſioners being weary of him, or elſe not willing to meddle further in ſuch matters, ſent him up to the Biſhop of *London*, with their letter withall, importing the cauſe of his ſending up, as the contents thereof hereunder follow to be ſeen.

A Letter

Anno 1555.

A Letter ſent by certain Juſtices in Eſſex *to* Boner *Biſhop of* London.

A letter of the Lord Rich, Henry Tyrel, and other Juſtices to Boner.

AFter our moſt hearty commendation to your good Lordſhip, theſe ſhall be to advertiſe you, that at our Seſſions of Oyer and Terminer holden at *Chelmsford* the 26. day of *April* laſt paſt, there came before us in open Court one *Thomas Wats* of *Billerica* within your Dioceſs, by ordinary proceſs, and then and there being examined why he refuſed co come to his Pariſh Church, and there to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, and hear Divine Service, according to the inſtitution of Holy Church, he openly there anſwered generally; that like as the Service of the Church ſet out in the days of late King. *Edward* 6. was ſaid by us now to be Abominable; Heretical, Schiſmaticall, and all naught, ſo he ſaid, that all that is now uſed and done in that Church, is Abominable, Heretical, Schilmatical, and naught, with divers other erroneous, and arrogant words: and therfore we have thought good to ſend him to your Lordſhip, to be further examined by you of his particular opinions, as to your Paſtoral Office ſhall ſeem convenient, certifying you further, that in our opinion he is one of the moſt arrogant Hereticks that hath been heard ſpeak, or ever came before you, and not meet to be kept here in any Goal, as well for fear of corrupting others, as for divers and ſundry other ſpecial cauſes hereafter to be more declared. Thus leaving to moleſt your good Lordſhip, we commit you to the Holy Ghoſt, Given at *Chelmsford* the 27. of *April*, *Anno* 1555.

Tho. Wats ſent up by the Juſtices of *Eſſex* to Biſhop Boner.

Your good Lordſhips moſt aſſured,

The names of the Juſtices.

R. Rich	*Thomas Mildman.*
Henry Tyrel	*John Wiſeman.*
Anthony Browne.	*Roger Appleton.*
Edmund Tyrel.	*Richard Weſton.*

Now when the Biſhop had received him, how he uſed him it is eaſie (by his comman practices with others) to judge. What his private conferences were, I know not, but what was publickly done in the Conſiſtory at *Pauls* (the common ſtage for theſe tragedies) you ſhall here ſee.

The firſt appearance of Thomas Wats *in the Biſhops Conſiſtory.*

The firſt appearance of Tho. Wats in the Biſhops Conſiſtory.

FIrſt upon *Thurſday*, being the ſecond day of *May*, *Thomas Wats* was brought thither before the Biſhop of *London*, and there being examined upon his words had before the Lord *Rich*, and others (as is contained in their Letters) he did earneſtly affirm the ſame to be true. Whereupon the Biſhop objected, and examined him upon theſe Articles following, to the which he anſwered, as under may appear.

Articles objected againſt Thomas Wats *of* Billerica *in the County of* Eſſex, *within the Dioceſs of* London, *by* Boner *Biſhop there, as enſueth.*

Articles againſt Tho. Wats.

1 FIrſt, that the ſaid *Thomas Wats* was of *Billerica*, and ſo of the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *London*.

The Sacraments of the Church of Rome.

2 *Item*, that he believed not in the Sacraments of the Holy and Catholick Church, as the Catholick Church of *Rome*, and all other Churches members of the ſame, ever hither to have believed, and is taught of all good and faithful People, nor hath allowed the Sacraments, Rites, Uſages, or Ceremonies of the ſaid Church, but hath deſpiſed the ſame.

The ſubſtance of the Sacrament.

3 *Item*, that he believeth, and alſo hath taught others, that the ſubſtance of material Bread and Wine do remain in the Sacrament of the Altar after the conſecration, and that the ſaid material Bread and Wine are the ſigns and tokens of Chriſts Body hanged upon the Croſs, and of his Blood there ſhed, and that in the ſaid Sacrament there is only a memory or remembrance of Chriſts Body and Blood, and nothing elſe.

The preſence in the Sacrament.

4 *Item*, that he believeth, and doth preciſely affirm, that the very true preſence of Chriſts Body and Blood in ſubſtance, is not in the Sacrament of the Altar, but onely in Heaven, and no where elſe.

The Maſs abominable.

5 *Item*, that he believeth, affirmeth, and ſaith, that the Maſs now uſed in the Church of *Rome*, here in *England*, and others places, is full of Idolatry, abomination, and wickedneſs, and that Chriſt did never inſtitute it, nor ordain it, nor yet allow it is a good and laudable thing to be uſed in his Church.

Confeſſion to God.

6 *Item*, that he believeth and affirmeth, that Auricular Confeſſion to be made unto the Prieſt is not neceſſary, but ſuperfluous: and that it is enough for a man to believe only, and to confeſs himſelf unto God, without any Prieſt or Miniſter at any time, though he may have the Prieſt to confeſs him unto.

Defence of Martyrs.

7 *Item*, that he believeth that *Luther*, *Wickliffe*, Doctor *Barnes*, and all other that have holden againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and ſuffered death by fire or otherwiſe for the maintenance of the ſaid opinion, were good men and faithful Servants and Martyrs of Chriſt in ſo believing and dying.

Faſting, praying and almeſdeeds.

8 *Item*, that he hath and doth believe, that to faſt, pray, or to do alms-deeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable; for if a man ſhall be ſaved, he ſhall be ſaved without doing of them; and if he ſhall be damned, they ſhall not help him, or do him any good at all.

Q. *Maries* Service re. proved.

9 *Item*, that the ſaid *Wats* of late coming into open Court at the Seſſions before the Lord *Rich*, Sir *Henry Tyrel* Knight, *Anthony Brown* Eſquire, and others, and being then and there examined, did openly confeſs, that he had refuſed to come to the Church, and to hear there the Divine Service, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, according to the order of the Church: becauſe that like as the Service of the Church ſet out in the days of the late King *Edward* the ſixth, was ſaid and alledged to be Abominable, Heretical, Schiſmatical, and all naught; ſo he the ſaid *Thomas Wats* then and there ſaid openly before the ſaid Commiſſioners, that all that is now uſed and done in the Church, is Abominable, Heretical, Schiſmatical, and altogether naught: And that he did alſo then utter before the ſaid Commiſſioners other Erroneous and Arrogant words, to the hurt of his Soul, and to the evil example of the People there preſent.

Wats reputed by the laws for an Heretick.

10 *Item*, that he the ſaid *Thomas* by reaſon of the premiſſes, was and is to be taken, had, reputed, and judged as a manifeſt and open Heretick, and for the ſame, by the order of Eccleſiaſtical Laws is to be declared accurſed; and being obſtinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the Secular Power, there to be puniſhed as an Heretick.

The Church of *Rome* a Synagogue of Satan.

11 *Item*, that he over and beſides all theſe offences and Treſpaſſes aforeſaid, had alſo added this Treſpaſs, that is to wit, that he had believed and deliberately ſpoken that the Church of *Rome* in her Rites, Ceremonies, Sacraments, Conſtitutions, and Traditions, is the Synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had conſented and agreed in opinion and belief with one *John Tooly*, of late hanged at *Charing Croſs*, who at the time of his executing, deſired the People to pray to be delivered from the Tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*, with all his enormities; as who ſhould ſay, that his Authority and doings were Tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

12 *Item*, that the premiſſes and every part thereof be true, notorious, manifeſt, and openly ſpoken and talked of amongſt the honeſt and credible perſons in great multitude, and that of all and ſingular the ſame within *Billerica* aforeſaid, and other places thereabout, being of the Dioceſs of *London*, there is a common voice and fame thereof.

The anſwer of the ſaid Thomas Wats *to the aforeſaid Articles.*

His anſwers to the Articles.

TO the firſt he ſaid and confeſſed the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the ſecond Article he anſwered, that he believeth in all the Sacraments according to Chriſts Inſtitution, and the Catholick Church; but not according to the Biſhop of *Romes* Church: and further ſaid, that he doth

not

not believe now as he had done in times past; for in time past he believed as the Church then believed, but now he doth not so believe; for the Church of *Rome* had deceived us, and therefore he said he did not believe as the Church of *Rome* believeth, but as Christ hath taught him, and further said that he was so taught to believe by preaching of one M. *Alvey*, and other whose names he remembred not; which *Alvey* he said did preach the Word of God truly and sincerely.

Tho. Wats reformed to the Gospel by M. Alvey.

To the third he answered, that he hath and doth believe, that Christs Body is in Heaven, and no where else: and further, that he will never believe that Christs Body is in the Sacrament.

To the fourth he answered, confessing and firmly believing the same to be true.

To the fifth, that he did believe, that the Mass is abominable, and that he will not go one jot from that his belief.

To the sixth, that he neither did, nor yet doth believe, that the Priest can absolve him of his sins: howbeit, he denieth not it is good to ask counsel at the Priests mouth.

To the seventh he said, that he knew not what the opinions of the said persons named in the said Article were; and in case the said persons did believe, that the Body and Blood of Christ were really and in very deed in the Sacrament of the Altar, then that they were not good men. But in case they did believe that the Body and Blood of Christ was not in the Sacrament of the Altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good Christian men.

To the eighth, that he had not spoken as is contained in this Article, but said, that he hath and doth believe, that fasting, prayers, and almsdeeds be works of a lively faith.

To the ninth he confessed, that he did utter and speak, as in this Article is contained, and further he desired God that he might die in that faith and belief, wherein he now is.

To the tenth he answered and said, that he will submit himself herein to the order of the law: and further said, that he trusteth that with God he shall be blessed, although with men he be accursed.

The Bishop of Rome an enemy to Christ.

To the eleventh he said, the he believed that the Bishop of *Rome* is a mortal enemy to Christ and his Church. And as for *Tooly* he said, he did never see or know him; but in case the said *Tooly* did wish and pray as is contained in the Article, than he did likewise with and consent with him therein.

To the twelfth he answered, that all which before he confessed to be true, is also true: and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth again to be true, and believeth the same to be according to such things as he hath confessed

By me Thomas Wats.

Another appearance of Thomas Wats *in the Consistory.*

Tho. Wats again appeareth in the Consistory.

THese Articles thus propounded and answered, the Bishop commanded him to appear again in the same place at three of the Clock in the afternoon, upon the same day. At which hour being brought thither by his Keeper, the Bishop began with him in this wise;

The Bishops words to Tho. Wats.

Wats, you know what I said unto you to day, and what I appointed unto you at this time. The time is now come: weigh and consider with your self, that you are but a Man, and albeit that you will wilfully cast away your Body, yet cast not so away your Soul, but while ye have time, return and confess the truth.

The answer of Wats.

Whereunto *Thomas Wats* answered and said, I am weary to live in such Idolatry as ye would have me to live in. Upon which answer the Bishop caused his Articles again to be read. He thereto answered as before, and farther, subscribed the same with his own hand.

Another appearance before D. Harpsfield.

Another appearance before D. Harpsfield.

THe Bishop after many perswasions to cause him to recant, willed him to depart as then, and to come again on Saturday at eight of the clock in the morning. Where the Bishop being absent, D. *Nicolas Harpsfield*, as then being his Deputy, did sit, and earnestly exhorted him to deny his opinions, To whom in the end he answered.

Anno 1555.

Wats submitted him to the law, and not to the Popes law.

Well, ye have a law to condemn me, and I submit my self to the law; but not to the laws of the Church (as you call it:) And farther I doe affirm, and still stand to mine answers that I have made.

Tho. Wats privately appeareth again before the Bishop.

Whereupon Dr. *Harpsfield* willed him to appear there again upon *Friday*, being the 10 day of the same Month of *May*. Vpon which day the Bishop privatly sent for the said *Thomas Wats* into his Chamber, and there with many fair promises tempted and tried him, whether he would revoke his errors (as he then termed them.) But *Wats* answered him in this sort; I will not believe your Church, neither the Romish Church, and therefore you do but labour in vain thus to travail with me. He was hereupon again dismissed for that time until *Friday* the 17. day of *May*, and then commanded to appear in the Consistory; which commandment he obeyed, and having the accustomed former Articles ministred unto him, made then such Answers as before.

Wats answer to the Bishop

Thomas Wats *brought again to the Consistory.*

THus being tost to and fro from day to day, and hour to hour, he was at the last, the 18. day of the *Month of May*, brought into the Consistory, where first was made a brief recital of all the former process: and there the said *Wats* being (by the Bishop and others) willed to deny his profession, made this final Answer;

The final answer of Tho. Wats.

God keep me from the Doctrine that ye would have me to come unto, which ye have now declared. And I beseech God that I may persevere in that, that I have done; for I will stand to mine Answers.

Sentence of condemnation against Tho. Wats

The Bishop perceiving his fair flattering promises nothing to prevail (and having no great store of other reasons to perswade with) put forth his last and strongest argument of Condemnation. Which being ended, he was delivered to the Sheriffs of *London*, and by them was sent to *Newgate*, where he remained until the 9. day of *June*, or (as some record) to the 22. of *May*: at what time he was carried unto *Chelmsford*, and there was brought to *Scots* house, keeping then an Inne in *Chelmsford*, where, as they were eating meat with *Haukes* and the rest that came down to their burning; they prayed together both before and after their meat.

The farewel of Tho. Wats to his Wife and six Children.

Then *Wats* went and prayed privatly to himself, and afterward came to his wife and his six Children being there, and said these words in effect; Wife, and my good Children, *I* must now depart from you. Therefore henceforth know I you no more, but as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord, whom I charge you see you do obey, and fear him: and beware ye turn not to this abominable Papistry, against the which I shall anon, by Gods grace, give my Blood. Let not the murthering of Gods Saints cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be the stronger in the Lords quarrel, and I doubt not but he will be a merciful Father unto you. All these and such like words spake he unto them, and they unto him: of whom two, as it is said, offered to be burnt with him. In the end he bade them farewell, and kissed them all and was carried to the fire.

The Martyrdom of Tho. Wats at Chelmsford, Anno 1555. June 10.

The Words of Tho. Wats to the Lord Rich.

At the stake, after he had kissed it, he spake to my Lord *Rich* these or the like words: My Lord, saith he, Beware, beware, for you do against your own Conscience herein, and without you repent, the Lord will revenge it: For you are the cause of this my Death.

Concerning the Childbed of Queen Mary *as it was rumoured among the People.*

The Childbirth of Q. Mary.

LOng perswasion had been in *England* with great expectation, for the space of half a year or more, that the Queen was conceived with Child. This report was made by the Queens Physitians, and other nigh about the Court: so that divers were punished for saying the contrary. And commandment was given, that in all Churches supplication and prayer should be made for the Queens good delivery: the certificat whereof ye may read before in the letter of the Councel sent to *Bover*.

And

Anno 1555.

Rockers and Nurſes provided for Queen *Maries* Child.

And alſo the ſame moreover may appear by proviſion made before in Act of Parliament for the Child.

And now forſomuch as in the beginning of this month of *June*, about *Whitſontide*, the time was thought to be nigh that this young Maſter ſhould come into the World, and that Midwives, Rockers, Nurſes, with the Cradle and all, were prepared and in a readineſs; ſuddenly, upon what cauſe or occaſion it is uncertain, a certain vain Rumor was blown in *London* of the proſperous Deliverance of the Queen, and the Birth of the Child. Inſomuch that the Bells were rung, Bonfires and Proceſſions made, not only in the City of *London*, and in moſt other parts of the Realm, but alſo in the Town of *Antwerp* Guns were ſhot off upon the River by the *Engliſh* Ships, and the Mariners thereof rewarded with an hundred Piſtolets or *Italian* Crowns by the Lady Regent, who was the Queen of *Hungary*. Such great rejoycing and triumph was for the Queens Delivery, and that there was a Prince born. Yea, divers Preachers, namely one the Parſon of S. *Anne* within *Alderſgate*, after Proceſſion and *Te Deum* ſung, took upon him to deſcribe the proportion of the Child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a Prince it was, as the like had not been ſeen.

Proceſſions and Bonfires in *London* for Joy of the young Prince. Triumph at *Antwerp* for the ſame.

In the midſt of this great ado, there was a ſimple man (this I ſpeak but upon Information) dwelling within four miles of *Barwick*, that never had been before half way to *London*, which ſaid concerning the Bonfires made for Queen *Maries* Child, Here is a joyful Triumph, but at length all will not prove worth a meſs of Pottage, as indeed it came to paſs: For in the end all proved clean contrary, and the joy and expectations of Men were much deceived. For the People were certified, that the Queen neither was as then delivered, nor after was in hope to have any Child.

Q. *Maries* Child would not come.

At this time many talked diverſly. Some ſaid this Rumor of the Queens Conception was ſpread for a Policy; ſome other affirmed, that ſhe was deceived by a Timpany or ſome other like diſeaſe, to think her ſelf with Child, and was not; ſome thought ſhe was with Child, and that it did by ſome chance miſcarry, or elſe that ſhe was bewitched; but what was the truth thereof the Lord knoweth, to whom nothing is ſecret. One thing of mine own hearing and ſeeing, I cannot paſs over unwitneſſed.

What became of Q. *Maries* Child, no man can tell.

There came to me, whom I did both hear and ſee, one *Iſabel Malt*, a Woman dwelling in *Alderſgate-ſtreet* in *Horn-Alley*, not far from the Houſe where this preſent Book was printed, who before witneſs made this declaration unto us, That ſhe being delivered of a Man-child upon *Whitſunday* in the Morning, which was the 11. day of *June*, *Anno* 1555. there came to her the Lord *North*, and another Lord to her unknown, dwelling then about *Old Fiſh-ſtreet*, demanding of her if ſhe would part with her Child, and would ſwear that ſhe never knew nor had any ſuch Child. Which, if ſhe would, her Son (they ſaid) ſhould be well provided for, ſhe ſhould take no care for it, with many fair offers if ſhe would part with the Child.

Ex teſtimonio cujuſdam puerperæ Londinenſis.

After that came other Women alſo, of whom one they ſaid ſhould have been the Rocker; but ſhe in no wiſe would let go her Son, who at the writing hereof being alive, and called *Timothy Malt*, was of the Age of 13. years, and upward.

Thus much, I ſay, I heard of the Woman her ſelf. What credit is to be given to her relation, I deal not withal, but leave it to the liberty of the Reader, to believe it they that liſt; to them that liſt not, I have no further warrant to aſſure them.

The young Princes Cradle.

Among many other great preparations made for the Queens deliverance of Child, there was a Cradle very ſumptuouſly and gorgeouſly trimmed, upon the which Cradle for the Child appointed, theſe Verſes were written, both in Latin and Engliſh.

Quam Maria *ſobolem, Deus optime, ſumme dediſti,*
Anglis *incolumem redde, tuere, Rege.*

Verſes upon the Cradle.

The Child which thou to *Mary*, O Lord of Might haſt ſend,
To *England's* Joy, in health preſerve, keep and defend.

About this time there came over into *England* a certain Engliſh Book, giving warning to Engliſh-men of the *Spaniards*, and diſcloſing certain cloſe practices for recovery of Abby-Lands, which Book was called *A Warning for England*. Whereof ye ſhall underſtand more, God willing, when we come to the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*. So that by the occaſion of this Book, upon the 13. day of this Month came out a certain Proclamation, ſet forth in the name of the King and Queen, repealing and diſannulling all manner of Books written or printed, whatſoever ſhould touch any thing the empairing of the Popes Dignity, whereby not only much godly Edification was hindred, but alſo great peril grew among the People. The Copy of which Proclamation here followeth.

A Proclamation ſet out by the King and Queen, for the reſtraining of all Books and Writings, tending againſt the Doctrine of the Pope and his Church.

WHereas by the Statute made in the ſecond year of King *Henry* the Fourth concerning the repreſſing of Hereſie, there is ordained and provided a great puniſhment, not only for the Authors, Makers, and Writers of Books containing wicked Doctrine, and erroneous and Heretical Opinions, contrary to the Catholick Faith and Determination of the holy Church, and likewiſe for their Fautors and Supporters; but alſo for ſuch as ſhall have or keep any ſuch Books or Writings, and not make delivery of them to the Ordinary of the Dioceſs or his Miniſters, within a certain time limited in the ſaid Statute, which Act or Statute being by Authority of Parliament of late revived, was alſo openly proclaimed, to the intent the Subjects of the Realm upon ſuch Proclamation ſhould the rather eſchew the danger and penalty of the ſaid Statute, and as yet nevertheleſs in moſt parts of the Realm the ſame is neglected, and little regarded: The King and Queen our Sovereign Lord and Lady, therefore, &c. ſtraitly charge and command, that no perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he or they be, from henceforth preſume to bring or convey, or cauſe to be brought or conveyed into this Realm, any Books, Writings or Works hereafter mentioned; that is to ſay, any Book or Books, Writings or Works made or ſet forth, by, or in the name of *Martin Luther*, or any Book or Books, Writings or Works made and ſet forth, by, or in the name of *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, *John Calvin*, *Pomerane*, *John Alaſco*, *Bullinger*, *Bucer*, *Melanchthon*, *Bernardinus*, *Ochinus*, *Eraſmus*, *Sarcerius*, *Peter Martyr*, *Hugh Latimer*, *Robert Barnes*, otherwiſe called *Friar Barnes*, *John Bale*, otherwiſe called *Friar Bale*, *Juſtus*, *Jonas*, *John Hooper*, *Miles Coverdale*, *William Tindal*, *Thomas Cranmer* late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *William Turner*, *Theodore Baſil*, otherwiſe called *Thomas Beacon*, *John Frith*, *Roy*, and the Book commonly called *Hall's* Chronicle, or any of them in the Latin Tongue, Dutch Tongue, Engliſh Tongue, Italian Tongue, or French Tongue, or any other like Book, Paper, Writing or Work, made, printed, or ſet forth, by any other perſon or perſons, containing falſe Doctrine contrary and againſt the Catholick Faith, and the Doctrine of the Catholick Church. And alſo that no perſon or perſons preſume to write, print, utter, ſell, read, or keep any, or cauſe to be written, printed, uttered, or kept any of the ſaid Books, Papers, Works or Writings, or any Book or Books written or printed in the Latin or Engliſh Tongue, concerning the common Service and Adminiſtration ſet forth in Engliſh to be uſed in the Churches of this Realm, in the time of King *Edward* the Sixth, commonly called the Communion Book, or Book of Common Service and ordering of Miniſters, otherwiſe claled, The Book ſet forth by Authority of Parliament, for Common Prayer and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, or to be uſed in the Mother Tongue within the Church of *England*, but ſhall within the ſpace of fifteen days next after the publication of this Proclamation, bring or deliver, or cauſe the ſaid Books, Writings, and Works, and every of them remaining in their cuſtody and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the Ordinary of the Dioceſs, where ſuch Books, Works, or Writings be or remain, or to his Chancellor or Commiſſaries, without fraud, colour or deceit, at the ſaid Ordinaries

Of this Act or Statute, read before.

Affiterunt Reges terræ, & Principes convenerunt in unum adverſus Dominum & Chriſtum ejus. Pſalm 2.

Good Books prohibited.

Againſt *Hall's* Chronicle.

What a do is here to keep down Chriſt in his Sepulchre? and yet will he riſe in ſpite of all his Enemies.

dinaries will and diſpoſition to be burnt, or otherwiſe to be uſed or ordered by the ſaid Ordinaries; as by the Canons or Spiritual Laws it is in that caſe limited and appointed, upon pain that every Offender contrary to this Proclamation, ſhall incur the danger and penalties contained in the ſaid Statute, and as they will avoid their Majeſties high indignation and diſpleaſure, and further anſwer at their uttermoſt perils.

The power of this World ſet againſt Chriſt.

And their Majeſties by this Proclamation give full power and authority to all Biſhops and Ordinaries, and all Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs of Cities and Towns Corporate, and other Head Officers within this Realm and the Dominions thereof, and expreſly commandeth and willeth the ſame and every of them, that they and every of them, within their ſeveral Limits and Juriſdictions, ſhall in the default and negligence of the ſaid Subjects, after the ſaid fifteen days expired, enquire and ſearch out the ſaid Books, Writings and Works; and for this purpoſe enter into the Houſe or Houſes, Cloſets and Secret places of every Perſon, of whatſoever degree, being negligent in this behalf, and ſuſpected to keep any ſuch Book, Writing or Works, contrary to this Proclamation: And that the ſaid Juſtices, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and other Head Officers above ſpecified, and every of them within their ſaid Limits and Juriſdictions finding any of the ſaid Subjects negligent and faulty in this behalf, ſhall commit every ſuch Offender to ward, there to remain without Bail or Mainprize, till the ſame Offender or Offenders have received ſuch puniſhment as the ſaid Statute doth limit and appoint in this behalf. Given under our Signs Manual, at our Honour of *Hampton* Court, the 13. day of *June*, the firſt and ſecond years of our Reigns.

Imprinted by John Cawood, Anno 1555.

Articles to be enquired upon by the Wardens of every Company, touching Seditious Books, eſpecially touching the Book called, A Warning for England.

This Book called, A Warning for *England*, look for hereafter, when we come (God willing) to the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition. Articles to be enquired upon.

1. WHether they have ſeen any of the foreſaid Books.

2. Whether they have heard of any of the ſaid Books.

3. Where they were, and in what place they have ſeen them.

4. Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the Sea, eſpecially from *Zuricke*, *Strasbrough*, *Frankford*, *Wezel*, *Emden*, and *Disburge*,

5. Whom they know or vehemently ſuſpect to be common Carriers of Letters, or Money, thither from hence.

6. That they bring to my Lord Mayor all ſuch Seditious Books as they have, or ſhall have found hereafter.

In this Proclamation thou haſt heard, Chriſtian Reader, the profound and learned Cenſure of the Catholick Church of *England*, what Books they miſlike and reject as Heretical, Schiſmatical, and pernicious. Againſt the which Catholick Cenſure of theſe learned Fathers, I have not at this time to infer: neither doth any leiſure now ſerve to write Apologies in defence of theſe Authors here condemned. Only ſo much leave it may pleaſe the Reader to grant me to ſet before him here a pair of Ballance, wherein to weigh the Books on the one ſide condemned, with the Books on the other ſide allowed, to the end that we weighing the one with the other, may diſcern the better between them, which part weigheth beſt with Gods holy Truth and true Catholick Church, againſt manifeſt Idolatry and palpable Abomination. And now therefore, as they have in this preſent Proclamation given their condemnation upon theſe Books above recited: ſo I deſire thee to give thy cenſure upon their Books by them allowed, and upon the matter in them contained, and mark well what good ſtuff it is.

The Books of the Proteſtants to be weighed with Books of the Papiſts.

The Primer ſet forth in Q. *Maries* time, printed by *J. Wayland*.

And firſt to begin with the Primer in Engliſh, for Children after the uſe of *Salisbury*, Imprinted with a Priviledge according to the King and Queens Majeſties Letters Patents in the Reign of Queen *Mary*. Let us repeat and ſurvey ſome part of the ſaid Primer (for to expreſs all it were too long) beginning with the firſt Leſſon of our Lady, in theſe words:

Holy Mary; *Mother moſt pure of Virgins all;*
Mother and Daughter of the King Celeſtial,
So comfort us in our deſolation,
That by thy Prayer and ſpecial Mediation.
We enjoy the reward of thy Heavenly Reign, &c.

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Confer this with the Scriptures, good Reader, and judge uprightly whether this Doctrine be tolerable in the Church or not.

It followeth more in the ſecond Leſſon.

Holy Mary, *of all godly the godlieſt,*
Pray for us, of all holy the holieſt;
That he our Prayers accept may in good wiſe,
Which of thee was born, and reigneth above the Skies, &c.

In the third Leſſon.

Thy Son beſeech with humble Interceſſion,
To purge us clean of our Tranſgreſſion;
That ſo being redeemed we may the place aſcend,
Where thou dwelleſt with him World without end.

The Verſicle.

Pray for the People, intreat for the Clergy, make Interceſſion for the devout Woman-kind; let all feel thy help, that worthily ſolemnize thy memorial, &c.

One Mediator between God and men, the Man Jeſus Chriſt.

Another Verſicle.

Holy Mother of God, make thy Petition, that we may deſerve Chriſts Promiſſion, &c.

And in the Anthem after *Benedictus*, thus it followeth:

We beſeech thee of thy pity to have us in remembrance, and to make means for us unto Chriſt, that we being ſupported by thy help, may deſerve to attain the Kingdom of Heaven.

Falſe Merits.

Furthermore in the Collect after it followeth:

And grant, that through the gracious Interceſſion of the Virgin thy Mother, we may be delivered from this preſent heavineſs, and have the fruition of eternal gladneſs.

Wrong Mediation.

It followeth moreover in the ſaid Primer thus, concerning the material Croſs.

O God, which haſt aſcended thy moſt holy Croſs, and haſt given light to the darkneſs of the World, vouchſafe by the virtue of thy Croſs to illumine, viſit and comfort both our Hearts and Bodies, &c.

Idolatry to the material Croſs.

Moreover, in the name of St. *John Baptiſt* thus it prayeth:

O Lord, defend us alway through the continual ſuccours of St. John Baptiſt. *For the more frail we be, the more need we have to be relieved with neceſſary Prayers, &c.*

Let no man glory in any man; for all things are yours, &c. 1 Cor. 3.

In which words note (good Reader) not only the abſurdity of Doctrine, but alſo the ſtolidity of the Reaſon. For where their Doctrine pretendeth that S. *John Baptiſt* ſhould pray for us, here we pray to God for St. *John Baptiſt*, that he will hear his Prayer praying for us. It followeth furthermore in the name of *Peter* and *Paul*:

What is *Paul*, what is *Apollo*, but the ſervants of him on whom you believe? 1 Cor. 3.

Hear us mercifully, and grant that through the merits of them both, we may obtain the glory everlaſting, &c.

Of *St. Andrew.*

So let him, O Lord, be a continual Petitioner for us to thee, &c.

Of St. *Lawrence* thus:

Saint Lawrence *the Deacon did work a great work. For by the virtue of the Holy Croſs he gave ſight to the blind, &c.*

And how can this be true, when the Holy Croſs was not yet found in the time of St. *Lawrence?* For *Helen* which firſt found the Croſs, as they ſay, came after St. *Lawrence* more than forty years.

To *Thomas Becket* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*
By the Blood of Thomas, *which he for thee did ſpend,*
Make us, Chriſt, to climb, whither Thomas *did aſcend.*

Horrid Blaſphemy and derogation to Chriſts Blood.

Of

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Of St. *Nicholas.*

False merits. *O God, which haſt glorified bleſſed* Nicholas, *thy holy Biſhop, with innumerable Miracles, grant we beſeech thee, that by his Merits and Prayers we may be delivered from the fire of Hell.*

Of *Mary Magdalen.*

Grant we beſeech thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchaſe for us the Bliſs everlaſting,&c.

Another Prayer to our Lady.

The dolorous compaſſion of Gods ſweet Mother,
Bring us to the Bliſs of Almighty God the Father,&c.

Another Prayer in the ſaid Primer to our Lady.

The Office of Chriſt given to our Lady. *Eſtabliſh us in peace and tranquillity,*
And change the name of ſinful Eva:
Looſe thy Priſoners from Captivity,
Unto the blind give ſight again.
Deliver us from malignity,
To the end we may ſome Grace attain:
Shew thy ſelf to be a Mother:
So that he accept our Petition.
Deliver us from bondage of Sin,&c.

Item,

Holy Mother ſuccour the miſerable, comfort the weak ſpirited, give courage to the deſperate, pray for the People, make Interceſſion for the Clergy, and be a mean for the devout Woman-kind,&c.

Another blaſphemous Prayer.

Blaſphemy. *O thou meek Mother, have mercy therefore*
On Wretches, for whom thou hadſt theſe pains all,
Seeing thy Son that Vine cluſter preſſed ſore:
And from the peſtilence of Death eternal,
Keep us by voiding the Fiend infernal,
And joyn us with them which rewarded be
With eternal Life, ſeeing the Deity.

Another blaſphemy in the ſaid Primer.

Idolatry. *Hail Queen, Mother of Mercy, our life, our ſweetneſs, our hope. Unto thee do we cry and ſigh, weeping and wailing. Come off therefore our Patroneſs, caſt upon us thy pitiful eyes, and after this our baniſhment, ſhew to us the bleſſed fruit of thy Womb. O Gate of glory be for us a Reconciliation unto the Father and the Son. From the wretched their faults expel: wipe the ſpots of ſins unclean,&c.*

Item, to our Lady.

The fruit of thy Womb everlaſting,
We may behold through thy deſerving,&c.

Item,

If *Maries* Merits might help us, then Chriſt died in vain. *Grant we beſeech thee, that by her Merits and Prayers we may attain to that unſpeakable Joy, whereas ſhe being aſſumpt, doth now rejoyce with thee in Heaven for ever.*

Like Primer like Pſalter. And thus much hitherto of this Catholick Primer, called our Ladies Mattens. Whereunto, if it were not tedious for the Reader, we would alſo adjoyn our Ladies Pſalter, to the intent that all indifferent Readers, as they have ſeen what Books theſe Catholick Fathers have condemned and do condemn for Heretical; ſo the ſame alſo may ſee and judge, what Books on the other ſide they approve as lawful and Catholick. And foraſmuch as it is not known peradventure to all men, what our Ladies Pſalter is, or what it meaneth; yea, and ſome peradventure will deny any ſuch Book of our Ladies Pſalter to be written or approved, here therefore we will firſt produce the name of the Author, who was *Bonaventure*, a Seraphical Doctor, Biſhop alſo and Cardinal, Canonized moreover by Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, *An.* 1482. for a Saint in the Kalendar, who in his Book thus intitled in Latin, *Incipit Pſalterium beatæ Virginis, compilatum per Seraphicum Doctorem Sanctum* Bonaventuram *Epiſcopum* Albanenſem, *necnon ſanctæ* Romanæ *Eccleſiæ Preſbyterum Cardinalem, in honorem genetricis,&c. Fol.* 84. In the ſecond part of his whole works (which were imprinted at *Argentine*, *An.*1495.) to ſhew himſelf a devout Servant to his Lady, hath taken every Pſalm of *Davids* Pſalter (which be peculiarly made and referred to Almighty God) and hath in divers of the ſaid Pſalms and Verſes put out the name of the Lord, and hath placed in the name of our Lady. This being done through the whole Pſalms and every one of them, it is now called our Ladies Pſalter, uſed to be ſung and ſaid in the praiſe and ſervice of our Lady. A brief taſte whereof, for Examples ſake (for, to ſhew all, it were too long) we thought here to exhibit unto the Reader in order, as followeth.

Bonaventure compiler of our Ladies Pſalter.

This *Bonaventure* lived An. 1170. and was canonized, An. 1482.

The Title in Engliſh of the Pſalter.

The Title of the Book called our Ladies Pſalter. ¶ Here beginneth the Pſalter of the bleſſed Virgin, made by the Seraphical Doctor St. *Bonaventure*, the Biſhop of *Alban*, and Cardinal of the holy Church of *Rome*.

The Book called our Ladies Pſalter. Ex 2. parte operum S. *Bonaventuræ*

1. *Beatus vir, qui intelligit nomen tuum,* Maria *Virgo; gratia tua animam ejus confortabit. Tanquam aquarum fontibus irrigatum uberrimum in eo fructum juſtitiæ propagabis,&c. Univerſas enim fœminas vincis pulchritudine carnis; ſuperas Angelos & Archangelos excellentia ſanctitatis. Miſericordia tua & gratia ubique prædicatur,&c. Gloria Patri.*

That is to ſay,

Bleſſed is the man which underſtandeth thy Name, O Virgin *Mary*, thy Grace ſhall comfort his Soul. Thou ſhalt bring forth in him the moſt plentiful fruit of Juſtice, being watered as it were with fountains of water. All Women thou paſſeſt in the beauty of thy body; all Angels and Archangels in the excellency of thy Holineſs. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified every where, &c. Glory be to the Father,&c.

Our Ladies beauty.

2. *Quare fremuerunt inimici noſtri, & adverſum nos meditati ſunt inania? Protegat nos dextera tua, Mater Dei, ut acies terribiliter confundens & deſtruens eos. Venite ad eam, qui laboratis & tribulati eſtis, & dabit refrigerium animabus veſtris. Accedite ad eam in tentationibus veſtris, & ſtabiliet vos ſerenitas vultus ejus: Benedicite illam in toto corde veſtro, miſericordia enim illius plena eſt terra,&c. Gloria Patri.*

Why do our Enemies fret and imagine vain things againſt us? Let thy right hand defend us, O Mother of God, terribly confounding and deſtroying them as a Sword. Come unto her all ye that labour and are troubled, and ſhe will give reſt unto your Souls. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving Countenance ſhall ſtabliſh and comfort you. Bleſs her with all your heart; for the Earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the Father,&c.

Treaſon againſt Chriſts Perſon and Dignity.

3. *Domina quid multiplicati ſunt qui tribulant me? In tempeſtate tua perſequeris & diſſipabis eos. Diſſolve colligationes impietatis noſtræ; tolle faſciculos peccatorum noſtrorum. Miſerere mei Domina & ſana infirmitatem meam; tolle dolorem & angustiam cordis mei. Ne tradas me manibus inimicorum meorum, & in die mortis meæ conforta animam meam. Deduc me ad portum ſalutis, & ſpiritum meum redde factori meo.*

Why are they ſo many, O Lady, that trouble me? In thy fury thou ſhalt perſecute and deſtroy them. Looſe the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our Sins. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my ſorrow and the anguiſh of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine Enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my Soul. Bring me unto the haven of Salvation, and reſtore my Spirit unto my Maker and Creator. Glory be to the Father,&c.

Blaſphemous Idolatry.

4. *Cum invocarem, exaudiſti me Domina, & è ſublimi ſolio tuo mei dignata es recordari. A rugientibus præparatis ad eſcam & de manibus quærentium me liberabit gratia tua. Quoniam benigna eſt miſericordia & pietas tua in omnes, qui invocant nomen ſanctum tuum. Benedicta ſis Domina in æternum, & majeſtas tua in ſeculum. Glorificate eam omnes gentes,&c.*

Falſe Faith. When I called to thee, thou heardeſt me, O my Lady, and out of thy high Throne thou didſt vouchſafe to think upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themſelves to devour me, and out of the hands of ſuch as ſeek after my life, thy grace ſhall deliver me: Becauſe thy mercy and thy pity are great towards all them that call upon thy holy Name. Bleſſed be thou, O Lady, for ever, and thy majeſty for ever and ever. Glorifie her all Nations of the Earth,&c.

5. *Verba mea auribus percipe Domina, &c. Converte luctum noſtrum in gaudium, & tribulationem noſtram in jubilationem. Corruant ante pedes noſtros inimici noſtri; virtute tua eorum capita conterantur, &c.*

Derogation of the Croſs of Chriſt.

Hear my words, O Lady, &c. turn our mourning into gladneſs, and our trouble into rejoycing. Let our Enemies fall before our feet, and with thy power daſh their heads in pieces.

6. *Domina ne in furore Dei ſinas corripi me, neque in ira ejus judicari, &c. De porta inferi, & de ventre abyſſi tuis ſanctis precibus libera nos. Aperiantur nobis januæ ſempiternæ, ut enarremus in æternum mirabilia tua. Quia non mortui, neque qui in inferno ſunt, laudabunt te Domina, ſed qui tua gratia vitam æternam obtinebunt.*

O Lady, ſuffer me not to be rebuked in Gods anger, nor to be chaſtned in his heavy diſpleaſure, &c. From the gate and deep pit of Hell, with thy holy Prayers deliver us. Let the everlaſting gates be opened, that we may ſhew forth thy marvellous works for ever. Becauſe the dead, nor they that be in Hell, ſhall not praiſe thee, O Lady, but they which ſhall obtain by thy grace life everlaſting.

7. *Domina mea in te ſperavi, de inimicis meis libera me Domina. Conclude ora Leonis, & labia perſequentium conſtringe. Non moreris propter nomen tuum facere nobis miſericordiam tuam. Splendor vultus tui fulgeat ſuper nos, ut ſervetur conſcientia noſtra apud altiſſimum. Si perſequitur inimicus animam meam, Domina, adjutorio tuo conforter, ne vibret gladium ſuum contra me.*

Vaine truſt. Wrong Invocation.

O my Lady, in thee will I put my truſt; deliver me from mine Enemies, O Lady. Stop the mouth of the Lion, and bind the lips of the Perſecutors. Make no tarrying for thy Names ſake, to ſhew thy mercy upon me. Let the brightneſs of thy Countenance ſhine upon us, that our Conſcience may be ſaved before the Moſt Higheſt. If the Enemy do perſecute my Soul, O Lady, help me that he deſtroy me not.

Manifeſt Idolatry.

9. *Confitebor tibi Domina in toto corde meo, & narrabo in populis laudem & gloriam tuam, &c. Invenient gratiam per te inventricem gratiæ & ſalutis; reſpirant ad indulgentiam humiles pœnitentes; ſana contritiones cordis eorum, &c.*

Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, with all thy ſtrength and power. &c. Deut. 6.

I will give thanks to thee, O Lady, with my whole heart, and will ſhew forth among the Nations thy praiſe and glory, &c. They ſhall find grace through thee, the finder out of grace and ſalvation, the humble and penitent groan for pardon and forgiveneſs; heal thou the ſores of their heart, &c.

15. *In te Domina confido, &c. Exquirite illam à juventute veſtra, & glorificabit vos, &c. Miſericordia illius noſtrorum auferat multitudinem peccatorum, & fœcunditatem nobis conferat meritorum, &c.*

Derogation of Chriſts Paſſion.

In thee, O Lady, do I put my truſt, &c. Seek her even from your youth, and ſhe ſhall glorifie you, &c. Her mercy take from us the multitude of our ſins, and give unto us plenteouſneſs of merits, &c.

12. *Salvum me fac mater pulchræ dilectionis, fons clementiæ, &c. Gyrum terræ ſola circuis, ut ſubvenias invocantibus te, &c.*

Save me O Mother of Love, and Fountain of Mercy, &c. Thou thy ſelf alone haſt gone about the compaſs of the Earth, to help them that call upon thee.

13. *Uſque quo Domina oblivi ſceris me, & non liberas me in die tribulationis? Uſque quo exaltabitur inimicus meus ſuper me? Potentia virtutis tuæ contere ipſum, &c. Magnificamus te gratiæ inventricem, per quam ſæcula reparantur, &c.*

How long doſt thou forget me O Lady, and doſt not deliver me in the day of my trouble? How long ſhall mine Enemy triumph over me? With thy mighty power deſtroy him, &c. We magnifie thee the finder and the author of Grace, by whom the world is repaired, &c.

Milk making God.

16. *Conſerva me Domina, quoniam ſperavi in te, &c. Benedicta ſint ubera tua, quibus lacte deifico Salvatorem enutriſti, &c.*

Yea rather bleſſed be they which hear the Word of God and keep it.

Preſerve me O Lady, for in thee have I put my truſt, &c. Bleſſed be thy Breaſts, which with thy deifying Milk didſt nouriſh the Saviour, &c.

18. *Diligam te Domina cœli & terræ; in gentibus nomen tuum invocabo. Confitemini illi tribulati corde, & roborabit vos contra inimicos veſtros, &c. Religioſi omnes honorate illam, quia ipſa eſt adjutrix veſtra & ſpecialis advocata. Eſto refrigerium noſtrum, glorioſa mater Chriſti, quia tu es totius religionis mirabile firmamentum.*

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I will love thee O Lady of Heaven and Earth; I will call upon thy name among the Nations. Confeſs your ſelves unto her, ye that are troubled in heart, and ſhe ſhall ſtrengthen you againſt your Enemies, &c. All ye Cloyſterers honour her, for ſhe is your helper and ſpecial Advocate. Be thou our refreſhing and reſt, for thou art the marvellous foundation of all Religion.

Idolatry of the Cloyſterers.

20. *Exaudi nos Domina in die tribulationis, &c. Ne projicias nos in tempore mortis noſtræ, ſed ſuccurre animæ, cum deſeruerit corpus ſuum. Mitte Angelum in occurſum ejus per quem ab hoſtibus defendatur, &c. Sentiat in pœnis refrigerium tuum, & concede ei locum inter electos Dei.*

Hear us O Lady in the day of trouble, &c. Caſt us not away in the time of our death, but ſuccour our Soul when it forſaketh the Body. Send an Angel to meet it, that it may be defended from the Enemies, &c. In torments and pain let it feel thy comfort, and grant to it a place among the elects of God.

25. *Ad te Domina levavi animam, &c. Non prævaleant adverſum me laquei mortis, &c. Ductrix mea eſto ad patriam, & me cœtui Angelorum digneris aggregare.*

To thee O Lady do I lift up my Soul, &c. Let not the ſnares of Death prevail againſt me, &c. Be thou my guide to the heavenly Reſt, and to the company of Angels aſſociate me.

26. *Judica me Domina, quoniam ab innocentia mea digreſſus ſum: ſed quia ſperavi in te non infirmabor, &c.*

All Judgment is given to Chriſt alone, and before him the Virgin alſo her ſelf ſhall be judged.

Judge thou me O Lady, for I am faln from mine Innocency: but becauſe I put my truſt in thee, therefore I ſhall not fall, &c.

27. *Domina illuminatio mea ſit ſplendor faciei tuæ, &c. Serenitas gratiæ tuæ refulgeat menti meæ, &c.*

O Lady, let the brightneſs of thy face be my ſight, and let the clearneſs of thy grace ſhine unto my mind, &c.

28. *Ad te Domina clamabo, &c. Miſerere mei in die angustiæ meæ, & in luce veritatis tuæ libera me.*

To thee O Lady, &c. Have mercy upon me in the day of my trouble, and in the light of thy Truth deliver me, &c.

31. *In te Domina ſperavi, non confundar in æternum, in gloria tua ſuſcipe me. Tu es fortitudo mea & refugium meum, conſolatio mea & protectio mea, &c. Educas me laqueo quem abſconderunt mihi, quoniam tu es adjutrix mea. In manus tuas Domina commendo ſpiritum meum.*

If our Lady be all in all then God, belike, ſitteth idle in Heaven.

In thee O Lady do I put my truſt, let me not be confounded for ever; in thy glory receive me. Thou art my ſtrength and my refuge, my conſolation and protection, &c. Deliver me from the ſnare that they have laid for me, becauſe thou art my helper. Into thy hands I commend my Spirit, &c.

34. *Benedicam Dominam in omni tempore, &c. In periculis, in rebus dubiis invocate eam, & in neceſſitatibus inveniet is auxilium, &c. Sumite exemplum converſationis ejus & æmulemini ſtudia humilitatis ejus. Quia ergo Domina humilima fuiſti, Verbum increatum ex te carnem ſuſcipere coegiſti.*

Horrible blaſphemy againſt the Lord.

I will always praiſe our Lady, &c. In perils, in adverſity call upon her, and in time of need ye ſhall find ſuccour. Let her converſation be an example unto you, and follow the virtue of her humility. Becauſe therefore O Lady thou waſt humble and lowly. Thou didſt compel the Word increate to take fleſh of thee.

36. *Dixit injuſtus, &c. A malo propoſito diſcedat; Mater Dei, inclina vultum Dei ſuper nos: Coge illum peccatoribus miſereri, &c. Benedictum ſit imperium tuum ſuper cœlos, benedicta ſit magnificentia tua ſuper terram.*

O impious blaſphemy!

The wicked man ſaid, &c. Let him depart from his evil purpoſe; O Mother of God, turn the countenance of God towards us: Compel him to be merciful unto Sinners. Bleſſed be thy Impery and Dominion in Heaven, and bleſſed be thy Magnificence upon the Earth.

45. *Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum Domina, &c. Per tuam ſanctitatem peccata mea purgentur: per tuam integritatem mihi incorruptibilitas condonetur, &c.*

If Mary forgive ſins though it our Faith in Chriſt in vain.

My heart is inditing a good matter, O Lady, &c. By thy Holineſs let my ſins be purged, by thy Integrity let me obtain Incorruption, &c.

47. *Omnes*

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47. *Omnes gentes plaudite manibus, &c. Quoniam ipsa est porta vitæ, janua salutis, & vitæ nostræ reconciliatrix; spes pœnitentium, solamen lugentium, pax beata cordium atque salus. Miserere mei Domina, miserere mei, quia tu es lux & spes omnium confidentium in te, &c.*

These words stink of blasphemous Idolatry.

Clap your hands all ye People, &c. For she is the gate of Life, the door of Salvation, the reconciler of our Life; the hope of the Penitent, the comfort of the Sorrowful, the blessed peace of Hearts, and Salvation. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, have mercy upon me; for thou art the light and hope of all that put their trust in thee.

51. *Miserere mei Domina, quæ mater misericordiæ nuncuparis. Et secundum viscera miserationum tuarum munda me ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis, &c.*

Have mercy upon me, O Lady, which art called the Mother of Mercy, and in the bowels of thy great Compassion cleanse me from mine Iniquities.

54. *Domina, in nomine tuo salvum me fac, & ab injustitiis meis libera me, &c.*

The Cross of Christ evacuate.

O Lady, in thy name save me, and from mine unrighteousness deliver me, &c.

70. *Domina in adjutorium meum intende, &c. Miserere servorum tuorum, super quos invocatum est nomen tuum, &c.*

Make haste O Lady to help me, &c. Have mercy on thy Servants, upon whom thy name is invocated, &c.

71. *In te Domina speravi, non confundar in æternum, in tua misericordia libera me, &c.*

Blind trust.

In thee Lady have I put my trust: let me not be confounded for ever, in thy mercy deliver me, &c.

79. *Domina, venerunt Gentes in hæreditatem Dei, quas tu meritis tuis Christo confœderasti, &c.*

O Lady, the *Gentiles* are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou didst joyn unto Christ by thy merits, &c.

Gods honour devoured.

89. *Qui regis* Israel, &c. *Odor vitæ de illa progreditur, & omnis salus de corde illius scaturit.*

False trust.

Thou that rulest *Israel*, &c. The favour of life cometh from her, and all health floweth out of her heart, &c.

91. *Qui habitat in adjutorio matris Dei, in protectione ipsius commorabitur, &c. Clamate ad illam in periculis vestris, et flagellum non appropinquabit Tabernaculo vestro. Fructus gratiæ inveniet qui speraverit in illa. Porta Paradisi reserabitur ei.*

Whoso dwelleth in the help of the Mother of God, shall dwell in the shadow of her protection, &c. Cry unto her in your dangers, and the scourge shall not come near your Tabernacle. The fruit of grace shall be to him whoso trusteth in her, and the gate of *Paradise* shall be open unto him.

95. *Venite exultemus Dominæ nostræ, &c. Suscipe in fine animas nostras, & introduc nos in requiem æternam, &c.*

Come let us rejoyce to our Lady, &c Receive our Souls at our last end, and bring them into everlasting Rest, &c.

Abominable blasphemy.

104. *Confitemini Dominæ nostræ, & invocate nomen ejus, &c. Salus sempiterna in manu tua, Domina, &c.*

Praise our Lady, and call upon her name, &c. Everlasting salvation is in thy hand, O Lady, &c.

110. *Dixit Dominus Dominæ nostræ; Sede mater mea à dextris meis, &c.*

The Devil and the Pope say so, and not God.

The Lord said unto our Lady; Sit here my Mother on my right hand, &c.

114. *In exitu animæ meæ ex hoc mundo occurre ei Domina, & suscipe eam, &c. Esto illi scala ad regnum cælorum, & iter rectum ad Paradisum Dei, &c.*

In the passing of my Soul out of this World, come and meet it, O Lady, and receive it, &c. Be to it a Ladder to the Kingdom of Heaven, and a right way to the Paradise of God, &c.

119. *Miserationibus tuis plena est terra, ideo viam justificationum tuarum exquisivi, &c. Concupiscam in æternum laudare te Domina cum docueris me Justificationes tuas, &c.*

Blasphemy.

The whole Earth is full of thy Mercies, and therefore I will search out the way of thy Justifications, &c. I will covet for ever to praise thee O Lady, when thou shalt teach me thy Justifications, &c.

Blasphemy.

125. *Qui confidunt in te, mater Dei, non timebunt à facie inimici, &c.*

They that put their trust in thee, O Mother of God, shall not be afraid of the face of their Enemy, &c.

Blasphemy.

127. *Nisi Domina ædificaverit domum cordis nostri, non permanebit ædificium ejus.*

Except our Lady shall build the house of our Heart, the building thereof shall not continue.

128. *Beati omnes qui timent Dominam nostram, & beati omnes qui sciunt facere voluntatem suam, &c.*

Blessed is every one that feareth our Lady, and blessed be all they which know to do her will, &c.

Idolatrous invocation.

130. *De profundis clamavi ad te Domina, Domina exaudi vocem meam: Fiant aures tuæ intendentes, &c.*

Out of the deep I have called unto thee, O Lady, O Lady hear my voice, &c.

132. *Memento Domina,* David, *& omnium invocantium nomen tuum, &c.*

O Lady, remember *David*, and all them that call upon thy name, &c.

False trust.

134. *Ecce nunc benedicite Dominam, omnes qui speratis in nomine sancto ejus, &c.*

Behold and bless now our Lady, all ye that put your trust in her holy name.

Blasphemy.

136. *Super flumina* Babylonis, &c. *Non invenietur propitiatio sine illa.*

At the floods of *Babylon*, &c. There is no propitiation to be found without her, &c.

Gods office appointed to our Lady.

140. *Eripe me Domina ab omni malo, & ab hoste infero defende me, &c.*

Deliver me O Lady from all evil, and from the infernal Enemy defend me, &c.

145. *Oculi nostri sperant in te Domina. Mitte nobis cibum & escam delectantem. Laudationem tuam loquetur lingua mea, et benedicam te in seculum seculi.*

Our eyes look up and trust in thee. Do thou sendest us meat and food convenient, &c. My tongue shall speak thy praise, and shall bless thee for ever.

Idolatry.

148. *Lauda,* Jerusalem, *Dominam, glorifica illam etiam* O Sion. *Ipsa enim construit muros tuos, & filios tuos benedicit. Gratia sua te impinguat, pacemque donat terminis tuis.*

Praise thou our Lady, O *Jerusalem*, and glorifie her also O thou *Sion:* For she buildeth up thy Walls, and blesseth thy Children. Her grace maketh thee fat, and giveth peace unto thy coasts, &c.

I could recite also other things more of like Blasphemy, following immediately after this Psalter of our Lady, in the Seraphical Doctor aforesaid, as these:

Horrible blasphemy.

Ecce Domina Salvatrix mea, fiducialiter agam in te, & non timebo, &c. Quia fortitudo mea es tu. Et facta es mihi in salutem, i. Behold my Lady my Saviour, I will be bold in thee, and will not fear, &c. Because thou art my strength, &c. And art become my Salvation, &c.

Blasphemy.

Exulta totum genus humanum, quia talem dedit tibi Mediatricem Dominus Deus tuus, i. Rejoyce, O all Mankind, because the Lord thy God hath given unto thee such a Mediatrix, &c.

The Scripture abused.

Confitebor tibi Domina, quia abscondisti hæc à sapientibus, & revelasti ea parvulis, i. I will confess to thee, O Lady, because thou hast hid these things from the wise, and hast revealed them to the little Ones.

Generatio prava atque perversa agnosce Dominam nostram Salvatricem tuam. Nunquid ipsa est mater tua quæ possedit te, & in fide generavit te? i. O thou wicked and peevish Generation, knowledge our Lady thy Saviour. Is not she the Mother that hath possessed thee, and in Faith hath begotten thee?

Cursed blasphemy.

O benedicta, in manibus tuis reposita est nostra salus, i. O thou blessed, in thy hands is laid up our Salvation, &c.

In nomine tuo omne genu flectatur, cœlestium, &c. In thy Name let every knee bend, in Heaven and Earth, and in Hell.

Quemadmodum Infans sine Nutrice non potest vivere; ita nec sine Domina nostra posses habere salutem, i. Like as an Infant cannot live without the Nurse, so neither canst thou have Salvation without our Lady.

Blasphemy.

Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat de Maria firmam fidem. Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absq; dubio in æternum perivit, i. Whoso will be saved, before all things he must needs

hold this Belief of our Lady: which Believe, unleſs every one ſhall hold perfect and ſound, he ſhall periſh without doubt for ever.

Moreover, after theſe ſo horrible things and intollerable to be heard, conſequently in the next tractation followeth the Roſary or Garland of our Lady, compiled by the ſaid *Bonaventure*; wherein theſe words are to be read as followeth: *O Mediatrix between God and Man, the Lord hath worthily magnified thee, that thou only ſhouldeſt conceive his Son. Wherefore, O good* Mary *our Mediatrix, Mother of Grace, and Mother of Mercy, &c.* And moreover, within few lines it followeth in theſe words, *Therefore, O our Empreſs and Lady moſt bountiful, by the authority of a Mother command, command (I ſay) thy well-beloved Son, that he will ſtir up our minds from the love of worldly things, to heavenly deſires, &c.*

The Roſary or Garland of our Lady called, Corona beatæ *Mariæ.*

Mary made a commander of Chriſt.

Item, *O the Advocate of the miſerable, the eyes of thy Servants be directed to thee,* &c.

To theſe premiſſes, I might alſo adjoyn the horrible and moſt blaſphemous words of the ſaid *Bonaventure* in the ſaid Book, *Fol.* 100. *pag.* 2. *Col.* 1. which I beſeech thee to read and note. *Quæ major bonitas quam quod Chriſtus, i.* What greater goodneſs can be, than that Chriſt is content to be captive upon the Altar?

Whereupon he ſpeaketh in the perſon of *Jeremy*, ſaying, *Behold I am in your hands, do with me as you ſee good, &c. Where note* (ſaith he) *that when any Duke or Prince is taken Priſoner for his Subjects, he is not let go, before he pay ſome great ſum of Money for his ranſom. Even ſo neither we ought to let Chriſt go out of our hands being our Priſoner and Captive, except he grant to us remiſſion of our Sins and his heavenly Kingdom. The Prieſt therefore lifteth up the Body of Chriſt upon the Altar, as though he ſaid thus, Behold him whom the whole World is not able to comprehend, he is holden here our Captive, wherefore let us hold him faſt, and not let him go before we obtain of him our requeſts, &c.*

Chriſt made a Captive and a Priſoner in the Popes Church.

Notes.

The Church of *Rome* examined.

Is not here good Catholick ſtuff (Chriſtian Reader) trow you? Confer I beſeech you this Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, which teach us that we are fully compleat in Chriſt, and I will refer me to no better Judge than to your own Conſcience. And now therefore, if any man have been in doubt in times paſt of the Doctrine and proceeding of the Church of *Rome*, whether it be rightly charged with blind Errors, with Blaſphemy intollerable, and Idolatry abominable or not, here now he may be fully certified and reſolved. For where was ever Idolatry or Blaſphemy to be found, if it be not here in this Mattins and Pſalter of our Lady? If Idolatry be to make an Idol to be worſhipped as God, which is no god, what do we here but make an Idol of our Lady (as we call her) to be worſhipped with no leſs dignity, glory, authority, reverence and ſervice, than is the Lord God himſelf? And as he is called our Lord, ſo ſhe is called our Lady. And if he be King, yet ſhe is the Queen of Heaven. And though he have the name of God, yet ſhe beareth ſo the title of the Mother of God; that as Mothers have authority over their Children, ſo ſhe is willed to ſhew her ſelf to be his Mother, to cauſe him to grant our Petitions. Finally, if he be our Patron, yet ſhe is our Patroneſs. The Commandment ſaith, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.* And what worſhip or ſervice can we give to God, more than we do aſcribe unto her? And what benefit is to be asked at the hands of Chriſt our Saviour, which is not equally asked of her? To ſave our Souls, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the deſperate, to looſe our captivity, to releaſe our ſins, to deliver from the Fiend, to bring to Heaven, &c. To her we pray, we cry, we weep, we ſigh, we groan, we knock and kneel, to her we truſt, and if we believe not alſo in our Lady, we be Hereticks *ipſo facto*.

The Church of *Rome* convict of manifeſt Idolatry.

Our Lady made equal with God in the Church of *Rome.*

The Doctrine of the *Romiſh* Church directly againſt the firſt Commandment of God.

To Truſt and believe in our Lady.

Furthermore, as Chriſt our only Lord and Saviour hath his Church and Congregation which profeſs his Name, of whom we are called *Chriſtians*; ſo neither is ſhe likewiſe without her Chappels, her Cloyſters, her Chapters, Fraternities and Brotherhoods, which profeſſing her name in like ſort, are called our Ladies Brethren, or white Friers, beſides an innumerable ſort of other Patrons of Churches, of whom every one hath his peculiar Church and Religion by himſelf, yet all theſe together be included under the general devotion of our Lady their ſupreme Patroneſs and Governneſs.

Ann. 1555.

Now to proceed further to the other part of the Commandment, which ſaith, *Him only ſhalt thou ſerve.* What ſervice hath the Lord in all the Church, but our Lady alſo joyntly with him hath the like? Her Maſs, her Mattins, her Evenſong, her Hours and Complin, her Roſaries, her Anthems, her Collects, her Primer, her Pſalter, her Holy-days likewiſe, yea five to one. Finally, as the Lord hath his Prayer called the Lords Prayer, ſo hath ſhe her *Ave Maries*, yea ten *Aves* to one *Pater noſter*; yea, and read further in the ſaid *Bonaventure*, and ye ſhall ſee her alſo to have her *Te Deum*, her *Benedictus*, her *Magnificat*, and alſo her *Quicunque vult*.

Our Lady hath her Church as well as Chriſt.

Ten *Aves* to one *Pater noſter.*

If the Lord our God had not expreſſed unto us his own will by plain words, limiting unto us by expreſs Injunction what to believe, what to follow, and how to worſhip and ſerve him, and how to receive from him our Salvation; but had left us to the imagination of our own Inventions, every man to ſhift for himſelf after his own policy, then peradventure this way taken by the Popes Church, to make friends and mediators between God and us, for reconciliation, remiſſion, and ſalvation, might have ſome rhime or reaſon; but now Gods Word doth bind us, doth preſcribe and limit us preciſely in every point touching Salvation, what to believe, and what to do, ſhewing us plainly that we cannot be ſaved, but by the Blood of his Son only, neither can be juſtified but by Faith only in the ſame Chriſt his Son: Wherefore not to believe that which he hath promiſed, is Infidelity, and to follow any other belief than he hath ſet us, is plain Idolatry. The which two ſpecial Errors moſt commonly do follow the Doctrine of the *Romiſh* Church, as not only in this Primer and Pſalter of our Lady aforeſaid, but alſo in all their proceedings, teachings and preachings, beſides may well appear. For where the Scripture doth perfectly promiſe and pronounce us to be juſtified through our Faith in Chriſt, and willeth us to ſeek our Salvation no where elſe, but only in the merits of Jeſus: the Inſtitution of the Church of *Rome*, neither will receive that God hath freely given, (wherein ſtandeth Infidelity) neither yet will ſeek the ſame there where as they ſhould, but in the merits and prayers of our Lady, of St. *John Baptiſt*, St. *Peter* and *Paul*, St. *Andrew*, St. *Nicholas*, St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, and by the worthineſs of the material Croſs, and ſuch other unlawful means, wherein ſtandeth plain Idolatry. And yet ſuch Books as theſe can be ſuffered among the Catholicks to be currant, as good, wholſom and lawful Books; whereas the other, which lead us the true way from Infidelity and blind Idolatry to true Chriſtianity, in no wiſe can be ſufferable. But of this to complain it is vain. Wherefore to paſs from this Proclamation, let us proceed (God willing) in the courſe of our Hiſtory.

Infidelity. Idolatry.

The Church of *Rome* charged with Infidelity and Idolatry.

The Church of *Rome* neither taketh that which God doth give, neither doth ſeek for that which they would have by lawful means.

The Story of Thomas Oſmond, William Bamford, *and* Thomas Osborne, *Martyrs.*

MEntion was made before in the ſtory of *Thomas Haukes*, of ſix Priſoners beſides, which were ſent down with him to *Eſſex* the ſame time as he went to Execution. Of which ſix Priſoners, three were ſent to be burned, the other three to recant, and to do penance: Of whom it followeth next in the ſtory now to intreat. The names of which ſix were theſe, *Thomas Oſmond* Fuller, *William Bamford*, alias *Butler*, Weaver, *Thomas Osborne* Fuller, *Nicholas Chamberlain* Weaver, *Thomas Brodehill* Weaver, *Richard Web* Weaver, being all of the Town of *Coxhall*. All which ſix *Coxhall* Men, next after the Examinations of *Thomas Haukes*, and *Thomas Wats*, were ſent up to *Boner* to be examined, by the Earl of *Oxford* and Sir *Philip Paris* Knight, with a Letter alſo with them ſent, the Copy whereof here followeth.

T. Oſmond, W. Bamford, T. Oſborne, Martyrs. Read before.

A Letter ſent from the Earl of Oxford *to* Boner *Biſhop of* London.

AFter our hearty Commendations unto your good Lordſhip, this ſhall be to advertize the ſame, that the Conſtables of *Coxhall* within your Dioceſs, have brought before us this day ſix Perſons dwelling in the Town of

A Letter from the Earl of *Oxford* to Biſhop *Boner.*

Anno 1555. of *Coxhall* aforeſaid, whoſe names hereafter do follow, *videlicet*, *Nicholas Chamberlain* Weaver, *John Wallet* Fuller, *Thomas Brodehill* Weaver, *Richard Web* Weaver, *William Bamford*, alias *Butler*, Weaver, and *Thomas Oſborne* Fuller, for that they at the Feaſt of *Eaſter* now laſt, have not obeyed to the Order of the holy Catholick Church in receiving of the Sacraments; but obſtinately refuſing the ſame, beſides of holding divers other Opinions, contrary to the Faith of the ſaid Church. Wherefore we have thought it good to ſend the ſame Perſons unto your good Lordſhip further to be ordered, as in ſuch caſe ſhall appertain. Thus we commit your good Lordſhip to the keeping of Almighty God. From *Hedingham* the firſt of *May*, *Anno* 1555.

Priſoners ſent by the Earl of *Oxford* to *Boner*.

Your Lordſhips aſſuredly, Oxford,
Philip Paris.

Oſmond, *Chamberlain*, and their Fellows, brought before Biſhop *Boner*.

Thus the ſaid Priſoners being ſent up the firſt day of *May*, were brought before the ſaid Biſhop the 17. of the ſaid Month to be examined upon divers and ſundry Articles miniſtred and objected againſt them; wherunto they were compelled to anſwer, and to put their hands to the ſame: the Copie of which their Articles and Anſwers, being all one in form and effect (if the Regiſter ſay true) here followeth.

The Copy of the Articles objected againſt Thomas Oſmond, William Bamford, *and* Nicholas Chamberlain *of* Coxhall.

Articles miniſtred unto them by the Biſhop.

1 FIrſt, That thou *Thomas Oſmond* Fuller, waſt and art of the Pariſh of *Coxhall*, within the Dioceſs of *London*, and thou haſt not believed nor doſt believe, that there is here *in* the Earth one Catholick and Univerſal whole Church, which doth hold and believe all the Faith and Religion of Chriſt, and all the neceſſary Articles and Sacraments of the ſame.

The Popes Church falſly termed by the name of the Univerſal Church.

2. *Item*, That thou haſt not believed nor doſt believe, that thou art neceſſarily bounden under the pain of the damnation of thy Soul, to give full Faith and Credence unto the ſaid Catholick and Univerſal Church, and to the Faith and Religion of the ſame in all neceſſary points of the ſaid Faith and Religion, without doubting or wavering in the ſaid Faith and Religion, or in any part thereof.

The Faith of the *Romiſh* Church not to be believed.

3. *Item*, That thou haſt not believed that the Faith and Religion, which both the Church of *Rome*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, *Scotland*, and all other Churches in *Europe*, being true members and parts of the ſaid Catholick and Univerſal Church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the Faith and Religion of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true Faith and Religion which all Chriſtian People ought to believe, obſerve, follow and keep; but contrariwiſe, thou haſt believed and doſt believe, that that Faith and Religion, which the ſaid Church of *Rome*, and all the other Churches aforeſaid, have heretofore believed, and do believe, is falſe erroneous and naught, and in no wiſe ought to be believed, obſerved, kept, and followed of any Chriſtian perſon.

Note how this Gear is penned to the worſt.

4. *Item*, That albeit it be true, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is in ſubſtance the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt undet the forms of Bread and Wine; and albeit that it be ſo believed, taught and preached undoubtedly in the ſaid Church of *Rome*, and all other Churches aforeſaid, yet thou haſt not ſo believed, nor doſt ſo believe, but contrariwiſe thou haſt believed, and doſt believe firmly and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, under the ſaid forms of Bread and Wine, the very ſubſtance of Chriſts Body and Blood, but that there is only the ſubſtance of material and common Bread and Wine, with the forms thereof, and that the ſaid material and common Bread and Wine are only the ſigns and tokens of Chriſts Body and Blood, and are by Faith to be received only for a remembrance of Chriſts paſſion and death, without any ſuch ſubſtance of Chriſts Body and Blood at all.

This Article not ſo put down as they meant it.

5. *Item*, That thou haſt believed and taught, and haſt openly ſpoke and defended, and ſo doſt believe, think, maintain and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Chriſts Body and Blood, is only to take material and common Bread, and to break it and diſtribute it among the People, remembring thereby the paſſion and death of Chriſt only.

The Maſs not of Chriſts inſtitution.

6. *Item*, That thou haſt likewiſe believed, thought and ſpoken, that the Maſs, now uſed in the Realm of *England*, and other the Churches aforeſaid, is abominable and naught, and full af Idolatry, and is of the Ordinance of the Pope, and not of the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and hath no goodneſs in it, ſaving the *Gloria in Excelſis*; the Epiſtle and Goſpel, and therefore thou haſt not, nor will not come and be preſent at Maſs, nor receive the Sacrament of the Altar, nor any other Sacrament of the Church, as they are now uſed in the Realm of *England*, &c.

Againſt Auricular Confeſſion, and Church-Service.

7. *Item*, That thou haſt in times paſt believed, and yet doſt now believe, that Auricular Confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made unto the Prieſt, but is a thing ſuperfluous, void and naught, only to be made to God and to none other perſon. And likewiſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vain and unprofitable, all the Ceremonies of the Church, and the Service of the ſame, and haſt ſaid that no Service in the Church ought to be ſaid but in the Engliſh Tongue, and if it be otherwiſe, it is unlawful and naught.

The Earl of *Oxford*, Mr. *Philip Paris*.

8. *Item*, That thou being notoriouſly and openly ſuſpected for an Heretick, and a perſon culpable in the Premiſſes, waſt of late called and convented before the Earl of *Oxford*, and Maſter *Philip Paris*, and there waſt charged with the ſaid Hereſies, eſpecially againſt the Sacrament of the Altar. And becauſe thou didſt maintain and ſtand to thy ſaid Hereſies, and wouldſt not come to the Church and be confeſſed, and receive the ſaid Sacrament as other Chriſtian People did, but utterly didſt refuſe to do the ſame, thou waſt by the ſaid Earl of *Oxford*, and Mr. *Philip Paris* ſent up by a Conſtable unto me Biſhop of *London*, and waſt by them denounced, detected, and put up to me as an Heretick and misbelieving perſon.

9. *Item*, That thou haſt known and believed, thou doſt know and believe, or at leaſt thou haſt credibly heard reported, ſpoken and ſaid, that all and all manner of perſons, which do teach, preach, or hold any thing concerning the Sacraments of the Church, or any the Articles of the Faith, otherwiſe than is found already diſcuſſed and determined by our Mother the holy Church, or doth call into doubt or queſtion that thing which is already decided or determined by the Church, or that willingly and wittingly do utter, openly or privily, any ſlanderous or blaſphemous words concerning the ſaid Sacraments or any of them, or that do preach, teach or keep any Sect or kind of Hereſie againſt the wholeſom Doctrine of the Church, and do wittingly, willingly, or obſtinately defend the Sect or kind of Hereſie, are by the Canons of the whole and Univerſal Catholick Church, and alſo by the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Church of *England*, by their ſo doing, accurſed with that Curſe, which doth ſeparate them from the entry into the Church, from the receiving of the Sacraments, and from the company of faithful People, and are (in continuing in this ſaid Sect and Hereſie) to be pronounced, declared, and taken for Hereticks, and to be delivered to the Secular Power, and by the Laws Temporal of this Realm of *England*, and the cuſtom of the ſame, to be by the ſaid Secular Power put to death and burnt for this ſaid Sect and Hereſie.

10. *Item*, That thou by reaſon of the Premiſſes waſt and art to be pronounced, taken, had, reputed, and judged for a manifeſt and open, wilful and obſtinate Heretick, for a wicked and curſed Perſon, and to be punished accordingly for the ſame, according to the ſaid Canon Laws, uſages and cuſtoms.

The Anſwers which the ſaid Thomas Oſmond, William Bamford, *and* Nicholas Chamberlain *ſeverally made unto theſe Articles.*

The anſwer of the Priſoners to the Articles, agreeing all in one.

TO the firſt they anſwered and confeſſed the ſame to be true, except that they do believe that there is here in the Earth one Catholick and whole Church, and that the ſame Church doth hold and believe, as is contained in this Article.

To the ſecond they anſwer, and believe the ſaid Article not to be true; for they ſay that they have and do believe that they are neceſſarily bounden, under pain of damnation of their Soul, to give full faith and credence unto the ſaid Catholick Church, and to the Faith and Religion of the ſame, in all neceſſary points of the ſame Faith and Religion, without wavering or doubting in any part hereof.

The Church of *Rome* not to be believed.

To the third they answer, that the Church of *Rome*, and other Churches mentioned in this Article, be not true Members and Parts (as they be used in Faith and Religion) of the Catholick Church of Christ, and that the Faith and Religion used in the said Churches, is not agreeable with the Church of Christ, but are false and erroneous.

To the fourth they answer and say, That howsoever the said Churches of *Rome* and others of Christendom have and do believe touching the Sacrament of the Altar, yet they do believe that in the Sacrament under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is not the very substance of Christs Body and Blood, but that there is only the substance of material Bread and Wine, and that the same material Bread and Wine be only the signs and tokens of Christs Body and Blood, and are to be received only for a remembrance of Christs passion and death, without any substance of Christs Body and Blood at all.

The true eating of Christs Body.

To the fifth Article they answer, That the true receiving and eating of Christs Body, according to Christs Institution, is to take, distribute, and eat material Bread, and thereby to remember the passion and death of Christ, and so receive by Faith (as they believe) Christs Body and Blood, and not otherwise.

To the sixth they answer, The same to be true in every part thereof, except that over and besides the *Gloria in excelsis*, the Epistle and Gospel, which they believe to be good, they believe the *Pater noster* and Creed used in the Mass, be also good.

Auricular Confession not necessary. Ceremonies idle in the Church.

To the seventh they answer and confess, That Auricular Confession is not necessary to be made to the Priest; nevertheless they think that it is necessary to go to such a Priest as is able to give good counsel: And that for counsel only, and not otherwise. And as concerning the Ceremonies of the Church, they answer the same to be vain and unprofitable. No Service in the Church ought to be said, but only in the English Tongue.

To the eighth, they answer and believe the same to be true in every part thereof, except they do not believe that they be Hereticks, or suspected of Heresie.

To the ninth *Osmund* and *Bamford* answered, That they referred themselves to the said Laws mentioned in that Article; but *Chamberlain* made no answer at all to this Article.

To the tenth, the said *Osmund* and *Bamford* answered and said, That by reason of their Belief before by them confessed, they are not to be reputed, taken or adjudged for wilful and obstinate Hereticks; nor to be punished therefore, as is declared in that Article. The other answered nothing.

Scholies upon the foresaid Articles.

Notes of Scholies upon the Articles used to be ministred to the poor Christians by the Popes Church.

These Articles in the same form and manner of words are commonly objected to all other that follow after, with the same Answers also thereunto annexed. In which Articles thou maist note (Reader) the crafty and subtle handling of these Lawyers and Registers, who so deceitfully frame their Articles and Positions, that unless a man do advisedly consider them, it is hard for a simple man to answer to them, but he shall be snared and entangled. So they paint their Church with such a visage of Universal, whole, holy, Catholick, as who should say; He that denieth Rome, *denieth the holy Church of Christ here in Earth. Likewise in examining them, and specially the simple sort in the matter of the Sacrament, to the material Bread in the Sacrament they put their word* (only) *very captiously and fraudulently, to take them at the worst advantage, making the People believe that they take the holy Sacrament to be no better than only common Bread: when they do not so, but make a difference between the same, both in the use, honour and name thereof.*

Crafty captious dealing of the Papists in propounding their Articles.

Again, when the Examinates hold but only against the erroneous points of Romish *Religion, these Bishops in their Interrogatories give out the matter so generally, as though the said Examinates in general spake against all the Articles of Faith taught in* Rome, Spain, England, France, Scotland, &c.

Moreover, concerning Latin Service, in such crafty form of words they propound their Article, that it might appear to the People, these Men do deny any Service to be lawful in any Place, Country or Language, but only in English.

And as these Articles are craftily, captiously and deceitfully in form of words devised by the Bishops and their Notaries: so the Answers again to the same, be no less subtilly framed, and after the most odious manner put down in the name of the Examinates, which being read unto them, thus without further advice they were constrained upon a sudden, to subscribe the same with their hands. Whereby, if any word escaped their hand, peradventure not considerately subscribed; there the Papists take their advantage against them, to defame them, and to bring them into hatred with the People.

These Articles thus propounded and answered, they were until the Afternoon dismissed. At what time they did again appear, and there were examined and travelled with by fair and flattering Speeches, as well of the Bishops as of others his Assistants, to recant and revoke their Opinions, who notwithstanding remained constant and firm, and therefore, after the common usage of their Ecclesiastical Laws, were sent away again until the next day, being Saturday, and the 18. day of *May*. Then in the Fore-noon the Bishop using his accustomed manner of proceeding, which he had used before as well with them as with others, did likewise dismiss them, and at last in the Afternoon condemned them as Hereticks, and so delivered them to the Sheriffs, in whose custody they remained until they were delivered to the Sheriff of *Essex*, and by him were executed, *Chamberlain* at *Colchester*, the 14. of *June*; *Thomas Osmund* at *Maningtree*, the 15. of *June*; and *William Bamford*, alias *Butler*, at *Harwich*, the same 15. day in the Month of *June*.

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Sentence Against *Osmund, Chamberlain, Bamford.* June 14. June 15 The martyrdom of *T. Osmond, Chamberlain* and *W. Bamford.*

The History of the worthy Martyr and Servant of God, Mr. John Bradford, *with his Life, Acts, and sundry Conflicts with his Adversaries, and Martyrdom at length most constantly suffered for the Testimony of Christ and his Truth.*

July 1. The history of Mr. John Bradford Martyr.

AS touching the first Country and Education of *John Bradford*, he was born at *Manchester* in *Lancashire*. His Parents did bring him up in Learning from his Infancy, until he attained such knowledge in the Latin Tongue, and skill in Writing, that he was able to gain his own living in some honest condition. Then he became Servant to Sir *John Harrington*, Knight, who in the great Affairs of King *Henry* the Eighth, and King *Edward* the Sixth, which he had in hand when he was Treasurer of the Kings Camps and Buildings, at divers times in *Bullonois*, had such experience of *Bradfords* activity in Writing, his expertness in the Art of Auditors, as also of his faithful Trustiness, that not only in those Affairs, but in many other of his private business he trusted *Bradford* in such sort, that above all other he used his faithful Service.

Sir John Harrington Knight.

The trusty service of John Bradford under M. Harrington.

Thus continued *Bradford* certain years in a right honest and good trade of life, after the course of this World, like to come forward (as they say) if his mind could have so liked, or had been given to the World as many other be. But the Lord which had elected him unto a better function, and pre-ordained him to preach the Gospel of Christ in that hour of grace, which in his secret councel he had appointed, called this his chosen Child to the understanding and partaking of the same Gospel of Life. In which Call he was so truly taught, that forthwith his effectual Call was perceived by the fruits. For then *Bradford* did forsake his worldly Affairs and forwardness in worldly Wealth, and, after the just Account given to his Master of all his doings, he departed from him, and with marvellous favour to further the Kingdom of God by the Ministry of his holy Word, he gave himself wholly to the study of the holy Scriptures. The which his purpose to accomplish the better, he departed from the *Temple* at *London*, where the Temporal Law is studied, and went to the University of *Cambridge*, to learn by Gods Law how to further the building of the Lords Temple. In *Cambridge* his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge and godly Conversation so pleased all men, that within one whole year after that he had been there, the University did give him a degree of a Master of Art.

Bradford called to the Gospel.

Bradford giveth himself to the study of Scripture.

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Bradford Mr. of Art, and fellow of Pembroke Hall.

M. Bucers saying.

Immediately after the Master and Fellows of *Pembroke* Hall did give him a Fellowship in their Colledge with them: yea that man of God *Martin Bucer*, so liked him, that he had him not onely most dear unto him, but also oftentimes exhorted him to bestow his talent in Preaching. Unto which *Br.* answered always, that he was unable to serve in that office, through want of Learning, To the which *Bucer* was wont to reply, saying; If thou have not fine Manchet Bread, yet give the poor People Barly Bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee. And whiles *Bradford* was thus perswaded to enter into the Ministery, Doctor *Ridley* that worthy Bishop of *London*, and glorious Martyr of Christ, according to the order that then was in the Church of *England*, called him to take the degree of a Deacon. Which Order, because it was not without some such abuse, as to the which *Bradford* would not consent, the Bishop yet perceiving that *Bradford* was willing to enter into the Ministery, was content to order him Deacon without any abuse, even as he desired, This being done, he obtained for him a Licence to preach, and did give him a Prebend in his *Cathedral* Church of Saint *Pauls*.

John Bradford made Deacon by Bish. Ridley without any superstitious abuse therin.

John Bradford made Prebendary in Pauls and licensed to preach.

In this preaching office by the space of three years, how faithfully *Bradford* walked, how diligently he laboured, many parts of *England* can testifie. Sharply he opened & reproved sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithily he impugned Heresies and Errours, earnestly he perswaded to godly life. After the Death of blessed young King *Ed.* the sixth, when Queen *Mary* had gotten the Crown, still continued *Bradford* diligent in preaching, untill he was unjustly deprived both of his office and liberty by the Queen and her Councel. To the doing wherof, because they had no just cause, they took occasion to do this injury for such an act, as among Turks and Infidels would have been with thankfulness rewarded, and with great favour accepted, as indeed it did no less deserve.

Bradford unjustly deprived of his living and preaching.

Bourns Sermon at Pauls Cross.

The fact was this. The 13. of *August*, in the first year of the reign of Q. *Mary*, Master *Bourn*, then Bishop of *Bathe*, made a Seditious Sermon at *Pauls* Cross in *London*, as partly is declared before, to set Popery abroad, in such sort that it moved the People to no small indignation, being almost ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the presence of Bish. *Boner*, who then was his Master, nor yet the commandment of the Major of *London*, whom the people ought to have obeyed, stay their rage: but the more they spake, the more the People were incensed. At length *Bourn* seeing the People in such a mood, and himself in such peril (whereof he was sufficiently warned by the hurling of a drawn Dagger at him as he stood in the Pulpit) and that he was put from ending his Sermon, fearing lest (against his will) he should there end his wretched life, desired *Bradford*, who stood in the Pulpit behind him, to come forth, and to stand in his place and speak to the People. Good *Bradford* at his request was content, and there spake to the People of godly and quiet obedience. Whom as soon as the People saw to begin to speak unto them, so glad they were to hear him, that they cryed with a great shout; *Bradford*, *Bradford*, God save thy life *Bradford*; well declaring not onely what affection they bare unto him, but also what regard they gave unto his words. For after that he had entred a little to preach unto them, & to exhort them to quiet and patience, eftsoons all the raging ceased, and in the end quietly departed each man to his house. Yet in the mean season (for it was a long time before that so great a multitude could all depart) *Bourn* thought (and truly) himself not yet full sure of his life till he were safely housed, notwithstanding that the Major and Sheriffs of *London* were there at hand to help them. Wherefore he desired *Bradford* not to depart from him till he were in safety: which *Bradford* according to his promise, performed. For while the Major and Sheriffs did lead *Bourn* to the School-Masters House, which is next to the Pulpit, *Bradford* went at his back, shadowing him from the People with his gown, and so to set him safe.

Bradford appeaseth the rage of the People, and guardeth the Papistical preacher.

The reverent regard and affection of the People to M. Bradford.

M. Bradford procureth M. Bourns safety.

Let the Reader now consider the perill of *Bourn*, the charity of *Bradford*, and the headyness of the multitude, and also the grudging minds of certain, which yet still there remained behind; grieved not a little in their minds, to see that so good a man should save the life of such a Popish Priest, so impudently and openly rayling against K. *Edward*. Among whom one Gentleman said these words: Ah *Bradford*, *Bradford*, thou savest him that will to burn thee. I give thee his life: if it were not for thee, I would (I assure thee) run him through with my sword. Thus *Bourn* for that time, through *Bradfords* means, escaped bodily Death: but God hath his Judgment to be shewed in the time appointed.

Bradford reproveth the People for the tumult at Pauls Cross.

The same *Sunday* in the afternoon *Bradford* preached at the *Bow* Church in *Cheapside*, and reproved the People sharply for their Seditious Misdemeanour. After this he did abide still in *London* with an innocent Conscience, to try what should become of his just doing.

Bradford charged with Sedition, for saving the Preacher.

Within three days after, he was sent for to the *Tower* of *London*, where the Queen then was, to appear there before the Councel. There was he charged with this act of saving of *Bourn*, which act they there called Seditious, & also objected against him for preaching, & so by them he was committed first to the *Tower*, then unto other prisons, out of which neither his innocencie, godliness, nor charitable dealing could purchase to him liberty of Body, but by Death (which he suffered for Christs cause) he obtained the Heavenly liberty, of which neither Pope nor Papist shall ever deprive him. From the *Tower* he came to the *Kings Bench* in *Southwark*: and after his condemnation, he was sent to the *Counter* in the *Poultry* in *London*: in which two places, for the time he did remain prisoner, he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him: where also the Sacrament was often ministred and through his means (the Keepers so well did bear with him) such resort of good folks was daily to his Lecture, and to the ministration of the Sacrament, that commonly his chamber was well nigh filled therewith. Preaching, reading and praying was all his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day; which was but very little when he took it: and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he used often to muse with himself, having his hat over his eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of tears dropping on his trencher. Very gentle he was to man and child, and in so good credit with his Keeper, that at his desire in an evening (being prisoner in the *Kings Bench* in *Southwark*) he had licence upon his promise to return again that night, to go into *London* without any Keeper to visit one that was sick, lying by the *Still-yard*. Neither did he fail his promise, but returned to his prison again, rather preventing his hour, than breaking his fidelity: so constant was he in word and in deed.

Bradford in the Kings Bench. Bradford in the Counter.

Bradford preacheth and ministreth the Sacrament in prison.

Bradford came into London without his Keeper, and returned that night to prison again.

Of personage he was somewhat tall and slender, spare of Body, of a faint Sanguine colour, with an Awburn beard. He slept not commonly above four hours in the night: and in his bed, till sleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was in no gaming or other pastime, but onely in honest company, and comely talk, wherein he would spend a little time after Dinner at the board, and so to prayer and his Book again. He counted that hour not well spent, wherein he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others, &c. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally participate that he had to his fellow prisoners. And commonly once a week he visited the theeves, pick-purses, and such others that were with him in prison where he lay on the other side, unto whom he would give godly exhortation, to learn the amendment of their lives by their trouble, and after that so done, distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort.

The description of Bradford.

Bradford content with a little sleep.

Bradfords recreation.

The holy life of Bradford.

Bradford visited the Theeves, pick purses, &c.

By the way, this I thought not to conceal. While he was in the *Kings Bench*, and Mr. *Saunders* in the *Marshalsey* both prisoners, on the Backside of those two prisons they met many times, and conferred together when they would: so mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midst of their troubles: and the said *Bradford* was so trusted with his Keeper, & had such liberty in the Backside, that there was no day, but that he might have easily escaped away, if he would, but that the Lord had another work to do for him. In the Summer time, while he was in the said *Kings Bench*, he had liberty of his Keeper to ride into Oxfordshire, to a Merchants House of his acquaintance, and horse and all things prepared for him for that Journey, and the party in readiness that should ride with him: but God prevented him by sickness that he went not at all.

The meeting and conference between Laurence Saunders and John Bradford.

Bradford refuseth to escape out of prison though he might.

One of his old Friends and Acquaintance came unto him whilest he was prisoner, and asked him, if he sued to get him out, what then he would do, or whither he would go? Unto whom he made answer, as not caring whether

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Bradford would not fly out of *England* though he might.

he went out or no: but if he did, he ſaid he would Marry, and abide ſtill in *England* ſecretly, teaching the People as the time would ſuffer him, and occupy himſelf that way. He was had in ſo great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a Multitude, which never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his Death: yea, and a number alſo of the Papiſts themſelves wiſhed heartily his life. There were few days in which he was thought not to ſpend ſome tears before he went to bed, neither was there every any priſoner with him, but by his company he greatly profited, as all they will yet witneſs, and have confeſſed of him no leſs, to the glory of God, whoſe ſociety be frequented, as among many, one ſpeciall thing I thought to note, which is this.

Bradford belov'd.

Bradfords tears.

Biſhop *Farrar* confirmed in the truth, by *I. Bradford.*

Biſhop *Farrar* being in the Kings *Bench* priſoner, as before you have heard, was travelled withal of the Papiſts in the end of *Lent*, to receive the Sacrament at *Eaſter* in one kind, who after much perſwading yielded to them, and promiſed ſo to do. Then (ſo it hapned by Gods providence) the *Eaſter* Even, the day before he ſhould have done it, was *Bradford* brought to the Kings *Bench* priſoner, where the Lord making him his Inſtrument, *Bradford* onely was the mean that the ſaid Biſhop *Farrar* revoked his promiſe and word, and would never after yield to be ſpotted with that Papiſticall pitch; ſo effectually the Lord wrought by this worthy Servant of his. Such an inſtrument was he in Gods Church, that few or none there were that knew him, but eſteemed him as a precious Iewel and Gods true meſſenger.

Bradford dreameth of his burning according as it came to paſs.

The night before he was had to *Newgate*, which was the *Saturday* night, he was ſore troubled divers times in his ſleep by dreams, how the chain for his burning was brought to the *Counter-gate*, and how the next day being *Sunday*, he ſhould be had to *Newgate*, and on the *Monday* after burned in *Smithfield*, as in deed it came to paſs accordingly, which hereafter ſhall be ſhewed. Now he being vexed ſo oftentimes in this ſort with theſe dreams, about three of the clock in the morning he waked him that lay with him, and told him his unquiet ſleep, and what he was troubled withall. Then after a little talk, Maſter *Bradford* roſe out of the bed, and gave himſelf to his old exerciſe of reading and prayer, as always he had uſed before: and at dinner according to his accuſtomed manner he did eat his meat, and was very merry, no Body being with him from morning to night, but he that lay with him, with whom he had many times on that day communication of Death, of the Kingdom of Heaven, and of the ripeneſs of ſin in that time.

Bradford hath word of his burning.

In the afternoon they two walking together in the Keepers chamber, ſuddenly the Keepers wife came up, as one half amazed, and ſeeming much troubled, being almoſt windleſs, ſaid: Oh Maſter *Bradford*, I come to bring you heavy news. What is that ſaid he? *Marry*, quoth ſhe, to morrow you muſt be burned; and your chain is now a buying, and ſoon you muſt go to *Newgate*. With that Mr. *Bradford* put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, ſaid; I thank God for it; I have looked for the ſame a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me ſuddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour, the Lord make me worthy thereof: and ſo thanking her for her gentleneſs, departed up into his chamber, and called his Friend with him, who when he came thither, he went ſecretly himſelf alone a long time, and prayed; Which done, he came again to him that was in his chamber, and took him divers Writings and Papers, and ſhewed him his mind in thoſe things what he would have done, and after they had ſpent the afternoon till night in many and ſundry ſuch things, at laſt came to him half a dozen of his Friends more, with whom all the evening he ſpent the time in prayer and other good excerciſe, ſo wonderfully, that it was marvellous to hear and ſee his doings.

Bradford maketh his praier; taking his farewell of the *Counter.*

A little before he went out of the *Counter*, he made a notable prayer of his farewell, with ſuch plenty of tears, and abundant Spirit of prayer, that it raviſhed the minds of the hearers. Alſo when he ſhifted himſelf with a cleant ſhirt that was made for his burning (by one Mr. *Walter Marlars* Wife, who was a good nurſe unto him, and his very good Friend) he made ſuch a prayer of the wedding garment, that ſome of thoſe that were preſent were in ſuch great admiration, that their eyes were as throughly occupied in looking on him, as their ears gave place to hear his prayer. At his departing out of the chamber, he made likewiſe a prayer, and gave money to every Servant and Officer of the Houſe, with exhortation to them to fear and ſerve God, continually labouring to eſchew all manner of Evil. That done, he turned him to the wall and prayed vehemently, that his words might not be ſpoken in vain, but that the Lord would work the ſame in them effectually, for his Chriſts ſake. Then being beneath in the Court, all the priſoners cryed out to him and bid him farewell, as the reſt of the Houſe had done before with weeping tears.

Bradford going from the *Counter.*

The priſoners take their leave of *Bradford* with tears.

Bradford carried to *Newgate* at midnight.

The time they carried him to *Newgate*, was about xi. or xii. a clock in the night, when it was thought none would be ſtirring abroad: and yet, contrary to their expectation in that behalf, was there in *Cheapſide* and other places (between the *Counter* and *Newgate*) a great multitude of People that came to ſee him, which moſt gently bade him farewell, praying for him with moſt lamentable and pitifull tears, and he again as gently bade them farewel, praying moſt heartily for them and their welfare. Now whether it were a commandment from the Queen and her Councell, or from *Boner* and his adherents, or whether it were merrily deviſed of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of *London*, or no, I cannot tell; but a great noiſe there was over night about the City by divers, that *Bradford* ſhould be burnt the next day in *Smithfield*, by four of the clock in the morning, before it ſhould be greatly known to any. In which rumor, many heads had divers minds; ſome thinking the fear of the People to be the cauſe thereof: other thought nay, that it was rather becauſe the Papiſts judged his Death would convert many to the truth, and give a great overthrow to their Kingdom. So ſome thought one thing, and ſome another, that no juſt conjecture of the cauſe could be known that ever I heard yet. But this was certain, the People prevented the device ſuſpected; for the next day, at the ſaid hour of four a clok in the morning, there was in *Smithfield* ſuch a multitude of men and women, that many being in admiration thereof, thought it was not poſſible that they could have warning of his Death, being ſo great a number in ſuch ſhort time, unleſs it were by the ſingular providence of Almighty God.

The People in *Cheapſide* bade *Bradford* farewel.

A noiſe of *Bradfords* early burning.

A multitude in *Smithfield* by 4. a clock.

Well, this took not effect as the People thought; for that morning it was nine a clock of the day, before Maſter *Bradford* was brought into *Smithfield*: which, in going through *Newgate* thitherward, eſpyed a Friend of his whom he loved, ſtanding on the one ſide the way to the Keepers houſewards, unto whom he reached his hand over the People, and pluckt him to him, and delivered to him from his head his velvet night-cap, and alſo his handkerchief, with other things beſides. And after a little ſecret talk with him, and each of them parting from other, immedately came to him a Brother in law of his, called *Roger Beſwick*, which as ſoon as he had taken the ſaid *Bradford* by the hand, one of the Sheriffs of *London* called *Woodroſe*, came with his ſtaff, and brake the ſaid *Rogers* Head, that the Blood ran about his ſhoulders. Which ſight *Bradford* beholding with grief, bade his Brother farewell, willing him to commend him to his Mother, and the reſt of his Friends and to get him to ſome Surgeon betimes; ſo they departing, had little or no talk at all together. Then was he led forth to *Smithfield* with a great company of weaponed men, to conduct him thither, as the like was not ſeen at any mans burning: for in every corner of *Smithfield* there were ſome, beſides thoſe that ſtood about the Stak. *Bradford* then being come to the place fell flat to the ground, ſecretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then riſing again, and puting off his cloths unto his ſhirt, he went to the ſtake, and there ſuffered with a young of twenty years of age, joyfully and conſtantly, whoſe name was *John Leaf*. Touching the order and manner of whoſe burning, more ſhall be ſaid (God willing) hereafter. In the mean time, we will now ſhew forth the ſundry examinations, conflicts, and conferences between him and other his Adverſaries during the time of his impriſonment, which was in all two years lacking one month and a half. Which Examinations here follow to be declared.

Bradford going to *Smithfield.*

Bradford gave his night-cap away.

Woodroſe breaketh the head of *Bradfords* Brother in law.

M. Bradford two years lacking a month and a half in priſon.

It was before a little above declared, that *John Bradford*, within three days after the Sermon of Maſter *Bourn*, was by the Councell commited to the *Tower*, where he remained from the month of *Auguſt*, Anno 1553. to the 22. day of *January*, Anno 1555. upon which day he was called

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called out to examination before *Steven Winchester* and other of the Commissioners. The effect of which examination and communication which passed between him and them, proceeded in manner as followeth.

The effect of the communication between John Bradford *and the Lord Chancellor and others in Commission with him, the two and twenty day of* January, *Anno* 1555.

Talk between M. *Bradford* and *Steven Winchester.*

AFter the Lord Chancellor, and the residue of the Queens Councell in Commission with him, had ended their talk with Master *Farrar* late Bishop of Saint *Davids*, the Under-marshall of the Kings *Bench* was commanded to bring in *John Bradford*: who, being come into the presence of the Councell sitting at a Table, kneeled down on his knee, but immediatly by the Lord Chancellor was bidden to stand up, and so he did.

Winchester overfaced.

When he was risen, the Lord Chancellor earnestly looked upon him, to have (belike) overfaced him: but he gave no place; that is, he ceased not in like manner to look on the Lord Chancellor still continually, save that once he cast up his eyes to Heaven-ward, sighed for Gods grace, and so over faced him.

The words of the Bishop of *Winchester* to *John Bradford*

L. Chan. Then the Lord Chancellor as it were amazed, and something troubled, spake thus to him in effect; That of long time he had been imprisoned justly for his seditious behaviour at *Pauls* Cross, the thirteenth of *August*, in the year One thousand five hundred fifty three, for his false preaching and arrogancie, taking upon him to preach without Authority. But now (quoth he) the time of mercy is come, and therefore the Queens Highness, minding to offer unto you mercy, hath by us sent for you, to declare and give the same, if so be ye will with us return: and if you will do as we have done, you shall find as we have found, I warrant you. This was the sum of his words, and in manner the same words which he spake.

Bradford answers again to *Winchester.*

Brad. To these words *John Bradford* spake (after reverent obeysance made) in this manner: My Lord and Lords all, I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and (with humble reverence be it spoken) unjustly, for that I did nothing Seditiously, Falsely, or Arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwise, but rather sought truth, peace, and all godly quietness, as an obedient and faithfull Subject both in going about to save the Bishop of *Bathe* now, then Mr. *Bourn*, the Preacher at the Cross, and in preaching for quietness accordingly.

Bradfords fact in saying of *Bourn* counted for Seditious.

L. Chan. At these words, or rather before he had fully finished, the said Lord Chancellor something snuffed, and spake with an Admiration, that there was a loud lye: for (quoth he) the fact was Seditious, as you my Lord of *London* can bear witness.

Boner witnesseth with *Winchester* against *Bradford.*

Boner. You say true my Lord; I saw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and lead the People malepertly, thereby declaring that he was the Author of the Sedition.

Brad. My Lords, notwithstading my Lord Bishops seeing and saying, yet the truth I have told, as one day my Lord God Almighty shall reveal to all the World, when we shall all come and appear before him: In the mean season, because I cannot be believed of you, I must and am ready to suffer, as now your sayings be, whatsoever God shall license you to do unto me.

This talk of *Bradford* first in the *Tower*, came not to our hands.

L. Chan. I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and goodly shews thou makest: but all is lyes thou speakest. And again, I have not forgot how stubborn thou wast when thou wast before us in the *Tower*, whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning Religion: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, wherethrough worthily thou hast been kept in prison, as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour. Commandment the ninth.

Brad. My Lord, as I said I say again, that I stand as before you, so before God, and one day we shall all stand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now ye will not so take it. Yea my Lord, I dare say, that my Lord of Bath, Mr. *Bourn* will witness with me, that I sought his safeguard with the perill of mine own life, I thank God therefore.

Bradford desired of Master *Bourn* to help him, and yet is now shent for his labour.

Boner. That is not true: for I my self did see thee take upon thee too much.

Brad. No, I took nothing upon me undesired, and that of Master *Bourn* himself, as if he were here present, I dare say he would affirm. For he desired me both to help him to pacifie the People, and also not to leave him till he was in safety. And as for my behaviour in the *Tower*, and talk before your Honours, if I did or said any thing that did not beseem me, if your Lordships would tell me wherein it was, I should and would shortly make you answer.

Chan. Well, to leave this matter: how sayest thou now? Wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou shalt receive the Queens mercy and pardon?

Mans mercy with Gods wrath refused.

Brad. My Lord, I desire mercy with Gods mercy, but mercy with Gods wrath, God keep me from: Although (I thank God therefore) my conscience doth not accuse me, that I did speak any thing wherefore I should need to receive the Queens mercy or pardon. For all that ever I did or spake, was both agreeable to Gods Laws, and the Laws of the Realm at that present, and did make much to quietness.

Chan. Well, if thou make this babbling rolling in thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy offered to thee, know for truth, that the Queen is minded to make a "purgation of all such as thou art.

That is the worst you and your Pope can do, and the best argument you have.

Brad. The Lord before whom I stand, as well as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have sought, and seek in this behalf: his mercy I desire, and also would be glad of the Queens favour, to live as a subject without a clog of conscience. But otherwise the Lords mercy is better to me than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even into his hands which will keep it, so that no man my take it away before it be his pleasure. There are twelve hours in the day, and as long as they last, so long shall no man have power thereon. Therefore his good will be done; life in his displeasure is worse than Death, and Death with his true favour, is true life.

The Lords mercy is better than life to Bradford.

Chan. I know well enough, that we shall have glorious talk enough of thee: be sure therefore that as thou hast deceived the People with false and devillish Doctrin, so shalt thou receive.

Bradford ready to confirm his Doctrine with his life

Brad. I have not deceived the People, nor taught any other Doctrin, than by Gods grace I am, and hope shall be ready to confirm with my life. And as for the devillishness and falseness in the Doctrin, I would be sorry you could so prove it.

Dures. Why, tell me, what say you by the Ministration of the Communion, as now you know it is?

Bradford asketh a question before he answereth any interrogatory.

Brad. My Lord, here I must desire of your Lordship and of all your Honours a question, before I dare make you an answer to any Interrogatory or Question, wherewith you now begin. I have been six times sworn that I shall in no case consent to the practising of any Jurisdiction, or any Authority on the Bishop of *Romes* behalf within this Realm of *England*. Now, before God, I humbly pray your Honors to tell me whether you ask me this question by his Authority, or no? If you do, I dare not, nor may answer you any thing in his Authority, which you shall demand of me, except I would be forsworn, which God forbid.

Secretary *Bourn* speaks. *Bradford* six times sworn against the Pope.

Sec. Bourn: Hast thou been sworn six times? what office hast thou born?

Brad. Forsooth I was thrice sworn in Cambridge, when I was admitted Master of Art, when I was admitted Fellow of *Pembroke* Hall, and when I was there, the Visitors came thither, and sware the University. Again, I was sworn when I entred into the Ministery, when I had a Prebend given me, and when I was sworn to serve the King a little before his Death.

Herods Oaths, quoth *Winchester.*

Chan. Tush, Herods Oaths a man should make no conscience at.

Winchest. de vera obedientia.

Brad. But my Lord, these were no *Herods* Oaths, no unlawfull Oaths, but Oaths according to Gods Word, as you your self have well affirmed in your book *De vera obedientia.*

M. *Rochester* speaketh.

M. Roch. My Lords (quoth another of the Councel that stood by the table, Master *Rochester* I ween) I never knew wherefore this man was in prison before now: but I see well that it had not been good that this man had been abroad: what the cause was that he was put in prison, I know not; but I now well know that not without a cause he was and is to be kept in prison.

The Earl of *Derbies* complaint against *Bradford.*

Bourn. Yea, it was reported this Parliament time by the Earl of *Derby*, that he hath done more hurt by Letters, and exhorting those that have come to him, in Religion,

This Letter was written to his Mother, Brethren and Sisters, and followeth hereafter.

in Religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curseth all that teach any false Doctrine (for so he calleth that which is not according to that he taught) and most heartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth to continue still in that they have received by him, and such like as he is. All which words divers of the Councel affirmed. Whereunto the said M. *Bourn* added, saying; How say you Sir, have you not thus Seditiously written and exhorted the People?

M. *Bradford* falsly charged with Sedition.

Brad. I have not written, nor spoken any thing Seditiously, neither (I thank God therefore) have I admitted any Seditious Cogitation, nor I trust ever shall do.

Bourn. Yea, thou hast written Letters.

Chan. Why speakest thou not? Hast thou not written as he saith?

Brad. That I have written, I have written.

Rich. Southwell speaketh.

South. Lord God, what an Arrogant and Stubborn Boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly behaveth himself before the Queens Councel? Whereat one looked upon another with disdainful Countenances.

Brad. My Lords and Masters, the Lord God which is, and will be Judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am certain I stand now before his *Majesty*; so with reverence in his sight I stand before you, and unto you accordingly in words and gesture I desire to behave my self. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it: In the mean season, I shall suffer with all due obedience your sayings and doings too, I hope.

All is lyes that pleaseth not Winchester.

Chan. These be gay and glorious words of reverence but as in all others things, so herein also thou doest nothing but lye.

Brad. Well, I would God the Author of truth, and abhorrer of lyes, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and shew a terrible Judgment on me here present, if I have purposed or do purpose to lye before you, whatsoever you shall ask me.

Winchester holden at a bay.

Chan. Why then doest thou not answer? Hast thou written such Letters as here is objected against thee?

Brad. As I said, my Lord, that I have written, I have written, I stand now before you, which either can lay my Letters to my charge, or no: if you lay any thing to my charge that I have written, if I deny it, I am than a lyar.

Chan. We shall never have done with thee, I perceive now: be short, be short, Wilt thou have mercy?

Brad. I pray God give me his mercy, and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuse it, but otherwise I will none.

Here now was much ado, one speaking this, and another that of his Arrogancie, in refusing the Queens pardon, which she so lovingly did offer unto him; whereto *Bradford* answered thus:

M. Bradford desireth to live that he may have life without clog of conscience.

Brad. My Lords, if I may live as a quiet subject without clog of conscience, I shall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwise I behave my self, than I am in danger of the Law: in the mean season I ask no more, but the benefit of a Subject, till I be convinced of transgression, If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, Gods good will be done.

Winchester speakesh against the Doctrine taught in King *Edwards* time.

Chan. Upon these words my Lord Chancellor began a long process of the false Doctrine wherewith the People were deceived in the days of King *Edward*, and so turned the end of his talk to *Bradford*, saying: How sayest thou?

M. *Bradford* standeth in defence of the Doctrine taught in King *Edwards* time.

Brad. My Lord, the Doctrine taught in K. *Edwards* days was Gods pure Religion: the which as I then believed, so do I now more believe it than ever I did, and therin I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it by Gods grace even as he will, to the World, than I was when I first came into prison.

Dures. What Religion mean you in K. *Edwards* days? What year of his reign?

Brad. Forsooth even the same year my Lord, that the King died, and I was a Preacher. Here wrote Secretary *Bourn* I wote not what.

The reason of winchester wherewith he disproveth the Doctrine of K. *Edwards* days.

Chan. Now after a little pausing, my Lord Chancellor beginneth again to declare, that the Doctrine taught in King *Edwards* days was Heresie, using for probation and demonstration thereof, no Scripture nor Reason, but this: that it ended with Treason and Rebellion, so that (quoth he) the very end were enough to prove that Doctrine to be naught,

Brad. Ah my Lord, that you could enter in Gods Sanctuary, and mark the end of this present Doctrine that you now so magnifie.

Anno 1555.

Chan. What meanest thou by that? I ween we shall have a snatch of Rebellion even now.

Brad. My Lord, I mean no such end as you would gather: I mean an end which no man seeth, but such as enter into Gods Sanctuary. If a man look on present things, he will soon deceive himself.

The Queens mercy again offered to M. *Bradford.*

Here now did my L. Chancellor offer again mercy, and *Bradford* answered, as before: Mercy with Gods mercy should be welcom, but otherwise he would none. Whereupon the L. Chancellor did ring a little Bell, belike to call in some Body: for there was present none in manner, but onely those before named, and the Bishop of *Worcester*. Now when one was come in; it is best, quoth Mr. Secretary *Bourn*, that you give the Keeper a charge of this fellow. So was the Undermarshal called in.

M. *Bradford* returned again into prison.

Chan. Ye shall take this man to you, and keep him close without conference with any man, but by your knowledge, and suffer him not to write any Letters, &c. for he is of another manner of charge unto you now, than he was before. And so they departed, *Bradford* looking as cheerfully as any man could do, declaring thereby even a desire to give his life for confirmation of that he had taught and written.

The effect of the second examination of John Bradford *in S. Mary Overies Church, before the L. Chancellor, and divers other Bishops, the 29. of* January. *Anno* 1555.

The second examination of M. *Bradford* before the Bishop of *Winchester* and others.

AFter the Excommunication of *John Rogers*, *John Bradford* was called in, and standing before the L. Chancellor and other Bishops set with him, the said L. Chancellor speake thus in effect.

L. Chan. Where before the 22. of *January*, the said *Bradford* was called before them (said he) and they offered unto him the Queens pardon, although he had contemned the same, and further said, that he would stiffly and stoutly maintain, and defend the Erroneous Doctrine taught in the days of K. *Edward* the 6, yet in consideration that the Queens Highness was wonderful merciful, they thought good eftsoons to offer the same mercy again, before it were too late: therefore advise you well, said he, there is yet space and grace before we so proceed, that you be committed to the Secular Power, as me must do and will do, if you will not follow the example of Mr. *Barlow*, and Mr. *Cardmaker*, whom he there commended, adding oratoriously amplifications to move the said *Bradford* to yeeld to the Religion presently set forth.

Example of M. *Barlow* and *Cardmaker* laid against *Bradford.*

Brad. After the L. Chancellors long talk, *Bradford* began on this sort to speak; My Lord, and my Lords all, as now I stand in your sight before you, so I humbly beseech your Honours to consider, that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who (as *David* doth witness) is in the congregation of Judges, and sitteth in the midst of them judging: and as you would your place to be now of us taken as Gods place, so demonstrate your selves to follow him in your sitting, that is, seek no guiltless Blood, nor hunt not by questions to bring into the snare, them which are out of the same. At this present I stand before you guilty or guiltless, then proceed and give sentence accordingly: if guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which hitherto I could not have.

Illum oportet, vitæ sanctæ, qui auxilium tulit, quid facies illi, qui dederit damnum aut malum?

Chan. Here the L. Chancellor replyed, and said, that the said *Bradford* began with a true sentence, *Deus stetit in Synagoga, &c.* But quoth he, this and all thy gesture declareth but Hypocrisie and vain-glory. And further he made much ado to purge himself, that he sought not guiltless Blood, and so began a long process how that *Bradfords* fact at *Pauls* Cross, was presumptuous, arrogant, and declared a taking upon him to lead the People, which could not but turn to much disquietnes, in that thou (speaking to *Bradford*) was so retract & stout in Religion at that present. For the which, as thou wast then committed to prison, so hitherto thou hast been kept in prison, where thou hast written Letters to no little hurt to the Queens people, as by report of the Earl of *Derby* in the Parliament House was credibly declared. And to this he added, that the said *Bradford* did stubbornly behave himself the last time he was before them: and therefore not for any other thing now I demand of thee, quoth he, but of and for thy Doctrine and Religion.

The witness of the Earl of *Derby* laid against M. *Bradford.*

Brad.

Anno 1555.

Brad. My Lord, where you accuſe me of Hypocriſie and Vain-glory, I muſt and will leave it to the Lords Declaration, which one day will open yours and my Truth and hearty meanings: in the mean ſeaſon, I will content my ſelf with the teſtimony of mine own Conſcience, which if it yield to Hypocriſie, could not but have God to be my foe alſo; and ſo both God and Man were againſt me. And as for my fact at *Pauls-Croſs*, and behaviour before you at the *Tower*, I doubt not but God will reveal it to my comfort. For if ever I did thing, which God uſed to publick benefit, I think that my deed was one, and yet for it I have been and am kept of long time in Priſon. And as for Letters and Religion, I anſwer, as I did the laſt time I was before you.

M. Bradford defendeth his Fact at Pauls-Croſs.

Chan. There didſt thou ſay ſtubbornly and malepertly, that thou wouldeſt manly maintain the erroneous Doctrine in King *Edwards* days.

The words of M. Bradford miſreported.

Brad. My Lord, I ſaid the laſt time I was before you, that I had ſix times taken an Oath, that I ſhould never conſent to the practiſing of any Juriſdiction on the Biſhop of *Romes* behalf, and therefore durſt I not anſwer to any thing that ſhould be demanded ſo, leſt I ſhould be forſworn, which God forbid. Howbeit, ſaving mine Oath, I ſaid that I was more confirmed in the Doctrine ſet forth publickly in the days of King *Edward*, than ever I was before I was put in Priſon: and ſo I thought I ſhould be, & think yet ſtill I ſhall be found more ready to give my life as God will, for the confirmation of the ſame.

M. Bradford more confirmed in his Doctrine after his Impriſonment than before.

Chan. I remember well that thou madeſt much ado about needleſs matter, as though the Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome* were ſo great a matter. So others have done before thee, but yet not in ſuch ſort as thou haſt done: for thou pretendeſt a Conſcience in it, which is nothing elſe but meer hypocriſie.

Wincheſter maketh but a ſmall matter of an Oath.

Brad. My Conſcience is known to the Lord: and whether I deal herein hypocritically or no, he knoweth. As I ſaid therefore then my Lord, ſo I ſay again now, That for fear leſt I ſhould be perjured, I dare not make anſwer to any thing you ſhall demand of me, if my anſwering ſhould conſent to the confirming or practiſing of any Juriſdiction for the Biſhop of *Rome* here in *England*.

L. Chan. Why didſt thou begin to tell that we are *Dii*, and ſit in Gods place, and now wilt thou not make us an anſwer?

Bradford ſtandeth ſtill to his Oath.

Brad. My Lord, I ſaid, you would have your place taken of us now as Gods place: and therefore I brought forth that piece of Scripture, that ye might the more be admoniſhed to follow God and his ways at this preſent, who ſeeth us all, and well perceiveth whether of Conſcience I pretend this matter of the Oath, or no.

L. Chan. No, all men may well ſee thine hypocriſie: for if for thine Oaths ſake thou didſt not anſwer, then wouldeſt thou not have ſpoken as thou didſt, and have anſwered me at the firſt: but now men well perceive, that this is but a ſtarting-hole to hide thy ſelf in, becauſe thou dareſt not anſwer, and ſo wouldeſt eſcape, blinding the ſimple Peoples eyes, as though of Conſcience you did all you do.

Brad. That which I ſpake at the firſt, was not a replication or an anſwer to that you ſpake to me: and therefore I needed not to lay for me mine Oath. For I thought you would have more weighed what I did ſpeak, than you did: but when I perceived you did not conſider it, but came to ask matter, whereto by anſwering I ſhould conſent to the practiſing of Juriſdiction on the Biſhop of *Romes* behalf here in *England*, and ſo be forſworn; then of Conſcience and ſimplicity I ſpake as I do yet again ſpeak, that I dare not for Conſcience ſake anſwer you. And therefore I ſeek no ſtarting-holes, nor go about to blind the People, as God knoweth. For if you of your Honours ſhall tell me, that you do not ask me any thing whereby mine anſwering ſhould conſent to the practiſing of the Biſhop of *Romes* Juriſdiction, ask me wherein you will, and you ſhall hear that I will anſwer you as flatly as ever any did that came before you. I am not afraid of death, I thank God: for I look, and have looked for nothing elſe at your hands of long time: but I am afraid, when Death cometh, I ſhould have matter to trouble my Conſcience, by the guiltineſs of Perjury, and therefore do I anſwer as I do.

The cauſe why Bradford anſwereth not to Wincheſter. Popiſh Interrogatories.

L. Chan. Theſe be gay glorious words, full of hypocriſie and vain-glory, and yet doſt thou not know that I ſit here as Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in mine own Dioceſs, and therefore may do this which I do, and more too?

Bradford ready to anſwer under proteſtation.

Brad. My Lord, give me leave to ask you this queſtion, that my Conſcience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here *Coram Deo*, before God, all this Audience being witneſs, that you demand of me nothing whereby mine anſwering ſhould conſent to and confirm the practice of Juriſdiction for the Biſhop of *Rome* here in *England*, and yet your Honour ſhall hear me give you as flat and as plain anſwers briefly, to whatſoever you ſhall demand me, as ever any did.

L. Chan. Here the L. Chancellor was wonderfully offended, and ſpake much how the Biſhop of *Romes* Authority needed no confirmation of *Bradfords* anſwering, nor no ſuch as he was; and turned his talk to the People, how that *Bradford* followed crafty covetous Merchants, which becauſe they would lend no mony to their Neighbours when they were in need, would ſay that they had ſworn oft, that they would never lend any more mony, becauſe there Debtors had ſo oft deceived them. Even ſo thou, quoth he to *Bradford*, doſt at this preſent, to caſt a miſt in the Peoples eyes, to blear them with an Hereſie (which is greater, and more hurtful to the Commonwealth than the other is) pretend thine Oath, whereby the People might make a Conſcience, whereas they ſhould not. Why ſpeakeſt thou not?

Difference of Oaths: ſome with Faith and Charity, ſome againſt it.

Brad. My Lord, as I ſaid, I ſay again, I dare not anſwer you for fear of Perjury, from which God defend me, or elſe I could tell you that there is a difference between Oaths. Some be according to Faith and Charity, as the Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*: ſome be againſt Faith and Charity; as this, to deny by Oath, my help to my Brother in his need.

L. Chan. Here my L. Chancellor again was much offended, ſtill ſaying that *Bradford* durſt not anſwer, and further made much ado to prove, that the Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome* was againſt Charity.

Brad. But *Bradford* anſwered, that howſoever his Honour took him, yet he was aſſured of his meaning, that no fear but the fear of Perjury made him unwilling to anſwer: For, as for death, my Lord (quoth he) as I know there are 12. hours in the day, ſo with the Lord my time is appointed. And when it ſhall be his good time, then I ſhall depart hence: but in the mean ſeaſon I am ſafe enough, though all the People had ſworn my death. Into his hands have I committed it, and do, his good will be done. And ſaving mine Oath, I will anſwer you in this behalf, that the Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome* was not, nor is againſt Charity.

L. Chan. How prove you that?

Brad. Forſooth I prove it thus:

Argument.

Fe- Nothing is againſt Charity, which is with Gods Word, and not againſt it.

The Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, is not againſt Charity.

ſti- The Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Romes* Authority in *England*, is with Gods Word, and is not againſt it.

no. Ergo, The Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Romes* Authority in *England*, is not againſt Charity.

A King, how he may be taken for Supream Head of the Church in his own Dominion.

L. Chan. Is it againſt Gods Word, that a man ſhould take a King to be Supream Head of the Church in this Realm?

Brad. No, ſaving ſtill mine Oath, it is not againſt Gods Word, but with it, being taken in ſuch ſenſe as it may well be taken: that is, attributing to the Kings power, the Soveraignty in all his Dominion.

L. Chan. I pray you where find you that?

Rom. 13. Biſhops, Prophets and Apoſtles ſubject to Temporal Magiſtrates.

Brad. I find it in many places, but ſpecially in the 13. to the *Romans*, where S. *Paul* writeth, *Every ſoul to be ſubject to the ſuperiour Power*: but what Power? *Quæ gladium geſtat, The Power verily which beareth the Sword*; which is not the Spiritual, but the Temporal Power. As *Chryſoſtom* full well noteth upon the ſame place, which your Honour knoweth better than I. He (*Chryſoſtom* I mean) there plainly ſheweth that Biſhops, Prophets, and Apoſtles, are obedient to the Temporal Magiſtrates.

L. Chan. Here yet more the Lord Chancellor was ſtirred, and ſaid, how that *Bradford* went about to deny

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all obedience to the Queen for his Oath: and ſo (quoth he) this man would make Gods word a warrant of diſobedience: for he will anſwer the Queen on this ſort, that when ſhe ſaith, Now ſwear to the Biſhop of *Rome*, or obey his Authority: No (will he ſay) for I ſhould be forſworn, and ſo he makes the Queen no Queen.

Refuſing of the Popes obedience being ſworn againſt him is no denying of obedience to the Queen.

Brad. No, I go not about to deny all obedience to the Queens Highneſs, but denying obedience in this part, if he ſhould demand it. For I was ſworn to K. *Edward*, not ſimply, that is, not only concerning his own perſon, but alſo concerning his *Succeſſors*, and therefore in denying to do the Queens requeſt herein, I deny not her Authority, nor become diſobedient.

The prepoſterous Judgment of *Wincheſter*, to care ſo little for an Oath to God, and ſo much for his Vow to the Pope.

L. Chan. Yes that thou doeſt: and ſo he began to tell a long tale, how if a man ſhould make an Oath to pay to me an hundred pounds by ſuch a day, and the man to whom it was due would forget the debt, the debtor ſhould ſay, No, you cannot do it: for I am forſworn then.

Brad. Here *Bradford* deſired my L. Chancellor not to trifle it, ſaying, that he wondred his Honour would make Solemn Oaths made to God, trifles in that ſort; and make ſo great a matter concerning Vows (as they call it) made to the Biſhop for Marriage of Prieſts.

Chan. At theſe words the L. Chancellor was much offended, and ſaid, he did not trifle: but quoth he, thou goeſt about to deny obedience to the Queen, which now requireth obedience to the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Argument. A Specie ad genus negative non valet.

Brad. No my Lord, I do not deny obedience to the Queen, if you would diſcern between *Genus* and *Species*. Becauſe I may not obey in this; *Ergo*, I may not obey in the other, is no good reaſon. As if a man let or ſell a piece of his Inheritance, yet, this notwithſtanding, all his Inheritance is not let or ſold: and ſo in this caſe, all obedience I deny not, becauſe I deny obedience in this Branch.

Chan. I will none of theſe ſimilitudes.

Brad. I would not uſe them, if that you went not about to perſwade the People, that I meant that which I never meant: for I my ſelf not onely mean obedience, but will give enſample of all moſt humble obedience to the Queens Highneſs, ſo long as ſhe requireth not obedience againſt God.

Chan. No, no, all men may ſee your meaning well enough. There is no man, though he be ſworn to the King, that doth therefore break his Oath, if he afterwards be ſworn to the *French* King and to the Emperor.

Brad. It is true my Lord, but the caſes be not like. For here is an exception; Thou ſhalt not ſwear to the Biſhop of *Rome* at any time. If we in like manner were ſworn; Thou ſhall not ſerve the Emperor, &c. you ſee there were ſome alteration and more doubt. But I beſeech your Honour remember what ye your ſelf have written, anſwering the Objections hereagainſt in your Book *De vera obedientia. Vincat modo divini verbi veritas.* i. *Let Gods Word, and the reaſon thereof, bear the bell away.*

Winchester. pretendeth as though Bradford for fear durſt not anſwer.

Chan. Here the L. Chancellor was thorowly moved, and ſaid ſtill, how that *Bradford* hath written ſeditious Letters, and perverted the People thereby, and did ſtoutly ſtand, as though he would defend the Erroneous Doctine in King *Edwards* time, againſt all men: and now, quoth he, he ſaith, he dare not anſwer.

Brad. I have written no ſeditious Letters, I have not perverted the People: but that which I have written and ſpoken, that will I never deny, by Gods grace. And where your Lordſhip ſaith, that I dare not anſwer you: that all men may know that I am not afraid, ſaving mine Oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly make you anſwer, by Gods grace, although I now ſee my life lieth thereon. But O Lord, into thy hands I commit it, come what come will: onely ſanctifie thy Name in me, as in an inſtrument of thy grace, Amen. Now ask what you will, and you ſhall ſee I am not afraid, by Gods grace, ſtarly to anſwer.

Bradford ready to tender a reaſon of his faith.

Chriſt preſent corporally in the Sacrament to faith.

L. Chan. Well then, how ſay you to the bleſſed Sacrament? Do you not believe there Chriſt to be preſent concerning his Natural Body?

Brad. My Lord, I do not believe that Chriſt is corporally preſent at and in the due Adminiſtration of the Sacrament. By this word (corporally) I mean that Chriſt is there preſent corporally unto faith.

L. Chan. Unto faith? we muſt have many more words to make it plain.

Brad. You ſhall ſo: but firſt give me leave to ſpeak two words. Anno 1555.

L. Chan. Speak on.

Brad. I have been now a year and almoſt three quarters in priſon, and of all this time you never queſtioned with me hereabout, when I might have ſpoken my conſcience frankly without peril: but now have you a Law to hang up and put to death, if a man anſwer freely, and not to your appetite, and ſo now you come to demand this queſtion. Ah my Lord, Chriſt uſed not this way to bring men to faith. No more did the Prophets or *Apoſtles*. Remember what *Bern.* writeth to *Eugenius* the Pope; *Apoſtolos lego ſtetiſſe judicandos, ſediſſe judicantes non lego. Hoc erit, illud fuit, &c. That is, I read, that the Apoſtles ſtood to be judged, but I read not, that they ſate to judge. This ſhall be, that was, &c.*

Note well the Popes way to bring men to faith.

The Popes judging and condemning men for their faith, reproved by Bernard.

Chan. Here the L. Chancellor was appalled, as it ſeemed, and ſaid moſt gently that he uſed not this means. It was not my doing, quoth he, although ſome there be that think this to be the beſt way: For I, for my part have been challenged for being too gentle oftentimes: Which thing the Biſhop of *London* confirmed, and ſo did almoſt all the audience, that he had been ever too milde and too gentle.

Winchester blamed without a cauſe, as he ſaith.

Brad. At which words *Bradford* ſpake thus: My Lord, I pray you ſtretch out your gentleneſs, that I may feel it, for hitherto I never felt it.

Chan. As ſoon as ever he had ſpoken thus: the Lord Chancellor, belike thinking that *Bradford* would have had mercy and pardon, ſaid, that with all his heart, not onely he, but the Queens Highneſs would ſtretch out mercy if with them he would return.

Bradford three quarters of a year in the Tower kept from pen and ink.

Brad. Return, my Lord? God ſave me from that going back: I mean it not ſo, but I mean, that I was three quarters of a year in the *Tower*; you forbad me paper, pen and ink, and never in all that time, nor ſithence did I feel any gentleneſs from you. I have rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremity. And I thank God that I perceive now ye have kept me in priſon thus long, not for any matter ye had, but for matter ye would have; Gods good will be done.

M. Bradford impriſoned, not for matter they had, but for matter they would have againſt him.

Here now were divers telling my Lord it was dinner time. And ſo he roſe up, leaving *Bradford* ſpeaking, and ſaying that in the afternoon thy would ſpeak more with him. And ſo was he had into the Veſtry, and was there all that day till dark night, and ſo was conveyed again to priſon.

Bradford kept in the Veſtry till dark night.

T. Huſſey cometh to Bradford.

In the mean time, about four of the clock the ſame afternoon, a Gentleman called Maſter *Thomas Huſſey* of *Lincolnſhire*, which was once an Officer in the Duke of *Northfolks* Houſe, did come into the Veſtry to inquire for one *Stoning*: and when it was anſwered him by the undermarſhals Officers of the Kings Bench, that there was none ſuch, he entered into the houſe, and took acquaintance of *John Bradford*, ſaying, that he would commune and ſpeak with him the next morning for old acquaintance.

Counſell of M. Huſſey given to M. Bradford.

The next morning about ſeven of the clock, this Gentleman come into the Chamber wherein *John Bradford* did lye, and being with him, he began a long Oration, how that of love and old acquaintance he came unto him to ſpeak that which he would further utter. You did (ſaid he) ſo wonderfully behave your ſelf before the L. Chancellor, and other Biſhops yeſter day, that even the verieſt enemies you have, did ſee that they have no matter againſt you: & therefore adviſe you (ſpeaking as though it came of his own good will, without making any other man privie, or any other procuring him, as he ſaid) this day (for anon you ſhall be called before them again) to deſire a time, and men to confer withall, ſo ſhall all men think a wonderful Wiſdom, gravity, and godlineſs in you: and by this means you ſhall eſcape preſent danger, which elſe is neerer than you be ware of. To this *John Bradford* anſwered, I neither can nor will make ſuch requeſt. For then ſhall I give occaſion to the people and to all other to think that I donbt of the Doctrine which I confeſs; the which thing I do not, for thereof I am moſt aſſured, & therefore I will give no ſuch offence.

Mr. Bradford refuſeth to require reſpit.

As they were thus talking, the Chamber Door was unlocked & D. *Seton* came in, who when he ſaw M. *Huſſey*. What Sir, quoth *Bradford* in his heart to God, goeth the matter thus? This man told me, no man knew of his coming: Lord give me grace to remember thy leſſon,

Dr. Seton cometh to Mr. Bradford.

Huſſey taken with a lye.

Cavete

Anno 1555.

Cavete ab hominibus illis, Beware of thoſe men, &c. Caſt not your Pearls before Dogs: for I ſee theſe men be come to hunt for matter, that the one may bear witneſs with the other.

Councel of D. *Seton* given to *M. Bradford.*

Seton. Dr. *Seton*, after ſome by-talk of *Bradfords* Age, of his Country and ſuch like, began a gay and long Sermon of my Lord of *Canterbury*, Mr. *Latimer*, and Mr. *Ridley*, and how they at *Oxford* were not able to anſwer any thing at all; and that therefore my Lord of *Canterbury* deſired to confer with the Biſhop of *Dunelm* and others: all which Talk tended to this end, that *John Bradford* ſhould make the like ſuit, being in nothing to be compared in Learning to my Lord of *Canterbury*.

Brad. To this *John Bradford* briefly anſwered as he did before to Mr. *Huſſey*.

The flattering commendation of D. *Seton* to *M. Bradford.*

Seton. With this Anſwer neither the Doctor nor Gentleman being contented, after many perſwaſions, Mr. Doctor ſaid, I have heard much good talk of you, and even yeſternight a Gentleman made report of you at the Lord Chancellors Table, that ye were able to perſwade as much as any that he knew. And I (though I never heard you preach, and to my knowledge did never ſee you before yeſterday,) yet methought your modeſty was ſuch, your behaviour and talk ſo without malice and impatience, that I would be ſorry you ſhould do worſe than my ſelf. And I tell you further, I do perceive my Lord Chancellor hath a fantaſie towards you: wherefore be not ſo obſtinate, but deſire reſpit and ſome Learned man to confer withal, &c.

M. *Bradford* refuſeth to take reſpit to confer upon his Doctrine.

Brad. But *John Bradford* kept ſtill one anſwer: I cannot, nor I will not ſo offend the People. I doubt not, but I am moſt certain of the Doctrine I have taught.

Seton. Here Mr. *Doctor* waxed hot, and called *Bradford* arrogant, proud, vain-glorious, and ſpake like a Prelate.

Brad. But *Bradford* anſwered, Beware of judging, leſt you condemn your ſelf. But ſtill Mr. Doctor *Seton* urged him, ſhewing him how merciful my L. Chancellor was, and how charitably they entertained him.

Little juſtice leſs love appeareth in the Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*

Brad. I never ſaw any Juſtice, much leſs Love, I ſpeak for my part, quoth *Bradford*, in my Lord Chancellor. Long have I been unjuſtly impriſoned, and handled in the ſame uncharitably: and now my Lord hath no juſt matter againſt me.

This talk ſerved not the Doctors purpoſe: wherefore he went from matter to matter, from this point to that point. *Bradford* ſtill gave him the hearing, and anſwered not: for he perceived that they both did come but to fiſh for ſome things which might make a ſhew that my L. Chancellor had juſtly kept him in Priſon.

When all their talk took no ſuch effect as they would or looked for, Mr. *Huſſey* asked *Bradford*, will ye not admit conference, if my L. Chancellor ſhould offer it publickly?

M. *Bradford* refuſeth to admit conference but upon conditions.

Brad. Conference, if it had been offered before the Law had been made, or if it were offered ſo that I might be at liberty to confer, and as ſure as he with whom I ſhould confer, then it were ſomething: but elſe I ſee not to what other purpoſe Conference ſhould be offered, but to defer that which will come at the length, and the lingring may give more offence than do good. Howbeit, if my Lord ſhall make ſuch an offer of his own motion, I will not refuſe to confer with whomſoever he ſhall appoint.

D. *Seton* raileth againſt M. *Bradford.*

Mr. Doctor hearing this, called *Bradford* arrogant, proud, and whatſoever it pleaſed him.

Then *Bradford* perceiving by them that he ſhould ſhortly be called for, beſought them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wiſdom and grace of him: for, quoth he, otherwiſe I am helpleſs: and ſo they with much ado departed. Then *Bradford* went to God and made his Prayers, which the Lord of his goodneſs did graciouſly accept in his need, praiſed therefore be his holy Name. Shortly after they were gone, *Bradford* was led to the foreſaid Church, and there tarried uncalled for till Eleven of the Clock, that is, till M. *Sanders* was Excommunicated.

The effect and ſum of the laſt Examination of John Bradford, *in the Church of St.* Mary Overies.

The laſt examination of M. *Bradford.*

AFter the Excommunication of *Lawrence Sanders*, *John Bradford* was called in, and being brought in before the L. Chancellor and other the Biſhops there ſitting, the L. Chancellor began to ſpeak thus in effect: that if *Bradford*, being now eftſoons come before them, would anſwer with modeſty and humility, and conform himſelf to the Catholick Church with them, he yet might find mercy, becauſe they would be loath to uſe extremity. Therefore he concluded with an Exhortation, that *Bradford* would recant his Doctrine.

The effect of Wincheſters talk with M. *Bradford.*

After the Lord Chancellor had ended his long Oration, *Bradford* began to ſpeak thus: As yeſterday I beſought your Honours to ſet in your ſight the Majeſty and preſence of God to follow him, which ſeeketh not to ſubvert the ſimple by ſubtile queſtions: ſo I humbly beſeech every one of you to do this day; for that you know well enough, that guiltleſs Blood will cry for Vengeance. And this I pray not your Lordſhips to do, as one that taketh upon me to condemn you utterly herein, but that ye might be more admoniſhed to do that, which none doth ſo much as he ſhould do: For our Nature is ſo much corrupt, that we are very oblivious and forgetful of God. Again, as yeſterday I pretended mine Oath and Oaths againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, that I ſhould never conſent to the practiſing of any Juriſdiction for him, or on his behalf in the Realm of *England*: ſo do I again at this day, leſt I ſhould be perjured. And laſt of all, as yeſterday the Anſwers I made, were by proteſtation and ſaving mine Oath, ſo I would your Honours ſhould know that mine Anſwers ſhall be this day: and this I do, that when Death (which I look for at your hands) ſhall come, I may not be troubled with the guiltineſs of Perjury.

M. Bradfords Anſwer to *Wincheſter.*

Wincheſter replyeth again to *Bradford* with a lye.

L. Chan. At which words the *L.* Chancellor was wroth, and ſaid, that they had given him reſpit to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his Errors of the bleſſed Sacrament, which yeſterday (quoth he) before us you uttered.

Brad. My Lord, you gave me no time of any ſuch deliberation, neither did I ſpeak any thing of the Sacrament which you did diſallow. For when I had declared a preſence of Chriſt to be there to Faith, you went from that matter to purge your ſelf, that you were not cruel, and ſo went to Dinner.

The Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome* whether it be lawfull or unlawfull.

L. Chan. What? I perceive we muſt begin all again with thee. Did I not yeſterday tell thee plainly, that thou madeſt a Conſcience where none ſhould be? Did I not make it plain, that the Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome* was an unlawful Oath?

Brad. No indeed my Lord: You ſaid ſo, but you proved it not yet, nor ever can do.

Wincheſters ſimilitude in no point like.

L. Chan. O Lord God, what a Fellow art thou? Thou wouldeſt go about to bring into the Peoples heads, that we, all the Lords of the Parliament Houſe, the Knights and Burgeſſes, and all the whole Realm be perjured. O what an Heretick is this? here good People, you may ſee what a ſenſleſs Heretick this Fellow is. If I ſhould make an Oath I would never help my Brother, nor lend him Money in his need; were this a good anſwer to tell my Neighbour deſiring my help, that I had made an Oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?

Wincheſters ſimilitude refuſed.

Brad. O my Lord, diſcern betwixt Oaths that be againſt Charity and Faith, and Oaths that be according to Faith and Charity, as this is againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Chan. Here the Lord Chancellor made much ado, and a long time was ſpent about Oaths, which were good and which were evil, he captiouſly asking often of *Bradford* a direct anſwer concerning Oaths: which *Bradford* would not give ſimply, but with a diſtinction. Whereat the Chancellor was much offended: but *Bradford* ſtill kept him at the bay, that the Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, was a lawful Oath, uſing thereto the Lord Chancellors own Book, *de vera Obedientia*, for confirmation.

Gods Word judge only of oaths, whether they be made lawfully againſt the ſupremacy of the Pope or no.

At the length they came to this iſſue, who ſhould be judge of the lawfulneſs of the Oath; and *Bradford* ſaid the Word of God, according to Chriſts Word, *John* 12. *My Word ſhall judge*; and according to the teſtimony of *Eſay* and *Micah*, That Gods Word coming out of *Jeruſalem*, ſhall give ſentence among the *Gentiles*. By this Word, quoth *Bradford*, my Lord, I will prove the Oath againſt the Biſhop of *Romes* Authority, to be a good, a godly and a lawful Oath. So that the Lord Chancellor left his hold, and as the other day he pretended a denial of the Queens Authority and Obedience to her Highneſs, ſo did he now.

Wincheſter leaveth his hold.

But

Anno 1555.

One special cause of obedience denied by Conscience, maketh no general denial of obedience in causes lawful.

But *Bradford*, as the day before, proved, that obedience in this point to the Queens Highness, if she should demand an Oath to the Bishop of *Rome*, being denied, was not a general denial of her Authority, and of Obedience to her; no more, quoth he, than the sale, gift or lease of a piece of a mans Inheritance, proveth it a sale, gift, or lease of the whole Inheritance.

Winchester stumbling at Vows made to Man, and leaping over solemn Oaths made to God.

And thus much ado was made about this matter: the Lord Chancellor talking much, and using many examples of Debt, of going out of Town to morrow by Oath, and yet tarrying till Friday, and such like. Which trifling Talk *Bradford* did touch, saying, That it was a wonder his Honour weighed Conscience no more in this, and would be so earnest in Vows of Priests Marriages made to Bishops, and be careless in solemn Oaths made to God and to Princes. *Summa*, this was the end. The Lord Chancellor said, the Queen might dispense with it, and did so to all the whole Realm. But *Bradford* said, that the Queens Highness could do no more but remit her right; as for the Oath made to God, she could never remit, for as much as it was made unto God.

Winchester in a pelting chafe.

L.Chan. At which words the L. Chancellor chafed wonderfully, and said, that in plain sense I slandered the Realm of Perjury; and therefore (quoth he to the People) you may see how this Fellow taketh upon him to have more knowledge and conscience than all the wise Men of *England*, and yet he hath no Conscience at all.

M. Bradford imprisoned without a cause.

Brad. Well, my Lord, let all the standers-by see who hath Conscience: I have been a year and a half in Prison: Now before all this People, declare wherefore I was imprisoned, or what cause you had to punish me. You said the other day in your own house, my Lord of *London* witnessing with you, that I took upon me to speak to the People undesired. There he sitteth by you, I mean my Lord of *Bathe*, which desired me himself for the Passion of Christ, I would speak to the People. Upon whose words I coming into the Pulpit, had like to have been slain with a Dagger (which was hurled at him, I think) for it touched my Sleeve. He then prayed me I would not leave him, and I promised him, as long as I lived, I would take hurt before him that day, and so went out of the Pulpit and intreated with the People, and at length brought him my self into an house.

M. Bradford neer slain in the pulpit, with a Dagger, thrown against *M. Bourn.*

Besides this, in the Afternoon I preached at *Bow*-Church, and there going up into the Pulpit, one willed me not to reprove the People; for, quoth he, you shall never come down alive, if you do it. And yet notwithstanding I did in that Sermon reprove their fact, and called it Sedition at the least twenty times. For all which my doing, I have received this recompence, Prison for a year and a half and more, and Death now, which you go about. Let all men be judge where Conscience is.

M. Bradford jeoparded his life for *M. Bourn.*

In speaking of these words, there was endeavour to have letted it: but *Bradford* still spake on, and gave no place till he had made an end, speak what they would. And then the Lord Chancellor said, that for all that fair Tale, his fact at the Cross was naught.

Winchester proved double in his own words.

Brad. No, my fact was good, as you your self did bear witness with me. For when I was at the first before you in the *Tower*, you your self did say, that my fact was good, but (quoth you) thy mind was evil. Well, quoth I, then my Lord, in that you allow the fact, and condemn my mind; for so much as otherwise I cannot declare my mind to man, but by saying and doing. God one day, I trust, will open it to my comfort, what my mind was, and yours is.

Winchester driven to eat his own words.

L.Chan. Here the L.Chancellor was offended, and said, that he never said so. I, quoth he, had not so little wit I trow, as not to discern betwixt meaning and doing: and so brought forth, little to the purpose, many Examples to prove that men construe things by the meaning of men, and not by their doings. But when this would not serve, then cometh he to another matter, and said, that *Bradford* was put in Prison at the first because he would not yield, nor be conformable to the Queens Religion.

Brad. Why my Lord? your Honour knoweth that you would not reason with me in Religion, but said a time should afterwards be found out, when I should be talked withal. But if it were as your Lordship saith, that I was put in Prison for Religion, in that my Religion was then authorized by publick Laws of the Realm, could Conscience punish me, or cast me in Prison therefore? Wherefore let all men be Judges, in whom Conscience wanteth.

M. Chamberlain of Woodstock against *M. Bradford.*

M.Chamb. Here came forth *M.Chamberlain* of *Woodstock*, and spake to my L.Chancellor, how that *Bradford* had been a Serving-man, and was with *M.Harrington*.

L.Chan. True, and did deceive his Master of Seven-score *l.* and because of this, he went to a Gospeller and a Preacher (good People) and yet you see how he pretendeth Conscience.

Brad. My Lord, I set my foot by his, whosoever he be, that can come forth and justly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my Master. And as you are Chief Justicer by Office in *England*, I desire Justice upon them that so slander me, because they cannot prove it.

Winchester again driven from his hold.

L.Chan. Here my Lord Chancellor and *Mr.Chamberlain* were smitten blank, and said they heard it. But, quoth my Lord Chancellor, we have another manner of matter than this against you: for you are an Heretick.

Bonner again cometh in with another untruth.

Lond. Yea, quoth the Bishop of *London*, he did write Letters to *M.Pendleton*, which knoweth his hand as well as his own, your Honour did see the Letters.

Brad. This is not true, I never did write to *Pendleton* sithence I came to Prison, and therefore I am not justly spoken of.

Lond. Yea, but you endited it.

Brad. I did not, nor know not what you mean, and this I offer to prove.

A Clerk of the Council thought to be *M. Allen.*

Here came in another, I trow they call him *Mr.Allen*, one of the Clerks of the Council, putting the Lord Chancellor in remembrance of Letters written into *Lancashire*.

L.Chan. You say true: for we have his hand to shew.

Brad. I deny that you have my hand to shew of Letters sent into *Lancashire*, otherwise than before you all I will stand to, and prove them to be good and lawful.

Here was all answered, and then the L. Chancellor began a new matter. Sir (quoth he) in my house the other day you did most contemptuously contemn the Queens mercy, and further said, that you would maintain the erroneous Doctrine in K.*Edwards* days against all men, and this you do most stoutly.

Winchester brought to a plain foil.

Brad. Well, I am glad that all men see now you have had no matter to imprison me afore that day justly. Now say I, that I did not contemptuously contemn the Queens mercy, but would have had it (though if Justice might take place, I need it not) so that I might have had it with Gods mercy, that is, without doing or saying any thing against God and his Truth. And as for maintenance of Doctrine, because I cannot tell how you will stretch this word Maintenance, I will repeat again that which I spake. I said I was more confirmed in the Religion set forth in King *Edwards* days, than ever I was: and if God so would, I trust I should declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and restification thereof. So I said then, and so I say now. As for otherwise to maintain it, than pertaining to a private person by Confession, I thought not, nor think not.

Winchesters captious quarrel answered.

L.Chan. Well, yesterday thou didst maintain false Hereste concerning the blessed Sacrament, and therefore we gave thee respit till this day to deliberate.

Another untruth in *Winchester.*

Brad. My Lord, as I said at the first, I spake nothing of the Sacrament, but that which you allowed, and therefore reproved it not, nor gave me any thing to deliberate.

L.Chan. Why? didst thou not deny Christs presence in the Sacrament?

Brad. No, I never denied nor taught, but that to Faith, whole Christ, Body and Blood was as present as the Bread and Wine to the due receiver.

L.Chan. Yea, but dost thou not believe that Christs Body naturally and really is there, under the forms of Bread and Wine?

Brad. My Lord, I believe Christ is present there to the Faith of the due Receiver: as for Transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I believe it not.

Blessed are you when they shall revile you, and speak all that is naught against you for my names sake. *Matth.* 5.

Here was *Bradford* called *Diabolus*, a Slanderer: for we ask no question (quoth my L.Chancellor) of Transubstantiation, but of Christs presence.

Brad. I deny not his presence to the Faith of the Receiver, but deny that he is included in the Bread, or that the Bread was transubstantiate.

B.Worcest. If he be not included, how is he then present?

Brad.

Anno 1555.

Brad. Forſooth, though my Faith can tell how, yet my Tongue cannot expreſs it, nor you otherwiſe than by Faith hear it, or underſtand it.

Here was much ado, now one Doctor ſtanding up and ſpeaking thus, and others ſpeaking that, and the L. Chancellor talking much of *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*; but ſtill *Bradford* kept him at that point, that Chriſt is preſent to Faith; and that there is no Tranſubſtantiation nor including of Chriſt in the Bread: but all this would not ſerve them.

Chriſt's bodie preſent to faith.

Tranſubſtantiation denied.

Therefore another Biſhop asked this Queſtion, Whether the wicked man received Chriſts very Body or no? And *Bradford* anſwered plainly, No. Whereat the L. Chancellor made a long Oration, how that it could not be that Chriſt was preſent, except that the evil man received it. But *Bradford* put away all his Oration in few words, that Grace was at that time offered to his Lordſhip, although he received it not: ſo that (quoth he) the receiving maketh not the Preſence, as your Lordſhip would infer: but Gods Grace, Truth, and Power is the cauſe of the Preſence, which Grace the wicked that lack Faith, cannot receive. And here *Bradford* prayed my Lord, not to divorce that which God had coupled together. He hath coupled all theſe together; *Take, eat, this is my Body:* He ſaith not, See, peep, this is my Body; but, Take, eat. So that it appeareth this is a Promiſe depending upon Condition, If we take and eat.

The wicked receive not the body of Chriſt.

Receiving maketh not the Preſence of the body, but grace.

The Popes Church divorceth that the Lord hath coupled.

L. Chan. Here the L. Chancellor and other Biſhops made a great ado, that *Bradford* had found out a toy that no man elſe ever did, of the Condition, and the L. Chancellor made many words to the People thereabout.

Brad. But *Bradford* ſaid thus, My Lord, are not theſe words, *Take, eat*, a Commandment? And are not theſe words, *This is my Body*, a Promiſe? If you will challenge the Promiſe, and do not the Commandment, may you not deceive your ſelf?

The Sacrament hath both a commandment and a promiſe, and hoſt.

L. Chan. Here the L. Chancellor denied Chriſt to have commanded the Sacrament, and the uſe of it.

Brad. Why my Lord, I pray you tell the People what Mood *Accipite*, *Manducate*, is; Is it not plain to Children, that Chriſt in ſo ſaying, commandeth?

Mr. *Bradford* teacheth *Winchester* his Grammar.

L. Chan. At theſe words the L. Chancellor made a great toying and trifling at the Imperative Mood, and fell to parſing or examining, as he ſhould teach a Child, and ſo concluded that it was no Commandment, but ſuch a Phraſe as this, I pray you give me drink, which quoth he, is no Commandment, I trow.

Winchester denieth theſe words, Take, eat, to be a commandment.

Brad. But *Bradford* prayed him to leave toying and trifling, and ſaid thus; My Lord, if it be not a Commandment of Chriſt to take and eat the Sacrament, why dare any take upon them to command and make that of neceſſity, which God leaveth free? as you do in making it a neceſſary Commandment, once a year for all that be of diſcretion, to receive the Sacrament.

L. Chan. Here the L. Chancellor called him again * *Diabolus* or *Calumniator*, and began out of theſe words, *Let a man prove himſelf, and ſo eat of the* Bread (yea Bread, quoth *Bradford*) *and drink of the Cup*, to prove that it was no Commandment to receive the Sacrament: for then (quoth he) if it were a Commandment, it ſhould bind all men, in all places, and at all times.

* Diabolus, is as much as to ſay in Greek, a ſlanderer, or a caviller.

Diſtinction between commandments.

Brad. O my Lord, diſcern between Commandments: ſome be general, as the Ten Commandments, that they bind always, in all places, and all perſons: ſome be not ſo general, as this of the Supper, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, of the thrice appearing before the Lord yearly at *Jeruſalem*, of *Abraham* offering of *Iſaac*, *&c.*

Here my L. Chancellor denied the Cup to be commanded of Chriſt: for then, quoth he, we ſhould have eleven Commandments.

Brad. Indeed I think you think as you ſpeak: for elſe would you not take the Cup from the People, in that Chriſt ſaith, *Drink ye all of it.* But how ſay you my Lords? Chriſt ſaith to you Biſhops eſpecially, *Ite, predicate Evangelium: Go, and preach the Goſpel: Feed Chriſts Flock, &c.* Is this a Commandment, or no?

Winchester in a chafe.

B. Tonſtalls queſtion.

L. Chan. Here was my Lord Chancellor in a chafe, and ſaid as pleaſed him.

Dureſ. Another, the Bp. of *Dureſme* I ween, asked *Bradford*, when Chriſt began to be preſent in the Sacrament? whether before the Receiver received it, or no?

Brad. *Bradford* anſwered, that the queſtion was curious, and not neceſſary; and further ſaid, that as the Cup was the New Teſtament, ſo the Bread was Chriſts Body to him that received it duly, but yet ſo that the Bread is Bread. For, quoth he, in all the Scripture ye ſhall not find this Propoſition, *Non eſt panis*, There is no Bread. And ſo he brought forth *Chryſoſtom*, *Si in corpore eſſemus*, *Hom. in* 83. *Mat.* 34. *Summa.* Much ado was hereabouts, they calling *Bradford* Heretick, and he deſiring them to proceed on in Gods Name, he looked for that which God appointed for them to do.

As the Cup is the Teſtament, ſo Bread is the Body. Chryſoſt. in Mat. Hom. 8.

L. Chan. This Fellow is now in another Hereſie of fatal neceſſity, as though all things were ſo tied together, that of meer neceſſity all muſt come to paſs.

Brad. But *Bradford* prayed him to take things as they be ſpoken, and not wreſt them into a contrary ſenſe. Your Lordſhip, quoth he, doth diſcern betwixt God and Man. Things are not by fortune to God at any time, though to Man they ſeem ſo ſometimes. I ſpeak but as the Apoſtles ſaid, *Lord* (quoth he) *ſee how* Herod *and* Pontius Pilate, *with the Prelats, are gathered together againſt thy Chriſt, to do that which thy hand and counſel hath before ordained for them to do.*

To God nothing is by fortune: to Man it may ſometimes ſo ſeem to be. Acts 4.

L. Chan. Here began the Lord Chancellor to read the Excommunication. And in the Excommunication, when he came to the name of *John Bradford*, *Laicus*, Lay-man: Why (quoth he) art thou no Prieſt?

Winchester readeth the Sentence of the Curſe againſt Mr. *Bradford.*

Brad. No, nor never was, either Prieſt, either Beneficed, either Married, either any Preacher, afore Publick Authority had eſtabliſhed Religion, or Preacher after Publick Authority had altred Religion, and yet I am thus handled at your hand: but God I doubt not will give his Bleſſing where you Curſe. And ſo he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he counted him worthy to ſuffer for his Names ſake. And ſo praying God to give him repentance, and a good mind, after the Excommunication was read, he was delivered to the Sheriff of *London*, and ſo had to the *Clink*, and afterwards to the *Compter* in the *Poultry*, in the ſame City of *London*, this being purpoſed of his Murtherers, that he ſhould be delivered from thence to the Earl of *Derby*, to be conveyed into *Lancaſhire*, and there to be burned in the Town of *Mancheſter*, where he was born: but their purpoſe concerning the place was afterward altered; for they burned him in *London*.

Mr. *Bradford* delivered to the Sheriff.

Mr. *Bradford* ſent to the *Compter* in the *Poultry.*

After the Condemnation of Mr. *Bradford*, which was the laſt day of *January*, Mr. *Bradford* being ſent into Priſon, did there remain until the firſt day of *July*, during all which time, divers other Conferences and Conflicts he ſuſtained with ſundry Adverſaries, which repaired unto him in the Priſon. Of whom firſt Biſhop *Boner*, coming to the *Compter* to degrade Dr. *Taylor* the fourth day of *February*, entred talk with the ſaid Mr. *Bradford*; the effect whereof here enſueth.

Private talk had with John Bradford, *by ſuch as the Prelats ſent unto him, after the time of Condemnation, by his own writing.*

UPon the fourth of *February*, that is, the ſame day Mr. *Rogers* was burned, *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, came to the *Compter* in the *Poultry*, to degrade Dr. *Taylor*, about one of the Clock at Afternoon. But before he ſpake to Mr. *Taylor*, he called for *John Bradford* which was Priſoner there, whom when he ſaw, he put off his Cap, and gave him his hand, ſaying, Becauſe I perceive that ye are deſirous to confer with ſome learned men, therefore I have brought Mr. Archdeacon *Harpsfield* to you. And I tell you, you do like a wiſe man. But I pray you go roundly to work, for the time is but ſhort.

Bp. *Boners* talk with *Bradford.*

Brad. My Lord, as roundly as I can I will go to work with you: I never deſired to confer with any man, nor yet do. Howbeit if ye will have one to talk with me, I am ready.

Bradford deſireth to confer with none, and yet is ready to talk with any.

Boner. What (quoth the Biſhop in a fume to the Keeper) did you not tell me that this man deſired conference?

Keeper. No my Lord, I told you that he would not refuſe to confer with any; but I did not ſay that it is his deſire.

Boner. Well, Mr. *Bradford*, you are welbeloved, I pray you conſider your ſelf, and refuſe not Charity when it is offered.

More charity amongst the Turks, then amongst the persecuting Papists.

Brad. Indeed, my Lord, this is small Charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, which never brake your Laws. In *Turky* a man may have Charity, but in *England* I could not yet find it. I was condemned for my Faith, so soon as I uttered it at your requests, before I had committed any thing against the Laws. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom ye will. But to say that I desire to confer, that do I not.

Boner. Well, well. And so he called for Mr. *Taylor*, and *Bradford* went his way.

Another private matter of talk between Mr. Bradford *and* Willerton, Creswell, Harding, Harpsfield, *and other more.*

Talk between Mr. Bradford & Willerton, Chaplain to Bp. Boner.

UPon another day of *February*, one Mr. *Willerton*, Chaplain of the Bishop of *London*, did come to confer with *Bradford*, but when he perceived that *Bradford* desired not his coming, and therefore wished rather his departing then abiding: Well, Mr. *Bradford*, quoth he, yet I pray you let us confer a little, perchance you may do me good, if I can do you none. Upon which words *Bradford* was content, and so they began to talk. *Willerton* spake much of the Doctors, the Fathers, of the Bread in the sixth of *John*, *&c.* labouring to prove Transubstantiation, and that wicked men do receive Christ.

Willerton sendeth his writing to Bradford to prove Transubstantiation.

But *Bradford* on the contrary part improved his Authorities, so that they came to this issue, that *Willerton* should draw out of the Scriptures and Doctors his Reasons, and *Bradford* would peruse them; and if he could not answer them, then he would give place. Likewise also should *Bradford* draw out his Reasons out of the Scriptures and Doctors, to which *Willerton* should answer if he could: and so for that day they departed.

The next day following in the Morning, *Willerton* sent half a sheet of Paper written on both sides, containing no Reasons how he gathered his Doctrine, but only bare Sentences; *Panis quem ego dabo, &c. The Bread which I will give is my flesh:* And the places in the 26. of *Matthew*, the 14. of *Mark*, the 22. of *Luke*, and the 10. and 11. to the *Corinthians*, with some Sentences of the Doctors, all which made as much against him as with him.

Willerton cometh again to Bradford.

In the Afternoon he came himself, and there they had a long talk to little effect. At the length *Willerton* began to talk of the Church, saying that *Bradford* swerved from the Church.

Brad. No that I do not, but ye do. For the Church is Christs Spouse, and Christs obedient Spouse, which your Church is not, which robbeth the People of the Lords Cup, and of Service in the English Tongue.

Willer. Why? It is not profitable to have the Service in English; for it is written, *Labia Sacerdotis custodiunt legem; The lips of the Priest should keep the Law, and out of his mouth man must look for knowledge.*

Brad. Should not the People then have the Scriptures? Wherefore serveth this saying of Christ, *Search the Scriptures.*

Willer. This was not spoken to the People, but to the Scribes and Learned men.

Brad. Then the People must not have the Scriptures.

Argument. *Erunt docti a Deo: Ergo,* The people must not have the Scriptures.

Willer. No, for it is written, *Erunt docti à Deo; They shall be all taught of God.*

Brad. And must we learn all at the Priests?

Willer. Yea.

Brad. Then I see you would bring the People to hang up Christ, and let *Barabbas* go, as the Priests did then persuade the People. At which words Mr. *Willerton* was so offended, that he had no lust to talk any more.

Mr. Bradfords Reasons against Transubstantiation not answered.

In the end *Bradford* gave him the Reasons which he had gathered against Transubstantiation, and prayed him to frame his into the form of Reasons, and then quoth *Bradford*, I will answer them.

Willer. Well, I will do so. But first I will answer yours. The which thing until this day he hath not done.

The Earl of Derby's Servant.

Upon the 12. of *February*, there came one of the Earl of *Derby's* Servants to *Bradford*, saying, My Lord hath sent me to you, he willeth you to tender your self, and he will be a good Lord to you.

Brad. I thank his Lordship for his good will towards me: but in this case I cannot tender my self more than Gods Honour.

Servant. Ah Mr. *Bradford*, consider your Mother, Sisters, Friends, Kinsfolk, and Country, what a great discomfort will it be unto them to see you dye as an Heretick? Anno 1555.

Mr. Bradford preferreth Christ before all his kin and kindred.

Brad. I have learned to forsake Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, Friend, and all that ever I have, yea, even mine own self, for else I cannot be Christs Disciple.

Serv. If my Lord should obtain for you that ye might depart the Realm, would you not be content to be at the Queens appointment, where she would appoint you beyond the Sea.

Bradford contented to be burned in England, rather then to be sent over the Sea to Popish places.

Brad. No, I had rather be burned in *England*, then be burned beyond the Seas. For I know that if she should send me to *Paris*, *Lovain*, or some such place, forthwith they would burn me.

Talk between Mr. Bradford *and one* Percival Cresswell, *and after that with Dr.* Harding.

Percival Cresswell talketh with Bradford.

UPon the fourteenth of *February*, *Percival Cresswell*, an old Acquaintance of *Bradfords*, came to him, bringing with him a Kinsman of Mr. *Fecknams*, who after many words, said;

Cres. I pray you let me make labour for you.

Brad. You may do what ye will.

Cresswell offereth to make suit for Bradford.

Cres. But tell me what suit I should make for you.

Brad. Forsooth that ye will do, do it not at my request, for I desire nothing at your hands. If the Queen will give me life, I will thank her. If she will banish me, I will thank her. If she will burn me, I will thank her. If she will condemn me to perpetual Prisonment, I will thank her.

Mores Book brought to Bradford.

Hereupon *Cresswell* went away, and about eleven of the Clock he and the other man came again, and brought a Book of *More's* making, desiring *Bradford* to read it over.

Bradford taking the Book, said, Good *Percival*, I am setled for being moved in this Article.

Cres. Oh if ever ye loved me, do one thing for me.

Brad. What is it?

Cres. Desire and name what Learned man or men ye will have to come unto you. My Lord of *York*, my Lord of *Lincoln*, my Lord of *Bathe*, and others will gladly come unto you.

Brad. No, never will I desire them, or any other, to come to confer with me; for I am as certain of my Doctrine as I am of any thing. But for your pleasure, and also that all men may know I am not ashamed to have my Faith sifted and tried, bring whom ye will, and I will talk with them. So they went their way.

D. Harding cometh to Mr. Bradford.

About three of the Clock in the Afternoon, Master Dr. *Harding*, who was then the Bp. of *Lincolns* Chaplain, came to *Bradford*, and after a great and solemn Protestation, shewing how that he had prayed to God before he came, to turn his talk to *Bradfords* good, he began to tell of the good opinion he had of *Bradford*, and spent the time in such tatling, so that their talk was to little purpose: save that *Bradford* prayed him to consider from whence he was faln, and not to follow the World, nor to love it: For the Love of God is not where the World is.

Harding. But *Harding* counted *Bradford* in a damnable estate, as one being out of the Church, and therefore willed him to take heed of his Soul, and not to dye in such an Opinion.

Brad. What Master *Harding*, quoth *Bradford?* I have heard you with these ears maintain this that I stand in.

Dr. Harding inveigheth against Peter Martyr, Bucer and Luther.

Harding. I grant that I have taught that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation was a subtile Doctrine, but otherwise I never taught it. And so he inveighing against Marriages of Priests, and namely against *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, *Luther*, and such, which for breaking their Vows were justly given up into Heresies (as he said.) *Bradford* seeing him altogether given up to Popery, after admonishment thereof, bade him farewel.

Talk between Dr. Harpsfield *Archdeacon, and Mr.* Bradford.

D. Harpsfield talketh with Mr. Bradford.

UPon the 25. of *February*, *Percival Cresswell* came with Mr. *Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *London*, and a Servant waiting upon him. After formal Salutations

Anno 1555

Felicity or weal of all men, but the way to felicity not known to all.

lutations, he made a long Oration, of which this is a short sum; That all men, even the Infidels, Turks, Jews, Anabaptists, and Libertines, desire felicity as well as the Christians, and how that every one thinketh they shall attain to it by their Religion. To which *Bradford* answered briefly, that he spake not far amiss.

Harpf. Then said *Harpsfield*, But the way thither is not all alike: For the Infidels by *Jupiter*, *Juno*, the Turk by his *Alcoran*, the Jew by his *Talmud*, do believe to come to Heaven. For so may I speak of such as believe the Immortality of the Soul.

Brad. You speak truly.

Harpf. Well, then here is the matter, to know the way to this Heaven.

The true way to felicity.

Brad. We may not invent any manner of ways. There is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself doth witness; *I am the way.*

Harpf. It is true that you say, and false also. I suppose that you mean by Christ, believing in Christ.

Brad. I have learned to discern betwixt Faith and Christ. Albeit I confess, that whoso believeth in Christ, the same shall be saved,

Harpf. No, not all that believe in Christ; for some shall say, *Lord, Lord, have we not cast out Devils? &c.* But Christ will answer in the day of Judgment to these, *Depart from me, I know you not.*

Note the difference between believing and saying I believe.

Brad. You must make difference betwixt believing, and saying I believe: As for example, If one should say and swear he loveth you, for all his saying, ye will not believe him when you see he goeth about to utter and do all the evil against you that he can.

Harpf. Well, this is not much material. There is but one way, Christ. How come we to know him? Where shall we seek to find him?

The way to come to Christ is by the word: for by the word cometh faith, by faith we come to Christ.

Brad. Forsooth, we must seek him by his Word, and in his Word, and afer his Word.

Harpf. Very good: but tell me now how first we came into the company of them that could tell us this, but by Baptism.

Baptism an outward Seal, whereby we are known to be Christians.

Brad. Baptism is the Sacrament, by the which outwardly we are engrafted into Christ: I say outwardly, because I dare not exclude from Christ all that dye without Baptism. I will not tye God, where he is not bound. Some Infants dye, whose Parents desire Baptism for them, and cannot have it.

Children which dye without baptism.

Harpf. To these we may think perchance that God will shew Mercy.

Brad. Yea, the Children whose Parents do contemn Baptism will not I condemn, because the Child shall not bear the Fathers offence.

Harpf. Well, we agree, that by Baptism then we are brought, and (as a man would say) begotten to Christ. For Christ is our Father, and the Church his Spouse is our Mother. As all men naturally have *Adam* for their Father, and *Eve* for their Mother; so all spiritual men have Christ for their Father, and the Church for their Mother: and as *Eve* was taken out of *Adams* side, so was the Church taken out of Christs side; whereout flowed blood for the satisfaction and purgation of our sins.

The Church is our Mother.

Brad. All this is truly spoken.

Descent of the Church.

Harpf. Now then tell me whether this Church of Christ hath not been always?

Brad. Yea, since the creation of man, and shall be for ever.

Harpf. Very good. But yet tell me whether this Church is a visible Church, or no?

The Church of Christ is visible, even as Christ was, that is, not by exteriour pomp or shew, but by the inward eye.

Brad. It is no otherwise visible, then Christ was here on Earth; that is, by no exteriour pomp or shew that setteth her forth commonly, and therefore to see her we must put on such eyes, as good men put on to see and know Christ when he walked here on Earth: for as *Eve* was of the same Substance that *Adam* was of, so was the Church of the same Substance that Christ was of, *Flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones*; as *Paul* saith, *Ephes.* 5. Look therefore how Christ was visibly known to be Christ when he was on Earth, that is, by considering him after the Word of God, so is the Church known.

Multitude is not always the surest mark to know the Church.

Harpf. I do not come to reason at this present, and therefore I will go on forward. Is not this Church a multitude?

Brad. Yes that it is. Howbeit, *Latet anguis in herba*, as the Proverb is. For in your Question is a subtilty: What visible multitude was there in *Helias* time, or when *Moses* was on the Mount, *Aaron* and all *Israel* worshipping the Calf?

Harpf. Ye divert from the matter.

Brad. No, nothing at all. For I do prevent you, knowing well where about you go. And therefore fewer words might well serve if that you so would.

D. *Harpsfield* prevented of his purpose.

Harpf. Well, I perceive you have knowledge, and by a little perceive I the more. Tell me yet more, whether this multitude have not the ministery or preaching of Gods Word?

Preaching of the Gospel goeth ever with the Church, unless it be interrupted somtime by persecution.

Brad. Sir, ye go about the bush. If ye understand preaching for the confessing of the Gospel, I will go with you: for else if you will, you may know that persecution often letteth preaching.

Administration of Sacraments is one note, but not the cause of the true Church.

Harpf. Well, I mean it so. Tell me yet more: hath it not the Sacraments administred?

And yet not such a note, but that it may often be letted by persecution, and yet the true Church remain.

Brad. It hath the Sacraments, howbeit the administration of them is often letted. But I will put you from your purpose, because I see where about you go. If Hereticks have Baptism, and do baptize, as they did in S. *Cyprians* time, you know this Baptism is Baptism, and not to be reiterate. This *Bradford* did speak, that the standers by might see, that though the Papists Church have Baptism which we have received of them, yet therefore it is not the true Church; neither need we to be baptized again.

The Popes Church hath baptism and Sacraments administred: Ergo, The Popes Church is the true Church.

Harpf. You go far from the matter, and I perceive you have more Errors than one.

Brad. So you say, but that is not enough till you prove them.

The Argument faileth *A causa non sufficiente, vel non causa, ut causa.* A Popish distinction of the Church to be a multitude, having preaching of the Gospel, ministration of the Sacraments, power of Jurisdiction, and succession of Bishops.

Harpf. Well, this Church is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the Gospel, and the ministration of the Sacraments? And yet more, hath it not the power of Jurisdiction?

Brad. What Jurisdiction is exercised in Persecution and Affliction.

Harpf. I mean by Jurisdiction admonishing one another, and so forth.

Brad. Well, go to; what then?

Harpf. It hath also Succession of Bishops. And here he made much ado to prove that this was an essential point.

Succession of Bishops is no essential part of the Church, but rather *accidens communis*; which being interrupted, yet the Church may stand as it did both before Christs coming, and after at the coming of Antichrist.

Brad. You say as you would have it; for if this part fail you, all the Church that you go about to set up will fall down. You shall not find in all the Scripture this your essential part of Succession of Bishops. In Christs Church Antichrist will sit. And *Peter* telleth us, as it went in the Old Church afore Christs coming, so will it be in the New Church since Christs coming: that is, as there were false Prophets, and such as bear rule were Adversaries to the true Prophets, so shall there be (saith he) false Teachers, even of such as are Bishops, and bear rule amongst the People.

Apostles & Bishops, be sundry Offices.

Harpf. You go always out of the matter: but I will prove further the Succession of Bishops.

Brad. Do so.

Harpf. Tell me, were not the Apostles Bishops?

Brad. No, except you will make a new definition of a Bishop: that is, give him no certain place.

Harpf. Indeed, the Apostles Office was not the Bishops Office: for it was universal, but yet Christ instituted Bishops in his Church, as *Paul* saith, he hath given Pastors, Prophets, &c. So that I trow it be proved by the Scriptures the Succession of Bishops to be an essential point.

The ministery of Gods Word and Ministers, be an essential point of the true Church, but not the local Succession of Ministers in one certain place.

Brad. The ministery of Gods Word and Ministers, be an essential point. But to translate this to the Bishops and their Succession, is a plain subtilty: And therefore that it may be plain, I will ask you a Question. Tell me, whether that the Scripture knew any difference between Bishops and Ministers, which ye called Priests?

Harpf. No.

Brad. Well, then go on forwards, and let us see what ye shall get now by the Succession of Bishops: that is, of Ministers which can be understood of such Bishops as minister not, but Lord it.

The ascent and descent of Succession of high Priests.

Harpf. I perceive that you are far out of the way. By your Doctrine you can never shew in your Church, a multitude which ministreth Gods Word and his Sacraments, which hath Jurisdiction and Succession of Bishops, which

hath from time to time believed as you believe, beginning now, and ſo going upwards, as I will do of our Doctrine, and therefore are ye out of the Church, and ſo cannot be ſaved. Perchance you will bring me downwards a ſhew to blear Peoples eyes; but to go upwards, that you can never do, and this is the true trial.

Brad. Ye muſt and will, I am aſſured, give me leave to follow the Scriptures and Examples of good men.

Harpſ. Yea.

Brad. Well then, *Stephen* was accuſed and condemned as I am, that he had taught new and falſe Doctrine, before the Fathers of the Church then as they were taken. *Stephen* for his Purgation improveth their Accuſation. But how? doth he it by going upwards? no, but by coming downwards, beginning at *Abraham*, and continuing ſtill till *Eſaias* time, and the Peoples Captivity. From whence he maketh a great leap until the time he was in, which was (I think) upon 400. years, and called them by their right names, Hell-hounds, rather then Heaven-hounds. On this ſort will I prove my Faith, and that can you never do yours.

The Papiſts challenge to them the true Church, even as the Mother of the dead Child challenged the living Child from the true Mother. 3 Reg. 3.

Harpſ. Yea Sir, if we did know that you had the Holy Ghoſt, then could we believe you. Here *Bradford* would have anſwered, that *Stephens* Enemies would not believe he had the Holy Ghoſt, and therefore they did as they did: but as he was in ſpeaking, Mr. *Harpſfield* roſe up, and the Keeper and others that ſtood by began to talk gently, praying *Bradford* to take heed to that Mr. Archdeacon ſpake, who ſtill ſaid that *Bradford* was out of the Church.

Brad. Sir, I am moſt certain that I am in Chriſts Church, and I can ſhew a demonſtration of my Religion from time to time continually.

Bradfords Prayer.

God our Father, for the name and blood of his Chriſt be merciful unto us, and unto all his people, and deliver them from falſe Teachers, and blind Guides, through whom (alas) I fear me, much hurt will come to this Realm of England. *God our Father bleſs us, and keep us in his Truth and poor Church for ever. Amen.*

Then the Archdeacon departed, ſaying, that he would come again the next Morning.

The next days talk between Dr. Harpsfield *and Mr.* Bradford.

Archdeacon Harpſfield returneth again to Mr. Bradford.

UPon the 16. of *February* in the Morning, the Archdeacon, and the other two with him, came again, and after a few by-words ſpoken, they ſate down.

M. Harpſfield again proveth his Church by ſucceſſion of high Prieſts.

Harpſ. Mr. Archdeacon began a very long Oration, firſt repeating what they had ſaid, and how far they had gone overnight, and therewith did begin to prove upwards Succeſſion of Biſhops here in *England* for 800 years: in *France* at *Lyons* for 1200 years: in *Spain* at *Hiſpalen* for 800 years: in *Italy* at *Millain* for 1200 years, labouring by this to prove his Church. He uſed all Succeſſion of Biſhops in the Eaſt Church for the more confirmation of his words, and ſo concluded with an Exhortation and an Interrogation: The Exhortation, that *Bradford* would obey this Church; the Interrogation, whether *Bradford* could ſhew any ſuch Succeſſion for the demonſtration of his Church (for ſo he called it) which followed.

Bradfords anſwer to Mr. Harpsfield.

Brad. Unto this his long Oration, *Bradford* made this ſhort Anſwer; My memory is evil, ſo that I cannot anſwer particularly your Oration.

Outward deſcent of Miniſters maketh not the true Church: but the truth of Gods Word maketh true Miniſters. The true Church not tied to ſucceſſion, but to Gods Word.

Therefore I will generally do it, thinking becauſe your Oration is rather to perſwade than to prove, that a ſhall Anſwer will ſerve. If Chriſt or his Apoſtles, being here on Earth, had been required by the Prelates of the Church then; to have made a demonſtration of that Church by Succeſſion of ſuch high Prieſts as had approved the Doctrine which he taught, I think that Chriſt would have done as I do: that is, have alledged that which upholdeth the Church, even the Verity, the Word of God taught and believed, not by the high Prieſts, which of long time had perſecuted it, but by the Prophets and other good ſimple men which perchance were counted for Hereticks of the Church: which Church was not tied to Succeſſion, but to the Word of God. And this to think S. *Peter* giveth me occaſion, when he ſaith that as it went in the Church before Chriſts coming, ſo ſhall it go in the Church after his coming: but then the Pillars of the Church were Perſecutors of the Church; therefore the like we muſt look for now.

Harpſ. I can gather and prove Succeſſion in *Jeruſalem* of the high Prieſts from *Aarons* time. Anno 1555.

Brad. I grant, but not ſuch Succeſſion as allowed the Truth.

The true ſucceſſion of Prieſts, and the ſucceſſion of true Prieſts are two things.

Harpſ. Why, did they not allow *Moſes's* Law.

Brad. Yes, and keep it, as touching the Books thereof, as you do the Bible, and holy Scriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it they did corrupt, as you have done and do, and therefore the Perſecution which they ſtirred up againſt the Prophets and Chriſt, was not for the Law, but for the interpretation of it. For they taught as you do now, that we muſt fetch the interpretation of the Scriptures at your hands. But to make an end, death I look daily for, yea hourly, and I think my time be but very ſhort. Therefore I had need to ſpend as much time with God as I can whilſt I have it, for his help and comfort, and therefore I pray you bear with me, that I do not now particularly and in more words anſwer your long talk. If I ſaw death not ſo near me as it is, I would then weigh every piece of your Oration, if you would give me the ſum of it; and I would anſwer accordingly: but becauſe I dare not, nor I will not leave off looking and preparing for that which is at hand, I ſhall deſire you to hold me excuſed, though I do as I do, and heartily thank you for your gentle good will: I ſhall heartily pray God our Father to give you the ſame light and life I do wiſh to my ſelf; and ſo *Bradford* began to riſe up.

The Jews corrupt the Law, as the Papiſts do the Scriptures.

A compariſon between the old Phariſees & our new Papiſts.

Bold confidence and hope of Gods Word and Promiſe, ſeemeth ſtrange among them which are not exerciſed in mortification.

Harpſ. But then began Mr. Archdeacon to tell him he was in very perillous caſe, and that he was ſorry to ſee him ſo ſetled. As for death, whether it be nigh or far off, I know not, neither forceth it, ſo that you did dye well.

Brad. I doubt not in this caſe but that I ſhall dye well: for as I hope and am certain my death ſhall pleaſe the Lord, ſo I truſt I ſhall dye cheerfully to the comfort of his Children.

Harpſ. But what if you be deceived?

Brad. What if you ſhould ſay the Sun did not ſhine now? (and the Sun did ſhine through the window where they ſate.)

Harpſ. Well, I am ſorry to ſee you ſo ſecure and careleſs.

Brad. Indeed I am more carnally ſecure and careleſs than I ſhould be: God make me more vigilant. But in this caſe I cannot be ſo ſecure, for I am moſt aſſured I am in the Truth.

Harpſ. That ye are not; for you are out of the Catholick Church.

Brad. No, though you have Excommunicated me out of your Church, yet am I in the Catholick Church of Chriſt, and am, and by Gods Grace ſhall be a Child, and an obedient Child of it for ever. I hope Chriſt will have no leſs care for me, than he had for the blind man Excommunicated of the Synagogue: And further, I am ſure that the neceſſary Articles of the Faith, I mean the twelve Articles of the Creed, I confeſs and believe with that which you call the holy Church, ſo that even your Church hath taken too much upon her to Excommunicate me for that, which by the teſtimony of my Lord of *Dureſm*, in the Book of the Sacrament lately put forth, was free many an hundred year after Chriſt, to believe or not believe.

Free to believe or not to believe Tranſubſtantiation many hundred years after Chriſt.

Harpſ. What is that?

Brad. Tranſubſtantiation.

Harpſ. Why: ye are not condemned therefore only.

Brad. For that, and becauſe I deny that wicked men do receive Chriſts Body.

Harpſ. You agree not with us in the Preſence, nor in any thing elſe.

Brad. How you believe you know: for my part I confeſs a Preſence of whole Chriſt, God and Man, to the Faith of the Receiver.

Chriſt not included really in the Sacrament.

Harpſ. Nay, you muſt believe a Real Preſence in the Sacrament.

Brad. In the Sacrament? Nay, I will not ſhut him in, nor tye him to it otherwiſe than Faith ſeeth and perceiveth. If I ſhould include Chriſt really preſent in the Sacrament, or tye him to it otherwiſe than to the Faith of the Receiver, then the wicked men ſhould receive him, which I do not, nor will by Gods Grace believe.

Chriſts Body preſent to the Faith of the Receiver.

Harpſ. More pity: But a man may eaſily perceive, you make no Preſence at all, and therefore you agree not therein with us.

Brad.

Anno 1555.

Brad. I confeſs a preſence, and a true preſence but to the Faith of the receiver.

What (quoth one that ſtood by) of Chriſts very Body which died for us?

Brad. Yea, even of whole Chriſt God and Man, to feed the Faith of him that receiveth it.

Harpſ. Why? this is nothing elſe but to exclude the Omnipotency of God, and all kind of miracle in the Sacrament.

None denieth Omnipotency more then the Papiſts, which ſay, that Chriſts Body cannot be in the Sacrament unleſs the ſubſtance of Bread be away.

Brad. I do not exclude his Omnipotency, but you do it rather: for I believe that Chriſt can accompliſh his promiſe, the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine being there, as well as the accidents, which you believe not. When we come to the Sacrament, we come not to feed our Bodies, and therefore we have but a little piece of Bread; but we come to feed our Souls with Chriſt by Faith, which the wicked do want, and therefore they receive nothing but *panem Domini*, as *Judas* did, and not *panem Dominum*, as the other Apoſtles did.

Argument. Who ſo receive the Body of Chriſt do receive the fruit and Grace of Life: no wicked men do receive the fruit and Grace of Life: Ergo no wicked Men receive the Body of Chriſt.

Harpſ. The wicked do receive the very Body of Chriſt, but not the Grace of his Body.

Brad. They receive not the Body. For Chriſts Body is no dead Carcaſs: he that receiveth it, receiveth the Spirit, which is not without Grace I trow.

Harpſ. Well, you have many errors. You count the Maſs for abomination, and yet Saint *Ambroſe* ſaid Maſs, and ſo he read out of a Book written a Sentence of S. *Ambroſe* to prove it.

Brad. Why Sir? the Maſs as it is now, was nothing ſo in S. *Ambroſe* time. Was not the moſt part of the Canon made ſince by *Gregory* and *Scholaſticus*?

Maſs in St. *Ambroſe* time. That is falſe for *Scholaſticus* was not before *Ambroſe* time.

Harpſ. Indeed a great piece of it was made (as ye ſay) by *Gregory*: but *Scholaſticus* was before S. *Ambroſe* time.

Brad. I ween not: howbeit I will not contend. Saint *Gregory* ſaith, that the Apoſtles ſaid Maſs without the Canon, only with the Lords Prayer.

The chief parts of the Popiſh Maſs.

Harpſ. You ſay true: for the Canon is not the greateſt part of the Maſs, the greateſt part is the Sacrifice, Elevation, Tranſubſtantiation, and Adoration.

Bran. I can away with none of thoſe.

Harpſ. No, I think the ſame: but yet *Hoc facite*, telleth plainly the Sacrifice of the Church.

Sacrifice of the Church. Sacrifice for the Church.

Brad. You confound Sacrifices, not diſcerning betwixt the Sacrifice of the Church, and for the Church. The Sacrifice of the Church is no propitiatory Sacrifice, but a gratulatory Sacrifice. And as for *Hoc facite*, is not referred to any Sacrificing, but to the whole action of taking, eating, &c.

Note this Doctrine good Reader.

Harpſ. You ſpeak not learnedly now: for Chriſt made his Supper only to the twelve Apoſtles, not admitting his Mother or any of the ſeventy Diſciples to it. Now the Apoſtles do ſignifie the Prieſts.

Brad. I think that you ſpeak as you would Men ſhould underſtand it: for elſe you would not keep the Cup away from the Laity. We have great cauſe to thank you, that you will give us of your Bread. For I perceive you order the matter ſo, as though Chriſt had not commanded it to his whole Church.

Harpſ. Then *Harpsfield* would have proved Elevation by a place of *Baſilius*.

Elevation was not brought in indeed before the time of Pope Honorius.

Brad. I have read the place, which ſeemeth to make nothing for elevation: but be it as it is, this is no time for me to ſcan the doubtful places of the Doctors with you. I have been in Priſon long without Books and all neceſſaries for ſtudy, and now death draweth nigh, and I by your leave muſt now leave off, to prepare for him.

Harpſ. If I could do you good, I would be right glad, either in Soul or Body. For you are in a perillous caſe both ways.

Brad. Sir, I thank you for your good will. My caſe is as it is. I thank God it was never ſo well with me; for Death to me ſhall be Life.

Creſwell. It were beſt for you to deſire Maſter Archdeacon that he would make ſute for you, that you might have a time to confer.

Harpſ. I will do the beſt I can: for I pity his caſe.

Brad. Sir, I will not deſire any Body to ſue for time for me. I am not wavering, neither would I that any Body ſhould think I were ſo. But if you have the Charity and love you pretend towards me, and thereto do think that I am in an errour, I think the ſame ſhould move you to do as you would be done to. As ye think of me, ſo do I of you, that you are farr out of the way, and I do not only think it, but alſo am thereof moſt aſſured. And in this and ſuch like gentle talk they departed.

Certain Biſhops talking with M. Bradford in Priſon.

Two Spaniſh Friers talking with M. Bradford.

The talk of Doctor Heath *Archbiſhop of* York, *and* Day *Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *with Maſter* Bradford.

THe three and twentieth of the ſame Month, the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* came to the *Counter* to ſpeak with *Bradford*. When he

Talk between the Biſhops and *Bradford*.

was come before them, they both, and ſpecially the Biſhop of *York*, uſed him very gently: they would have him to ſit down, and becauſe he would not, they alſo would not ſit. So they all ſtood, and whether he would or not, they would needs he ſhould put on, not only his night Cap, but his upper Cap alſo, ſaying unto him, That Obedience was better than Sacrifice.

Now thus ſtanding together, my Lord of *York* began to tell *Bradford* how that they were not ſent to him, but of love and charity they came to him: and he, for that acquaintance alſo which he had with *Bradford*, more then the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* had: and after commending *Bradfords* godly life, he concluded with this queſtion, How he was certain of Salvation and of his Religion.

Bradford. After thanks for their good will, *Bradford* anſwered, By the Word of God, even by the Scriptures I am certain of Salvation and Religion.

York. Very well ſaid; But how do ye know the Word of God and the Scriptures, but by the Church?

Brad. Indeed my Lord, the Church was and is a mean to bring a man more ſpeedily to know the Scriptures and the Word of God, as was the woman of *Samaria* a mean that the Samaritans knew Chriſt: but as when they had heard him ſpeak, they ſaid, Now we know that he is Chriſt, not becauſe of thy words, but becauſe we our ſelves have heard him; ſo after we come to the hearing and reading of the Scriptures ſhewed unto us, and diſcerned by the Church, we do believe them, and know them as Chriſts ſheep, not becauſe the Church ſaith they are the Scriptures, but becauſe they be ſo, being thereof aſſured by the ſame Spirit which wrote and ſpake them.

York. You know, in the Apoſtles time at the firſt the word was not written.

Although in the Apoſtles time certain Books of the New Teſtament were not written, yet the Apoſtles ſend us ad firmiorem ſermonem propheticum.

Brad. True, if you mean it for ſome Books of the New Teſtament: but elſe for the Old Teſtament *Peter* telleth us, *Firmiorem ſermonem Propheticum habemus*; *We have a more ſure word of Prophecy:* not that it is ſimply ſo, but in reſpect of the Apoſtles, which being alive and compaſſed with infirmity, attributed to the word written more firmity, as wherewith no fault could be found, whereas for the infirmity of their perſons men perchance might have found ſome fault at their preaching; albeit in very deed no leſs Obedience and Faith ought to have been given to the one, then to the other; for all proceedeth forth of one Spirit of Truth.

York. That place of *Peter* is not ſo to be underſtood of the word written.

Brad. Yea Sir, that it is, and of none other.

Chicheſter. Yea, indeed Mr. *Bradford* doth tell you truly in that point.

York. Well, you know that *Irenæus* and other do magnifie much, and alledge the Church againſt the Hereticks, and not the Scripture.

The Authority of the Church alledged againſt Hereticks, and wherefore.

Brad. True, for they had to do with ſuch Hereticks as did deny the Scriptures, and yet did magnifie the Apoſtles, ſo that they were inforced to uſe the Authority of thoſe Churches wherein the Apoſtles had taught, and which had ſtill retained the ſame Doctrine.

Chicheſt. You ſpeak the very truth; for the Hereticks did refuſe all Scriptures, except it were a piece of *Luke*'s Goſpel.

Brad. Then the alledging of the Church cannot be principally uſed againſt me, which am ſo far from denying of the Scriptures, that I appeal unto them utterly, as to the only Judge.

York. A pretty matter, that you will take upon you to judge the Church, I pray you where hath your Church been hitherto? For the Church of Chriſt is Catholick and viſible hitherto.

To judge the Church.

The Church is Catholick and viſible, but yet ſometimes more Catholick and viſible then at ſome.

Brad. My Lord, I do not judge the Church, when I diſcern it from that Congregation, and thoſe which be not the Church, and I never denied the Church to be Catholick and viſible, although at ſometimes it is more viſible then at ſome.

Chicheſt. I pray you tell me where the Church which allowed your Doctrine, was theſe four hundred years?

Brad. I will tell you my Lord, or rather you ſhall tell your ſelf, if you will tell me this one thing, where the Church was in *Helias* his time, when *Helias* ſaid that he was left alone?

Chicheſt. That is no Anſwer.

Brad. I am ſorry that you ſay ſo: but this will I tell your Lordſhip, that if you had the ſame eyes wherewith a man might have eſpied the Church then, you would not ſay it were no anſwer. The fault why the Church is not ſeen of you, is not becauſe the Church is not viſible, but becauſe your eyes are not clear enough to ſee it. Anno 1555.

The true Church is viſible and ever hath been, but every man hath not eyes to ſee.

Chich. You are much deceived in making this collation betwixt the Church then and now.

York. Very well ſpoken my Lord; for Chriſt ſaid, *Edificabo Eccleſiam*, I will build my Church; and not I do, or have built it; but I will build it.

The Biſhops driven to an inconvenience.

Brad. My Lords, *Peter* teacheth me to make this collation, ſaying; as in the people *there were falſe Prophets, which were moſt in eſtimation afore Chriſts coming, ſo ſhall there be falſe Teachers amongſt the people after Chriſts coming, and very many ſhall follow them.* And as for your Future Tenſe, I hope your Grace will not thereby conclude Chriſts Church not to have been before, but rather that there is no building in the Church but by Chriſts work only: for *Paul* and *Apollo* be but waterers.

Chich. In good faith I am ſorry to ſee you ſo light in judging the Church.

York. He taketh upon him, as they all do, to judge the Church. A man ſhall never come to certainty that doth as they do.

Brad. My Lords, I ſpeak ſimply what I think, and deſire reaſon to anſwer my objections. Your affections and ſorrows cannot be my rules. If that you conſider the order and caſe of my Condemnation, I cannot think but that it ſhould ſomething move your Honours. You know it well enough (for you heard it) no matter was laid againſt me, but what was gathered upon mine own Confeſſion. Because I did deny Tranſubſtantiation, and the wicked to receive Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, therefore I was Condemned and Excommunicated, but not of the Church, although the Pillars of the Church (as they be taken) did it.

Bradford condemned without juſt cauſe, but as was gathered at his judgment againſt him.

Chich. No; I heard ſay the cauſe of your Impriſonment was, for that you exhorted the people to take the Sword in the one hand, and the Mattock in the other.

Brad. My Lord, I never meant any ſuch thing, nor ſpake any thing in that ſort.

Falſe ſurmiſe againſt *Bradford.*

York. Yea, and you behaved your ſelf before the Councel ſo ſtoutly at the firſt, that you would defend the Religion then; and therefore worthily were you priſoned.

Bradford impriſoned for that, for which he had the Laws on his ſide.

Brad. Your Grace did hear me anſwer my Lord Chancellor to that point. But put caſe I had been ſo ſtout as they and your Grace make it; were not the Laws of the Realm on my ſide then? Wherefore unjuſtly was I priſoned: only that which my Lord Chancellor propounded, was my Confeſſion of Chriſts Truth againſt Tranſubſtantiation, and of that which the wicked do receive, as I ſaid.

York. You deny the Preſence.

The Preſence of Chriſts Body to the Faith of the worthy Receiver.

Brad. I do not, to the Faith of the worthy Receivers.

York. Why? what is that to ſay other, then that Chriſt lieth not on the Altar?

Brad. My Lord, I believe no ſuch Preſence.

Chich. It ſeemeth that you have not read *Chryſoſtom:* for he proveth it.

Brad. Hitherto I have been kept well enough without Books: howbeit this I do remember of *Chryſoſtom*, that he ſaith that Chriſt lieth upon the Altar, as the Seraphins with their Tongs touch our Lips with the Coals of the Altar in Heaven, which is an *Hyperbolical Locution*, of which you know *Chryſoſtom* is full.

Hyperbolical Phraſe of *Chryſoſtom.*

York. It is evident that you are too far gone: but let us come then to the Church, out of the which ye are Excommunicate.

Bradford excommunicated with the poor blind man, *John* 9.

Brad. I am not Excommunicate out of Chriſts Church, my Lord, although they which ſeem to be in the Church, and of the Church, have Excommunicated me, as the poor blind man was, *John* 9. I am ſure Chriſt receiveth me.

York. You do deceive your ſelf.

Here, after much talk of Excommunication, at length *Bradford* ſaid,

Brad. Aſſuredly, as I think you did well to depart from the Romiſh Church, ſo I think ye have done wickedly to couple your ſelves to it again; for you can never prove that, which you call the Mother Church, to be Chriſts Church.

Chich.

Anno 1555.

Chich. Ah Mr. *Bradford*, you were but a Child when this matter began. I was a young man, and then coming from the University, I went with the World, but I tell you it was always against my Conscience.

The Pope proved to be Antichrist by Scripture.

Brad. I was but a Child then, howbeit as I told you, I think you have done evil. For you are come, and have brought others to that wicked man which sitteth in the Temple of God, that is, in the Church: for it cannot be understood of *Mahomet*, or any out of the Church, but of such as bear rule in the Church.

York. See how you build your Faith upon such places of Scripture as are most obscure, to deceive your self, as though ye were in the Church where you are not.

Brad. Well, my Lord, though I might by fruits judge of you and others, yet will I not utterly exclude you out of the Church. And if I were in your case, I would not condemn him utterly that is of my Faith in the Sacrament; knowing as you know, that at the least eight hundred years after Christ, as my Lord of *Duresm* writeth, it was free to believe or not to believe Transubstantiation.

What B. *Tonstall* writeth of Transubstantiation.

York. This is a toy that you have found out of your own brain; as though a man not believing, as the Church doth, that is, Transubstantiation, were of the Church.

Note how these Bishops themselves do grant that the time was when Transubstantiation was not defined by the Church, *Tonstall* saith that it was more then 800. years after Christ.

Chich. He is an Heretick, and so none of the Church, that doth hold any Doctrine against the definition of the Church, as a man to hold against Transubstantiation. *Cyprian* was no Heretick, though he believed rebaptizing of them which were baptized of Hereticks, because he held it before the Church had defined it, whereas if he had holden it after, then had he been an Heretick.

Brad. Oh my Lord, will ye condemn to the Devil any man that believeth truly the twelve Articles of the Faith (wherein I take the Unity of Christs Church to consist) although in some points he believe not the definition of that which ye call the Church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the Articles of our Belief, though in other things he dissent from your definitions, yet he shall be saved.

York. Chich. Yea, said both the Bishops? this is your Divinity.

Brad. No, it is *Pauls*; which saith, that if they hold the Foundation, Christ, though they build upon him straw and stubble, yet they shall be saved.

York. Lord God, how you delight to lean to so hard and dark places of the Scriptures.

Chich. I will shew you how that *Luther* did Excommunicate *Zuinglius* for this matter, and so he read a place of *Luther* making for his purpose.

Mr. *Bradford* hangeth not of *Luther*, &c. and yet he accounteth them good men.

Brad. My Lord, what *Luther* writeth, as you much pass not, no more do I in this case. My Faith is not builded on *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, or *Oecolampadius* in this point: and indeed to tell you truly, I never read any of their Works in this matter. As for them, I do think assuredly that they were, and are Gods Children, and Saints with him.

York. Well, you are out of the Communion of the Church.

Brad. I am not, for it consisteth, and is in Faith.

York. Lo, how you make your Church invisible; for you would have the Communion of it to consist in Faith.

Communion of the Church consisteth in Faith, and not in visible Ceremonies. Disagreeing in Rites breaketh not agreement in Faith. *Irenæus.* Aug. contra Epist. fundamenti.

Brad. For to have Communion with the Church needeth no visibleness of it; for Communion consisteth, as I said, in Faith, and not in exteriour Ceremonies, as appeareth both by *Paul*, which would have one Faith, and by *Irenæus* to *Victor*, for the observation of *Easter*, saying that disagreeing of Fasting should not break the agreeing of Faith.

Chich. The same place hath often even wounded my Conscience, because we dissevered our selves from the See of *Rome*.

Brad. Well, God forgive you; for you have done evil to bring *England* thither again.

Consent of People. Authority confirmed with miracles, nourished with hope, increased with charity, established with antiquity.

York. Here my Lord of *York* took a Book of Paper of Common Places, and read a piece of S. *Augustine contra Epistolam Fundamenti*, how that there were many things that did hold S. *Austin* in the bosom of the Church; consent of People and Nations, Authority confirmed with Miracles, nourished with Hope, increased with Charity, established with Antiquity: besides this, there holdeth me in the Church, said S. *Augustine*, the Succession of Priests from *Peters* Seat until this present Bishop. Last of all, the very name of Catholick did hold me, &c. Lo (quoth he) how say you to this of S. *Augustine*? Paint me out your Church thus.

Succession of Priests. The name Catholick.

Brad. My Lord, these words of St. *Austine* make as much for me as for you: although I might answer, that all this, if they had been so firm as you make them, might have been alledged against Christ and his Apostles. For there was the Law and the Ceremonies consented on by the whole People, confirmed with Miracles, Antiquity, and continual Succession of Bishops from *Aarons* time until that prese

All this might be objected against Christ and his Apostles, by the Scribes and Pharisees.

Chich. In good faith, Mr. *Bradford*, you make too much of the state of the Church before Christs coming.

Brad. Therein I do but as *Peter* teacheth, 2 *Pet.* 2. and *Paul* very often. You would gladly have your Church here very glorious, and as a most pleasant Lady. But as Christ saith, *Beatus est quicunq; non fuerit offensus per me*; so may his Church say, *Blessed are they that are not offended at me.*

York. Yea, you think that none is of the Church, but such as suffer Persecution.

The Church commonly not glorious in this world, but poor and persecuted.

Brad. What I think, God knoweth: I pray your Grace judge me by my words and speaking, and mark what *Paul* saith, *Omnes qui, &c. All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer Persecution.* Sometimes Christs Church hath rest here; but commonly it is not so, and specially towards the end her form will be more unseemly.

York. But what say you to S. *Austin*? where is your Church that hath the consent of People and Nations?

Consent of the godly.

Brad. Even all People and Nations that be Gods People have consented with me, and I with them in the Doctrine of Faith.

York. Lo, ye go about to shift off all things.

Brad. No, my Lord; I mean simply, and so speak, God knoweth.

Succession from *Peter.*

York. S. *Augustine* doth here talk of Succession, even from *Peters* Seat.

Brad. Yea, that Seat then was nothing so much corrupt as it is now.

York. Well, you always judge the Church.

Christs people may discern the Church, though they judge not the Church

Brad. No, my Lord, Christs sheep discern Christs voice, but they judge it not; so they discern the Church, but judge her not.

York. Yes, that they do.

The Church of *Rome* swerveth from the voice of Christ, and wherein

Brad. No, and it like your Grace: and yet full well may one not only doubt, but judge also of the Romish Church; for she obeyeth not Christs voice, as Christs true Church doth.

York. Wherein?

Brad. In Latin Service, and robbing the Laity of Christs Cup in the Sacrament, and in many other things, in which it committeth most horrible Sacriledge.

Chich. Why? Latin Service was in *England* when the Pope was gone.

Brad. True; the time was in *England* when the Pope was away, but not all Popery; as in K. *Henry's* days.

Latin Service defended.

York. Latin Service was appointed to be sung and had in the Quire, where only were *Clerici*, that is, such as understood Latin, the People sitting in the Body of the Church praying their own private Prayers; and this may well be yet seen by making of the Chancel and Quire, so as the People could not come in, or hear them.

Against Latin Service.

Brad. Yea, but in *Chrysostoms* time, and also in the Latin Church in S. *Jeroms* time, all the Church (saith he) *reboat, Amen*: that is, answereth again mightily, *Amen.* Whereby we may see that the Prayers were made so, that both the People heard them and understood them.

Chich. Ye are too blame, to say that the Church robbeth the People of the Cup.

The People robbed of the Cup.

Brad. Well, my Lord, term it as it please you: all men know that the Laity hath none of it.

Chich. Indeed I would wish the Church would define again, that they might have it, for my part.

Brad. If God make it free, who can define to make it bond?

York. Well, Mr. *Bradford*, we lose our labour; for ye seek to put away all things which are told you to your good: your Church no man can know.

Brad. Yes, that ye may well.

York.

York. I pray you whereby?

The Church known only by the Scriptures.

Brad. Forſooth *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, *Tantummodo per Scripturas*, alonely by the Scriptures; and this ſpeaketh he very oftentimes, as ye well know.

Chryſ. id opere imperfect.

York. Indeed that is of *Chryſoſtom* in *opere imperfecto*, which may be doubted of. The thing whereby the Church may be known beſt, is ſucceſſion of Biſhops.

Lyra ſupra Mat.

Bradford No, my Lord, *Lyra* full well writeth upon *Matthew*, that *Eccleſia non conſiſtit in hominibus ratione poteſtatis Secularis aut Eccleſiaſticæ, ſed in hominibus in quibus eſt notitia vera, & confeſſio fidei & veritatis*: that is, The Church conſiſteth not in Men by reaſon either of Secular or Temporal Power, but in Men indued with true knowledge, and confeſſion of Faith, and of verity.

Hilarius ad Auxentium.

And in *Hilarius* time, you know he writeth to *Auxentius*, that the Church did rather *deliteſcere in cavernis*, then *eminere in primariis ſedibus*: that is, was hidden rather in Caves and Holes, then did gliſter and ſhine in Thrones of preheminence.

Then came one of the Servants and told them, that my Lord of *Dureſm* tarried for them at Maſter *Yorks* Houſe; and this was after that they had tarried three hours with *Bradford*. And after that their Man was come they put up their written Books of common places, and ſaid that they lamented his caſe: they willed him to read over a Book which did D. *Crome* good; and ſo wiſhing him good in words, they went their way, and poor *Bradford* to his Priſon.

The coming of two Spaniſh Friers to Maſter *Bradford.*

After this Communication with the Biſhops ended, within two days following came into the *Counter* two Spaniſh Friers to talk with Maſter *Bradford*, ſent (as they ſaid) by the Earl of *Derby*; of whom the one was the Kings Confeſſor, the other was *Alphonſus*, who had before written a Popiſh Book againſt Hereſies, the effect of which their reaſoning here likewiſe followeth.

Talk between Maſter Bradford *and two Spaniſh Friers.*

The talk between certain Friars and M. *Bradford.*

UPon the five and twentieth day of *February*, about eight of the Clock in the Morning, two Spaniſh Friers came to the *Counter* where *Bradford* was Priſoner; to whom *Bradford* was called. Then the one Frier, which was the Kings Confeſſor, asked in Latin (for all their talk was in Latin) of *Bradford*, whether he had not ſeen or heard of one *Alphonſus* that had written againſt Hereſies?

Brad. I do not know him.

This *Alphonſus* had written a Book before in Latin againſt Hereſies.

Confeſ. Well, this Man (pointing to *Alphonſus*) is he, We are come to you of Love and Charity, by the means of the Earl of *Derby*, becauſe you deſire to confer with us.

Brad. I never deſired your coming, nor to confer with you, or any other. But ſeeing you are come of Charity, as you ſay, I cannot but thank you: and as touching conference, though I deſire it not, yet I will not refuſe to talk with you if you will.

Alphon. It were requiſite that you did pray unto God, that ye might follow the direction of Gods Spirit, that he would inſpire you, ſo that ye be not addict to your own ſelf-will or wit.

Bradford willed to pray, maketh his prayer.

Brad. Whereupon *Bradford* made a prayer, and beſought God to direct all their wills, words, and works, as the wills, words, and works of his Children for ever.

Alph. Yea, you muſt pray with your Heart. For if you ſpeak but with Tongue only, God will not give you his grace.

Brad. Sir, do not judge, leſt ye be judged. You have heard my words, now Charity would have you leave the Judgment of the Heart to God.

Alph. You muſt be as it were a *neuter*, and not wedded to your ſelf, but as one ſtanding in doubt: pray and be ready to receive what God ſhall inſpire; for in vain labboureth our Tongue to ſpeak elſe.

No Man ought to be in doubt of his Religion.

Brad. Sir, my Sentence, if you mean it for Religion, muſt not be in a doubting or uncertain, as I thank God I am certain in that for which I am Condemned: I have no cauſe to doubt of it, but rather to be more certain of it; and therefore I pray God to confirm me more in it. For it is his truth, and becauſe it is ſo certain and true that it may abide the light, I dare be bold to have it looked on, and confer it with you, or any Man; in reſpect whereof I am both glad of your coming, and thank you for it. Anno 1555.

Alph. What is the matter whereof you were condemned? we know not.

The cauſe why M. *Bradford* was Condemned.

Brad. Sir, I have been in Priſon almoſt two years: I never tranſgreſſed any of their Laws wherefore I might juſtly be Priſoned, and now am I Condemned, only becauſe I frankly confeſſed, whereof I repent not, my Faith concerning the Sacrament, when I was demanded in theſe two points: one, that there is no Tranſubſtantiation, the other, that the wicked do not receive Chriſts Body.

Alph. Let us look a little on the firſt. Do you not believe that Chriſt is preſent really, and corporally in the form of Bread?

Chriſt preſent to the Faith of the worthy receiver.

Brad. No, I do believe that Chriſt is preſent to the Faith of the worthy receiver, as there is preſent Bread and Wine to the ſenſes and outward Man: as for any ſuch preſence of including and placing Chriſt, I believe not, nor dare believe.

Alph. I am ſure you believe Chriſts Natural Body is circumſcriptible. And here he made much ado of the two Natures of Chriſt, how that the one is every where, and the other is in his proper place, demanding ſuch queſtions as no wiſe Man would have ſpent any time about. At length becauſe the Frier had forgotten to conclude, *Bradford* put him in mind of it, and thus then at length he concluded. How that becauſe Chriſts Body was circumſcriptible, concerning the Humane Nature in Heaven, therefore it was ſo in the Bread.

A Spaniſh Argument. Chriſts Body is circumſcriptible in Heaven: *Ergo* Chriſts body is circumſcriptible in Bread.

Brad. How hangeth this together? Even as if you ſhould ſay; becauſe you are here, *Ergo*, it muſt needs follow that you are at *Rome*. For thus you reaſon; Becauſe Chriſts Body is in Heaven: *Ergo*, it is in the Sacrament under the form of Bread: which no wiſe Man will grant.

Alph. Why? will you believe nothing but that which is expreſly ſpoken in the Scriptures?

Brad. Yes Sir, I will believe whatſoever you ſhall by demonſtration out of the Scriptures declare unto me.

Chriſt is able to do it; *Ergo* he doth it.

Alph. He is obſtinate, quoth *Alphonſus* to his fellow: and then turning to *Bradford*, ſaid, Is not God able to do it?

Brad. Yes, but here the queſtion is of Gods will, and not of his power.

Alph. Why? doth he not ſay plainly, This is my Body?

Brad. Yes, and I deny not but that it is ſo, to the Faith of the worthy receiver.

Alph. To the Faith? how is that?

Brad. Forſooth Sir, as I have no Tongue to expreſs it: ſo I know ye have no ears to hear and underſtand it. For Faith is more than Man can utter.

Hoc eſt corpus meum.

Alph. But I can tell all that I believe.

Brad. You believe not much then. For if you believe the joyes of Heaven, and believe no more thereof then you can tell, you will not yet deſire to come thither. For as the mind is more capable and receivable then the mouth, ſo it conceiveth more then Tongue can expreſs.

Alph. Chriſt ſaith it is his Body.

Brad. And ſo ſay I, after a certain manner.

Alph. After a certain manner? that is, after another manner then it is in Heaven.

Quodammodo do Auguſtinus Epiſtola ad Bonifacium. Argument. As grace is in the Water of Baptiſm: ſo is the Body in the Sacrament. But Grace is in the Water by ſignification: *Ergo*, ſo is the Body in the Sacrament.

Brad. Saint *Auguſtine* telleth it more plainly, that it is Chriſts Body after the ſame manner as Circumciſion was the Covenant of God, and the Sacrament of Faith is Faith; or to make it more plain, as Baptiſm and the Water of Baptiſm is Regeneration.

Alph. Very well ſaid, Baptiſm and the Water thereof is a Sacrament of Gods Grace and Spirit in the Water cleanſing the Baptized.

Brad. No Sir, away with your encloſing: but this I grant, that after the ſame ſort Chriſts Body is in the Bread, on which ſort the Grace and Spirit of God is in the Water.

Alph. In Water is Gods Grace by ſignification.

Brad. So is the Body in the Bread in the Sacrament.

A Popiſh diſtinction of Sacraments.

Alph. You are much deceived, in that you make no difference between the Sacraments that be ſtanders, and the Sacraments that are tranſitory and paſſers by. As for

Ex-

Anno 1555.

Example, the Sacrament of Orders, which you deny, though S. *Auguſtine* affirm it, it is a ſtander, although the Ceremony be paſt. But in Baptiſm ſo ſoon as the Body is waſhed, the Water ceaſeth to be a Sacrament.

Brad. Very good, and ſo it is in the Supper of the Lord: no longer then it is in uſe, is it Chriſts Sacrament.

The Frier in a chafe.

Here was the Frier in a wonderful rage, and ſpake ſo high (as often he had done before) that the whole Houſe rang again, chafing with *cm* and *cho*. He hath a great name of learning, but ſurely he hath little patience. For if *Bradford* had been any thing hot, one Houſe could not have held them. At the length he cometh to this point, that *Bradford* could not find in the Scripture Baptiſm and the Lords Supper to bear any ſimilitude together. And here he triumphed before the conqueſt, ſaying, that theſe Men would receive nothing but Scripture, and yet were able to prove nothing by the Scripture.

The Sacrament of the Lords Table compared with Baptiſm in the Scripture.

Brad. Be patient, and you ſhall ſee that by the Scripture I will find Baptiſm and the Lords Supper coupled together.

Alph. No, that canſt thou never do. Let me ſee a text of it.

1 Cor. 12.

Brad. Paul ſaith; *That as we are Baptized into one Body, ſo were we* potati *in uno ſpiritu, i. we have drunk of one Spirit*, meaning the Cup in the Lords Supper.

Alph. Paul hath no ſuch words.

Brad. Yes that he hath.

Confeſ. I trow he hath not.

Brad. Give me a Teſtament, and I will ſhew you.

The Frier proved a lyar in his own Teſtament.

So a Prieſt that ſate by them gave him his Teſtament, and he ſhewed them the plain Text. Then they looked one upon another. In fine the Frier found this ſimple ſhift, that *Paul* ſpake not of the Sacrament.

Brad. Well, the Text is plain enough, and there are of the Fathers which do ſo underſtand the place: For *Chryſoſtom* doth expound it ſo.

Alph. Alphonſus which had the Teſtament in his hand, deſirous to ſuppreſs this foil, turned the Leaves of the Book from Leaf to Leaf, till he came to the place, 1 *Cor.* 11. and there he read how that he was guilty, which made no difference of the Lords Body.

1 Cor. 11.

Brad. Yea, but therewith he ſaith, *He that eateth of the Bread:* calling it Bread ſtill: and that after Conſecration (as ye call it) as in the tenth of the *Corinthians* he ſaith;

1 Cor. 10.

The Bread which we break, &c.

Converſion is mentioned in turning *Moſes* Rod, ſo it is not in the Sacrament. *Moſes* Rod was ſeen to be turned, ſo is not the Sacrament.

Alph. Oh how ignorant are ye, which know not that things after their Converſion do retain the ſame Names which they had before, as *Moſes* Rod: and calling for a Bible, after he had found the place, he began to triumph: But *Bradford* cooled him quickly, ſaying.

Brad. Sir, there is mention made of the Converſion, as well as that the ſame appeared to the ſenſe. But here ye cannot find it ſo. Find me one word how the Bread is converted, and I will then ſay, ye bring ſome matter that maketh for you.

Alph. At theſe words the Frier was troubled, and at length he ſaid, how that *Bradford* hanged on his own ſenſe

Brad. No, that do I not; for I will bring you forth the Fathers of the Church 800. yeares after Chriſt, to confirm this which I ſpeak.

Alph. No, you have the Church againſt you.

Brad. I have not Chriſts Church againſt me.

Alph. Yes that you have. What is the Church?

Brad. Chriſts Wife, the Chair and Seat of verity.

Alph. Is ſhe viſible?

The Church is viſible, but to them that have Spiritual Eyes.

Brad. Yea that ſhe is to them that will put on the Spectacles of Gods Word to look on her.

Alph. This Church hath defined the contrary, and that I will prove by all the good Fathers from Chriſts Aſcenſion, even for 800. years at the leaſt continually.

Brad. What will you ſo prove? Tranſubſtantiation?

Alph. Yea, that the Bread is turned into Chriſts Body.

Brad. You ſpeak more then you can do.

Alph. That do I not.

Brad. Then will I give place.

Alph. Will you believe?

Brad. Belief is Gods gift; therefore cannot I promiſe: but I tell you that I will give place; and I hope I ſhall believe his truth always, ſo good is he to me in Chriſt my Saviour.

The Papiſts hold that the Act of believing is in Mans power.

Alph. Here the Frier found a great fault with *Bradford*, that he made no difference betwixt *Habitus* and *Actus*; as though *Actus*, which he called credulity, had been in our power. But this he let paſs, and came again asking *Bradford*, if he could prove it as he ſaid, whether he would give place?

Brad. Yea that I will. Then called he for Paper, Pen, and Ink, to write; and then ſaid I, What and if that I prove by the Teſtimony of the Fathers, that continually for 800. years after Chriſt, at the leaſt, they did believe that the ſubſtance of Bread doth remain in the Sacrament? what will ye do?

Alph. I will give place.

Brad. Then write you here that you will give place if I ſo prove, and I will write that I will give place if you ſo prove: becauſe ye are the ancient, ye ſhall have the Preheminency.

The Frier refuſeth to abide Tryal with *Bradford*.

Here the Frier fumed marvellouſly, and ſaid; I came not to learn at thee: Are not here witneſſes? (meaning the Prieſts) be not they ſufficient? But the Man was ſo chafed, that if *Bradford* had not paſſed over this matter of writing, the Frier would have faln to plain ſcolding.

Confeſ. At the length the Kings Confeſſor asked *Bradford* what the ſecond queſtion was?

Brad. That wicked Men receive not Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, as S. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of *Judas*, that he received *Panem Domini*, but not *Panem Dominum*.

The Frier again proved a lyar.

Alph. Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith not ſo.

The Friers depart in a heat from M. *Bradford*.

Brad. Yes that doth he. So they aroſe and talked no more of the matter. Thus went they away, without bidding *Bradford* farewell.

A Prieſt put to a foil.

A Prieſt. After they were gone one of the Prieſts came, and willed *Bradford* not to be ſo obſtinate.

Brad. Sir be not you ſo wavering; in all the Scripture cannot you find me, *non eſt panis:*

Prieſt. Yes that I can in five places.

Brad. Then I will eat your Book. So the Book was opened, but no place found; and he went his way ſmiling. God help us.

Talk between Maſter Bradford *and Doctor* Weſton, *and others.*

IT followed after this, upon the twenty one of the Month of *March*, that by means of one of the Earl of *Derbies* Men, there came to the *Counter* to dinner one M. *Collier*, once Warden of *Mancheſter*, and the ſaid Servant of the Earl of *Derby*, of whom M. *Bradford* learned that Doctor *Weſton* Dean of *Weſtminſter* would be with him in the afternoon about Two of the Clock. At Dinner time, when the ſaid Warden did diſcommend King *Edward*, and went about to ſet forth the Authority of the Pope, which *Bradford* withſtood, defending the Kings Faith, that it was Catholick, and that the Authority of the Biſhop of *Romes* Supremacy was uſurped, bringing forth the Teſtimony of *Gregory*, which affirmeth the name of ſupream head, to be a Tittle of the forerunner to Antichriſt. A Woman Priſoner was brought in, whereupon the ſaid *Bradford* took occaſion to riſe from the Table, and ſo went to his Priſon-Chamber to beg of God Grace, and help therein, continuing there ſtill untill he was called down to ſpeak with Maſter *Weſton*, which was then come in.

The name ſupream head is the fore-runner to antichriſt. *Gregory.*

D. *Weſton* cometh to M. *Bradford.*

Mr. *Bradford* then being called down, ſo ſoon as he was entred into the Hall, Maſter *Weſton* very gently took him by the hand, and asked how he did, with ſuch other talk. At length he willed avoidance of the Chamber: So they all went out, ſave Maſter *Weſton* himſelf, Maſter *Collier*, the Earl of *Derbies* Servant, the Subdean of *Weſtminſter*, the Keeper, Mr. *Clayden*, and the Parſon of the Church where the *Counter* is.

Conference between M. *Bradford* and D. *Weſton.*

Now when he began with Maſter *Bradford*, to tell how that he was often minded to have come unto him, being thereto deſired of the Earl of *Derby*: and (quoth he) after that I perceived by this Man, that you could be contented rather to ſpeak with me, then any other; I could not but come to do you good, if I can; for hurt you be ſure I will not.

Brad. Sir, quoth Mr. *Bradford*, when I perceived by the report of my Lords Servant, that you did bear me good will more (as he ſaid) then any other of your ſort,

I told him then, that therefore I could be better content and more willing to talk with you, if you ſhould come unto me. This did I ſay, quoth he, otherwiſe I deſired not your coming.

Weſt. Well, quoth he; now I am come to talk with you: but before we ſhall enter into any talk, certain principles we muſt agree upon, which ſhall be this days work.

D. Weſtons Leſſons, ſuch as he did never follow himſelf. Vain Glory.

First, quoth he, I ſhall deſire you to put away all vain glory, and not hold any thing for the praiſe of the World.

Brad. Sir, S. *Auguſtine* maketh that indeed a piece of the definition of an Heretick; which if I cannot put away clean (for I think there will a ſpice of it remain in us, as long as this fleſh liveth) yet I promiſe you by the Grace of God, that I purpoſe not to yield to it. God I hope will never ſuffer it to bear rule in them that ſtrive there againſt, and deſire all the dregs of it utterly to be driven out of us.

Singularity.

Weſt. I am glad to hear you ſay ſo although indeed I think you do not ſo much eſteem it as others do.

Secondly, I would deſire you that you will put away ſingularity in your Judgment and Opinions.

Brad. Sir, God forbid that I ſhould ſtick to my ſingularity or private Judgment in Gods Religion. Hitherto I have not deſired it, neither do, nor mind at any time to hold any other Doctrine then is publick and Catholick, underſtanding Catholick as good Men do; according to Gods Word.

Weſton willeth M. *Bradford* to put down in writing the chief grounds of his Faith.

Weſt. Very well, this is a good days work, I hope to do you good: and therefore now thirdly I ſhall pray you to write me *Capita* of thoſe things whereupon you ſtand in the Sacrament, and to ſend them to me betwixt this and *Wedneſday* next: untill which time, yea, untill I come to you again, be aſſured that you are without all peril of death. Of my fidelity, I warrant you, therefore away with all dubitations, &c.

Brad. Sir, I will write to you the grounds I lean to in this matter. As for death, if it come, welcom be it; this which you require of me, ſhall be no great let to me therein.

Weſt. You know that Saint *Auguſtine* was a *Manichean*, yet was he converted at the length; ſo have I good hope of you.

Brad. Sir, becauſe I will not flatter you, I would you ſhould flatly know, that I am even ſetled in the Religion, wherefore I am condemned.

Weſt. Yea, but if it be not the truth, and you ſee evident matter to the contrary, will you not then give place?

Brad. God forbid, but that I ſhould always give place to the Truth.

Weſt. I would have you to pray ſo.

Brad. So I do, and that he will more and more confirm me in it, as I thank God he hath done and doth.

Weſt. Yea but pray with a Condition, if you be in it.

Brad. No Sir, I cannot pray ſo, becauſe I am ſetled and aſſured of his truth.

Weſt. Well, quoth *Weſton*, as the learned Biſhop anſwered S. *Auguſtins* Mother, that though he was obſtinate, yet the Tears of ſuch a Mother could not but win her Son: ſo, quoth he, I hope your Prayers (for then *Bradfords* eyes did ſhew that he had wept in Prayer) cannot but be heard of God, though not as you would, yet as beſt ſhall pleaſe God. Do ye not, quoth he, remember the Hiſtory thereof?

Brad. Yea Sir, quoth *Bradford*, I think it be of St. *Ambroſe*.

Weſt. No, that it is not. And here *Weſton* would have laid a wager, and began to triumph, ſaying to *Bradford*; as you are overſeen herein, ſo are you in other things.

Brad. Well, Sir, I will not contend with you for the name. This (I remember) S. *Auguſtine* writeth in his Confeſſions.

M. *Bradford* wrongfully charged with Sedition.

After this talk *Weſton* began to tell Maſter *Bradford*, how the People were by him procured to withſtand the Queen.

Whereunto *Bradford* anſwering again, bade him hang him up as a Traytor and a Thief, if ever he encouraged any to Rebellion: which thing his Keeper, and others that were there of the Prieſts, affirmed on his behalf. So much talk there was to little purpoſe at that time. D. *Weſton* declared moreover how he had ſaved Men going in the Cart to be hanged, and ſuch like. Anno 1555.

The end was this, that *Bradford* ſhould ſend unto him, *Capita doctrinæ* of the Supper, and after *Wedneſday* he would come unto him again, and thus departed he, after that he had drunk to him in Beer and Wine. I omit here talk of *Oxford*, of Books of *Germany* writers, of the fear of death, and ſuch other talk, which are to no purpoſe.

Another diſputation or talk between Maſter Bradford *and Doctor* Pendleton.

Another diſputation or talk between M. *Bradford* and D. Pendleton.

IN the mean time, when Maſter *Bradford* had written his Reaſons and Arguments, and had ſent them to Doctor *Weſton*, in ſhort ſpace after, about the 28. of *March*, there came to the *Counter* Doctor *Pendleton*, and with him the foreſaid Mr. *Collier*, ſometime Warden of *Mancheſter*, and *Stephen Bech*. After ſalutations Maſter *Pendleton* began to ſpeak to *Bradford*, that he was ſorry for his trouble. And further (quoth he) after that I did know you could be content to talk with me, I made the more ſpeed, being as ready to do you good, and pleaſure you what I can, as ye would wiſh.

Brad. Sir, the manner how I was content to ſpeak with you, was on this ſort: Maſter *Bech* was often in hand with me whom he ſhould bring unto me, and named you amongſt other: and I ſaid that I had rather ſpeak with you then with any of all the other. Now the cauſe why I ſo would, I will briefly tell you. I remember that once you were (as far as a Man might judge) of the Religion that I am of at this preſent, and I remember that you have ſet forth the ſame earneſtly. Gladly therefore would I learn of you what thing it was that moved your Conſcience to alter, and gladly would I ſee what thing it is that you have ſeen ſince, which you ſaw not before.

Pendleton once of the ſame Religion with M. *Bradford*.

Pendleton. Maſter *Bradford*, I do not know wherefore you are condemned.

Brad. Tranſubſtantiation is the cauſe wherefore I am Condemned, and becauſe I deny that wicked Men do receive Chriſts Body: wherein I would deſire you to ſhew me what reaſons, which before you knew not, did move your Conſcience now to alter. For once (as I ſaid) you were as I am in Religion.

Here Maſter *Pendleton* half amazed, began to excuſe himſelf, if it would have been, as though he had not denied fully Tranſubſtantiation indeed, although I ſaid, quoth he, that the word was not in Scripture, and ſo he made an endleſs tale of the thing that moved him to alter: but (ſaid he) I will gather to you the places which moved me, and ſend you them. And here he deſired *Bradford* that he might have a Copy of that which he had ſent to Mr. *Weſton*; the which *Bradford* did promiſe him.

Pendleton be like would ſtudie out the reaſons that moved him to alter: for he had none ready to ſhew.

Some reaſoning alſo they had, whether evil Men did receive Chriſts Body, *Bradford* denying, and *Pendleton* affirming. *Bradford* ſaid that they received not the Spirit: *Ergo*, not the Body; for it is no dead Carcaſs. Hereto *Bradford* brought alſo Saint *Auguſtine*, how *Judas* received *Panem Domini*, and not *Panem Dominum*, and how that he muſt be in Chriſts Body, which muſt receive the Body of Chriſt. But *Pendleton* went about to put it away with *idem*, and not *ad idem*, and how that *in Corpore Chriſti* was to be underſtood of all that be in the viſible Church with Gods elect. *Bradford* denied this to be Saint *Auguſtines* meaning, and ſaid alſo that the allegation of *idem*, and not *ad idem*, could not make for that purpoſe. They talked more of Tranſubſtantiation, *Pendleton* bringing forth *Cyprian*; *Panis natura mutatur*, &c. And *Bradford* ſaid, that in that place *natura* did not ſignifie ſubſtance. As the nature of an Herb is not the ſubſtance of it; ſo the Bread changed in nature is not to be taken for changed in ſubſtance: For now it is ordained not for the food of the Body ſimply, but rather for the Soul. Here alſo *Bradford* alledged the Sentence of *Gelaſius*. *Pendleton* ſaid, that he was a Pope. Yea, ſaid *Bradford*, but his Faith is my Faith in the Sacrament, if ye would receive it.

Evil men receive not Chriſts body.

He muſt be in Chriſts body, that muſt receive Chriſts body

The place of S. *Cyprian* expounded how the nature of bread is changed.

Cyprian expounded by *Gelaſius*.

They reaſoned alſo whether *accidentia* were *Res*, or no. If they be properly *Res*, ſaid *Bradford*, then are they ſubſtances; & if they be ſubſtances, they are earthly, and then are there earthly Subſtances in the Sacrament, as *Irenæus* ſaith, which muſt needs be Bread. But *Pendleton* ſaith that the

Pendleton driven to ſay that accidents be ſubſtances.

Anno 1555.

the colour was the earthly thing, and called it an accidental ſubſtance.

I omit the talk they had of my Lord of *Canterbury*, of *Peter Martyrs* Book, of *Pendletons* Letter laid to *Bradfords* charge when he was Condemned, with other talk more of the Church; whether *Dic Eccleſiæ* was ſpoken of the Univerſal Church, or of a particular (which *Pendleton* at the length granted to be ſpoken of a particular Church) alſo of vain glory, which he willed *Bradford* to beware of, and ſuch like talk. A little before his departing *Bradford* ſaid thus, Maſter Doctor, as I ſaid to Maſter *Weſton* the laſt day, ſo ſay I unto you again, that I am the ſame Man in Religion againſt Tranſubſtantiation ſtill, which I was when I came into Priſon; for hitherto I have ſeen nothing in any point to infirm me. At which words *Pendleton* was ſomething moved, and ſaid that it was no Catholick Doctrine. Yes, quoth *Bradford*, and that will I prove even by the Teſtimony of the Catholick Fathers untill *Concilium Lateranenſe*, or thereabout. Thus *Pendleton* went his way, ſaying, that he would come oftner to *Bradford*. God our Father be with us all, and give us the Spirit of his Truth for ever. Amen.

Bradford could hear no reaſon of the Papiſts to infirm his Opinion againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

The ſame day in the afternoon, about five of the Clock, came M. *Weſton* to *Bradford*; and after gentle Salutations, he deſired the company every Man to depart, and ſo they two ſat down. And after that he had thanked *Bradford* for his writing unto him, he pulled out of his Boſom the ſame writing which *Bradford* had ſent him. The writing is this that followeth.

Certain reaſons againſt Tranſubſtantiation, gathered by John Bradford, *and given to D.* Weſton *and others.*

Tranſubſtantiation not brought into the Church before the year 1215. by Pope *Innocentius.*

THat which is former (ſaith Tertullian) *is true; that which is later is falſe. But the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is a late Doctrine: for it was not defined generally afore the Councel of* Lateran, *about 1215. years after Chriſts coming, under Pope* Innocentius *the third of that name. For before that time it was free for all Men to believe it, or not believe it, as the Biſhop of* Dureſm *doth the witneſs in his Book of Preſence of Chriſt in his Supper lately put forth: Ergo, The Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is falſe.*

The reaſons proving the words of the Lords Supper to be figurative. 1. Circumſtances of Scripture. 2. Proportion of Sacraments. 3. Teſtimony of Old Doctors.

2. *That the Words of Chriſts Supper be figurative the Circumſtances of the Scripture, the Analogy or proportion of the Sacraments and the Sentences of all the Holy Fathers, which were and did write for the ſpace of 1000. years after Chriſts Aſcenſion, do teach: whereupon it followeth, that there was no Tranſubſtantiation.*

3. *That the Lord gave to his Diſciples Bread, and called it his Body, the Scriptures do witneſs. For he gave that, and called it his Body, which he took in his hands, whereon he gave thanks, which alſo he brake, and gave to his Diſciples, that is to ſay, Bread, as the Fathers* Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Auguſtine, *and all the reſidue which are of Antiquity, do affirm: but in as much as the Subſtance of Bread and Wine is another thing than the Subſtance of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, it plainly appeareth that there is no Tranſubſtantiation.*

The Wine is not Tranſubſtantiate: Ergo, neither the bread.

4. *The Bread is no more Tranſubſtantiate than the Wine: but that the Wine is not Tranſubſtantiate, Saint* Matthew *and Saint* Mark *do teach us: for they witneſs, that Chriſt ſaid that he would drink no more of the fruit of the Vine, which was not Blood, but Wine: and therefore it followeth, that there is no Tranſubſtantiation.* Chryſoſtom *upon* Matthew, *and Saint* Cyprian, *do affirm this reaſon.*

The ſame ſpirit which ſaith This is my body, ſaith alſo, We many are one bread, and one body. &c. The words do not tranſubſtantiate the Cup into the new teſtament. Ergo neither the bread into the body.

5. *As the Bread in the Lords Supper is Chriſts Natural Body, ſo it is his Myſtical Body: for the ſame Spirit that ſpake of it, This is my Body; did ſay alſo, For we many are one Bread, one Body, &c. but now it is not the Myſtical Body by Tranſubſtantiation, and therefore it is not his Natural Body by Tronſubſtantiation.*

6. *The words ſpoken over the Cup in Saints* Luke *and* Paul, *are not ſo mighty and effectual, as to Tranſubſtantiate it: For then it, or that which is in it, ſhould be Tranſubſtantiate into the New Teſtament: therefore the words ſpoken over the Bread, are not ſo mighty as to make Tranſubſtantiation.*

7. *All that Doctrine which agreeth with thoſe Churches which be Apoſtolick Mother Churches, or Original Churches, is to be counted for truth, in that it holdeth that which theſe Churches received of the Apoſtles, the Apoſtles of Chriſt, Chriſt of GOD. But it is manifeſt, that the Doctrine taught at this preſent of the Church of* Rome, *concerning Tranſubſtantiation, doth not agree with the Apoſtolick and Mother Churches in* Greece, *of* Corinthus, *of* Philippos, Coloſſia, Theſſalonica, Epheſus, *which never taught Tranſubſtantiation; yea it agreeth not with the Doctrine of the Church of* Rome *taught in time paſt. For* Gelaſius *the Pope, ſetting forth the Doctrine which that See did then hold, doth manifeſtly confute the error of Tranſubſtantiation, and reproveth them of Sacriledge, which divided the Myſtery, and keep from the Laity the Cup, therefore the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation agreeth not with the Truth.*

The doctrine of the Church of *Rome* for tranſubſtantiation agreeth not with the Greek Churches, nor with the old *Roman* Church.

This was the writing which *Weſton* pulled out of his Boſom: and yet before he began to read it, he ſhewed *Bradford* that he asked of his Converſation at *Cambridge* ſithence his laſt being with him, and, quoth he, M. *Bradford*, becauſe you are a Man not given to the glory of the World, I will ſpeak it before your face: Your Life I have learned was ſuch there always, as all men, even the greateſt enemies you have, cannot but praiſe it, and therefore I love you much better than ever I did: but now I will read over your Arguments, and ſo we will confer them. Such they are, that a Man may well perceive you ſtand on Conſcience, and therefore I am the more ready and glad to pity you. So he began to read the firſt; to the which he ſaid, that though the word Tranſubſtantiation began but lately, yet the thing always was, and hath been ſithence Chriſts Inſtitution.

Brad. I do not contend, or hang upon the word only, but upon the thing which is as new as the word.

The words of *Auſtin* guileſully wreſted by *Weſton.*

Weſt. Then went he to the ſecond, and there brought out Saint *Auguſtin*, how that if an evil Man going to the Devil, did make his Will, his Son and Heir would not ſay his Father did lye in it, or ſpeak tropically: much more Chriſt, going to God, did never lye, or uſe any figurative ſpeech in his laſt Will and Teſtament. Do you not remember this place of Saint *Auguſtine*, ſaid he?

Brad. Yea Sir, but I remember not that S. *Auguſtine* hath thoſe words *tropice* or *figurative*, as you rehearſe them: for any Man may ſpeak a thing figuratively, and not lye: and ſo Chriſt did in his laſt ſupper.

Weſt. After this he went to the third, and brought forth *Cyprian*, how that the Nature of Bread is turned into fleſh. Here (ſaith he) of my Lord *Canterbury* expoundeth Nature for Quality, by *Gelaſius*. The which interpretation ſerveth for the anſwer of your Argument, that Chriſt called Bread his Body: that is, the quality, form, and appearance of Bread. And further the Scripture is wont to call things by the ſame Names which they had before, as *Symon* the Leper; he was not ſo preſently, but becauſe he had been ſo.

Symon though he were called the Leper, Yet he was ſeen to be no Leper But bread is ſeen ſtill to be bread: and therefore hath his name not of that it was, but of that it is.

Brad. Cyprian wrote before *Gelaſius*: therefore *Cyprian* muſt not expound *Gelaſius*, but *Gelaſius Cyprian*: and ſo they both teach, that Bread remaineth ſtill. As for things having ſtill the Names they had, is no anſwer, except you could ſhew that this now were not Bread, as eaſily as a Man might have known and ſeen then *Symon* to have been healed and clear from his Leproſie.

Cyprian expounded by *Gelaſius.*

Weſt. After this he went to the fourth, of the Cup, the which he did not fully read, but digreſſed into a long talk of *Cyprians* Epiſtle *De Aquatiis*: alſo of S. *Auguſtine*, expounding the breaking of Bread by Chriſt to his two Diſciples going to *Emmaus*, to be the Sacrament, with ſuch other talk to no certain purpoſe: and therefore *Bradford* prayed him, that in as much as he had written the reaſons that ſtabliſhed his Faith againſt Tranſubſtantiation, ſo he would likewiſe do to him, that is, anſwer him by writing, and ſhew him more reaſons in writing to confirm Tranſubſtantiation. Which Doctor *Weſton*, promiſed to do, and ſaid that he would ſend or bring it to Maſter *Bradford* again within three days.

Weſton required to write his reaſons.

Thus when he had over-read the Arguments, and here and there ſpoken little to the purpoſe for the avoiding of them, and *Bradford* had prayed him to give him in writing his anſwers: then he began to tell *Bradford* how and what he had done for *Grimoald*, and how that *Bradford* needed not to fear any reproach or ſlander he ſhould ſuffer, meaning belike to have *Bradford* ſecretly to come to them, as *Grimoald* did, for he ſubſcribed.

Grimoald ſubſcribed.

Brad.

Anno 1555.

M. Bradford plain and firm in confeſſion of the Truth.

Brad. Mr. Dean, I would not gladly that you ſhould conceive of me that I paſs of ſhame of Men ſimply in this matter: I rather would have you to think of me, as the very truth is, that hitherto as I have not heard nor ſeen any thing to infirm my Faith againſt Tranſubſtantiation, ſo I am no leſs ſetled in it, than I was at my firſt coming hither. I love to be plain with you, and to tell you at the firſt, as you ſhall find at the laſt.

Weſt. In good Faith, M. *Bradford*, I love you the better for your plainneſs: and do not think otherwiſe of me, but that you ſhall find me plain in all my talk with you.

Here *Weſton* began to ask *Bradford* of his Impriſonment and Condemnation; and ſo *Bradford* told him altogether, how he had been handled. Whereat *Weſton* ſeemed to wonder: yea in plain words he ſaid, that *Bradford* had been handled otherwiſe than he had given cauſe, and ſo ſhewed *Bradford* how that my Lord of *Bath* reported that he had deſerved a benefit at the Queens hand, and at all the Councels.

In this kind of talk they ſpent an hour almoſt, and ſo, as one weary, *Bradford* roſe up, and *Weſton* called to the Keeper, and before him he bade *Bradford* be of good comfort, and ſaid that he was out of all peril of death.

Keeper. Sir, quoth the Keeper, but it is in every Mans Mouth, that he ſhall dye to morrow.

The vain promiſe of *Weſton.*

Weſton. Whereat *Weſton* ſeemed half amazed, and ſaid, he would goe ſay Evenſong before the Queen, and ſpeak to Her in his behalf. But it is to be thought that the Queen had almoſt ſupped at that preſent: for it was paſt ſix of the Clock.

Brad. Before the Keeper, *Bradford* told *Weſton* again that ſtill he was one Man, and even as he was at the firſt; and till he ſhould ſee matter to teach his Conſcience the contrary, he ſaid he muſt needs ſo continue.

Keep. The Keeper deſired *Bradford* to hearken to M. Doctors Counſel, and prayed M. Doctor to be good unto him: and ſo after they had drunk together, M. Doctor with moſt gentle words took his leave for three days.

Now when he was gone, the Keeper told *Bradford*, that M. Doctor ſpake openly, how that he ſaw no cauſe why they ſhould burn him. Which Sentence, for the Ambiguity of the meaning, made him ſomewhat ſorry, leſt he had behaved himſelf in any thing, wherein he had gathered any conformableneſs to them in their Doctrine, which God knoweth, ſaith *Bradford*, I never as yet did. God our Father bleſs us, as his Children, and keep us from all evil for ever, Amen.

Another talk or Conference between Maſter Bradford *and Doctor* Weſton.

Another talk or conference between M. *Bradford* and D. Weſton.

UPon the fifth day of *April* came Mr. Doctor *Weſton* to the *Counter* about two of the Clock in the afternoon, who excuſed himſelf for being ſo long abſent; partly by ſickneſs, partly for that Doctor *Pendleton* told him that he would come unto him; and partly for that, quoth he, I withſtood certain Monks which would have come again into *Weſtminſter*; telling him moreover, how that the Pope was dead, and alſo declared unto him, how he had ſpoken to the Queen in his behalf, and how that death was not near to him.

D. Weſton withſtandeth the Monks coming into *Weſtminſter.*

Weſton Laſt of all, he excuſed himſelf for not anſwering his Arguments againſt Tranſubſtantiation; becauſe my coming to day, quoth he, was more by fortune, than of purpoſe.

Bradfords Arguments not anſwered.

Brad. I would gladly, Mr. Doctor, if it pleaſe you, ſee your Anſwers to my Arguments.

Weſton. Why? you have remembred ſomething that I ſpake to you, when I was laſt with you.

Brad. No Sir, I never call them in manner to mind, ſithence that time, as well becauſe I hoped you would have written them; as alſo for that they ſeemed not to be ſo material.

Weſt. In good Faith I cannot ſee any other or better way for you, than to ſubmit your ſelf to the Judgment of the Church.

Brad. Marry ſo will I, Sir, if ſo be by the Church you underſtand Chriſts Church.

The Papiſts will not have the Church Judged.

Weſt. Lo, you take upon you to judge the Church.

Brad. No, Sir, that I do not; in taking upon me to diſcern, I do not judge the Church.

Weſt. Yes that you do; and make it inviſible.

Brad. I do neither.

Weſt. Why, who can ſee your Church?

Brad. Thoſe Sir, that have Spiritual Eyes, wherewith they might have diſcerned Chriſts viſible converſation here upon Earth.

The Church is viſible but only to Spiritual Eyes.

Weſt. Nay, Chriſts Church hath three tokens, that all Men may look well upon: namely, Unity, Antiquity, and Conſent.

Unity, Antiquity, Conſent.

Brad. Theſe three may be as well in evil as in good, as well in Sin as in Vertue, as well in the Devils Church, as in Gods Church: As for an Example, Idolatry amongſt the Iſraelites had all thoſe three. *Chryſoſtom* telleth plainly, as you well know, that the Church is well known, *Tantummodo per Scripturas, Alonely by the Scriptures.*

Unity, Antiquity, Conſent, as well common to the Devils Church, as to Chriſts Church.

Weſt. In good Faith, you make your Church inviſible, when you will have it known alonely by the Scriptures.

Brad. No Sir, the Scriptures do plainly ſet forth to us the Church, that all Men may well enough thereby know her, if they liſt to look.

Weſt. The Church is like a *Tower* or Town that all Men may ſee.

Brad. True Sir, all Men that be not blind. Viſible enough is the Church, but Mens blindneſs is great. Impute not therefore to the Church, that which is to be Imputed to Mens blindneſs.

Why the Church is not ſeen.

Weſt. Where was your Church forty years ago? or where is it now? except in a corner of *Germany*?

Brad. Forſooth Sir, the Church of God is diſperſed, and not tyed to this or that place, but to the Word of God; ſo that where it is, there is Gods Church, if it be truly taught.

Weſton cometh in again with his Antiquity. The Church is tied to no place but to the word.

Weſt. Lo, is not this to make the Church inviſible? point me out a Realm a hundred years paſt, which maintained your Doctrine.

Brad. Sir, if you will, or would well mark the ſtate of the Church before Chriſts coming, with it now (as Saint *Paul* and *Peter* willeth us) I think you would not look for ſuch ſhews of the Church to be made, as to point it by Realms. You know that in *Helias* time, both in Iſrael, and elſewhere, Gods Church was not pointable; and therefore cried he out, that he was left alone.

The Church is not always to be pointed out by Realms and Countries. The Church in *Helias* time was not pointable.

Weſt. No marry, did not God ſay that there was 7000. which had not bowed their Knees to *Baal*? Lo then 7000. ſhew me 7000. a hundred years ago of your Religion.

Brad. Sir, theſe 7000. were not known to Men: for then *Helias* would not have ſaid, that he had been left alone. And it is plain enough by that which the Text hath, namely that God ſaith, *Reliqui mihi*, I have reſerved to me ſeven thouſand. Mark that it ſaith, God hath reſerved to himſelf, to his own knowledge; as I doubt not but a hundred years ago, God had his ſeven thouſand in his proper places, though Men knew not thereof.

God ſaved the Church in *Helias* time, although *Helias* himſelf did not ſee it: and ſo is it known.

Weſton. Well, M. *Bradford*, I will not make your caſe worſe, than for Tranſubſtantiation: although I know that we agree not in other matters. And I pray you make you it your ſelf not worſe. If I can do you good, I will: hurt you I will not. I am no Prince, and therefore I cannot promiſe you Life, except you will ſubmit your ſelf to the definition of the Church.

Brad. Sir, ſo that you will define me your Church, that under it you bring not in a falſe Church, you ſhall not ſee but that we ſhall ſoon be at a point.

Weſt. In good Faith Mr. *Bradford*, I ſee no good will be done, and therefore I will wiſh you as much good as I can, and hereafter I will perchance come or ſend to you again: and ſo he ſent for Mr. *Weal*, and departed.

Now after his departing, came the Keeper, M. *Claydon*, and *Stephen Bech*, and they were very hot with *Bradford*, and ſpake with him in ſuch ſort that he ſhould not look but to have them utter enemies unto him, notwithſtanding the friendſhip they both had hitherto pretended. God be with us, and what matter is it who be againſt thee.

Among divers which came to M. *Bradford* in Priſon, ſome to diſpute and confer, ſome to give Counſel, ſome to take comfort, and ſome to viſit him, there was a certain Gentlewomans Servant, which Gentlewoman had been cruelly afflicted, and miſerably handled by her Father & Mother & all her kindred, in her Fathers Houſe, for

This Gentlewoman is yet alive, to whom M. *Bradford* wrote a Letter which hereafter followeth.

not

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not coming to the Maſs, and like at length to have been purſued to death, had not the Lord delivered her out of her Fathers houſe, being put from all that ever ſhe had. This Gentlewomans Servant therefore, being ſent to Mr. *Bradford* with Commendations, had this talk with him, which I thought here not to over-ſlip.

A Colloquy between Mr. Bradford, *and a Gentlewomans Servant, being ſent to viſit him in Priſon.*

Talk between *Bradford* and a certain Gentlewomans ſervant.

THis Servant or Meſſenger of the foreſaid Gentlewoman coming to Mr. *Bradford*, and taking him by the hand, ſaid, God be thanked for you. How do you?

Brad. Mr. *Bradford* anſwered, Well, I thank God. For as men in ſayling, which be near to the Shore or Haven where they would be, would be nearer; even ſo the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be.

Serv. Sir, I have never ſeen you ſo ſtrong and healthſome of body, as me think you be now, God be thanked for it.

Brad. Why, quoth he, I have given over all care and ſtudy, and only do I covet to be talking with him, whom I have always ſtudied to be withal.

Serv. Well, God hath done much for you ſince the time that I firſt knew you, and hath wrought wonderouſly in you to his glory.

Brad. Truth it is, for he hath dealt favourably with me, in that he hath not puniſhed me according to my ſins, but hath ſuffered me to live, that I might ſeek Repentance.

Serv. Truly, we hear ſay, there is a Rod made ſo grievous, out of the which I think no man ſhall pluck his head.

Brad. Well, let all that be of Chriſts flock, arm themſelves to ſuffer: For I think verily, God will not have one of his to eſcape untouched, if he love him, let them ſeek what means or ways they can.

By this Frier he meaneth *Alphonſus* mentioned before.

Serv. Well Sir, there goeth talk of a Frier that ſhould preach before the King, and ſhould tell him, that he ſhould be guilty of the innocent blood that hath been ſhed of late.

Brad. Verily, quoth *Bradford*, I had a Book within theſe two days of his writing, and therein he ſaith, that it is not meet nor convenient that the Hereticks ſhould live; and therefore I do marvel how that talk ſhould riſe: for I have heard of it alſo, and I have alſo talked with this Frier (he is named Frier *Fonſo*) and with divers other, and I praiſe God they have confirmed me: for they have nothing to ſay but that which is moſt vain.

Alphonſus, otherwiſe called in the vulgar ſpeech Frier *Fonſo*.

Serv. Sir, Father *Cardmaker* hath him commended unto you.

Brad. How doth he, how doth he?

Serv. Well, God be thanked.

Brad. I am very glad thereof: for indeed my Lord Chancellor did caſt him in my teeth; but as *David* ſaith, God hath diſappointed him.

Serv. Forſooth, Gods Name be praiſed, he is very ſtrong.

Brad. And I truſt, ſo are we. What elſe? our quarrel is moſt juſt: therefore let us not be afraid.

Serv. My Miſtreſs hath her recommended unto you.

Brad. How doth ſhe?

A ſtory of a faithful woman and martyr in the primitive Church called *Juleddo*. Ex Baſilio.

Serv. Well, God, be praiſed, but ſhe hath been ſorer afflicted with her own Father and Mother, than ever you were with your Impriſonment, and yet God hath preſerved her, I truſt, to his glory.

Brad. I pray you tell her, I read this day a godly Hiſtory, written by *Baſilius Magnus*, of a vertuous woman which was a widow, and was named *Juleddo*. She had great Lands and many Children, and nigh her dwelled a Cormorant, which for her vertuouſneſs and godly living, had great indignation at her, and of very malice he took away her Lands, ſo that ſhe was conſtrained to go to the Law with him: and in concluſion, the matter came to the trial before the Judge, who demanded of this Tyrant why he wrongfully withheld theſe Lands from this woman? He made anſwer and ſaid, he might ſo do: for (ſaith he) this woman is diſobedient to the Kings proceedings; for ſhe will in no wiſe worſhip his gods nor offer Sacrifice unto them. Then the Judge hearing that, ſaid unto her, Woman, if this be true, thou art not only like to loſe thy Land, but alſo thy Life, unleſs that thou worſhip our gods, and do ſacrifice unto them. This godly woman hearing that, ſtept forth to the Judge, and ſaid, Is there no remedy but either to worſhip your falſe gods, or elſe to loſe my Lands and Life? Then farewel Suit, farewel Lands, farewel Children, farewel Friends, yea, and farewel Life too: and in reſpect of the true honour of the everliving God, farewel all. And with that ſaying did the Judge commit her to Priſon, and afterward ſhe ſuffered moſt cruel death: and being brought to the place of Execution, ſhe exhorted all women to be ſtrong and conſtant. For, ſaith ſhe, ye were redeemed with as dear a price as men. For although ye were made of the rib of the man, yet be you all of his fleſh: ſo that alſo, in the caſe and trial of your faith towards God, ye ought to be as ſtrong. And thus died ſhe conſtantly, not fearing death. I pray you tell your Miſtreſs of this Hiſtory.

Example of Juddis, martyr.

Serv. That ſhall I, Sir, by Gods grace: for ſhe told me that ſhe was with you and Mr. *Sanders*, and received your gentle counſel.

Brad. We never gave her other counſel but the truth, and in witneſs thereof, we have and will ſeal it with our bloods. For I thought this night that I had been ſent for, becauſe at eleven of the Clock there was ſuch rapping at the door.

M. Bradford nothing afraid of death.

Then anſwered a Maid, and ſaid, Why then I perceive you were afraid.

Brad. Ye ſhall hear how fearful I was. For I conſidered that I had not ſlept, and I thought to take a nap before I went: and after I was aſleep, theſe men came into the next Chamber, and ſang, as it was told me, and yet for all my fearfulneſs, I heard them not: therefore belike I was not afraid, that ſlept ſo faſt.

Serv. Do you lack any thing towards your neceſſity?

Brad. Nothing but your prayers, and I truſt I have them, and you mine.

Serv. I ſaw a Prieſt come to you to day in the morning.

Brad. Yea, he brought me a Letter from a Frier, and I am writing an anſwer.

Serv. Then we let you, therefore the living God be with you.

Brad. And with you alſo, and bleſs you.

Serv. Amen, ſaid we, and gave him thanks and departed.

THus ſtill in Priſon continued *Bradford*, until the month of *July*, in ſuch labours and ſufferings as he before always had ſuſtained in Priſon. But when the time of his determined death was come, he was ſuddenly conveighed out of the *Compter* where he was Priſoner, in the night ſeaſon to *Newgate*, as afore is declared, and from thence he was carried the next morning to *Smithfield*, where he conſtantly abiding in the ſame truth of God, which before he had confeſſed, earneſtly exhorting the People to repent, and to return to Chriſt, and ſweetly comforting the godly young ſpringal of nineteen or twenty years old, which was burned with him, chearfully he ended his painful life, to live with Chriſt.

M. Bradford had from the Counter to Newgate by night.

John Leaf burnt with *Bradford*.

WIth whom was burnt one *John Leaf* an Apprentice to *Humfrey Gawdy*, Tallow-Chandler, of the Pariſh of *Chriſt Church* in *London*, of the age of nineteen years and above, born at *Kirkly Moreſide*, in the County of *York*: who upon the *Friday* next before *Palm Sunday*, was committed to the *Compter* in *Breadſtreet*, by an Alderman of *London*, who had rule and charge of that Ward, or part of the City, where the ſaid *Leaf* did dwell. After, he coming to examination before *Boner*, gave a firm and chriſtian teſtimony of his Doctrine and Profeſſion, anſwering to ſuch Articles as were objected to him by the ſaid Biſhop.

John Leaf fellow martyr with M. Bradford.

John Leaf of the pariſh of *Chriſts Church*, by the Alderman of that ward committed to priſon.

Firſt, As touching his Belief and Faith in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, he anſwered, that after the words of Conſecration, ſpoken by the Prieſt over the Bread

John Leaf examined before Bp. Boner.

The anſwer of John Leaf concerning his Faith in the Sacrament.

and Wine, there was not the very true and natural Body and Blood of Chriſt in Subſtance; and further did hold and believe, that the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, as it is now called, uſed, and believed in this Realm of *England*, is idolatrous and abominable; and alſo ſaid further, that he believed, that after the words of Conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt over the material Bread and Wine, there is not the ſelf ſame Subſtance of Chriſts Body and Blood there contained; but Bread and Wine, as it was before: and further ſaid, that he believed, that when the Prieſt delivereth the ſaid material Bread and Wine to the Communicants, he delivereth but only * material Bread and Wine; and the Communicants do receive the ſame in remembrance of Chriſts Death and Paſſion, and ſpiritually in Faith they receive Chriſts Body and Blood, but not under the Forms of Bread and Wine; and alſo affirmed that he beleived Auricular Confeſſion not to be neceſſary to be made unto a Prieſt: for it is no point of Soul health, neither that the Prieſt hath any Authority given him by the Scripture to abſolve and remit any ſin.

* Only as touching the ſubſtance, but not as concerning the effect thereof.

Auricular Confeſſion. He meaneth after the Popiſh manner of remitting &c.

Upon theſe his Anſwers, and teſtimony of his Faith, he at that time being diſmiſſed, was bid the *Monday* next, being the tenth of *June*, to appear again in the ſaid place, there and then to hear the Sentence of his Condemnation; who ſo did. At what time the foreſaid Biſhop propounding the ſaid Articles again to him, as before, aſſaying by all manner of ways to revoke him to his own Trade, that is, from Truth to Error, notwithſtanding all his perſwaſions, threats, and promiſes, found him the ſame man ſtill, ſo planted upon the ſure Rock of Truth, that no words nor deeds of men could remove him.

John Leaf. Mr. Rogers's Scholar.

Then the Biſhop, after many words to and fro, at laſt asked him, if he had been Mr. *Rogers* Scholar? To whom the foreſaid *John Leaf* anſwered again, granting him ſo ſo to be, and that he the ſame *John* did believe in the Doctrine of the ſaid *Rogers*, and in the Doctrine of Biſhop *Hooper*, *Cardmaker*, and others of their Opinion, which of late were burned for the teſtimony of Chriſt, and that he would dye in that Doctrine that they died for: And after other replications again of the Biſhop, moving him to return to the Unity of the Church, he with a great courage of ſpirit, anſwered again in theſe words: My Lord, quoth he, you call mine opinion Hereſie, it is the true light of the Word of God: And again repeating the ſame, he profeſſed that he would never forſake his ſtaid and well grounded opinion, while the breath ſhould be in his body. Whereupon the Biſhop being too weak, either to refute his ſentence, or to remove his conſtancy, proceeded conſequently to read the Popiſh Sentence of cruel Condemnation; whereby this godly and conſtant young man, being committed to the Secular Power of the Sheriffs there preſent, was then adjudged, and not long after ſuffered the ſame day with Mr. *Bradford*, confirming with his death, that which he had ſpoken and profeſſed in his life. Anno 1555.

Sentence againſt John Leaf.

It is reported of the ſaid *John Leaf*, by one that was in the *Compter* the ſame time, and ſaw the thing, that after his Examinations before the Biſhop, when two Bills were ſent unto him in the *Compter* in *Breadſtreet*, the one containing a Recantation, the other his Confeſſions, to know to which of them he would put his hand, firſt hearing the Bill of Recantation read unto him (becauſe he could not read nor write himſelf) that he refuſed. And when the other was read unto him, which he well liked of, inſtead of a Pen he took a Pin, and ſo pricking his hand, ſprinkled the Blood upon the ſaid Bill, willing the Reader thereof to ſhew the Biſhop, that he had ſealed the ſame Bill with his Blood already.

John Leaf ſealed the Bill of his Confeſſions with his blood.

The behaviour of Mr. Bradford *Preacher, and the young man that ſuffered with him in* Smithfield, *named* John Leaf, *a Prentice, which both ſuffered for the teſtimony of Chriſt.*

FIrſt, when they came to the Stake in *Smithfield* to be burned, Mr. *Bradford* lying proſtrate on the one ſide of the Stake, and the young man *John Leaf* on the other ſide, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themſelves the ſpace of a minute of an hour. Then one of the Sheriffs ſaid to Mr. *Bradford*, Ariſe, and make an end; for the preſs of the People is great.

Bradford and *John Leaf* at the ſtake, how they behaved themſelves.

The deſcription of the burning of M. John Bradford Preacher, and John Leaf a Prentice.

At that word they both ſtood upon their feet, and then Mr *Bradford* took a Fagot in his hand, and kiſſed it, and ſo likewiſe the Stake. And when he had ſo done, he deſired of the Sheriffs, that his Servant might have his Raiment. For (ſaid he) I have nothing elſe to give him? and beſides that, he is a poor man. And the Sheriff ſaid he ſhould have it. And ſo forthwith Mr. *Bradford* did put off his Raiment, and went to the Stake: and holding up his hands, and caſting his countenance to Heaven, he ſaid thus, O England, England, *repent thee of thy ſins, repent thee of thy ſins. Beware of Idolatry, beware of falſe Antichriſts, take heed they do not deceive you.* And

The words of Mr. *Bradford* to *England.*

as

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as he was ſpeaking theſe words, the Sheriff bid tye his hands, if he would not be quiet. O Maſter Sheriff (ſaid Mr. *Bradford*) I am quiet: God forgive you this Maſter Sheriff. And one of the Officers which made the fire, hearing Mr. *Bradford* ſo ſpeaking to the Sheriff, ſaid, If you have no better learning then that, you are but a fool, and were beſt hold your peace. To the which words Mr. *Bradford* gave no anſwer; but asked all the world forgiveneſs, and forgave all the world, and prayed the people to pray for him, and turned his head unto the young man that ſuffered with him, and ſaid; Be of good comfort Brother; for we ſhall have a merry Supper with the Lord this night: And ſo ſpake no more words that any man did hear, but imbracing the Reeds, ſaid thus; *Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate that leadeth to eternal ſalvation, and few there be that find it.*

The ſaying of *M. Bradford* at his death.

And thus they both ended their mortal lives, moſt like two Lambs, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the price of the Game that they had long run at; to the which I beſeech Almighty God happily to conduct us, through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, Amen.

TOuching Mr. *Woodroſe* the Sheriff, mention is made a little before how churliſhly here he anſwered Mr. *Bradford* at the Stake, not ſuffering him to ſpeak, but commanding his hands to be tied, &c. The like extremity or worſe, he uſed alſo before to Mr. *Rogers*, whereof ye have heard before.

Difference between two Sheriffs, *M. Cheſter* and *M. Woodroſe.*

The ſaid *Woodroſe* Sheriff, above mentioned, was joyned in Office with another, called Sir *William Cheſter*, for the year 1555. Between theſe two Sheriffs ſuch difference there was of Judgment and Religion, that the one, that is, Mr *Woodroſe*, was wont commonly to laugh, the other to ſhed tears at the death of Chriſts People. And whereas the other was wont to reſtrain, and to beat the People, which were deſirous to take them by the hands that ſhould be burned: the other Sheriff contrariwiſe again with much ſorrow and mildneſs behaved himſelf, which I wiſh here to be ſpoken and known to the commendation of him, although I do not greatly know the party.

Sir W. *Cheſter* commended.

Furthermore, here by the way to note the ſevere puniſhment of Gods hand againſt the ſaid *Woodroſe*, as againſt all ſuch cruel Perſecutors, ſo it hapned, that within half a year after the burning of this bleſſed Martyr, the ſaid Sheriff was ſo ſtricken on the right ſide with ſuch a palſie, or ſtroke of Gods hand whatſoever it was, that for the ſpace of eight years after, till his dying day, he was not able to turn himſelf in his Bed, but as two men with a ſheet were fain to ſtir him; and withal ſuch an inſatiable devouring came upon him, that it was monſtrous to ſee. And thus continued he the ſpace of eight years together.

A notable example of Gods hand upon *M. Woodroſe.*

In mortem Johannis Bradfordi conſtantiſſimi Martyris.

Epitaphium in Joan. Bradfordum per Joan Fricum.

Diſcipulo nulli ſupra licet eſſe magiſtrum;
Quique Deo ſervit, triſtia multa feret.
Corripit omnipotens natum quem diligit omnem;
Ad cœlum ſtricta eſt difficiliſque via.
Hai, Bradforde, tuo dum condis pectore voces,
Non hominum rigidas terribileſque minas,
Sed nec blanditias, non vim, nec vincula curas,
Tradis & accenſæ membra cremenda pyræ.

Here follow the Letters of Mr. Bradford.

The letters of *M. Bradford.*

THis godly *Bradford* and heavenly Martyr, during the time of his Impriſonment, wrote ſundry comfortable Treatiſes, and many godly Letters, of which, ſome he wrote to the City of *London*, *Cambridge*, *Walden*, to *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*, and divers to his other private Friends. By the which foreſaid Letters, to the intent it may appear how godly this man occupied his time being Priſoner, what ſpecial zeal he bear to the ſtate of Chriſts Church, what care he had to perform his Office, how earneſtly he admoniſhed all men, how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted, how faithfully he confirmed them whom he had taught, I thought here good to place the ſame: and although to exhibit here all the Letters that he wrote (being in number ſo many, that they are able to fill a Book) it cannot well be compaſſed, yet nevertheleſs we mind to excerpt the principal of them, referring the Reader for the reſidue to the Book of Letters of the Martyrs, where they may be found.

Read the book of Letters of the Martyrs.

And firſt, forſomuch as ye heard in the ſtory before, how the Earl of *Derby* complained in the Parliament Houſe, of certain Letters written of *John Bradford* out of Priſon, to *Lancaſhire*, and alſo he was charged both of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and of Mr. *Allen* with ſome Letters; to the intent the Reader more perfectly may underſtand what Letters they were, being written indeed to his Mother, Brethren, and Siſters, out of the *Tower*, before his Condemnation, we will begin firſt with the ſame Letters; the Copy, with the Contents whereof, is this, as followeth.

The copy of *M. Bradfords* letter wherefore of the Earl of Derby complained in the Parliament.

A comfortable Letter of Mr. Bradford *to his Mother, a godly Matron, dwelling in* Manchester, *and to his Brethren and Siſters, and other of his Friends there.*

A letter of *M. Bradford* to his mother, brethren, & ſiſters.

OUr dear and ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe Priſoner at this preſent (praiſed be his Name therefore) I am, preſerve and keep you my good Mother, with my Brothers and Siſters, my Father *John Traves*, *Thomas Sorrocold*, *Laurence* and *James Bradſhaw*, with their Wives and Families, &c. now and for ever, Amen.

I am at this preſent in Priſon, ſure enough for ſtarting, to confirm that I have preached unto you: as I am ready (I thank God) with my life and blood to ſeal the ſame, if God vouchſafe me worthy of that honour. For, good Mother and Brethren, it is a moſt ſpecial benefit of God, to ſuffer for his Names ſake and Goſpel, as now I do: I heartily thank God for it, and am ſure that with him I ſhall be partaker of his glory, as *Paul* ſaith, *If we ſuffer with him, we ſhall reign with him.* Therefore be not faint-hearted, but rather rejoyce, at the leaſt for my ſake which now am in the right and high way to Heaven: for by many Afflictions we muſt enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Now will God make known his Children. When the wind doth not blow, then cannot a man know the Wheat from the Chaff; but when the blaſt cometh, then flieth away the Chaff, but the Wheat remaineth, and is ſo far from being hurt, that by the wind it is more cleanſed from the Chaff, and known to be Wheat. Gold when it is caſt into the fire, is the more precious; ſo are Gods Children by the Croſs of Affliction. Always God beginneth his Judgment at his Houſe. Chriſt and the Apoſtles were in moſt miſery in the Land of *Jewry*, but yet the whole Land ſmarted for it after: ſo now Gods Children are firſt chaſtiſed in this world, that they ſhould not be damned with the world: for ſurely, great Plagues of God hang over this Realm.

2 Tim. 2.

Acts 14.

God begin-eth his judgment with his own houſe.

Ye all know there was never more knowledge of God, and leſs godly living, and true ſerving of God. It was counted a fooliſh thing to ſerve God truly, and earneſt Prayer was not paſt upon. Preaching was but a paſtime. The Communion was counted too common. Faſting to ſubdue the fleſh, was far out of uſe. Alms was almoſt nothing. Malice, Covetouſneſs, and Uncleanneſs was common every where, with Swearing, Drunkenneſs, and Idleneſs. God therefore now is come, and you have heard me preach, and becauſe he will not damn us with the world, he beginneth to puniſh us: as me for carnal living. For, as for my preaching, I am moſt certain it is and was Gods Truth, and I truſt to give my life for it by Gods grace: but becauſe I loved not the Goſpel truly, but outwardly, therefore doth he thus puniſh me; nay rather in puniſhing bleſſeth me. And indeed I thank him more of this Priſon, than of any Parlour, yea, than of any pleaſure that ever I had: for in it I find God my moſt ſweet good God always. The fleſh is puniſhed, firſt to admoniſh us now heartily to live as we profeſs; ſecondly to certifie the wicked of their juſt damnation, if they repent not.

Complaint of the carnal and wicked life among Goſpellers.

The cauſe why God firſt puniſheth his in this world.

Perchance you are weakned in that which I have preached, becauſe God doth not defend it, as you think, but ſuffereth the *Popiſh Doctrine* to come again and prevail: but you muſt know, good Mother, that God by this doth prove and try his Children and People, whether they will unfeignedly and ſimply hang on him and his Word. So did he with the Iſraelites, bringing them into a

God uſeth to prove and try his children.

Deſert, after their coming out of *Egypt*, where (I mean the Wilderneſs) was want of all things, in compariſon of that which they had in *Egypt*. Chriſt, when he came into this World, brought no worldy Wealth, nor quietneſs with him, but rather war, *The World* (ſaith he) *ſhall rejoyce, but ye ſhall mourn and weep, but your weeping ſhall be turned into joy: and therefore happy are they that mourn and weep, for they ſhall be comforted.* They are marked then with Gods mark in their foreheads, and not with the Beaſts mark, I mean the Popes ſhavenCrown, who now with his ſhavelings rejoyce: but wo unto them; for they ſhall be caſt down, they ſhall weep and mourn. The rich Glutton had here his joy, and *Lazarus* ſorrow, but afterwards the time was changed. The end of carnal joy is ſorrow. Now let the Whoremonger joy with the Drunkard, Swearer, Covetous, Malicious, and blind buzzard Sir *John*: for the Maſs will not bite them, neither make them to bluſh, as preaching would. Now may they do what they will, come Devils to the Church, and go Devils home, for no man muſt find fault. And they are glad of this; now they have their hearts deſire, as the *Sodomites* had when *Lot* was gone, but what followed? Forſooth when they cried peace, all ſhall be well, then came Gods vengeance, fire and brimſtone from Heaven, and burnt up every Mothers Child; even ſo (dear Mother) will it do to our Papiſts.

John 1 9.

Of this place the Earl of *Derby* ſeemeth to take hold, complaining that he curſeth them that teacheth any falſe doctrine, &c. The Maſs rebuketh no ſin, nor ſhameth conſciences, as preaching doth.

Wherefore fear God; ſtick to his Word though all the World ſwerve from it. Dye you muſt once, and when, or how, can you not tell. Dye therefore with Chriſt, ſuffer for ſerving him truly and after his Word: for ſure may we be, that of all deaths it is moſt to be deſired to dye for Gods ſake. This is the moſt ſafe kind of dying, we cannot doubt but that we ſhall go to Heaven, if we dye for his Names ſake. And that you ſhall dye for his Names ſake, Gods Word will warrant you, if you ſtick to that which God by me hath taught you. You ſhall ſee that I ſpeak as I think; for by Gods grace I will drink before you of this Cup, if I be put to it.

The beſt death of all deaths, is to die for Gods ſake.

I doubt not but God will give me his grace, and ſtrengthen me thereunto: pray that he would, and that I refuſe it not. I am at a point, even when my Lord God will, to come to him. Death nor Life, Priſon nor Pleaſure, I truſt in God, ſhall be able to ſeparate me from my Lord God and his Goſpel. In Peace, when no Perſecution was, then were you content and glad to hear me, then did you believe me, and will ye not do ſo now, ſeeing I ſpeak that which I truſt by Gods grace, if need be, to verifie with my life? Good Mother, I write before God to you, as I have preached before him.

It is Gods Truth I have taught: It is that ſame infallible Word whereof he ſaid, *Heaven and Earth ſhall paſs, but my word ſhall not paſs.* The Maſs and ſuch Baggage as the falſe worſhippers of God, and enemies of Chriſts Croſs (the Papiſts I ſay) have brought in again, to poyſon the Church of God withal, diſpleaſeth God highly, and is abominable in his ſight. Happy may be he which of Conſcience ſuffereth loſs of Life or Goods in diſallowing it. Come not at it. If God be God, follow him: If the Maſs be God, let them that will ſee it, hear, or be preſent at it, and go to the Devil with it. What is there as God ordained? His Supper was ordained to be received of us in the memorial of his Death, for the confirmation of our Faith, that his Body was broken for us, and his Blood ſhed for pardon of our ſins; but in the Maſs there is no receiving, but the Prieſt keepeth all to himſelf alone. Chriſt ſaith, *Take, eat*: No, ſaith the Prieſt, Gape, peep. There is a ſacrificing, yea killing of Chriſt again as much as they may. There is Idolatry in worſhipping the outward ſign of Bread and Wine; there is all in Latin, you cannot tell what he ſaith. To conclude, there is nothing as God ordained. Wherefore (my good Mother) come not at it.

The Maſs is a poyſon to the Church.

Compariſon between the Lords Supper and the Maſs.

Oh, will ſome ſay, it will hinder you, if you refuſe to come to Maſs, and to do as other do. But God will further you (be you aſſured) as you ſhall one day find: who hath promiſed to them that ſuffer hinderance or loſs of any thing in this world, his great bleſſing here, and in the world to come life everlaſting.

Doubts and Objections anſwered. Matth. 19.

You ſhall be counted an Heretick: but not of others then of Hereticks, whoſe praiſe is a diſpraiſe.

You are not able to reaſon againſt the Prieſts, but God will, that all they ſhall not be able to withſtand you. No body will do ſo but you only. Indeed no matter, for few enter into the narrow Gate which bringeth to ſalvation. Howbeit, you ſhall have with you (I doubt not) Father *Traves*, and other my Brothers and Siſters, to go with you therein: but if they will not, I your ſon in God, I truſt, ſhall not leave you an inch, but go before you: pray that I may, and give thanks for me. Rejoyce in my ſuffering, for it is for your ſakes to confirm the truth I have taught. Howſoever you do, beware this Letter come not abroad, but into Father *Traves* his hands: for if it ſhould be known that I have Pen and Ink in the Priſon, then would it be worſe with me. Therefore to your ſelves keep this Letter, commending me to God and his Mercy in Chriſt Jeſus, who make me worthy for his Names ſake, to give my life for his Goſpel and Church ſake. Out of the *Tower* of *London*, the ſixth day of *October*, 1553.

Anno 1555.

For all this Caveat, yet this Letter came to the Earl of *Derbies* knowledge.

My Name I write not for cauſes, you know it well enough: Like the Letter never the worſe. Commend me to all our good Brethren and Siſters in the Lord. Howſoever you do, be obedient to the higher Powers, that is, in no point, either in hand or tongue rebel, but rather if they command that which with good Conſcience you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and ſuffer whatſoever they ſhall do or ſay. By patience poſſeſs your ſouls.

After the time that Mr. *Bradford* was condemned, and ſent to the *Compter*, it was purpoſed of his Adverſaries (as ye heard before) that he ſhould be had to *Mancheſter* where he was born, and there be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the City of *London*, thinking to take his laſt *Vale* of them in this Letter.

To the City of London.

A fruitful Letter of Mr. *Bradford* to the City of *London*.

TO all that profeſs the Goſpel and true Doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in the City of *London*, *John Bradford* a moſt unworthy Servant of the Lord, now not only in Priſon, but alſo excommunicated and condemned to be burned for the ſame true Doctrine, wiſheth Mercy, Grace, and Peace, with increaſe of all godly knowledge and piety from God the Father of Mercy, through the Merits of our alone and omniſufficient Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, by the operation of the Holy Spirit for ever, Amen.

My dearly beloved Brethren in our Saviour Chriſt, although the time I have to live is very little (for hourly I look when I ſhould be had hence to be conveighed into *Lancaſhire*, there to be burned, and to render my life by the Providence of God, where I firſt received it by the ſame Providence) and although the charge is great to keep me from all things whereby I might ſignifie any thing to the world of my ſtate: yet having, as now I have, Pen and Ink, through Gods working, maugre the Head of Satan and his Souldiers, I thought good to write a ſhort Confeſſion of my Faith, and thereto joyn a little Exhortation unto you all, to live according to your Profeſſion.

Firſt, For my Faith, I do confeſs and pray all the whole Congregation of Chriſt to bear witneſs with me of the ſame, that I believe conſtantly, through the gift and goodneſs of GOD, (for Faith is Gods only gift) all the twelve Articles of the Symbol and Creed, commonly attributed to the Collection of the Apoſtles. This my Faith I would gladly particularly declare and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the ſimple; but alas? by ſtarts and ſtealth I write in manner that I write, and therefore I ſhall deſire you all to take this brevity in good part. And this Faith I hold, not becauſe of the Creed it ſelf, but becauſe of the Word of God, the which teacheth and confirmeth every Article accordingly. This Word of God written by the Prophets and Apoſtles, left and contained in the Canonical Books of the whole Bible, I do believe to contain plentifully all things neceſſary to Salvation, ſo that nothing (as neceſſary to Salvation) ought to be added thereto, and therefore the Church of Chriſt, nor none of his Congregation ought to be burdened with any other Doctrine, then which hereout hath his foundation and ground. In teſtimony of this Faith, I render and give my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the Antichriſt of *Rome* to be Chriſts Vicar general and ſupream Head of his Catholick and Univerſal Church here or elſe-

Antichriſt of *Rome* not to be Chriſts general Vicar.

where

Anno 1555.

where upon Earth; as for denying the horrible and idolatrous Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, and Chriſts real, corporal, and carnal Preſence in his Supper, under the forms and accidents of Bread and Wine.

Tranſubſtantiation a doctrine of Idolatry.

To believe Chriſt our Saviour to be the Head of his Church, and Kings in their Realms to be the Supream Powers, to whom every Soul oweth Obedience, and to believe that in the Supper of Chriſt (which the Sacrament of the Altar, as the Papiſts call it, and uſe it, doth utterly overthrow) is a true and very Preſence of whole Chriſt, God and Man, to the faith of the Receiver, but not to the ſtander by and looker upon, as it is a true and very Preſence of Bread and Wine to the Senſes of men: to believe this (I ſay) will not ſerve, and therefore as an Heretick I am condemned, and ſhall be burned; whereof I ask God heartily mercy that I do no more rejoyce than I do, having ſo great cauſe, as to be an Inſtrument wherein it may pleaſe my dear Lord God and Saviour to ſuffer.

The Sacrament of the Altar quite overthroweth the Lords Supper. Chriſt wholly preſent to the faith of the receiver.

For albeit my manifold ſins, even ſince I came into Priſon, have deſerved at the hands of God, not only this Temporal, but alſo Eternal fire in Hell, much more then my former ſinful life, which the Lord pardon for his Chriſts ſake, as I know he of his mercy hath done, and never will lay mine Iniquities to my charge, to condemnation, ſo great is his goodneſs, (praiſed therefore be his Holy Name) although (I ſay) my manifold and grievous late ſins have deſerved moſt juſtly all the tyranny that Man or Devil can do unto me; and therefore I confeſs that the Lord is juſt, and that his Judgments be true and deſerved on my behalf: yet the Biſhops and Prelates do not perſecute them in me, but Chriſt himſelf, his Word, his Truth, and Religion. And therefore I have great cauſe, yea moſt great cauſe to rejoyce that ever I was born, and hitherto kept of the Lord; that by my death, which is deſerved for my ſins, it pleaſeth the heavenly Father to glorifie his Name, to teſtifie his Truth, to confirm his Verity, to repugn his Adverſaries. O good God and merciful Father, forgive my great unthankfulneſs, eſpecially herein.

God puniſheth his people for one thing: but men perſecute them for another.

Bradford ſorry that he doth not more rejoyce dying in ſo good a quarrell.

And you, my dearly Beloved, for the Lord Jeſus Chriſts ſake, I humbly and heartily in his Bowels and Blood do now, for my laſt *Vale* and Farewel in this preſent life, beſeech you, and every of you, that you will conſider this work of the Lord accordingly: Firſt by me be admoniſhed to beware of Hypocriſie and Carnal Security; profeſs not the Goſpel with tongue and lips only, but in heart and verity; frame and faſhion your lives accordingly; beware Gods Name be not evil ſpoken of, and the Goſpel leſs regarded by y our Converſation. God forgive me that I have not ſo heartily profeſſed it as I ſhould have done, but have ſought much my ſelf therein. The Goſpel is a new Doctrine to the old man; it is new wine; and therefore cannot be put in old bottels, without more great hurt, then good to the bottles. If we will talk with the Lord, we muſt put off our ſhooes and carnal affections; if we will hear the voice of the Lord, we muſt waſh our garments and be holy; if we will be Chriſts Diſciples, we muſt deny our ſelves, take up our Croſs and follow Chriſt; we cannot ſerve two Maſters. If we ſeek Chriſts Kingdom, we muſt ſeek for the righteouſneſs thereof. To this Petition (*Let thy Kingdom come*) we muſt joyn, *Thy will be done*, done *on Earth as it is in Heaven*. If we will not be doers of the word, but hearers of it only, we ſore deceive our ſelves. If we hear the Goſpel, and love it not, we declare our ſelves to be but fools, and builders upon the ſand. The Lords Spirit hateth feigning; deceitfulneſs the Lord abhorreth; if we come to him, we muſt beware that we come not with a double heart; for then may chance that God will anſwer us according to the block which is in our heart, and ſo we ſhall deceive our ſelves and others.

A leſſon againſt carnal ſecurity.

The Goſpel is a new Doctrine to the old man.

Chriſtian profeſsion requireth Chriſtian converſation.

Faith would be coupled ever with a good conſcience.

To Faith ſee that we couple a good Conſcience, leſt we make a ſhipwrack. To the Lord we muſt come with fear and reverence. If we will be Goſpellers, we muſt be Chriſts; if we be Chriſts, we muſt crucifie our fleſh with the luſts and concupiſcences thereof; if we will be under grace, ſin muſt not bear rule in us. We may not come to the Lord, and draw nigh to him with our lips, and leave our hearts elſewhere, leſt the Lords wrath wax hot, and he take from us the good remaining. In no caſe can the Kingdom of Chriſt approach to them that repent not. Therefore, my dearly Beloved, let us repent and be heartily ſorry that we have ſo carnally, ſo hypocritically, ſo covetouſly, ſo vain-gloriouſly profeſſed the Goſpel. For all theſe I confeſs my ſelf, to the glory of God, that he may cover mine offences in the day of Judgment. Let the anger and plagues of God moſt juſtly faln upon us, be applied to every one of our deſerts, that from the bottom of our hearts, every of us may ſay, It is I, Lord, that have ſinned againſt thee: it is my hypocriſie, my vain-glory, my covetouſneſs, uncleanneſs, carnality, ſecurity, idleneſs, unthankfulneſs, ſelf-love, and ſuch like, which have deſerved the taking away of our good King, of thy Word and true Religion, of thy good Miniſters by exile, priſonment, and death; it is my wickedneſs that cauſeth ſucceſs and increaſe of authority and peace to thine Enemies. Oh be merciful, be merciful unto us. Turn to us again, O Lord of Hoſts, and turn us unto thee; correct us, but not in thy fury, leſt we be conſumed in thine anger; chaſtiſe us not in thy wrathful diſpleaſure; reprove us not, but in the midſt of thine anger remember thy mercy. For if thou mark what is done amiſs, who ſhall be able to abide it? But with thee is mercifulneſs, that thou mighteſt be worſhipped. Oh then be merciful unto us, that we might truly worſhip thee. Help us, for the glory of thy Name: be merciful unto our ſins, for they are great: O heal us, and help us for thine honour. Let not the wicked people ſay, Where is their God, &c.

He exhorteth to repentance.

Our ſins provoke perſecution.

He exhorteth to pray, and how to pray with repentance.

On this ſort, my right dearly Beloved, let us heartily bewail our ſins, repent us of our former evil life, heartily and earneſtly purpoſe to amend our lives in all things, continually watch in prayer, diligently and reverently attend, hear, and read the holy Scriptures, labour after our Vocation to amend our Brethren. Let us reprove the works of darkneſs. Let us fly from all Idolatry. Let us abhor the Antichriſtian and Romiſh rotten Service, deteſt the Popiſh Maſs, abrenounce their Romiſh god, prepare our ſelves to the Croſs, be obedient to all that are in Authority in all things that be not againſt God and his Word, for then Anſwer with the Apoſtles, *It is more meet to obey God than man.* Howbeit never for any thing reſiſt, or riſe againſt the Magiſtrates. Avenge not your ſelves, but commit your cauſe to the Lord, to whom vengeance pertaineth, and he in his time will reward it. If you feel in your ſelves an hope and truſt in God, that he will never tempt you above that he will make you able to bear, be aſſured the Lord will be true to you; and you ſhall be able to bear all brunts. But if you want this hope, fly and get you hence, rather than by your tarrying Gods Name ſhould be diſhonoured.

Praying, hearing, and reading the holy Scriptures.

Obedience to Magiſtrates in all that is not againſt Gods Word.

Patience.

In ſum, caſt your care on the Lord, knowing for moſt certain, that he is careful for you; with him all the hairs of your head are numbred, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh without his good pleaſure and will: much more then, nothing ſhall happen to our bodies, which ſhall not be profitable, howſoever for a time it ſeem otherwiſe to your ſenſes. Hang on the Providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but alſo when you have no means, yea when all means be againſt you. Give him this honour, which of all other things he moſt chiefly requireth at your hands: namely, believe that you are his Children through Chriſt, that he is your Father and God through him, that he loveth you, pardoneth you all your offences, that he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for ever. When you fall, he will put under his hand, you ſhall not lye ſtill: before you call upon him he heareth you, out of the evil he will finally bring you, and deliver you to his eternal joy. Doubt not, my dearly beloved, herein, doubt not (I ſay) this will God your Father do for you, not in reſpect of your ſelves, but *in reſpect of* Chriſt your Captain, your Paſtor, your Keeper, out of whoſe hands none ſhall be able to catch you, *in him be quiet*, and often conſider your dignity: namely, how that ye be Gods Children, the Saints of God, Citizens of Heaven, Temples of the Holy Ghoſt, the Thrones of God, Members of Chriſt, and Lords over all.

We ought to depend upon Gods providence always.

All our hope is only in Chriſt and for his ſake to be received.

Therefore be aſhamed to think, ſpeak, or do any thing that ſhould be unſeemly for Gods Children, Gods Saints, Chriſts Members, &c. Marvel not though the Devil and the World hate you, though ye be perſecuted here, for the Servant is not above his Maſter. Covet not earthly Riches, fear not the power of man, love not this world,

To bear the Croſs.

Mortification.

nor things that be in this world; but long for the Lord Jesus his coming, at which time your Bodies shall be made like unto his glorious Body, when he appeareth you shall be like unto him; when your life shall thus be revealed, then shall ye appear with him in glory.

In the mean season live in hope thereof. Let the life you lead be in the faith of the Son of God: *For the just doth live by faith*: which faith flieth from all evil, and followeth the Word of God as a Lanthorn to her feet, and a Light to her steps; her eyes be above where Christ is, she beholdeth not the things present, but rather things to come; she glorieth in Affliction; she knoweth that the Afflictions of this life are not like to be compared to the Glory which God will reveal to us, and *in* us. Of this Glory God grant us here a lively taste; then shall we run after the scent it sendeth forth. It will make us valiant men to take to us the Kingdom of God; whether the Lord of Mercy bring us in his good time through Christ our Lord, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen.

We must live in the faith of Christ. The property of faith.

My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given here my Body to have been burned for the confirmation of the true Doctrine I have taught here unto you. But that my Country must have. Therefore I pray you take in good part this signification of my good will towards every of you. Impute the want herein to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offensive and negligent behaviour when I was amongst you. With me repent, and labour to amend. Continue in the Truth which I have truly taught unto you by preaching in all places where I have come; Gods Name therefore be praised. Confess Christ when you be called, whatsoever cometh thereof, and the God of Peace be with us all, Amen. This 11. of *February*, 1555.

Your Brother in bonds for the Lords sake,
John Bradford.

To the University and Town of Cambridge.

Another letter of M. Bradford to the University of Cambridge.

TO all that love the Lord Jesus and his true Doctrine, being in the University and Town of *Cambridge*, *John Bradford* a most unworthy Servant of the Lord, now not only prisoned, but also condemned for the same true Doctrine, wisheth grace, peace, and mercy, with increase of all godliness from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody Passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the lively working of the holy Spirit for ever, Amen.

Although I look hourly when I should be had to the Stake (my right dearly beloved in the Lord) and although the charge over me is great and streight, yet having by the Providence of God secretly Pen and Ink, I could not but something signifie unto you my solicitude which I have for you and every of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You have often and openly heard the truth (specially in this matter wherein I am condemned) disputed and preached, that it is needless to do any more but only to put you in remembrance of the same: but hitherto have you not heard it confirmed, and as it were sealed up, as now you do and shall hear by me, that is, by my death and burning. For albeit I have deserved (through my uncleanness, hypocrisie, avarice, vain-glory, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnality, whereof I accuse my self, to my confusion before the world, that before God through Christ I might, as my assured hope is I shall, find mercy) eternal death, and hell fire, much more than this affliction and fire prepared for me: yet, my dearly beloved, it is not these, or any of these things, wherefore the Prelates do persecute me, but Gods verity and truth; yea, even Christ himself is the only cause and thing wherefore I am now condemned, and shall be burned as an Heretick, because I will not grant the Antichrist of *Rome* to be Christs Vicar general and supream Head of his Church here, and every where upon earth, by Gods Ordinance, and because I will not grant such corporal, real, and carnal Presence of Christs Body and Blood in the Sacrament, as doth transubstantiate the substance of Bread and Wine, and is received of the wicked, yea of Dogs and Mice. Also I am excommunicated, & counted as a dead Member of Christs Church, as a rotten Branch, and therefore shall be cast into the fire.

The Martyrs persecuted of the Prelates not for their sins, but only for Christ. The cause of his condemnation declared.

Therefore ye ought heartily to rejoyce with me, and to give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father hath vouchsafed our Mother to bring up any Child in whom it would please him to magnifie his holy Name as he doth, and I hope for his mercies and truths sake, will do in me, and by me. Oh, what such benefit upon earth can it be, as that I, which deserved death by reason of my sins, should be delivered to a demonstration, a testification, and confirmation of Gods verity and truth? Thou my Mother the University hast not only had the truth of Gods Word plainly manifested unto thee by reading, disputing and preaching publickly and privately; but now to make thee altogether excuseless, and as it were, almost to sin against the Holy Ghost, if thou put to thy helping hand with the Romish rout to suppress the verity, and set out the contrary, thou hast my life and blood as a Seal to confirm thee, if thou wilt be confirmed, or else to confound thee, and bear witness against thee, if thou wilt take part with the Prelates and Clergy, which now fill up the measure of their Fathers which slew the Prophets and Apostles, that all the righteous blood from *Abel* to *Bradford*, shed upon earth, may be required at their hands.

A.D. 1555.

A great mercy of God to turn the death of his Saints justly deserved to serve for a confirmation of his own glory.

Of this therefore I thought good before my death, as time and liberty would suffer me (for love and duty I bear unto thee) to admonish thee good Mother, and my Sister the Town, that you would call to mind from whence you are faln, and study to do the first works. You know (if you will) these matters of the * Romish Supremacy, and the Antichristian Transubstantiation, whereby Christs Supper is overthrown, his Priesthood evacuate, his Sacrifice frustrate, the Ministery of his Word unplaced, Repentance repelled, Faith fainted, Godliness extinguished, the Mass maintained, Idolatry supported, and all impiety cherished: you know I say (if you will) that these Opinions are not only besides Gods Word, but even directly against it, and therefore to take part with them, is to take part against God, against whom you cannot prevail.

Circumstances beneficiorum moniti.

* Read before the letter of *Cambridge* to King *Henry* 8.

Therefore for the tender mercy of Christ, in his bowels and blood I beseech you, to take Christs *Collyrium* and Eye-salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see what you do and have done in admitting (as I hear you have admitted, yea alas, authorized, and by consent confirmed) the Romish rotten rags, which once you utterly expelled. O be not *Canis reversus ad vomitum*. Be not * *Sus lota reversa ad volutabrum cœni*. Beware lest the Satan enter in with seven other Spirits, and then *postrema* shall be worse then the first. It had been better ye had never known the truth, then after knowledge to run from it. Ah, wo to this world and the things therein, which hath now so wrought with you. Oh that ever this dirt of the Devil should daub up the eye of the Realm. For thou, O Mother, art as the eye of the Realm. If thou be light and give shine, all the Body shall fare the better: But if thou the light be darkness, alas how great will the darkness be? What is man whose breath is in his nostrels, that thou should thus be afraid of him?

* The dog returned to his own vomit: The Sow that was washed returned to her wallowing in the mire. 2 Pet. 2.

Oh what is honour and life here? Bubbles. What is glory in this world, but shame? Why art thou afraid to carry Christs Cross? Wilt thou come into his Kingdom, and not drink of his Cup? Dost thou not know *Rome* to be *Babylon*? Dost thou not know that as the old *Babylon* had the Children of *Judah* in Captivity, so hath this *Rome* the true *Judah*, that is, the Confessors of Christ? Dost thou not know that as destruction hapned unto it, so shall it do unto this? And troweſt thou that God will not deliver his People now when the time is come, as he did then? Hath not God commanded his People to come out from her? and wilt thou give ensample to the whole Realm to run unto her? Hast thou forgotten the wo that Christ threatneth to offence givers? Wilt thou not remember that it were better that a Millstone were hanged about thy neck, and thou thrown into the Sea, then that thou shouldst offend the little ones?

The glory of this world is a vain thing.

Babylon hath Judah in captivity.

And alas, how hast thou offended? Yea, and how dost thou still offend? Wilt thou consider things according to the outward shew? Was not the Synagogue more seemly and like to be the true Church, then the simple Flock of Christs Disciples? Hath not the Whore of *Babylon* more costly Aray, and rich Apparel externally to set forth her self, then the homely Housewife of Christ?

The Church standeth not in the outward shew.

Where

Anno 1555.

where is the beauty of the Kings Daughter the Church of Christ? Without or within? Doth not *David* say, within? O remember that as they are happy which are not offended at Christ, so are they happy which are not offended at his poor Church. Can the Pope and his Prelates mean honestly, which make so much of the Wife and so little of the Husband? The Church they magnifie, but Christ they contemn. If this Church were an honest Woman (that is, Christs Wife) except they would make much of her Husband, Christ and his Word, she would not be made much of them.

Custom, Unity, Antiquity Consent of Multitude are marks deceivable.

When Christ and his Apostles were upon earth, who was more like to be the true Church, they or the Prelates, Bishops, and Synagogue? If a Man should have followed custom, unity, antiquity, or the more part, should not Christ and his company have been cast out of the doors? Therefore bade Christ, Search the Scriptures. And, good Mother, shall the Servant be above his Master? Shall we look for other entertainment at the hands of the World, then Christ and his dear Disciples found? Who was taken in *Noah's* time for the Church? Poor *Noah* and his Family, or others? Who was taken for Gods Church in *Sodom*? *Lot*, or others? and doth not Christ say; As it was then, so shall it go now towards the coming of the Son of Man? What meaneth Christ when he saith; Iniquity shall have the upper hand? Doth not he tell, that Charity shall wax cold? And who seeth not a wonderful great lack of Charity in those, which would now be taken for Christs Church? All that fear God in this Realm truly can tell more of this then I can write.

Therefore, dear Mother, receive some admonition of one of thy poor Children, now going to be burned for the testimony of Jesus. Come again to Gods Truth; come out of *Babylon*; confess Christ and his true Doctrine; repent that which is past; make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the Readings and Preachings of Gods Prophet the true Preacher *Martin Bucer*. Call to mind the threatnings of God, now something seen by thy Children *Leaver* and others. Let the exile of *Leaver*, *Pilkington*, *Grindal*, *Haddon*, *Horn*, *Scorie*, *Ponet*, *&c.* something awake thee. Let the Imprisonment of thy dear Sons, *Cranmer* *Ridley*, and *Latimer* move thee. Consider the Martyrdom of thy Chickens, *Rogers*, *Sanders*, *Taylor*. And now cast not away the poor admonition of me going to be burned also, and to receive the like Crown of Glory with my fellows. Take to heart Gods calling by us. Be not as *Pharaoh* was: for then will it happen unto thee as it did unto him. What is that? Hardness of heart. And what then? Destruction eternally both of Body and Soul. Ah therefore, good Mother, awake, awake, repent, repent, buskle thy self, and make haste to turn to the Lord. For else it shall be more easie for *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* in the day of Judgment than for thee. O harden not your hearts; O stop not your ears to day in hearing Gods voyce, though it be by a most unworthy Messenger. O fear the Lord: for his anger is begun to kindle. Even now the Ax is laid to the root of the Tree.

Martin Bucers Preaching. *Pilkington*, *Grindall*, *Haddon*, *Horn*, *Ponet*, *Rogers*, *Sanders*, *Taylor*.

Bradford prophesies before the sweat time what would follow of carnall Gospelling, if repentance did not come.

You know I prophecied truly to you before the Sweat came, what would come, if you repented not your carnal Gospelling. And now I tell you before I depart hence, that the ears of Men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon you all, both Town and University, if you repent not, if you leave not your Idolatry, if you turn not speedily to the Lord, if you still be ashamed of Christs truth which you know.

Perne, *Thomson*. He teacheth *Cambridg* to pray.

Oh *Perne* repent, Oh *Thompson* repent, Oh you Doctors, Batchelors, and Masters repent: Oh Major, Aldermen, and Town-dwellers repent, repent, repent, that you may escape the neer vengeance of the Lord. Rent your hearts, and come apace, calling on the Lord. Let us all say, *Peccavimus*, we have all sinned, we have done wickedly, we have not hearkened to thy voice, O Lord. Deal not with us after our deserts, but be merciful to our iniquities, for they are great. Oh pardon our offences. In thine anger remember thy mercy. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of hosts, for the glory of thy names sake. Spare us and be merciful unto us. Let not the wicked People say; Where is now their God? O for thine own sake, for thy names sake, deal mercifully with us. Turn thy self unto us, and us unto thee, and we shall praise thy name for ever.

If in this sort (my dearly beloved) in Heart and Mouth we come unto our Father, and prostrate our selves before the throne of his grace, then surely, surely we shall find mercy. Then shall the Lord look merrily upon us, for his mercy sake in Christ: then shall we hear him speak peace unto his People. For he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion: he cannot be chiding for ever: his anger cannot last long to the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we shall have our sorrow to cease. For he is exorable, and hath no pleasure in the death of a Sinner: he rather would our conversion and turning.

Gods mercy promised to *Cambridg* if it repent.

Oh turn ye now and convert yet once again, I humbly beseech you, and then the Kingdom of Heaven shall draw nigh. The eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the Heart of Man is able to conceive the joys prepared for us if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if ye repent not, but be as you were, and go on forwards with the wicked, following the fashion of the World, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers, you shall perish in your wickedness, your Blood will be upon your own heads, your parts shall be with Hypocrites, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; ye shall be cast from the face of the Lord for ever and ever: eternal shame, sorrow, woe, and misery, shall be both in Body and Soul to you World without end. Oh therefore, right dear to me in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, repent you, amend, amend your lives, depart from evil, do good, follow peace and pursue it. Come out from *Babylon*, cast of the works of darkness, put on Christ, confess his truth, be not ashamed of his Gospel, prepare your selves to the Cross, drink of Gods Cup before it come to the dregs, and then shall I with you and for you, rejoyce in the day of Judgment, which is at hand, and therefore prepare your selves thereto, I heartily beseech you. And thus I take my *Vale in æternum*, with you in this present life, mine own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and sure meeting in his Kingdom, Amen, Amen. Out of Prison the eleventh of *February*, Anno 1555.

Cambridge threatned if it repented not.

Your own in the Lord for ever
John Bradford.

To Lancashire *and* Cheshire.

Another Letter of M. *Bradford* to *Lancashire*, *Cheshire* and specially to *Manchester*.

TO all those that profess the Name and true Religion of our Saviour Christ in *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*, and specially abiding in *Manchester* and thereabout, *John Bradford* a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in bonds, but also condemned for the same true Religion, wisheth mercy and grace, peace, and increase of all godliness from God the Father of all pity, through the deserts of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the working of the most mighty and lively Spirit the Comforter for ever, Amen.

I heard it reported credibly, my dearly beloved in the Lord, that my Heavenly Father hath thought it good to provide, that as I have Preached his true Doctrine and Gospel amongst you by word, so I shall testifie and confirm the same by deed, that is, I shall with you leave my life, which by his providence I first received there (for in *Manchester* was I born) for a seal to the Doctrine I have taught with you, and amongst you: so that if from henceforth you waver in the same, you have none excuse at all. I know the enemies of Christ, which exercise this cruelty upon me (I speak in respect of mine offence which is none to themwards) think by killing of me amongst you to affray you and others, lest they should attempt to teach Christ truly, or believe his Doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my Heavenly Father will by my death, more confirm you in his Truth for ever. And therefore I greatly rejoyce to see Satan and his Souldiers supplanted in their own sapience, which is plain foolishness amongst the wise indeed, that is, amongst such as have heard Gods Word, and do follow it: for they only are counted wise of the Wisdom of God our Saviour.

He confesseth his Sins before God.

Indeed if I should simply consider my life with that which it ought to have been, and as God in his Law requireth, then could I not but cry as I do, *Justus es Domine, & omnia judicia tua vera.i.e.* Righteous art thou, O Lord, and

The Papists condemn not Bradford but Christ.

and all thy judgments are true. For I have much grieved thee, and transgressed thy holy precepts, not only before my professing the gospel, but sithence also: yea, sithence my coming into prison I do not excuse, but accuse my self before God and all his Church that I have grievously offended my Lord God, I have not loved his Gospel as I should have done, I have sought my self, and not simply and onely his glory and my Brethrens commodity, I have been too unthankfull, secure, carnal, Hypocritical, vain-glorious, &c. All which my evils, the Lord of mercy pardon me for his Christs sake, as I hope and certainly believe he hath done for his great mercy in Christ our Redeemer.

But when I consider the cause of my condemnation, I cannot but lament, that I do no more rejoyce then I do. For it is Gods verity and Truth; So that the condemnation is not a condemnation of *Bradford* simply, but rather a condemnation of Christ and of his Truth. *Bradford* is nothing else but an Instrument in whom Christ and his Doctrine is condemned. And therefore my dearly beloved, rejoyce, rejoyce and give thanks with me and for me, that ever God did vouchsafe so great a benefit to our Country, as to choose the most unworthy (I mean my self) to be one, in whom it would please him to suffer any kind of affliction: much more this violent kind of death, which I perceive is prepared for me with you for his sake. All glory and praise be given unto God our Father, for his great and exceeding mercy towards me through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

But perchance you will say unto me, what is the cause for the which you are condemned? We hear say, that ye deny all presence of Christ in his holy Supper, and so make it a bare sign and common Bread, and nothing else. My dearly beloved, what is said of me, and what will be, I cannot tell. It is told me that *Pendleton* is gone down to Preach with you, not as he once recanted (for you all know he hath Preached contrary to that he was wont to Preach afore I came amongst you) but to recant that which he hath recanted. How he will speak of me, and report before I come, when I am come, and when I am burned, I much pass not: for he that is so uncertain, and will speak so often against himself, I cannot think he will speak well of me, except it make for his purpose and profit: but of this enough.

D. *Pendleton* recanted first in K. *Edwards* time, and now again in Q. *Marys* time.

Indeed the chief thing which I am condemned for, as an Heretick, is because I deny in the Sacrament of the Altar (which is not Christs Supper, but a plain perverting of it, being used as the Papists now use it) to be a real, natural, and corporal presence of Christs Body and Blood, under the forms and accidents of Bread and Wine, that is, because I deny Transubstantiation, which is the darling of the Devil, and daughter and heir to Antichrists Religion, whereby the Mass is maintained, Christs Supper perverted, his Sacrifice and Cross imperfected, his Priesthood destroyed, the Ministry taken away, Repentance repelled, and all true Godliness abandoned. In the Supper of our Lord, or Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, I confess and believe that there is a true, and very presence, of the whole Christ, God and Man, to the Faith of the receiver (but not of the standers by and looker on) as there is a very true presence of Bread and Wine to the senses of him that is partaker thereof. This Faith, this Doctrine, which consenteth with the Word of God, and with the true testimony of Christs Church, which the Popish Church doth prosecute) will I not forsake, and therefore I am condemned as an Heretick, and shall be burned. But, my dearly beloved, this Truth (which I have taught, and you have received, I believed, and do believe, and therein give my life) I hope in God shall never be burned, bound, nor overcome: but shall triumph, have Victory, and be at liberty, maugre the head of all Gods adversaries. For there is no counsel against the Lord, nor can any device of Man be able to defeat the verity in any other then such as be Children of unbelief, which have no love to the Truth, and therefore are given up to believe lies. From which plague the Lord of mercy deliver you and all the Realm, my dear hearts in the Lord, I humbly beseech his mercy, Amen.

The cause why M. *Bradford* was condemned.

Transubstantiation the divels darling, and daughter of *Antichrist*.

M. *Bradfords* farewel to the Country of *Lancashire*.

And to the end you might be delivered from this plague, (right dear to me in the Lord) I shall for my farewel with you for ever in this present life, heartily desire you all in the Bowels and Blood of our most merciful Saviour Jesus Christ, to attend unto these things which I now shall shortly write unto you out of the Holy Scriptures of the Lord.

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You know an heavy plague (or rather plagues) of God is faln upon us, in taking away our good King, and true Religion, Gods true Prophets and Ministers, &c. And setting over us, such as seek not the Lord after knowledge: whose endeavours God prospereth wonderfully to the tryal of many, that his People may both better know themselves, and be known. Now the cause hereof is our iniquities and grievous Sins. We did not know the time of our visitation: we were unthankful unto God: we contemned the Gospel, and carnally abused it, to serve our Hypocrisie, our vain-glory, our viciousness, avarice, idleness, security, &c. Long did the Lord linger, and tarry to have shewed mercy upon us, but we were ever the longer the worse. Therefore most justly hath God dealt with us, and dealeth with us: yea, yet we may see that his justice is tempered with much mercy, whereto let us attribute that we are not utterly consumed. For if the Lord should deal with us after our deserts, alas, how could we abide it? In his anger therefore, seeing he doth remember his mercy undeserved (yea undesired on our behalf) let us take occasion the more speedily to go out to meet him, not with force of arms (for we are not so able to withstand him, much less to prevail against him) but to beseech him to be merciful unto us, and according to his wonted mercy to deal with us.

Gods manifold Plagues upon England in Q. *Marys* days.

The cause of Gods Plagues is our iniquities, and not knowing the time of Gods visitation.

Let us arise with *David*, and say, *Ne intres in judicium cum Servo tuo, &c. i. e.* Enter not into judgment with thy Servant O Lord; for in thy sight no flesh living shall be justified. Let us send Embassadors with the *Centurion*, and say, Lord, we are not worthy to come our selves unto thee; Speak the word, and we shall have peace. Let us penitently with the Publican look down on the earth, knock our hard hearts to burst them, and cry out, O God be merciful unto us wretched Sinners: Let us with the lost Son return and say, O Father, we have sinned against Heaven and Earth, and before thee, we are unworthy to be called thy Children. Let us I say do on this sort, that is, heartily repent us of our former evil life, and unthankful Gospelling past, convert and turn to God with our whole hearts, hoping in his great mercy through Christ, and heartily calling upon his holy Name, and then undoubtedly we shall find and feel otherwise then yet we feel, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we shall feel peace of Conscience between God and us, which peace passeth all understanding, and outwardly we shall feel much mitigation of these miseries, if not an utter taking of them away.

Rising with *David*.

Suing with the Centurion.

Repenting with the Publican.

Returning with the lost Son.

Therefore my dearly beloved in the Lord, I your poorest Brother now departing to the Lord, for my *Vale in æternum* for this present life, pray you, beseech you, and even from the very bottom of my heart, for all the mercies of God in Christ shewed unto you, most earnestly beg and crave of you out of Prison (as often out of your Pulpits I have done) that you will repent you, leave your wicked and evil life, be sorry for your offences, and turn to the Lord, whose arms are wide open to receive and imbrace you, whose stretched out hand to strike to death stayeth that he may shew mercy upon you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comfort, he will not the death of a Sinner, but rather that ye should return, convert, and amend. He hath no pleasure in the destruction of Men; his long suffering draweth to repentance before the time of vengeance, and the day of wrath which is at hand, doth come.

Bradfords ultimum vale.

The day of Gods wrath at hand.

Now is the Ax laid to the Root of the Tree utterly to destroy the impenitent. Now is the fire gone out before the face of the Lord, and who is able to quench it? Oh therefore repent you, repent you. It is enough to have lived as we have done. It is enough to have played the wanton Gospellers, the proud protestants, Hypocritical and false Christians, as alas, we have done. Now the Lord speaketh to us in mercy and grace; Oh turn before he speaketh in wrath. Yet is there mercy with the Lord, and plentious redemption: yet he hath not forgotten to shew mercy to them that call upon him. Oh then call upon him while he may be found. For he is rich in mercy, and plentiful to all them that call upon him

Wanton Gospellers. Proud Protestants. False Christians.

So

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So that he that calleth on the Name of the Lord, ſhall be ſaved. If your Sins be as red as ſcarlet, the Lord ſaith, he will make them as white as ſnow. He hath ſworn, and never will repent him thereof, that he will never remember our iniquities: but as he is good, faithful, and true, ſo will he be our God, and we ſhall be his People; his Law will he write in our Hearts, and ingraff in our minds and never will he have in mind our unrighteouſneſs.

Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, turn you, turn you to the Lord your Father, to the Lord your Saviour, to the Lord your Comforter. Oh why do you ſtop your ears, and harden your hearts to day, when you hear his Voice by me your pooreſt Brother? Oh forget not how that the Lord hath ſhewed himſelf true, and me his true Preacher, by bringing to paſs theſe plagues which at my Mouth you oft heard before they came to paſs, ſpecially when I intreated of *Noahs* flood, and when I Preached of the twenty two Chapter of S. *Matthews* Goſpel, on S. *Stevens* day the laſt time that I was with you. And now by me the Lord ſendeth you word (dear Countrymen) that if you will go on forward in your Impenitency, Carnality, Hypocriſie, Idolatry, Covetouſneſs, Swearing, Gluttony, Drunkenneſs, Whoredom, &c. (wherewith, alas, alas, our Country floweth:) if (I ſay) you will not turn and leave off, ſeeing me now burned amongſt you, to aſſure you on all ſides how God ſeeketh you, and is ſorry to do you hurt, to plague you, to deſtroy you, to take vengeance upon you,. Oh your Blood will be upon your own heads: you have been warned, and warned again, by me in Preaching, by me in Burning.

Bradford prophefied of theſe plagues before.

Deſtruction threatned to them that repent not.

As I ſaid therefore, I ſay again, my dear hearts and dearlings in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, ceaſe from doing evil, ſtudy to do well, away with Idolatry, flye the Romiſh God and Service, leave off from Swearing, cut off Carnality, abandon Avarice, drive away Drunkenneſs, fly from Fornication and Flattery, Murther and Malice, deſtroy Deceitfulneſs, and caſt away all the works of Darkneſs. Put on Pity and Godlineſs, ſerve God after his Word, and not after Cuſtom, uſe your Tongues to glorifie God by Prayer, Thankſgiving, and Confeſſion of his Truth, &c. be ſpiritual, and by the Spirit mortifie carnal affections, be Sober, Holy, True; Loving, Gentle, Mercifull, and then ſhall the Lords wrath ceaſe, not for this our doings ſake, but for his mercies ſake. Go to therefore (good Countrymen) take this Counſel of the Lord, by me now ſent unto you, as the Lords Counſel, and not as mine, that in the day of Judgment I may rejoyce with you, and for you; the which thing I heartily deſire, and not to be a witneſs againſt you. My Blood will cry for vengeance, as againſt the Papiſts Gods enemies (whom I beſeech God, if it be his will, heartily to forgive, yea, even them which put me to death and are the cauſers thereof, for they know not what they do) ſo will my Blood cry for vengeance againſt you (my dearly beloved in the Lord) if ye repent not, amend not, and turn unto the Lord.

Precepts of life.

Good counſell given.

Bradfords blood will cry againſt the recuſers of his Counſel.

Turn unto the Lord yet once more, I heartily beſeech thee thou *Mancheſter*, thou *Aſhton-under-Line*, thou *Bolton*, *Bury*, *Wigine*, *Lierpool*, *Motrine*, *Steppor*, *Winſley*, *Eccles*, *Prieſtwich*, *Middleton*, *Radclief*, and thou City of *Weſtcheſter*, where I have truly taught and Preached the Word of God. Turn, I ſay unto you all and to all the Inhabitants thereabouts, unto the Lord our God, and he will turn unto you, he will ſay unto his Angel, it is enough, put up the Sword. The which thing that he will do, I humbly beſeech his goodneſs, for the precious Bloods ſake of his dear Son, our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. Ah good Brethren, take in good part theſe my laſt words unto every one of you. Pardon me mine offences and negligences in behaviour amongſt you. The Lord of Mercy pardon us all our offences, for our Saviour Jeſus Chriſts ſake, Amen. Out of Priſon ready to come to you, the eleventh of *February*, *Anno* 1555.

To the Town of Walden.

Another letter of M. *Bradford* to the town of *Walden*.

TO the Faithfull, and ſuch as profeſs the true Doctrine of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, dwelling at *Walden* and thereabouts, *John Bradford* a moſt unworthy Servant of the Lord, now in bands and condemned for the ſame true Doctrine, wiſheth Grace, Mercy, and Peace, with the increaſe of all godlineſs in knowledge and living, from God the Father of all comfort, through the deſerts of our alone and full Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, by the mighty working of the moſt Holy Spirit, the Comforter for ever, Amen.

When I remember, how that by the providence and Grace of God I have been a Man, by whom it hath pleaſed him through my Miniſtry to call you to Repentance and Amendment of Life, ſomething effectually, as it ſeemed, and to ſow amongſt you his True Doctrine and Religion, leſt that by my affliction, and ſtorms now ariſen to try the Faithful, and to conform them like to the Image of the Son of God, into whoſe company we are called, you might be faint-hearted; I could not but out of Priſon ſecretly (for my Keepers may not know that I have Pen and Ink) write unto you a ſignification of the deſire I have, that you ſhould not only be more confirmed in the Doctrine I have taught amongſt you, which I take on my death, as I ſhall anſwer at the day of doom, I am perſwaded to be Gods aſſured, infallible, and plain Truth; but alſo ſhould after your vocation avow the ſame by confeſſion, profeſſion, and living. I have not taught you (my dearly beloved in the Lord) fables, tales, or untruths, but I have taught you the verity, as now by my Blood, gladly (praiſed be God therefore) I do ſeal the ſame.

M. *Bradford* anſwereth with his Blood for his doctrine.

Indeed to confeſs the truth unto you, and to all the Church of Chriſt, I do not think of my ſelf, but that I have moſt juſtly deſerved, not only this kind, but alſo all kinds of death, and that eternally, for mine Hypocriſie, Vain-glory, Uncleanneſs, Self-love, Covetouſneſs, Idleneſs, Unthankfulneſs, and Carnal profeſſing of God holy Goſpel, living therein not ſo purely, lovingly, and painfully as I ſhould have done. The Lord of mercy for the Bloods ſake of Chriſt pardon me, as I hope, yea, I certainly believe he hath done for his holy Names ſake through Chriſt. But, my dearly beloved, you and all the whole World may ſee, and eaſily perceive, that the Prelates perſecute in me another thing then mine iniquities, even Chriſt himſelf. Chriſts Verity and Truth, becauſe I cannot, dare not, nor will not confeſs Tranſubſtantiation, and how that wicked Men, yea Mice and Dogs eating the Sacrament, which they term, of the Altar, thereby overthrowing Chriſts Holy Supper utterly, do eat Chriſts Natural and Real Body born of the Virgin *Mary*.

M. *Bradford* accuſeth again his own life.

Chriſt himſelf perſecuted in his Martyrs.

To believe and confeſs as Gods Word teacheth, the Primitive Church believed, and all the Catholick and good holy Fathers taught 500. years at the leaſt after Chriſt, that in the Supper of the Lord (which the Maſs overthroweth, as it doth Chriſts Prieſthood, Sacrifice, Death, and Paſſion, the Miniſtry of his Word, true Faith, Repentance, and all Godlineſs) whole Chriſt, God and Man, is preſent by grace to the Faith of the receivers, but not of the ſtanders by and lookers on, as Bread and Wine is to their ſenſes, will not ſerve: and therefore I am condemned and ſhall be burned out of hand as an Heretick. Wherefore I heartily thank my Lord God, that will and doth vouch me worthy to be an Inſtrument, in whom he himſelf doth ſuffer. For you ſee my affliction and death is not ſimply, becauſe I have deſerved no leſs, but much more at his hands and juſtice: but rather becauſe I confeſs his Verity and Truth, and am not afraid through his gift that to do, that you alſo might be confirmed in his Truth. Therefore my dearly beloved, I heartily do pray you, and ſo many as unfainedly love me in God, to give with me and for me moſt hearty thanks to our Heavenly Father, through our ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, for this his exceeding great mercy towards me and you alſo, that your Faith waver not from the Doctrine I have taught, and ye have received. For what can you deſire more, to aſſure your Conſciences of the Verity taught by your Preachers, than their own Lives?

M. *Bradford* perſecuted for confeſſing the truth.

Go to therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, waver not in Chriſts Religion truly taught you, and ſet forth in King *Edwards* days. Never ſhall the enemies be able to burn it, and Priſon it, and keep it in bonds. Us they may Priſon, they may bind and burn as they do, and will do, ſo long as ſhall pleaſe the Lord: but our Cauſe, Religion, and Doctrine which we confeſs, they ſhall never be able to vanquiſh and put away. Their Idolatry and Popiſh Religion ſhall never be built in the Conſciences of Men that love Gods Truth. As for thoſe that love not Gods truth, that have no pleaſure to walk in the ways of the Lord, thoſe

Gods truth can never be kept under by the adverſaries.

Anno. 1555.

He exhorteth them to love Gods truth and to live thereafter.

those I say the Devil shall prevail: For God will give them strong illusion to believe lyes. Therefore dear Brethren, and Sisters in the Lord, I humbly beseech you and pray you in the Bowels and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, now going to the death, for the Testimony of Jesus, as oftentimes I have done before this present out of your Pulpit, that you would love the Lords truth; love (I say) to love it, and frame your lives thereafter. Alas, you know the cause of all these plagues fallen upon us, and of the success which Gods adversaries have daily, is for our not loving Gods Word.

Gods Gospel abused.

You know how that we were but Gospellers in lips, and not in life. We were carnal, concupiscentious, idle, unthankful, unclean, covetous, arrogant, dissemblers, crafty, subtile, malicious, false, backbiters, &c. and even glutted with Gods Word, yea, we loathed it, as did the Israelites the Manna in the Wilderness; and therefore as to them the Lords wrath waxed hot, so doth it unto us. So

Gods Gospel loathed.

that there is no remedy, but that (for it is better late to turn, than never to turn) we confess our faults even from the bottom of our Hearts, and with hearty repentance (which God work in us all for his mercies sake) we run unto the Lord our God, which is exorable, merciful, and sorry for the evil poured out upon us, and cry out unto him with *Daniel*, saying; We have Sinned, we have Sinned grievously, O Lord God, against thy Majesty, we have heaped Iniquity upon Iniquity; the measure of our Transgressions floweth over, so that justly is thy Vengeance and Wrath fallen upon us. For we are very miserable, we have contemned thy long suffering, we have not hearkened to thy Voyce. When thou hast called us by Preachers, we hardned our Hearts, and therefore now deserve that thou send thy curse hereupon to harden our Hearts also that we should henceforth have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hearts and understand not, lest we should convert and be saved. Oh be merciful unto us; spare us good Lord, and all thy People, whom thou hast dearly bought. Let not thine enemies triumph altogether, and always against thee, for then will they be puft up. Look down and behold the pitiful complaint of the poor; let the sorrowful sighing of the simple come in thy sight, and be not angry with us for ever. Turn us O Lord God of hosts unto thee, and turn thee unto us, that thou maist be justified in thy sweet Sentences, and overcome when thou art judged, as now thou art of our adversaries. For they say, Where is their God? Can God deliver them now? Can their Gospel serve them? O Lord how long? for the glory of thy name, and for thy honours sake, in the Bowels and Blood of Jesus Christ, we humbly beseech thee, come and help us, for we are very miserable.

He exhorteth to repentance and prayer, and to bewail our sins before the Lord our God.

On this sort I say, dearly beloved, let us publickly and privately bewail our Sins; but so that hereto we joyn ceasing from wilfulness and Sin of purpose, for else the Lord heareth not our Prayer, as *David* saith. And in S. *John* it is written; The impenitent Sinners God heareth not. Now, impenitent are they which purpose not to amend their lives: As for example, not only, such which follow still their pleasures, uncleanness, carnality; but those also which for fear or favour of Men, do against their Consciences consent to the Romish Rags, and resort to the rotten Religion, communicating in Service and Ceremonies with the Papists, thereby declaring themselves to love more the World than God, to fear Man more than Christ, to dread more the loss of Temporal things than Spiritual; in whom it is evident that the love of God abideth not. For he that loveth the World, hath not Gods Word abiding in him, saith S. *John*: therefore my dear Hearts, and dear again in the Lord, remember what you have professed, Christs Religion and name, and the renouncing of the Devil, Sin, and the World.

The prayers of sinners be not heard.

Romish Rags and rotten Religion.

The A.B.C. of the Christians beginneth with Christs Cross.

Remember that before ye learned A. B. C. your lesson was Christs Cross. Forget not that Christ will have no Disciples, but such as will promise to deny themselves, and take up their Cross (mark, take it up) and follow him, and not the multitude, custom, &c. Consider for Gods sake, that if we gather not with Christ, we scatter abroad. What should it profit a Man to win the whole World, and lose his own Soul? We must not forget that this life is a Wilderness, and not a Paradise: here is not our home, we are now in warfare: we must needs fight; or else be taken Prisoners. Of all things we have in this life, we shall carry nothing with us. If Christ be our Captain, we must follow him as Souldiers. If we keep company with him in affliction we shall be sure of his society in glory. If we forsake not him, he will never forsake us. If we confess him, he will confess us; but if we deny him, he will deny us. If we be ashamed of him, he will be ashamed of us. Wherefore, as he forsook his Father, and Heaven, and all things to come to us, so let us forsake all things and come to him, being sure and most certain that we shall not lose thereby. Your Children shall find, and feel it double, yea treble, whatsoever you lose for the Lords sake; and you shall find and feel peace of Conscience and friendship with God which is more worth than all the Goods of the World.

They never lose that follow Christ.

My dearly beloved, therefore for the Lords sake, consider these things which I now write unto you of love, for my *vale*, and last farewell for ever in this present life. Turn to the Lord, repent you of your evil and unthankful life, declare repentance by the fruits; take time while ye have it; come to the Lord whiles he calleth you; run into his lap, whiles his arms be open to imbrace you; seek him whiles he may be found; call upon him whiles time is convenient; forsake and flye from all evil, Both in Religion, and in the rest of your life and Conversation. Let your light so shine before Men, that they may see your good works, and praise God in the day of his visitation. Oh come again, come again you strange Children, and I will receive you, saith the Lord. Convert and turn to me, and I will turn unto you. Why, will ye needs perish? As sure as I live (sweareth the Lord) I will not your death; turn therefore unto me. Can a Woman forget the Child of her Womb? if she should, yet I will not forget you, saith the Lord your God. I am he, I am he which put away your Sins for mine own sake.

He exhorteth to amendment of life in Religion and conversation.

Oh then dear friends, turn I say unto your dearest Father. Cast nor these sweet and loving words to the ground, and at your tail; for the Lord watcheth on his word to perform it: which is in two sorts; to them that lay it up in their hearts, and believe it, will he pay all, and eternal joy and comfort. But to them that cast it at their backs, and will forget it, to them (I say) will he pour out Indignation and eternal shame. Wherefore I heartily yet once more beseech and pray you, and every of you, not to contemn this poor and simple exhortation, which now out of Prison I make unto you, or rather the Lord by me. Loath would I be a witness against you in the last day; as of truth I must be if ye repent not, if ye love not Gods Gospel, yea, if ye love it not.

The Lord watcheth to perform his word double wise.

Therefore (to conclude) repent, love Gods Gospel, live in it all your conversation, so shall Gods name be praised, his plagues be mitigated, his People comforted, and his enemies ashamed. Grant all this, thou gracious Lord God, to every one of us for thy dear Sons sake, our Saviour Jesus Christ: To whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be eternal glory for ever and ever, Amen. The 12. of *February*, *Anno* 1555

Bradford must be a witness in the last day to them that reject his counsel.

By the Bondman of our Lord, and your afflicted poor Brother,
John Bradford.

To my loving Brethren, B.C. *&c. their Wives and whole Families*, J. Bradford.

Another letter of M. *Bradford* to certain freinds of his, whom for danger of that time he would not name.

I Beseech the everliving God to grant you all, my good Brethren and Sisters, the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and the continual sense of his Mercy in Christ our Lord, now and for ever, Amen.

The World (my Brethren) seemeth to have the upper hand, Iniquity overfloweth, the truth and verity seemeth to be oppressed, and they which take part therewith, are unjustly intreated; as they which love the truth, lament to see and hear, as they do. The cause of all this, is Gods anger, and mercy: his anger, because we have grievously Sinned against him; his mercy, because he here punisheth us, and as a Father nurtureth us. We have been unthankful for his Word; We have contemned his kindness; We have been negligent in Prayer; We have been so carnal, covetous, licentious, &c. We have not hastned to

Gods anger and mercy both together upon his Church.

Heaven-

Anno 1555.

Heaven-ward, but rather to Hell-ward. We were fallen almoſt into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinances; ſo that of his juſtice he could no longer forbear, but make us feel his anger, as now he hath done, in taking his word and true ſervice from us, and permitting Satan to ſerve us with Antichriſtian Religion, and that in ſuch ſort, that if we will not yield to it, and ſeem to allow it indeed and outward fact, our Bodies are like to be laid in priſon, and our goods given we cannot tell to whom.

The contempt of God and his Goſpel puniſhed.

This ſhould we look upon as a ſign of Gods anger procured by our ſins; which my good Brethren, every of us ſhould now call to our Memories oftentimes, ſo particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent them, hate them, ask earneſtly mercy for them, and ſubmit our ſelves to bear in this Life any kind of puniſhment, which God will lay upon us for them. This ſhould we do in conſideration of Gods anger in this time. Now his mercy in this time of wrath is ſeen, and ſhould be ſeen in us, my dearly beloved, in this, that God doth vouchſafe to puniſh us in this preſent Life. If he ſhould not have puniſhed us, do not you think that we would have continued in the evils we were in? Yes verily, we would have been worſe, and have gone forwards in hardning our hearts by impenitence, and negligence of God and true godlineſs. And then if death had come, ſhould not we have periſhed both Soul and Body in eternal fire in perdition? Alas, what miſery ſhould we have fallen into, if God ſhould have ſuffered us to have gone on forward in our evils? No greater ſign of Damnation there is, than to lye in evil and Sin unpuniſhed of God, as now the Papiſts (my dearly beloved) are caſt into *Jeſabels* Bed of ſecurity, which of all plagues is the moſt grievous that can be. They are Baſtards and not Sons, they are not under Gods Rod of Correction.

Exhortation to repentance and amendment.

Gods mercy the cauſe why we are puniſhed here.

Jezabels bed of ſecurity.

A great mercy it is therefore, that God doth puniſh us: For if he loved us not, he would not puniſh us. Now doth he chaſtiſe us, that we ſhould not be damned with the world. Now doth he nurture us, becauſe he favoureth us. Now may we think our ſelves Gods Houſe and Children, becauſe he beginneth his chaſtiſing at us: Now calleth he us to remember our ſins paſt. Wherefore? That we might repent, and ask mercy. And why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, juſtifie us, and make us his Children, and ſo begin to make us here like unto Chriſt, that we might be like unto him elſewhere, even in Heaven, where already we are ſet by Faith with Chriſt; and at his coming in very deed we ſhall then moſt joyfully enjoy, when our ſinful and vile Bodies ſhall be made like to Chriſts glorious Body, according to the power whereby he is able to make all things ſubject to himſelf.

'Apoch. 3. Heb. 12. 1 Cor. 11. 1 Pet. 4.

The end wherfore Gods Saints be afflicted in this world.

Phil. 3.

Therefore my Brethren, let us in reſpect hereof not lament, but laud God, not be ſorry, but be merry, not weep, but rejoyce and be glad, that God doth vouchſafe to offer us his Croſs, thereby to come to him to endleſs joys and comforts. For if we ſuffer, we ſhall reign, if we confeſs him before Men, he will confeſs us before his Father in Heaven; if we be not aſhamed of his Goſpel now, he will not be aſhamed of us in the laſt day, but will be glorified in us, Crowning us with Crowns of Glory and endleſs felicity: For, bleſſed are they that ſuffer Perſecution for Righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven: Be glad (ſaith *Peter*) for the ſpirit of God reſteth upon you. After that you are a little afflicted, God will comfort, ſtrengthen and confirm you. And therefore, my good Brethren, be not diſcouraged for Croſs, for Priſon, or loſs of Goods for confeſſion of Chriſts Goſpel and Truth which ye have believed, and lively was taught amongſt you in the days of our late good King, and moſt holy Prince, King *Edward*. This is moſt certain, if you loſe any thing for Chriſts ſake, and for contemning the Antichriſtian ſervice, ſet up again amongſt us: as you for your parts even in priſon ſhall find Gods great and rich mercy, far-paſſing all Worldly wealth; ſo ſhall your Wives and Children in this preſent Life, find and feel Gods Providence, more plentifully than Tongue can tell. For he will ſhew mercifull kindneſs on thouſands of them that love him. The good Mans ſeed ſhall not go a begging his Bread. You are good Men, ſo many as ſuffer for Chriſts ſake.

Rom. 8. 2 Tim. 1. Matth. 10.

Matth. 5. 1 Pet. 4.

'1 Pet. 5. He exhorteth them to take comfort in the croſs. Matth. 19.

Pſalm. 38.

I truſt you all, my dearly beloved, will conſider this gear with your ſelves, and in the Croſs ſee Gods mercy, which is more ſweet, and to be ſet by, than Life it ſelf, much more than any muck or pelf of this World. This mercy of God ſhould make you merry and cheerfull: for the afflictions of this Life, are not to be compared to the joys of the Life prepared for you. You know the way to Heaven is not the wide way of the World, which wideth to the Devil, but it is a ſtraight way which few walk in. For few live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, few regard the Life to come, few remember the day of Judgment, few remember how Chriſt will deny them before his Father, that do deny him here, few conſider that Chriſt will be aſhamed of them in the laſt day, which are aſhamed of his Truth and true ſervice, few caſt their accounts, what will be laid to their charge in the day of vengeance, few regard the Condemnation of their own Conſciences, in doing that which inwardly they diſallow, few love God better than their Goods.

Gods mercy ſeen in the croſs. Rom. 8.

Matth. 7. 2 Tim. 3. 2 Cor. 5. Matth. 16. Aſtrait way.

A little flock. Luke. 12. Rom. 14.

But I truſt you are of this few, my dearly beloved, I truſt you be of that little flock, which ſhall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, I truſt you are the mourners and lamenters which ſhall be comforted with comfort, which never ſhall be taken from you, if now you repent your former evils, if now you ſtrive againſt the evils that are in you, if now you continue to call upon God, if now you defile not your Bodies with any Idolatrous ſervice uſed in the Antichriſtian Churches, if you moleſt not the good Spirit of God, which is given you as a gage of eternal Redemption, a counſeller and Maſter to lead you into all Truth, which good Spirit I beſeech the Father of mercy to give to us all, for his dear Sons ſake Jeſus Chriſt our Lord; to whom I commend you all, and to the word of his grace, which is able to help you all, and ſave you all that believe it, follow it, and ſerve God thereafter.

Epheſ. 4.

Acts. 20.

Matth. 10. Matth. 8. John. 1. Pſalm. 104. Pſalm. 31. 1 Pet. 5.

And of this I would ye were all certain, that all the hairs of your heads are numbred, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh, neither ſhall any Man or Devil be able to attempt any thing, much leſs to do any thing to you, or any of you, before your Heavenly Father, which loveth you moſt tenderly, ſhall give them leave; and when he hath given them leave, they ſhall go no further than he will, nor keep you in trouble any longer than he will. Therefore caſt on him all your care, for he is careful for you. Only ſtudy to pleaſe him, and to keep your Conſciences clean, and your Bodies pure from the Idolatrous ſervice, which now every where is uſed, and God will marvellouſly and mercifully defend and comfort you; which thing he do for his holy names ſake in Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

To his dearly beloved in Chriſt, Erkinalde Rawlins, *and his Wife.*

Another letter of M. *Bradford* unto agodly couple, to the ſame effect as the other before.

GOD our dear and moſt Merciful Father through Chriſt, be with you my good Brother and Siſter, as with his Children for ever, and in all things ſo guide you with his holy Spirit, the leader of his People, as may be to his glory, and your own everlaſting joy and comfort in him, Amen. Becauſe I have oftentimes received from either of you comfort corporal (for the which I beſeech the Lord, as to make me thankful, ſo to recompence you both now and eternally) I cannot but go about (Lord help hereto for thy mercies ſake) to write ſomething for your comfort ſpiritually.

Diet of affliction to the godly are joyfull: to the unrepenting ſinners be dolful days.

My dearly beloved, look not upon theſe days and the afflictions of the ſame here with us, ſimply as they ſeem unto you, that is, as diſmal days, and days of Gods vengeance, but rather as lucky days, and days of Gods Fatherly kindneſs towards you, and ſuch as you be, that is, towards ſuch as repent their Sins and evil Life paſt, and earneſtly purpoſe to amend, walking not after the will of the World, and moſt part of Men, for the preſervation of their pelf, which, will they, nill they, they ſhall leave ſooner or later, and to whom or how it ſhall be uſed, they know not. Indeed to ſuch as walk in their wickedneſs, and wind on with the World, this time is a time of wrath and vengeance, and their beginning of ſorrow is but now, becauſe they contemn the phyſick of their Father, which by this purging time and cleanſing days would work their weal, which they will not: and becauſe

Cleanſing days.

they

they will not have Gods blessing, which both ways he hath offered unto them by prosperity and adversity; therefore it shall be kept far enough from them. As when the sick Man will no kind of Physick at the hands of the Physician, he is left alone, and so the malady increaseth, and destroyeth him at the length. To such Men indeed these days are and should be doleful days, and days of woe and weeping, because their Damnation draweth nigh.

Gods physick not to be refused.

But unto such as be penitent, and are desirous to live after the Lords will (among whom I do not only count you, but as far as a Man may judge, I know ye are) unto such I say this time is and should be comfortable. For first, now your Father chastiseth you and me for our Sins; for the which if he would have destroyed us, then would he have letten us alone, and left us to our selves, in nothing to take to heart his Fatherly visitation, which here it pleaseth them to work presently, because elsewhere he will not remember our Transgressions, as *Paul* writeth; he chastiseth us in this World, lest with the World we should perish. Therefore (my dear hearts) call to mind your Sins to lament them, and to ask mercy for them in his sight, and withal undoubtedly believe to obtain pardon and assured forgiveness of the same, for twice the Lord punisheth not for one thing.

Gods chastisement to be received with comfort.

God punisheth not twice for one thing.

So that I say, first we have cause to rejoyce for these days, because our Father suffereth us not to lye in *Jesabels* Bed, sleeping in our own Sins and Security, but as mindful of us, doth correct us as his Children. Whereby we may be certain, that we be no Bastards, but Children; for he chastiseth every Child whom he receiveth. So that they which are not partakers of his chastising, or that contemn it, declare themselves to be Bastards, and not Children, as I know you are, which, as ye are chastised, so do ye take it to heart accordingly. And therefore be glad my dear hearts and folks, knowing certainly even by these visitations of the Lord, that ye are his dear elect Children, whose faults your Father doth visit with the Rod of Correction, but his mercy will he never take away from us, Amen.

Difference between bastards and Children.

Secondly, ye have cause to rejoyce for these days, because they are days of tryal, wherein not only ye your selves, but also the World shall know that ye be none of his, but the Lords Dearlings. Before these days came, Lord God, how many thought of themselves, they had been in Gods Bosom, and so were taken, and would be taken of the World? But now we see whose they are. For to whom we obey, his servants we are. If we obey the World (which God forbid, and hitherto ye have not done it) then are we the Worlds; but if we obey God, then are we Gods. Which thing (I mean that ye are Gods) these days have declared both to you, to me, and to all other that know you, better than ever we knew it. Therefore ye have no cause to sorrow, but rather to sing, in seeing your selves to be Gods Babes, and in seeing that all Gods Children do so count you.

Trouble trieth who be Gods and who be not.

What though the World repine thereat? What though he kick? What though he seek to trouble and molest you? My dear hearts, he doth but his kind: he cannot love the Lord, which liveth not in the Lord: he cannot brook the Child, that hateth the Father: he cannot mind the servant, that careth not for the Master. If ye were of the World, the World would love you, ye should dwell quietly, there would be no grief, no molestation. If the Devil dwelt in you (which the Lord forbid) he would not stir up his Knights to besiege your house, to snatch your goods, or suffer his Fiends to enter into your Hogs. But because Christ dwelleth in you (as he doth by Faith) therefore stirreth he up his first-begotten Son, the World, to seek how to disquiet you, to rob you, to spoil you, to destroy you: and perchance your dear Father, to try and to make known unto you, and to the World, that ye are destinate to another dwelling then here on Earth, to another City than Mans eyes have seen at any time; hath given or will give power to Satan, and to the World, to take from you the things which he hath lent you, and by taking them away, to try your fidelity, obedience, and love towards him (for ye may not love them above him) as by giving that ye have, and keeping it, he hath declared his love towards you.

A true lover of the world, is declared by his life.

The Devill never entreth into his own hogs.

The Lord giveth power to Satan sometimes over his servants, and to what end God useth to try his.

Satan perchance telleth God (as he did of *Job*) that ye love God for your goods sake. What now then, if the Lord to try you with *Job*, shall give him power on your Goods and Body accordingly, should ye be dismayed? should ye dispair? should ye be faint-hearted? should ye not rather rejoyce, as did the Apostles, that they were counted worthy to suffer any thing for the Lords sake? Oh forget not the end that happened to *Job*: for as it hapned to him, so shall it happen unto you. For God is the same God, and cannot long forget to shew mercy to them that look and long for it, as I know ye do, and I pray you so to do still. For the Lord loveth you, and never can nor will forget to shew and pour out his mercy upon you. After a little while that he hath afflicted and tryed you (saith *Peter*) he will visit, comfort, and confirm you. As to *Jacob* wrestling with the Angel, at the length morning came, and the Sun arose; so, dear hearts, doubtless it will happen unto you. Howbeit, do ye as *Job* and *Jacob* did, that is, order and dispose your things that God hath lent you, as ye may, and whiles ye have time. Who knoweth whether God hath given you power thus long, even to that end?

Anno 1555.

Jacob must teach us to wrestle.

Go to therefore, dispose your goods, prepare your selves to trial, that either ye may stand to it like Gods Champions, or else if you feel such infirmity in your selves that ye be not able, give place to violence, and go where you may with free and safe Conscience serve the Lord. Think not this counsel to come by chance, or fortune, but to come from the Lord. Other Oracles we may not look for now. As God told *Joseph* in a dream by an Angel, that he should flye; so if you feel such infirmity in your selves, as should turn to Gods dishonour, and your own destruction withal, know that at this present I am as Gods Angel, to admonish you to take time whiles ye have it, and to see that in no case Gods name by you might be dishonoured. *Joseph* might have objected the omission of his vocation, as perchance ye will do. But (dear hearts) let vocations and all things else give place to Gods name, and the sanctifying thereof.

This Erkenald and his wife following this counsel, did flie both beyond sea.

This I speak, not as though I would not have you rather to tarry, and to stand to it: but I spake it in respect of your infirmity, which if you feel to be so great in you, that you are not certain of this hope, that God will never tempt you above your ability; flye and get you hence, and know that thereby God will have you tryed to your selves and to others. For by it you shall know how to take this World, and that your home here is no home, but that ye look for another, and so give occasion to others less to love this World, and perchance to some to doubt of their Religion. Wherein though they be earnest, yet would they not loose so much as ye do for your Religion, which ye do confirm to me and others, by your giving place to violence.

Last of all, ye have cause to rejoyce over these our days, because they be the days of Confirmation, in the which, and by which, God our Heavenly Father maketh us like unto Christs Image here, that we may be like unto him elsewhere. For if that we suffer with him, then we shall Reign also with him; if we be buried with him, then we shall rise with him again: if that we company with him in all troubles and afflictions, then we shall rejoyce with him in glory: if we now sow with him in tears, we shall reap with him in gladness: if we confess him before Men, he will confess us before his Father in Heaven: if we take his part, he will take ours: if we leese ought for his names sake, he will give us all things for his truths sake. So that we ought to rejoyce and be glad; for it is not given to every one to suffer loss of country, life, goods, house, &c. for the Lords sake. What can God the Father do more unto us, than to call us into the Camp with his Son? What may Christ our Saviour do more for us, than to make us his Warriours? What can the holy Ghost do to us above this, to mark us with the cognizance of the Lord of hosts?

Tribulation doth conform us to the image of Christ.

This cognizance of the Lord, standeth not in forked caps, tippets, shaven crowns, or such other baggage and Antichristian pelf, but in suffering for the Lords sake. The World shall hate you, saith Christ. Lo, there is the cognizance and badge of Gods Children; The World shall hate you. Rejoyce therefore (my dearly beloved) rejoyce, that God doth thus vouchsafe to begin to conform you, and to make you like to Christ. By the tryal of these days ye are occasioned more to repent, more to pray, more to contemn this

The Lords cognizance standeth not in forked caps, &c. but in suffering for the Lords sake.

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this World, more to desire life everlasting, more to be holy (for holy is the end wherefore God doth afflict us) and so to come to Gods company. Which thing because we cannot do, as long as this Body is as it is, therefore by the door of Death we must enter with Christ into eternal life, and immortality of Soul and Body; which God of his mercy send shortly for our Saviour Jesus Christs sake, *Amen.*

To Mistres A. Warcup.

THe everlasting Peace of Christ be more and more lively felt in our hearts, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, *Amen.*

Although I know it to be more than needless to write any thing unto you (good Sister,) being, as I doubt not but you be, diligently exercised in reading of the Scriptures, in meditating of the same, and in hearty prayer to God for the help of his Holy Spirit, to have the sense and feeling, especially of the comforts you read in Gods sweet Book: yet having such opportunity, and knowing not whether hereafter I shall ever have the like (as this bringer can declare) I thought good in few words to take up my farewel in writing, because otherwise I cannot. And now methinks I have done it. For what else can I, or should I say unto you (my dearly Beloved in the Lord) but farewel? Farewel, dear Sister, farewel; howbeit in the Lord, our Lord (I say) farewel. In him shall you farewel, and so much the better, by how much in your self you fare evil, and shall fare evil.

Bradfords farewel to *Mrs. Warcup.*

When I speak of your self, I mean also this world, this life, and all things properly pertaining to this life. In them as you look not for your welfare, so be not dismayed, when accordingly you shall not feel it. To the Lord our God, to the Lamb our Christ, which hath born our sins on his back, and is our Mediator for ever, do I send you. In him look for welfare, and that without all wavering, because of his own goodness and truth, which our evils and untruth cannot take away: Not that therefore I would have you to flatter your self in any evil or unbelief, but that I would comfort you, that they should not dismay you. Yours is our Christ wholly, yours I say he is, with all that ever he hath. Is not this welfare, trow you? Mountains shall move, and the Earth shall fall, before you find it otherwise, say that lyar Satan what he list.

Christ is wholly ours with all that ever he hath.

Therefore, good Sister, farewel, and be merry in the Lord, be merry I say, for you have good cause. If your welfare, joy, and salvation hanged upon any other thing than only Gods mercy and truth, then might you well be sad, heavy, and stand in a doubt: but in that it hangeth only upon these two, tell Satan he lyeth, when he would have you to stand in a mammering, by causing you to cast your eyes (which only in this case should be set on Christ your sweet Saviour) on your self. In some part indeed look on your self, on your Faith, on your Love, Obedience, &c. to wake you up from security, to stir you up to diligence, in doing the things appertaining to your vocation: but when you would be at peace with God, and have true consolation in your Conscience, altogether look upon the goodness of God in Christ. Think on this Commandment which precedeth all other, That you must have no other Gods but the Lord *Jehovah*, which is your Lord and God: the which he could not be, if that he did not pardon your sins in very deed. Remember that Christ commandeth you to call him Father for the same intent. And hereto call to mind all the benefits of God, hitherto shewed upon you: and so shall you feel in very deed, that which I wish unto you now, and pray you to wish unto me. Farewel, or welfare in the Lord Jesus, with whom he grant us shortly to meet as his Children, for his name and mercies sake, to our eternal welfare, *Amen.*

How to answer to Satan, when he moveth us to doubt of Gods favour.

How to look upon Christ.

How to look upon our selves. In case of Justification, let no man look upon himself, but only upon the goodness of God in Christ.

To mine own dear Brother, Mr. Lawrence Sanders, *Prisoner in the* Marshalsey.

A Letter of *M. Bradford* to *M. Sanders.*

MY good Brother, I beseech our good and gracious Father always to continue his gracious favour and love towards us, and by us, as by Instruments of his grace, to work his glory and the confusion of his Adversaries. *Ex ore Infantium & lactentium fundet laudem ad destruendum inimicum, &c.* id est, *Out of the mouth of Infants and Babes, he will shew forth his praise to destroy the Enemy, &c.*

I have perused your Letters to my self, and have read them to others. For answer whereof, if I should write what Dr. *Taylor* and Mr. *Philpot* do think, then must I say, that they think, the Salt sent unto us by your * Friend, is unseasonable. And I think they both will declare it heartily, if they should come before men. As for me, if you would know what I think (my good and most dear Brother *Lawrence*) because I am so sinful and so conspurcate (the Lord knoweth I lye not) with many grievous sins which I hope are washed away *Sanguine Christi nostri*) I neither can nor would be consulted withal, but as a Cypher in *Agrime*. Howbeit, to tell you how and what I mind, take this for a sum: I pray God in no case I may seek my self, and indeed (I thank God therefore) I purpose it not.

*This Friend moved them to subscribe to the Papists Articles, with this condition: so far as they were not against Gods Word being indeed clean contrary to it: and yet shortly after he valiantly suffered death for refusing the same.

Quod reliquum est Domino Deo meo committo, & spero in illum, quod ipse faciet juxtà hoc; Jacta in Dominum curam, &c. Omnis cura vestra conjecta sit in illum. &c. Revela Domino viam tuam, & spera, &c. Sperantem in Domino misericordia circundabit: id est, *That which remaineth, I commit to my Lord God; and I trust in him, that he will do according to this; Cast thy care on the Lord, &c. Cast all your care upon him, &c. Reveal unto the Lord thy way, and trust, &c. Who that trusteth in the Lord, mercy shall compass him about.* I did not, nor do not know, but by your Letters, *quod cras* we shall come *coram nobis.* Mine own heart, still stick *v. dabitur vobis.*

Psal. 54. Psal. 36. Psal. 31. Matth. 10. 1 Cor. 10. 2 Pet. 1. Nahum. 1.

Fidelis enim est Dominus, dabit in tentatione eventum quo possumus sufferre. Novit Dominus pios è tentatione eripere, &c. O utinam pius ego essem. Novit Dominus in die tribulationis sperantes in se, &c. id est, *It shall be given you, &c. for the Lord is faithful. He will in temptation make a way that ye may be able to bear it. The Lord knoweth how to rid out of temptation the godly, &c. O would God I were godly. The Lord knoweth how to deliver out of temptation such as trust in him, &c.* I cannot think that they will offer any kind of indifferent or mean conditions: for if we will not *adorare Bestiam*, we never shall be delivered, but against their will, think I. God our Father and gracious Lord make perfect the good he hath begun in us.

Faciet mi frater, charissime frater, quem in intimis visceribus habeo ad convivendum & commoriendum. O si tecum essem. He will do it my Brother, my dear Brother, whom I have in my inward bowels to live and dye with. O if I were with you. Pray for me my own heart root in the Lord.

For ever your own, John Bradford.

Another Letter to Mr. Lawrence Sanders.

Another Letter of *M. Bradford* to the said *Sanders.*

GOds sweet Peace in Christ be with you, my good Brother in the Lord Jesus, and with all your Concaptives, *Amen.*

I was letted this morning from musing on that which I was purposed to have thought on by reason of you, against whom I saw my self guilty of negligence, even in this point that I would not write, I should say, that I had not written unto you as yet: therefore out of hand in manner I prepared my self to purge my self hereof, not that I will go about to excuse my fault (for that were more to load me) but by asking both God and you pardon, to get it no more laid to my charge. Now when I was thus purposing, and partly doing, * cometh there one with a Letter from you: for the which as I have cause to thank God and you (howbeit not so that you should think, I give not the whole to God) so I see my self more blame-worthy, for this long holding my peace. Howbeit (good Brother) in this I have given a demonstration to you, to behold my negligence in all other things, and especially in praying for you, and for the Church of God, which for my sins and hypocrisie (hypocrisie indeed even in this writing, God deliver me from it) have deserved to be punished. Just is God, for we have deserved all kind of plagues at his hands: but yet merciful is he that will on this wise chastise us with this World, *Ne cum mundo condemnemur.* i. *That we should not be condemned with the World.* He might otherwise have punished us, I mean, he might have for other causes cast us in Prison, me especially, then for his Gospel and Words sake. Praised therefore be his Name, which voucheth us worthy this honour. Ah

M. Bradford accusing himself of negligence, &c.

good God forgive us our ſins, and work by this thy Fatherly correction on us, on me eſpecially, effectually to love thee and thy Chriſt; and with joyfulneſs unto the end to carry thy Croſs through thick and thin. Always ſet before our eyes, not this Gallows on Earth, if we will ſtick to thee; but the Gallows in Hell, if we deny thee, and ſwerve from that we have profeſſed.

Ah good Brother, if I could always have God, his Majeſty, Mercy, Heaven, Hell, &c. before mine eyes, then ſhould I *Obdurare*, as *Paul* writeth of *Moſes*, Hebr. 11. *Obduravit, inquit, perinde quaſi vidiſſet cum qui eſt inviſibilis.* i. *He endured*, ſaith he) *as he that ſaw him which is inviſible.* Pray for me, as I know you do, and give thanks alſo: for, *In Domino ſpero, non mutabo. Si ambulavero per vallem umbræ mortis, non timebo, quia tu Domine mecum es, &c.* Amen. i. *In the Lord I truſt, I ſhall not waver. If I walk by the valley of the ſhadow of death, I will not fear, for thou art with me, O Lord.* I think we ſhall be ſhortly called forth; for now *legem habent, & ſecundum legem, &c.* otherwiſe will they not reaſon with us; And I think their ſhoot-Anchor will be, to have us to ſubſcribe. The which thing if we do, though with this condition (ſo far as the thing ſubſcribed to, repugneth not againſt Gods Word) yet this will be offenſive. Therefore let us *vadere plane*, and ſo *ſanè*, I mean, let us all confeſs that we are no changlings, but *reipſa*, are the ſame we were in Religion, and therefore cannot ſubſcribe except we will diſſemble both with God, our ſelves, and the world. *Hæc tibi ſcribo, frater mi chariſſime in Domino.* *Jam legam tuam Epiſtolam.* i. *Theſe things I write to you, dear Brother in the Lord. Now I will read your Epiſtle.* Ah Brother, that I had *Practicam tecum ſcientiam in vite illa quam pingis; roga Dominum ut ita verè ſentiam*, Amen. i. *The practical underſtanding with you in that Vine which you deſcribe; Pray the Lord that I may think ſo indeed.* God make me thankful for you. *Salutant te omnes Concaptivi & gratias Domino pro te agunt, Idem tu facias pro nobis, & ores ut, &c.* i. *All our fellow-Priſoners ſalute you, and give thanks to God for you. The ſame do you for us, and pray that, &c.*

Pſal 22.

2 John. 2. 12.

Your Brother in the Lord Jeſus,
to live and dye with you, *J. Bradford.*

To my dear Fathers, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Dr. Latimer.

Another Letter of M. Bradford to D. Cranmer, D. Ridley, and D. Latimer.

JEſus *Emmanuel.* My dear Fathers in the Lord, I beſeech God our ſweet Father through Chriſt, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all, *Amen.*

I had thought that every of your ſtaves had ſtood next the door, but now it is otherwiſe perceived. Our dear Brother *Rogers* hath broken the Ice valiantly, as this day (I think) or to morrow at the uttermoſt, hearty *Hooper*, ſincere *Sanders*, and truſty *Taylor* end their courſe, and receive their Crown. The next am I, which hourly look for the Porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the deſired reſt. God forgive me mine unthankfulneſs for this exceeding great mercy, that amongſt ſo many thouſands it pleaſeth his Mercy to chuſe me to be one, in whom he will ſuffer. For although it be moſt true, that *juſte patior*, i. *I juſtly ſuffer*, (for I have been a great hypocrite, and a grievous ſinner, the Lord pardon me, yea, he hath done it, he hath done it indeed) yet *hic autem quid mali fecit?* i. *What evil hath he done?* Chriſt, whom the Prelates perſecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no evil, nor deſerveth death. Therefore ought I moſt heartily to rejoyce of this dignation and tender kindneſs of the Lords towards me, which uſeth remedy for my ſin as a teſtimonial of his Teſtament, to his glory, to my everlaſting comfort, to the edifying of his Church, and to the overthrowing of Antichriſt and his Kingdom. Oh what am I, Lord, that thou ſhouldeſt thus magnifie me ſo vile a Man and Miſer, as always I have been? Is this thy wont, to ſend for ſuch a wretch and an hypocrite as I have been, in a fiery Chariot, as thou didſt for *Helias*? Oh dear Fathers, be thankful for me, that I ſtill might be found worthy in whom the Lord would ſanctifie his holy Name. And for your part, make you ready: for we are but your Gentlemen-Uſhers. *Nuptiæ agni paratæ ſunt, venite ad nuptias.* i. *The marriage of the Lamb is prepared, come unto the marriage.* I now go to leave my fleſh there, where I received it. I ſhall be conveyed thither, as *Ignatius* was at *Rome*, *Leopardis*; by whoſe evil I hope to be made better. God grant, if it be his will that I ask, it may make them better by me, *Amen.*

This is a ſingular mercy of God, to have death, which is a due puniſhment for ſin, turned into a demonſtration and teſtification of the Lords truth.

4 Reg. 2.

Anno 1555.

For my farewel therefore, I write and ſend this unto you, truſting ſhortly to ſee you where we ſhall never be ſeparated. In the mean ſeaſon I will not ceaſe, as I have done, to commend you to our Father of Heaven, and that you would ſo do by me, I moſt heartily pray every one of you: you know now I have moſt need. But *Fidelis Deus, qui nunquam ſinet nos tentari ſupra id quod poſſumus.* i. *Faithful is God, which will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength.* He never did it hitherto, nor now, and I am aſſured he will never, *Amen. A dextris eſt mihi, non movebor. Propter hoc lætabitur cor meum, quia non derelinquet animam meam in inferno, nec dabit me, ſanctum ſuum per gratiam in Chriſto, videre corruptionem. E carcere raptim, expectans omni momento carnifficem.* i. *He is on my right hand, therefore I ſhall not fall. Wherefore my heart ſhall rejoyce, for he ſhall not leave my Soul in Hell, neither ſhall ſuffer me his holy One, by his grace in Chriſt, to ſee corruption.* Out of Priſon in haſt, looking for the Tormentor, the 8th. of *February*, 1555.

He meaneth that he ſhould be conveyed by the Queens Guard unto *Lancaſhire* to be burnt, as the Adverſaries had once determined, like as *Ignatius* was by a company of Souldiers conveyed to *Rome*, and caſt to the *Leopards*.

Pſal. 16.

John Bradford.

To the Right Honourable Lord *Ruſſel*, now Earl of *Bedford*, being then in trouble for the verity of Gods Goſpel.

A Letter of M. Bradford to the Lord Ruſſel now Earl of Bedford.

THE everlaſting and moſt gracious God and Father of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, bleſs your good Lordſhip with all manner of heavenly bleſſings in the ſame Chriſt our only comfort and hope, Amen.

Praiſed be God our Father, which hath vouched you worthy, as of Faith in his Chriſt, ſo of his Croſs for the ſame. Magnified be his holy Name, who as he hath delivered you from one Croſs, ſo he hath made you willing (I truſt) and ready to bear another when he ſhall ſee his time to lay it upon you: for theſe are the moſt ſingular gifts of God, given as to few, ſo to none elſe but to thoſe few which are moſt dear in his ſight. Faith is reckoned, and worthily, among the greateſt gifts of God, yea, it is the greateſt it ſelf that we may enjoy. For by it, as we be juſtified and made Gods Children, ſo are we Temples and poſſeſſors of the Holy Spirit, yea, of Chriſt alſo, Epheſ. 4. *And of the Father himſelf,* John 14. *By Faith we drive the Devil away,* 1 Pet. 5. *We overcome the world,* 1 Joh. 5. *And are already Citizens of Heaven, and Fellows with Gods dear Saints. But who is able to reckon the riches that this Faith bringeth with her unto the Soul ſhe ſitteth upon? No man nor Angel. And therefore (as I ſaid) of all Gods gifts ſhe may be ſet in the top, and have the upmoſt ſeat. The which thing if men conſidered (in that ſhe cometh alonely from Gods own Mercy ſeat, by the hearing, not of Maſs or Mattins, Dirges, or ſuch droſs, but the Word of God in ſuch a Tongue as we can and do underſtand) as they would be diligent and take great heed for doing or ſeeing any thing which might caſt her down (for then they fall alſo) ſo would they with no leſs care read and hear Gods holy Ward, joyning thereto moſt earneſt and often Prayer, as well for the more and better underſtanding, as for the loving, living, and confeſſing of the ſame, maugre the head of the Devil, the World, our Fleſh, Reaſon, Goods, Poſſeſſions, carnal Friends, Wife, Children, and very life here; if they ſhould pull us back to hearken to their voice and counſel, for more quiet, ſure, and longer uſe of them.*

The excellency of faith, and what it worketh.

Faith cometh by hearing the word, and not by hearing Maſs.

Now notwithſtanding this excellency of Faith, in that we read the Apoſtle to match there with, yea, (as it were) to prefer, ſuffering perſecution for Chriſts ſake, I trow no man will be ſo fond as to think otherwiſe, but that I and all Gods Children have cauſe to glorifie and praiſe God, which hath vouched you worthy ſo great a bleſſing. For though the reaſon or wiſdom of the world, think of the Croſs according to their reach, and according to their preſent ſenſe, and therefore flieth from it as from a moſt great ignominy and ſhame: Yet Gods Scholars have learned otherwiſe to think of the Croſs, that is, the frame-houſe in the which God frameth his Children like to his Son Chriſt; the fornace that fineth Gods gold; the high-way to Heaven; the Sute and Livery that Gods Servants are ſerved withal;

Phil. 1.

The efficacy of the Croſs, and what it worketh in Gods children.

the

Anno 1555.

the earnest and beginning of all consolation and glory. For they (I mean Gods Scholars, as your Lordship is, I trust) do enter into Gods Sanctuary, lest their feet slip. Psam 72. *They look not as Beasts do, on things present only, but on things to come, and so have they as present to Faith the judgment and glorious coming of Christ Jesus, as the wicked have now their worldly wealth wherein they wallow and will wallow, till they tumble headlong into* The end of prosperity. *Hell, where are torments too terrible and endless. Now they follow the Fiend as the Bear doth the train of Hony, and the Sow the Swillings, till they be brought into the* Sapienc. 5. *Slaughter-house, and then they know that their prosperity hath brought them to perdition. Then cry they, Wo, wo, we went the wrong way: we counted these men (I mean such as you be that suffer for Gods sake, loss of goods, friends and life, whom they shall see endued with rich robes of Righteousness, Crowns of most pure precious gold, and Palms of conquest in the goodly glorious Palace of the Lamb, where is eternal joy, felicity, &c.) We counted (will they then say) these Men but fools and mad-men, we took their conditions to be but curiosity. But then will it be too late, then the time will be turned, laughing shall be turned into weeping, and weeping into rejoycing. Read* Sapien. 2, 3, 4, 5.

Therefore (as before I have said) great cause have I to thank God, which hath vouched you worthy of his most bountiful blessing: much more then have you cause (my good Lord) so to be, I mean thankful. For look upon your Few Noble men called to Christs Kingdom. *vocation I pray you, tell me how many Noblemen, Earls Sons, Lords, Knights, and Men of Estimation, hath God in this Realm of* England *dealt thus withal? I dare say, you think not that you have deserved this. Only Gods mercy in his Christ hath wrought this on you, as he did in* Jeremiahs *time on* Abimelech, *in* Achabs *time on* Abdias, *in Christs time on* Joseph *of* Arimathea, *in the Apostles time on* Sergius Paulus, *and the Queen of* Candaces *Chamberlain. Only now be thankful and continue, continue, continue (my good Lord) continue to confess Christ. Be not ashamed of him before men: for then will not he be ashamed of you. Now will he try you; stick fast unto him; and he will stick fast by you, he will be with you in trouble, and deliver you. But then must you cry unto him: for so it proceedeth,* He cried unto me and I heard him, Psal 91. I was with him in trouble, &c.

Gods Remembrancers. *Remember* Lots *Wife, which looked back. Remember* Francis Spira. *Remember that none is crowned, but he that striveth lawfully. Remember that all you have is at Christs commandment. Remember he lost more for you, than you can lose for him. Remember you lose not that which is lost for his sake: for you shall find much more here and elsewhere. Remember you shall dye, and when, where, and how, ye cannot tell. Remember the death of Sinners is most terrible. Remember the death of Gods Saints is most precious in his sight. Remember the multitude goeth the wide way which windeth to wo. Remember that the strait-gate which leadeth to Glory, hath but few Travellers. Remember Christ biddeth you to strive to enter in thereat. Remember he that trusteth in the Lord, shall receive strength to stand against all the assaults of his Enemies. Be certain all the hairs of your head are numbred. Be certain your good Father hath appointed bounds, over the which the Devil dares not look. Commit your self to him; he is, hath been, and will be your Keeper. Cast your care on him, and he will care for you. Let Christ be your scope, and mark to prick at; let* Christ only must have both heart and hand. Psal. 1. 2 Cor. 6. *him be your pattern to work by; let him be your ensample to follow; give him as your heart so your hands, as your mind so your tongue, as your Faith so your feet, and let his Word be your Candle, to go before you in all matters of Religion. Blessed is he that walketh not to these Popish Prayers, nor standeth at them, nor sitteth at them; glorifie God both in Soul and Body. He that gathereth not with Christ, scattereth abroad. Use Prayer, look for Gods help, which is at hand to them that ask and hope thereafter assuredly. In which Prayers I heartily desire your Lordship to remember us, who as we are going with you right gladly (God therefore be praised) so we look to go before you, hoping that you will follow, if God so will, according to your daily Prayer,* Thy will be done on Earth, &c. *The good Spirit of God always guide your Lordship unto the end.* Amen.

Your Lordships own for ever,

John Bradford.

To Mr. Warcup *and his Wife; Mrs.* Wilkenson; *and others of his godly Friends, with their Families.*

A pithy and effectual Letter of M. Bradford to M. Warcup, and Mrs. Wilkinson.

THe same Peace our Saviour Christ left with his People, which is not without war with the World, Almighty God work plentifully in your hearts now and for ever. *Amen.*

The time I perceive is come wherein the Lords ground will be known, I mean, it will now shortly appear who have received Gods Gospel into their hearts indeed, to the taking of good root therein: for such will not for a little heat or Sun-burning wither, but stiffly will stand and grow on, maugre the malice of all burning showers and tempests. And forasmuch as (my Beloved in the Lord) I am perswaded of you, that ye be indeed the Children of God; Gods good ground, which groweth and will grow on (by Gods grace) bringing forth fruit to Gods glory after your vocations, as occasions shall be offered, (burn the sun never so hot) therefore I cannot but signifie unto you, and heartily pray you and every one of you, accordingly to go on forwards after your Master Christ, not sticking at the foul way and stormy weather, which you are to come into, and are like so to do: of this being most certain, that the end of your Journey shall be pleasant and joyful in such a perpetual rest and blissfulness, as cannot but swallow up the showres that ye now feel and are soused in, if ye often set it before your eyes, after *Pauls* counsel in the latter end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth Chapter of the second Epistle to the *Corinthians.* Read it I pray you, and remember it often as a restorative to refresh you, lest ye faint in the way.

And besides this set before you also, that though the weather be foul, and storms grow apace, yet go not ye alone, but other your Brothers and Sisters tread the same path, as S. *Peter* telleth us: and therefore company should cause you to be the more couragious and chearful. But if you had no company at all to go presently with you, I pray you tell me, if even from the beginning, the best of Gods Friends have found any fairer weather and way to the place whither ye are going (I mean Heaven) than ye now find and are like to do, except ye will with the worldlings, which have their portion in this life, tarry still by the way till the storms be overpast, and then either night will so approach that ye cannot travel, either the doors will be sparred before ye come, and so ye then lodge without in wonderful and evil lodgings. Read *Apocalyps* 22. Begin at *Abel*, and come from him to *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, the Patriarchs, *Moses*, *David*, *Daniel*, and all the Saints of the Old Testament, and tell me whether ever any of them found any fairer way than ye now find.

Foul way and foul weather to the kingdom of heaven.

If the Old Testament will not serve, I pray you come to the New, and begin with *Mary* and *Joseph*, and come from them to *Zachary* and *Elizabeth*, *John Baptist* and every one of the Apostles and Evangelists, and search whether they all found any other way into the City we travel towards, than by many tribulations.

The passage of all Gods Saints both in the old and new Testament hath been through Affliction. Read the story of the Primitive Church above described.

Besides these, if ye should call to remembrance the Primitive Church, Lord God, ye should see many to have given chearfully their Bodies to most grievous torments, rather than they would be stopped in their Journey, that there is no day in the year, but (I dare say) a thousand was the fewest that with great joy lost their homes here, but in the City they went unto, have found other manner of homes than Mans mind is able to conceive. But if none of these were, if ye had no company now to go with you, as you have me your poor Brother and Bondman of the Lord, with many other, I trust in God, if you had none other of the Fathers, Patriarchs, Kings, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, and other holy Saints and Children of God, that in their Journey to Heaven-ward, found as ye now find, and are like to find if ye go on forward, as I trust ye will, yet ye have your Master and your Captain Jesus Christ, the dear darling and only begotten and beloved Son of God, in whom was all the Fathers pleasure, joy and delectation, ye have him to go before you, no fairer way, but much fouler into this our City of *Jerusalem.* I need not (I trust) to rehearse what

Christ Jesus the Ring-leader of all Gods Children afflicted

manner of way he found. Begin at his birth, and till ye come at his burial, ye ſhall find that every foot and ſtride of his Journey was no better, but much worſe than yours is now.

We muſt not be ſo dainty, to look for fairer weather than Chriſt himſelf went thorow.

Wherefore (my dearly beloved in the Lord) be not ſo dainty, as to look for that at Gods hands, your dear Father, which the Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Martyrs, Saints, and his own Son Jeſus Chriſt did not find. Hitherto we have had fair way (I trow) and fair weather alſo: now becauſe we have loitered by the way, and not made the ſpeed we ſhould have done, our loving Lord and ſweet Father hath overcaſt the weather, and ſtirred up the ſtorms and tempeſts, that we might with more haſt run out our race before night come, and the doors be ſparred. The Devil ſtandeth now at every Inn door in his City and Country of this World, crying unto us to tarry and lodge in this or that place till the ſtorms be overpaſt; not that he would not have us wet to the skin, but that the time might overpaſs us to our utter deſtruction. Therefore beware of his enticements. Caſt not your eyes on things to be preſent, how this man doth, and how that man doth: but caſt your eyes on the gleve ye run at, or elſe ye will loſe the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the gleve, doth not look on others that ſtand by, and go this way or that way, but altogether looketh on the gleve, and on them that run with him, that thoſe which be behind overtake him not, and that he may overtake them which be before: even ſo ſhould we do, leave off looking on thoſe which will not run the race to Heavens bliſs by the path of Perſecution with us, and caſt our eyes on the end of our race, and on them that go before us, that we may overtake them, and on them which come after us, that we may provoke them to come the faſter after.

Phil. 3. The Devils enticements not to be truſted.

To look to the mark.

He that ſhooteth, will not caſt his eyes in his ſhooting on them that ſtand by, or ride by the ways (I trow,) but rather at the mark he ſhooteth at: for elſe he were like to win the wrong way: Even ſo, my dearly beloved, let your eyes be ſet on the mark ye ſhoot at, even Chriſt Jeſus, who for the Joy ſet before him, did joyfully carry his Croſs, contemning the ſhame, and therefore he now ſitteth on the right hand of the Throne of God. Let us follow him: for this did he that we ſhould not be faint-hearted. For we may be moſt aſſured, that if we ſuffer with him, we ſhall undoubtedly reign with him: but if we deny him, ſurely he will deny us; for he that is aſhamed of me, ſaith Chriſt, and of my Goſpel, in this faithleſs Generation, I will be aſhamed of him before the Angels of God in Heaven. Oh how heavy a Sentence is this to all ſuch as know the Maſs to be an abominable Idol, full of Idolatry, Blaſphemy and Sacriledge againſt God and his Chriſt, (as undoubtedly it is) and yet for fear of men, for loſs of life or goods, yea, ſome for advantage and gain, will honeſt it with their preſence, diſſembling both with God and Man, as their own heart and Conſcience doth accuſe them. Better it were that ſuch had never known the Truth, than thus wittingly, and for fear or favour of man, whoſe breath is in his noſtrils, to diſſemble it, or rather (as indeed it is) to deny it. The end of ſuch is like to be worſe than their beginning. Such had need to take heed of the two terrible places to the *Hebrews* in the 6. and 10. Chapters, leſt by ſo doing they fall therein. Let them beware they play no wily beguile with themſelves, as ſome do I fear me, which go to Maſs, and becauſe they worſhip not nor kneel not, nor knock not as others do, but ſit ſtill in their Pues, therefore they think they rather do good to others than hurt.

Heb. 12. Rom. 8. 2 Tim. 3. Matth. 12.

What danger it is to go to the blaſphemous Maſs.

Eſay 2. 2 Pet. 2. Heb. 6. 10.

But (alas) if theſe men would look into their own Conſciences, there ſhould they ſee they are very Diſſemblers, and in ſeeking to deceive others (for by this means the Magiſtrates think them of their ſort) they deceive themſelves. They think at the elevation time, all mens eyes are ſet upon them, to mark how they do. They think others, hearing of ſuch men going to Maſs, do ſee, or enquire of their behaviour there. Oh if there were in thoſe men that are ſo preſent at the Maſs, either love to God, or to their Brethren, then would they for the one or both, openly take Gods part, and admoniſh the people of their Idolatry. They fear man more than him which hath power to caſt both Soul and Body into Hell fire: they haſt on both knees: they ſerve two Maſters. God have mercy upon ſuch, and open their eyes with his Eye-ſalve, that they may ſee, that they which take no part with God are againſt God, and that they which gather not with Chriſt, do ſcatter abroad. Oh that they would read what St. *John* ſaith will be done to the fearful. The counſel given to the Church of *Laodicea*, is good counſel for ſuch.

Diſſembling Goſpellers.

Matth. 10. 2 Reg. 8. Apoc. 3.

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Apoc. 21. Apoc. 3.

But to return to you again (dearly Beloved,) be not ye aſhamed of Gods Goſpel: It is the power of God to ſalvation to all thoſe that do believe it. Be therefore partakers of the afflictions, as God ſhall make you able, knowing for certain, that he will never tempt you farther than he will make you able to bear: and think it no ſmall grace of God to ſuffer perſecution for Gods Truth: for the Spirit of God reſteth upon you, and ye are happy, as one day ye ſhall ſee. Read 2 *Theſſalonians* 1. *Hebrews* 12. As the fire hurteth not gold, but maketh it finer, ſo ſhall ye be more pure by ſuffering with Chriſt, 1 *Pet.* 1. The flail and wind hurteth not the wheat, but cleanſeth it from the chaff. And ye (dearly Beloved) are Gods wheat: fear not therefore the flail: fear not the fanning wind, fear not the Milſtone, fear not the Oven: for all theſe make you more meet for the Lords own Tooth. Sope, though it be black, ſoileth not the cloth, but rather at the length maketh it more clean: ſo doth the black Croſs help us to more whiteneſs, if God ſtrike with his Battledore. Becauſe ye are Gods Sheep, prepare your ſelves to the ſlaughter, always knowing that in the ſight of the Lord our death ſhall be precious. The Souls under the Altar look for us to fill up their number: happy are we if God have ſo appointed us. Howſoever it be (dearly Beloved) caſt your ſelves wholly upon the Lord, with whom all the hairs of your heads are numbred, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh. Will we, nill we, we muſt drink Gods Cup, if he have appointed it for us. Drink it willingly then, and at the firſt when it is full, leſt peradventure if we linger, we ſhall drink at the length of the dregs with the wicked, if at the beginning we drink not with his Children: for with them his Judgment beginneth, and when he hath wrought his will on Mount *Sion*, then will he viſit the Nations round about.

2 Tim. 1. Rom. 1.

1 Cor. 10. Phil. 1. 1 Pet. 3. Matt. 5.

Perſecution compared to the flail which hurteth not, but cleanſeth the wheat.

Rom. 8. 1 Pet. 5. Matth. 10.

Pſalm. 79. 1 Pet. 4.

Submit your ſelves therefore under the mighty hand of the Lord. No man ſhall touch you without his knowledge. When they touch you therefore, know it is your weal. God thereby will work to make you like unto Chriſt here, that ye may be alſo like unto him elſewhere. Acknowledge your unthankfulneſs and ſin, and bleſs God that correcteth you in the world, becauſe you ſhall not be damned with the world. Otherwiſe might he correct us, than in making us to ſuffer for Righteouſneſs ſake: but this he doth becauſe we are not of the world. Call upon his Name through Chriſt for his help, as he commandeth us. Believe that he is merciful to you, heareth you, and helpeth you: I am with him in trouble, and will deliver him, ſaith he. Know that God hath appointed bounds, over which the Devil and all the world ſhall not paſs. If all things ſeem to be againſt us, yet ſay with *Job*, if he will kill me, I will hope in him. Read the 91 *Pſalm*, and pray for me your poor Brother and Fellow-ſufferer for Gods Goſpel ſake, his Name therefore be praiſed; and of his mercy he make me and you worthy to ſuffer with good Conſcience for his Names ſake. Dye once we muſt, and when we know not: happy are they to whom God giveth to pay Natures debt, I mean, to dye for his ſake.

1 Pet. 5. Rom. 8.

Pſal. 50. Pſal. 22.

Happy is that death which ſeeing once it muſt needs be paid, is beſtowed upon the Lord.

Here is not our home: therefore let us accordingly conſider things, always having before our eyes the heavenly *Jeruſalem*, *Heb.* 12. *Apoc.* 21. 22. the way thither to be by Perſecutions; the dear Friends of God, how they have gone it after the example of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe footſteps let us follow even to the gallows, if God ſo will, not doubting but that as he within three days roſe again immortal, even ſo we ſhall do in our time, that is, when the Trump ſhall blow, and the Angel ſhall ſhout, and the Son of man ſhall appear in the Clouds with innumerable Saints and Angels, in majeſty and great glory: then ſhall the dead ariſe, and we ſhall be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord, and ſo be always with him. Comfort your ſelves with theſe words, and pray for me for Gods ſake. *E carcere* 19. *Nov.* 1553. *J. Bradford.*

To

Anno 1555

To Sir James Hales *Knight, then priſoner in the* Counter *in* Breadſtreet.

Another Letter of M. *Bradford* to Sir *James Hales*, Knight

THe GOD of Mercy, and Father of all Comfort, plentifully pour out upon you and in you his Mercy, and with his Conſolations comfort and ſtrengthen you to the end, for his and our Chriſts ſake.

Although, right worſhipful Sir, many cauſes might move me to be content with crying for you to your God and my God, that he would give you grace to preſevere well, as he hath right notably begun, to the great glory of his Name, and Comfort of all ſuch as fear him; as lack of learning, of familiarity, yea, acquaintance (for I think I am unknown to you, both by face and Name) and other ſuch like things; yet I cannot content my ſelf, but preſume ſomthing to ſcrible unto you, not that I think my ſcribling can do you any good, but that I might declare my συμπαθειαν and compaſſion, love, and affection I bear towards your maſterſhip, which is contented, yea deſirous with us poor miſers, to confeſs Chriſts Goſpel in theſe perillous times and days of tryal. Oh Lord God, how good art thou, which doeſt thus glean out grapes, I mean Children for thy ſelf, and Brethren for Chriſt! Look, good Maſter *Hales*, on your vocation; not many Judges, not many Knights, not many landed men, not many rich men, and wealthy to live as you are, hath God choſen to ſuffer for his ſake, as he hath now done you. Certainly I dare ſay you think not ſo of your ſelf, as though God were bound to prefer you, or had need of you, but rather attribute this as all good things unto his free Mercy in Chriſt. Again, I dare ſay that you being a wiſe man, do judge of things wiſely, that is, concerning this your Croſs, you judge of it not after the World and People which is *magnus erroris magiſter*, nor after the judgment of reaſon and worldly wiſedom, which is fooliſhneſs to Faith, nor after the preſent ſenſe, to which *non videtur gaudii, ſed moleſtiæ. i. e.* It ſeemeth not to be joyous but grievous, as *Paul* writeth: but after the word of God, which teacheth your Croſs to be, in reſpect of your ſelf between God and you, Gods chaſtiſing, and your Fathers correction, nurture, ſchool, tryall, path-way to Heaven, Glory and felicity, and the furnace to conſume the droſs, and mortifie the reliques of Old *Adam* which yet remain, yea even the Frame-Houſe to faſhion you like to the deareſt Saints of God here, yea to Chriſt the Son of God, that elſewere you might be like unto him.

How God gleaneth out his People.

The World, People, worldly wiſdom, are evil judges of things ſpiritual. Heb. 12.

Praiſe of the Croſs.

Now concerning your Croſs in reſpect of the World, between the World and you, Gods Word teacheth it to be a teſtimonial of Gods Truth, of his Providence, of his Power, of his Juſtice, of his Wiſdom, of his anger againſt Sin, of his Goodneſs, of his Judgment, of your Faith and Religion, ſo that by it you are to the World a witneſs of God, one of his *Teſtes*, that he is true, he ruleth all things, he is juſt, wiſe, and at length will judge the World, and caſt the wicked into perdition, but the godly he will take and receive into his eternal habitation. I know you judge of things after Faiths fetch, and the effects or ends of things, and ſo you ſee *æternum pondus gloriæ. i.e.* an eterall weight of glory, which this Croſs ſhall bring unto you, *dum non ſpectas ea quæ videntur, ſed ea quæ non videntur. i.e.* while ye look not on things which are ſeen, but on the things which are not ſeen. Let the worldlings weigh things and look upon the affairs of men with their worldly and corporal eyes, as did many in ſubſcription of the Kings laſt will, and therefore they did that, for the which they beſhrewed themſelves: but let us look on things with other manner of eyes, as God be praiſed you did, in not doing that which you were deſired, and driven at to have done. You then beheld things not as a man, but as a man of God, and ſo you do now in Religion, at the leaſt hitherto you have done, and that you might do ſo ſtill, I humbly beſeech and pray you, ſay with *David, Defecerunt oculi mei in eloquium tuum: quando conſolaberis me? i.* Mine eyes fail for thy word ſaying; when wilt thou comfort me? Though you be as *uter in fumo. i.* like a bottle in the ſmoke: (for I hear you want health) yet *ne obliviſcaris juſtificationes Dei. i.* Do not forget the ſtatutes of the Lord: but cry out, *Quot ſunt dies ſervi tui? quando facies de perſequentibus me judicium? i. e.* How many are the days of thy Servant? when wilt thou execute judgment on them that perſecute me? And be certain, *Quod Dominus veniens veniet, & non tardabit. Si moram fecerit, expecta illum. i.* The Lord will ſurely come, and not ſtay; though he tarry, wait for him: for he is but *ad momentum in ira ſua, & vita in voluntate ejus: Ad veſperam demorabitur fletus, & ad matutinam lætitia. i.* He is but a while in his anger; but in his favour is life: weeping may abide at evening, but joy cometh in the morning. Follow therefore *Eſays* Counſel, *Abſcondere ad modicum, ad momentum, donec pertranſeat indignatio ejus. i.* Hide thy ſelf for a very little while, until his indignation paſs over, which is not *indignatio* indeed, but to our ſenſe, and therefore in the ſix and twentieth Chapter of *Eſay*, God ſaith of his Church and People, that as he keepeth night and day: ſo *Non eſt indignatio mihi. i.* There is no anger in me (ſaith he.)

I Cor. 4.

Subſcribing to King *Edwards* will.

Pſal. 19.

Habak. 2. Pſal. 30.

Eſay 26.

Eſay 26.

The Mother ſometime beateth the Child, but yet her heart melteth upon it, even in the very beating: and therefore ſhe caſteth the rod into the fire, and colleth the Child, giveth it an apple, and dandleth it moſt motherly. And to ſay the truth, the love of Mothers to their Children, is but a trace to train us to behold the love of God towards us: and therefore ſaith he: Can a Mother forget the Child of her womb? As who ſhould ſay, No: but if ſhe ſhould ſo do, yet will not I forget thee, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts. Ah comfortable ſaying! I will not forget thee, ſaith the Lord. Indeed the Children of God think oftentimes that God hath forgotten them, and therefore they cry, *Ne abſcondas faciem tuam à me, &c. i.* Hide not thy face from me, &c. *Ne derelinquas me Domine, &c. i.* Leave me not, O Lord, &c. Whereas in very truth it is not ſo, but to their preſent ſenſe: and therefore *David* ſaid, *Ego dixi in exceſſu meo projectus ſum à facie tua. i.* I ſaid in my agony, I was clean caſt away from thy face. But was it ſo? Nay verily. Read his Pſalms, and you ſhall ſee. So writeth he alſo in other places very often, eſpecially in the perſon of Chriſt: as when he ſaith, *Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquiſti me? i.* My God, my God why had thou forſaken me? He ſaith not, *Ut quid derelinquis? i.* Why doeſt thou forſake me? or, *derelinques? i.* Why wilt thou forſake me? But, *Ut quid dereliquiſti? i.* Why haſt thou forſaken me? Where indeed God had not left him, but that it was ſo to his ſenſe, and that this *Pſalm* telleth us full well: which *Pſalm* I pray you now and then read, it is the two and twentieth, and thereto joyn the thirtieth, and the hundred and ſixteenth, with divers other. The ſame we read in the Prophet *Eſay*, the fortieth Chapter, where he reproveth *Iſrael* for ſaying, GOD had forgotten them *Nunquid neſcis*, ſaith he? Knoweſt thou not *An non audiviſti? &c.* Haſt thou not heard? &c. *Qui ſperant in Domino mutabunt fortitudinem. i.* They that truſt in the Lord, ſhall renew their ſtrength. And in his four and fiftieth Chapter, *Noli timere, &c. Ad punctum enim, in modico dereliqui te, at in miſerationibus magnis congregabo te. In momento indignationis abſcondi faciem meam parumper à te, at in miſericordia ſempiterna miſertus ſum tui, dicit Redemptor tuus Dominus. Nam iſtud erit mihi ſicut aquæ Noe. Vt enim juravi ne porro aquæ Noe pertranſirent terram, ſic juravi ut non iraſcar tibi & non increpem te. Montes enim commovebuntur & colles contremiſcent, miſericordia autem mea non recedet à te, & fœdus pacis meæ non movebitur, dicit miſerator tuus Dominus. i.* Fear not, &c. For a little while I have forſaken thee, but with great compaſſion will I gather thee. For a moment in mine anger I hid my face from thee, for a little ſeaſon: but in everlaſting Mercy have I had compaſſion on thee, ſaith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is unto me, as the waters of Noe. For as I have ſworn that the waters of Noe ſhould no more go over the earth, ſo have I ſworn that I would not be angry with thee nor rebuke thee. For the mountains ſhall remove, and hils ſhall fall down, but my Mercy ſhall not depart from thee, neither ſhall the covenant of my peace fall away, ſaith the Lord that hath compaſſion on thee.

Gods love in our corrections.

Eſay 49.

Pſal. 90. 98. 37. and 26. Pſal. 31. Pſal 22.

Eſay 40.

But the Scriptures are full of ſuch ſweet places to them that will *portare iram Domini & expectare ſalutem & auxilium ejus. i.* Bear the wrath of the Lord, and wait for his health and help. As of all temptations, this is the greateſt, that God hath forgotten, or will not help us

Micah 7.

Anno 1555

(for many benefits I have received of God by your hands, through the pikes, as they say: so of all service of God, this liketh him the best, to hope assuredly on him, and for his help always, which is *adjutor in tribulationibus* i.e. An helper in tribulations, and doth more gloriously shew his power by such as be weak, and feel themselves so. For, *quo infirmiores sumus, eo sumus in illo robustiores. Sic oculi Domini.* i.e. The weaker we are, the more strong we are in him. Thus the eyes of the Lord be on them that tremble and fear. *Voluntatem eorum faciet.* i.e. he will accomplish their desire; he is with them in their trouble, he will deliver them. *Antequam clamaverint, exaudit eos.* i.e. Before they cry, he heareth them, as all the Scriptures teach us. To the reading whereof, and hearty prayer, I heartily commend you, beseeching Almighty God, that of his Eternal Mercy he would make perfect the good he hath begun in you, and strengthen you to the end, that you might have no less hope, but much more of his help to your comfort now against your enemies, than already he hath given you against N. for not Subscribing to the Kings will.

1 Cor. 11. Psal. 144.

Be certain, be certain, good Master *Hales*, that all the hairs of your head, your dear Father hath numbred; so that one of them shall not perish: your name is written in the book of life. Therefore upon God cast all your care, which will comfort you with his Eternal Consolations, and make you able to go through the fire (if need be) which is nothing to be compared to the fire wherein our enemies shall fall and lye for ever, from the which the Lord deliver us, though it be through temporal fire, which must be construed according to the end and profit that cometh after it; so shall it then not much fear us to suffer it for our Master Christs cause, the which the Lord grant us for his mercies sake, Amen From the *Kings Bench.*

Your humble John Bradford.

To my very Friend in the Lord Doctor *Hill*, Physician.

A letter to D. Hill, physician

THe God of mercy and Father of all comfort at this present and for ever ingraff in your heart the sense of his mercy in Christ, and the continuance of his consolation, which cannot but enable you to carry with joy whatsoever Cross he shall lay upon you, Amen.

Hitherto I could have no such liberty, as to write unto you, as I think you know: but now in that through Gods providence I have no such restraint, I cannot but something write, as well to purge me of this suspicion of unthankfulness towards you, as also to signifie my carefulness for you in these perillous days, lest you should wax cold in Gods cause (which God forbid) or suffer the light of the Lord once kindled in your heart to be quenched, and so become as you were before, after the example of the World, and of many other, which would have been accounted otherwise in our days, and yet still beguil themselves, still would be so accounted, although by their outward life they declare the Contrary, in that they think it enough to keep the heart pure, notwithstanding that the outward man doth curry favour.

In which doings, as they deny God to be jealous, and therefore requireth the whole man as well Body as Soul, being both create, as to immortality and society with him, so redeemed by the Blood of Jesus Christ, and now sanctified by the Holy Spirit to be the Temple of God, and member of his Son (as I say) by their parting stake to give God the heart, and the World the Body, they deny God to be jealous (for else they would give him both, as the wife would do to her husband whether he be jealous or no, if she be honest) so they play the dissemblers with the Church of God by their fact, offending the godly whom either they provoke to fall with them, or make more careless and conscienceless if they be fallen, and occasioning the wicked and obstinate to triumph against God, and the more vehemently to prosecute their malice against such as will not defile themselves in Body or Soul with the Romish rags now received amongst us. Because of this, I mean, lest you, my dear Master and Brother in the Lord, should do as many of our Gospellers do for fear of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and hath power but of the Body, not fearing the Lord, which hath power both of Soul and Body, and not only temporally, but also eternally: I could not but write something unto you, as well because duty deserveth it for the which he reward you, for I cannot as also because charity and love compelleth me; *not that I think you have need (for as I may rather learn of you, so I doubt not but you have hitherto kept your self upright from halting) but that I might both quiet my Conscience, calling upon me hereabout, and signifie unto you by something, my carefulness for your Soul, as painfully and often you have lone for my Body.*

Parting stakes between God and the World,

Dissembling with the Church

Gospel spillers. Esay 2.

Dr *Hill* M. Bradfords Physician.

Therefore I pray you call to mind, that there be but two Masters, two kinds of People, two ways, and two mansion places. The Masters be Christ and Satan, the People be servitors to either of these, the ways be strait and wide, the mansions be Heaven and Hell. Again, consider that this World is the place of tryal of Gods People, and the Devils Servants: for as the one will follow his Master whatsoever cometh of it, so will the other. For a time it is hard to discern who pertaineth to God, and who to the Devil: as in the calm and peace, who is a good shipman and warriour, and who is not? But as when the storm ariseth, the expert Mariner is known, and as in war the good Souldier is seen, so in affliction and the Cross, easily Gods Children are known from Satans Servants: for then, as the good Servant will follow his Master, so will the godly follow their Captain, come what will come, whereas the wicked and hypocrites will bid adieu, and desire less of Christs acquaintance. For which cause the Cross is called a probation and tryal, because it trieth who will go with God, and who will forsake him. And now in England *we see how small a company Christ hath in comparison of Satans Souldiers. Let no man deceive himself: for he that gathereth not with Christ scattereth abroad. No man can serve two Masters; the Lord abhorreth double hearts; the luke-warm, that is, such as are both hot and cold, he spitteth out of his mouth. None that halt on both knees doth God take for his Servants. The way of Christ is the strait way, and so strait, that as a few find it, and few walk in it, so no man can halt in it, but must needs go upright: for as the straitness will suffer no reeling to this side or that side: so if any halt: he is like to fall off the bridge into the pit of eternall perdition.*

Two Masters. Two sorts of Subjects. Two ways. Two Kingdoms.

Affliction trieth who go with God & who goeth with the Devel.

Christs part the smallest, and why.

Strive therefore, good Master Doctor, now you have found it, to enter into it: and if you should be called or pulled back, look not on this side, or that side or behind you, as Lots Wife did, but straight forwards is the end which is set before you (though it be to come) as even now present: like as you do and will your patients to do in purgations, and other your ministrations, to consider the effect that will ensue; where through the bitterness and loathsomness of the purgation is so overcome, and the painfulness in abiding the working of that is ministred, is so eased, that it maketh the patient willingly and joyfully to receive that is to be received, although it be never so unpleasant: so (I say) set before you the end of this strait way, and then doubtless, as Paul *saith,* æternum pondus gloriæ parlet, i. *It shall bring with it an eternall weight of glory, whilst we look not on the thing which is seen, for that is temporal, but on the thing which is not seen, which is eternall. So doth the Husbandman in plowing and tilling set before him the harvest time; so doth the Fisher consider the draught of his net, rather than the casting in; so doth the Merchant the return of his Merchandise; and so should we in these stormy days set before us not the loss of our goods, liberty, and very life, but the reaping time, the coming of our Saviour Christ to Judgment, the fire that shall burn the wicked and disobedient to Gods Gospel, the blast of the Trump, the exceeding glory prepared for us in Heaven Eternally, such as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive. The more we lose here, the greater joy shall we have there. The more we suffer, the greater triumph. For corruptible dross, we shall find incorruptible treasures; for gold, glory: for silver, solace without end; for riches, robes royal; for earthly Houses, eternal Palaces; mirth without measure, pleasure without pain, felicity endless; Summa, we shall have God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.*

A wise man will ever consider the end.

The glorious recompence of such as suffer for the Lord.

O happy place. Oh that this day would come. Then shall the end of the wicked be lamentable, then shall they receive the just reward of Gods vengeance, then shall they cry woe, woe, that ever they did as they have done.

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done. Read Wisd. 2. 3. 4. 5. *Read* Matthew 35. *Read* 1 Corinth. 15. 2 Corinth 5. *and by Faith (which God increase in us) consider the thing there set forth. And for your comfort, read* Hebrews 11. *to see what Faith hath done, always considering the way to Heaven to be by many Tribulations, and that all they which will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. You know this is our Alphabet; He that will be my Disciple, saith Christ, must deny himself, and take up his Cross, and follow me, Not this Bishop nor that Doctor, not this Emperour, nor that King, but me, saith Christ: For he that loveth Father, Mother, Wife, Children, or very life, better then me, is not worthy of me. Remember that the same Lord saith; He that will save his life shall lose it. Comfort your self with this, that as the Divels had no power over the Porkets, or over* Jobs *goods without Gods leave, so shall they have none over you. Remember also that all the hairs of your head are numbred with God. The Divel may make one believe he will drown him, as the Sea in his surges threatneth to the land: but as the Lord hath appointed bounds for the one, over the which he cannot pass, so hath he done for the other.*

The way to Heaven is by tribulations.

Matth. 8.

On God therefore cast your care, love him, serve him after his Word, fear him, trust in him, hope at his hand for all help, and always pray, looking for the Cross, and whensoever it cometh, be assured, the Lord, as he is faithfull, so he will never tempt you further the he will make you able to bear, but in the midst of the Temptation will make such an evasion, as shall be most to his glory, and your eternall comfort. God for his mercy in Christ, with his Holy Spirit endue you, comfort you, under the wings of his mercy shaddow you, and as his dear Child guide you for evermore. To whose merciful tuition, as I do with my hearty prayer commit you, so I doubt not but you pray for me, and so I beseech you to do still. My Brother P. telleth me, you would have the last part of Saint Jeromes *works, to have the use thereof for a fortnight. I cannot for these three days well forbear it, but yet on* Thursday *next I will send it you, if God let me not, and use me and that I have as your own. The Lord for his mercy in Christ direct our ways to his glory.*

Out of prison by yours to command,
John Bradford.

To Mistris M. H. a godly Gentlewoman, comforting her in that common heavines and godly sorrow, which the feeling and sense of sin worketh in Gods Children.

Another ghostly Letter of *M. Bradford* to Mistris M. H.

I Humbly and heartily pray the everlasting God and Father of mercy to bless and keep your heart and mind in the knowledge and love of his Truth, and of his Christ, through the inspiration and working of his Holy Spirit, Amen.

Although I have no doubt, but that you prosper and go forward daily in the way of godliness, more and more drawing towards perfection, and have no need of any thing that I can write; yet because my desire is that you might be more fervent and persevere to the end, I could not but write something unto you, beseeching you both often and diligently to call unto your mind, as a mean to stir you hereunto, yea, as a thing which God most straitly requireth you to believe, that you are beloved of God, and that he is your dear Father, in, through, and for Christ and his deaths sak This love and tender kindness of God towards us in Christ is abundantly herein declared, in that he hath to the godly work of creation of this World made us after his Image, redeemed us being lost, called us into his Church, sealed us with his mark and sign manual of Baptism, kept and conserved us all the days of our life, fed, nourished, defended and most Fatherly chastised us, and now hath kindled in our hearts the sparkles of his fear, faith, love and knowledge of his Christ and truth, and therefore we lament, because we lament no more our unthankfulness, our frailness, our diffidence and wavering in things wherein we should be most certain.

Gods benefits to be declared.

All these things we should use as means to confirm our Faith of this, that God is our God and Father, and to assure us, that he loveth us as our Father in Christ: to this end (I say) we should use the things before touched, especially in that, of all things, God requireth this Faith and Fatherly perswasion of his Fatherly goodness, as his chiefest service. For before he ask any thing of us, he saith; I am the Lord thy God, giving himself, and then all he hath to us to be our own. And this he doth in respect of himself, of his own mercy and truth, and not in respect of us, for then were grace no grace. In consideration whereof, when he saith; Thou shalt have none other Gods but me, thou shalt love me with all thy heart, &c. though of dutie we are bound to accomplish all that he requireth, and are culpable and guilty if we do not the same, yet he requireth not these things further of us, then to make us more in love, and more certain of this his covenant, that he is our Lord and God. In certainty whereof, as he hath given this whole World to serve to our need and commodity; so hath he given his Son Christ Jesus, and in Christ, himself to be a pledge and gage, whereof the Holy Ghost doth now and then give us some taste and sweet smell to our eternal joy.

The chiefest Service of God is to think well of his fatherly goodness in Christ.

Therefore (as I said) because God is our Father in Christ, and requireth of you straitly to believe it, give your self to obedience, although ye do it not with such feeling as you desire. First must Faith go before, and then feeling will follow. If our imperfection, frailty, and many evils should be occasions whereby Satan would have us to doubt; as much as we can, let us abhor that suggestion, as of all others most pernicious; for so indeed it is. For when we stand in a doubt, whether God be our Father, we cannot be thankful to God, we cannot heartily pray or think any thing we do acceptable to God, we cannot love our Neighbours, and give over our selves to care for them, and do for them as we should do, and therefore Satan is most subtile hereabouts, knowing full well that if we doubt of God eternal mercys towards us through Christ, we cannot please God, or do any thing as we should do to man. Continually casteth he into our memories our imperfection, frailty, falls, and offences, that we should doubt of Gods mercy and favour towards us.

Where feeling faileth yet obedience is required.

Let no suggestion make us doubt of Gods favour in Christ.

Therefore (my good Sister) we must not be sluggish herein, but as Satan laboureth to loosen our Faith, so must we labour to fasten it by thinking on the promises and covenant of God in Christs Blood; namely, that God is our God with all that ever he hath: which covenant dependeth and hangeth upon Gods own goodness, mercy and truth only, and not on our obedience or worthiness in any point; for then should we never be certain. Indeed God requireth of us obedience and worthiness, but not that thereby we might be his Children, and he our Father: but because he is our Father and we his Children through his own goodness in Christ, therefore requireth he Faith and Obedience. Now if we want this obedience and worthiness, which he requireth, should we doubt whether he be our Father? Nay, that were to make our obedience and worthiness the cause, and so to put Christ out of place, for whose sake God is our Father: But rather because he is our Father, and we feel our selves to want such things as he requireth, we should be stirred up to a shamefastness and blushing, because we are not as we should be: and thereupon should we take occasion to go to our Father in prayer on this manner:

To stay upon Gods promise in Christs Blood.

Obedience giveth not to us to be Gods Children, but to be Gods Children giveth obedience.

Dear Father, thou of thine own mercy in Jesus Christ hast chosen me to be thy Child, & therefore thou wouldst I should be brought into thy Church and faithful company of thy Children; wherein thou hast kept me hitherto, thy name therefore be praised. Now I see my self to want faith, hope, love, &c. which thy Children have and thou requirest of me, wherethrough the Divel would have me to doubt, yea utterly to despair of thy Fatherly goodness, favour and mercy. Therefore I come to thee as to my mercifull Father, through thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and pray thee to help me good Lord: help me, and give me faith, hope, love, &c. and grant that thy Holy Spirit may be with me for ever, and more and more to assure me that thou art my Father; that this mercifull covenant that thou madest with me in respect of thy grace in Christ and for Christ, and not in respest of any my worthiness, is alwayes to me, &c.

How a man should pray when feeling of Gods comfort lacketh.

On this sort (I say) you most pray and use your cogitations, when Satan would have you to doubt of salvation.

He

He doth all he can to prevail herein. Do you all you can to prevail herein against him. Though you feel not as you would, yet doubt not, but hope beyond all hope, as *Abraham* did. For always (I said) goeth faith before feeling. As certain as God is Almighty, as certain as God is Merciful, as certain as God is True, as certain as Jesus Christ was crucified, is risen, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, as certain as this is Gods Commandment: *I am thy Lord thy God, &c.* so certain ought you to be that God is your Father. As you are bound to have no other Gods but him, so are ye no less bound to believe that God is your God. What profit should it be to you to believe this to be true; *I am the Lord thy God*, to others, if you should not believe that his is true to your self? The Divel believeth on this fort. And whatsoever it be that would move you to doubt of this, whether God be your God through Christ, that same cometh undoubtedly of the Divel. Wherefore did he make you, but because he loved you? Might not he have made you Blind, Deaf, Lame, Frantick, &c? Might not he have made you a Jew, a Turk, a Papist, &c? And why hath he not done so? Verily because he loved you? And why did he love you? What was there in you to move him to love you? Surely nothing moved him to love you, and therefore to make you, and so hitherto to keep you, but his own goodness in Christ. Now then in that his goodness in Christ still remaineth as much as it was, that is, even as great as himself, for it cannot be lessened; how should it be but that he is your God and Father? Believe this, believe this my good Sister, for God is no Changeling; them whom he loveth, he loveth to the end.

Hope beyond hope. Faith goeth before feeling.

Doubting cometh of the Divel.

Eccles. 2.

Cast therefore your self wholly upon him, and think without all wavering, that you are Gods Child, that you are a Citizen of Heaven, that you are the Daughter of God, the Temple of the Holy Ghost, &c. If hereof you be assured as you ought to be, then shall your conscience be quieted, then shall you Lament more and more that you want many things which God loveth; then shall you labour to be *Holy in Soul and Body*; then shall you go about that Gods Glory may shine in all your words and works; then shall you not be affraid what man can do unto you; then shall you have Wisdom to answer your Adversaries, as shall serve to their shame, and your comfort; then shall you be certain that no man can touch one hair of your head further then shall please your good Father, to your everlasting joy; then shall you be most certain, that God as your good Father will be more careful for your Children, and make better provision for them, if all you have were gon, then you can; then shall you (being assured I say of Gods favour towards you) give over your self wholy to help and care for others that be in need; then shall you contem this life, and desire to be at home with your good and sweet Father; then shall you labour to mortifie all things that would spot either Soul or Body. All these things spring out of this certain perswasion and Faith, that God is our Father, and we are his Children by Christ Jesus. All things should help our Faith herein; but Satan goeth about in all things to hinder us.

Faith and assured hope of Gods favour, is the fountain of all well-doing.

Therefore let us use earnest and hearty Prayer; let us often remember this Covenant; *I am the Lord thy God*; let us look upon Christ and his Precious Blood shed for the obsignation and Confirmation of his Covenant; let us remember all the free promises of the Gospel; let us set before us Gods benefits generally in making this World, in ruling it, in governing it, in calling and keeping his Church, &c. let us set before us Gods benefits particularly, how he hath made his Creatures after his Image, how he made us of perfect limbs, form, beauty, memory, &c. how he hath made us Christians, and given us a right Judgment in his Religion; how he hath ever since we were born, blessed, kept, nourished, and defended us; how he hath often beaten, chastised, and fatherly corrected us; how he hath spared us, and doth now spare us, giving us time, space, place, grace. This if you do and use earnest Prayer, and to flee from all things which might wound your Conscience, giving your self to diligence in your vocation, you shall find at the length (which God grant to me with you) a sure certainty of salvation, without all such doubt as may trouble the peace of Conscience to your eternal joy and comfort, Amen, Amen.

Consideration of Gods promises and benefits.

Yours to use in Christ, J. Bradford.

Another Letter full of godly comfort, written to the same person.

Anno 1555

THe good Spirit of God which guideth his Children, be with you my good Sister in the Lord for ever, Amen.

Another like letter of comfort to *M. H.*

Although, as I to you, so you unto me in prison are unknown, yet to him whom we desire to please, we are not only in persons, but also in hearts known and throughly seen: and therefore as for his sake you would by that you sent, of me be perceived how that in God you bear to me a good will; so that I to you might be seen in God to bear you the like, I send to you these few words in writing, wishing that in all your doings and speech, yea even in your very thoughts you would labour to feel that they are all present and open before the sight of God, be they good or bad. This cogitation often had in mind, and Prayer made to God for the working of his Spirit, thereby, as a mean, you shall at the length feel more comfort and commodity, then any man can know, but such as be exercised therein. Howbeit this is to be added, that in thinking your self, and all that you have and do, to be in the sight of God; this (I say) is to be added, that you think his sight is the sight not only of a Lord, but rather of a Father, which tendereth more your infirmities, then you can tender the infirmities of any your Children. Yea, when in your self you see a motherly affection to your little one that is weak, let the same be unto you a trace to train you to see the unspeakable kind affection of God your Father towards you.

Consideration of Gods tender affection to us in Christ his Son.

And therefore upon the consideration of your infirmities and natural evils, which continually cleave unto us, take occasion to go to God as your Father through Christ: and before his merciful heart lay open your infirmtys and evils, with desire of pardon and help after his good will and pleasure, but in his time, and not when you will, and by what means he will, not by that way you would; in the mean season hang on hope of his fatherly goodness, and surely you shall never be ashamed. For if a Woman that is natural cannot finally forget the Child of her womb, be sure God which is a Father supernatural cannot, nor will not forget you. Yea if a Woman could be so forgetful, yet God himself saith, he will not be so.

No time nor means to be prescribed to God.

Isai. 49.

This opinion, yea rather certain perswasion of God our Father through Christ see that you cherish, and by all means, as well by diligent consideration of his benefits, as of his loving corrections, whether they be inward or outward, see that you nourish; knowing for certain, that as the Divel goeth about nothing so much as to bring you in a doubt whether ye be Gods Child or no: so whatsoever shall move you to admit that dubitation, be assured the same to come from the Divel, if you feel in your self not only the want of good things, but also plenty of evil, do not therefore doubt whether you be Gods Child in Christ, or no.

The practice of the Divel to bring a man in doubt whether he be God's Child, or no.

We ought to measure Gods favour neither by our goodness nor ilness, but only by our faith in Christ.

For if for your goodness or ilness sake, which you feel or feel not, ye should believe or doubt, then should you make Christ Jesus, for whose sake only God is your Father, either nothing, or else but half Christ.

But rather take occasion of your wants in good, and of your plenty in evil, to go to God as to your Father, and to Pray to him, that in as much as he commandeth you to believe that he is your God and Father; so he would give you his good Spirit, that you might feel the same, and live as his Child, to his glory: and cease not upon such Prayers to look for comfort in Gods good time, still hoping the best, and rejecting all dubitation, and so all evil works, words, and cogitations, as the Lord shall enable you by his good Spirit and grace, which I beseech him to give unto you, my good Sister, for ever. And further I pray you, that as he hath made you to be an helper unto your Husband, so you would endeavour your self therein to shew the same as well in Soul as Body; and beg grace of God, that your endeavour may be effectual to both your comforts in Christ, Amen.

John Bradford.

To

Anno 1555.

To my well beloved in the Lord, *W. P.*

A Letter of M. Bradford to W. P.

GRace and Peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

Dear Brother, God most justly hath cast me down into a Dungeon, but much better than I deserve; wherein I see no man but my Keeper, nor can see any except they come to me. Something in the Earth my lodging is, which is an example and memorial of my Earthly affections (which God I trust will mortifie) and of my Sepulchre, whereunto I trust my Lord God will bring me in peace in his good time. In the mean season he give me patience, lively hope, and his good Spirit. I pray you pray for me, for the Prayer of the godly, if it be fervent, worketh much with God. I thank God my common disease doth less trouble me than when I was abroad, which doth teach me the merciful Providence of God towards me. Use true and hearty Prayer, and you shall perceive God at length will declare himself to see, where now many think he sleepeth.

This disease was a Rheum with a feebleness of stomach wherewith he was much troubled while he was at liberty.

Out of the *Tower*, by the Lords Prisoner, *John Bradford.*

A Letter which he wrote to a faithful Woman in her heavines and trouble: most comfortable for all those to read that are afflicted and broken hearted for their sins.

A Letter of M. Bradford to a faithful woman inwardly afflicted.

GOD our good Father, for his mercies sake in Christ, with his eternal Consolation so comfort you, as I desire to be comforted of him in my most need: Yea, he will comfort you (my dear Sister) only cast your care upon him, and he never can nor will forsake you. For his calling and gifts be such, that he can never repent him of them. Whom he loveth, he loveth to the end; none of his chosen can perish. Of which number I know you are, my dearly beloved Sister: God increase the Faith thereof daily more and more in you, he give unto you to hang wholly on him and on his Providence and Protection. For whoso dwelleth under * that secret thing, and help of the Lord, he shall be cock-sure for evermore. He that dwelleth, I say; for if we be flitters and not dwellers, as was *Lot* a flitter from *Segor*, where God promised him protection, if he had dwelled there still: we shall remove to our loss, as he did into the Mountains.

Rom. 11.

* Gods Providence and Protection. Psalm. 91. 90. Gen. 19.

Dwell therefore, that is, trust, and that finally unto the end, in the Lord (my dear Sister) and you shall be as Mount *Sion*. As Mountains compass *Jerusalem*, so doth the Lord all his People. How then can he forget you, which are as the apple of his Eye, for his dear Sons sake? Ah dear heart, that I were now but one half hour with you, to be a *Simon* to help carry your Cross with you. God send you some good *Simon* to be with you, and help you.

You complain in your Letters of the blindness of your Mind, and the troubles you feel. My dearly beloved, God make you thankful for that which God hath given unto you; he open your eyes to see what and how great benefits you have received, that you may be less covetous, or rather impatient, for so (I fear me) it should be called, and more thankful. Have you not received at his hands sight to see your blindness, and thereto a desirous and seeking heart to see where he lieth in the mid-day, as his dear Spouse speaketh of her self in the *Canticles*? Oh *Joyce*, my good *Joyce*, what a gift is this? Many have some sight, but none this sobbing and sighing, none this seeking which you have, I know, but such as he hath married unto him in his mercies. You are not content to kiss his feet, with the *Magdalen*, but you would be kissed even with the kiss of his Mouth, *Canticles* 1. You would see his face with *Moses*, forgetting how he biddeth us seek his face, *Psalm* 27. yea, and that for ever, *Psalm* 105. Which signifieth no such sight, as you desire to be in this present life, which would see God now face to face, whereas he cannot be seen, but covered under something, yea, somtime in that which is (as you would say) clean contrary to God; as to see his mercy in his anger. In bringing us to Hell, Faith seeth him to bring us to Heaven; in darkness it beholdeth brightness: in hiding his face from us, it beholdeth his merry countenance. How did *Job* see God, but as (you would say) under Satans cloak? For who cast the fire from Heaven upon his goods? Who overthrew his house, and stirred up men to take away his Cattel, but *Satan*? and yet *Job* pierced through all these, and saw Gods work, saying, *The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away, &c.*

God cannot be seen, but covered under something, how faith seeth God, where flesh seeth hell.

In reading of the *Psalms*, how often do you see that *David* in the shadow of death saw Gods sweet love? And so, my dearly beloved, I see that you in your darkness and dimness by Faith do see clarity and brightness: by Faith, I say, because Faith is of things absent, of things hoped for, of things which I appeal to your Conscience, whether you desire not. And can you desire any thing which you know not? And is there of heavenly things any other true knowledge than by Faith?

Therefore (my dear Heart) be thankful, for (before God I write it) you have great cause. Ah, my *Joyce*, how happy is the stay wherein you are? Verily you are even in the blessed state of Gods Children; for they mourn, and do not you so? And that not for worldly weal, but for spiritual riches, Faith, Hope, Charity, &c. Do you not hunger and thirst for Righteousness? And I pray you, saith not Christ, who cannot lie, that happy are such? How should God wipe away the tears from your eyes in Heaven, if now on Earth ye shed no tears? How could Heaven be a place of rest, if on Earth ye find it? How could ye desire to be at home, if in your Journey you found no grief? How could yo so often call upon God, and talk with him, as I know you do, if your Enemy should sleep all day long? How should you elsewhere be made like unto Christ, I mean in joy, if in sorrow you sobbed not with him? If you will have joy and felicity, you must first needs feel sorrow and misery. If you will go to Heaven, you must sail by Hell, if you will embrace Christ in his robes, you must not think scorn of him in his rags. If you will sit at Christs table in his Kingdom, you must first abide with him in his temptations. If you will drink of his Cup of glory, forsake not his Cup of ignominy.

The state of Gods Children described.

Matth. 5:

The way to heaven is through hell.

Can the Head Corner-stone be rejected, and the other more base Stones in Gods building be in this world set by? you are one of his lively Stones, be content therefore to be hewn and shagged at, that you might be made more meet to be joyned to your fellows which suffer with you Satans snatches, the Worlds wounds, contempt of Conscience, and threats of the Flesh, where-through they are enforced to cry, Oh Wretches that we are, who shall deliver us? you are of Gods Corn, fear not therefore the Flail, the Fan, Millstone nor Oven. You are one of Christs Lambs, look therefore to be fleeced, haled at, and even slain.

Threats of the flesh. Rom. 6.

If you were a Market-sheep, you should go in more fat and grassie Pasture. If you were for the Fair, you should be Stall-fed, and want no weal: but because you are of Gods own occupying, therefore you must pasture on the bare Common, abiding the storms and tempests that will fall. Happy, and twice happy are you (my dear Sister) that God now haileth you whither you would not, that you might come whither you would. Suffer a little and be still. Let Satan rage against you, let the World cry out, let your Conscience accuse you, let the Law load you and press you down, yet shall they not prevail, for Christ is *Emmanuel*, that is, *God with us. If God be with us, who can be against us?* The Lord is with you, your Father cannot forget you; your Spouse loveth you. If the waves and surges arise, cry with *Peter*, *Lord, I perish*; and he will put out his hand and help you. Cast out your anchor of Hope, and it will not cease for the stormy surges, till it take hold on the rock of Gods truth and mercy.

Gods sheep must feed on the base common, where the Devils cattel are stalled. John 21.

Rom 8.

Matth 8.

Think not that he which hath given you so many things corporally, as inductions of Spiritual and Heavenly Mercies, and that without your deserts or desire, can deny you any spiritual comfort, desiring it. For if he give to desire, he will give you to have and enjoy the thing desired. The desire to have, and the going about to ask, ought to certifie your Conscience, that they be his earnest of the thing which you asking he will give you; yea, before you ask, and whilst you are about to ask he will grant the same, as *Isaiah* saith, to his glory and your eternal consolation. He that spared not his own Son for you, will

Philip. 1. Desire of spiritual comfort, though it be lacking is a great gift of God.

not

not nor cannot think any thing too good for you, my heartily Beloved.

If he had not choſen you, (as moſt certainly he hath) he would not have ſo called you, he would never have juſtified you; he would never have ſo glorified you with his gracious gifts, which *I know*, praiſed be his Name therefore; he would never have ſo exerciſed your Faith with Temptations, as he hath done and doth; if (I ſay) he had not choſen you. If he hath choſen you (as doubtleſs, dear Heart, *he hath done in Chriſt, for in you* I have ſeen his earneſt, and before me and to me you could not deny it, I know both where and when) if I ſay, he have choſen you, then neither can you, nor ever ſhall you periſh. For if you fail, he putteth under his hand; you ſhall not lie ſtill; ſo careful is Chriſt your keeper over you. Never was Mother ſo mindful over her Child, as he is over you. And hath not he always been ſo?

Rom. 8.

Exerciſe of Temptations a great token of Election.

Speak Woman, when did he finally forget you? And will he, how trow you, in your moſt need do otherwiſe, you calling upon him, and deſiring to pleaſe him? Ah (my *Joyce*) think you God to be mutable? Is he a changling? Doth not he love to the end them whom he loveth? Are not his gifts and calling ſuch, that he cannot repent him of them? For elſe were he no God. If you ſhould periſh, then wanted he power; for I am certain his will towards you is not to be doubted of. Hath not the Spirit, which *is* the Spirit of Truth, told you ſo? And will you now hearken with *Eve* to the lying Spirit which would have you not to deſpair (no, he goeth more craftily to work, howbeit to that end, if you ſhould give ear unto it, which God forbid) but to doubt and ſtand in a mammering, and ſo ſhould you never truly love God, but ſerve him of a ſervile fear, leſt he ſhould caſt you off for your unworthineſs and unthankfulneſs; as though your thankfulneſs or worthineſs were any cauſe with God, why he hath choſen you, or will finally keep you.

Rom. 11.

Every lying ſpirit not to be hearkned unto. Satan ſeeketh to bring tender Conſciences to doubting, but Gods promiſe in Chriſt ſtandeth ſure for ever.

Ah mine own dear Heart, Chriſt only, Chriſt only, and his Mercy and Truth. In him is the cauſe of your Election. This Chriſt, this Mercy, this Truth of God remaineth for ever, is certain for ever, I ſay, for ever. If an Angel from Heaven ſhould tell you *contrary*, accurſed be he. Your thankfulneſs and worthineſs are fruits and effects of your Election, they are no cauſes. Theſe fruits and effect, ſhall be ſo much more fruitful and effectual, by how much you waver not.

All our Election is in and for Chriſt only.

Therefore (my dearly Beloved) ariſe, and remember from whence you are faln. You have a Shepherd which never ſlumbreth nor ſleepeth; No Man nor Devil can pull you out of his hands. Night and day he commandeth his Angels to keep you. Have you forgotten what I read to you out of the Pſalm, *The Lord is my Shepherd, I can want nothing*? Do you not know that God ſpared *Noah* in the Ark on the outſide, ſo that he could not get out? So hath he done to *you* (my good Siſter,) ſo hath he done to you. Ten thouſand ſhall fall on your *right* hand, and twenty thouſand on your left hand, yet no evil ſhall touch you. Say boldly therefore, *Many a time from my youth up have they fought againſt me, but they have not prevailed*; no, nor never ſhall prevail, for the Lord is round about his People. And who are the People of God, but ſuch as hope in him? Happy are they that hope in the Lord, and you are one of thoſe, my dear Heart, for I am aſſured you have hoped in the Lord; I have your words to ſhew moſt manifeſtly, and I know they were written unfeignedly. Indeed not to ſay, that even before God you have ſimply confeſſed to me, and that oftentimes no leſs. And if once you had this hope, as you doubtleſs had it, though now you feel it not, yet ſhall you feel it again: for the anger of the Lord laſteth but a moment, but his mercy laſteth for ever. Tell me (my dear Heart) who hath ſo weakned you? Surely not a perſwaſion which came from him that called you. For why ſhould you waver? Why ſhould you waver, and be ſo heavy hearted? Whom look you on? On your ſelf? on your worthineſs? On your thankfulneſs? On that which God requireth of you, as faith, hope, love, fear, joy, &c. Then can you *not* but waver indeed: for what have you as God requireth? Believe you, hope you, love you, &c. as much as you ſhould do? No, no, nor ever can in this life. Ah, my dearly Beloved, have you ſo ſoon forgotten that which ever ſhould be had in memory? Namely, that when you would and ſhould be certain and quiet in Conſcience, then ſhould your Faith burſt throughout all things not only that you have in you, or elſe are in Heaven, Earth or Hell, *until it come to Chriſt* crucified, and the eternal ſweet mercies and goodneſs of God in Chriſt? Here, here is the reſting place, here is your Spouſes bed; creep into it, and in your arms of Faith embrace him, bewail your weakneſs, unworthineſs, your diffidence, &c. and you ſhall ſee he will turn to you. What ſaid I, You ſhall ſee? Nay, I ſhould have ſaid, You ſhall feel he will turn to you. You know that *Moſes*, when he went to the Mount to talk with God, he entred into a dark Cloud, and *Helias* had his face covered when God paſſed by. Both theſe dear Friends of God heard of God, but they ſaw him not, but you would be preferred before them. See now (my deart Heart) how covetous you are. Ah be thankful, be thankful. But God be praiſed your covetouſneſs is *Moſes* covetouſneſs. Well, with him you ſhall be ſatisfied. But when? Forſooth when he ſhall appear. Here is not the time of ſeeing, but as it were in a glaſs. *Iſaak* was deceived, becauſe he was not content with hearing only.

Pſalm. 120.

Pſalm. 23.

Pſalm. 90.

Pſalm. 125.

Though feeling fail, yet let hope hold faſt.

The eye of Faith muſt look upon nothing elſe but only Chriſt crucified.

Therefore to make an end of theſe many words, wherewith I fear me I do but trouble you from better exerciſes; inaſmuch as you are indeed the Child of God elect in Chriſt before the beginning of all times, inaſmuch as you are given to the cuſtody of Chriſt, as one of Gods moſt precious Jewels; inaſmuch as Chriſt is faithful, and hitherto hath all power, ſo that you ſhall never periſh, no, one hair of your head ſhall not be loſt: I beſeech you, I pray you, I deſire you, I crave at your hands with all my very heart, I ask of you with hand, pen, tongue and mind, in Chriſt, through Chriſt, for Chriſt, for his Name, Blood, Mercies, Power, and Truths ſake, my moſt entirely beloved Siſter, that you admit no doubting of Gods final mercies towards you, howſoever you feel your ſelf; but to complain to God, and crave of him, as of your tender and dear Father, all things, and in that time which ſhall be moſt opportune, you ſhall find and feel far above that your heart or the heart of any Creature can conceive, to your eternal Joy. *Amen, Amen, Amen.*

Learn here to put away doubting, all tender hearts that ſeek after Chriſt.

The good Spirit of God always keep us as his dear Children; he comfort you, as I deſire to be comforted, my dearly Beloved, for evermore, *Amen.*

I break up thus abruptly, becauſe our Common Prayer time calleth me. The Peace of Chriſt dwell in both our hearts for ever, *Amen.*

As for the Report of *W. Po.* if it be as you hear, you muſt prepare to bear it. It is written on Heavens door, *Do well, and bear evil.* Be content therefore to hear whatſoever the Enemy ſhall imagine to blot you withal. Gods Holy Spirit always comfort and keep you, *Amen, Amen.* This 8*th* of *Auguſt*, by him that in the Lord deſireth to you, as well and as much felicity as to his own heart.

John Bradford.

The Poeſie written upon Heaven gates.

Here followeth another Letter of his written to the good Lady *Vane*, wherein he reſolveth certain queſtions which ſhe demanded. This Lady *Vane* was a ſpecial Nurſe, with a great ſupporter to her power of the godly Saints, which were impriſoned in Q. *Maries* time. Unto whom divers Letters I have both of Mr. *Philpot*, *Careles*, *Trahern*, *Thomas Roſe*, and of others more, wherein they render vnto her moſt grateful thanks for her exceeding goodneſs extended towards them, with their ſingular commendation and teſtimony alſo of her Chriſtian zeal towards Gods afflicted Priſoners, and to the verity of his Goſpel. She departed of late at *Holborn*, *Anno* 1568. whoſe end was more like a ſleep, than any death; ſo quietly and meekly ſhe deceaſed and parted hence in the Lord.

Commendation of the Lady *Vane*.

Note how God commonly rewardeth the helpers and friends of his Saints.

Amongſt other which wrote unto her, Mr. *Bradford* alſo ſent theſe Letters to the ſaid Lady; the tenor whereof here followeth.

To my good Lady Vane.

A Letter of M. *Bradford* written to the good Lady *Vane*, wherein he diſcuſſeth doubts concerning the coming to God.

THe true ſenſe and ſweet feeling of Gods eternal mercies in Chriſt Jeſus be ever more and more lively wrought in your heart by the Holy Ghoſt, *Amen.*

I moſt heartily thank you (good Madam) for your comfortable Letter; and whereas you would be adviſed what were beſt to be done on your behalf, concerning your three queſtions; the truth is that the queſtions

are

Anno 1555.

The abomination of the Mass set forth. These questions were concerning the Mass wherein he desireth his judgement.

are never well seen, nor answered, until the thing whereof they arise be well considered, I mean until it be seen how great an evil the thing is. If it be once indeed in your heart perceived, upon probable and pithy places gathered out of Gods Book, that there was never thing upon the Earth so great, and so much an Adversary to Gods true service, to Christs Death, Passion, Priesthood, Sacrifice and Kingdom, to the ministery of Gods Word and Sacraments, to the Church of God, to Repentance, Faith, and all true godliness of Life, as that is whereof the questions arise (as most assuredly it is indeed) then cannot a Christian heart but so much the more abhor it, and all things that in any point might seem to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the same, by how much it hath the name of Gods service.

Again, your Ladiship doth know, that as all is to be discommended and avoided, which is followed or fled from in respect of our selves, in respect of avoiding Christs Cross: so the end of all our doings should be to Godwards, to his glory, to our Neighbours, to edification and good Example, whereof none can be given in allowing any of the three questions by you propounded. But because this which I write now is brief, and needeth the more consideration or explication; as I doubt not of the one in you, so from me by Gods grace you shall receive the other shortly. For I have already written a little Book of it, which I will send unto you, in the which you shall have your questions fully answered and satisfied, and therefore I omit to write any more hereabout presently; beseeching God, our good Father, to guide you as his dear Child with his Spirit of wisdom, power, and comfort, unto eternal life, that you may be strong, and rejoyce in him and with his Church, to carry Christs Cross, if he shall so think it need, 1 *Pet.* 1. Which is a thing to be desired, wished, and embraced, if we looked on things after the judgment of Gods Word, and tried them by that Touch-stone.

He meaneth his book which he calleth the hurt of hearing Mass.

If you be accustomed to think on the brevity, vanity, and misery of this life, and on the eternity, truth, and felicity of everlasting life; if you look on things after their ends, and not after their present appearance only; if you use your self to set Gods presence, power and mercy always before your eyes, to see them, as God by every Creature would you should; I doubt not but you shall find such strength and comfort in the Lord, as you shall not be shaken with all the power of Satan. Gods mercy in Christ be with you, and his good Spirit guide you for ever, *Amen*.

Another Letter to the Lady Vane.

Another Letter of *M. Bradford* to the foresaid Lady *Vane*.

AS to mine own Soul, I wish to your Ladiship grace and mercy from God our dear Father in Christ our Lord and Saviour.

I thank God that something he hath eased you, and mitigated his Fatherly correction in us both; I would to God he had done so much in the behalf of the grief of the Body to you, as he hath done to me. For as for the Soul, I trust you feel that which I pray God increase in you, I mean his Fatherly love, and grant that I may with you feel the same in such degree as may please him; I will not say as you feel, lest I should seem to ask too much at one time. God doth often much more plentifully visit with the sense of his mercy them that humble themselves under his mighty hand, and are sore exercised as you long have been) than others, which to the face of the World have a more shew and appearance.

Therefore I wish as I do, and that not only for mine own commodity, but also that I might occasion you to the consideration of the goodness of God, which I by your Letters do well espy; which is indeed the high-way, whereby as God increaseth his gifts, so sheweth he more lively his salvation, *Psal.* 50. 107. I have received Gods Blessing from you, the which I have partly distributed unto my three Fellow-Prisoners, Mr. *Farrar*, Mr. *Taylor*, Mr. *Philpot*, and the residue I will bestow upon four poor Souls which are imprisoned in the common Gaol for Religion also. As for mine own part, if I had need, I would have served my turn also. But because I had not, nor (I thank God) have not, I have been and will be your Almner in such sort as I have already advertized you. God reward you, and give you to find it spiritually and corporally. Because otherwise I cannot talk with you, therefore on this sort, as occasion and opportunity will serve, I am ready to shew my good will and desire of your help and furtherance in the Lord to everlasting life, whereunto God bring us shortly for his mercies sake. *Amen*.

Good Madam, be thankful to God, as I hope you be; be earnest in prayer, continue in reading and hearing Gods Word, and if Gods further Cross come, as therein God doth serve his Providence (for else it shall not come unto you) so be certain the same shall turn to your eternal joy and comfort, *Amen*.

John Bradford.

To my dear Friends and Brethren, R. *and* E. *with their Wives and Families.*

Another Letter of *M. Bradford* to two faithful Friends of his, one *Roydon*, and *Eline*.

THE comfort of Christ felt commonly of his Children in their Cross for his sake, the everlasting God work in both your hearts, my good Brethren, and in the hearts of both your Yoke-fellows, especially of good *Mary*, my good Sister in the Lord, *Amen*.

If I had not something heard of the hazard which you are in for the Gospels sake, if you continue the profession and confession thereof, as I trust you do and will do, and that unto the end, God enabling you, as he will doubtless for his mercies sake, if you hope in him (for this bindeth him, as *David* in Christs person witnesseth, *Our Fathers hoped in thee, and thou deliveredst them, &c. Psal.* 22.) yet by conjectures I could not but suppose (though not so certainly) the time of your suffering and probation to be at hand. For now is the power of darkness fully come upon this Realm most justly for our sins, and abusing the Light lent us of the Lord, to the setting forth of our selves more than Gods glory, that as well we might be brought into the better knowledge of our evils, and so heartily repent (which God grant us to do) as also we might have more feeling and sense of our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, by the humbling and dejecting us, thereby to make us as more desirous of him, so him more sweet and pleasant unto us; the which thing the good Spirit of God work sensibly in all our hearts for Gods holy Names sake.

For this cause I thought it my duty, being now where I have some liberty to write (the Lord be praised) and hearing of you as I hear; to do that which I should have done, if I had heard nothing at all; that is, to desire you to be of good cheer and comfort in the Lord (although in the world you see cause rather to the contrary) and to go on forwards in the way of God whereinto you are entred, considering that the same cannot but so much more and more wax strait to the outward man, by how much you draw nearer to the end of it: even as in the travel of a Woman, the nearer she draweth to her delivery, the more her pains increase; so it goeth with us in the Lords way, the nearer we draw to our deliverance by death to our eternal felicity.

The nearer we come to our Journies end, travelling to Heaven, the straiter is the way. Example of the travel of a Woman. John 21.

Example whereof we have, I will not say, in the holy Prophets and Apostles of God, which when they were young girded themselves, and went in manner whither they would, but when they waxed old, they went girded of others, whither they would not, concerning the outward man; but rather and most lively in our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose life and way was much more painful to him towards the end, than it was at the beginning. And no marvel, for Satan can suffer something abide a man to begin well, and set forwards, but rather than he should go on to the end, he will vomit his gorge, and cast out floods to overflow him, before he will suffer that to come to pass.

Example of Christ and his Apostles.

Therefore as we should not be dismayed now at this world, as though some strange thing were happened unto us, in that it is but as it was wont to be to the godly, in that the Devil declareth himself after his old wont, in that we have professed no less, but to forsake the World and the Devil, as Gods very Enemies, in that we learned no less at the first, when we came to Gods School, than to deny our selves, and take up our Cross and follow our Master, which leadeth us none other way than he himself hath gone before us: as (I say) we should not be dismayed, so we should with patience and joy go forwards, if we set before us as present the time to come, like as the wife in her travel doth the deliverance of her Child, and as the Saints of God did, but especially our Saviour and pattern Jesus Christ; for the Apostle saith, *He set before him the joy and glory to come, and therefore contemned the shame and sorrow of the Cross:* so if we did, we should find at the length as they found.

The malice of the Devil no new thing.

Heb 12.

For

Godly counsel stirring us to the contempt of this transitory life.

For whom would it grieve which hath a long journey to go through a piece of foul way, if he knew that after that the way should be most pleasant, yea the journey should be ended, and he at his resting place most happy? Who will be afraid, or loath to leave a little pelf for a little time, if he knew he should shortly after receive most plentiful riches? Who will be unwilling for a little while to forsake his Wife, Children, or Friends, &c. when he knoweth he shall shortly after be associated unto them inseparably, even after his own hearts desire? Who will be sorry to forsake his life, which cannot but be most certain of Eternal life? Who loveth the shadow better than the Body? Who can love this life, but they that regard not the life to come? Who can desire the dross of this World, but such as be ignorant of the treasures of the everlasting joy in Heaven? I mean, who is afraid to dye, but such as hope not to live eternally? Christ hath promised pleasures, riches, joy, felicity, and all good things to them that for his sake lose any thing, and suffer any sorrow. And is he not true? How can he but be true? for guile was never found in his mouth.

Matth. 19.

1 Pet. 2.

Alas then, why are we so slack and slow, yea hard of heart to believe him, promising us thus plentifully eternal blisfulness, and are so ready to believe the World promising us many things, and paying us nothing? If we will curry favour now, and halt on both parts, then it promiseth us peace, quietness, and many others things else. But how doth it pay this gear? or if it pay it, with what quietness of conscience? Or if so; how long I pray you? Do not we see before our eyes, men to dye shamefully, I mean as rebels and other malefactors, which refuse to dye for Gods cause? What way is so sure a way to heaven, as to suffer in Christs cause: If there be any way on horse-back to Heaven, surely this is the way; By *many troubles* (saith the Apostle) *we must enter into Heaven. All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution.* For the World cannot love them that are of GOD; the Devil cannot love his enemies; the World will love none but his own: you are Christs, therefore look for no love here. Should we look for fire to quench our thirst? And as soon shall Gods true Servants find peace and favour in *Antichrists* regiment.

The flattering promises of this world, ill-favouredly performed.

Acts. 14. 2 Tim. 3.

Therefore (my dearly beloved) be stout in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on you his armour; stand in the liberty of Christ which you have learned; rejoyce that you may be counted worthy to suffer any thing for Gods cause: to all men this is not given. Your reward is great in Heaven, though in Earth ye find nothing. The journey is almost past, you are almost in the Haven. Hale on apace I beseech you, and merrily hoise up your sails. Cast your selves on Christ, who careth for you. Keep company with him now still to the end; he is faithful, and will never leave you, nor tempt you further then that he will make you able to bear; yea in the midst of the temptation he will make an out-scape. Now pray unto him heartily, be thankful of his indignation, rejoice in hope of the health you shall receive, & be mindful of us which are in the vaward, and by Gods grace trust in Christ to be made able to break the Ice before you, that you following may find the way more easie. God grant it may so be, Amen, Amen.

To bear the Cross with courage.

Out of prison by your Brother in Christ.
John Bradford.

To Mrs. *Wilkinson.*

A Letter of *M. Bradford* to Mr. *Wilkinson.*

ALmighty God our most loving Father, increase in your heart (my good Mother and dear Mistris in the Lord) his true knowledge and love in Christ, to the incouraging and comforting of your faith in these stormy days; as necessary unto us, so profitable if we persist unto the end, which thing God grant to us, Amen.

My right dearly beloved, I know not what other thing to Write unto you, than to desire you to be thankful to the Lord, in that amongst the not many of your calling and state, it pleaseth him to give you his rare blessing, I mean to keep you from all the filth wherewith our country is horribly defiled. This blessing assuredly is rare as you see. But now if he shall bless you with another blessing, which is more rare, I mean to call you forth as a Martyr, and a witness against this filth, I hope you will become double thankful. For a greater token commonly we have not to judge of our election and salvation, next to Christ and faith in him, than the Cross, especially when it is so glorious, as on this sort to suffer any thing, but chiefly loss of this life, which indeed is never found till it be so lost; except the grain of wheat fall and be dead, it remaineth fruitless.

Anno 1555.

The Cross a great token of Election.

You know that he which was rapt into the third Heaven, and did know what he wrote, doth say, *That as the corn liveth not, except it be dead and cast into the Earth, so truly our bodies.* And therefore the Cross should so little fear us, that even Death it self should altogether be desired of us, as the Taylor which putteth off our rags, and arayeth us with the royall robes of immortality, incorruption and glory. Great shame it should be for us, that all the whole creatures of God should desire, yea groan in their kind for our liberty, and we our selves to loath it, as doubtless we do, if for the Cross, yea for Death it self, we with joy swallow not up all sorrow that might let us from following the Lords calling, and obeying the Lords providence; whereby doubtless all Crosses, and Death it self, doth come, and not by hap or chance. In consideration whereof, right dear Mother, that this providence stretcheth it self so unto us, and for us, that even the hairs of our heads are numbred with God, not one of them to fall to our hurt; surely we declare our selves very faint in faith, if we receive not such comfort, that we can willingly offer our selves to the Lord, and cast our whole care upon his back, honouring him with this honour, that he is and ever will be careful for us, and all we have, as for his dear Children. Wherefore of good cheer even in the midst of these miseries, be thankful to the Lord, and prepare your self for a further triall; which if God send you, as I hope, so do you believe, that God therein will help and comfort you, and make you able to bear whatsoever shall happen. And thus much, having this opportunity, I thought good to write, praying God our Father to recompence into your bosome all the good that ever you have done, to me especially, and to many other, both in this time of trouble, and always heretofore.

1 Cor. 15.

Rom. 8.

Your own in the Lord,
John Bradford.

Another Letter written to certain godly persons, incouraging them to prepare themselves with patience to the Cross.

Another fruitful Letter of *M. Bradford* exhorting from the love of this world, to the patient bearing of the Cross.

GRacious God and most merciful Father, for Jesus Christs sake, thy dearly beloved Son, grant us thy mercy, grace, wisedom, and Holy Spirit to counsel, comfort, and guide us, in all our cogitations, words and works, to thy glory, and our everlasting joy and peace for ever, Amen.

In my last Letter you might perceive my conjecturing to be no less towards you, than now I have learned. But (my dearly beloved) I have learned none other thing than before I have told you would come to pass, if ye cast not away that which ye have learned. I do appeal to both your Consciences, whether herein I speak truth, as well of my telling (though not so often as I might and should, God forgive me) as also of your learning. Now God will try you, to make others to learn by you, that which ye learned by others, and by them which have suffered this day ye might learn (if already ye had not learned) that life and honour is not to be set by more than Gods commandment. They in no point for all that ever their ghostly Fathers could do, having Doctor *Death* to take their part, would consent, or seem to consent to the Popish Mass and Papisticall god, otherwise than in the days of our late King they had received. And this their faith they have confessed with their deaths, to their great glory, and all our comforts, if we follow them; but to our confusion, if we start back from the same. Wherefore I beseech you to consider, as well to praise God for them, as to go the same way with them, if God so will.

The Lady *Jane* and her husband were beheaded that day.

Doctor *Death* the Popes Chaplain.

Consider not the things of this life, which is a very prison to all Gods Children; but the things of everlasting life, which is our very home. But to the beholding of this gear, ye must open the eyes of your mind, of faith

I should

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I ſhould have ſaid, as *Moſes* did, which ſet more by trouble with Gods People, than by the riches of *Egypt*, and *Pharaohs* Court. Your houſe, home, and goods, yea life, and all that ever ye have, God hath given you as love-tokens, to admoniſh you of his love, and to win your love to him again. Now will he try your love whether ye ſet more by him than by his tokens, or no. If ye for his tokens ſake, that is for your home, houſe, goods, yea life, will go with the world, leſt ye ſhould loſe them, then be aſſured, your love, as he cannot but eſpy it to be a Stumpets love, ſo will he caſt it away with the world. Remember that he which will ſave his life ſhall loſe it, if Chriſt be true: but he which adventureth, yea loſeth his life, for the Goſpels ſake, the ſame ſhall be ſure to find it eternally. Do not ye know that the way to ſalvation, is not the broad way which many run in, but the ſtraight way which few now walk in?

Example of *Moſes*, forſaking *Pharaohs* houſe, to go with Gods People.

Gods love-tokens.

A Strumpet ſetteth more by her tokens, than by her lover.

Before Perſecution came, men might partly have ſtood in a doubt by the outward ſtate of the world with us (although by Gods Word it was plain) whether was the high way (for there were as many that pretended the Goſpel, as Popery:) but now the Sun is riſen, and the wind bloweth, ſo that the corn which hath not taken faſt root, cannot nor will not abide; and therefore eaſily ye may ſee the ſtraight way by the ſmall number that paſſeth thorow it. Who will now adventure their goods and life for Chriſt ſake, which yet gave his life for our ſakes? We are now become *Gergeſites*, that would rather loſe Chriſts than our *Porkets*. A faithful wife is never tried ſo to be, but when ſhe rejecteth and withſtandeth wooers. A faithful Chriſtian is then found ſo to be, when his Faith is aſſaulted.

In King *Edwards* time the high-way could not be known.

Matth. 8. *Gergeſites* ſet more by their Pigs, than by Chriſt.

If we be not able, I mean, if we will not forſake this world for Gods glory and Goſpels ſake, trow ye that God will make us able, or give us a will to forſake it for natures ſake? Dye ye muſt once, and leave all ye have (God knoweth how ſoon and when) will ye, or will ye not; and ſeeing perforce ye muſt do this, will ye not willingly now do it for Gods ſake?

If ye go to Maſs, and do as the moſt part doth, then may ye live at reſt and quietly; but if ye deny to go to it then ſhall ye go to priſon, loſe your goods, leave your Children comfortleſs, yea loſe your life alſo. But (my dearly Beloved) open the eyes of your faith, and ſee how ſhort a thing this life is, even a very ſhadow and ſmoke. Again, ſee how intolerable the puniſhment of hell fire is, and that endleſs. Laſt of all, look on the Joys incomprehenſible, which God hath prepared for all them world without end, which loſe either lands or goods for his Names ſake. and then do ye reaſon thus; If we go to Maſs, the greateſt enemy that Chriſt hath, though for a little time we ſhall live in quiet, and leave to our Children that they may live by herafter, yet ſhall we diſpleaſe God, fall into his hands (which is horrible to hypocrites) and be in wonderful hazard of falling from eternal joy into eternal miſery, firſt of ſoul, and then of body, with the Devil and all Idolaters.

The tranſitory pleaſures of this life, weighed with the endleſs puniſhment to come hereafter both of Body and Soul.

Again, we ſhall want peace of Conſcience, which ſurmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our Children, who knoweth whether God will viſit our Idolatry on them in this life? yea our houſe and goods are in danger of loſing, as our lives be through many caſualties: and when God is angry with us, he can ſend always, when he will, one mean or another to take all from us for our ſins, and to caſt us into care for our own ſakes, which will not come into ſome little trouble for his ſake.

On this ſort reaſon with your ſelves, and then doubtleſs God will work otherwiſe with you, and in you, than ye are ware of. Where now ye think your ſelves unable to abide perſecution, be moſt aſſured, if ſo be you purpoſe not to forſake God, that God will make you ſo able to bear his Croſs, that therein you ſhall rejoyce. Faithful is God (ſaith *Paul*) which will not tempt you further than he will make you able to bear, yea he will give you an out-ſcape in the Croſs, which ſhall be to your comfort. Think how great a benefit it is, if God will vouch you worthy this honour; to ſuffer loſs of any thing for his ſake. He might juſtly caſt moſt grievous plagues upon you, and yet now he will correct you with that Rod whereby you ſhall be made like to his Chriſt, that for ever ye may reign with him. Suffer your ſelves therefore now to be made like to Chriſt, for elſe ye ſhall never be made like unto him. The Devil would gladly have you now to overthrow that which godly ye have of long time profeſſed. Oh how would he triumph, if he could win his purpoſe? Oh how would the Papiſts triumph againſt Gods Goſpel in you? Oh how would you confirm them in their wicked Popery? Oh how would the poor Children of God be diſcomforted; if now you ſhould go to Maſs and other Idolatrous ſervice, and do as the world doth?

1 Cor. 10. God will give ability, not only to bear his Croſs, but alſo to rejoyce in bearing it.

Hath God delivered you from the ſweat to ſerve him ſo? Hath God miraculouſly reſtored you to health from your grievous Agues for ſuch a purpoſe? Hath God given you ſuch bleſſings in this world, and good things all the days of your life hitherto, and now of equity will ye not receive at his hands, and for his ſake, ſome evil? God forbid: I hope better of you. Vſe prayer, and caſt your care upon God; commit your Children into his hand; give to God your goods, bodies, and lives, as he hath given them, or rather lent them unto you. Say with Iob; *God hath given, and God hath taken away. his name be praiſed for ever.* Caſt your care upon him, Iſay, for he is careful for you; and take it amongſt the greateſt bleſſings of God, to ſuffer for his ſake. I truſt he hath kept you hitherto to that end.

A great bleſſing of God to ſuffer for his ſake.

And I beſeech thee, O merciful Father, for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, that, thou wouldeſt be merciful unto us, comfort us with thy grace, and ſtrengthen us in thy truth, that in heart we may believe, and in tongue boldly confeſs thy Goſpel, to thy glory, and our eternal ſalvation, *Amen.* Pray for me, and I by Gods grace will do the ſame for you.

John Bradford.

An admonition to certain Profeſſours of the Goſpel, to beware they fall not from it; in conſenting to the Romiſh Religion, by the example of other halting and double-faced Goſpellers.

Another Letter or admonition of M. *Bradford* to certain godly Profeſſors of Gods Truth.

THe peace of Chriſt, which is the true effect of Gods Goſpel believed (my dearly Beloved) be more and more plentifully perceived of you, through the grace of our dear Father, by the mighty working of the holy Spirit our comforter; *Amen.*

Though I have many Letters preſently to hinder me from writing unto you, yet being deſired, I could not but ſomething ſignifie my ready good will in this behalf ſo much as I may, when I cannot ſo much as I would.

You hear and ſee how Satan beſtirreth him, raging as a roaring Lion to devour us. You ſee and feel partly what ſtorms he hath raiſed up to drown the poor boat of Chriſt, I mean his Church. You ſee how terribly he traineth his ſouldiers, to give a fierce on-ſet on the vaward of Gods battle. You ſee how he hath received power of God, to moleſt Gods Children, and to begin at his Houſe. By reaſon whereof conſider two things; one, the cauſe on our behalf; the other, what will be the ſequel on ſtrangers.

For the firſt, if we be not blind, we cannot but well ſee that our ſins are the cauſe of all this miſery; our ſins, I ſay, which I would that every one of us would apply to our ſelves after the example of *Jonas* and *David*, turning over the wallet, that other mens offences might lye behind, and our own before. Not that I would excuſe other men, which exteriorly have walked much more groſsly than many of you have done; but that I would provoke you all as my ſelfe, to more hearty repentance and prayer. Let us more and more increaſe to know and lament our doubting of God, of his preſence, power, anger, mercy, &c.

Two things to be conſidered in the perſecution of Gods People.

Let us better feel and hate our ſelf-love, ſecurity, negligence, unthankfulneſs, unbelief, impatience, &c. and then doubtleſs the Croſs ſhall be leſs fearfull, yea it ſhall be comfortable, and Chriſt moſt dear and pleaſant; death then ſhall be deſired, as the diſpatcher of us out of miſery, and entrance into eternal felicity: and joy unſpeakable, the which is ſo much the more longed for, by how much we feel indeed the ſerpents bites, wherewith he woundeth our heels, that is, our outward *Adam* and Senſes. If we had, I ſay, a lively and true feeling of his poyſon, we could not but as rejoyce over our Captain that hath bruiſed his head, ſo be deſirous to follow his example,

Barneſt repentance maketh the Croſs more pleaſant. Coloſſ. 1.

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that is, to give our lives with him and for him, and ſo fill up his paſſions, that he might conquer and overcome in us and by us, to his glory and comfort of his Children.

If Gods Judgment be ſo ſharp to his Children, what will it be to his Enemies?

Now the ſecond (I mean the ſequel, or that which will follow on the ſtrangers) my dearly Beloved, let us well look upon. For if ſo be that God juſtly do thus give to Satan and his ſeed to vex and moleſt Chriſt and his penitent people; Oh what and how juſtly may he and will he give to Satan to intreat the wretchleſs and impenitent ſinners? If Judgments begin thus at Gods houſe, what will follow on them that be without, if they repent not: Certainly for them is reſerved the dregs of Gods Cup, that is Brimſtone, fire, and tempeſt intolerable. Now are they unwilling to drink of Gods Cup of afflictions, which he offereth common with his Son Chriſt our Lord, leſt they ſhould loſe their Pigs with the *Gergeſites*. They are unwilling to come into the way that bringeth to Heaven, even afflictions; they in their hearts cry, *Let us caſt his yoke from us*; thy walk two wayes, that is, thy ſeek to ſerve God and Mammon, which is unpoſſible; they will not come nigh the ſtrait way that bringeth to life; they ſet their eyes to behold preſent things only; they judge of Religion after reaſon, and not after Gods word; they follow the more part, and not the better; they profeſs God with their mouths, but in their hearts thay deny him or elſe they would ſanctifie him by ſerving him more than men; they partake with God, which would have all, giving part to the world, to the *Romiſh* rout, and Antichriſtian Idolatry now ſet abroad amongſt us publikly; they will have Chriſt, but none of his Croſs, which will not be; they will be counted to live godly in Chriſt, but yet they will ſuffer no perſecution; they love this world, where-through the love of God is driven forth of them; they ſavour of thoſe things that be of men, and not that be of God: *Summa*, they love God in their lips, but in their hearts, yea and in their deeds deny him, as well by not repenting thei evils paſt, as by continuing in evil ſtill, by doing as the world, the fleſh and the Devil willeth, and yet ſtill perchance they will pray, or rather prate, *Thy will be done in earth*, which is generally that every one ſhould take up his Croſs and follow Chriſt. But this is a hard ſaying, Who is able to abide it? Therefore Chriſt muſt be prayed to depart, leſt all the Pigs be drowned. The Devil ſhall have his dwelling again in themſelves rather than in their Pigs, and therefore to the Devil they ſhall go, and dwell with him in eternal perdition and damnation, even in hell fire, a torment endleſs, and above all cogitations incomprehenſible, if they repent not.

Matth. 8.

The doings and ways of the wicked deſcribed, and what is the end thereof.

Wherefore by them, my dearly Beloved, be admoniſhed to remember your profeſſion, how that in Baptiſm you made a ſolemn vow to forſake the Devil, the world, &c. You promiſed to fight under Chriſts ſtandard. You learned Chriſts Croſs afore you begun with A. B. C. Go to then, pay your vow to the Lord; fight like men, and valiant men under Chriſts ſtandard; take up your Croſs and follow your Maſter, as your Brethren, M. *Hooper*, *Rogers*, *Taylor*, and *Sanders* have done, and as now your Brethren, M. *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, *Ridly*, *Farrar*, *Brad. ford*, *Hawks*, *&c*, be ready to do. The Ice is broken before you, therefore be not afraid, but be content to dye for the Lord. You have no cauſe to waver or doubt of the Doctrine thus declared by the blood of the Paſtors. Remember that Chriſt ſaith; *He that will ſave his life, ſhall loſe it.* And what ſhould it profit you to win the whole world, much leſs a little quietneſs, your goods, &c, and to loſe your own ſouls? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by ſuch means as he would have you render it, and not as you world. Forget not, Chriſts Diſciples muſt deny themſelves, as well concerning their will as concerning their wiſdom. Have in mind, that as it is no ſmall mercy to believe in the Lord, ſo it is no ſmall kindneſs of God towards you, to ſuffer any thing, much more death for the Lord. If they be bleſſed that dye in the Lord, how ſhall they be that dye for the Lord? Oh what a bleſſing is it to have death, due for our ſins, diverted into a demonſtration and teſtification of the Lords truth? Oh that we had a little of *Moſes* faith to look upon the end of the Croſs, to look upon the reward, to ſee continually with Chriſt and his people greater riches than the riches of *Egypt*. Oh let us pray that God would open our eyes to ſee his hid Manna, heavenly *Jeruſalem*, the Congregation of his firſt born, the melody of the Saints, the Tabernacle of God dwelling with men: then ſhould we run and become violent men, and ſo take the Kingdom of Heaven as it were by force. God our Father give us for his Chriſts ſake to ſee a little, what and how great joy he hath prepared for us, he hath called us unto, and moſt aſſuredly giveth us for his own goodneſs and truths ſake, *Amen*.

He doth imbolden them to take up Chriſts Croſs, and to follow him.

Bleſſed be they that dye in the Lord, but more bleſſed be they that dye for the Lord. The end and riches that follow the Croſs.

My dearly beloved, repent, be ſober, and watch in prayer, be obedient, and after your vocations, ſhew your obedience to the Higher Powers in all things that are not againſt Gods word, therein acknowledge the ſoveraign power of the Lord: howbeit, ſo that ye be no rebels, or rebelers for no cauſe; but becauſe with good conſcience you cannot obey, be patient, ſuffer, and the glory and good ſpirit of God ſhall dwell upon us. I pray you remember us your afflicted brethren, being in the Lords bonds for the teſtimony of Chriſt, and abiding the gracious hour of our dear and moſt merciful Father. The Lord for Chriſts ſake, give us merry hearts to drink luſtily of his ſweet cup, which daily we groan and ſigh for, lamenting that the time is thus prolonged, The Lord Ieſus give us grace to be thankful, and to abide patiently the provident hour of his moſt gracious will, *Amen*, *Amen*. From the *Counter* in the *Poultry*.

Yours in Chriſt, John Bradford.

To my good Brother *John Careles*, Priſoner in the *Kings Bench*.

A Letter of M. Bradford to J. Careles.

THE Father of mercy and God of all comfort, viſit us with his eternal conſolation, according to his great mercies in Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, Amen.

My very dear Brother, if I ſhall report the truth unto you, I cannot but ſignifie, that ſince I came into priſon, I never received ſo much conſolation as I did by your laſt Letter, the Name of God be moſt heartily praiſed therefore. But if I ſhall report the truth unto you, and as I have begun, ſpeak ſtill the verity, I muſt confeſs, that for mine unthankfulneſs to you-wards, and to God eſpecially I have more need of Gods merciful tidings, than I had ever heretofore. Ah that Satan envieth us ſo greatly; Ah that our Lord would tread his head under our feet ſhortly. Ah that I might for ever both my ſelf beware, and be a godly example to you and others to beware of unthankfulneſs. Good Brother Careleſs, *we had more need to take heed, after a lightning of a foil than before. God therefore is to be praiſed even when he hideth, and that not of long, his cheerful countenance from us, leſt we being not expert how to uſe it as we ſhould do, do hurt more our ſelves thereby, ſo great is our ignorance and corruption. This, my good Brother and right dear to my very heart, I write unto you, as to one whom in the Lord I imbrace, and I thank God that you do me in like manner. God our Father more and more give us both his good Spirit, that as by Faith we may feel our ſelves united unto him in Chriſt, ſo by love we may feel our ſelves linked in the ſame Chriſt one to another, I to you, and you to me, we to all the Children of God, and all the Children of God to us*, Amen, Amen.

After a lightning take heed of a foil.

Commend me to your good Brother Skelthrop, *for whom I heartily praiſe my God, which hath given him to ſee his truth at the length, and to give place to it. I doubt but that he will be ſo heedy in all his converſation, that his old acquaintance may ever thereby think themſelves aſtray. Wo and wo again ſhould be unto us, if we by our example ſhould make men to ſtumble at the truth. Forget not ſalutations in Chriſt, as you ſhall think good to* Trew, *and his fellows. The Lord hath his time (I hope) for them alſo, although we perchance think otherwiſe. A drop maketh the ſtone hollow, not with once, but with often dropping: ſo if with hearty prayer for them, and good example, you ſtill and drop upon them as you can, you ſhall ſee Gods work at the length. I beſeech God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in us all*, Amen. *I deſire you all to pray for me the moſt unworthy priſoner of the Lord.*

This Skelthrop was Free-will man.

The charitable ſpirit of Mr. Bradford in reducing them that be weak and ignorant.

Your Brother, *John Bradford*.

To

Anno 1555.

To Mr. John Hall *and his Wife, Priſoners in* Newgate *for the teſtimony of the Goſpel.*

Another Letter of *M. Bradford* to *M. Hall* and his Wife *in Newgate* Priſon.

ALmighty God our heavenly Father through Jeſus Chriſt, be with you both, my dearly Beloved, as with his dear Children for ever, and ſo he bleſs you with his Holy Spirit, that you may in this your Croſs (for his cauſe doubtleſs) rejoyce and gladly take it up to bear it ſo long as he ſhall think good. I have heard (my good Brother and Siſter) how that God hath brought you both into his School-houſe (whereas both purpoſed by his leave to have played the Trewands) that thereby you might ſee his carefulneſs and love towards you. For if it be a token of a loving and careful Father for his Children, to prevent the purpoſe, and diſappoint the intent of his Children, purpoſing to depart a while from the School for fear of beating (which thing they would not do, if they did as much conſider the commodity of Learning which there they might get:) how ſhould you take this work of the Lord preventing your purpoſe, but as an evident ſign of love and fatherly carefulneſs that he beareth towards you? if he ſhould have winked at your wills, then would you have eſcaped beating, I mean the Croſs; but then ſhould you have loſt the commodity of learning that which your Father will now have you to learn and feel, and therefore hath he ſent to you his Croſs. He, I ſay, hath brought you where you be; and though your reaſon and wit will tell you, it is by chance or fortune, or otherwiſe, yet (my dearly Beloved) know for certain that, whatſoever was the means, God your Father was the worker hereof, and that for your weal, although otherwiſe your old *Adam* doth tell you, and you feel: yet I ſay of truth that your duty is to think of this Croſs, that as it is of Gods ſending, and cometh from him; ſo although your deſerts be otherwiſe, it is of love and fatherly affection for your weal and commodities ſake.

The Croſs cometh not without Gods ſending.

What commodity is hereby? you will perchance object. You are now kept to cloſe Priſon, you will ſay; your Family and Children be without good Over-ſeers; your ſubſtance diminiſheth by theſe means; your poverty will approach; and perchance more perils alſo, yea and loſs of life too. Theſe are no commodities, but diſcommodities, and that no ſmall ones; ſo that juſtly you would be glad to know what commodity can come to you by this Croſs, whereby cometh ſo great diſcommodities.

Worldly loſs recompenced with endleſs and perpetual gain by the Croſs.

To theſe things I anſwer, that indeed it it true you ſay of your Bodies, Families, Children, ſubſtance, poverty, life &c. Which things, if you would conſider a while with inward eyes, as you behold them with outward; then perhaps you ſhould find more eaſe. Do not you now by the inward ſenſe perceive that you muſt part from all theſe and all other commodities in the world? Tell me then,

What commodity the Croſs bringeth.

have not you this commodity by your Croſs, to learn to loath and leave the world, and to long for and deſire another world, where is perpetuity? You ought of your own head and free will to have (according to your profeſſion in Baptiſm) forſaken the world and all earthly things, uſing the world as though you uſed it not. Your heart ſet only upon your hoard in heaven, or elſe you could never be Chriſts true diſciples, that is to be ſaved, and be where he is. And trow you (my good hearts in the Lord) trow you, I ſay, that this is no commodity, by this Croſs to be compelled hereto, that you might aſſuredly enjoy with the Lord endleſs glory? How now doth God, as it were, Fatherly pull you by the ears, to remember your former offences concerning theſe things and all other things, that repentance and remiſſion might enſue? How doth God now compel you to call upon him, and to be earneſt in Prayer: Are theſe no commodities? Doth not the Scripture ſay, that *God doth correct us in this World, becauſe we ſhall not be Damned with the World? That God chaſteneth every one whom he loveth?* That the end of this correction ſhall be joy and holineſs? Doth not the Scripture ſay, *That they are happy that ſuffer for righteouſneſs ſake*, as you now do? That the glory and ſpirit of God is upon them? That, as *you are now made like unto Chriſt in ſuffering, ſo ſhall you be made like him in reigning?* Doth not the Scripture ſay, That you are now going the high and right way to Heaven? That your ſuffering is Chriſts ſuffering? My dearly Beloved, what greater commodities than theſe can a godly heart deſire?

Promiſes annexed to the Croſs.

Therefore ye are commanded to rejoyce and be glad, when ye ſuffer as now ye do: for through the goodneſs of God great ſhall be your reward: Where? Forſooth on earth firſt your Children; for now they are in Gods meer and immediate protection. Never was Father ſo careful for his Children, as God is for yours preſently. Gods bleſſing, which is more worth than all the world, you leave indeed to your Children: Though all your Providence for them ſhould be pulled away; yet God is not poor; he hath promiſed to provide for them moſt Fatherly. *Caſt thy burthen upon me*, ſaith he, *and I will bear it.* Do you therefore caſt them, and commend them unto God your Father, and doubt not that he will dye in your debt. He never was found unfaithful, and he will not now begin with you. The good mans ſeed ſhall not go a begging his Bread; for he will ſhew mercy upon thouſands of the poſterity of them that fear him. Therefore (as I ſaid) Gods reward firſt upon earth ſhall be felt by your Children even corporally, and ſo alſo upon you, if God ſee it more for your commodity, at the leaſt inwardly you ſhall feel it by quietneſs and comfort of Conſcience: and ſecondly, after this life you ſhall find it ſo plentifully, as the eye hath not ſeen, the ear hath not heard, the heart cannot conceive how great and glorious Gods reward will be upon your bodies, much more upon your ſouls. God open our eyes to ſee and feel this indeed. Then ſhall we think the Croſs which is a mean hereto to be commdious. Then ſhall we thank God that he would chaſtiſe us. Then ſhall we ſay with *David*; *Happy am I that thou haſt puniſhed me: for before I went aſtray, but now I keep thy Laws.*

Pſal. 55.

Care of Children to be left to Gods Providence. Pſal. 37.

Two things to be conſidered of all men that be under the Croſs.

This that we may do indeed (my dearly Beloved) let us firſt know that our Croſs cometh from God: Secondly, that it cometh from God as a Father, that is, to our weal and good. Therefore let us thirdly call to mind our ſins, and ask pardon. Whereto let us fourthly look for help certainly at Gods hand in his good time: help I ſay, ſuch as ſhall make moſt to Gods glory, and to the comfort and commodity of our ſouls and bodies eternally. This if we certainly conceive, then will there iſſue out of us hearty thankſgiving, which God requireth as a moſt precious ſacrifice. That we may all through Chriſt offer this, let us uſe earneſt prayer to our God and dear Father, who bleſs us, keep us, and comfort us under his ſweet Croſs for ever, *Amen, Amen.*

My dear hearts, if I could any way comfort you, you ſhould be ſure thereof, though my life lay thereon, but now I muſt do as I may, becauſe I cannot as I would. Oh that it would pleaſe our dear Father ſhortly to bring us where we ſhould never depart, but enjoy continually the bleſſed fruition of his heavenly preſence: Pray, pray that it may ſpeedily come to paſs, pray. To morrow I will ſend to you to know your eſtate; ſend me word what are the cheifeſt things they charge you with all. From the *Counter.*

By your Brother in the Lord,
John Bradford.

To Mrs. *Hall*, Priſoner in *Newgate*, and ready to make anſwer before her Adverſaries.

Another Letter of *M. Bradford* to Mrs. *Hall*.

OUr moſt merciful God and Father through Chriſt Jeſus our Lord and Saviour, be merciful unto us, and make perfect the good he hath begun in us unto the end, Amen.

Matth. 5.

My dear Siſter, rejoyce in the Lord, rejoyce; be glad, I ſay, be merry and thankful, not only becauſe Chriſt ſo commandeth us, but alſo becauſe our ſtate wherein we are preſently, requireth no leſs, for we are the Lords witneſſes: God the Father hath vouchſafed to chuſe us amongſt many, to witneſs and teſtifie that Chriſt his Son is King, and that his Word is true. Chriſt our Saviour, for his loves ſake towards us, will have us to bear record that he is no uſurper nor deceiver of the people, but Gods Embaſſadour, Prophet, and Meſſias; ſo that of all dignities upon earth this is the higheſt. Greater honour had not his Prophets, Apoſtles, nor deareſt Friends, than to bear witneſs with Chriſt, as we now do. The world, following the counſel of their Sire Satan, would gladly condemn Chriſt and his verity, but lo the Lord hath choſen us to be his Champions

The blood of Martyrs ſtandeth for the verity of Chriſt againſt the World and Satan, who would ſuppreſs the ſame.

to let his. As ſtout Souldiers therefore let us ſtand to our Maſter, who is with us, and ſtandeth on our right hand, that we ſhall not be much moved, if we hope and hang on his mercy; he is ſo faithful and true, that he will never tempt us farther than he will make us able to bear.

The Lord promiſeth, and will give them that ſtand in his defence, how and what to anſwer.

Therefore be not careful (for I hear ſay this day you ſhall be called forth) what you ſhall anſwer. The Lord which is true and cannot lye, hath promiſed, and will never fail nor forget it, that you ſhall have both what and how to anſwer, ſo as ſhall make his ſhameleſs Adverſaries aſhamed. Hang therefore on this Promiſe of God, who is an helper at a pinch, and a moſt preſent remedy to them that hope in him. Never was it ever heard of, or ſhall be, that any hoping in the Lord was put to foil.

A bleſſed thing ſeeing a man muſt needs dye, to dye for the Lord.

Therefore as I ſaid, I ſay again, Dear Siſter, be not only not careful for your anſwering, but alſo be joyful for your cauſe. Confeſs Chriſt, and be not aſhamed, and he will confeſs you, and never be aſhamed of you. Though loſs of goods and life be like here to enſue; yet if Chriſt be true (as he is moſt true) it is otherwiſe indeed: for he that loſeth his life, ſaith he, winneth it; but he that ſaveth it, loſeth it. Our ſins have deſerved many deaths. Now if God ſo deal with us, that he will make our deſerved death a demonſtration of his Grace, a teſtimonial of his Verity, a confirmation of his People, and overthrow of his Adverſaries; What great cauſe have we to be thankful? Be thankful therefore good Siſter, be thankful. Rejoyce and be merry in the Lord; be ſtout in his cauſe and quarrel, be not faint-hearted, but run out your race, and ſet your Captain Chriſt before your eyes. Behold how great your reward is. See the great glory, and the eternity of felicity prepared for you. Strive and fight lawfully, that you may get the Crown. Run to get the game, you are almoſt at your journeys end; I doubt not but our Father will with us ſend to you alſo, as he did to Helias *a fiery Chariot, to convey us into his Kingdom. Let us therefore not be diſmayed, to leave our Cloak behind us, that is, our Bodies to aſhes. God will one day reſtore them to us like to the Body of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe coming is now at hand; Let us look for it and lift up our heads, for our redemption draweth nigh,* Amen, Amen. *The Lord of mercy, grant us his mercy,* Amen. *I pray you, pray for me, and ſo deſire my Brethren which be with you. Gods peace be with us all,* Amen. *Bleſſed be the dead that dye in the Lord; then how much more they that dye for the Lord?*

4 Reg. 2.

Your Brother in bonds, *J. Bradford.*

To a Woman that deſired to know his mind, whether ſhe refraining from the Maſs, might be preſent at the Popiſh Mattins, or no.

I Beſeech Almighty God our heavenly Father to be merciful unto us, and to increaſe in you my good Siſter, the knowledge and love of his Truth, and at this preſent give me grace ſo to write to you ſomething of the ſame, as may make to his glory and our own comfort and confirmation in him, through Chriſt our Lord, *Amen.*

A reſolution of M. *Bradford*, whether a Chriſtian abſtaining from the Maſs, may hear the Popiſh Mattins, or no.

Whether you may come with ſafe Conſcience to the Church now, that is, to the Service uſed commonly, in part, as at Mattins, or at Evenſong, or no, is your deſire to have me to write ſomething for your further ſtay. My dearly Beloved, although your benefits towards me might perchance make you to think, that in reſpect thereof I would bear with that which elſe were not to be born withal; yet by Gods grace I am purpoſed, ſimply and without all ſuch reſpect in this matter, to ſpeak to you the truth according to my Conſcience, as I may be able to ſtand unto, when I ſhall come before the Lord.

Three Leſſons to be learned of every Chriſtian.

Firſt therefore, go about to learn perfectly the firſt Leſſon to be learned of all that profeſs Chriſt, that is, to deny your ſelf, and in nothing to ſeek your ſelf.

Secondly, learn after this, to begin at the next Leſſon to it, which is, to ſeek God in all things you do, and leave undone.

Thirdly, know that then you ſeek God, when in his ſervice you follow his Word, and not mans fantaſies, cuſtom, multitude, &c. and when with your Brother you follow the rule of Charity, that is, To do as you would be done by. In theſe is a ſum of all the counſel I can give you, if that hereto I admoniſh you of the Service now uſed, which is not according to Gods Word, but rather againſt Gods Word directly, and in manner wholly. So that your going to the Service, is a declaration that you have not learned the firſt Leſſon, nor never can learn it, ſo long as you go thither; therefore the ſecond Leſſon you ſhall utterly loſe, if you ceaſe not the ſeeking of your ſelf, that is, if for company, cuſtom, father or friend, life or goods, you ſeem to allow that which God diſalloweth. And this that you the better may perceive, I purpoſe by Gods grace briefly to ſhew.

Anno 1555.

Reaſons proving that no Chriſtian may come to the Popiſh Mattins and Evenſong, with a good Conſcience.

Firſt, the Mattins and Evenſong is in a Tongue forbidden publickly to be uſed in the Congregation that perceiveth not the Tongue. Read how *Paul* affirmeth it, to pray in an unknown Tongue, to be againſt Gods Commandment. This one (I trow) were enough, if nothing elſe were. For how can Gods glory be ſought, where his Word and Commandment is wilfully broken? How can charity to Man ſtand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his Word, is overthrown?

The Popes Service is in a Tongue unknown.

Again, both in Mattins and in Evenſong is Idolatry maintained for Gods ſervice; for there is Invocation and Prayer made to Saints departed this life, which robbeth God of that glory which he will give to none other.

The Popes Service is full of Idolatry. *Eſay 5.*

Moreover, this Service, and the ſetters forth of it condemneth the *Engliſh* Service as Hereſie, thereby falling into Gods Curſe, which is threatned to be all ſuch as call good evil, and evil good; whereof they ſhall be partakers that do communicate with them.

The Popes Service condemneth the Engliſh Service of Hereſie.

Beſides this, this Latin Service is a plain mark of Antichriſts Catholick Synagogue; ſo that the Communicants and Approvers of it thereby declare themſelves to be Members of the ſame Synagogue, and ſo ſhut off from Chriſt and his Church, whoſe exterior mark is the true adminiſtration of Gods Word and Sacraments.

The Popes Latin Service is a mark of Antichriſt.

Furthermore, the example of your going thither to allow the Religion of Antichriſt (as doubtleſs you do indeed, howſoever in heart you think) occaſioneth the obſtinate to be utterly intractable; the weak Papiſts to be more obſtinate, the ſtrong Goſpellers to be ſore weakened, and the weak Goſpellers to be utterly overthrown: which things, how great offences they be, no Pen is able to utter by Letters. All theſe evils you ſhall be guilty of, that company with theſe in Religion exteriorly, from whom you are admoniſhed to fly. If Chriſt be Chriſt, follow him: gather with him, leſt you ſcatter abroad. Serve God, not only in Spirit, but alſo in Body. Make not your Body, now a member of Chriſt, a member of Antichriſt. Come out from amongſt them, ſaith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. Confeſs Chriſt and his Truth, not only in heart, but alſo in tongue, yea in very deed, which few Goſpellers do. Indeed they deny him, and therefore had need to tremble, leſt that Chriſt will deny them in the laſt day: the which day, if it were ſet before our eyes often, then would the pleaſures and treaſures of this World be but trifles.

The going to the Popes Service giveth ill example, and is offenſive.

Therefore good Siſter, often have it before your eyes, daily ſet your ſelf and your doings as before the Judgment Seat of Chriſt now, that hereafter you be not called into Judgment. Think that it will little profit you to win the whole World, and to loſe your own Soul. Mark Chriſts Leſſons well, *He that will ſave his life, ſhall loſe it.* The Father of Heaven commandeth you to hear Chriſt, and he ſaith, *Follow me:* this can you not do, and follow Idolatry or Idolaters. Fly from ſuch, ſaith the Scripture.

Chriſts Leſſon.

This God grant to you, to me, and to all Gods Children, *Amen.* Thus in haſte I have accompliſhed your requeſt. God grant that as you have done me much good bodily, ſo that this may be a little mean to do you ſome good ſpiritually, *Amen.* If time would ſerve, I would have written more at large. The ſecond of *March*, *Anno* 1555.

To the Worſhipful, and in God my moſt dear Friend, the Lady Vane.

An Epiſtle of M. *Bradford* to the Lady *Vane*, concerning the Seat of the Popes pretenced Primacy.

THe good Spirit of God our Father be more and more plentifully perceived of your good Ladiſhip, through the mediation and merits of our dear Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

Although your benefits towards me have deſerved at my hands the ſervice I can do for you, yet (Right Wor-

Anno 1555.

The Pope proved to be the great Antichrist spoken of by the Apostles.

Worshipful and dearly beloved in the Lord) the true fear of God, and the love of his truth, which I perceive to be in you; specially, and above all other things do bind me hereunto. This bearer hath told me that your desire is to have somthing sent to you concerning the usurped Authority of the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome* (which is undoubtedly that great Antichrist, of whom the Apostles do so much admonish us) that you may have as well somthing the more to stay on, as also wherewith to answer the Adversaries, because you may perchance therein be somthing apposed. To satisfie this your desire, I will briefly go about, and so, that I will by Gods grace fully set forth the same, to enarm you to withstand the Assaults of the Papists herein, if you mark well and read over again that which I now Write.

The Pope displacing Christ.

The Papists do place in preheminence over the whole Church, the Pope, thereby unplacing Christ, which is the head of the Church, that giveth life to the whole Body, and by his Spirit doth make lively every member of the same. This they do without all Scriptures. For where they bring in this spoken to *Peter*, Feed my Sheep; I would gladly know whether this was not commanded unto others also. As for that (which perchance they will urge) that he spake to *Peter* by name, if they had any learning, they would easily perceive how that it was not for any such cause as they pretend, but rather by a threefold commandment to restore him to the honour of an Apostle, which he had lost by his threefold denial. And how dare they interpret this word, My Sheep, my Lambs, to be the universal Church of Christ? I trow a man might easily by the [illegible] " reason prove that *Peter* himself had resigned that which Christ had given to him, in exhorting his fellow Pastors to feed the flock of Christ. Is not this pretty stuff? Because Christ saith to *Peter*, Feed my Sheep, therefore he ought to rule the universal and whole Church of Christ? If *Peter* do truely Write unto others that they should do the like, that is, Feed Christs flock, either he translateth his right and Authority committed to him upon them, or else he doth participate or communicate with them; so that foolishly they go about to establish that which hath no ground. *Peter* indeed was a shepherd of the Sheep, but such a one as bestowed his labour on them so far, as he could stretch himself by his Ministery. But the Papists prate that he had full power over all Churches: Wherein they may see *Paul* to improve them, for else he had done unjustly in denying him the superiour place. Howbeit, who ever yet read that *Peter* did take any thing upon him over Churches committed to other men? Was not he sent of the Church, & sent of one not having rule over the rest? I grant that he was an excellent instrument of God, and for the excellency of his gifts, whensoever they met together, place therefore was commonly given unto him. But what is this to the purpose, to make him ruler and head over all the whole Church, because he was so over a small Congregation?

The words of Christ to *Peter*, Feed my Sheep, expounded.

" Argument. Christ bidding *Peter*, Feed his flock, made him head over the Universal Church; *Ergo* *Peter* bidding the Pastors feed the flock of Christ made them also heads over the Universall Church.

Ab una exponente ad suam exclusivam non valet consequentia.

Christ made *Peter* a Shepherd: *Ergo* Christ made *Peter* only the chief Shepherd of his Sheep.

Peter was excellent for his gifts, and not for the place where he [illegible]

But be it so that *Peter* had as much given to him as they do affirm: Who yet will grant that *Peter* had a patrimony given for his heirs? He hath left (say the Papists) to his successors the self same right which he received. O Lord God, then must his successour be a *Satan*: for he received that title of Christ himself. I would gladly have the Papists to shew me one place of succession mentioned in the Scriptures. I am sure that when *Paul* purposely painteth out the whole Administration of the Church, he neither maketh one head, nor any Inheritable Primacy, and yet he is altogether in commendation of unity. After he hath made mention of one God the Father, of one Christ, of one Spirit, of one Body of the Church, of one Faith, and of one Baptism, [illegible] describeth the mean and manner how unity is [illegible]ept; namely, because unto every Pastor is grace giv[illegible] the measure wherwith Christ hath endued them. Where I pray you is now any title of *Plenitudinis potestatis*, of fulness of power? When he calleth home every one unto a certain measure, why did he not forthwith say one Pope? Which he could not have forgotten, if the thing had been as the Papists make it.

Argument. *Peter* left the title which he received, to his successors. *Peter* received the title of Satan: *Ergo*, *Peter* left the title of Satan to his successors

No mention of succession nor primacy inheritable, in all the Scripture.

But let us grant that perpetuitie of the primacie in the Church was established in *Peter*; I would gladly learn why the seat of the Primacie should be rather at *Rome* then elsewhere. Marry say they, because *Peters* chair was at *Rome*: This is even like to this, that because *Moses* the greatest Prophet, and *Aaron* the first Priest exercised their offices unto their Death in the desert, therefore the principallest place of the *Jewish* Church should be in the Wilderness. But grant them their reason that it is good; What should *Antioch* claim? For *Peters* Chair was there also, wherein *Paul* gave him a Check, which was unseemly and unmannerly done of *Paul*, that would not give place to his President and better.

No cause why any perpetuity of primacy should belong to *Rome* more then to other place.

As *Peters* chair was in *Rome*, so *Moses* chair was in the wilderness: *Ergo* the principallity of the Jewish Church should be in the wilderness.

No, say the Papists, *Rome* must have this Authority because *Peter* died there. But what if a man should by probable conjectures shew, that it is but a fable which is feigned of *Peters* Bishoprick at *Rome*? Read how *Paul* doth salute very many private persons when he writeth to the *Romans*. Three years after his Epistle made, he was brought to *Rome* prisoner. *Luke* telleth, that he was received of the Brethren, and yet in all these, is no mention at all of *Peter*, which then by their stories was at *Rome*. Belike he was proud, as the Pope and Prelates be, or else he would have visited *Paul*. *Paul* being in prison in *Rome* did write divers Epistles, in which he expresseth the names of many which were in comparison of *Peter*, but rascal personages, but of *Peter* he speaketh never a word. Surely if *Peter* had been there, this silence of him had been suspicious. In the 2 Epistle to *Timothy*, *Paul* complaineth that no man was with him in his Defence, but all had left him. If *Peter* had been then at *Rome*, as they write, then either *Paul* had belied him, or *Peter* had played his *Peters* part, *Luke* 23. In another place, how doth he blame all that were with him, only *Timothy* excepted? Therefore we may well doubt whether *Peter* was at *Rome* Bishop as they prate: for all this time and long before, they say that *Peter* was Bishop there.

Peter had no Bishoprick at *Rome*. Conjectures that *Peter* was not at *Rome*.

2 Tim. 4. Phil. 2.

But I will not stir up coals in this matter. If *Rome* be the chief seat because *Peter* died there, why should not *Antioch* be the second? Why should not *James* and *John* which were taken with *Peter* to be as Pillars? Why, I say, should not their seats have honour next to *Peters* seat? Is not this gear preposterous, that *Alexandria* where *Mark* (which was but one of the Disciples) was Bishop, should be preferred before *Ephesus*, where *John* the Evangelist taught and was Bishop, and before *Jerusalem*, where not only *James* taught and died Bishop, but also Christ Jesus our Lord and High Priest for ever, by whom being Master, I hope, honour should be given to his chair, more then to the chair of his Chaplains?

If *Peters* chair make the primacie: why might not *Antioch* claim as much as *Rome*, where he sate first?

I need to speak nothing how that *Paul* telleth *Peters* Apostleship to concern rather Circumcision or the *Jews*, and therefore properly pertaineth not to us. Neither do I need to bring in *Gregorius* the first Bishop of *Rome*, which was about the year of our Lord 600. who plainly in his works doth write that this title of *Primacy*, and to be head over all Churches under Christ, is a title meet and agreeing only to Antichrist, and therefore he calleth it a prophane, a mischievous, and an horrible title. Whom should we believe now, if we will neither believe Apostle nor Pope?

Peters Apostleship was over the circumcised, and not over the Gentiles.

The title of primacy a foretoken of Antichrist.

If I should go about to tell how this name was first gotten by *Phocas*, I should be too long. I purpose God willing to set it forth at large in a work which I have begun of Antichrist, if God for his mercies sake give me life to finish it. For this present therefore I shall desire your Ladyship to take this in good part. If they will needs have the Bishop of *Rome* to be acknowledged for the head of the Church, then will I urge them that they shall give us a Bishop. But they obtrude unto us a butcher rather, or a bitesheep, then a Bishop. They brag of *Peters* succession, of Christs Vicar, this is always in their mouth. But alas how can we call him Christs Vicar that resisteth Christ, oppugneth his veritie, persecuteth his People, and like a Prelate preferreth himself above God and man? How, or wherein doth the Pope and Christ agree? How supplyeth he *Peters* Ministery, that boasteth of his succession? Therefore to begin withal, which I will use presently for a conclusion, if the Papists will have the Bishop of *Rome* supreme head of the Church of Christ in Earth, they must, afore they attain this, give us a Bishop in deed, & not in name. For whosoever he be that will make this the bond of unity, whatsoever the Bishop of *Rome* be, surely

How the title of primacy first came up, and by whom.

The Bishop of Rome seemeth indeed rather a butcher then a Bishop

If they will needs make the Bishop of *Rome* the supreme head, they must first prove him a Bishop indeed and not in name.

this muſt needs follow, that they do nothing elſe but teach a moſt wicked defection, and departing from Chriſt.

But of this, if God lend me life, I purpoſe to ſpeak more at large hereafter. Now will I betake your Ladyſhip unto the tuition of God our Father, and Chriſt our only Head, Paſtor and Keeper, to whom ſee that you cleave by true Faith, which dependeth only upon the Word of God; which if you do follow as a lantern to your feet, and a light to your ſteps, you ſhall then avoid darkneſs, and the dangerous deeps whereinto the Papiſts are fallen by the Judgment of God, and ſeek to bring us into the ſame dungeon with them, that the blind following the blind, they both may fall into the ditch: out of the which God deliver them according to his good will, and preſerve us for his Names ſake, that we being in his light, may continue therein, and walk in it whilſt it is day; ſo ſhall the night never overpreſsus, we going from light to light, from verute to vertue, from Faith to Faith, from glory to glory, by the governance of Gods good Spirit, which God our Father give unto us all fro ever, *Amen.*

Your Brother in bonds for the teſtimony of Ieſus Chriſt,
John Bradford.

He wrote alſo another fruitful Letter to this R. Hopkins, which you may read in the book of Letters of the Martyrs.

Here followeth another Letter of M. *Bradford*, to one *Richard Hopkins*, Sheriff ſomtimes of *Coventry*, and yet being (as I hear ſay) alive. This *Hopkins*, whom Mr. *Bradford* commendeth ſo much in this Letter, during the time of his Sheriffaltie was detected and accuſed, by certain malignant Adverſaries, of matter pertaining to Religion. What matter it was, I am not yet certainly informed, unleſs it were for ſending and lending unto a thief, being then in priſon ready to be hanged, a certain *Engliſh* Book of Scripture for his Spirituall comfort.

Whereupon, or elſe upon ſome ſuch like matter, he being maliciouſly accuſed, was ſent for and committed to the Fleet, and there endured a ſufficient time, not without great peril of life. Notwithſtanding, the ſaid *Hopkins* being at length delivered out of priſon, following this Counſel of Mr. *Bradford*, and minding to keep his Conſcience pure from idolatry, was driven with his Wife and eight young Children, to avoid the Realm, and ſo, leaving all other worldly reſpects, with his great loſs and damage went into *High-Germany*, where he continued in the City of *Baſil*, till the Death of Queen *Mary*; being like a good *Tobias*, to his power a friendly helper, and a comfortable reliever of other *Engliſh* Exiles there about him, Gods holy bleſſing ſo working with him therefore, that in thoſe far Countries neither he fell in any great decay, neither any one of all his houſhold, during all that time there, miſcarried, but ſo many as he brought out, ſo many he recarried home again, yea and that with advantage, and Gods plenty withal upon him. Now the Letter Written to this *Richard Hopkins* by Mr. *Bradford*, is this.

A Letter to Maſter Richard Hopkins, *then Sheriff of* Coventry, *and priſoner in the* Fleet, *for the faithful and conſtant confeſſing of Gods Holy Goſpel.*

A Letter of M. *Bradford* to R. *Hopkins* priſoner the ſame time for his Conſcience.

DEarely beloved in the Lord, I wiſh unto you, as unto mine own Brother, yea as to mine own heart root, Gods mercy, and the feeling of the ſame plentifully in Chriſt our ſweet Saviour, who gave himſelf a ranſom for our ſins, and price for our redemption, praiſed therefore he his Holy Name for ever and ever. *Amen.*

I will not go about to excuſe my ſelf for not ſending unto you hitherto, ſuffering for the Lords ſake as you do, to the comfort of me and all that love you in the Truth; but rather accuſe my ſelf both before God and you, deſiring of you forgiveneſs, and with me to pray to God for pardon of this my unkind forgetting you, and all other my ſins, which I beſeech the Lord in his Mercy to do away for his Chriſts ſake. *Amen.*

Now to make amends to you ward, I would be glad if I could: but becauſe I cannot, I ſhall heartily deſire you to accept that will, and this which I ſhall now write unto you thereafter; I mean, after my will and not after the deed to accept and take it. At this preſent, my dear heart in the Lord, you are in a bleſſed ſtate, although it ſeem otherwiſe to you, or rather unto your old *Adam*, the which I dare now be ſo bold as to diſcern from you, becauſe you would have him not only diſcerned, but alſo utterly deſtroyed. For if God be True, then is his Word True.

Anno 1555.

Now his word pronounceth of your ſtate that it is happy, therefore it muſt needs be ſo. To prove this, I think it need not: for you know that the Holy Ghoſt ſaith, *That they are happy which ſuffer for Righteouſneſs ſake, and that Gods Glory and Spirit reſteth on them which ſuffer for Conſcience to God.* Now this you cannot but know, that this your ſuffering is for Righteouſneſs ſake, and for Conſcience to God-wards, for elſe you might be out of trouble even out of hand. I know in very deed that you have felt and do feel your unthankfulneſs to God, and other ſins, to witneſs to you, that you have deſerved this impriſonment, and lack of liberty, betwixt God and your ſelf, and I would you ſo would confeſs unto God in your prayers, with petition for pardon and thankſgiving, for his correcting you here. But you know that the Magiſtrates do not perſecute in you your ſins, your unthankfulneſs, &c. But they perſecute in you Chriſt himſelf, his Righteouſneſs, his verity, and therefore happy be you that have found ſuch favour with God your Father, to accompt you worthy to ſuffer for his ſake, in the ſight of man; ſurely you ſhall rejoyce therefore one day with a joy unſpeakable, in the ſight of man alſo.

Martyrs perſecuted not for their ſins, but for Chriſt only, and the Goſpel.

You may think your ſelf born in a bleſſed time, that have found this grace with God, to be a veſſel of honour to ſuffer with his Saints, yea with his Son. My beloved, God hath not done ſo with many. The Apoſtle ſaith, *Not many noble, not many rich, not many wiſe in the World, hath the Lord God choſen.* Oh then what cauſe have you to rejoyce, that amongſt the not many, he hath choſen you to be one? For that cauſe hath God placed you in your office, that therefore ye might the more ſee his ſpecial dignation and love towards you. It had not been ſo great a thing for Mr. *Hopkins* to have ſuffered as Mr. *Hopkins*, as it is for Mr. *Hopkins* alſo to ſuffer as Maſter Sheriff. Oh happy day that you were made Sheriff! by the which as God in this World would promote you to a more honourable degree, ſo by ſuffering in this room he hath exalted you in Heaven, and in the ſight of his Church and Children, to a much more excellent glory. When was it read that a Sheriff of a City hath ſuffered for the Lords ſake? Where read we of any Sheriff that hath been caſt into priſon for Conſcience to God-ward? How could God have dealt more lovingly with you, then herein he hath done? To the end of the World it ſhall be written for a memorial to your praiſe, that *Richard Hopkins* Sheriff of *Coventry*, for Conſcience to do his Office before God, was caſt into the *Fleet*, there kept priſoner along time. Happy and twice happy are you, if herefore you may give your life. Never could you have attained to this promotion on this ſort out of that Office. How do you preach now, not only to all men, but ſpecially to Magiſtrates in this Realm? Who would ever have thought that you ſhould have been the firſt Magiſtrate that for Chriſts ſake ſhould have loſt any thing? As I ſaid before, therefore I ſay again, that your ſtate is happy. Good Brother, before God I write the Truth unto you, my Conſcience bearing me witneſs that you are in a moſt happy ſtate with the Lord, and before his ſight.

1 Cor. 1.

R. Hopkins the firſt Magiſtrate that ſuffered for his Conſcience.

Be thankful therfore, rejoyce in your trouble, pray for patience, preſevere to the end, let patience have her perfect work. If you want this, Wiſdom and Power, ask it of God, who will give it to you in his good time. Hope ſtill in him, yea if he ſhould ſlay you, yet truſt in him with *Job*, and you ſhall perceive that the end will be to find him merciful and full of compaſſion: for he will not break promiſe with you, which hitherto did never ſo with any. He is with you in trouble, he heareth you calling upon him, yea before you call, your deſires are not only known, but accepted through Chriſt. If now and then he hide his face from you, it is but to provoke your appetite, to make you the more to long for him. This is moſt true, He is coming, and will come, he will not be long. But if for a time he ſeem to tarry, yet ſtand you ſtill, and you ſhall ſee the wonderful works of the Lord. Oh beloved, wherefore ſhould you be heavy? Is not Chriſt *Emmanuel*, God with us? ſhall you not find that as he is true in ſaying, *In the World you ſhall have trouble*; ſo is he in ſaying, *In me you ſhall have comfort?* He doth not ſwear only that trouble

Iacob. 1.

1 Cor. 2.

will

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will come, but withal he ſweareth that comfort ſhall enſue. And what comfort? Such a comfort as the eye hath not ſeen, the Ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive. O great comfort! who ſhall have this? Forſooth they that ſuffer for the Lord. And are not you one of them? Yea verily are you. Then, as I ſaid, happy, happy, and happy again are you, my dearly beloved in the Lord. You now ſuffer with the Lord, ſurely you ſhall be glorified with him. Call upon God therefore in your trouble, and he will hear you, yea deliver you in ſuch ſort, as moſt ſhall make both to his and your glory alſo. And in this calling I heartily pray you to pray for me your fellow in affliction. Now we be both going in the high way to Heaven: for by many afflictions muſt we enter in thither, whither God bring us for his mercies ſake, *Amen, Amen.*

Your fellow in affliction, John Bradford.

To my good Siſter Miſtreſs *Elizabeth Brown.*

A Letter of Mr. Bradford to Miſtreſs Brown now called Miſtreſs Ruſhbrough.

GOod Siſter, God our Father make perfect the good he hath begun in you unto the end.

I am affraid to write unto you becauſe you ſo over charge your ſelf at all times, even whenſoever I do but ſend to you commendations. I would be more bold on you then many others, and therefore you might ſuſpend ſo great tokens till I ſhould write unto you of my need; which thing doubtleſs I would do if it urged me. Dear Siſter, I ſee your unfained love to me wards in God, and have done of long time, the which I do recompence with the like, and will do by God's grace ſo long as I live, and therefore I hope not to forget you, but in my poor prayers to have you in remembrance, as I hope you have me. Otherwiſe I can do you no ſervice, except it be now and then by my writing to let you from better exerciſe; where yet the end of my writing is to excite and ſtirr up your heart more earneſtly to go onwards in your well begun enterpriſe. For you know none ſhall be crowned, but ſuch as ſtrive lawfully, and none receiveth the gleve, but thoſe that run to the appointed mark. None ſhall be ſaved but ſuch as perſiſt and continue to the very end.

2 Tim. 2.

Heb. 10.

Therefore, Dear Siſter, remember that we have need of patience, that when we have done the good will of God, we may receive the promiſe. Patience and perſeverance be the proper notes, whereby Gods Children are known from counterfeits. They that perſevere not, were always but Hypocrites. Many make godly beginnings, yea their progreſs ſeemeth Marvelous, but yet after in the end they fail. Theſe were never of us, ſaith Saint John: *for if they had been of us, they would have continued unto the very end.*

Wholeſom leſſons of life.

Go to now therefore mine own beloved in the Lord, as you have well begun, and well gone forward, ſo well perſiſt, and happily end, and then all is yours. Though this be ſharp and ſower, yet it is not tedious and long. Do all that ever you do, ſimply for God, and as to God; ſo ſhall neyther unkindneſs nor any other thing make you to leave off from well doing, ſo long as you may do well. Accuſtom your ſelf now to ſee God continually, that he may be all in all unto you. In good things behold his mercy, and apply it unto your ſelf. In evil things and plagues behold his judgments, where through learn to fear him. Beware of Sin, as the Serpent of the Soul, which ſpoileth us of all our ornature and ſeemly apparel in Gods ſight. Let Chriſt Crucified be your book to ſtudy on, and that both night and day. Mark your Vocation, and be diligent in the works thereof. Uſe hearty and earneſt prayer, and that in Spirit. In all things give thanks to God our Father through Chriſt. Labour to have here life everlaſting begun in you: for elſe it will not be elſewhere enjoyed. Set Gods judgment often before your eyes, that now examining your ſelf, you may make diligent ſute, and obtain, never to come into judgment. Uncover your evils to God, that he may cover them. Beware of this Antichriſtian Traſh: *defile not your ſelf in Soul or Body therewith, but accompliſh holineſs in the fear of God, and bear no Yoak with unbelievers. Look for the coming of the Lord which is at hand; by earneſt prayer and godly life haſten it. God our Father accompliſh his good work in you,* Amen. *Commend me to my good Mother Miſtreſs* Wilkinſon, *and to my very dear Siſter Miſtreſs* Warcup. *I ſhall daily commend you all to God, and I pray you do the like for me.*

John Bradford.

To a Friend of his, Inſtructing him how he ſhould Anſwer his Adverſaries.

Another Letter of M. Bradford to his friend, with inſtructions how to anſwer his adverſaries.

MY good Brother, our merciful God and dear Father through Chriſt, open your eyes effectually to ſee, and your heart ardently to deſire the everlaſting joy which he hath prepared for his ſlaughter-ſheep, that is, for ſuch as ſhrink not from his truth for any ſuch ſtorms ſake Amen.

When you ſhall come before the Magiſtrates to give an anſwer of the hope which is in you, do it with all reverence and ſimplicity. And becauſe you may be ſomthing afraid by the power of the Magiſtrates and cruelty which they will threaten againſt you, I would you ſet before you the good Father Moſes *to follow his example: for he ſet the inviſible God before his eyes of Faith, and with them looked upon God and his glorious Majeſtie and power, as with his corporal eys he ſaw* Pharoah *and all his fearful terrors. So do you my dearly beloved: let your inward eyes give ſuch light unto you, that as you know you are before the Magiſtrates, ſo and much more, you and they alſo are preſent before the Face of God, which will give ſuch Wiſedom to you, fearing him and ſeeking his praiſe, as the Enemies ſhall wonder at; and further, he will ſo order their hearts and doings, that they ſhall, will they nill they, ſerve Gods Providence towards you (which you cannot avoid though you would) as ſhall be moſt to his glory, and your everlaſting comfort.*

Example of *Moſes* anſwering before K. Pharoah.

Therefore, my good Brother, let your whole ſtudy be only to pleaſe God: put him always before your eys, for he is on your right hand leſt you ſhould be moved; he is faithful, and never will ſuffer you to be tempted above that he will make you able to bear. Yea, every hair of you head he hath numbred, ſo that one of them ſhall not periſh without his good will, which cannot but be good unto you, in that he is become your Father through Chriſt: and therefore as he hath given you to believe in him (God increaſe his belief in us all) ſo doth he now gracieuſly give unto you to ſuffer for his names ſake: the which you ought with all thankfulneſs to receive, in that you are made worthy to drink of the ſelf ſame cup, which not only the very Sons of God have drank of before you, but even the very natural Son of God himſelf hath brought you good luck! Oh he of his mercy make us thankful to pledge him again, Amen.

Inſtructions how to anſwer, and to behave himſelf before the Judges.

Becauſe the chiefeſt matter they will trouble you, and go about to deceive you withall, is the Sacrament, not of Chriſts Body and Blood, but of the Altar as they call it, thereby deſtroying the Sacrament which Chriſt inſtituted. I would you noted theſe two things: Firſt, that the Sacrament of the Altar which the Prieſt offereth in the Maſs and eateth privately with himſelf, is not the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood inſtituted by him, as Chriſts inſtitution plainly written and ſet forth in the Scriptures, being compared to their uſing of it, plainly doth declare.

Again, if they talk with you of Chriſts Sacrament inſtituted by him, whether it be Chriſts Body or no: anſwer them, that as to the eys of your reaſon, to your taſte and corporal ſenſe it is Bread and Wine, and therefore the Scripture calleth it after the Conſecration ſo: even ſo to the eys, taſte, and ſenſe of your Faith, which aſcendeth to the Right Hand of God in Heaven, where Chriſt ſitteth, it is in very deed Chriſts Body and Blood, which ſpiritually your Soul feedeth on to everlaſting life in Faith, and by Faith, even as your Body preſently feedeth on the Sacramental Bread and Sacramental Wine.

By this mean, as you ſhall not allow tranſubſtantation, nor none of their Popiſh Opinions: ſo ſhall you declare the Sacrament to be a matter of Faith, and not of reaſon, as the Papiſts make it. For they deny Gods Omnipotency, in that they ſay Chriſt is not there, if Bread be there: but Faith looketh on the Omnipotency of God, joyned with his promiſe, and doubteth not but that Chriſt is able to give that he promiſeth us ſpiritually by Faith, the Bread ſtill remaining in ſubſtance, as well as if the ſubſtance of Bread were taken away: for Chriſt ſaith not in

Chriſt is able to keep his promiſe in the Sacrament, the ſubſtance of Bread ſtill remaining. The Papiſts deny the Omnipotency of God and how.

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any place this is no Bread. But of this gear God shall instruct you, if you hang on his promise, and pray for the power and Wisdom of his Spirit, which undoubtedly as you ere bound to look for, praying for it, so he hath bound himself by his promise to give it: the which thing he grant unto us both, and to all his People, for his names sake, through Christ our Lord, Amen.

John Bradford.

To certain godly men, whom he exhorteth to be patient under the Cross, and constant in the true doctrine which they had professed.

A Letter, or exhortation of Mr. Bradford to certain friends, to be patient under the Cross.

MY dearly beloved in the Lord, as in him I wish you well to fare, so I pray God I and you may continue in his true service, that perpetually we may enjoy the same welfare, as here in hope, so in Heaven indeed, and eternally.

You know this World is not your Home, but a Pilgrimage and place wherein God trieth his Children: and therefore as it knoweth you not, nor can know you, so I trust you know not it, that is, you allow it not, nor in any point will seem so to do, although by many you be occasioned thereto. For this hot Sun, which now shineth, burneth so sore, that the corn which is sown upon sand and stony ground, beginneth to wither, that is, many which before times were taken for hearty Gospellers, begin now for the fear of afflictions to relent, yea to turn to their vomit again, thereby declaring that though they go from among us, yet were they never of us: or else they would have still tarried with us, and neither for gain nor loss have left us, either in word or in deed. As for their heart (which undoubtedly is double, and therefore in danger of Gods curse) we have as much with us, as the Papists have with them, and more too by their own judgment. For they playing wily beguile themselves, think it enough inwardly to favour the truth, though outwardly they curry favour, What though with my Body, say they, I do this or that? God knoweth my heart is whole with him.

Backsliding of Gospellers.

Ah Brother, if thy heart be whole with God, why doest not thou confess and declare thy self accordingly by word and fact? Either that, which thou sayest thou believest in thy heart, is good or no. If it be good, why art thou ashamed of it? If it be evil, why doest thou keep it in thy heart? Is not God able to defend thee, adventuring thy self for his cause? Or will he not defend his worshippers? Doth not the Scripture say, that the eys of the Lord are on them that fear him, and trust in his mercy? And whereto? Forsooth to deliver their Souls from Death, and to feed them in the time of hunger.

Ministers of God. Psal. 33.

If this be true, as it is most true, why are we afraid of Death, as though God could not comfort or deliver us, or would not, contrary to his promise? Why are we afraid of the loss of our goods, as though God would leave them that fear him destitute of all good things, and so do against his most ample promises? Ah Faith, Faith, how few feel thee now adays? Full truely said Christ, that he should scarcely find Faith when he came on Earth. For if men believed these promises, they would never do any thing outwardly, which inwardly they disallow. No example of men, how many soever they be, or how learned soever they be, can prevail in this behalf: for the pattern which we must follow is Christ himself, and not the more company or custom. His Word is the lantern to lighten our steps, and not learned men. Company and custom are to be considered according to the thing they allow. Learned men are to be listned to and followed according to Gods lore and law; for else the more part goeth to the Divel. As custom causeth errour & blindness, so learning, if it be not according to the light of Gods Word, is poyson, and learned men most pernicious. The Divel is called Demon *for his cunning, and the Children of the World are much wiser then the Children of light in their generation: and I know the Divel and his darlings have always for the most part more helps in this life then Christs Church and her Children. They (the Divel and his Synagogue I mean) have custom, multitude, unitie, antiquitie, learning, power, riches, honour, dignitie and promotions plenty, as always they have had, and shall have commonly & for the most part until Christs coming, much more then the true Church hath presently, heretofore hath had, or here after shall have. For her glory, riches, and honour is not here; her Triall, Cross, and warfare is here.*

Luke 18. Lack of faith.

Psal. 119. Learning to be followed, so far as it concurreth with Gods Word.

Luke 15.

The Synagogue of the Divel more furnished with worldly helps then the Church of Christ.

And therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, consider these things accordingly. Consider what you be, not Worldings, but Gods Children. Consider where you be, not at Home, but in a strange Country. Consider among whom you are conversant, even in the midst of your enemies, & of a wicked generation, and then I trust you will not much muse at affliction. Which you cannot be without, being as you be, Gods Children, in a strange Countrey, and in the midst of your enemies, except you would leave your Captain Christ, and follow Satan for the muck of this world, rest & quietness, which he may promise you, and you indeed think you shall receive it by doing as he would have you to do: My sweet hearts, he is not able to pay that he promiseth. Peace and warr come from God, riches and poverty, wealth and woe. The Divel hath no power but by Gods permission. If then God permit him a little on your goods, Body or life, I pray you tell me what can much hurt you, as Peter *saith, you being followers of godlines? Think you that God will not remember you in his time as most shall be to your comfort? Can a woman forget the Child of her womb? And if she should, yet will not I forget thee (saith the Lord). Look upon* Abraham *in his exile and misery, look upon* Jacob, Ioseph, Moses, David, *the Prophets, Apostles, and all the godly from the beginning: and my good Brethren, is not God the same God? Is he a changling? you have heard of the patience of* Job (*saith Saint* James) *and you have seen the end, how that God is merciful, patient and long suffering: even so I say unto you that you shall find accordingly, if so be you be patient, that is, if so be you fear him, set his Word before you, serve him thereafter, and if he lay his Cross on you, you bear it with patience: the which you shall do when you consider it not according to the present sense, but according to the end, Heb.* 12. 1.

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What we be. Where we be. Amongst whom we be.

Affliction no strange thing amongst Gods Children.

1 Pet. 3.

Isai. 49.

Example of Patriarks & Prophets afflicted in this World.

Jacob.

Therefore I heartily beseech you, and out of my bonds which I suffer for your sake, pray you mine own sweet hearts in the Lord, that you would cleave in heart and humble obedience to the doctrine taught you by me, and many other my Brethren. For we have taught you no fables nor tales of men, or our own fantasies, but the very Word of God, which we are ready with our lives (God so enabling us, as we trust he will) to confirm, and by the shedding of our Bloods, in all patience and humble obedience to the superiour powers, to testifie and seal up, as well that you might be more certain of the doctrine, as that you might be ready to confess the same before this wicked World; knowing that if we confess Christ and his truth before men, he will confess us before his Father in Heaven: if so be we be ashamed hereof for loss of life, friends or goods, he will be ashamed of us before his Father, and his Holy Angels in Heaven.

He exhorteth to come from the Mass.

Therefore take heed, for the Lords sake take heed, take heed, and defile not your Bodies or Souls with this Romish and Antichristian Religion set up amongst us again: but come away, come away, as the Angel crieth, from amongst them in their idolatrous service, lest you be partakers of their iniquitie. Hearken to your Preachers as the Apoc. 18. *Thessalonians did to* Paul; *that is, confer their sayings with the Scriptures, and if they sound not thereafter, the morning light shall not shine upon them.*

Use much and hearty prayer for the Spirit of Wisdom, knowledg, humblenes, meeknes, sobrietie and repentance; which we have great need of, because our sins have thus provoked the Lords anger against us: but let us bear his anger, and acknowledge our faults with bitter tears, and sorrowful sighs, and doubtless he will be merciful to us after his wonted mercy. The which thing he vouchsafe to do for his Holy Names sake in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, and everlasting thanks, from this time forth for evermore. Amen.

Out of Prison by yours in the Lord to command,

John Bradford.

A Letter to Mr. George Eaton.

A Letter of Mr. Bradford to Mr. George Eaton.

ALmighty God our Heavenly Father, recompence abundantly into your Bosom, my dearly beloved, here and eternally, the good which from him by you I have continually received sithence my coming into prison. Otherwise can I never be able to requite your loving-

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loving kindneſs here, then by praying for you are after this life, by witneſſing your Faith declared to me by your fruits, when wee ſhall come and appear together before the Throne of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whither I thank God I am even now a going, ever looking when Officers will come, and ſatisfie the Precept of the Prelates, whereof though I cannot complain, becauſe I haue juſtly deſerved an hundred thouſand deaths at Gods hands by reaſon of my ſins, yet I may and muſt reioyce, becauſe the Prelates do not perſecute in me mine iniquities, but Chriſt Jeſus and his Verity: ſo that they perſecute not me, they hate not me, but they perſecute Chriſt, they hate Chriſt.

The Prelates perſecute and hate the Martyrs, not for their Iniquities, but for hatred of Chriſt, and of his verity in them.

And becauſe they can do him no hurt (for he ſitteth in Heaven, and laugheth them and their devices to ſcorn, as one day they ſhall feel) therefore they turn their rage upon his poor ſheep, as *Herod* their Father did upon the Infants *Matth.* 2. Great cauſe therefore have I to rejoyce, that my dear Saviour Chriſt will vouchſafe, amongſt many, to chooſe me to be a veſſel of grace to ſuffer in me (which have deſerved ſo often and juſtly to ſuffer for my ſins) that I might be moſt aſſured I ſhall be a veſſel of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

Therefore, my right dear Brother in the Lord, rejoyce with me, give thanks for me, and ceaſe not to pray, that God for his mercies ſake would make perfect the good he hath begun in me. And as for the Doctrine which I have profeſſed and preached, I do confeſs unto you in writing, as to the whole world I ſhortly ſhall by Gods grace in ſuffering, that it is the very true Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, of his Church, of his Prophets, Apoſtles, and all good men: ſo that if an Angel ſhould come from Heaven and preach otherwiſe, the ſame were accurſed.

John Bradford giveth teſtimony of his Doctrine.

Therefore waver not, dear heart in the Lord, but be confirmed in it, and as your vocation requireth, when God ſo will, confeſs it, though it be perillous ſo to do. The end ſhall evidently ſhew another manner of pleaſure for ſo doing, then tongue can tell. Be diligent in prayer, and watch therein. Uſe reyerent reading of Gods Word. Set the ſhortneſs of this time before your eyes and let not the Eternity that is to come, depart out of your memory. Practiſe in doing, that you learn by reading and hearing. Decline from evil, and purſue good. Remember them that be in bonds, eſpecially for the Lords cauſe, as members of your body, and fellow heirs of grace. Forget not the afflictions of *Sion*, and the oppreſſion of *Jeruſalem*; and God our Father ſhall give us his continual bleſſing through Chriſt our Lord, who guide us as his dear Children for ever. *Amen*.

And thus I take my *Vale* and farewel with you dear Brother for ever in this preſent life, till we ſhall meet in eternal bliſs; whither our good God and Father bring us ſhortly, *Amen*. God bleſs all your Babes for ever, *Amen*. Out of Priſon this 8*th* of *February*.

Your afflicted Brother for the Cauſe,
John Bradford.

Another Letter to Mrs. Anne Warcup.

Another Letter to Mrs. *Anne Warcup.*

ALmighty God our heavenly Father for his Chriſt ſake, encreaſe in us faith, by which we may more and more ſee what glory and honour is repoſed and ſafely kept in Heaven, for all them that believe with the heart, and confeſs Chriſt and his truth with the mouth, *Amen*. My dearly beloved, I remember that once heretofore I wrot unto you a *Vale*, or a farewel upon conjecture: but now I write my farewel to you in this life in deed, upon certain knowledg. My ſtaff ſtandeth at the door, I continually look for the Sheriff to come for me, and I thank God I am ready for him. Now go I to practiſe that which I have preached. Now am I climing up the hill, it will cauſe me to puff and to blow before I come to the cliff: The hill is ſteep and high, my breath is ſhort, and my ſtrength is feeble: pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I have now through his goodneſs, even almoſt come to the top, I may by his grace be ſtrengthened, not to reſt till I come where I ſhould be. Oh loving Lord, put out thy hand, and draw me unto thee: for no man cometh, but he whom the Father draweth. See, my dearly beloved, Gods loving mercy: he knoweth my ſhort breath and great weakneſs. As he ſent for *Helias* in a fiery Chariot, ſo ſendeth he for me: for by fire my droſs muſt be purified, that I may be fine gold in his ſight. O unthankful wretch that I am! Lord do thou forgive me mine unthankfulneſs. Indeed I confeſs (right dear to me in the Lord) that my ſins have deſerved Hell fire, much more then this fire. But lo, ſo loving is my Lord, that he converteth the remedy for my ſins, the puniſhment for my tranſgreſſions, into a teſtimonial of his Truth, and a teſtification of his Verity, which the Prelates do perſecute in me, and not my ſins: Therefore they perſecute not me, but Chriſt in me, which, I doubt not, will take my part unto the very end. *Amen*.

God turneth the deſerved death of his, to a glorious teſtimonial of his Truth.

O that I had ſo open an heart, as could ſo receive as I ſhould do this great benifit and unſpeakable dignity, which God my Father offereth to me! Now pray for me, my dearly beloved: pray for me that I never ſhrink. I ſhall never ſhrink I hope. I truſt in the Lord I ſhall never ſhrink: for he that always hath taken my part, I am aſſured will not leave me when I have moſt need, for his truth and mercies ſake. Oh Lord help me. Into thy hands I commend me wholly. In the Lord is my truſt, I care not what man can do unto me, *Amen*. My dearly beloved, ſay you *Amen* alſo, and come after if ſo God call you. Be not aſhamed of the Goſpel of Chriſt, but keep company with him ſtill. He will never leave you, but in the midſt of temptation will give you an eſcape: to make you able to bear the brunt. Uſe hearty prayer, reverently read and hear Gods Word, put it in practice: look to the Croſs lift up your hands, for your redemption draweth nigh; know that the death of Gods Saints is precious in his ſight. Be merry in the Lord, pray for mitigation of Gods heavy diſpleaſure upon our Country. God keep us for ever, God bleſs us with his Spiritual bleſſings in Chriſt. And thus I bid you farewel for ever in this preſent life. Pray for me, pray for me, for Gods ſake pray for me. God make perfect his good work begun in me, *Amen*. Out of Priſon the 7*th* of *February*.

Yours in the Lord, J. Bradford.

In the ſtory of Mr. *Bradford* it was above rehearſed, how a certain Gentlewoman, being in trouble by her Father and Mother for not coming to Maſs, ſent her Servant to viſit M. *Bradford* in Priſon. Who tendring the woful caſe of the Gentlewoman, to the intent partly to confirm her with counſel, partly to relieve her oppreſſed mind with ſome comfort, directed this Letter unto her; the contents whereof are theſe.

To a certain godly Gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her Friends, for not coming to the Maſs.

Another Letter of M. *Bradford* to a godly Gentlewoman.

IWiſh unto you, right Worſhipful and my dearly beloved Siſter in the Lord, as to my ſelf, the continual grace and comfort of Chriſt, and of his holy Word, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, who ſtrengthen your inward man with the ſtrength of God, that you may continue to the end in the faithful obedience of Gods Goſpel, whereto you are called, *Amen*. Rom. 1.

I perceived by your ſelf the laſt day when you were with me, how that you are in the School-houſe and trial Parlor of the Lord; which to me is (at the leaſt it ſhould be) a great comfort to ſee the number of Gods elect by you increaſed, which is in that ſtate whereof God hath not called many, as *Paul* ſaith. And as it is a comfort to me, ſo ſhould it be a confirmation unto me, that the Lord for his faithfulneſs ſake will make perfect and finiſh the good he hath begun in you to the end. 1 Cor. 1. 1 Cor. 1. and 10.

If then your Croſs be to me a comfort or token of your Election, and a confirmation of Gods continual favour (my dearly Beloved) how much more ought it to be ſo unto you? Unto whom he hath not only given to believe, but alſo to come into the trace of ſuffering for his ſake, and that not commonly of common Enemies, but even of your own Father, Mother, and all your Friends, I mean Kinsfolks, as you told me. By which I ſee Chriſts words to be true, How that he came to give his Children ſuch a Peace with him, as the Devil might not, nor may abide, and therefore ſtirreth up Father and Mother, Siſter and Brother, rather than it ſhould continue. But (my dear Siſter) if you cry with *David* to the Lord, and

The Croſs a token of Gods Election.

Matth. 10. Satan ever ſeeketh to diſturb the peace of Chriſt.

Pſal. 22.

Rom. 8. and complain to him; how that for Conſcience to him your Father and Mother hath forſaken you, you ſhall hear him ſpeak in your heart, that he hath received you, and by this would have you to ſee, how that he maketh you here like to Chriſt, that elſewhere (in Heaven) you might be like unto him; whereof you ought to be moſt aſſured, knowing that in time, even when Chriſt ſhall appear, you ſhall be like unto him. For he will make your body, which now you defile not with Idololatrical ſervice in going to Maſs, like unto his own glorious and immortal Body, according to the power whereby he is able to do all things. He will confeſs you before his Father, which do not deny his verity in word nor deed before your Father; he will make you to reign with him, that now ſuffer for him and with him; he will not leave you comfortleſs, that ſeek no comfort but at his hand; though for a little time you be afflicted, yet therein will he comfort and ſtrengthen you, and at the length make you to be merry with him in ſuch joy as is infinite and endleſs. He will wipe all the tears from your eyes; he will embrace you as your dear husband; he will after he hoth proved you, crown you with a Crown of glory and immortality, ſuch as the heart of man ſhall never be able to conceive in ſuch ſort as the thing is. He now beholdeth your ſtedfaſtneſs, and ſtriving to do his good will; and ſhortly will he ſhew you how ſtedfaſt he is, and will be ready to do your will, after that you have fully reſigned it to his will.

1 John 3. Philip. 3. Matth. 10. Matth. 8. 2 Tim. 2.

Communicating with Chriſt in ſuffering.

Pledge him in his cup of the Croſs, and you ſhall pledge him in the cup of his Glory. Deſire to drink it before it be come to the dregs, whereof the wicked ſhall drink, and all thoſe that for fear of the Croſs and pledging the Lord, do walk with the wicked in betraying in fact and deed that which their heart embraceth for verity. The which thing if you ſhould do (which God forbid) then, my dear Miſtris and Siſter in the Lord, you ſhould not only loſe all that I have before ſpoken, and much more infinitely of eternal joy and glory, but alſo be a caſt-away, and partaker of Gods moſt heavy diſpleaſure in Hell fire eternally; and ſo for a little eaſe, which you cannot tell how long it will laſt, to loſe for ever and ever all eaſe and comfort. *For he that gathereth not with me* (ſaith Chriſt; as no Maſs-Goſpeller doth) *ſcattereth abroad.* According to that we do in this Body, we ſhall receive, be it good or bad. If of our words we ſhall be judged to condemnation or ſalvation; much more then of our facts and deeds. You cannot be partaker of Gods Religion and Antichriſts ſervice, whereof the Maſs is moſt principal. You cannot be a member of Chriſts Church, and a member of the Popes Church. You muſt glorifie God not only in ſoul and heart, but alſo in body and deed. You may not think that God requireth leſs of you his Wife now, then your Husband did of you. If both Heart and Body your Husband would have, ſhall Chriſt have leſs, trow you, which hath ſo bitterly and dearly bought it? If your Husband could not admit an excuſe how your heart is his only, if he ſhould have taken your Body in bed with another; do you think that Chriſt will allow your Body at Maſs, although your heart conſent not to it?

Luke 11. 2 Cor. 5. Matth. 12. 1 Cor. 10.

The Maſs is the principal ſervice of Antichriſt. 1 Cor. 6.

God eſteemeth his Children, not only of their hearts, but of their pure hands and works, and therefore in *Helias* time he counted none to be his Servants and People, but ſuch as had not bowed their knees to *Baal*; as now he doth not in *England* account any other to be his darlings, which know the Truth in heart, and deny it in their deeds, as do our Maſs-Goſpellers.

Pſal. 125.

3 Reg. 19. Againſt Maſs-Goſpellers, which know the truth in their heart, and deny it in their deeds.

We ought to deſire above all things the ſanctifying of Gods holy Name, and the coming of his Kingdom; and ſhall we then ſee his Name blaſphemed ſo horribly as it is at Maſs, by making it a Sacrifice propitiatory, and ſetting forth a falſe Chriſt of the Prieſts and Bakers making, to be worſhipped as God, and ſay nothing? The *Jews* rent their cloaths aſunder in ſeeing or hearing any thing blaſphemouſly done or ſpoken againſt God, and ſhall we yet come to Church where Maſs is, and be mute? *Paul* and *Barnabas* rent their cloaths to ſee the People of *Lycaonia* to offer Sacrifice unto them, and ſhall we ſee Sacrifice and Gods ſervice done to an inanimate Creature, and be mum? What thing helpeth more or ſo much Antichriſts Kingdom as doth the Maſs? And what deſtroyeth preaching and the Kingdom of Chriſt upon Earth more than it doth? And how can we then ſay, *Let thy Kingdom come*; and go to Maſs? How can we pray before God, *Thy will be done on Earth*, when we will do our own will, and the will of our Father or Friends? How pray we, *Deliver us from evil*, which knowing the Maſs to be evil, do come to it?

A falſe Chriſt of the Prieſt and the Bakers making.

Anno 1555.

The Maſs deſtroyeth preaching and the Kingdom of Chriſt.

But what go I about to light a Candle in the Noon-day, that is, to tell you that we may not go to Maſs, or to the Congregation where it is, except it be to reprove it, in that all men in ſo doing do but diſſemble both with God and Man? And is diſſembling now to be allowed? *How long will men yet halt on both knees* (ſaith God?) *Halting* (ſaith *Paul*) *bringeth out of the way*, that is to ſay, out of Chriſt, which is the way: ſo that he which is not in him ſhall wither away, and be caſt into Hell fire. For Chriſt will be aſhamed of them before his Father, which be now aſhamed of his Truth before this wicked generation.

He diſſwadeth her from the Maſs.

Therefore (my good Miſtreſs) take good heed; for it had been better for you never to have known the Truth, and there-through to have eſcaped from Papiſtical uncleanneſs, then now to return to it, making eftſoons your members, being members of righteouſneſs, members of unrighteouſneſs, as you do, if you do but go to the Church where Maſs is. Be pure therefore, and keep your ſelf from all filth of the ſpirit, and of the fleſh. Abſtain not only from all evil, but from all appearance of evil.

And ſo the God of Peace ſhall be with you, the glory of God ſhall govern you, the Spirit of God ſhall ſanctifie you, and be with you for ever, to keep you from all evil, and to comfort you in all your diſtreſs and trouble; which is but ſhort if you conſider the eternity you ſhall enjoy in glory and felicity in the Lord, which undoubtedly you ſhall not fail but inherit for ever, if ſo be you, as the elect Child of God, put your truſt in his mercy, call upon his Name unfaignedly, and yield not over to the wicked world, but ſtick ſtill againſt it unto the end. God for his holy Names ſake, which is properly the God of the widows, be your good and dear Father for ever, and help you always, as I my ſelf would be holpen at his hands in all things, and eſpecially in this his own cauſe, *Amen, Amen.*

John Bradford.

To one by whom he had received much comfort and relief in his Trouble and Impriſonment.

A Letter of thanks to a good Benefactor of his.

THe mercy of God in Chriſt, peculiar to his Children, be evermore felt of you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, Amen.

When I conſider with my ſelf the benefits which God hath ſhewed unto me by your means, if I had ſo good and thankful a heart as I would I had, I could not with dry eyes give him thanks; for certainly they are very many and great. And now being yet ſtill the Lords Priſoner, I receive from him more benefits by you. For the which I think my ſelf ſo much bound to you, my good Brother, (although you were but the inſtrument by whom God wrought and bleſſed me) that I look not to come out of your debt by any pleaſure, or ſervice that I ſhall ever be able to do you in this life. I ſhall heartily pray unto God therefore to requite you the good you have done to me for his ſake: for I know that which you have done, you have done it ſimply in reſpect of God and his Word. He therefore give you daily more and more to be confirmed in his Truth and Word, and ſo plentifully pour upon you the riches of his holy Spirit and heavenly Treaſures laid up in ſtore for you, that your corporal and earthly riches may be uſed of you as Sacraments and ſignifications thereof; the more to deſire the one, that is, the heavenly, and the leſs to eſteem the other, that is, the earthly. For Satans ſolicitation is, ſo to ſet before you the earthly, that therein and thereby you ſhould not have acceſs to the conſideration of the heavenly, but as one bewitched ſhould utterly forget them, and altogether become a lover and worſhipper of the earthly Mammon, and ſo to fall to covetouſneſs, and a deſire to be rich, by that means to bring you into many noyſom and hurtful luſts: as now adays I hear of many which have utterly forſaken God and all his Heavenly riches, for Antichriſts pleaſure, and the preſerving of their worldly pelf, which they imagine to leave to their poſterity, whereof they are uncertain, as

Chriſt forſaken of many for the preſerving of worldly Pelf.

they

Anno 1555.

they may be moſt certain they leave to them Gods wrath and vengeance, in his time to be ſent by viſitation, if they in time heartily repent not, and prevent not the ſame by earneſt Prayer. Wherein (my good Brother) if you be diligent, hearty, and perſevere, I am ſure God will preſerve you from evil, and from yielding your ſelf to do as the world now doth, by allowing in bodily fact in the Romiſh *ſervice, that which the inward cogitation and mind doth diſallow. But if you be cold in Prayer, and come into conſideration of earthly and preſent things ſimply, then ſhall you fall into faithleſs follies and wounding of your Conſcience; from which God evermore preſerve you with your good Wife, and your Babe* Leonard, *and all your Family, to the which I wiſh the bleſſing of God now and for ever, through Chriſt our Lord,* Amen.

I pray you give thanks for me to your old Bed-fellow, for his great friendſhip for your ſake ſhewed to me when I was in the Tower. John Bradford.

To a faithful Friend of his, and his Wife, reſolving their doubt, why they ought not to come to auricular Confeſſion.

Another Letter of *M. Bradford*, diſproving auricular Confeſſion.

THe merciful God, and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which loveth us as a moſt dear Father, and hath put upon him towards us the affections of a moſt tender Mother towards her Children, ſo that he can no leſs think upon us (although of our ſelves we be moſt unworthy, and deſerve nothing leſs) than ſhe can think on her only begotten Child in his diſtreſs, yea, if ſhe ſhould forget her Child, as ſome unnatural Mother will do, yet will he never forget us, although for a time he ſeem to ſleep, that we might be occaſioned to call loud and awake him: this good God keep you, my dear Brother *Nathanael*, and your good Yoke-fellow, my heartily beloved Siſter in the Lord, in all things now and for ever, to his glory and your eternal comfort: and alſo of his goodneſs he grant you both the feeling of that hope, which undoubtedly he hath laid up in ſtore for you both, far paſſing the ſtore and proviſion, not only which you have made, but all the world is able to make, as I truſt already he hath wrought it in you, but I beſeech him to increaſe it more and more, and kindle in you a hearty longing for the enjoying of the ſame: the which once felt and had indeed, then the means by the which we come thereto, cannot be ſo greatly dread, as moſt men do dread them, becauſe either they want this feeling (I mean it, of altogether) or elſe becauſe the ſenſe of this preſent time and things therein, are as a miſt to the hiding of thoſe things from our ſight, leſt we ſhould run and imbrace them by hearty Prayer; the Spirit whereof God grant us, and indeed we ſhould attain enough in this behalf, if we continued therein.

Note that this *Nathanael* was not his proper name, but he was ſo called for his unfaigned ſimplicity and truth.

For auricular Confeſſion, whercin you deſire my advice for your good Yoke-fellow and Family (my moſt dear Brother) I am as ready to give it, as you to deſire it, yea more glad, foraſmuch as half a ſuſpicion was in me (at the leaſt touching my dear Siſter your wife) of a lothing of my advice, that too much had been given, where indeed I ſhould lament my too little feeding you ſpiritually, as both you out of Priſon and in Priſon have fed me corporally. But as I always thought of her, ſo I yet think that ſhe is the Child of God, whom God dearly loveth, and will in his good time to her eternal comfort give her her hearts deſire in ſure feeling and ſenſible believing of this, which I would ſhe had often in her mind; namely, that he is her God and Father through Jeſus Chriſt our dear Lord and Saviour. A greater ſervice to God ſhe cannot give, than to believe this. If Satan ſay, ſhe believeth not, to anſwer, not him but the Lord, and to ſay, yea, Lord help my unbelief, and increaſe my poor Faith, which Satan ſaith is no Faith: make him a Liar, Lord, as always he hath been, is, and ſhall be. Undoubtedly, ſooner or later God will graciouſly hear her groans, and keep all her tears in his Bottel, yea write them in his counting Book, for he is a righteous God, and hath no pleaſure in the death of his Creature; he loveth mercy, he will return and ſhew her his mercy, he will caſt all her ſins and iniquities into the bottom of the Sea; and the longer that he tarrieth (as he doth it but to prove her) ſo the more liberally will he recompence her long looking, which no leſs pleaſeth him, than it grieveth now her outward *Adam*. For the mortification whereof God uſeth this Croſs, and therefore if ſhe deſire to bear the ſame, doubtleſs God will make her able to bear it; and in preſumption of his goodneſs and ſtrength, let her caſt her ſelf wholly upon him: for he is faithful, and will aſſuredly confirm, and bring to a happy end that good which graciouſly he hath begun in her. The which thing I deſire him to do for his own glory and names ſake, *Amen*, *Amen*.

What to do if Satan charge our Conſcience with unbelief.

The Lord the longer he tarrieth, the more liberally he recompenceth at his coming.

And now to the matter. Confeſſion auricular, as it was firſt uſed and inſtituted (which was by the way of counſel asking) I take to be amongſt thoſe traditions which are indifferent, that is, neither unlawful, nor neceſſarily binding us, except the offence of the weak could not be avoided. But to conſider it, as it is now uſed (I write to you but as I think, and what my mind is; which follow no further, than good men by Gods Word do allow it) to conſider it, I ſay, as it is now uſed, methink, it is plainly unlawful and wicked, and that for theſe cauſes.

Confeſſion auricular to what end it was firſt inſtituted.

Auricular Confeſſion, as it is abuſed, is to be rejected, as unlawful and wicked for eight cauſes.

Firſt, becauſe they make it a ſervice of God, and a thing which pleaſeth God of it ſelf, I will not ſay meritorious; this bringer my Brother can tell you at large how great evil this is.

Secondly, becauſe they make it of neceſſity, ſo that he or ſhe that uſeth it not, is not taken for a good Chriſtian.

Enumeration of ſins impoſſible.

Thirdly, becauſe it requireth of it ſelf an impoſſibility, that is, the numbring and telling of all our ſins, which no man perceiveth, much leſs can utter.

Fourthly, becauſe it eſtabliſheth and confirmeth, at the leaſt alloweth praying to Saints; *Precor Sanctam Mariam*, you muſt ſay or the Prieſt for you.

Confeſſion prejudicial to Chriſtian liberty.

Fifthly, becauſe it is very injurious to the liberty of the Goſpel, the which to affirm in example and fact, I take to be a good work and dear in Gods ſight.

Confeſſion a mark of the Popes Church.

Sixthly, becauſe (as it is uſed) it is a note, yea a very ſinew of the Popiſh Church: and therefore we ſhould be ſo far from allowing the ſame, that we ſhould think our ſelves happy to loſe any thing in bearing witneſs there againſt.

Confeſſion inſtead of counſel, giveth poyſon.

Seventhly, becauſe inſtead of counſel, thereat you ſhould receive poyſon, or if you refuſe it under Sir *Johns Benedicite*, you ſhould no leſs there be wound in the Briars.

8ly, becauſe the end and purpoſe why we go thither, is for the avoiding of the Croſs, that is, for our own cauſe, and not for Chriſts cauſe, or for our Brethrens commodity. For in that they make it ſo neceſſary a thing, and a worſhipping of God, it cannot but be againſt Chriſt, and the freedom of his Goſpel: and the ſame thing teacheth us, that it is againſt the commodity of our Brethren, which either be weak, either be ſtrong, either be ignorant, either be obſtinate. If they be weak, by your reſorting to it, they be made more weak. If they be ſtrong, you do what you can to infirm their ſtrength. If they be ignorant, therein you help to keep them by your fact. If they be obſtinate, your reſorting to it cannot but rock them aſleep in their obſtinate Error of the neceſſity of this rite and ceremony. Theſe cauſes recited, do ſhew you what I think in this: but my thinking muſt no farther bind you than a mans thought ſhould do, except the ſame be grounded upon Gods Word which bindeth indeed, as I think they do. I doubt not but you weighing theſe cauſes, and eſpecially two of the firſt and the laſt, if you pray to God for his Spirit to direct you, and thereto ask the advice of this my good Brother and other godly Learned men, I doubt not (I ſay) but you ſhould be guided to do that which is beſt in Gods ſight, although in the ſight of the world perhaps you ſhould be counted fooliſh and preciſe. But be at a point with your ſelves as the Diſciples of Chriſt, which had forſaken themſelves, to follow not your will, but Gods will, as you daily pray in the Lords Prayer.

Four Croſſes, whereof three bring to Hell.

The Croſs of Chriſt be willing to carry, leſt you carry the Croſs of the World, the Fleſh, or the Devil. One of theſe four Croſſes you muſt carry Three of them bring to hell, and therefore the more part goeth that way, which is a broad way. Only the fourth bringeth to Heaven, but few go that way, as well becauſe the way is ſtrait, as alſo becauſe few walk in it. Howbeit, though it be ſtrait, it is but ſhort, and the few are many, if you conſider the godly, as the Patriarks, Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors, and Chriſt Jeſus, with all his guard and train.

Why the more part go that way that leadeth to perdition.

Think

Think not ſcorn to come after them which are gone before you, and after them which now go before you, in whoſe number I truſt I am appointed to be one, and I beſeech you pray for me, that God would vouch me worthy that honour. Our ſins deſerve plagues, priſon, and the loſs of all that ever we have: therefore if God remove our ſins out of ſight, and ſend us Priſon, and loſs of goods and living for his Names ſake, Oh how happy are we? My dear hearts in the Lord, conſider this gear, and be aſſured that he which loſeth any thing for Chriſts ſake, the ſame in his poſterity ſhall find it here, and in Heaven elſewhere. As for unableneſs to anſwer for your Faith; it ſhall be enough to will them to diſpute with your teachers. Faith ſtandeth not in diſputing. I think few, if it came to diſputing, could defend the Godhead of Chriſt and many other Articles; I ſpeak it for the ſimple ſort. Pray for me. Lack of Paper maketh this end. Commend me to my good Brother *R. B.* and my good Siſter his Wife. I pray them to pray for me. I truſt by this Bearer to hear how you do.

John Bradford.

Another Letter to *N.* and his Wife.

Another Letter of *M. Bradford* to a dear Friend and his Wife.

GOds mercy in Chriſt I wiſh you to feel, my dear Brother, with my faithful Siſter your Wife, now and for ever, Amen.

Having this occaſion, I could not but write ſomething, as well to put my ſelf in remembrance of my duty to God-wards for you both in thankfulneſs and prayer, as to put you in remembrance of me: and your duty towards God for me, in praying for me; for I dare not ſay in thankfulneſs for me: not that I would have you to give no thanks to God for his wonderful great and ſweet mercies towards me, and upon me in Chriſt his Son; but becauſe I have not deſerved it at either of your hands. For ye both know right well, at leaſt my Conſcience doth accuſe me, how that I have not only not exhorted and taught you (as both my vocation and your deſerts required) to walk worthy of that vocation which God hath made you worthy of, and with trembling and fear to work out your ſalvation, that is, in the fear of God to give your ſelves to great vigilancy in Prayer for the increaſe of Faith, and to a wary circumſpection in all your converſation, not only in works and words, but alſo in thoughts, becauſe God is a ſeather of the heart, and out of the heart it cometh that defileth us in Gods ſight: I have (I ſay) not only not done this, but alſo have given you example of negligence in prayer, watching, faſting, talking, and doing, ſo that wo to me for giving ſuch offence. Partly for this cauſe, dear Brother and Siſter, God hath caſt me here, that I might repent me and turn to him, and that ye might alſo by his correction upon me be more diligent to redreſs theſe things and others, if they in your Conſcience do accuſe you.

Antichriſt reigning in *England.*

My dearly Beloved, heavy is Gods anger faln upon us all; doleful is this day. Now hath Antichriſt all his power again. Now is Chriſts Goſpel trodden under foot. Now is Gods People a deriſion and prey for the wicked. Now is the greateſt plague of all plagues faln, the want of Gods Word: and all theſe we have, yea I alone have juſtly deſerved. Oh that as I write (I alone) I could with David, 1 Par. 21. *and with* Jonas *in heart ſay ſo. But I do not, I do not, I ſee not how grievouſly I have ſinned, and how great a miſery is faln for mine unthankneſs for Gods Word, for mine hypocriſie in profeſſing, preaching, hearing, and ſpeaking of Gods Word: for my not praying to God for the continuance of it, for my not loving of it throughly as it requireth, &c. I will ſpeak nothing of my manifeſt evils, for they are known to you well enough.*

M. Bradford confeſſing himſelf to the Lord.

He exhorteth them by his confeſſion to do the like.

Dear Brother and Siſter, with me ſay ye the like for your own parts, and with me joyn your hearts, and let us go to our heavenly Father, and for his Chriſts ſake beſeech him to be merciful unto us, and to pardon us: Oh good Father, it is we that have deſerved the taking away of thy Word, it is we that have deſerved theſe thy juſt plagues faln upon us; we have done amiſs, we have dealt unjuſtly with thy Goſpel, we have procured thy wrath, and therefore juſt art thou in puniſhing us, juſt art thou in plaguing us, for we are very miſerable. But good Lord and dear Father of mercy, whoſe juſtice is ſuch, that thou wilt not puniſh the poor Souls of this Realm, which yet have not thus ſinned againſt thee, as we have done (for many yet never heard thy Word) for our Treſpaſſes; and whoſe mercy is ſo great, that thou wilt put our iniquities out of thy remembrance for thy Chriſts ſake, if we repent and believe: grant us we beſeech thee, true Repentance and Faith, that we, having obtained pardon for our ſins, may through thy Chriſt get deliverance from the tyranny of Antichriſt now oppreſſing us.

Anno 1555.

Oh good Father, which haſt ſaid, that the Scepter of the wicked ſhould not long lye upon and over the juſt, Pſal. 125. leſt they ſhould put forth their hands to iniquity alſo; *make us juſt, we pray thee in Chriſts Name, and cut aſunder the cords of them that hate* Sion; *let not the wicked people ſay, Where is their God? Thou our God art in heaven, and doſt whatſoever pleaſeth thee upon earth.*

Oh that thou wouldeſt in the mean while, before thou doſt deliver us, that (I ſay) thou wouldeſt open our eyes to ſee all theſe plagues to come from thee, and all other that ſhall come, whatſoever they be, publik or private, that they come not by chance nor by fortune, but that they come even from thy hand, and that juſtly, and mercifully; Juſtly, becauſe we have and do deſerve them, not only by our birth-poyſon ſtill ſticking and working in us, but alſo by our former evil life paſt, which by this puniſhment and all other puniſhments thou wouldeſt have us to call to our remembrance, and to ſet before us, that thou mighteſt put them from before thee, where as they ſtand ſo long as they are not in our remembrance, to put them away by repentance. Mercifully, O Lord God, doſt thou puniſh, in that thou doſt not correct to kill, but to amend, that we might repent our ſins, ask mercy, obtain it freely in Chriſt, and begin to ſuffer for righteouſneſs ſake; to be part of thy houſe, whereat thy Judgment beginneth; to be partakers of the afflictions of thy Church, and thy Chriſt, that we might be partakers of the glory of the ſame; to weep here, that we might rejoyce elſewhere; to be judged in this world, that we might with thy Saints judge hereafter the world; to ſuffer with Chriſt, that we might reign with him; to be like to Chriſt in ſhame, that we might be like to him in glory; to receive our evils here, that we might with poor Lazarus *find reſt elſewhere; reſt, I ſay, and ſuch a reſt as the eye hath not ſeen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive.*

The Croſs ſent from God, and to what end.

Oh that our eyes were open to ſee this, that the Croſs cometh from thee to declare thy juſtice and thy mercy, and hereto, that we might ſee how ſhort a time the time of ſuffering is; how long a time the time of rejoycing is to them that ſuffer here, but to them that will not, how long and miſerable a time is appointed and prepared; a time without time in eternal wo and perdition, too horrible to be thought upon. From the which keep us, dear Father, and give us more light in Soul to ſee this gear, and how that all thy deareſt Children have carried the Croſs of grievous afflictions in this life; in whoſe company do thou place us, and ſuch a Croſs lay upon us, as thou wilt make us able to bear, to thy glory and our ſalvation in Chriſt, for whoſe ſake we pray thee to ſhorten the days of this our great miſery ſhalt len upon us moſt juſtly, and in the mean ſeaſon give us patience, repentance, faith, and thy eternal conſolation; Amen, Amen, Amen.

And thus dear hearts, I have talked (methinks) a little while with you, or rather we have all talked with God. Oh that God would give us his Spirit of Grace and Prayer. My dearly Beloved, pray for it, as for your ſelves, ſo for me, and that God would vouchſafe to make me worthy to ſuffer with a good Conſcience for his Names ſake. Pray for me, and I ſhall do the like for you. This 20. *of* December, *by him whom by this Bringer you ſhall learn. I pray you give my commendations to all that love me in the Lord. Be merry in Chriſt, for one day in Heaven we ſhall meet and rejoyce together for evermore,* Amen.

To my good Brother *Auguſtine Barneher.*

This *Auguſtine* being a Dutchman, was *Latimers* Servant, and a faithful Miniſter in the time of K. *Edward*, and in Q. *Maries* time a diligent attendant upon the Lords Priſoners.

MIne own good Auguſtine, *the Lord of mercy bleſs thee my dear Brother for ever. I have good hope, that if you come late at night, I ſhall ſpeak with you, but come as ſecretly as you can: Howbeit, in the mean ſeaſon, if you can, and as you can, learn what Mr. G. hath ſpoken to Dr.* Story *and others. The cauſe of all this trouble*

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trouble both to my Keeper and me, is thought to come by him. It is ſaid that I ſhall be buryed in Smithfield, *and that ſhortly.* Domini voluntas fiat. Ecce ego Domine, mitte me; i. *The Lords will be done. Behold here I am Lord, ſend me. Ah mine own ſweet friend, I am now alone, leſt I ſhould make you and others worſe. If I ſhould live, I would more warily uſe the company of Gods Children, then ever I have done.* Iram Domini portabo, quoniam peccavi ei; i. *I will bear the Lords anger, becauſe I have ſinned againſt him. Commend me to my moſt dear Siſter, for whom my heart bleedeth, the Lord comfort her and ſtrengthen her unto the end. I think I have taken my leave of her for ever in this life, but in eternal life we ſhall moſt ſurely meet, and praiſe the Lord continually. I have now taken a more certain anſwer of death then ever I did: and yet not ſo certain as I think I ſhould do. I am now as a ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter. Ah my God, the hour is come, glorifie thy moſt unworthy child. I have glorified thee, ſaith this my ſweet Father, and I will glorifie thee, Amen. Ah mine own bowels, praiſe God for me, and pray for me; for I am his hope: I hope he will never forſake me, though I have above all other moſt deſerved it. I am the moſt ſingular example of his mercy; praiſed be his Name therefore for ever. Cauſe Mrs.* Perpoint *to learn of the Sheriff Mr.* Cheſter, *what they purpoſe to do with me; and know if you can, whether there be any Writ forth for me.* Factus ſum ſicut Nycticorax in domicilio, & Paſſer ſolitarius in tecto; i. *I am like to an Owl in the houſe, and as a Sparrow alone in the houſe top. Ah my* Auguſtine, *how long ſhall Gods enemies thus triumph? I have ſent you this of the Baptiſm of Children to write out; when this is done, you ſhall have other things. Pray, pray mine own dear heart, on whom I am bold. The Keeper telleth me, that it is death for any to ſpeak with me, but yet I truſt that I ſhall ſpeak with you.*

Pſal. 101.

John Bradford.

To theſe Letters of Mr. *Bradford* above ſpecified, here is alſo adjoyned another Letter of the ſaid *Bradford*, written to certain of his faithful Friends, worthy of all Chriſtians to be read; wherein is deſcribed a lively compariſon between the Old man and the New: Alſo between the Law and the Goſpel, containing much fruitful matter of Divinity, neceſſary for Chriſtian Conſciences to read and underſtand.

A Letter of Mr. Bradford, *deſcribing a Compariſon between the Old man and the New, &c.*

A compariſon between the Old man and the New, by *M. Bradford.*

A Man that is regenerate and born of God, (the which thing that every one of us be, our Baptiſm, the Sacrament of Regeneration, doth require under pain of damnation, and therefore let every one of us with the Virgin *Mary* ſay, *Be it unto me, O Lord, according to thy word*, according to the Sacrament of Baptiſm, wherein thou haſt declared our Adoption; and let us lament the doubting hereof in us, ſtriving againſt it, as we ſhall be made able of the Lord) a man, I ſay, that is regenerate, conſiſteth of two men (as a man may ſay) namely of the Old man, and of the New man. The Old man is like to a mighty Giant, ſuch a one as was *Goliah*, for his birth is now perfect. But the New man is like unto a little Child, ſuch a one as was *David*, for his birth is not perfect until the day of his general Reſurrection.

The Old man. The New man.

The Old man therefore is more ſtrong, luſty, and ſtirring then is the New man, becauſe the birth of the New man is begun now, and the Old man is perfectly born. And as the Old man is more ſtirring, luſty, and ſtronger then the New man; ſo is the nature of him clean contrary to the nature of the New man, as being earthly and corrupt with Satans ſeed, the nature of the New man being heavenly, and bleſſed with the Celeſtial ſeed of God. So that one man, inaſmuch as he is corrupt with the Seed of the Serpent, is an Old man; and inaſmuch as he is bleſſed with the ſeed of God from above, he is a New man. And as inaſmuch as he is an Old man, he is a ſinner and an enemy to God; ſo inaſmuch as he is regenerate, he is righteous and holy, and a friend to God, the ſeed of God preſerving him from ſin, ſo that he cannot ſin, as the ſeed of the Serpent, wherewith he is corrupt even from his Conception, inclineth him, yea inforceth him to ſin, and nothing elſe but to ſin: So that the beſt part in man before Regeneration, in Gods ſight, is not only an enemy, but enmity it ſelf.

Why the Old man is ſtronger then the New.

In what reſpect one man is both an Old man and alſo a New man.

One man therefore which is regenerate, well may be called always juſt, and always ſinful; juſt in reſpect of Gods ſeed, and his regeneration; ſinful in reſpect of Satans ſeed and his firſt birth. Betwixt theſe two men therefore there is continual conflict, and war moſt deadly. The fleſh and Old man, by reaſon of his birth that is perfect, doth often for a time prevail againſt the New man (being but a child in compariſon) and that in ſuch ſort, as not only other, but even the children of God themſelves think that they be nothing elſe but Old, and that the Spirit and Seed of God is loſt and gone away; where yet notwithſtanding the truth is otherwiſe, the Spirit and the Seed of God at the length appearing again, and diſpelling away the clouds which cover the Sun of Gods Seed from ſhining, as the clouds in the Air do the corporal Sun; ſo that ſometimes a man cannot tell by any ſenſe, that there is any Sun, the clouds and wind ſo hiding it from our ſight: Even ſo our ceeltie or blindneſs, and corrupt affections do often ſhadow the ſight of Gods Seed in Gods Children, as though they were plain Reprobates. Whereof it cometh, that they praying according to their ſenſe, but not according to the truth, deſire of God to give them again his Spirit, as though they had loſt it, and he had taken it away. Which thing God never doth indeed, although he make us to think ſo for a time; for always he holdeth his hand under his children in their falls, that they lye not ſtill as other do which are not regenerate. And this is the difference betwixt Gods children which are regenerate and elect before all times in Chriſt, and the wicked always; that the elect lye not ſtill continually in their ſin, as do the wicked, but at the length do return again by reaſon of Gods Seed, which is in them hid as a ſparkle of fire in the aſhes; as we may ſee in *Peter*, *David*, *Paul*, *Mary Magdalen*, and others. For theſe (I mean Gods children) God hath made all things in Chriſt Jeſus, to whom he hath given his dignity, that they ſhould be his Inheritance and Spouſes.

How one man may be called always ſinful and always juſt.

Why the Old man oftentimes prevaileth againſt the New man.

The Old man ſo mightily prevaileth ſometimes againſt the New in the Children of God, that the Spirit and Seed of God ſeemeth to be utterly taken from them: wherein indeed it is not ſo, as afterwards to their great comfort they find and feel.

1 Pet. 1.

This our Inheritour Chriſt Jeſus, God with God, Light of Light, coeternal and conſubſtantial with the Father, and with the holy Ghoſt, to the end that he might become our husband (becauſe the husband and the wife muſt be one body and fleſh) hath taken our nature upon him, communicating with it and by it in his own perſon, to us all his children, his Divine Majeſty (as *Peter* ſaith) and ſo is become fleſh of our fleſh, and bone of our bones ſubſtantially; as we are become fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones ſpiritually, all that ever we have pertaining to him, yea even our ſins; as all that ever he hath, pertaineth unto us, even his whole glory. So that if Satan ſhould ſummon us to anſwer for our debts or ſins, in that the wife is no ſueable perſon, but the husband, we may well bid him enter his *Action* againſt our husband Chriſt, and he will make him a ſufficient anſwer.

As the wife is no ſueable perſon, but the husband: ſo Chriſt being our husband, let him enter the action for our ſins againſt him.

For this end (I mean that we might be coupled and married thus to Chriſt, and ſo be certain of Salvation, and at godly peace with God in our Conſciences) God hath given his holy word, which hath two parts (as now the children of God do conſiſt of two men) one part of Gods word being proper to the Old man, and the other part of Gods word being proper to the New man. The part properly pertaining to the Old man is the Law; the part properly pertaining to the New man is the Goſpel.

The Law pertaineth to the old man, and the Goſpel to the new.

The Law is a Doctrine which commandeth and forbiddeth, requiring doing and avoiding. Under it therefore are contained all precepts, threatnings, promiſes upon conditions of our doing and avoiding, &c. The Goſpel is a Doctrine which always offereth and giveth, requiring Faith on our behalf, not as of worthineſs, or as a cauſe, but as a certificate unto us, and therefore under it are contained all the free and ſweet promiſes of God; as I am the Lord thy God, &c.

What the Law is.

What the Goſpel is.

The conſcience feared and beaten down with the terrour of Gods judgement againſt ſin, may not look upon the Law, but fly to the Goſpel for relief and comfort.

In thoſe that be of years of diſcretion, it requireth Faith, not as a cauſe, but as an inſtrument, whereby we our ſelves may be certain of our good husband Chriſt, and of his glory, and therefore when the Conſcience feeleth it ſelf diſquieted for fear of Gods judgment againſt ſin, ſhe may in no wiſe look upon the Doctrine pertaining to

the Old man, but on the Doctrine only that pertaineth to the New man, in it not looking for that which it requireth, that is Faith, becauſe we never believe as we ſhould; but only on it which it offereth, and which it giveth, that is, on Gods grace and eternal mercy and peace in Chriſt. So ſhall ſhe be in quiet, when ſhe looketh for it, altogether out of her ſelf, in Gods mercy in Chriſt Jeſus: in whoſe lap if ſhe lay her head with S. *John*, then is ſhe happy, and ſhall find quietneſs indeed. When ſhe feeleth her ſelf quiet, then, in Gods Name, let her look on the Law, and upon ſuch things as it requireth, thereby to bridle and keep down the Old *Adam*, to ſlay that *Goliah*; from whom ſhe muſt needs keep the ſweet Promiſes, being the bed wherein her Spouſe and ſhe meet and lye together. For as the wife will keep her bed only for her husband, although in other things ſhe is contented to have fellowſhip with others, as to ſpeak, ſit, eat, drink, go, &c. ſo our Conſciences, which are Chriſts wives, muſt needs keep the bed, that is, Gods ſweet Promiſes alonely for our ſelves and our husband, there to meet together, to embrace and laugh together, and to be joyful together. If Sin, the Law, the Devil, or any thing would creep into the bed, and lye there, then complain to thy husband Chriſt, and forthwith thou ſhalt ſee him play *Phineas*'s part. Thus (my dearly beloved) I have given you in few words a ſum of all the Divinity which a Chriſtian Conſcience cannot want.

John. 13. To the conſcience quieted and at peace with God, the Law ſerveth only to keep down the old man.

Num. 25.

A Letter written to his Mother, as a Farewel, when he thought he ſhould have ſuffered ſhortly after.

Another Letter of leave-taking to his Mother ſuppoſing that he ſhould have ſuffered ſhortly.

THe Lord of Life and Saviour of the World, Jeſus Chriſt, bleſs you and comfort you, my good and dear Mother, with his heavenly comfort, conſolation, grace, and ſpirit, now and for ever. Amen.

If I thought that daily, yea almoſt hourly you did not cry upon God the Father through Jeſus Chriſt, that he would give me his bleſſing, even the bleſſing of his Children; then would I write more hereabouts. But foraſmuch as herein I am certain you are diligent, and ſo I beſeech you, good Mother, to continue; I think it good to write ſomething, whereby this your crying might be furthered. Furthered it will be, if thoſe things which hinder it be taken away. Among the which, in that I think my Impriſonment is the greateſt and chiefeſt, I will thereabout ſpend this Letter, and that briefly, leſt it might increaſe the let, as my good Brother, this bringer, can tell you. You ſhall know therefore, good Mother, that for my Body, though it be in an Houſe, out of the which I cannot come when I will, yet in that I have conformed my will to Gods will, I find herein liberty enough, I thank God. And for my lodging, bedding, meat, drink, godly and learned company, Books, and all other neceſſaries for mine eaſe, comfort, and commodity, I am in much better caſe then I could wiſh, and Gods merciful Providence here is far above my worthineſs. Worthineſs, quoth I? Alas, I am worthy of nothing but damnation.

He meaneth the danger of more ſtraight impriſonment that might hereby follow.

But beſides all this, for my Soul I find much more commodity. For God is my Father, I now perceive, through Chriſt; therefore in priſoning me for his Goſpel, he maketh me like to the Image of his Son Jeſus Chriſt here, that when he cometh to Judgment, I might then be like unto him, as my truſt and hope is, I ſhall be. Now maketh he me like to his Friends the Prophets, Apoſtles, the holy Martyrs and Confeſſors. Which of them did not ſuffer at the leaſt impriſonment or baniſhment for his Goſpel and Word?

Now Mother, how far am I unmeet to be compared to them? I (I ſay) which always have been, and am ſo vile an Hypocrite and grievous a Sinner. God might have cauſed me long before this time to have been caſt into Priſon as a Thief, a Blaſphemer, an unclean Liver, and an heynous Offender of the Laws of the Realm; but (dear Mother) his mercy is ſo great upon both you, and all that love me, that I ſhould be caſt into Priſon as none of theſe, or for any ſuch Vices, but only for his Chriſts ſake, for his Goſpels ſake, for his Churches ſake, that thereby as I might learn to lament and bewail my ingratitude and ſins, ſo I might rejoyce in his mercy, be thankful, look for eternal joy with Chriſt, for whoſe ſake, praiſed be his Name for it, I now ſuffer, and therefore ſhould be merry and glad. And indeed (good Mother) ſo I am, as ever I was, yea never ſo merry and glad was I, as now I ſhould be, if I could get you to be merry with me, to thank God for me, and to pray on this ſort: Ah good Father, which doſt vouchſafe that my Son, being a grievous ſinner in thy ſight, ſhould find this favour with thee, to be one of thy Sons Captains and Men of War to fight and ſuffer for his Goſpels ſake, I thank thee, and pray thee, in Chriſts Name, that thou wouldſt forgive him his ſins and unthankfulneſs, and make perfect in him that good which thou haſt begun; yea Lord, I pray thee make him worthy to ſuffer, not only impriſonment, but even very death for thy Truth, Religion, and Goſpels ſake. As *Anna* did apply and give her firſt Child *Samuel* unto thee, ſo do I dear Father, beſeeching thee for Chriſts ſake to accept this my Gift, and give my Son, *John Bradford*, grace always truly to ſerve thee and thy people, as *Samuel* did, Amen, Amen.

Anno 1555.

A prayer for his Mother to offer unto God in his behalf.

If on this ſort (good Mother) from your heart you would pray, as I ſhould be the moſt merrieſt man that ever was; ſo am I certain the lets of your prayer for my impriſonment would be taken away. Good Mother therefore mark what I have written, and learn this prayer by heart, to ſay it daily, and then I ſhall be merry, and you ſhall rejoyce if that you continue, as I truſt you do, in Gods true Religion, even the ſame I have taught you, and my Father *Traves* I truſt will put you in remembrance of: my Brother *Roger* alſo, I truſt, doth ſo daily. Go to therefore, and learn apace. Although the Devil caſt divers lets in the way, God in whom you truſt, will caſt them away for his Chriſts ſake, if you will call upon him; and never will he ſuffer you to be tempted above that he will make you able to bear. But how you ſhould do herein, the other Letter which I have written herewith, ſhall teach you, which I would have none ſhould read till my Father *Traves* have read it, and he will give you by Gods grace ſome Inſtructions.

This Letter came not to our hands.

Now therefore will I make an end, praying you good Mother, to look for no more Letters: for if it were known that I have Pen and Ink, and did write, then ſhould I want all the foreſaid commodities I have ſpoken of concerning my Body, and be caſt into ſome Dungeon in fetters of Iron: which thing I know would grieve you, and therefore for Gods ſake, ſee that theſe be burned, when this little Prayer in it is copied by my Brother *Roger*: for perchance your Houſe may be ſearched for ſuch gear, when you think little of it: and look for no more, ſweet Mother, till either God ſhall deliver me, and ſend me out, either you and I ſhall meet together in Heaven, where we ſhall never part aſunder, Amen.

Exhortation to his two Siſters.

I require you *Elizabeth* and *Margaret* my Siſters, that you will fear God, uſe Prayer, love your Husbands, be obedient unto them, as God willeth you: bring up your Children in Gods fear: and be good Houſwives. God bleſs you both, with both your Husbands, my good Brethren, to whom to do good, becauſe I now cannot. I will pray for them and you. Commend me to my Siſter *Anne*, Mother *Pike*, *Th. Sorrocold* and his wife, *R. Shalcroſs* and his wife, *R. Bolton*, *J. Wild*, Mr. Vicar, the Parſon *Mottrom*, Sir *Laurence Hall*, with all that love, and I truſt, live in the Goſpel; and God turn Sir *Thomas* his heart, Amen. I will daily pray for him. I need not to ſet my name, you know it well enough.

Becauſe you ſhould give my Letters to my Father *Traves* to be burned, I have written here a Prayer for you to learn to pray for me, good Mother, and another for all your Houſe in your Evening Prayer to pray with my Brother. Theſe Prayers are written with mine own hand: keep them ſtill, but the Letters give to Father *Traves* to burn, and give Father *Traves* a Copy of the later Prayer.

Another Letter to his Mother, at his laſt Farewel unto her in this world, a little before he was burned.

Another, and the laſt Letter of M. *Bradford*, written to his Mother a little before his death.

GOds mercy and peace in Chriſt, be more and more perceived of us, Amen.

My moſt dear Mother, in the Bowels of Chriſt I heartily

Anno 1555. heartily pray and beſeech you to be thankful for me unto God, which thus now taketh me unto himſelf: I dye not, my good Mother, as a Thief, a Murderer, an Adulterer, &c. but I dye as a Witneſs of Chriſt his Goſpel and Verity, which hitherto I have confeſſed (I thank God) as well by preaching, as by impriſonment, and now even preſently I ſhall moſt willingly confirm the ſame by fire. I knowledge that God moſt juſtly might take me hence ſimply for my ſins (which are many, great, and grievous: but the Lord for his mercy in Chriſt, hath pardoned them all, I hope) but now dear Mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a Confeſſor and Witneſs, that the Religion taught by Chriſt Jeſus, the Prophets, and the Apoſtles, is Gods Truth. The Prelates do perſecute in me Chriſt whom they hate, and his Truth which they may not abide, becauſe their works are evil, and may not abide the Truth and Light, leſt men ſhould ſee their Darkneſs. Therefore my good and moſt dear Mother, give thanks for me to God, that he hath made the Fruit of your Womb to be a witneſs of his glory, and attend to the Truth, which (I thank God for it) I have truly taught out of the Pulpit of *Mancheſter*. Uſe often and continual prayer to God the Father through Chriſt. Hearken, as you may, to the Scriptures: ſerve God after his Word, and not after Cuſtom: beware of the Romiſh Religion in *England*, defile not your ſelf with it: carry Chriſts Croſs as he ſhall lay it upon your back: forgive them that kill me: pray for them, for they know not what they do: commit my Cauſe to God our Father: be mindful of both your Daughters, and help them as you can.

Bradford perſecuted of the Prelates, not for his ſins, but for the truth of Chriſt.

I ſend all my writings to you and my brother *Roger*, do with them as you will, becauſe I cannot as I would, he can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to give you, or to leave behind me for you: only I pray God my Father, for his Chriſts ſake, to bleſs you, and keep you from evil. He give you patience, he make you thankful, as for me, ſo for your ſelf, that he will take the Fruit of your Womb to witneſs his Verity: wherein I confeſs to the whole world, I dye and depart this life, in hope of a much better: which I look for at the hands of God my Father, through the Merits of his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt.

Thus, my dear Mother, I take my laſt farewel of you in this life, beſeeching the Almighty and eternal Father by Chriſt, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we ſhall give him continual thanks and praiſe for ever and ever, Amen. Out of Priſon the 24. of *June*, 1555.

Your Son in the Lord,
John Bradford.

A Letter ſent with a Supplication to Queen Mary, *her Councel, and the whole Parliament.*

A letter of M. *Bradford* joyned with a Supplication ſent to Q. *Mary*, her Councel, and the Parliament.

IN moſt humble wiſe complaineth unto your Majeſty and Honours, a poor Subject perſecuted for the Confeſſion of Chriſts Verity: the which Verity deſerveth at your hands to be maintained and defended, as the thing by the which you reign and have your Honours and Authorities. Although we that be Profeſſors, and through the grace of God the conſtant Confeſſors of the ſame, are (as it were) the outſweepings of the world: yet (I ſay) the Verity it ſelf is a thing not unworthy for your ears to hear, for your eyes to ſee, and for your hands to handle, help, and ſuccour, according to that the Lord hath made you able, and placed you where you are, for the ſame purpoſe. Your Highneß and Honours ought to know, that there is no innocency in words or deeds, where it is enough and ſufficeth only to accuſe. It behoveth Kings, Queens, and all that be in Authority, to know that in the adminiſtration of their Kingdoms they are Gods Miniſters. It behoveth them to know, that they are no Kings, but plain Tyrants, which reign not to this end, that they may ſerve and ſet forth Gods glory after true knowledge: and therefore it is required of them, that they would be wiſe, and ſuffer themſelves to be taught, to ſubmit themſelves to the Lords diſcipline, and to kiſs their Sovereign, leſt they periſh; as all thoſe Potentates with their Principalities and Dominions cannot long proſper, but periſh indeed, if they and their Kingdoms be not ruled with the Scepter of God, that is, with his Word; which whoſo honoureth not, honoureth not God, and they that honour not the Lord, the Lord will not honour them, but bring them into contempt, and at the length take his own cauſe, which he hath moſt chiefly committed unto them to care for, into his own hands, and ſo overthrow them, and ſet up his Truth gloriouſly; the People alſo periſhing with the Princes, where the word of prophecy is wanting, much more is ſuppreſſed, as it is now in this Realm of England; *over which the eyes of the Lord are ſet to deſtroy it, your Highneß, and all your Honours, if in time you look not better to your office and duties herein, and not ſuffer your ſelves to be ſlaves and hangmen to Antichriſt and his Prelates, which have brought your Highneß and Honours already to let* Barrabas *looſe, and to hang up Chriſt: as by the grace and help of God I ſhall make apparent, if firſt it would pleaſe your excellent Majeſty, and all your Honours, to take to heart Gods Doctrine, which rather through the malice of the Phariſees, I mean the Biſhops and Prelates, then your Conſciences, is oppreſſed; and not for our contemptible and execrable ſtate in the ſight of the world, to paß the leß of it. For it (the Doctrine I mean) is higher, and of more honour and majeſty, than all the whole world. It ſtandeth invincible above all power, being not our Doctrine, but the Doctrine of the everliving God, and of his Chriſt, whom the Father hath ordained King, to have dominion from Sea to Sea, and from the River unto the ends of the world. And truly ſo doth he, and will he reign, that he will ſhake all the whole earth with his iron and brazen power, with his golden and ſilvery brightneß, only by the rod of his mouth, to ſhivers, in ſuch ſort as though they were pots of clay, according to that which the Prophets do write of the magnificence of his Kingdom. And thus much for the thing, I mean the Doctrine, and your duties to hearken, to propagate, and defend the ſame.*

Difference between Kings and Tyrants.

Good warning to Q. *Mary.*

Princes made ſlaves to Antichriſt.

Chriſt ordained to bear dominion over all.

But now will our Adverſaries mainly cry out againſt us, becauſe no man may be admitted once to whiſt againſt them, that we pretend falſly the Doctrine and Word of God, calling us the moſt wicked Contemners of it, and Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, Traytors, &c. All which their ſayings, how malicious and falſe they are, though I might make report to that which is written by thoſe men whoſe works they have condemned, and all that retain any of them, publickly by Proclamation: yet here will I occaſion your Majeſty and Honours by this my writing, to ſee that it is far otherwiſe than they report of us. God our Father for his holy Names ſake, direct my Pen to be his Inſtrument to put into your eyes, ears and hearts, that which moſt may make to his glory, to the ſafeguard of your ſouls and bodies, and preſervation of the whole Realm, Amen.

Chriſts Martyrs falſly belyed of the Prelates for Hereticks, and Schiſmaticks.

John Bradford.

To certain of his Friends, N. S. *and* R. C.

A Letter of M. *Bradford* to certain perſons being at that time not throughly inſtructed in the doctrine of Gods Election.

I Wiſh to you, my good Brethren, the ſame grace of God in Chriſt, which I wiſh and pray the Father of Mercies to give me for his holy Names ſake, Amen.

Your Letter, though I have not read my ſelf, becauſe I would not alienate my mind from conceived things, to write to others, yet I have heard the ſum of it, that it is of Gods Election; wherein I will briefly write to you my Faith, and how I think it good and meet for a Chriſtian man to wade in it. I believe, that man, made after the Image of God, did fall from that bleſſed ſtate, to the condemnation of himſelf, and all his Poſterity. I believe that Chriſt, for man being thus faln, did oppoſe himſelf to the Juſtice of God, a Mediator, paying the ranſom and price of redemption for *Adam* and his whole Poſterity that refuſe it not finally. I believe, that all that believe in Chriſt, I ſpeak of ſuch as be of years of diſcretion, are partakers of Chriſt and all his Merits. I believe that Faith, and to believe in Chriſt (I ſpeak not now of Faith that men have by reaſon of Miracles, *John* 2. 11. *Acts* 8. or by reaſon of earthly Commodity, *Matth.* 13. Cuſtom and Authority of men, which is commonly ſeen, the hearts of them that ſo believe, being not right and ſimple before God: but I ſpeak of that Faith which indeed is the true Faith, the juſtifying and regenerating Faith) I believe, I ſay, that this Faith and Belief in Chriſt, is the work and gift of God, given to none other than to thoſe which be the Children of God, that is, to thoſe whom God the Father before the beginning of the world hath predeſtinate in Chriſt unto eternal life.

True faith, Exod. 4.

M. B. for the certainty of this faith, search your hearts. If you have it, praise the Lord, for you are happy, and therefore cannot finally perish, for then happiness were not happiness, if it could be lost. * When you fall, the Lord will put under his hand, that you shall not lie still. But if ye feel not this faith, then know that Predestination is too high a matter for you to be disputers of, until you have been Scholars in the schoolhouse of repentance and justification, which is the Grammar School, wherein we must be conversant and learned before we go to the University of Gods most holy Predestination and Providence. Of this matter he writeth more at large in the book of Letters of the Martyrs Fol. 325.

* Thus do I wade in Predestination, in such sort as God hath pacified and opened it. Though in God it be the first, yet to us it is last opened. And therefore I begin with Creation, from whence I come to Redemption, so to Justification, and so to Election. On this sort I am sure, that warily and wisely a man may walk in it easily by the light of Gods Spirit, in and by his Word, seeing this Faith not to be given to all men, 2 *Thess.* 3. but to such as are born of God, predestinate before the World was made, after the purpose and good will of God: which will we may not call into disputation, but in trembling and fear submit our selves to it, as to that which can will none otherwise than that which is holy, right, and good, how far soever otherwise it seem to the Judgment of Reason, which must needs be beaten down to be more careful for Gods glory, than for mans salvation, which dependeth only thereon, as all Gods children full well see: for they seek not the glory which cometh of men, but the glory which cometh of God, *Jer.* 9. *John* 5. They know God to be a God which doth on earth, not only Mercy, but also Judgment, which is his Justice and most Justice, although our foolish reason cannot see it. And in this knowledge they glory and rejoyce, though others through vain curiosity, grudge and murmur there-against. Thus briefly I have sent you my mind and meaning concerning this matter. Hereafter you shall have (I think) your Letter particularly answered by Mr. *Philpot*; as also, if I have time, and so you require it, I will do.

John Bradford.

Notes upon the same Epistle, and to the matter of Election appertaining.

AS touching the Doctrine of Election (whereof this Letter of Mr. *Bradford*, and many other his Letters more do much intreat) three things must be considered.

1. *First, What Gods Election is, and what is the cause thereof.*
2. *Secondly, How Gods Election proceedeth in working our Salvation.*
3. *Thirdly, To whom Gods Election pertaineth, and how a man may be certain thereof.*

Notes to this Epistle added.

Between Predestination and Election, this difference there is: Predestination is as well to the Reprobate, as to the Elect. Election pertaineth only to them that be saved.

Difference between Predestination and Election.

Predestination, in that it respecteth the Reprobate, is called Reprobation: in that it respecteth the saved, is called Election, and is thus defined.

Definition of Predestination.

Predestination is the eternal decreement of God, purposed before in himself, what shall befall on all men, either to Salvation or Damnation.

Election defined.

Election is the free mercy and grace of God in his own will, through faith in Christ his Son, choosing and preferring to life such as pleaseth him.

The parts of the definition examined.

In this definition of Election, first goeth before (the mercy and grace of God) as the causes thereof, whereby are excluded all the works of the Law, and merits of deserving, whether they go before faith, or come after. So was *Jacob* chosen, and *Esau* refused, before either of them began to work, *&c.*

Mercy and grace.

Secondly, In that this mercy and grace of God in this definition is said to be (free) thereby is to be noted the proceeding and working of God not to be bounded to any ordinary place, or to any succession of Chair, nor to state and dignity of person, nor to worthiness of blood, *&c.* but all goeth by the meer will of his own purpose; as it is written, *Spiritus ubi vult, spirat, &c.* And thus was the outward race and stock of *Abraham* after the flesh refused (which seemed to have the preheminence) and another Seed after the Spirit raised up to *Abraham* of the Stones, that is, of the Gentiles. So was the outward Temple of *Jerusalem* and Chair of *Moses*, which seemed to be of price, forsaken, and Gods Chair advanced in other Nations. So was tall *Saul* refused, and little *David* accepted: the Rich, the Proud, the Wise of this world rejected, and the Word of Salvation daily opened to the poor and miserable Abjects, the high Mountains cast under, and the low Vales exalted, *&c.*

Free mercy and grace.

Thirdly, Where it is added (in his own will) by this falleth down the free will and purpose of man, with all his actions, counsels, and strength of Nature; according as it is written, *Non est volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis Dei, &c. i.* It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy. So we see how *Israel* ran long, and yet got nothing. The Gentiles later began to set out, and yet got the game. So they which came at the first hour did labour more, and yet they which came last, were rewarded with the first, *Matthew* 20. The working will of the Pharisee seemed better, but yet the Lords will was rather to justifie the Publican, *Luke* 18. The elder son had a better will to tarry by his Father, and so did indeed: and yet the fat Calf was given to the younger son that ran away, *Luke* the 15. Whereby we are to understand, how the matter goeth, not by the will of man, but by the will of God; as it pleaseth him to accept, according as it is written, *Non ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt, &c. i.* Which are born, not of the will of the flesh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God. Furthermore, as all then goeth by the will of God only, and not by the will of man: so again here is to be noted, that this will of God never goeth without faith in Christ Jesus his Son.

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The free mercy and grace of God in his own will. Rom. 9.

Matth. 20.

Luke 18.

Luke 15.

John 1.

God's mercy in saving the elect ever includeth the condition of faith in Christ.

And therefore, fourthly, is this Clause added in the definition; through faith in Christ his Son. Which faith in Christ to us-ward maketh all together. For first, it certifieth us of Gods Election; as this Epistle of Mr. *Bradford* doth well express. For whosoever will be certain of Election in God, let him first begin with his faith in Christ: which if he find in him to stand firm, he may be sure, and nothing doubt, but that he is one of the number of Gods Elect. Secondly, The said faith, and nothing else, is the only condition and means whereupon Gods mercy, grace, election, vocation, and all Gods promises to salvation do stay, according to the words of S. *Paul*, *Si permanseritis in fide, &c. i.* If ye abide in the faith, *Coloss.* 1. Thirdly, This faith also is the immediate and next cause of our Justification simply, without any other condition annexed. For as the mercy of God, his grace, election, vocation, and other precedent causes do save and justifie us upon condition, If we believe in Christ: so this faith only in Christ without condition is the next and immediate cause, which by Gods promise worketh our justification; according as it is written. *Credo in Dominum Iesum, & salvus eris, tu & domus tua*; *i.* Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy whole house, *Acts* 16. And thus much touching the definition of Election, with the causes thereof declared. Which you see now to be no merits, nor works of man, whether they go before or come after faith, but only the meer mercy of God through faith. For like as all they that be born of *Adam*, do taste of his malediction, though they tasted not his Apple: so all they that be born of Christ, (which is by faith) take part of the obedience of Christ, although they never did that obedience themselves, which was in him, *Rom.* 5.

The free mercy and grace of God in his own good will through faith in Christ his Son our Lord.

Faith is the only condition where-by Gods grace doth save us.

Acts 16.

Faith only is the immediate cause of our justifying.

Now to the second Consideration, let us see likewise, how, and in what order this election of God proceedeth in choosing and electing them which he ordaineth to salvation; which order is this. In them that be chosen to life, first Gods mercy and free grace bringeth forth Election; election worketh vocation, or Gods holy calling; which vocation, through hearing, bringeth knowledge and faith of Christ. Faith through promise, obtaineth justification, justification through hope, waiteth for glorification.

The second consideration.

Grace, Election, Vocation, Faith, Justification, Glorification.

Election is before time. Vocation and faith cometh in time. Justification and glorification is without end.

Election, depending upon Gods free grace and will, excludeth all mans will, blind fortune, chance and all peradventures.

Mans free will, Blind Fortune, Mans wisdom, Mans learning, Mans merits, Works of the Law excluded from the causes of our salvation in Christ.

Vocation, standing upon Gods election, excludeth all mans wisdom, cunning, learning, intention, power and presumption.

Faith in Christ, proceeding by the gift of the Holy Ghost, and freely justifying man by Gods promise, excludeth all other merits of men, all condition of deserving, and all works of the Law, both Gods Law and mans Law, with all other outward means whatsoever.

Justi-

Anno 1553

Juſtification cometh freely by faith, ſtandeth ſure by promiſe, without doubt, fear, or wavering in this life.

Glorification pertaining only to the life to come, by hope is looked for.

Grace and Mercy preventeth.

Election ordaineth.

Vocation prepareth and receiveth the Word, whereby cometh Faith.

Faith juſtifieth.

Juſtification bringeth glory.

Election is the immediate and next cauſe of Vocation.

Vocation. (which is the working of Gods Spirit by the Word) is the immediate and next cauſe of Faith.

Faith is the immediate and next cauſe of Juſtification.

Papiſts confound the doctrine of Election.

And this order and connexion of Cauſes is diligently to be obſerved, becauſe of the Papiſts, which have miſerably confounded and inverted this Doctrine, thus teaching, That Almighty God ſo far forth as he foreſeeth mans merits before to come, ſo doth he diſpenſe his Election. *Dominus prout cujuſque merita fore prævidet, ita diſpenſat electionis gratiam.* And again, *Nullis præcedentibus meritis Dominum rependere electionis gratiam, futuris tamen concedere:* that is, That the Lord recompenceth the grace of Election, not to any merits preceding; but yet granteth the ſame to the merits which follow: As though we had our Election by our Holineſs that followeth after, and not rather have our Holineſs by Gods Election going before.

Election.

But we, following the Scripture, ſay otherwiſe, that the only cauſe of Gods Election, is his own free mercy; and the only cauſe of our Juſtification is our Faith in Chriſt, and nothing elſe. As for example; firſt concerning Election, if the queſtion be asked, Why was *Abraham* choſen, and not *Nachor*? Why was *Jacob* choſen, not *Eſau*? Why was *Moſes* elected, and *Pharaoh* hardned? Why *David* accepted, and *Saul* refuſed? Why few be choſen, and the moſt forſaken? It cannot be anſwered otherwiſe but thus, Becauſe it was ſo the good will of God.

That vocation he meaneth here which is after purpoſe.

In like manner touching Vocation, and alſo Faith, if the queſtion be asked, Why this Vocation and Gift of Faith was given to *Cornelius* the Gentile, and not to *Tertullus* the Jew? Why to the Poor, to the Babes, and little Ones of this world, (of whom Chriſt ſpeaketh, *I thank thee Father, which haſt hid this from the wiſe, &c.* Math 11. Why to the Unwiſe, the ſimple Abjects and Outcaſts in this world? (Of whom ſpeaketh Saint *Paul*, 1 *Corinthians* 1. *Ye ſee your calling my brethren, how not many of you, &c.*) Why to the Sinners, and not to the Juſt? Why the Beggers by the High-ways were called, and the bidden Gueſts excluded? We can go to no other cauſe, but to Gods Purpoſe and Election, and ſay with Chriſt our Saviour, *Quia, pater, ſic complacitum eſt ante te*; i. Yea Father, for ſo it ſeemeth good in thy ſight, *Luke* 10.

Vocation bringeth faith.

Juſtification by faith only.

And ſo for Juſtification likewiſe, if the queſtion be asked, Why the Publican was juſtified, and not the Phariſee? *Luke* 18. Why *Mary* the ſinner, and not *Simon* the inviter? *Luke* 11. Why Harlots and Publicans go before the Scribes and Phariſees in the Kingdom? *Matthew* 21. Why the Son of the Free-woman was received, and the Bond-womans Son, being his elder, rejected? *Geneſis* 21. Why *Iſrael*, which ſo long ſought for Righteouſneſs, found it not; and the Gentiles, which ſought not for it, found it? *Romans* 9. We have no other cauſe hereof to render, but to ſay with Saint *Paul*, Becauſe they ſought for it by works of the Law, and not by Faith: which Faith, as it cometh not by mans will (as the Papiſt falſly pretendeth) but only by the Election and free Gift of God; ſo it is only the immediate cauſe whereunto the Promiſe of our Salvation is annexed, according as we read; *And therefore of Faith is the Inheritance given, as after Grace, that the Promiſe might ſtand ſure to every Seed*, Romans 4. *Item*, in the ſame Chapter, *Faith, believing in him which juſtifieth the wicked, is imputed to righteouſneſs.*

And thus concerning the cauſes of our Salvation, ye ſee how Faith in Chriſt, only and immediately, without any Condition doth juſtifie us, being ſo linked with Gods Mercy and Election, that whereſoever Election goeth before, there Faith in Chriſt muſt needs follow after. And again, whoſoever believeth in Chriſt Jeſus, through the Vocation of God, he muſt needs be partaker of Gods Election.

How faith and election are linked together in the act of juſtifying.

Whereupon reſulteth now the third note or conſideration; which is, to conſider whether a man in this life may be certain of his Election. To anſwer to which queſtion, this firſt is to be underſtood; That although our Election and Vocation ſimply indeed be known to God only in himſelf, *à priore*; yet notwithſtanding it may be known to every particular faithful man, *à poſteriore*; that is, by means, which means is Faith in Chriſt Jeſus crucified. Forſomuch as by Faith in Chriſt a man is juſtified, and thereby made the Child of Salvation, Reaſon muſt needs lead the ſame to be then the Child of Election, choſen of God unto everlaſting life. For how can a man be ſaved, but by conſequence it followeth, that he muſt alſo be elected?

The third conſideration.

Election known to God ſimply.

Election known to man by means.

Faith is the means whereby we be certified of our election.

And therefore of Election it is truly ſaid, *De electione judicandum eſt à poſteriore*; that is to ſay, We muſt judge of Election, by that which cometh after, that is, by our Faith and Belief in Chriſt: which Faith, although in time it followeth after Election, yet this is the proper and immediate cauſe aſſigned by the Scripture, which not only juſtifieth us, but alſo certifieth us of this Election of God.

De electione judicandum eſt a poſteriore.

Whereunto likewiſe well agreeth this preſent Letter of M^r. *Bradford*, wherein he ſaith, Election, albeit in God it be the firſt, yet to us it is the laſt opened. And therefore beginning firſt (ſaith he) with Creation, I come from thence to the Redemption and Juſtification by Faith, and ſo to Election. Not that Faith is the cauſe efficient of Election, being rather the effect thereof, but is to us the cauſe certificatory, or the cauſe of our certification, whereby we are brought to the feeling and knowledge of our Election in Chriſt. For albeit that Election firſt be certain in the knowledge of God; yet in our knowledge, Faith only that we have in Chriſt, is the thing that giveth to us our certificate and comfort of this Election.

Election firſt known to God and laſt opened to man.

Wherefore, whoſoever deſireth to be aſſured that he is one of the elect number of God, let him not climb up to Heaven to know, but let him diſcend into himſelf, and there ſearch his Faith in Chriſt the Son of God: which if he find in him not feigned, by the working of Gods Holy Spirit accordingly; thereupon let him ſtay, and ſo wrap himſelf wholly, both Body and Soul, under Gods general Promiſe, and cumber his head with no further Speculations; knowing this, *That whoſoever believeth in him ſhall not periſh*, John 3. *ſhall not be confounded*, Romans 9. *ſhall not ſee death*, John 8. *ſhall not enter into judgment*, John 5. *ſhall have everlaſting life*, John 3.7. *ſhall be ſaved*, Matthew 28. Acts 16. *ſhall have remiſſion of all his ſins*, Acts 10. *ſhall be juſtified*, Romans 3. Galatians 2. *ſhall have floods flowing out of him of water of life*, John 7. *ſhall never dye*, John 11. *ſhall be raiſed in the laſt day*, John 6. *ſhall find reſt to his ſoul, and ſhall be refreſhed*, Matthew 11.

Every man to ſtay himſelf upon Gods general promiſe.

Now then, forſomuch as we ſee Faith to be the ground whereupon dependeth the whole Condition of our juſtifying, let us diſcuſs in like manner what is this Faith whereof the Scripture ſo much ſpeaketh, for the more plain underſtanding of the ſimple. For many kinds there be of Faith: as a man may believe every thing that is true, yet not every truth doth ſave, neither doth the believing of every Truth juſtifie a man. He that believeth that God created all things of nought, believeth truly. He that believeth that God is a juſt God, that he is Omnipotent, that he is merciful, that he is true of promiſe, believeth well, and holdeth the truth. So he that believeth that God hath his Election from the beginning, and that he alſo is one of the ſame Elect and Predeſtinate, hath a good belief, and thinketh well: but yet this belief alone, except it be ſeaſoned with another thing, will not ſerve to Salvation: as it availed not the old Jews, which ſo thought of themſelves, and yet think to this day to be only Gods elect People,

What faith is. Divers kinds of faith. Every truth hath his faith, but every truth juſtifieth not, no more doth every faith.

Faith the action, Christ the object of Faith. Faith and Christ correlatives.

Only the Faith which availeth to Salvation is that, whose Object is the Body and Passion of Jesus Christ crucified. So that in the act of justifying, these two, Faith and Christ, have a mutual relation, and must always concur together; Faith as the action which apprehendeth; Christ as the object which is apprehended.

Christ without Faith, saveth not. Faith without Christ helpeth not.

For neither doth the Passion of Christ save without Faith, neither doth Faith help, except it be in Christ: as we see the body of man sustained by bread and drink, not except the same be received and conveyed into the stomack: and yet neither doth the receiving of every thing sustain mans body, except it be meat and drink, which have power to give nourishment. In like sort it is with Faith; for neither doth the believing of every thing save, but only Faith in the Blood of Christ: neither again doth the same Blood of Christ profit us, except by Faith it be received. And as the Sun, being the cause of all light, shineth not but to them only which have eyes to see; nor yet to them neither, unless they will open their eyes to receive the light: so the Passion of Christ is the efficient cause of Salvation, but Faith is the Condition whereby the said Passion is to us effectual.

Grace, Election, Vocation, Christs death, causes external of our salvation. Faith the only internal cause of mans salvation. Faith is an action in man, but not of man.

And that is the cause why we say with the Scripture, that Faith only justifieth us, not excluding thereby all other external causes that go before Faith, as Grace, Mercy, Election, Vocation, the Death of Christ, &c. all which be external causes, working our Salvation through Faith. But when we say that Faith only justifieth us, the meaning thereof is this; that of all internal actions, motions, or operations in man, given to him of God, there is none other that contenteth and pleaseth God, or standeth before his Judgment, or can help any thing to the justifying of man before him, but only this one action of Faith in Jesus Christ the Son of God.

Vertues and works of Charity, though they be good gifts of God in man, yet they serve not to justification. Faith taketh his dignity of his object. Looking up to the brazen-Serpent, and believing upon the body of Christ compared.

For although the action of Praying, Fasting, Alms, Patience, Charity, Repentance, the fear and love of God be high gifts in man, and not of man, given of God to man, yet be none of all these actions in man imputed of God to Salvation, but only this one action of Faith in man upon Christ Jesus the Son of God. Not that the action it self of believing, as it is a quality in man, doth deserve, but because it taketh that dignity of the object. For as I said, the act of justifying Faith, as it is an action in man, is not to be considered alone, but must ever go with his object, and taketh his virtue thereof. Like as the looking up of the old Israelites did not of it self procure any health unto them, but the promise made in the object, which was the brazen Serpent, whereupon they looked, gave them health by their looking up: Even so after like sort are we saved by Faith and spiritual looking up to the Body of Christ crucified. Which Faith to define is this.

To believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of the living God, sent into this World, by his death to satisfie for our sins, and so to receive the same.

The error of the Papists perverting the mind of Gods Testament, how, and wherein.

And thus much touching Election and Faith; with the order and explication of the causes necessary to be considered in our Salvation, whereby may appear how far the pretensed Catholicks do swerve from the right mind of the Scriptures. For where the Scriptures in declaring the causes of Salvation, do send us only to Faith, as the only Condition whereby these causes have their working, these Catholicks do quite leave out Faith, and in stead thereof, place in other Conditions of Doings, Merits, Will-works, Pardons, Masses, and especially Auricular Confessions, with Penance and Satisfaction for our Sins, &c.

And besides these Letters above specified of Mr. *John Bradford*, there hath come to our hands certain other Letters of his, not long ago, sent by a certain old Friend of the said *John Bradford* unto us. Which Letters being written of him in former times before his trouble, as they have not been yet printed nor seen abroad, so I thought it not amiss to communicate the same to the Christian Reader, for the worthiness of the matter, and the goodness of the man, which may redound, I trust, to no small fruit to him, that with godly eyes shall advise the same.

A Letter of Mr. Bradford *to Father* Traves, *Minister of* Blackley. Anno 1555.

THe abundant Grace and rich Mercy of God in Christ our only Saviour and high Bishop, be increased in your heart, through the lively worker of all goodness, the holy Spirit, until the day of the Lord, *&c.*

I have received your two Letters (good Father *Traves*) sithence that I did write unto you, whereof though honesty willeth to make an excuse, yet truth biddeth me otherwise, and saith, it is better with shame to confess the fault (for therein is, as a man might say, half a deserving of pardon) than without shame to lye. I might have written unto you twice (notwithstanding indeed some business wherein I have something been occupied) but yet I have not. Now the cause is, because I would not. And why would I not? but because I could not, I mean, because my canning is taken away by sin, for my sins do forbid goodness unto me. Indeed if my sinning were of infirmity, there were good hope of recovery of that which I have lost: But seeing, both willing and knowing I have too much yielded, and yet do yield to my infirmities, justly I do deserve, that because I have cast away, and rejected the word of the Lord behind my back, the Lord should reject me. And because I would not have blessing, I am worthy (as *David* saith) that it be taken away from me. I have now at length experience, that to bring a man forth of Gods favour, is sooner seen when a man hath received all things abundantly, than when need or the Cross pincheth. Afore it pleased God to work the restitution (you know what I mean) and afore it pleased God to provide for me as he hath done, so that I can say in nothing, where any want is, as pertaining to my body: I was another manner of man, than now I am, and yet Gods deserts have otherwise bounden me: but the Scripture is true, I have advanced my children, and nourished them, but they have contemned me, I have fed them that they were fat and gross, and they spurned against me. Perchance you will ask me wherein? Oh Father *Traves*, I warrant you, this is my stile, in carnal, and not in spiritual writing, doth something shew unto you; but as for it, in comparison of other things is nothing. For where the life of man is such, that either it paireth or amendeth, as *Paul* saith, *The outward man is corrupted day by day*, and therefore except the inward man be renewed, the shoe goeth awry, *every building in Christ doth grow to a holy Temple*, as the wicked on the contrary part shall proceed to worser, 2 *Tim.* 3. I have made a change far otherwise in going back, than I think by Letters I can perswade you: Wherein will you say? For the first, second, and third, and to be brief, in all things: As for an example, Gods true fear is flown away from me, love to my Brethren is exiled from me, faith is utterly taken away. In stead whereof is distrust and doubtfulness bearing rule, contempt of Gods honour, and of my Brethren reigning, and in stead of true fear, an imagined fear, according to my brain holding the Principality. For I extenuate sin, and I do not consider that in sin, which a Christian ought to consider; that sin being not forgiven, is suth a thing for the which God casteth his Creature away, as examples not only of *Saul*, of *Judas*, of the Israelites (which were beloved indeed, and yet for sin are rejected) but also of others, on whom lately for my warning God hath shewed the same, do admonish me. But it is but my Pen which writes this: For the wicked, saith *Solomon*, when they come into the depth of their sins, then they grow in security. I am I cannot tell what: I fear, but it is but blindly, or else would I awake otherwise than I do; I fear me, I say, that I am intangled of the Devil, after his desire. Pray for me, that the Lord would give me repentance, that I may escape out of his Snares. Alas, the Spirit of Prayer, which before I have felt plentifully, is taken clean away from me. The Lord be merciful unto me. I am sold under sin, I am the Bond-slave of sin: for whom I obey, his Servant I am. I am ashamed to speak of it, no I shame not at all: for I have forgot to blush, I have given over to weep. And truly I obey, I obey I say mine own Concupiscences, namely in eating, in drinking,

Deut. 32.

Prov. 18.

2 Tim. 2.

Anno 1555. drinking, in jangling and idleneſs, I will not ſpeak of vain-glory, envy, diſdain, hypocriſie, deſire of eſtimation, ſelf-love, and who can tell all? Is this the reward thou rendereſt to God, O *Bradford*? It is true, yea too true, thou knoweſt it, O Lord for thy mercies ſake pardon me. In your Letters you touch me home, how that there is no mans heart, but that conſidering the ingratitude of this World, this belly-cheer (wherein you even take me by the Noſe) &c. his eyes would tumble out great guſhes of Tears. The Lord be praiſed which worketh ſo in you, for it is with me as with them of whom you complain. Indeed it may be ſo again, but oh it is very unlikely: for mine enemies are become old (and are made by cuſtom more than familiar, for they are as it were converted into nature in me. Yet I am not grieved therefore, although I cannot perſwade my ſelf that God will help me. O Lord be merciful unto me for thy Chriſts ſake. This day I received the Lords Supper, but how I have welcomed him, this night (which I have ſpent in laſciviouſneſs, in wantonneſs, and prodigality, obeying my fleſh and belly) doth ſo declare, that what to ſay, or write any more, I know not, ſleep doth aggravate mine eyes, and to pray I am altogether unapt. All this is come through the occaſion of making this bringer a Supper in my Chamber, the Lord pardon me, I truſt no more to be ſo far overſeen. But this I write, not that the anger of God, which I have deſerved, ſo feareth me, thou knoweſt it O Lord. But of this perchance too much.

For Gods ſake pray for me, good Father *Traves*, and write unto me as you may by your weakneſs, your Letters to me good. By this which I have now written, you may conſider more, touch me therefore home in your Letters, and the Lord, I truſt, ſhall and will reward you. If God lend me Life, of which I am moſt unworthy, I will more trouble you with my Letters than I have done; but bear with me, I do it not out of any evil will, the Lord I take to judge, there is none whoſe company and talk I more deſire than yours, I ſpeak it before God. Prove my Mothers mind how ſhe can bear it, if when I ſhall come down, I ſhall ſhew my ſelf another man outwardly, but alas fainedly, than before I have done. Marry, when my coming will be I know not. Indeed two things move me ſore, the one for my Mothers Cauſe, concerning her better inſtruction, if the Lord would thereto uſe me his Inſtrument, the other is to talk with you, and eftſoons to trouble you, as I have hitherto ever done, but alwayes to my profit. For Gods ſake pray for me, for I had never ſo much need. This *Sunday* at night, following S. *Andrews* day, at *Pembroke Hall*.

The moſt miſerable, hard-hearted, unthankful ſinner,
John Bradford.

Another Letter of John Bradford *to Sir* Thomas Hall, *and Father* Traves *of* Blackley.

THe grace of God our moſt merciful Father, keep Mind and Soul in Chriſt Jeſus, who alone is our full ſufficient Saviour, for in him we be compleat, being made through his death and one only oblation made and offered by himſelf upon the Croſs, the Children of God, and fellow heirs with him of the Celeſtial Kingdom, which is the free gift of God, and cometh not of Merits, but of the meer grace of God, given to none that putteth any manner of hope or truſt in any other thing viſible or inviſible, than in that oblation of ſweet ſavour which Chriſt himſelf did offer upon good *Friday* (as we call it) which oblation is alway recent and new in the ſight of God the Father, and maketh interceſſion for us: us I mean, which think that only Sacrifice then offered, to be ſufficient, as it is, hath been, and ever ſhall be for all the faithful, by the which Sacrifice (if we believe) we have free pardon of all our ſins. To him therefore which was both the offerer, and the offering, be all honour and praiſe, with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, bleſſed for ever, Amen.

Sir *Thomas*, the occaſion of this my long ſilence, mine old friend *John Traves*, ſhall declare unto you, upon the knowledg whereof I doubt not of your pardon. I have ſent unto you an Engliſh and Latin Teſtament, both in one print and volume, the which, though it be not ſo beautiful without as I could have ſent you, yet no leſs beautiful within, and more I think for your profit, and better for your Eyes, your Eyes I mean of the Body. For undoubtedly it giveth light unto the Soul, if ſhe be not dead. Whereof take this for an Argument, and a true proof. If your Soul be not delighted in it, if your Soul do not hunger for it (I mean not the Book, but the Doctrine in the Book) ſurely your Soul is ſore ſick; for as the Body abhorring meat is not well, even ſo muſt the Soul be, for other meat hath ſhe none. Chriſt, whom you muſt believe afore all Men, affirmeth this to be true in the 4. of *Matthew*. Not only in Bread, but in every word of God the Soul doth live. Mark well, he ſaith not, one or two words, as an Epiſtle, or a Goſpel; but he ſaith, every word. Take heed, believe Chriſt better than any Man, be he never ſo holy. For he that is of God, (*John* 8.) heareth the word of God. Will you have a more plain badge, whether you are the elect Child of God or no, then this Text: Chriſt ſaith, He that is of God, heareth the word of God: but other word of God have we none, than in the Canon of the Bible: and all things written therein, are written for our learning (ſaith S. *Paul*) whereby he proveth, ſeeing that it is a learning, yea our learning that we muſt learn it. Therefore woe be to all them which either perwade Men, that there is other Doctrine of like Authority, or that diſſwade Men from imbracing this Word, this Word of God, or that think this Word, eſpecially the New Teſtament, is not above all other to be loved, to be read, to be chewed. This is the precious ſtone, which in the Goſpel Chriſt ſaith, when a Man hath found, he ſelleth all that ever he hath, and buyeth it. Mark now how neceſſary and precious Chriſt maketh that which great learned Men (nay the Devils but no Men) think not neceſſary, God help them. Chriſt bade his Diſciples ſell their Coats, and buy a Sword: which is none other thing then the Word of God: for ſo S. *Paul* calleth it, the Sword of the Spirit. Nay ſay our learned Men, (I lie, they have ſaid ſo, now they are aſhamed) fetch fire and burn it.

This I ſay, Sir *Thomas*, to the intent no ungodly Hypocriſie ſhould perſwade or diſſwade you from reading the Holy Word of God, the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. Follow you Saint *Pauls* leſſon: Attend reading, and let the Word of God dwell in you. How much? Plentifully, ſaith he. And to what end? To feed the flock of Chriſt: even as much as in you is, ſaith *Peter*, not once a year or once a quarter as a Stawberry, but ſo much as in you is. This Word of God trieth all Doctrine: for we ought to have our Conſcience charged with nothing as touching Religion, except the Word of God in the Canon of the Bible ſet it out, I mean not only in allegories, but even in plain words. For no other Foundation can any Man lay, beſides that which is laid. S. *Paul* ſaith, the groundwork is laid already. Even ſo ſaith he to the *Epheſians*; We be his Workmanſhip to do good Works, which God hath created that we ſhould walk in them. He ſaith that they were not to be made, but they are made already. What ſhall we think then of ſuch works as Mans Wit hath founded, which yet ſeem moſt holy? Let Gods Word be Judge. Read the ſame diligently and reverently with Prayer (I mean not Latin Service not underſtood, but with true hearty Prayer) and mark what the Law requireth, even that which we cannot give, the whole heart, and more if it were poſſible. But to this end, that we ſeeing our abominable uncleanneſs and inability, might deſpair in our ſelves, trembling at the juſtice of God, and his anger which we continually procure, and ſo amplect Chriſt, in whom God the Father is well pleaſed. Which Chriſt is the end of the Law to juſtifie all that believe, and continue not in their Popiſh ignorance, juſtifying themſelves; and treading Chriſts Blood under their feet, denying the Lord that bought them. All ſuch, be they never ſo well learned, never ſo holy, be nothing but Hypocrites, and plain Antichriſts, which may not abide the Sword of Gods Mouth. For the Trumpets of the Army (I mean ſtill Gods Word) when they blow, the high Walls of *Jerico*, the figure of Hypocriſie falleth down. Embrace therefore Gods holy Word, & be not only a reader, but a doer: for your calling requireth you to be apt to teach ſuch proud Hypocritical arrogant bablers, as I am now

(which

(which if I may uſe this term , defile Gods Word) God forgive me , and pray you for me, and give God thanks for me , that ſpareth me thus *Lucifer*-like, not of a true zeal, but of a fooliſh bragging,which prate of Gods Holy Word. I wote not what I do to confeſs it. So it is. I have ſent to you other Books which I pray you read. I have written your Name in them. The Holy Ghoſt keep you with your Brother *George*, his Wife, and Children , and with your Brother *James*, &c. Sir *Laurence* , &c. This 20. of *March*.

A very painted Hypocrite ,
John Bradford. *Yours in Chriſt for ever.*

Pray for me, pray for me, give God thanks for me, and take *John Traves* help to read this Letter written in haſt.

If any thing but good be chanced to *John Traves* (which God forbid) I pray you burn my Letters out of hand.

Another Letter of Maſter Bradford , *to Father* Traves.

Gratia,miſericordia, & pax à Deo Patre noſtro, & Domino Jeſu Chriſto Domino noſtro.

IF mine Heart were not altogether adamantine, your kind Letters to me unkind miſer would cauſe me from the bottom of the ſame , to confeſs mine ingratitude towards you upon your behalf anempſt me ſo much deſerved: but as I am to do , ſo ſhew I my ſelf to write,and as I am unable in the one , ſo am I fooliſh in the other; In all thoſe unkindneſſes , rudeneſs , &c. whereof you accuſe your ſelf, I am inforced to acknowledge my ſelf, moſt juſtly condemned, not ſo feignedly by me confeſſed, as moſt truly by you experienced. In your Letters as in a glaſs I may learn , by you in dejecting your ſelf, to eſpy my nakedneſs, which tofore I thought cloathed Dupiici veſtitu , *now only but with fig leaves hypocritiſhly guilded,of which dejection wrought in you by the Holy Ghoſt, be not proud: For what have you that you have not received? but be thankful to the Lord, not only therefore , but alſo for thoſe ſurges which you feel now through the cares accompanying marriage,now through education and bringing up of your Children, and Family, now through that Croſs of the common accuſtomed trade of living: for* Per multas tribulationes oportet ingredi Regnum Dei : *Through many tribulations we muſt enter into the Kingdom of Heaven,yea they be the cogniſances of Gods election,the Letter* Thau,*the Inſtruments which work* ſuſpiria æternæ vitæ,*and therefore to be imbraced. Believe me it this the moſt excellent gift of God,a Man to deject and humble himſelf,and to feel the Croſſes of Chriſt as Croſſes. But I moſt hypocritical wretch,not worthy that this earth ſhould bear me,am even a going to Bed with* Jeſabel,*and ſuch as commit fornication with her,which is* affliction maxima. *O Lord help me and deliver me for Jeſus ſake , anoint mine eyes with oyntment that I may ſee. O give me not over into a leud mind and reprobate ſenſe, but awake my ſleeping Soul that Chriſt may ſhine in me. You know the Croſs,the Fatherly Croſs,the living Lord hath laid upon me : but I am little or nothing moved therewith,I work therein(yet not I but Gods Spirit) not of a repentant Faithful mind,but I cannot tell how)of a ſloathful blind, wretchleſs intent.O Lord forgive me for ſaying ſo, (it is thy gift) forgive me mine unthankfulneſs for Jeſus ſake, and as herein I blaſphemed and diſhoneſted thy Holy Name, ſo do thou by thy Holy Spirit glorifie by me the ſame. So be it, So be it.*

Sithence my coming to London , *I was with M.* Latimer, *whoſe Counſel is as you ſhall hear, which I purpoſe by Gods Grace to obey (if it be thy will, O Lord*, fiat.) *He willed me (as I have done) to write to my Maſter who is in the Country,and to ſhew him, that if within a certain time which I appointed,14. days,he do not go about to make reſtitution , that I will ſubmit my ſelf to my Lord Protector, and the Kings Majeſties Councel to confeſs the fault, and ask pardon. This life is uncertain and frail , and when time is , it muſt be deferred. And what ſhould it profit me to win the whole World , and to loſe mine own Soul ? If, as I juſtly have deſerved, I be put to death for it , Gods will be done. As the leaſt ſlander , reproach , rebuke , loſs of Worldly friends , loſs of living , &c. ſhall enſue. What then? Lord thy will be done , thine Item ; if death come, welcom be it, if ſlander, &c. Even as thou wilt Lord, So be it. Only grant me a penitent loving obedient heart, and of meer love to go forwards herein, and not to ſhrink , to ſtand and not to fall: that thy name only be praiſed herein. Amen. Pray, pray for me, cry for me, and when you ſhall hear any thing, comfort my Mother, to whom for that this bringer hath not given me an hours warning of his departure , I have not only written nothing; but alſo have thus pratled to you, who (as no Man elſe would) I think will bear with me. For as God knoweth (to whoſe Grace I commit you and your Bed-fellow, with all your Children and Family) the ſhortneſs of time, and this ſaid bringers importance is only the let I neither ſend you ſpectacles,the price of the Paraphraſes , nor thanks for yonr cheeſe as by the next that cometh I will, God willing, ſend the premiſſes to you , and a godly Teſtament for Sir* Thomas Hall , *which is at the binding. But be not acknown that I have now written to you, for ſo I have prayed this bringer. God be with us, and pray for me,and abhor not my rude ſcribling , which if it were as well written as it is meant, would deſerve pardon. Thus make I an end, imputing to the haſtineſs of this bringer all blame, which you may lay unto me.*

From the Temple *this* Sunday, *immediately after M.* Latimers *famous Sermon,which this bringer, as he ſaith, did hear.*

By your pooreſt friend,
John Bradford.

It ſhall not be long, God willing,but you ſhall both have and hear from me. Keep with you Melancthons *Common places, for I have another.*

Another Letter of Maſter Bradford *to Father* Traves.

GRace,Mercy,and Peace fromGod the Father,through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with increaſe of all manner of godly knowledge and living,be with you and all your houſhold, now, and ever, Amen:

To excuſe this my long ſilence, within five or ſix days after my (like fooliſh) Letters written to you by *John Moſs* ; it pleaſed God to ſend my Maſter hither to *London* (whom as I lately tofore had advertiſed by Letters) I moved (you know wherein) and prayed him to diſcharge the ſame,or elſe I would ſubmit my ſelf,&c.Whereunto he anſwered,that if the Books would declare it, he would ſatisfie,&c. The Books I ſhewed, whereupon he promiſed as much as I could ask. But being herein ſomething more moved then he had cauſe (God be praiſed therefore ,which of his meer good pleaſure wrought it) at times as I could, I deſired to know how and in what time he would diſcharge us both.He thinking me to be over curious herein, was not therewith contented , and hearing me to alledge the uncertainty of time,and the fear of Gods juſtice (which O gracious Lord grant me to feel indeed as much as thou knoweſt good for me) he anſwered me to be ſcrupulous, and of a ſuperſtitious Conſcience (for *animalis homo non percipit ea quæ ſunt Dei*:)and plainly ſaid further,that I ſhould not know,nor by theſe words have his head ſo under my girdle. And when I ſhewed him that (God witneſſed with me)I went about no ſuch thing: He ſaid, that there was no godly Conſcience,ſeeing he promiſed afore the face of God to diſcharge me, and to pay the thing, but it ought ſo to be quieted.And thus at divers and ſundry times,moving eſtſoons to know of him the way and time of diſcharging the debt,& having none other anſwers then tofore,I doubting Worldly wiſdom,which uſeth delays,to reign in him with this Mammon (the which O Merciful God eradicate out of his Heart,mind, and all others) I was ſomething more ſharp, and told him,*non ego tamen,ſed gratia tua Domine*, I would obey God more than Man : the which he lightly regarding, as ſeemed, I departed , and went to Maſter *Latimer* to have had him to have brought me to

my

Anno 15[illegible] my Lord Protector (whoſe grace then was purpoſed ſhortly to take his journey to viſit the Ports) M. *Latimer* I ſay willed me to ſtay untill his return, which will not be long before *Eaſter*. In this mean time I bade my Bed-fellow my Maſters Son, whom my Maſter had uſed as his Inſtrument to move me carnally, for my Maſter diſcharged him of his exhibition, telling him that he could not be able to keep either Houſe or Child, for I purpoſed to undo both him and all his, (untruly thou knoweſt good Lord) and bade him to take that as a warning, that both he and his Brethren ſhould provide for themſelves as they could, I bade, I ſay, my ſaid Bed-fellow to ſhew my Maſter, as of himſelf, my further purpoſe, which thing when he knew, it ſo moved and feared him, that he began ſomething to relent, and then made fair promiſes, that look what I ſhould deviſe, that would he do. I deviſed, but my deviſes pleaſed him not. And thus, but not vainly I truſt (as I now do with you, but I know your gentleneſs which ever hath born with me) I ſpent the time in which I have been ſilent to write, nay babble to you. And he, departing out of *London* tofore I knew, did ſend me word by another of his ſaid Sons, not ſo given to the Goſpel, and a good Life according as my Bed-fellow, and therefore more to be ſuſpected (for though *pietas non eſt ſuſpicioſa*, as I ſhould think my ſelf rather *impius*; yet Chriſt bade us to be *prudentes ſicut ſerpentus*) this other Brother I ſay told me that my Mr. would do all things, only his Fame and Ability preſerved (*& quid prodeſt totum mundum lucrari, animæ vero jacturam faceret*) And with the ſaid Brother my Mr. ſent me a little billet alſo, wherein he confeſſed that he was contented within twelve Months to deliver to my hands the whole Money: which Bill I thinking not ſo good as it might have been, have deviſed another, and have ſent it down to him in the Country, with requeſt that he will Seal and Sign it. For thus M. *Latimer* thinketh ſufficient, but as yet I hear not of it, doubting worldly Wiſdom, which was the whore that overcame *Sampſon*, that moved *David* to ſlay *Urias*, that brought wiſe *Salomon* to Idolatry, that crucified Chriſt, the which moved me to perpetrate *hoc facinus*, the which worketh in my Maſters Heart, having higher place there then *Timor Domini*. What ſay I there? yea, yea, with me, it ſitteth in the holy place (the Lord deliver us,) doubting I ſay, worldly Wiſdom, I remain in that ſame ſtate now for this matter (though in worſe for my Soul, which is more to be lamented, pray therefore I beſeech you, pray with me, and for me, that I may do ſo earneſtly) that I was in at my laſt writing unto you. And as I then was purpoſed, ſo I doubt not (grant it Lord) but that I ſhall perſevere, if in the mean ſeaſon I ſhall not hear from my Maſter accordingly. Thus I have (like my ſelf) fooliſhly but truly declared unto you in many babling words, which wit (if I had it) would have ſhortly and briefly comprehended. Arrogant, nay Gods working unthankful wretch, my working in this matter, which is, and was the only cauſe (as I now do) I troubled you not afore, to the intent I might advertiſe you ſome certainty in this thing. And though ſilence had been much better then this fooliſh prating, yet your Fatherly kindneſs ever towards me in expecting from you a correction, as I have herein given cauſe, may though not to you, yet to me be profitable. In hope whereof, I proceed in requiring you to continue your remembrance of me a moſt unkind wretch to God and you, in your Prayers with the Almighty merciful Lord, that I may more regard his will and pleaſure herein, then all honour or ſhame in this life. But I muſt confeſs unto you that my working in this matter is not of love, as I ſhould do, nor of fear of Gods juſtice (mine unthankfulneſs, mine unthankfulneſs, if nothing elſe were, hath not only deſerved it, but doth deſerve more then everlaſting Damnation, O Lord be merciful unto me) I do not ſo repent it as I ſhould do. Why ſay I ſo? as though this ſo were any thing: Oh hypocritical wretch that I am! Alas Father *Traves*, let me ſo call you, I am hard-hearted, there was never any ſo obſtinate, ſo unkind, againſt ſo loving, ſo merciful, ſo gracious, ſo good, ſo beneficial a Lord, yea a Father, as I wretch, and moſt miſerable Sinner am. This I ſpeak, but not of humility, but of Hypocriſie, yet I ſpeak truly. I pray the good Father for Chriſts ſake, I may think it truly, as I write it even of arrogancy, ſo it is. Therefore pray and cry for me. Here be ſuch goodly, godly, and learned Sermons, which theſe uncircumciſed ears of mine hear at the leaſt thrice a week, which were able (the great loving mercy of God offered to me in them, I mean) to burſt any Mans heart, to relent, to repent; to believe, to love, and to fear that omnipotent gracious Lord: but my adamantine, obſtinate, moſt unkind, ingrate, unthankful heart, hearing my Lord, which is the Lord over all Lords, ſo graciouſly, ſo lovingly, vouchſafe by ſo many his Inſtruments to ſpeak, to call, to cry unto me, now by his law, now by his threats, now by his Goſpel, now by his promiſes, now by all his creatures, to come, to come even to himſelf, I hide me with *Adam* in the Garden, I play not only *Samuel* running to *Hely*, but I play *Jonas* running to the Sea, and there I ſleep upon the hatches tumbling in *Jeſabels* Bed, *quod eſt afflictio maxima*, until it pleaſe God to anoint mine eyes *collyrio*, until it pleaſe him to raiſe up a tempeſt, to turn and look upon me, as *Luke* ſaith he did on *Peter*. For O Lord it is thy gift, and cometh of thee, and of thy meer grace, it cometh not of Man, it cometh not of works, to repent, to believe, to fear, and to love. Work thou therefore in me for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, which am thy Creature and moſt unthankful hypocritical ſervant, not when I will, nor as I will but when thou wilt, even that which may be moſt to the glory of thy Name, Amen. What ſhould I write? nay, why do I not pluck theſe ſame words and paper in pieces? for I write altogether of hypocriſie and arrogant preſumption, I will confeſs it (thou wicked ſpirit the Lord judge thee:) I will confeſs it, it is moſt true, *John Traves*, I but only write it, for it is not I, it is hypocriſie. *Scientia* (if I had it) *inflaret*, O Lord grant me thy grace, and leave me not to mine own judgment and reaſon. Hypocriſie, arrogancy, and obſtinate ſecurity environ me (yet I feel them not) the Lord deliver me. Pray, pray for me. Give God thanks for me: O Lord, even *tua fiat voluntas*: Unlock this mine Heart, thou which haſt the Key of *David*, which openeſt only, that I may deſire to have the deſire of the glory of thy name, of repentance, faith, &c. Pray for me, and be thankful for me, O Father *Traves*, and write to me. Your Letters I deſire more to ſee, then any mans living. Let me have them therefore as you may, but your Prayers at all times, that God would open mine heart to feed and taſte of theſe comfortable places of Scripture (which to me are locked) *memento Jeſum Chriſtum reſurrexiſſe ex mortuis*. This Text as a Text of moſt comfort (as it is indeed, and when God will, I ſhall feed on it) did *Paul* ſend to *Timothy* to be his comfort in all places. For our Salvation (this day of Reſurrection) is nearer now then when we believed. Therefore, *qui perſeveraverit ſalvus erit*. For *conſummabitur prævaricatio*, ſaith Daniel, *finem accipiet peccatum, delebitur iniquitas, & adducetur juſtitia ſempiterna. Deus enim ipſe veniet & ſalvabit nos. Veniens veniet, & non tardabit; & quandocunque manifeſtatus fuerit vita noſtra Chriſtus, tunc & nos manifeſtabimur cum illo in gloria. Semel enim oblatus eſt ut multorum peccata tolleret, rurſus abſque peccato conſpicietur iis qui illum expectant in ſalutem. Sic Semper eum Domino erimus: proinde conſolemini vos invicem mutuo ſermonibus hiis.* O Lord open mine eyes which ſee nothing of the great comforts in theſe thy moſt rich words: Open mine eyes, good Lord, *ne nunquam obdormiam in morte*. Pray for me, and commend me to your good Bedfellow, *& omnibus in Chriſto fratribus oſculo ſancto*. Thus I make an end (for it is time you may ſay) and I pray you ſtill water Sir *Thomas Hall*, unto whom I have ſent a fair Teſtament both in Engliſh and Latin, if this bringer will carry it. And I have herewith ſent you a Letter, which firſt peruſe and read, and when you have ſo done, abhor not me, but my wickedneſs, and pray for me. And as you can ſee a meet time, ſeal it, and deliver it to Sir *Nicholas Wolfoncros*, by ſuch policy as you can think by Gods grace through Prayer. I confeſs unto you, God is my witneſs, to my knowledg, I never in my being in the Country this Winter at any time called it to remembrance, the Lord forgive me. I would by ſome occaſion, if any could be had, afore the delivery of the Letter, by ſome ſtory or communication, that he did know that abomination to be ſin, for I fear me he thinketh it to be no ſin. The Lord open our eyes, & forgive us, Amen. The peace of God be with you, Amen.

From

From the *Temple*, this twenty two of *March* 1547.

Yours in Christ moſt bounden,
John Bradford

I have ſent you three pair of good Spectacles I trow, and other ſuch Books as have your Name written in them, which take in good worth, and pray for me, and give thanks for me.

Another Letter of Maſter Bradford *to Father* Traves.

Gratia, miſericordia, & pax, &c.

MY chance is not by this bringer to have any warning in manner of his farewell, ſo that I am conſtrained, time coarcting me, to write not ſo much of things (which I will omit) as my deſire was. Concerning the great matter you know of, it hath pleaſed God to bring it to this end, that I have a Bill of my Maſters hand, wherein he is bound to pay the ſum afore Candlemas *next coming. This thinks Mr.* Latimer *to be ſufficient. Therefore I pray you to give that gracious Lord thanks, and thanks, and thanks upon it, for me a moſt wretched ingrate Sinner, which have alſo in other things no leſs cauſe to praiſe Gods Name. As for that I have and ſuſtain my Maſters ſore diſpleaſure, the which hath brought me (God I ſhould ſay through it) unto a more contempt of Worldly things, through the ſequeſtration of ſuch his buſineſs, as to fore I had ado withal, I call it a contempt, well, take the word even as it is Hypocritically and vainglorioufly ſpoken: for the which fault amongſt my others innumerable, I truſt you remember in your Prayers, whereof I, have (would I knew how much) need. There is yet another thing, whereof I will advertiſe you even to this end, that you might pray if it be Gods will, that as I truſt ſhortly to begin, ſo he may vouchſafe to confirm that he hath begun, as (if I be not deceived) I believe it is his working. If the thing ſeem by Gods Spirit in you that I preſume, then for the Lords ſake advertiſe me: for I am much given to that diſeaſe, the Lord deliver me. I have moved my M. therein already by Letters, to ſee if I ſhall have any living of him as hitherto I have had, but I have thereof no anſwer, nor as our Natural ſpeech is, any likelihood of any grant. Yet that I have already, I truſt, will ſuffice me for three years: you look what my purpoſe meaneth, I am ſo long afore I come to it. Therefore I do it, becauſe my long babling ſhould be leſs tedious. Now ſhall you have it. If Gods will be (whereunto pray I may be obedient) I am minded afore* Midſummer *to leave* London *to go to my Book at* Cambridge, *and if God ſhall give me Grace, to be a Miniſter of his Word. Thus you have of a flye an Elephant. Well, take it in good part though you ſee my* etiam non, *and not* etiam, etiam *A tumbling block gathereth no Moſs: ſo therefore pray for me. Perchance I do fooliſhly to forſake ſo good a living as I have. I will ſay no more hereof, but pray for me. I truſt as I ſaid, for three years ſtudy I have ſufficient, if my Maſter take all from me: and when this is ſpent, God will ſend more. I do not write this that you ſhould think me to be in need of Worldly help, and therefore as Friers were wont, ſecretly to beg. No, in the Lords Name I require you not to take it ſo: for I had rather never ſend Letter, afore I ſhould be herein a croſs to you, for* ſufficit ſua diei afflictio, *we are more ſet by then many Sparrows. But if my Mother, or Sir* Thomas Hall *murmure at it, or be offended with me, as you can, remedy it with your counſel. Howbeit, as yet I will not write to them of it, untill ſuch time as I be going. I am ſomething fickle minded and unconſtant, therefore pray for me, that my hand being put to the Plough (preſumptuouſly ſpoken) I look not back. You may gather by my words in this Letter the Heroical heart which lyeth in me,*

I have ſent you a book of Bucer *againſt* Winchester *in Engliſh lately tranſlated, which I never read, therefore I cannot praiſe it. And as I call to remembrance, I did ſend you with the other Books more then you received, at the leaſt one of them I remember, which is called, The Common places, or the Declaration of the Faith by* Urbanus Rhegius. *Ask for it, or ſend me word in whom the default is, you have it not. Hereafter, and that ſhortly by Gods Grace I will ſend you* Primitiæ laborum meorum, *a work or two which I have Tranſlated into Engliſh, ſo ſoon as they be Printed, which will be afore* Whitſuntide. *Pray for me, good Father* Traves, *and God ſend you health of Soul and Body, as I would mine own or any Mans living. But yet to warn you of that you know not, in writing your Letters to me, you hit me home, and give me that I look for. You are deceived, and ſo is all that know me, I never came to any point of mortification, therefore a little tickling ſets me aſtote, God help me, and give God thanks for me, as all Men be moſt bounden. Thus when I once begin to write to you, I run as the Prieſt ſaith Mattins, for I think I may be bold on you. The Holy Ghoſt preſerve you, your Wife and Family, and perſevere his grace in you unto the end. I pray you pray for me, a moſt (what ſhould I call me) miſerable and blaſphemous ſinner. The peace of God be with us. From the* Temple *this twelfth of* May, 1548.

Sir Thomas Hall *hath deceived me, but himſelf moſt. I deſire to ſpeak with him, as this Winter it may chance, if I diſcharge not my ſelf of mine Office, to ſee him. Pray for him, and for me.*

A very Hypocrite,

John Bradford.

Another Letter of Maſter Bradford *To Father* Traves.

THE perſeverance of Gods grace, with the knowledge of his good will, increaſe with you unto the end. To declare my ſelf, as I am a Carnal Man, which underſtandeth not the things that be of the Spirit. Theſe my Letters, though I counterfeit and meddle amongſt them the ſpiritual words, as the Devil did in his temptations to Chriſt will declare no leſs. For I begin with carnal things in effect, and no marvel if I ſo end: for how can a Man gather figs of briars? Theſe words as they ſeem, ſo they are ſpoken for a Cloak to make you think otherwiſe: but, Father *Traves*, you cannot think ſo evil of me as I am: But to the matter. This preſent day by Gods grace I take my journey towards *Cambridge*, where I pray God, and ſo earneſtly I pray you to pray for me, that I may circumſpectly redeem this time which God hath appointed (to me unknown) to lend me: for alas, I have ſpent moſt wickedly the time paſt, for the which I muſt account even for every hair breadeth as they ſay: for God hath not given here time to ſin. But if I conſidered this (as I do nothing leſs, cuſtom of ſin and pleaſing my ſelf hath ſo hardened my heart) I ſhould then come to the feeling of my ſelf, then ſhould I hate ſin which I now love, then ſhould I fear Gods wrath, which I now contemn, then ſhould I cry out and weep, and continually pray, whereas now I am as dry as a Stone, as dumb as a Nail, as far from praying, as he that never knew any taſte of it. Which thing once I felt, (thanks to the Lord) but now for mine unthankfulneſs I am almoſt (but moſt worthily) deprived. I fear me, God will take his grace from me, I am ſo unthankful. Alas, why do I lye in ſaying I fear me? Nay, God grant I may do ſo, for then ſhould I pray and pray: but ſeeing I cannot, ſpeak you for me, pray for me, that the Lord would remember his old compaſſions towards me, for his mercies ſake draw me, yea compel me to ſerve, to fear and to love him. Thus may you ſee how I preſume: for my intent was to have been a Miniſter of Gods Word, to have been his Inſtrument to call from as I have called to ſin, but you ſee how that God puniſheth mine arrogancy. Alas, what ſhall I do? I am an unprofitable and an idle Member, I thought I ſhould have been therein profitable, but *Medice cura teipſum*. How ſhould I, or what ſhould I do? I cannot labour with my hands. Well, I truſt God will give me grace and knowledge to tranſlate: nothing I fear me, yea I diſtruſt me, that I ſhall never be Miniſter of Gods Word: yea, if arrogancy were not in me, how ſhould I, of all wretches the greateſt, think me to look to the higheſt room and vocation that is upon Earth? Therefore eftſoons I deſire you to pray for me, that Gods will may be done in me whether I live or dye, ſo

that

Anno 15[illegible] that his name be honoured. My Maſter which was, hath denied me all his beneficence, but I have for this Life more than enough, thanks be to God. As this Winter I intend by Gods favour to declare more unto you. This Book which I have ſent, take it in good part, it is the firſt, I truſt it ſhall not be the laſt, God hath appointed me to tranſlate. The print is very falſe, I am ſorry for it. I pray you be not offended at my babling in the Prologues, &c.

John Bradford.

I will lye, God willing, this Summer at *Katherines Hall* in *Cambridge*: write to me.

Another Letter of Maſter Bradford, *to Father* Traves.

THe loving kindneſs and abundant mercy of God the Father, poured plentifully upon all the Faithful, in the Blood of that meek Lamb Jeſus Chriſt our only ſatisfaction and Mediator, through the working of the moſt Holy Spirit, be encreaſed, and perceived in you daily more and more, to the glory of God, &c.

Becauſe I ſtand both in doubt of the reading and delivery of ſuch Letters as I write and ſend unto you (dearly beloved Father Traves*) I am conſtrained to leave off ſuch griefs, and ſpiritual wants, as, thanks unto the Lord, I unwillingly feel: for the fleſh, as you know, loveth nothing ſo much as ſecurity, of all enemies moſt perillous, and not a little familiar with me: from the which, with vain-glory, hypocriſie, &c. and Worldlineſs, the Lord deliver me. I had not thought to have written thus much, but theſe I cannot keep, but commit them to your Prayers. And to the intent I would you ſhould not think any ingratitude in me; as alſo that I might give you occaſion to write to me again, as heretofore I have done, even ſo do I interturb and trouble you with my babling, but yet having this commodity, that I babble not ſo much as I wont to do. The cauſe I have declared, which had almoſt been the cauſe I had not written at all. I did write unto you from* London *when I came hither: ſend me word what Letters you have received, for from you I have received but two, and both by* John Moſs, *and in the latter I perceived that the Lord had viſited you with ſickneſs, his Fatherly Rod, whereby he declareth his love upon you, and that he careth for you,* Ut in tempore ſupremo exultes nunc ad breve tempus afflictus, quo exploratio fidei multo pretioſior auro quod perit, & tamen probatur, &c. Siquidem in hoc vocatus es, ut cum Chriſto patiaris, nam & cum illo glorificaberis. Certus enim ſermo eſt, ſi ſufferimus & con-regnabimus. *You know that Chriſt,* etſi filius Dei erat, tamen ex his quæ paſſus eſt didicit obedientiam. Patientia opus perfectum habeat ut ſitis perfecti & integri, nullaque in parte diminuti: *and doth not* patientia *come of* probatio, *the one then you had, ſo that you were going a School to learn the other, which learned what want you. The end of all Gods proving, is as* Paul *ſaith,* Ut impertiat nobis ſanctimoniam: igitur gratias age Deo Patri qui idoneum te fecit ad participationem ſortis ſanctorum in lumine, &c. Nam qui parumper afflixit, idem inſtauret te, fulciat, roboret, ſtabiliat. *And that the Lord knoweth how* eripere pios è tribulatione, *and that* in tempore opportuno, *even ſhortly: for* haud tardat qui promiſit: nam modicum tempus, & videbis me; veniens enim veniet, & non tardabit. Itaque qui conſortes eſtis crucis Chriſti, gaudete, *ſaith Peter,* ut in revelatione quoque gloriæ ejus gaudeatis exultantes. *Oh how doth my will over-run my wit. Why* Bradford; *whom writeſt thou unto? thou ſheweſt thy ſelf. Thus Father* Traves, *you may ſee my raſhneſs to rabble out the Scripture without purpoſe, rime, or reaſon. I will not blot it out as I thought to have done: for that hereby you ſhall ſee my need of your Prayer. Well, I look for a watch-word from you. Write for Gods ſake, and pray for me that I may be in ſomething profitable to the Lords Congregation, that I may be no ſtumbling block,* ut confundantur in me qui illum expectant. *Send me ſuch counſel as the Lords Spirit ſhall move you how to ſtudy. My deſire is in ſomething to be profitable, if it were the Lords will, for to be* Miniſter verbi. *Alas I am unmeet, and my time, my time, yea the Lords time, I have hitherto evil, yea moſt wickedly miſ-ſpent it, &c. This will I end. The Lord be with you and your Bed-fellow, to whom have me heartily commended, and to all your Children and Family, the which I beſeech the Lord to lighten his countenance over, and grant you his peace: pray for me. I long for Winter to ſpeak with you.* Reſcribe oro. *Pray for me. This Aſſumption-day in* Katherines Hall *in* Cambridge.

Yours with all I have and can,
John Bradford

Another Letter of Maſter Bradford *to Father* Traves.

THe plentiful grace of God the Father, through our only Maſter and Lord Jeſus Chriſt, increaſe in us daily to the glory of his Name. Amen.

Foraſmuch as I have often written unto you, good Father *Traves*, and yet have not once heard from you ſithence Pentecoſt, I cannot now be ſo bold either in writing much or often as I would have been: Howbeit this I ſay, that I much marvel that I hear not from you: but not ſo, for I am ſo wretched a Sinner, that the Lords Spirit I am certain doth not move you to write to me, yet for Gods ſake pray for me, and in the Lords Name I deſire you to give thanks to God for me. And when it may pleaſe God to move you, write to me, though it be but two words, and counſel me how to ſtudy the Word of life, the miniſtry whereof I deſire, if it be the Lords pleaſure, to profeſs, and that I may do it both in living and learning, pray for me. *Herus meus omnibus rebus ſuis me abdicavit, & quæ prius conceſſerat, jam ſolvere renuit, & mihi prorſus factus eſt inimicus.* I know not when I ſhall ſee you in Body, therefore let me hear from you. I write not this that you ſhould think *me in egeſtate aut anguſtiis eſſe.* No Father, the Lord giveth me *omnia affatim*, and will do. I truſt I ſhall ſhortly here have a fellowſhip, I am ſo promiſed, and therefore I have taken the degree of Maſter of Art, which elſe I could not have attained. If I get a fellowſhip, I ſhall not need *de craſtino ſolicitus eſſe*, as hereafter I ſhall more write to you by Gods grace. I pray you write again, and often pray for me. In haſt as appeareth, the twenty two of *October. Ne ſciat mater mea quod herus meus adeo duriter mecum egit, &c.*

Miſerrimus peccator,
J. Bradford

Another Letter of Maſter *Bradford* to Father *Traves.*

THe peace and plenteous Mercy of God our Heavenly Father, in his Chriſt our only Lord and Saviour, be ever increaſed in you by the Holy Spirit, qui efficit omnia in omnibus, *Amen*

Father Traves, *though I might think my ſelf more happy, if you would often write unto me, yet becauſe I ought to have reſpect to your pains, which now that old Man cannot ſo well ſuſtain as it might, I had rather loſe my happineſs in that behalf, then will your grief, for as much as it can be no happineſs unto me which turneth to your pain: yet becauſe pain is not painful when it is joyned with gain, I therefore deſire you for Gods ſake to pray often for me: for if I ſhall not be worthy of your Prayer, as the Lord who knoweth all things doth right well ſee it, and ſo my Conſcience witneſſeth, your good Prayer ſhall return into your own Boſom. And know this, that whoſo converteth a Sinner by Prayer, whether it be by Prayer, preaching, or writing Letters, &c. the ſame hath ſaved a Soul. Uſe therefore, for Gods ſake I ask it, that pains whereunto is joyned profit, I mean Prayer to God for me, a miſerable and moſt wretched Sinner: and as for the gainleſs pain in writing to me, uſe it yet as you may, and ſurely God for whoſe ſake you do it, in that he will reward a Cup of cold Water, will in ſome thing requite you. And I know certainly, that if you did ſee what ſpiritual profit I receive by your Letters, I am certain you would not think all your labour loſt. For Chriſts ſake therefore begin again to write unto me, and reprove me ſharply for my horrible unthankfulneſs to God. You know how that God hath exonerated my loden*

Conſcience

Conſcience of the great weighty burthen, for ſo I did write to you, yea the Lord hath in a manner unburdned me of the leſſer burthen alſo: for I have an aſſurance of the payment of the ſame by Candlemas. *Lo thus you ſee what a good God the Lord is unto me. O Father* Traves *give thanks for me, and pray God to forgive me my unthankfulneſs. But what ſhould I rehearſe the benefits of God towards me? Alas I cannot. I am too little for all his mercies, yea, I am not only unthankful, but I am too far contumelious againſt God. For where you know the Sun, the Moon, and the ſeven Stars did forſake me, and would not ſhine upon me, you know what I mean* per herum & heriles amicos, *yet the Lord hath given me here in the Univerſity as good a living as I would have wiſhed. For I am now a Fellow of* Pembroke Hall: *for the which neither I nor any other for me did ever make any ſute: yea there was a contention betwixt the M. of* Katherins Hall *and the Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *who is Maſter of* Pembroke Hall, *whether ſhould have me,* ſit hoc tibi dictum. *Thus you may ſee the Lords carefulneſs for me. My Fellowſhip here is worth ſeven pound a year, for I have allowed me* 18. *pence a week, and as good as thirty three ſhillings four pence a year in money, beſides my Chamber, Launder, Barber, &c. and I am bound to nothing but once or twice a year to keep a Probleme. Thus you ſee what a good Lord God is to me. But I pray you what do I now to God for all this? I will not ſpeak of the great mercies he ſheweth unto my Soul. Surely, Father* Traves, *I have clean forgotten God, I am all ſecure, idle, proud, heard-hearted, utterly void of Brotherly love, I am envious, and diſdain others, I am a very ſtark Hypocrite, not only in my words and works, but even in theſe my Letters to you. I am all ſenſual without the true fear of God, another manner of Man then I have been ſince my calling. Alas Father* Traves, *I write this to put my ſelf in remembrance, but I am without all ſenſe, I do but only write it. For Gods ſake pray for me, which am only in name a Chriſtian, in very deed a very Worldling, and to ſay to you the very truth, the moſt Worldling of all other. I pray you exhort my Mother now and then, with my Siſter* Margaret *to fear the Lord, and if my Mother had not ſold the Fox fur which was in my Fathers Gown, I would ſhe would ſend it me, ſhe muſt have your councel in a piece of Cloath.*

Yours for ever,
John Bradford.

Another Letter of Maſter Bradford *to Father* Traves.

THe ſelf ſame mercy, grace, and peace, which heretofore I have felt plenteouſly, though now, through mine unthankfulneſs and wilful obedience to the pleaſure of this outward Man, I neither feel, neither can be perſwaded that I poſſeſs, yea if I ſhall truly write, I in manner paſs not upon the ſame, ſo far am I faln, the Lord help me, the ſame mercy, &c. I ſay, I wiſh unto you as I can, with all increaſe of godlineſs. Hypocritically with my Pen and Mouth, beſeeching you in your earneſt Prayers to God, to be an earneſt ſuter unto God for me which am faln into ſuch a ſecurity, and even an hardneſs of heart, that neither I ſorrow my ſtate, neither with any grief or fear of Gods abjection do write this: before the Lord which knoweth the Hearts of all Men I lye not. Conſider for Chriſts ſake therefore, good Father *Traves*, my neceſſity though I my ſelf do it not, and pray for me, that God caſt me not off as I deſerve moſt juſtly. For where I ought to have well proceeded in Gods School, by reaſon of the time, I confeſs it to my ſhame I am ſo far gone back, as alas if ſhame were in me I might be aſhamed to write it, but much more to write it, and think it not, ſuch is the reward of unthankfulneſs. For where God wrought the reſtitution of the great thing you know of, the which benefit ſhould bind me to all obedience: Alas Father *Traves* I am too unthankfull, I find no will in Heart (though by my writing it will be hard to perſwade you) either to be thankful, either to begin a new life in all things to mortifie this outward Man, and heartily to be well content to ſerve the Lord in Spirit and verity, and withſtand mine affections, and eſpecially my beaſtly ſenſuality in meat and drink, wherewith I was troubled at my being with you, but now through my licencious obeying that affect, I am faln ſo, that a whole legion *ſpirituum malorum*, poſſeſſeth me. The Lord whom I only with mouth (my Heart ſtill abiding both in hardneſs and wilfulneſs) call upon, deliver me and help me. And for Gods ſake give you hearty thanks for the great benefit of reſtitution, pray to the Lord that at the length I may once return to the obedience of his good will, Amen. I thank you for your cheeſe, and ſo doth Father *Latimer* as unknown: for I did give it him, and he ſaith he did never eat better Cheeſe, and ſo I dare ſay he did not. I thank him I am as familiar with him, as with you: yea God ſo moveth him towards me, that his deſire is to have me come and dwell with him whenſoever I will, and welcom. This do I write yet once more to occaſion you to be thankful for me to the Lord, which by all means ſheweth nothing but moſt high love to me: And I again a very obſtinate Rebellion. Pray therefore for me in haſt.

The ſinful.
John Bradford.

William Minge.

THe next day after Maſter *Bradford* and *John Leaf* did ſuffer in *Smithfield*, *Will. Minge* Prieſt died in Priſon at *Maidſtone* being there in Bonds for Religion, and like to have ſuffered alſo, if he had continued the fury of his adverſaries, whoſe nature was to ſpare and favour none that favoured Chriſts pure Goſpel: which *W. Minge* with as great conſtancy and boldneſs yielded up his life in Priſon, as if it had pleaſed God to have called him to ſuffer by the fire, as the other good and godly Men had done at the Stake, as he himſelf was ready alſo ſo to do, if it had pleaſed God to have called him thereunto.

Will. Minge died in Priſon.

James Treviſam *buried in the fields.*

UPon the third of *July* 1555. died one *James Treviſam* in the Pariſh of Saint *Margaret* in *Lothbury* upon a *Sunday*, who being impotent and lame kept his Bed: for he could not riſe out of it a long time. This *Treviſam* had a Servant, one *John Smal*, which read on the Bible, and as he was in reading, *Berd* the Promoter came to the Houſe, and would needs go up the Stairs, where he found four perſons beſides him and his Wife; to wit, the young Man that read, and two Men and a Woman. All which folks, the ſaid *Berd* the Promoter there being, apprehended and carried to the *Counter*, where they remained about a fortnight, for all the friends they could make. Moreover the ſaid *Berd* would have had alſo *James* the lame Man himſelf to *Newgate* in a Cart (and brought the Cart to the door) but for neighbours. Nevertheleſs, the poor Man was fain to put in two ſureties for his forthcoming; for he could not go out of his Bed, being not only impotent, but alſo very ſick the ſame time. So within a few days, the ſaid *James* lying in extremity, the Parſon of the Church named M. *Farthing*, came to him, and had communication with him, and agreed well, and ſo departed. It hapned after the Prieſt was come down into the ſtreet, there met him one *Toller* a Founder. Yea, ſaith he, be ye agreed? I will accuſe you, for he denieth the Sacrament of the Altar. Upon that the Parſon went to him again, and then the Prieſt and he could not agree. And ſo the Parſon went to the Biſhop of *London* and told him. The Biſhop anſwered, that he ſhould be burnt, and if he were dead, he ſhould be buried in a Ditch. And ſo when he died the Parſon was againſt his Wife as much as he could, neither would let her have the Coffin to put him in, nor any thing elſe, but was fain to bear him upon a Table to *More-field*, and there was he buried. The ſame night the Body was caſt up above the ground, and his ſheet taken from him, and he left naked. After this the owner of the field ſeeing him buried him again, and a fortnight after the Sumner came to his Grave, and ſummoned him to appear at *Pauls* before his Ordinary, to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be laid againſt him. But what more befell upon him, I have not certainly to ſay.

The ſtory of *James Treviſam* buried in the fields, and ſummoned after his death.

M. *Farthing* Parſon of S. *Margarets* in *Lothbury* accuſeth *James*.

The

A.D. 1555

The Hiſtory of Mr. John Bland, *Preacher and Martyr, conſtantly ſuffering for the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt.*

July 12. *John Bland, J. Frankeſh, Martyrs.*

THE 12th day of *July*, *John Bland*, *John Frankeſh*, *Nicholas Sheſterden*, and *Humfrey Middleton*, were all four burned at *Canterbury* together for one Cauſe: Of the which number, *Frankeſh* and *Bland* were Miniſters and Preachers of the Word of God; the one being Parſon of *Adeſham*, the other the Vicar of *Rolvindon*. This Mr. *Bland* was a man ſo little born for his own Commodity, that no part of his life was ſeparated from the common and publick utility of all men. For his firſt doings were there imployed to the bringing up of Children in learning and vertue. Under whom were trained divers towardly young men, which even at this preſent do handſomly flouriſh. In the number of whom is Dr. *Sands*, a man of ſingular learning and worthineſs, as may well beſeem a Scholar meet for ſuch a Schoolmaſter, whom I gladly here name for his ſingular gifts of vertue and erudition.

Mr. Bland Schoolmaſter to Dr. Sands, ſometimes Bp. of Worceſter, now Archbiſhop of York.

After this, he coming to the Miniſtery in the Church of GOD, or rather being called thereto, was inflamed with incredible deſire to profit the Congregation, which may appear by this, that whereas he was caſt into *Canterbury* Priſon for the preaching of the Goſpel, and delivered once or twice from thence at the ſuit of his Friends, yet would he needs preach the Goſpel again as ſoon as he was delivered. Whereupon he being the third time apprehended, when his Friends yet once again would have found the means to have delivered him if he would have promiſed to abſtain from preaching; he ſtood in it earneſtly, that he would admit no ſuch Condition, notably well expreſſing unto us the manner and example which we read in the Apoſtle *Paul*; *Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt? Tribulation, or anguiſh, or hunger, or nakedneſs, or danger, or perſecution, or the ſword, &c.* But to expreſs the whole life and doings of this godly Martyr, ſeeing we have his own teſtimony concerning the ſame, it ſhall be beſt to refer the Reader to his own report, writing to his Father of the whole Diſcourſe of his troubles, from the beginning almoſt to the later end, in order and manner as ye ſhall hear.

Mr. Bland offered by his friends to be delivered, refuſeth.

A Diſcourſe of the whole proceſs and doings of Mr. Bland, *written and reported by himſelf to his Father in his own Letter, as followeth.*

DEarely beloved Father in Chriſt Jeſu, I thank you for your gentle Letters. And to ſatisfie your mind, as concerning the troubles whereof you have heard, theſe ſhall both declare unto you all my vexations, that have chanced me ſince ye were with me, and alſo ſince I received your laſt Letters. God keep you ever.

Your Son, John Bland.

Declaration of the troubles of Mr. Bland, how and by whom he was apprehended, and brought to his condemnation.

FIrſt, the 3d of *Septemb.* being *Sunday*, after Service ended, e're I had put off my Surplice, *John Auſten* came to the Table (commonly called the Lords Table) and laid both his hands upon it, ſaying, Who ſet this here again? Now they ſay they took the Table down the *Sunday* before, which I knew not, neither do I know who ſet it up again. The Clerk anſwered, that he knew not. Then *Auſten* ſaid, he is a Knave that ſet it here. I was then going down the Church, marvelling what he meant, and ſaid, Goodman *Auſten*, the Queens Highneſs hath ſet forth a Proclamation, that ye may move no Sedition. And e're I could ſpeak any more, he ſaid, thou art a Knave: And I ſaid, well goodman *Auſten*, that I have ſaid, I have ſaid. By Gods Soul (quoth he) thou art a very Knave. Then my Clerk ſpake to him, but what I am not ſure. But he ſaid, ye are both Heretick Knaves, and have deceived us with this faſhion too long, and if he ſay any Service here again, I will lay the Table on his face; and in that rage he with other took up the Table, and laid it on a Cheſt in the Chancel, and ſet the Treſſels by it. Whereſore I rode by and by to Mr. *Iſaac*, and ſhewed him the cauſe, both how ſeditiouſly he had ſpoken, and performed it with a like deed. Mr. *Iſaac* directed a Warrant to the Conſtable or Boſholder, which was incontinently ſerved, ſo that he was brought before him the ſame night, and was bound by Recognizance, with Sureties, to appear if he were called. But we agreed ſo well then, that it was never called for, the Table was brought down, and was permitted, as before.

John Auſten perſecutor.

John Auſten offended with the Communion Table.

Note the uncharitable ſpirit of this Papiſt, and ſo commonly of them all.

Mr. Iſaac a good Juſtice. The Communion Table ſet up again.

The 26th of *Novemb.* being *Sunday*, *Richard Auſten* and his brother *Thomas* came to the foreſaid Table after the Communion was done, and as I was going by them, *Richard* ſaid unto me, Mr. Parſon, we have to ſpeak to you. And I ſaid, what is your will? And he ſaid, you know that you took down the Tabernacle or Seeing wherein the Rood did hang, and ſuch other things: we would know what recompence you will make us. For the Queens proceedings are (as you know) that ſuch muſt up again.

Quoth I, I know no ſuch proceedings as yet; and as for that I did, I did it by Commandment.

No, ſaid *Thomas Auſten*, ye will not know the Queens proceedings.

Yes, ſaid I, I refuſe not to know them.

Tho. Auſten and Richard Auſten pick matter againſt Mr. Bland.

Then ſaid *Richard*, Ye are againſt the Queens proceedings; for you ſay there are abominable uſes and deviliſhneſs in the Maſs.

Goodman *Auſten*, ſaid I, if I ſo ſaid, I will ſay it again, and God willing, ſtand to the proof of it.

Maſters all, quoth *Richard Auſten*, bear record of theſe words, and went his way.

Mr. Bland charged for ſpeaking againſt the Maſs.

Quoth *Thomas Auſten*, thou wilt as ſoon eat this Book as ſtand to them. No quoth I, not ſo ſoon. Tell us, quoth he, what deviliſhneſs is, that is in the Maſs.

I often preached it unto you, ſaid I, and ye have not believed it, nor born it away, nor will now neither, though I ſhould tell you.

Thou (quoth he) haſt told us always, like an Heretick as thou art. Now ye lye, goodman *Auſten*, quoth I, by your leave. Marry, quoth he, thou lieſt. And I ſaid, and you lye, for I have taught you Chriſt and his Truth.

Quoth he, thou art an Heretick, and haſt taught us nothing but Hereſie: for thou canſt ſay nothing that is true.

Yes, goodman *Auſten*, I can ſay that God is in Heaven, and ye will ſay (I trow) that it is true, and ſo have I taught you truly.

Falſe accuſation.

Quoth he, thou haſt taught us like an Heretick, and haſt ſaid, that there is no Devil in Hell.

Well, ſaid I, lye on; me-think you can ſay little truth. Many other taunts he gave, too long to write. And at the laſt he ſaid, ye pulled down the Altar; will ye build it again? No (quoth I) except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do that I did.

Well, if you will not, ſaid he, then will I. For I am Churchwarden.

Tho. Auſten threatneth to bring in a Popiſh Prieſt againſt Mr. Bland.

I charge you, ſaid I, that you do not, except you have Authority. I will, ſaid he, not let for your charge. For we will have a Maſs here on *Sunday*, and a Preacher, that ſhall prove thee an Heretick, if thou dare abide his coming.

Yes, quoth I, God willing, I will abide and hear him; for ſure I am, that he cannot diſprove any Doctrine that I have preached.

Yes, quoth he, and that thou ſhalt hear, if thou run not away e're then.

No, goodman *Auſten*, I will not run away.

Marry, quoth he, I cannot tell; thou art as like yea, as nay: with many other words we came out of the Church door, and ſo departed.

Falſe ſlander againſt Mr. Bland.

When the *Sunday* came, I looked for our Preacher, and at the time of Morning Prayer I ſaid to the Clerk, why do ye not ring? ye forget that we ſhall have a Sermon to-day. No, quoth he, M. *Miles*'s Servant hath been here this morning, and ſaid, his Maſter hath Letters from my L. Chancellor, that he muſt go to *London*, and cannot come. That day I did preach to them a Sermon in his ſted. Now have they ſlandered me, that I had prepared a company from divers places to have troubled him; but they agreed not in their lye. For ſome ſaid, I had them at *Adeſham*, and that *Richard Auſten* had knowledge, and ſent for the Kings Conſtable to ſee the Peace kept, which is found a lye. Other ſaid, I had them lying in wait for him between *Canterbury* and *Adeſham*. Other ſaid, I had them in both places, that if the one miſt, the other ſhould not. God forgive them all. Now upon theſe two matters they

crack, that they ſent two Bills of Complaint to the Councel. Wherefore by the counſel of Friends, I made this Teſtimony, and ſent it up by Mr. *Wiſeman.*

The behaviour of John Bland *Parſon of* Adeſham, *in the County of* Kent, *the* Sunday, *the third day of* December *laſt paſt, containing the words which he there ſpake unto the people.*

Mr. Bland Parſon of Adeſham, cleareth himſelf of falſe ſlander.

WHereas upon certain Communication had between the ſaid Parſon and *Richard Auſten*, and *Thomas Auſten* in the preſence of all the Pariſh of *Adeſham*, the *Sunday* before S. *Andrews* day laſt, the ſaid *Auſten* then declared, That the ſaid Parſon had taught there in times paſt great Hereſies, which to confound, they would prepare a Preacher againſt the next *Sunday* following, if ſo be the ſaid Parſon would abide, and not run away: Upon which rumour, divers and ſundry perſons reſorted out of the Country, unto the ſaid Pariſh Church, at the ſaid ſame day appointed, there to hear the Preacher; and at the time in which the Sermon ought to be made, no man appeared there to preach. But it was reported unto the Parſon, that the Preacher appointed, had urgent buſineſs, and could not come. So that the multitude being now come together, the ſame Parſon perceiving that the peoples expectation was defrauded, ſaid, Foraſmuch as you are come willingly to hear ſome good advertiſement of the Preacher, which cannot be now preſent, I think it not convenient to permit you to depart without ſome Exhortation for your edifying. And ſo further declaring that he had no Licence to preach, ſaid, That he would not meddle with any matter in Controverſie: And then he began the Epiſtle of the day, deſiring the Audience to mark three or four places in the ſame Epiſtle, which touched quietneſs and love one to another: and there briefly reading the Epiſtle, he noted the ſame places, and ſo making an end thereof, deſired all men to depart quietly and in peace, as they did, without any manner of diſturbance, or token of evil.

Mr. Bland exhorting the people to love and quietneſs.

Witneſſes they undernamed, with divers others.

Edmund Mores, *Richard Randal*, *John Hills*. } *William Forſtall.* *Thomas Gooding.*

Another matter of trouble wrought againſt John Bland, *as appeareth by his own Narration.*

The third matter againſt Mr. Bland. A Popiſh Maſs-Prieſt brought to ſay Maſs at Adeſham.

UPon the *Innocents* day, being the 28th day of *December*, they had procured the Prieſt of *Stodmarſh* to ſay them Maſs; he had nigh made an end of Mattins e're I came; and when he had made an end of Mattins, he ſaid to me, Mr. Parſon, your Neighbour hath deſired me to ſay Mattins and Maſs; I truſt ye will not be againſt the Queens proceedings. No (quoth I) I will offend none of the Queens Majeſties Laws, God willing. What ſay ye, quoth he, and made as he had not heard? And I ſpake the ſame words to him again, with an higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the Chancel heard: So I cried the third time (that all the Church heard) that I would not offend the Queens Laws, and then he went to Maſs; and when he was reading the Epiſtle, I called the Clerk unto me, with the beckning of my finger, and ſaid unto him, I pray you deſire the Prieſt when the Goſpel is done, to tarry a little, I have ſomething to ſay to the people; and the Clerk did ſo.

Mr. Bland again exhorteth the people in his Pariſh Church.

And the Prieſt came down into the Stall where he ſate; and I ſtood up in the Chancel door, and ſpake to the people of the great goodneſs of God, always ſhewed unto his people, unto the time of Chriſts coming; and in him and his coming, what benefit they paſt, we preſent, and our Succeſſors have; and among other benefits, I ſpake of the great and comfortable Sacrament of his Body and Blood. And after I had declared briefly the inſtitution, the promiſe of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I ſpake of the Bread and Wine, affirming them to be Bread and Wine after the Conſecration, as yonder Maſs-Book, ſaying, *Panem ſanctum vitæ æternæ, & Calicem ſalutis perpetuæ, &c. Holy Bread of Eternal Life, and the Cup of perpetual Salvation.* So that like as our bodily mouths eat the Sacramental Bread and Wine, ſo doth the mouth of our Souls (which is our faith) eat Chriſts Fleſh and Blood. And when I had made an end of that, I ſpake of the miſſe of the Sacrament in the Maſs; ſo that I judged it in that uſe no Sacrament, and ſhewed how Chriſt bade us all eat and drink; and one only in the Maſs eateth and drinketh, and the reſt kneel, knock, and worſhip: and after theſe things ended, as briefly as I could, I ſpake of the Benefactors of the Maſs, and began to declare what men made the Maſs, and recited every mans name, and the patch that he put to the Maſs; and e're I had rehearſed them all, the Churchwarden and the Borſholder, his Son in law, violently came upon me, and took my Book from me, and pulled me down, and thruſt me into the Chancel, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cried, Thou Heretick; ſome, thou Traitor; ſome, Thou Rebel; and when every man had ſaid his pleaſure, and the rage was ſomething paſt; be quiet good Neighbours, ſaid I, and let me ſpeak to you quietly. If I have offended any Law, I will make anſwer before them that are in Authority to correct me. But they would not hear me, and pulled, one on this ſide, and another on that, and began again. Then *Richard Auſten* ſaid, Peace, Maſters, no more till Maſs be done, and they ceaſed. Then ſaid I to the Churchwarden and the Borſholder, either holding me by the arm: Maſters, let me go into the Church yard till your Maſs be done. No, quoth the Churchwarden, thou ſhalt tarry here till Maſs be done. I will not, quoth I, but againſt my will. And they ſaid, Thou ſhall tarry, for if thou go out, thou wilt run away. Then ſaid I to the Borſholder, Lay me in the Stocks, and then ye ſhall be ſure of me, and turned my back to the Altar. By that time *Richard Auſten* had deviſed what to do with me, and called to the Borſholder and the Churchwarden, and bade them put me into a ſide Chappel, and ſhut the door to me, and there they made me tarry till Maſs was ended. When the Maſs was ended, they came into the Chappel to me, and ſearched what I had about me; and found a Dagger, and took it from me. Then ſaid *Tho. Auſten*, Churchwarden, after many brablings that they made with me, Thou keepeſt a Wife here amongſt us, againſt Gods Law and the Queens. Ye lye, goodman *Auſten*, ſaid I, it is not againſt Gods Law, nor, as I ſuppoſe, againſt the Queens. Thus they brought me out of the Church, and without the door they railed on me, without pity or mercy: but anon the Prieſt came out of the Church, and *Ramſey* that of late was Clerk, ſaid unto him, Sir, where dwell you? And therefore *Thomas Auſten* took him by the arm, and ſaid, Come on Sirra, you are of his Opinion, and took his Dagger from him, and ſaid, he ſhould go with him. I am content, ſaid he, and a little mocked them in their envious talk. By this time there came in at the Church Style, one *John Gray* of *Wingham*, Servant to *John Smith*, and ſeeing them hold *Ramſey* by the arms, ſaid to him, How now *Ramſey*, have you offended the Queens Laws? No, quoth he. Then there is no Tranſgreſſion. Therewith *Thomas Auſten* took him, and ſaid, Ye are one of their Opinion, ye ſhall go with them for Company, and took his Dagger from him, and then demanded what he did there? But after (I think) for very ſhame they let him go again. But they carried me and *Ramſey* to *Canterbury*, with eighteen perſons weaponed: A ſheet of paper will not hold the talk that we had that night with Mr. *Hardes* Juſtice, Mr. *Oxenden*, Mr. *Spilman*, and Mr. *Tutſam*.

The next day they made a Bill againſt me, but it ſerved not their purpoſe, which was, that they would have had me to Priſon. But *James Chapman*, and *Bartholomew Joyes*, were bound in Twenty pounds either of them, for my appearance at the next General Seſſions, or in the mean time to appear, if I were ſent for before the Queens Majeſties Councel, or any other Commiſſioners ſent by the Queens Authority. And *Ramſey* was bound to the Peace, and to be of good Behaviour till the next Seſſions. His Sureties were *Thomas Hogeking* and *Simon Barrat*.

B. and ſpeaketh of the right inſtitution of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

He ſpeaketh of the abuſe of the Sacrament in the Maſs.

He declareth how the Maſs was patched and pieced together, and by what Popes.

Mr. Bland violently plucked down in his Sermon by the Churchwarden.

Mr. Bland thruſt into a ſide Chappel till the Maſs was done.

Mr. Blands dagger taken from him.

Ramſey apprehended by T. Auſten.

John Gray of Wingham troubled for a word ſpeaking.

Mr. Bland and Ramſey carried to Canterbury.

Mr. Hardes Juſtice.

Mr. Oxenden Juſtice.

M. Spilman, Mr. Tutſam Gentleman, againſt Bland.

James Chapman and Bartholomew Joyes, Sureties for Mr. Bland.

Th. Hogeking and Simon Barrat, Sureties for Ramſy.

Now

Anno 1555.

NOw the 23. or 24. of *February* Sir *Thomas Finch*, Knight, and Maſter *Hardes*, ſent for me and my Sureties to Maſter *Finches* place, and took me from my Sureties, and ſent me to the Caſtle of *Canterbury*, by Sir *Thomas Moyles* commandment (they ſaid,) where I lay ten weeks, and then was bayled, and bound to appear at the next Seſſions holden at *Canterbury*: but after, they changed it to be at *Aſhford* on the *Thurſday* in *Whitſun-week*, being the Nineteenth of *May*: but in the mean time the matter was exhibited to the Spiritual Court.

Mr. Bland taken from his Sureties.

Sir T. Moyles commandeth Mr. Bland to Canterbury Caſtle.

The firſt Examination of Mr. John Bland *in the Spiritual Court, before Dr.* Harpsfield *Archdeacon of* Canterbury, *and Mr.* Collins *Commiſſary.*

THe 18 day of *May*, Mr. *Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, made the Maiors Serjeant to bring me before him and Mr. *Collins* Commiſſary, into *Chriſts Church*, and they went with me into a Chamber, in the Suffragan of *Dovers* Houſe. Then the Archdeacon ſaid, Art thou a Prieſt? And I ſaid, I was one. And he ſaid, Art thou any Graduate of any Univerſity? And I ſaid, Yea. What degree (ſaid he) haſt thou taken? The degree (quoth I) of a Maſter of Art. The more pity (quoth he) that thou ſhouldeſt behave thy ſelf as thou haſt done. Thou haſt been a common Preacher licenſed, haſt thou not? And I ſaid, I have been ſo. Marry (quoth he) ſo I underſtand.

Mr. Bland brought before Mr. Harpsfield & Mr. Collins.

Mr. Bland Maſter of Art of Cambridge.

What haſt thou preached?

And I ſaid, Gods Word, to the edifying (I truſt) of his people.

No, no, quoth he, to the deſtroying of their Souls and thine both, except the mercy of God be all the greater. I pray thee, what haſt thou preached? tell me.

I told you, quoth I, what I have preached.

Nay, but tell me, quoth he, what one matter haſt thou preached to the edifying of the people, as thou ſayeſt? I will tell you no particular matter; for I perceive you would have ſome matter againſt me.

No, by my faith, quoth he, but that only I would win thee from Hereſies that thou art bewrapt in, and haſt infected others withal. For thou haſt preached, as I am informed, that the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar is not the very Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt after the Conſecration. Tell me, haſt thou not thus preached? and is not this thine opinion?

Note how theſe Papiſts ſeek for matter, to ſuck the blood of poor men.

Sir, quoth I, I perceive (as I ſaid) that ye ſeek matter againſt me. But ſeeing that I am bound in the Seſſions to my good behaviour for preaching, which may be broken with words, and well I know not with what words; and alſo both mine authority to preach, and my living are taken from me, I think I am not bound to make you an anſwer.

Collins. Mr. *Bland*, do you not remember, that S. *Peter* biddeth you make anſwer to every man that asketh you a reaſon of the faith that is in you?

A man not bound to anſwer ſuch as ask of purpoſe to bring him into trouble.

Bland. I know that, and am content ſo to anſwer as that Text biddeth: but I know that Mr. Archdeacon doth not ask me after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble. Then they ſaid, No, ye ſhall not be troubled for any thing that ye ſay here.

Mr. Bland upon promiſe talketh with them of the Sacrament.

Bland. I am content for knowledge ſake to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwiſe. And ſo they fell in reaſoning more than the ſpace of an hour, of the Sacrament, both againſt me. At the laſt Mr. *Collins* ſaid, Mr. *Bland*, will ye come and take in hand to anſwer ſuch matter on *Monday* next, as ſhall be laid to you?

Bland. Sir, ye ſaid I ſhould not be troubled for any thing that ſhould be ſaid here for Learnings ſake. And they ſaid, ye ſhall not, but it is for other matters.

Mark what fidelity is in the promiſe of theſe men.

Bland. Sir, I am bound to appear, as ſome tell me, on *Thurſday* next at *Aſhford*, I am in doubt whether I can or no: yet I have purpoſed to be there, and ſo to go to *London* to Mr. *Wiſeman*, for an Obligation that he hath, whereby I ſhould receive certain money to pay my Debts withal. Then ſaid Mr. Archdeacon, I will write to Mr. *Wiſeman*, that ye ſhall ſuſtain no loſs.

Bland. That ſhall not need: for I can ſuſtain no great loſs, if I go not. But I pray you to let me have a longer day. No, quoth he.

Mr. Bland warned to appear again before them.

Bland. Sir, I cannot well come on *Monday*.

Harpſ. Wilt thou not come, when he ſo gently ſpeaketh to thee, where he may command thee?

Bland. I do not deny to come, but I deſire a longer day.

* Note here the extream dealing of the pretenſed Catholicks.

Harpſ. * Thou ſhalt have no other day; I charge thee to come on *Monday*.

Bland. Sir, I perceive it ſhall be for this or like matters: will it pleaſe you or Mr. *Collins*, for Gods ſake, to confer Scriptures privately with me in this matter, ſeeing ye ſay ye would ſo gladly win me?

Harpſ. With all my heart will I take the pains, and I will alſo borrow my Lord of *Dovers* Library, to have what Books thou wilt: and thus they departed. Now the 17 of *May* at *Aſhford* I could not be releaſed, although I was called to the Spiritual Court for the ſame matter, but was bound to appear at the Seſſions holden at *Cramb'roke*, the third of *July*.

Another Appearance of Mr. Bland *before the Archdeacon and his Fellows.*

THe 21 day of *May* I appeared in the Chapter-houſe, where was a great multitude of people, unlooked for of me; and Mr. Archdeacon ſaid thus to me; Ye are come here according as ye were appointed: and the cauſe is, that it hath pleaſed the Queens Highneſs here to place me, to ſee Gods holy Word ſet forth, and to reform thoſe that are here fallen into great and heinous Errors, to the great diſpleaſure of God, and the decay of Chriſts Sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the Catholick Church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is ſore poyſoned with the ſame, and haſt infected and deceived many with thy evil Preaching, which if thou wilt renounce, and come home again to the Catholick Church, both I and many other more would be very glad; and I for my part ſhall be right glad to ſhew you the favour that lieth in me, as I ſaid unto you when you were appointed hither, becauſe ye then refuſed to ſatisfie again the people that ye had deceived. And whereas it is feigned by you, that I ſhould openly diſpute the matter with you this day; although I did neither ſo intend nor appoint, yet I am content to diſpute the matter with thee, if thou wilt not without diſputation help to heal the Souls that are brought to Hell-ward by thee? What ſayeſt thou?

The ſecond appearance of Mr. Bland. Mr. Harpſfields words to Mr. Bland.

False ſurmiſes pretended againſt Mr. Bland.

Bland. I do proteſt before God and you all, that neither is my Conſcienee guilty of any Errour or Hereſie, neither that I ever taught any Errour or Hereſie willingly. And where your Maſterſhip ſaith, That I have feigned an open Diſputation with you, it is not true, as I can thus approve: Upon *Saturday* I was at *Ugdens* and there Mr. *Bingham* laid it to my charge, that ſuch an open Diſputation, as ye have here offered, ſhould be this day between you and me: Whereat I much marvelled, and ſaid to him, That before that preſent I never heard any ſuch word; neither would I anſwer nor diſpute: and to this can Mr. *Vaughan*, Mr. *Oxenden*, Mr. *Beth* of *Overland*, and Mr. *Ugden* witneſs; and further I ſaid to them, that I never ſpake to you of any Diſputation, nor you to me. Now if your Maſterſhip have any thing to ſay to me by the Law, I will make anſwer to it.

The anſwer of Mr. Bland to M. Harpſfields words.

Mr. Bland cleareth himſelf of the falſe report of Mr. Harpſfield.

Harpſ. Hear ye what he ſaith? His Conſcience is clear. I pray thee whereon groundeſt thou thy Conſcience? let me hear what thy faith is?

Bland. I know not why ye ſhould more ask me a reaſon of my faith, than any other man in this open Audience?

Harpſ. Why thou Heretick, art thou aſhamed of thy faith? if it were a Chriſtian belief, thou needeſt not to be aſhamed of it.

Bland. I am not aſhamed of my faith. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth, and in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord, &c. with all the other Articles of the Creed; and I do believe all the holy Scriptures of God to be moſt certain and true.

To believe the Articles of our Chriſtian Faith never ſo well, it will not ſuffice the Papiſts.

Harpſ. Wilt thou declare no more than this?

Bland. No.

The Popiſh Faith of Dr. Harpſfield.

Harpſ. Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my faith: I do believe and ground my faith and conſcience upon all the Articles of the Creed, and upon all the holy Scriptures, Sacraments, and holy Doctors of the Church, and upon all the general Councels that ever were ſince the Apoſtles time. Lo, hereupon ground I my faith; with many words more, which I well remember not. And when he could get no other anſwer of me, than I had ſaid before, he called for a Scribe to make an act againſt me. And after much communication, I ſaid, By what Law and Authority will ye proceed againſt me. Mr. *Collins* ſaid, By the Canon Law.

M. Bland requireth to have his Counſeller.

Bland. I doubt whether it be in ſtrength or no. Yet I pray you let me have a Counſeller in the Law, and I will make anſwer according to the Law.

Harpſ. Why thou Heretick, thou wilt not confeſs thy faith to me, that have Authority to demand it of thee, and yet I have confeſſed my faith to thee before all this Audience. As concerning the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, thou haſt taught, that after the Conſecration it is Bread and Wine, and not the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. How ſaiſt thou, haſt thou not thus taught?

Bland. Sir, as concerning this matter of the Sacrament, when I was with you and Mr. *Collins*, ye ſaid then it was for other matters that I ſhould come hither: and further, that ye would be content at my deſire, to confer Scriptures with me, to ſee if ye could win me; and ye ſaid, ye would borrow my Lord of *Dovers* Library, that I ſhould have what Book I would; and now ye require me thus to anſwer, contrary to your promiſe, e're any Conference be had, and ſeek rather to bring me into trouble, than to win me.

The Papiſts ever falſe of promiſe.

Harpſ. I will, as God ſhall help me, do the beſt to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable; and I truſt to diſſolve all thy doubts, if thou be willing to hear. And I alſo will deſire theſe two worſhipful men, my Lord of *Dover*, and Mr. *Collins*, to hear us.

Bland. No, ye ſhall pardon me of that: there ſhall be no ſuch witneſs. But when we agree, ſet to our hands. Hereat made the people a noiſe againſt me, for refuſing the witneſs: and here had we many more words, then I can rehearſe. But at the laſt I ſaid, Sir, will ye give me leave to ask you one queſtion? And he ſaid, yea, with all my heart. For in that thou askeſt any thing, there is ſome hope that thou maiſt be won.

Mr. Bland's queſtion to D. Harpſfield.

Bland. Sir, when it pleaſed Almighty God to ſend his Angel unto the Virgin *Mary* to ſalute her, and ſaid, Hail full of Grace, &c. came any ſubſtance from God our Father into the Virgins womb to become man? whereat as well Mr. Archdeacon, as my Lord of *Dover*, and Mr. *Collins* ſtaid. But my Lord ſpake the firſt, and ſaid, The Holy Ghoſt came to her; and e're he had brought out his ſentence, Mr. *Syriac Peters* ſaid, *Vertus altiſſimi obumbravit*. Truth, ſaid Mr. Archdeacon, it was the power of God, ſent by the Holy Ghoſt. They had forgotten, that *genitus fuit ex ſubſtantia patris*; Or elſe they perceived whereunto this queſtion tended: and ſo both I and they left it; by what words I cannot tell. But I ſaid, Sir, ſhall I ask one other? And he ſaid, Yea.

Another queſtion of Mr. Bland to D. Harpſfield.

Is there in the Sacrament, after the Conſecration, Chriſts natural Body, with all the qualities of a natural Body, or no?

The anſwer of Dr. Harpſfield to the queſtion.

Harpſ. Hark, ſaid Mr. Archdeacon; hear ye this Heretick? He thinks it an abſurdity to grant all the quantities of Chriſts natural Body to be in the Sacrament. But it is no abſurdity: For even that natural Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary* is glorified, and that ſame Body is in the Sacrament after the Conſecration. But perceive ye not the arrogancy of this Heretick, that will put me to anſwer him, and he will not anſwer me? he thought to put me to a pinch with his queſtion; for I tell you it is a learned queſtion.

Bland. So if ye be ſo much diſcontented with me, I will ſay no more; yet I would all men heard, that ye ſay the glorified Body of Chriſt is in the Sacrament, after the Conſecration.

Harpſ. I may call thee groſs ignorant. Thou groſs ignorant, is not the ſame body glorified, that was born of the Virgin *Mary*? is it then any abſurdity to grant that to be in the Sacrament? And whiles he ſpake many other words, I ſaid to Mr. *Petit*, That the Sacrament was inſtituted, delivered, and received of his Apoſtles, before Chriſts Body was crucified; and it was crucified before it was glorified; whereby Mr. *Petit* partly recited to Mr. Archdeacon.

Anno 1555.

How can the glorified body be in the Sacrament, when the Sacrament was given before the body was crucified, and it was crucified before it was glorified? The body unglorified was given in the Sacrament, in a glorified act, quoth Harpſfield.

Harpſ. Thou art without all learning. Was not Chriſts Body given to his Apoſtles, as in a glorified act? and yet no inconvenience, although his natural Body was not crucified; for when he was born of the Virgin *Mary* without pain, was not that the act of a glorified Body? And when he walked on the water, and when he came into the houſe to his Apoſtles, the doors being ſhut faſt, were not theſe acts of a glorified Body?

Dover. Then my Lord of *Dover* helped him to a better place, and ſaid, When Chriſt was in Mount *Thabor*, he was there glorified in his Apoſtles ſight.

Harpſ. Ye ſay truth, my Lord, he was glorified in the ſight of three of his Apoſtles.

Bland. This me think is new Doctrine.

Harpſ. Well, ſeeing he will by no other way be reformed, let the people come in and prove theſe matters againſt him. And therewith the Archdeacon brought forth a Copy of the Bill of Complaint that was put againſt me at *Chriſtmas*, and about that we talked a little. And then Mr. Archdeacon roſe up, and ſaid, See ye good people that know this matter, that ye come in, and prove it againſt him. Whereunto anſwered *Thomas Auſten*, I pray you, ſaid he, let us be no more troubled with him. And then ſpake *John Auſten*, and *Heath* with one eye, and began to accuſe me; but no anſwer they could have of me, but do to me what ye can by Law, and I will anſwer it. Then ſaid *Thomas Auſten*, *Bland*, ye were once abjured.

D. Harpſfield reciteth the Bill of Complaint plainly againſt Mr. Bland.

Tho. Auſten chargeth Mr. Bland with another untruth.

Bland. Ye ſay not truly, goodman *Auſten*, I was never abjured. Either, ſaid he, ye were abjured, or elſe ye had the Kings pardon. Neither of both; ye ſpeak this of malice; with many other brabling words more. Then Mr. Archdeacon departed, and left Mr. *Collins* to command me to appear the next day. Howbeit, for certain other urgent buſineſs that I had, I did not appear, but wrote a Letter to Mr. Commiſſary, deſiring him to reſpite the matter till my coming home again; and if he would not, I would be content to ſubmit my ſelf to the Law when I came home.

Now about the 28 day of *June* I came to Mr. Commiſſary to ſhew him of my return, and offered my ſelf to ſatisfie the Law, if it were proceeded againſt me, before Mr. *Cocks* of *Surrey*, and *Marks* the Apparitor; but Mr. Commiſſary ſaid gently, he had done nothing againſt me. And ſo appointed me to appear before him the *Friday* ſeven-night after. Now in the mean time was the Seſſions holden at *Crambroke*, where I was bound to appear; and carrying Surety with me to be bound again, for I looked for none other, did appear the third day of *July*.

Mr. Bland appearing at Seſſions in Crambroke.

And Sir *John Baker* ſaid, *Bland*, ye are, as we hear ſay, a Scot; where were ye born and brought up? And I ſaid I was born in *England*. And he ſaid, where? And I ſaid, in *Sedber*, and brought up by one Dr. *Lupton*, Proveſt of *Eaton Colledge*. Well, ſaid he, I know him well. Remain to your Bond till Afternoon.

Sir J. Baker talk with Mr. Bland. Mr. Bland brought up by D. Lupton, Proveſt of Eaton Colledge.

Then ſaid Sir *Thomas Moyle*, Ah *Bland*, thou art a ſtiff-necked Fellow. Thou wilt not obey the Law, nor anſwer when thou art called. Nor will, quoth Sir *John Baker*? Mr. Sheriff, take him to your Ward: and the Bailiff ſet me in the Stocks, with other, and would not hear me ſpeak one word; and ſo we remained in the Goal of *Maidſtone*, till a fortnight before *Michaelmas*, or thereabout; and then we were carried to *Rocheſter*, to the Aſſize holden there, where we were among the Priſoners two days: and when we were called, and the Judges of Aſſize asked our cauſes, when my cauſe was rehearſed, Mr. Barrow, Clerk of the Peace, ſaid, That I was an excommunicate perſon.

Sir T. Moyle his words.

Mr. Bland laid in Maidſtone Goal.

Mr. Bland carried to the Aſſize at Rocheſter.

Then Mr. *Koper* of *Linſted* talked with the Judges, but what I am not able to ſay. But the Judges of Aſſize ſaid, Take them to *Maidſtone* again, and bring them to the Seſſions that ſhall be holden next at the Town of *Maldin*: Howbeit, the Sheriff did not ſend for us, ſo that we tarried at *Maidſtone* till the Seſſions holden at

Mr. Bland carried again to Maidſtone Caſtle.

Green-

Anno 1555.

Mr. Bland appeareth at Seſſions in Greenwich.

Greenwich the 18 and 19 of *February*. I and other being within the Bar amongſt the Felons, and Irons upon our Arms, were called out the later day by the Jaylor and Bailiffs, and eaſed of our Irons, and carried by them into the Town to Sir *John Baker*, Mr. *Petit*, Mr. *Webb*, and two other whom I know not.

Another Examination of Mr. Bland *before Sir* John Baker.

Baker. Bland, wherefore were ye caſt into Priſon?

Bland. I cannot well tell. Your Maſterſhip caſt me in.

Baker. Yea, but wherefore were you in before that time?

Bland. For an unjuſt Complaint put upon me.

Baker. What was the Complaint?

Bland. I told him as truly and briefly as I could?

Baker. Let me ſee thy Book; and I took him a Latine Teſtament.

Baker. Will ye go to the Church, and obey and follow the Queens proceedings, and do as an honeſt man ſhould do.

Bland. I truſt in God to do no otherwiſe but as an honeſt man ſhould do.

Baker. Will ye do as I ſaid?

A queſtion propounded to Sir John Baker.

Bland. Will it pleaſe your Maſterſhip to give me leave to aſk you a queſtion?

Baker. Yea.

Bland. Sir, may a man do any thing that his Conſcience is not ſatisfied in to be good?

Baker. Away, away, and threw down the Book, and ſaid, It is no Teſtament. And I ſaid, Yes. And Mr. *Web* took it up, and ſaid unto me marvellous gently; Mr. *Bland*, I knew you when ye were out of this Opinion. I would to God ye would reform your ſelf; with better words then I will write. And I ſaid; If ye have known me of another Opinion then I am of now, it was for lack of knowledge.

Haſty Judgment of a Juſtice.

Baker. Yea, ſaiſt thou ſo? by St. *Mary*, and thou hold thee there, I will give ſix Fagots to burn thee withal, e're thou ſhouldeſt be unburned: hence Knave, hence. And ſo were we reprieved into our place again within the Bar. And at night, when Judgment of Felons and all was done, we were called, and the Judge ſaid to the Jaylor, Take them with you, and deliver them to the Ordinary, and if they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they ſhall have Judgment and Execution. And one of our Company ſaid, My Lord, if we be killed at your hands for Chriſts ſake, we ſhall live with him for ever.

Mr. Bland and his Fellows ſent to the Ordinary by Sir John Baker.

Another Appearance of Mr. Bland *in the Spiritual Court.*

Mr. Bland brought again to the Caſtle of Canterbury.

THen came we to the Caſtle of *Canterbury*, and there we remained till the ſecond day of *March*, at which day we were brought into the Chapter-Houſe of *Creechurch*, where were ſet the Suffragane of *Canterbury*, Mr. *Collins*, Mr. *Mills*, with other; and then went to them Mr. *Oxenden*, Mr *Petit*, Mr. *Web* and Mr. *Hardes*, Juſtices. And when I was called, Mr. *Web* ſaid, Here we preſent this man unto you, as one vehemently ſuſpected of Hereſie.

The Biſhop of Dover, Mr. Collins, Mr. Mills, with others.

Bland. And I ſaid; Mr. *Web*, ye have no cauſe to ſuſpect me of Hereſie. I have been a Priſoner this whole year, and no matter proved againſt me. I pray you, wherefore have I been ſo long kept in Priſon?

Web. Leave your arrogant asking of queſtions, and anſwer to that that is laid to your charge.

The anſwers of Mr. Bland firſt to the Juſtices.

Bland. I do ſo; for I ſay you have no cauſe to ſuſpect me of Hereſie.

Web. Yes; ye denied to Sir *John Baker*, to be conformable to the Queens proceedings.

Bland. Is it a juſt cauſe to ſuſpect me of Hereſie, for asking a queſtion with leave? Sir, we had more words there then I well remember.

Then ſtood up Maſter *Petit*, and ſaid, Ye were caſt into Priſon, becauſe ye fled away from your Ordinary.

Bland. Then have I had wrong. For I never fled, nor diſobeyed mine Ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the Law. Let them now ſay if I did: but they ſaid nothing. And when I ſaw they held their peace, I ſaid, Mr. Commiſſary, have you been the cauſe of this mine impriſonment? No, quoth he; ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appear the *Friday* after the Seſſions. Here I was ſuffered to ſpeak no more, but ſhut up in a corner till my Companions were likewiſe preſented, and then we were ſent to *Weſtgate* into Priſon, and were put in ſeveral cloſe Holds, that never one of us could ſpeak to another, nor any man was permitted to come to us. We were four times at this appearance: but one they diſpatched, by what means I cannot tell: whoſe name was *Cornwall*, a Tanner.

Cornwall a Tanner, diſpatched in ſecret Priſon.

And thus hitherto paſſed the talk between *Bland* and the Juſtices, and certain Gentlemen of the Shire. Now followeth the order of the reaſoning between him and the Clergy-men, before whom he was examined. But foraſmuch as the chiefeſt doer and Judge againſt him was the Biſhop of *Dover* or Suffragan of *Canterbury*, called Doctor *Richard Thornton*, to the intent it may appear what little truth or conſtancy is in theſe Catholick Perſecutors, I thought here to exhibit by the way a certain Popiſh Letter, written of a Papiſt unto him. Wherein is declared what a Goſpeller the ſaid *Richard Thornton* was in King *Edwards* time, which now turning with the world, ſheweth himſelf ſuch a bitter Perſecutor againſt Gods Servants in Queen *Maries* time. The Copy of this Letter here followeth.

A Copy of a Popiſh Letter written to the Biſhop of Dover, *by one* Thomas Goldwell *a Prieſt, declaring what a Profeſſor he was in King* Edwards *time.*

RIght Reverend, and my good Lord, after my hearty thanks for your good chear at my laſt being with your Lordſhip, this ſhall be to certifie you, that as ſoon as I arrived with my Lords Grace, I gave him your Letters, but I had much work to obtain any thing of him for you. For there hath been given very evil informations of you, and it hath been ſaid, that you have concurred with all manner of evil proceedings, the which hath theſe years paſt been in *England*, as well againſt the holy Sacrament of the Altar, and againſt the Supream Authority of Chriſts Vicar in Earth, as with the uſe of the abominable late Communion, and with the Marriage of Prieſts, as well Religious as Secular; and that you have given Orders to (I cannot tell how many) baſe, unlearned, and evil diſpoſed people, by reaſon of the which they have taken upon them to preach, and to do much hurt in *Kent*. So that men think that yet if any new mutation, the which God forbid, ſhould chance, you would be as ready to change as any other. And indeed it maketh me to fear the ſame, by reaſon that notwithſtanding it hath pleaſed Almighty God to provide, that your Abſolution was ſent unto you (not looking, I dare ſay, for any ſuch thing) of all manner of matters paſt, yet your Lordſhip (more regarding the vanity of the World, then the offence of God, the which he only knoweth how much it grieves me, for the due love I bear unto you) preſumed to ſing Maſs in *Pontificalibus*, the holy days immediately following, and alſo to miniſtrate to Children the Sacrament of Confirmation, becauſe that one (being a Member of the Devil) did ſomewhat comfort you ſo to do.

He meaneth of the arrival of Cardinal Pool.

Thornton Bp. of Dover, a great doer againſt the Pope and Sacrament of the Altar, in K. Edwards time.

Oh my Lord, what honour ſhould it have been both to God and your ſelf, and alſo edification to all good people, (though all worldly men and Hereticks would therefore have laugh'd you to ſcorn) if you conſidering your great offences toward God, and his goodneſs again toward you, would like as you have offended in the face of the world, to the damnation of many, likewiſe have ſhewed your ſelf penitent in the face of the world, to the edification of many, and not only to have celebrate for vanity *Pontificaliter*; but alſo for a time to have abſtained for reverence *totaliter* from the Altar, according to the old cuſtom of the Church. The which I have alſo ſeen obſerved of ſome honeſt men, not being thereto injoyn'd of any man. But that which is paſt cannot be called again. And I thought it not my part to leave your Lordſhip mine old Friend and Maſter in the mire. Wherefore I ceaſed not

Power to give Abſolution granted to the Biſhop of Dover from the Cardinal.

to ſolicite your cauſe with my Lords Grace, till at the laſt I obtained of his Grace for your Lordſhip all the faculties of the which I ſend you a Copy here incloſed, partly for your own conſolation, and partly for other, deſiring your Lordſhip to uſe them to the honour of God, that there come to me thereof no rebuke: not publiſhing them to any perſon, but to ſuch that you know will gladly receive them. For hitherto there is never a Biſhop in *England*, who hath granted him ſo great authority concerning thoſe which be under his Cure. Only Mr. Archdeacon hath the like, and in one thing more great then be theſe your Lordſhips. Wherefore your Lordſhip ſhall do well to remit unto him all ſuch Prieſts as have Cure of Soul, whether they be Beneficed men, or Pariſh Prieſts. For he hath not only authority to abſolve them, as you have, but alſo to give them authority to abſolve ſuch as he underneath their Cures. And thus I commit your Lordſhip to the protection of Almighty God. Written at *Bruſſel* the 16. of *June*, 1554.

Your Lordſhips Beadman,

Thomas Goldwell.

And thus much concerning the Biſhop of *Dover*, by way of digreſſion. Now to return again to the examinations of Mr. *Bland*, let us hear his own Report of his Anſwers, as followeth.

Here followeth mine Anſwer, as nigh as I can call to remembrance, every word, and ſentence; yet if any that was preſent can help to perfect it, I would be glad. But yet this dare I ſay, that there is never one ſentence, but it was openly ſpoken the ninth of March *in the* Chapter-houſe *of* Creechurch, *in the preſence of as many as they had choſen, the Maior of the City being called to be aſſiſtant, and all other ſhut out.*

The Anſwer of Mr. Bland *in his Appearance before the Commiſſary, and other in the Spiritual Court.*

MAſter *Collins* ſaid; Mr. *Bland*, ye know that ye are preſented unto us as one ſuſpected of Hereſie. How ſay ye, be ye contented to reform your ſelf to the Laws of this Realm, and of the holy Church?

The anſwers of Mr. *Bland* to the Clergy-men. Mr. *Bland* unjuſtly ſuſpected of Hereſie, and more unjuſtly puniſhed.

Bland. I deny that I am ſuſpected juſtly of Hereſie, and that ye heard when I was preſented, that I denied the Suſpicion to be juſt, but to defend the unjuſt puniſhment that I have ſuffered: neither can ye prove that any occaſion hath been given by me, whereby any man ſhould ſuſpect me therein. But if you have any Law or Authority to proceed againſt me for any thing done for a whole year ago and more, I will anſwer to it.

Collins. Ye were convented before Mr. Archdeacon and me, and matter of Hereſie laid to your charge.

Bland. That matter was done and ſaid a whole year ago, and for that I have been in Priſon this year and more. If ye have any thing againſt me by any Law, I deſire you to let me know the Law and the Matter, and I will anſwer according to the Law.

Then ſaid my Lord Suffragan; but that I am one of the Judges, I would riſe, and ſtand by thee, and accuſe thee to be a Sacramentary, and bring witneſs to prove it; yea, and further, that thou haſt called the Maſs an abominable Idol.

The Biſhop of *Dover* once abhorred the Maſs.

Bland. You, my Lord, never heard me ſay ſo: But I heard you once ſay, That in your Conſcience ye had abhorred the Maſs three years. Thou lyeſt, quoth he, I never ſaid ſo.

Collins the Commiſſary profeſſed before the true Doctrine of free Juſtification by Chriſt.

Bland. My Lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witneſs to approve it, with the day, time, and place; and I once did hear Mr. *Collins* at a Viſitation in *Wingham* ſay, That Chriſt was a full Satisfaction for all ſin preſent, paſt, and to come, contrary to that he ſaith now.

And here we had more words of this matter, which I let paſs for lack of good remembrance.

Mr. *Collins* ſaid, this is but a drift. You were better anſwer now; for elſe you ſhall to Priſon again, and be called on *Monday*, and have Articles laid to you, and if ye then anſwer not directly, ye ſhall be condemned *pro confeſſo*, and that will be worſe for you.

Bland. Sir, I do not now, nor will not then deny to anſwer to any thing that ye can lay to my charge by the Law; wherefore I truſt ye will let me have the benefit of the Law. Anno 1555.

Collins. This is the Law, that if ye be required of the Ordinary, *Reddere rationem fidei*, then may ye not deny it. And that we do now.

Mr. *Bland* confeſſeth all the Articles of his Creed. If the faith of the Sacrament be in the Scripture, and ſo neceſſary a thing, why did not the Apoſtles then put it in the Creed, and make thirteen Articles? If it be not in the Scripture, nor yet put in the Creed, why then doth the Pope ſo extreamly bind us unto it?

Bland. To that then will I anſwer. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord, with all the other Articles of the ſame Creed: And I believe all the Articles contained both in the Creed called the Maſs Creed, and in the Creed of *Athanaſius*: And I do believe, that all the holy Scriptures, and all things therein contained, are moſt true.

Collins. This will not ſerve you: ye muſt anſwer to all ſuch Articles in all theſe as ſhall be laid to you, or asked of you.

Bland. Let me know the Law that it is in that force (without any juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion proved againſt me) and I will anſwer.

Collins. How ſay ye, will ye anſwer?

Bland. Sir, I have anſwered you. Have him away, ſaid my Lord of *Dover*; he had better have anſwered.

Bland. My Lord, I am ready to anſwer, if ye have any thing againſt me by the Law.

B. Dover. Ye have preached many Hereſies in *Adeſham*, where I am Parſon now; and therefore ye muſt make anſwer to them.

Bland. Lay them to my charge by the Law, and I will anſwer them, if ye can approve that I am bound to anſwer to that was done a year or more ago; for if ye may do that, ye may alſo lay to my charge, and compel me to anſwer to all things done in all my life, I trow.

Collins. It is not a year ago ſince you were before Mr. Archdeacon and me.

Mr. *Bland* appeared at five Seſſions, and could not have his cauſe cried.

Bland. It is truth, it is a year and ten weeks ſince the words were ſpoken; and I have been a Priſoner ever ſince, and have been at five Seſſions, and never could have my cauſe tried. Me think your Charities ſhould think it puniſhment enough, if I had been guilty.

Collins. All this will not ſerve you; you muſt needs anſwer, and it will be better for you to anſwer now, then another time. Will ye reform your ſelf, and go to the Church, and worſhip Chriſt in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar; and be obedient unto all the Queens Laws?

Mr. *Bland* called before the Spiritual Judges, not for any matter they had, but that they would have againſt him.

Bland. I pray you wherefore am I brought hither?

Collins. To anſwer to ſuch things as are demanded of you.

Bland. Sir, I thought ye had ſome matters againſt me by the Law.

Collins. Well, on *Monday* at 9. of the Clock ye ſhall ſee the Law, and have Articles laid unto you.

Then they had ſpied Mr. *Cox* the Lawyer, and called him in, and ſaid; Here is a Lawyer can tell you are bound by the Law to anſwer: and he ſaid, as they had ſaid.

Collins. Do ye not believe, that after the Conſecration of the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, there remaineth no ſubſtance of Bread, but the ſubſtance of Jeſus Chriſt, both God and Man?

Mr. *Bland* deniegh the reallity of Chriſts Preſence in the Sacrament. The Capernaites took Chriſt to ſpeak literally of his Body, and ſo do the Papiſts, and not the Proteſtants.

Bland. Maſter Commiſſary, I know not by any Law why ye ſhould ask me that queſtion more then any other man here. And after a little talk, my Lord of *Dover* asked me this queſtion; Doeſt not thou believe, after the Conſecration, that it is the Body of Chriſt? And I ſaid, No, I do not ſo believe: for the Scriptures do not teach me, that there ſhould remain the Fleſh of Chriſt, to eat as a man ſhould eat mans Fleſh.

Then Mr. *Glaſier* ſaid, That was the Opinion of the Capernaites: there is no man here of that Opinion, and ſpake long of cutting of Chriſts Body, as men cut Fleſh in the Shambles.

Then Mr. Doctor *Faucet* ſaid; Maſter *Bland*, foraſmuch as you and I were brought up both in one Houſe, and born both in one Pariſh, I would be as glad as any man alive to do you good: but ye may not thus ſtand againſt the Church. For Chriſt ſaith; Ye muſt humble your ſelf, and take up his Croſs, and follow him. And to humble your ſelf in this place, is to be content, and not ſtick to

your

Anno 1555.

your own Judgment, but to humble your ſelf to the Holy Church, which hath determined, that after the Conſecration there remaineth no Bread, but the Natural Body and Blood of Chriſt.

Determination of the Church is to be followed ſo far as the Church determineth by the Scriptures.

Bland. Maſter Doctor, if ye take humbling of our ſelves in that place, to admit the Determination of the Church, then muſt we know by the Scriptures, that the ſame Church determined nothing but according to the Scriptures, as this is not: and therefore I do not believe any ſuch Tranſubſtantiation; nor never will, God willing. Then (quoth he) I have done with you: I will no more pray for you then for a dog.

Then ſaid Maſter *Glaſier*; How think ye? Did *Paul* when he ſaid; *Is not the Bread that we break a partaking of the Body of Chriſt*? Did he mean Bakers Bread?

Bland. Though he did not mean Bakers Bread, that doth not prove that he brake Natural and Real Fleſh.

Argument. Ergo The glorified Body of Chriſt was not Crucified.

Glaſier. No, by Saint *Mary*, we ſay not ſo, but we ſay it is the Natural Body glorified, under the forms of Bread and Wine.

Bland. Then the Apoſtles had it not as we have; or elſe his glorified Body was Crucified for us.

The Apoſtles did eat the Body Crucified: Ergo, the Apoſtles did not eat the glorified Body of Chriſt.

Glaſier. Tuſh, ye do not underſtand the Scriptures. For Chriſts Body was ever glorified, in that it was ſo marvellouſly united to the Godhead: yea, and he ſhewed his Body divers times glorified, as in the Mount *Thabor*. And when he walked on the Water, we ſee he was light, and had no weight in him. Was not that then a glorified Body?

Bland. Then belike *Peters* Body was glorified, if walking on the Water was the deed of a glorified Body: and the Iron that *Elizeus* made to ſwim upon the Water.

Dover. Tuſh, quoth my Lord of *Dover*, that was done by Prayer. But they made ſuch a noiſe with laughing, that I heard no more what my Lord ſaid.

It availeth not to reaſon with the Papiſts in time of their King-dom.

Bland. Maſters, I know that it availeth us nothing to reaſon with you, no more then it booted you in the time of the Goſpel. For then neither the reaſon of *Eckius*, *Cochlæus*, nor yet of detection of the Devils Sophiſtry of my Lord Chancellors doing, could take any place. And it is known to ſome that be here, that ſomething I can ſay in them.

Dover. No, you know *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, and ſuch other.

Bland. Indeed, my Lord, I have ſeen part of their doings.

Dover. That is ſeen by thee to day.

Glaſier. I was glad, when I heard you ſay ye believed the Catholick Church; and now go you from it?

Bland. No that I do not.

The Church viſible.

Glaſier. Ye know that Chriſt ſaith; *If thy Brother have offended thee, go and reconcile him between thee and him. If he hear thee not, take two or three with thee, that in the Mouth of two or three witneſſes all things may be eſtabliſhed. If he hear not them,* Dic Eccleſiæ; *If he hear not the Church, take him as an heathen.* I pray you where could ye have found this Church of yours fifty years ago?

Bland. Ye know that the true Church did not at all times flouriſh, but was wonderfully perſecuted.

Bland commanded away.

Dover. Then my Lord cryed; No more, I command you to hold your peace. Have him away and bring in Another.

Collins. Ye ſhall come again on *Monday*, at nine of the Clock, and in the mean time ye ſhall have whom ye will to confer withal: your friend D. *Faucet*, or Mr. *Glaſier*, if ye deſire them.

Bland. I will refuſe to talk with no Man: as for any conference of your part, it is but weak Laws, eſtabliſhed as they are. But when there was no Law, I did deſire conference. And ſo for that time I departed.

The *Monday* after we were brought forth to the ſame place again; and then Maſter *Collins* began to ſpeak to me, but after what manner, it is clean out of my mind: but the end was, that I would reform my ſelf. But as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to ſee the Law, which they ſaid before I ſhould ſee.

Dover. What needs that? we have enough againſt you. * For ye denied to me Tranſubſtantiation in the Sacrament.

* Yea but why then did you Preſent him a whole year before?

Bland. I did refuſe to anſwer, till ye promiſed that I ſhould ſee the Law, whereby ye may compel me to anſwer.

Dover. My Lord took the Scribes Book, and read the anſwer that I made to Doctor *Faucets* reaſon, which I knew not that they had written.

The Popes Key.

Bland. My Lord, I made you no ſuch anſwer when ye asked me. I take M. *Collins* and M. *Glaſier* to witneſs. Then they brought forth a Decretal, a Book of the Biſhop of *Romes* Law, to bind me to anſwer, which my Heart abhorred to look upon. The effect was, that the Ordinary had authority to examine, and that they ſo examined muſt needs anſwer. But I ſaid, that it meaned of ſuch as were juſtly ſuſpect, as I was not. And here we had much Communication. For I charged them with unjuſt Impriſonment, which they could not avoid.

M. *Oxenden* helpeth the Catholicks.

But Mr. *Oxenden* would have helped them, and ſaid, the Juſtices put me in Priſon for a Sermon ſeditiouſly ſpoken, and for troubling a Prieſt at Maſs.

Bland. That is not true. For after I had been ten weeks in priſon, I was bayled, till I was caſt in again, and (as the Juſtice ſaid) for the diſobeying mine Ordinary, which I never did.

Collins. Will ye be content to confer with ſome? It will be better for you; now we offer it you, becauſe ye would not deſire it.

M. *Bland*, was Tutor to Doctor *Faucet*.

Bland. As I did not refuſe before, no more will I now. But I did not perceive before, but that one thing might have come, without any leav-asking, to confer the Scriptures: and therefore I looked that Doctor *Faucet* would have come to me without deſiring, if any commodity to me had been in conference; for though I was never able to do him good; yet once I was his Tutor.

Collins. Are ye content to come to his Chamber at afternooon?

These three belike were *Bland*, *Sherterden*, and *Middleton*. *Miller* a Clothier excommunicate, and let go.

Bland. Sir, I am a Priſoner, and therefore it is meet that I obey, and come whither you will, and ſo departed. At this time we were three. But they took another to appear before them the *Tueſday* ſeven-night after. And when he came, I knew not what was done, but that I hear they excommunicated him, and let him go. His name was *Miller* a Clothier.

Here followeth a certain confutation of Maſter Bland *againſt falſe and manifeſt abſurdities, granted by Mr.* Milles, *Prieſt of Chriſts Church in* Canterbury.

The Popiſh Faith of the Sacrament.

Milles. We ſay, that Chriſt is in or under the Sacrament really and corporally, which are the forms of Bread and Wine, and that there is his Body contained inviſibly, and the qualities which we do ſee, as whiteneſs and roundneſs, be there without ſubſtance by Gods power, as quantity and weight be there alſo by inviſible meaſure.

* 1. The matter of the Sacrament is Bread and Wine.

Bland. This is your own Divinity, to make accidents the Sacrament, and Chriſts real Body inviſibly contained in them, and ſo to deſtroy the Sacrament. And yet the Doctors ſay; * *Materia Sacramenti eſt panis & vinum.* And God by his power worketh no miracles with *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, ſo to change the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine into his Body and Blood, in that he maketh accidents to be without their ſubſtance by inviſible meaſure. I am aſhamed to ſee you ſo deſtroy Chriſts Sacrament, contrary to your own Doctors, and triſle with Gods Work.

If Chriſt be able to be where he liſt, and occupy no place: why then is not he able to be as well under the ſubſtance of Bread, as under the accidents of Bread, ſeeing he is omnipotent? Chriſt may be where he liſt: Ergo, Chriſt is really in the Sacrament, without occupying of place. The antecedent is true, and the conſequence falſe.

Milles. To Chriſt is given all power in Heaven and in Earth, ſo that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be, and is where he liſteth; and is in the Sacrament really and corporally without occupying of place; for a glorified Body occupieth no place.

Bland. Mark your own Reaſon. All power is given to Chriſt both in Heaven and Earth; by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he liſt: *Ergo*, he is in the Sacrament really and corporally, without occupying of place.

I deny your Argument; for it followeth neither of your *Major* nor *Minor*. And firſt I would learn of you, how you know that Chriſt liſteth to be preſent at every

Prieſts

Prieſt liſt. For if the Prieſt liſt not to ſay your Maſs, then Chriſt liſteth not to be there,

Again, ye ſay, all power is given unto Chriſt both in Heaven and in Earth, ſo that that is the cauſe by your reaſon, that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he liſt: and by that reaſon he had no power of his Godhead, till he had his humane Body, and then he was not equal with the Father in Divinity: for all power was not given to Chriſt, before the humanity and the Godhead were knit together, neither was he *Filius*. Here is more danger then ye are ware of; if ye would ſtand to it with juſt Judges.

Mills. We eat Chriſts Fleſh and Blood ſpiritually when we receive it with Faith and Charity. And we alſo do eat it corporally in the Sacrament; and the Body that we ſo receive hath Life. For the Godhead is annexed thereto: which although it be received with the Body of Chriſt, yet it is not viſible after a groſs ſort, and the Fleſh of Chriſt that we receive is lively; for it hath the Spirit of God joyned to it. And if a Man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the Blood of Chriſt: for it is contrary to the nature of Chriſts Blood. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and (*a*) quantities, without ſubſtance of Blood.

a Caſe being put that the Prieſt taking a great quantity in the Chalice, be made drunk, which of theſe three is it that maketh him drunk? the nature of Blood: the *accidents* only of Wine? or elſe the true ſubſtance of Wine? let any reaſonable Man judge,

Argument. *b* Chriſts Blood hath not that quality to make a Man drunk; receiving of that in the chalice can make a Man drunk: *Ergo*. that in the chalice cannot be the Blood of Chriſt. Fantaſtical abſurdities in the Popes Doctrine to be noted.

f Bland. I am glad that you are ſo much againſt all Men, to ſay that Chriſts Body is alive in the Sacrament; it may fortune to bring you to the truth in time to come. Me think it is evil to keep Chriſts Body alive in the Pix, or elſe muſt ye grant, that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the Pix. And ye ſay truth, that it is (*b*) not the natural receiving of Chriſts Blood that maketh a Man drunken; for it is the nature of Wine that doth that, which ye deny not.

And a more truth ye confeſs then ye did think, when ye ſaid; If a Man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the ſubſtance of Blood; for indeed Blood hath no ſuch qualities with it: by which it is evident that there is no Natural Blood.

If a Man be drunken with Wine Conſecrated, it muſt be a miracle, as I think you will have it, that the ſaid accidents ſhould be without their Natural Subſtance, and work all the operations of both Subſtance and Accidents: and ſo it followeth, that a Man may be drunken by miracle. The Body that ye receive, ye ſay, is alive, becauſe it is annexed to the Godhead, and the Fleſh that ye receive is lively, becauſe it hath the Spirit of God joyned to it.

This diviſion is of your New Inventions, to divide the Body and the Fleſh, the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by Gods Spirit, and both one Sacrament: ye make of it a thing ſo fantaſtical, that ye imagine a Body without Fleſh, and Fleſh without a Body, as ye do qualities and quantities without ſubſtance, and a living Body without qualities and quantities.

Mills. If caſe ſo require, and there be a godly intent in the Miniſter to Conſecrate, after the Conſecration thereof, there is preſent the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and no other ſubſtance, but accidents without ſubſtance to a true believer.

c Three inconveniences granted by the Papiſts.

1. That a Tun of Wine being Conſecrated, nothing remaineth but accidents: which is falſe by the operation thereof.

2. Where he ſaith, that the Word of God doth not Conſecrate without the intent of the Prieſt; which is againſt their own Doctrine, ſaying, that the wickedneſs of the Prieſt miniſteth not the Sacrament.

3. Where he ſaith, that to the unbeliever it is not the Sacrament as the Papiſts ſay, that the wicked receive the *Body*.

Bland. Ye grant three abſurdities, *c* that in a Tun of Wine Conſecrated is nothing but accidents: and to increaſe it withal, ye have brought in two Inconveniences; Firſt, that it is not the Word of God that doth conſecrate, but the intent of the Prieſt muſt help it; and if that lack, ye ſeem to grant no Conſecration, though the Prieſt ſpeak the Word; and yet your Doctors ſay, that the wickedneſs of the Prieſt miniſtheth not the Sacrament.

And to an unbeliever ye ſeem to ſay, that it is not the ſame, that it *is* to the true believer; and then muſt the believer have ſomething to do in the Conſecration. *Incidit in ſcyllam qui vult vitare charibdim.*

Mills. The ſubſtance of Chriſts Body doth not fill the Mouſes Belly. For although he doth receive the outward forms of Bread and Wine, yet he doth not receive the ſubſtance inwardly, but without violation. And a Mouſe doth not eat the Body of Chriſt, to ſpeak properly; for it doth not feed him ſpiritually or corporally, as it doth Man, becauſe he doth not receive it to any inducement of immortality to the Fleſh.

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Bland. Ye make not your Doctrine plain to be underſtood: we muſt know how a Mouſe can receive the ſubſtance inwardly and outwardly. Ye ſay, he doth not receive the ſubſtance *d* inwardly, but without violation: *Ergo*, with violation he receiveth the ſubſtance inwardly. Ye ſay that the Mouſe cannot violate Chriſts Body; but he violateth the ſubſtance that he eateth. And this your proper ſpeech doth import as much, as that the Mouſe ſhould eat the Sacrament to as great effect, and the ſame thing, as doth the unworthy receiver. For if that be the cauſe that ſhe properly eateth not the Body of Chriſt, becauſe ſhe doth not feed upon it ſpiritually nor corporally, nor receiveth it to any inducement of immortality, as ye ſay; then it followeth, that the unbeliever and the *e* Mouſe receive both one thing. And yet it cannot be denied, but the *f* Mouſe will live with conſecrated Bread, and then ye muſt grant this abſurdity, that a ſubſtance is nouriſhed and fed only with accidents.

Argument
A contrario ſenſu.
d The Mouſe receiveth not the Body inwardly, but without violation.
Ergo, With violation he receiveth the Body inwardly.
Argument.
The Mouſe violateth not the Body of Chriſt.
The Mouſe violateth the ſubſtance which he eateth.
Ergo, The Mouſe eateth no ſubſtance of Chriſts Body.
e The Mouſe and the unbeliever receive the Body of Chriſt both alike, by the Papiſts Doctrine.
f Argument.
No Mouſe can live with accidents only without ſubſtance.
A Mouſe may live with conſecrated hoſts.
Ergo, conſecrated hoſts have not only accidents, but the Subſtance of Bread.

Mills. Mens Bodies be fed with Chriſts Body, as with immortal meat, by reaſon of the Godhead annexed, to eternal life; but mens Bodies be corporally nouriſhed with qualities and forms of Bread and Wine: and we deny that by the Sacramental eating any groſs humour turned into Blood, is made miraculouſly in the Body.

Bland. Where it cannot be denied that a Man may live, and naturally be nouriſhed in his Natural Body with the Sacramental Bread and Wine conſecrated; ye cannot avoid that: but then ye turn to the ſpiritual nouriſhing of Mans Body, by Chriſts Body and Godhead annexed, which is nothing to put away the abſurdity, that either a Mans Natural Body ſhould be fed naturally with accidents, or elſe to have them changed into groſs humours. But ye ſay, Mens Bodies be corporally nouriſhed with qualities and forms of Bread and Wine; and then muſt ye needs grant, that qualities and quantities muſt be made ſubſtance in Man. For *ex eiſdem ſunt & nutriuntur mixta*, or elſe is all that is the nutriment in Man accidents and no ſubſtance.

Another abſurdity, that Mens Bodies be nouriſhed naturally with accidents and qualities.

Mills. If the forms of Bread and Wine be burned, or Worms ingendred, it is no derogation to the Body of Chriſt, becauſe the preſence of his Body ceaſeth to be there, and no ſubſtance cometh again.

Bland. Ye grant here, that a ſubſtance may be made of accidents, as aſhes or worms: but I think you will have it by your miracles, and this I count a more abſurdity then the other, that Chriſts Body ſhould ceaſe to be there, and no ſubſtance to come again; for no word in all the whole Bible ſeems to ſerve you for the ceaſing of his preſence, though we granted you, which we do not, that it were there. God Almighty open your Heart, if it be his Will and Pleaſure, to ſee the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would anſwer you to all the reſt, in theſe and all other my doings.

Another abſurdity, that ſubſtance is made of accidents, when aſhes or worms be made of the forms of Bread and Wine.

I ſubmit my ſelf to our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and his holy Word, deſiring you in the Bowels of Chriſt to do the ſame.

Your Orator in the Lord,
John Bland.

The laſt appearonce and examination of Maſter Bland.

HItherto you have heard the troubleſom handling of this Faithful and Bleſſed Servant of God, *John Bland*, toſt to and fro, from Priſon to Priſon, from Seſſion to Seſſion. At laſt he was brought before the Biſhop of *Dover*, the Commiſſary, and the Archdeacon, at *Canterbury*, the 13. day of *June*. The name of this Biſhop was *Richard Thornton*. The Commiſſary was *Robert Collins*, whom the Cardinal by his Letters Patents had ſubſtitute to his factor, before his coming over to *England*. The Archdeacon was *Nicholas Harpsfield*. Under theſe a great ſort of innocent Lambs of Chriſt were cruelly intreated and ſlain at *Canterbury*, amongſt whom this foreſaid

Richard Thornton the Bloody Biſhop of *Dover*.

Maſter

Anno 1555.

Maſter *Bland* was one of the firſt; who, as it is ſaid, being brought before the ſaid Biſhop, and Colleagues which were *John Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Hunfrey Middleton, William Cocker,* was examined of Articles. To whom it was objected by the Commiſſary, whether he believed that Chriſt is really in the Sacrament, or no, &c. To this he anſwered and ſaid, that he believed that Chriſt is in the Sacrament, as he is in all other good Bodies; ſo that he judged not Chriſt to be really in the Sacrament.

The words of M. Bland at his examination.

Whereupon the day being on *Monday*, he was bid to appear again upon *Wedneſday* next, and from thence he was deferred again to *Monday* following, being the twentieth of *June*, in the ſame Chapterhouſe, then to hear further what ſhould be done, in caſe he would not relent to their mind. The which day and place he, appearing as before, was required to ſay his mind plainly and fully to the foreſaid Articles, being again repeated to him. Which Articles, commonly and in courſe they uſe to object to their Examinates which be brought before them, as here now followeth, and need not much hereafter, ſpecially for that Country of *Kent*, to be repeated.

Another appearance.

The laſt appearance of M. Bland before the Biſhop of Dover, and others.

Articles Miniſtred by Richard Biſhop *of* Dover, *to Mr.* Bland, *and likewiſe to the reſt following after him.*

Articles of courſe miniſtred againſt M. Bland.

1. FIrſt, that thou art of the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, and ſo ſubject to the juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop there.

2. *Item*, that thou art a Chriſtian Man, and doſt profeſs the Laws of God, and Faith of Chriſts Catholick Church, and the determination of the ſame.

3. *Item*, That all Parſons which teach, preach, believe, affirm, hold, maintain, or ſay within the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, otherwiſe then our Holy Mother the Church doth, are Excommunicate Perſons, and Heretick, and as Excommunicate and Hereticks ought to be named, reputed, and taken.

4. *Item*, that thou, contrary to the Catholick Faith, and determination of our Mother Holy Church, within the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, haſt openly ſpoken, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet doſt hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine; there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in ſubſtance, but only a token, ſign, and remembrance thereof, and that the very Body and Blood of Chriſt is only in Heaven, and no where elſe.

5. *Item*, that thou, contrary to the Catholick Faith, and determination of our Mother Holy Church, haſt within this Dioceſs of *Canterbury* openly ſpoken, ſaid, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet doſt hold, maintain, affirm and believe, that it is againſt Gods Word, that the Sacrament of Chriſts Church ſhould be Miniſtred in an unknown Tongue; and that no Man ſafely and with a ſafe Conſcience, or without peril of ſin, receiveth any Sacrament Miniſtred in any Tonguc that he underſtandeth not.

6. *Item*, that thou, contrary to the Catholick Faith of our Mother Holy Church, haſt, and yet doſt hold opinion, and ſay, that it is againſt Gods Word, that the Sacrament of the Altar ſhould be Miniſtred in one kind; and that no Man may with a ſafe Conſcience ſo receive it.

7. *Item*, that the premiſſes be true, and that there is a common fame upon them within the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*.

The Anſwers of Maſter Bland *to the foreſaid Articles*

Anſwer to the firſt Article out of the Regiſter.

1. TO theſe Articles Mr. *Bland*, anſwering again in order as they were objected to him, ſaith to the firſt, granting the ſame, that he was a Prieſt, and of the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*.

The Catholick Church of Chriſt.

2. To the ſecond alſo he anſwereth affirmatively.

The Catholick Church of Antichriſt.

3. *Item*, to the third he anſwereth, that the Article is true, meaning the Catholick Church to be Chriſts Church.

4. *Item*, in the fourth Article; as touching the firſt part of the Article, he doth confeſs, that he hath preached and taught it, as it is contained in the ſame. And as touching the ſecond part of the Article, he doth confeſs, that he doth now alſo hold and ſay, as he preached and taught before.

5. *Item*, to the fifth Article he granteth:

6. To the ſixth he preached, held, and doth hold, as it is contained in the Article.

7. *Item*, to the laſt Article he granteth the ſame, &c.

This done, and his Anſwers and Confeſſion taken, reſpite was given him yet a few days to deliberate with himſelf. So the 25. day of the ſaid Month of *June* he making his appearance again in the ſaid Chapter-houſe, there openly and boldly withſtood the authority of the Pope, whereupon his Sentence was read, and ſo he condemned and committed to the ſecular power. Touching the form and tenor of the ſentence, becauſe all their ſentences of courſe agree in one, read before in the Hiſtory of M. *Rogers*.

M. Bland denieth the Pope. M. Bland condemned.

The Prayer of Mr. Bland *before his death.*

A Prayer of M. Bland.

THe Lord Jeſus, for whoſe love I do willingly leave this Life, and deſire rather the bitter death of his Croſs, with the loſs of all Earthly things, then to abide the Blaſphemy of thy holy Name, or elſe to obey Man in breaking of the Commandments: thou ſeeſt, O Lord, that whereas I might live in Worldly Wealth to worſhip falſe Gods, and honour thy enemy, I chooſe rather the torments of this Body, and loſs of this my Life, and have counted all things but vile duſt and dung, that I might win thee: Which death is more dear unto me, then thouſands of Gold and Silver. Such love, O Lord, haſt thou laid up in my breaſt, that I hunger for thee, as the Dear that is wounded deſireth the ſoil. Send thy holy comfort, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and ſtrengthen this weak piece of Earth, which is void of all ſtrength of it ſelf. Thou remembreſt, O Lord, that I am but duſt, and not able to do any thing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as thou of thy accuſtomed goodneſs haſt bidden me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own Cup amongſt thine elect; give me ſtrength againſt this Element, that as it is to my ſight moſt irkſom and terrible, ſo to my mind it may be at thy commandment, as an obedient ſervant, ſweet and pleaſant; and through the ſtrength of thy Holy Spirit, I may paſs through the ſtrength of this fire into thy Boſom, according unto thy promiſe, and for this mortality to receive immortality, and for this corruptible to put on incorruptible. Accept this burnt offering & Sacrifice, O Lord, not for the Sacrifice it ſelf, but for thy dear Sons ſake my Saviour; for whoſe teſtimony I offer this freewill offering with all my heart and with all my Soul. O Heavenly Father, forgive me my Sins, as I forgive the whole World. O ſweet Saviour, ſpread thy wings over me. O God, grant me thy Holy Ghoſt, through whoſe merciful inſpiration I am come hither. Conduct me unto everlaſting Life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my Spirit; Lord Jeſus receive my Soul. So be it.

The Hiſtory of John Frankeſh, Humfrey Middleton, Nicholas Sheterden.

July 12. John Frankeſh, Humf. et Middleton, Nicholas Sheterden, Martyrs.

HAving now paſſed over the Examinations of Mr. *Bland*, let us further proceed to the reſt of his fellows concaptives, being joyned the ſame time with him in the like cauſe and like affliction. The names of whom were *John Frankeſh*, *Nicholas Sheterden*, *Humfrey Middleton*, *Thacker*, and *Cocker*, of whom *Thacker* only gave back. The reſt conſtantly ſtanding to the truth, were altogether condemned by the Suffragan of *Canterbury*, the 25. day of *June*, the year above expreſſed. Touching whoſe Examinations I ſhall not need long to ſtand, forſomuch as the Articles miniſtred againſt them were all one; ſo in their anſwers they little or nothing diſagreed, as hereafter (by the Lords help) you ſhall hear. In the mean time, becauſe *Nicholas Sheterden* in his Examinations had a little more large talk with the Archdeacon and the Commiſſary, I will firſt begin with the ſame.

The

The firſt Examination or reaſoning of Nicholas Sheterden *with M.* Harpsfield *Archdeacon, and M.* Collins *the Commiſſary, for the which they ſent him to Priſon.*

The talk of *Nicholas Sheterden* with the Archdeacon and Commiſſary about the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.

FIrſt, the Archdeacon and Commiſſary affirmed, that the very words of Chriſt, when he ſaid, *This is my Body*, did change the ſubſtance, without any other interpretation or ſpiritual meaning of the words.

Shet. Then belike when Chriſt ſaid, *This Cup is my Blood*, the ſubſtance of the Cup was changed into his Blood, without any other meaning, and ſo the Cup was changed, and not the Wine.

The Romiſh Catholicks cannot deny a figurative ſpeech in the Cup and yet will not grant the ſame in the Bread.

Arch. Not ſo; for when Chriſt ſaid; *This Cup is my Blood*, he meant not the Cup, but the Wine in the Cup.

Shet. If Chriſt ſpake one thing, and meant another, then the bare words did not change the ſubſtance; but there muſt be a meaning ſought as well of the Bread, as of the Cup.

Arch. There muſt be a meaning ſought of the Cup otherwiſe then the words ſtand. But of the Bread it muſt be underſtood only as it ſtandeth, without any other meaning.

Shet. Then do ye make one half of Chriſts inſtitution a figure, or borrowed ſpeech, and the other half a plain ſpeech, and ſo ye divide Chriſts Supper.

Arch. Chriſt meant the Wine, and not the Cup, though he ſaid, *This Cup is my Blood.*

Shet. Then ſhew me whether the words, which the Prieſt do ſpeak over the Cup, do change the ſubſtance, or whether the mind of the Prieſt doth it?

Arch. The mind of the Prieſt doth it, and not the words.

Shet. If the mind of the Prieſt doth it, and not the words, if the Prieſt then do mind his harlot, or any other vain thing, that thing ſo minded was there made, and ſo the People do worſhip the Prieſts harlot in ſtead of Chriſts Blood: and again, none of the People can tell when it is Chriſts Blood, or when it is not, ſeeing the matter ſtandeth in the mind of the Prieſt. For no Man can tell what the Prieſt meaneth, but himſelf; and ſo are they ever in danger of committing Idolatry.

If the mind, and not the words of the Prieſt doth it; how then is it that *Duns* and his fellows ſay, that the words be the form and formal cauſe only that maketh the Sacrament? *Collins* the Commiſſary taketh the Martyr in hand.

Then was the Archdeacon ſomewhat moved, and ſate him down, and ſaid to the Commiſſary; I pray you Mr. Commiſſary ſpeak you to him another while; for they are unreaſonable and perverſe anſwers, as ever I heard of. Then ſtood up the Commiſſary, and ſaid:

Com. Your Argument is much againſt your ſelf, for ye grant that the Bread is a figure of Chriſts Body; but the Cup can be no figure of his Blood nor yet his very Blood; and therefore Chriſt did not mean the Cup, but the Wine in the Cup.

Shet. My Argument is not againſt me at all; for I do not ſpeak it to prove that the Cup is his Blood, nor the figure of his Blood, but to prove that the bare words being ſpoken of the Prieſt do not change the ſubſtance no more of the Bread, then they do change the Cup into Blood.

Commiſ. It could not be ſpoken of the Cup, when he ſaid, *This Cup is my Blood*; but he meant the Wine in the Cup.

Shet. Then it remaineth for you to anſwer my queſtion to the Archdeacon, that is, whether the mind of the Prieſt when he ſpeaketh over the Cup, doth change it into Blood, or the bare words?

Commiſ. Both together doth it, the words and the mind of the Prieſt together; yea the intent and the words together doth it.

The Commiſſary brought to an abſurdity.

Shet. If the words and intents together do change the ſubſtance, yet muſt the Cup be his Blood, and not the Wine, foraſmuch as the words are, *This Cup is my Blood*, and the intent ye ſay, was the Wine; or elſe the words take none effect, but the intent only.

After, the Commiſſary in his Chamber, ſaid, it was the intent of the Prieſt before he went to Maſs, without the words; for the Prieſt did intend to do as holy Church had ordained, then the intent made the Sacrament to take effect.

The intent of the Prieſt maketh not the Sacrament.

Shet. If the Sacraments take effect of the intent of the Prieſt, and not of Gods Word, then many Pariſhes having a Prieſt that intendeth not well, are utterly deceived, both in Baptizing, and alſo worſhipping that thing to be God, which is but Bread, becauſe for lack of the Prieſts intent, the words do take none effect in it; ſo that by this it is ever doubtful, whether they worſhip Chriſt, or Bread, becauſe it is doubtful what the Prieſts do intend.

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Chriſts Body, whether it may be in two places at once.

Commiſ. Then the Commiſſary would prove to me, that Chriſts Manhood was in two places at one time, by theſe words of Chriſt in *John* the third Chapter, where he ſaith; *No Man aſcendeth up to Heaven, but he that came down from Heaven*, that is to ſay, the Son of Man which is in Heaven. By this he would prove, that Chriſt was then in Heaven, and in Earth alſo, naturally and Bodily.

Shet. This place and other muſt needs be underſtood for the unity of the perſon, in that Chriſt was God and Man, and yet the matter muſt be referred to the Godhead, or elſe ye muſt fall into great errour.

Commiſ. That is not ſo. for it was ſpoken of the manhood of Chriſt, foraſmuch as he ſaith, the Son of Man which is in Heaven.

The Commiſſary brought to another inconvenience.

Shet. If ye will needs underſtand it to be ſpoken of Chriſts manhood, then muſt ye fall into the errour of the Anabaptiſts, which deny that Chriſt took Fleſh of the Virgin *Mary*; for if there be no Body aſcended up, but that which came down, where is then his incarnation? For then he brought his Body down with him.

Commiſ. Lo how you ſeek an errour in me, and yet ſee not how ye err your ſelf. For it cannot be ſpoken of the Godhead, except ye grant that God is paſſible, for God cannot come down, becauſe he is not paſſible.

If God cannot come down, then Chriſt were not God, for Chriſt came from Heaven.

Shet. If that were a good Argument, that God could not come down, becauſe he is not paſſible; then it might be ſaid by the like Argument, that God could not ſit, and then Heaven is not his ſeat, and then ſay as ſome do, that God hath no right hand for Chriſt to ſit at.

Com. Then the Commiſſary affirmed plainly, that it was true, God hath no right hand indeed.

Shet. Oh what a ſpoil of Chriſts Religion will this be, that becauſe we cannot tell how God came down, therefore we ſhall ſay, that he came not down at all, and becauſe we cannot tell what manner of hand he hath, to ſay that he hath no hand at all; and then he cannot reach the utmoſt part of the Sea. O miſery! at length it will come to paſs, that God cannot ſit, and then how can Heaven be his Seat; and if Heaven be not his Seat, then there is no Heaven, and then at length I doubt ye will ſay there is no God, or elſe no other God, but ſuch as the Heathen Gods are, which cannot go nor feel.

Gods hand is ſpiritual.

Commiſ. Why, doth not the Scripture ſay, that God is a Spirit? and what hand can a Spirit have?

Shet. Truth it is, God is a Spirit, and therefore is worſhipped in Spirit and Truth; and as he is a Spirit, ſo hath he a Spiritual Power, ſo he hath a Spiritual Seat, a Spiritual Hand, and a Spiritual Sword; which we ſhall feel, if we go this way to work, as we begin. Becauſe we know not what God hath, therefore if we ſay he hath none, then it may as well be ſaid, there is no Chriſt.

Then the Commiſſary ſaid, he would talk no more with me, and ſo departed; and alſo the Commiſſary was compelled to grant, that Chriſts Teſtament was broken, and his inſtitution was changed from that he left it: but he ſaid they had power ſo to do.

My firſt anſwering, after their Law was eſtabliſhed.

Declaration of the firſt Examination of *Sheterden*, after the Law was eſtabliſhed.

BEcauſe I know ye will deſire to hear from me ſome certainty of my eſtate, I was called before the Suffragan, and ſeven or eight of the chief Prieſts, and examined of certain Articles and then I required to ſee their Commiſſion.

Sheterden requireth to ſee the Commiſſion.

They ſhewed it to me, and ſaid, there it is, and the King and Queens Letters alſo. Then I deſired to have it read: and ſo in reading I perceived, that on ſome notable ſuſpicion he might examine upon two Articles; whether Chriſts real preſence were in the Sacrament; and whether the Church of *England* be Chriſts Catholick Church.

Sheterden three quarters of a year in Priſon before the Law took place.

To that I anſwered, that I had been a Priſoner three quarters of a year, and as I thought wrongfully: reaſon would therefore that I ſhould anſwer to thoſe things wherefore I was Priſoner.

Sith.

Anno 1555.

Suff. The ſuffragan ſaid, his Commiſſion was, I muſt anſwer directly, yea or no.

Shet. This Commiſſion, ſaid I, was not general to examine whom he will, but on juſt ſuſpicion.

Suff. He ſaid, I was ſuſpected, and preſented to him.

Shet. Then I required that the accuſation might be ſhewed.

Suff. He ſaid, he was not bound to ſhew it, but he commanded me in the King and Queens Name to anſwer directly.

Shet. And I as a Subject do require of you Juſtice: for that I have done I ask no favour.

Suff. He ſaid I was ſuſpected.

Shet. I bade him prove that ſuſpicion, or what cauſe he had to ſuſpect.

The proceedings of the Papiſts were againſt the Law.

Suff. Thou waſt caſt into Priſon for that cauſe.

Shet. That was a pretty ſuſpicion, becauſe I had ſuffered Impriſonment contrary to Gods Law and the Realm, that therefore I muſt now for amends be examined of ſuſpicion without cauſe, to hide all the wrong done to me before. For when I was caſt into Priſon, there was no Law but I might ſpeak as I did: therefore in that point I could be no more ſuſpect, than you which Preached the ſame your ſelf not long before.

The Biſhop of *Dover* a proteſtant in King *Edwards* time.

Suff. That was no matter to thee what I Preached.

Shet. Well, yet in the King and Queens Name I muſt anſwer directly: and therefore I require as a Subject, that ye do not extend beyond your Commiſſion, but prove me ſuſpect, more than you your ſelf.

Mills. Then ſaid M. *Mills*, I had written to my Mother, and he did ſee the Letter, wherein I perſwaded my Mother to my opinions.

Shet. In that I did but my duty to certifie her, I was not in Priſon for any evil. And that was before the Law alſo, and therefore no more ſuſpicion was in me, than was in them which taught the like.

Mills. Well, ye are required here to anſwer directly, or no.

Shet. Firſt then I require of you to prove this ſuſpicion; and thus we toſſed it to and fro. At laſt the Biſhop ſaid he himſelf did ſuſpect me. I asked whereby?

Suff. Well, ſaid he, I my ſelf did ſuſpect thee, and it is no matter whereby.

Shet. But your Commiſſion doth not ſerve you ſo to do without cauſe of ſuſpicion.

Suff. Well, yet did I ſuſpect you.

Shet. It is not meet for you to be my accuſer, and my judge alſo, for that is too much for one Man. And thus many words were multiplied, and they were much grieved.

Mills. If you were a Chriſtian Man you would not be aſhamed of your faith being required.

Shet. I am not aſhamed indeed, I thank God, and if any Man did come to me, either to teach or learn, I would declare it; but foraſmuch as I perceive you come neither to teach nor to learn, I hold it beſt not to anſwer you.

Mills. If you will not, then will we certifie the Kings Councel.

Upon this it appeareth the Letters were written to the B. of *Winchester* by whom he was ſent for after and examined.

Shet. I am therewith content that you ſhould certifie that I had ſuffered three quarters Priſon wrongfully, and therefore I deſire to be juſtified or condemned, firſt for that I ſuffered ſuch Impriſonment; and then I will not refuſe to anſwer your Articles, though they were a buſhel of them. But to ſay that I would anſwer, whereby you ſhould heal all your wrong done to me againſt the Law of God and the Realm, I will not.

Sheterden refuſeth to anſwer before it be tried wherefore he was impriſoned.

Here much ado there was to prove that he had no wrong, and again, that it was not they that did it. But ſaid he, the Commiſſary was one of them. He anſwered, No, it was the Archdeacon. He ſaid, you ſate with him, and he asked your Counſel in it, and yet if it were he, it was your Church, except the Archdeacon, and you be divided one from another. Well ſaid they, Will ye now deny that ye ſaid then, and promiſe here to ſubmit your ſelf henceforth, and ye ſhall be delivered?

Sheterden refuſeth to ſubmit himſelf.

Shet. I am not ſo much bound to you to grant any ſuch promiſe: and again you ſhall well know that I would not promiſe to go croſs the Street for you: but if I did at any time offend your Law, let me have the puniſhment: I ask no favour.

Then ſaid they, that it was obſtinacy in him, that he would not anſwer, and a token that his faith was nought, ſeeing he was aſhamed to utter it.

Shet. Nay ſaid he, you ſhall well know I am not aſhamed of my Faith: but becauſe you do ſo greedily ſeek Blood, I will anſwer only to that you have againſt me.

Suff. Nay, you ſhall anſwer to the Articles, or elſe be Condemned upon Suſpicion.

Shet. I am content with that, yet all Men ſhall know that as ye ſuſpect and can prove no cauſe, ſo ſhall ye Condemn me without a matter, and then ſhall all Men know ye ſeek my Blood, and no juſtice.

Suff. No, we ſeek not thy Blood, but thy converſion.

Shet. That we ſhall ſee. For then ſhall you prove my perverſion firſt, before you condemn me on your ſuſpicion without proof of the ſame: and by that I ſhall know whether you ſeek Blood or no. Many other words were between them.

One *Lovell* a loveleſs Lawyer.

At laſt ſtept up one *Lovels* a Lawyer, which would prove his Impriſonment not to be wrong, but right, by old Statutes of *Edward* the fourth, and *Henry*, &c. but at laſt he was compelled to forſake thoſe Statutes from *Michaelmas* to *Chriſtmas*, and then he ſaid it was no wrong.

To this *Nicholas* ſaid, if he could prove that Men might wrongfully impriſon before a Law, and in the mean while make Laws, and then under that hide the firſt wrong, then he ſaid true, or elſe not.

Thus he kept the Bandogs at ſtaves end, not as thinking to eſcape them, but that I would ſee, ſaid he, the Foxes leap above the ground for my Blood if they can reach it (ſo it be the will of God) yet we ſhall ſee them gape, and leap for it. From *Weſtgate* in haſte.

By yours, Nicholas Sheterden.

Notes of Nicholas Sheterden, *againſt the falſe worſhip and oblation of the Sacrament.*

False worſhiping of the Sacrament.

THe Holy ſign in ſtead of the thing ſignified is ſervile ſervitude; as Saint *Auguſtine* termeth it, when the Bread in the Sacrament is by common and ſolemn error worſhipped in ſtead of the Fleſh aſſumpted of the Word of God.

There was no mention of worſhipping the Creatures at the feaſt or firſt ſupper that Chriſt did celebrate: therefore the ſaying of Chriſt concerning divorce, may well be applyed to them; it was not ſo from the beginning, nor ſhall be to the end.

Againſt Sacramental oblation.

The once made oblation of Chriſt is hereby derogate, when this Sacramental oblation and offering of thankſgiving is believed to be propitiatory, and that it purgeth the Soul as well of the living as of the dead, againſt this ſaying to the *Hebrews*, *With one only oblation he hath made perfect for ever thoſe that are ſanctified.* Again, *Where is remiſſion, there is no more oblation for ſins, making us clean by him.*

This word (*by himſelf*) hath a vehemency and pith, that driveth all Prieſts from authority to enterpriſe ſuch oblation, whereas what he himſelf doth by himſelf, he leaveth not for other to do. So ſeemeth our purgatory already paſt & done, not to come & remaining to be done

His Examination before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, *then Lord Chancellor.*

A note of the words or talk paſſed between *Nicholas Sheterden*, and the Biſhop of *Winchester*.

I Was called into a Chamber before the Lord Chancellor, the Suffragan, and other, Prieſts I think for the moſt part. He ſtandeth to the table, called me to him, and becauſe I ſaw the Cardinal was not there, I bowed my ſelf and ſtood near.

Then ſaid he, I have ſent for you, becauſe I hear you are indited of hereſie; and being called before the Commiſſioners, ye will not anſwer nor ſubmit your ſelf.

Unjuſt impriſonment of *Sheterden*.

I ſaid, If it like you, I did not refuſe to anſwer; but I did plainly anſwer, that I had been in Priſon long time, and reaſon it was that I ſhould be charged or diſcharged for that, and not to be examined of Articles to hide my wrong Impriſonment, neither did I know any Inditement

againſt

againſt me. If there were any, it could not be juſt, for I was not abroad ſince the Law was made.

Winch. Well, yet if ſuch ſuſpicion be of you, if you be a Chriſtian, ye will declare that it is not true, and ſo purge your ſelf.

Shet. I thought it ſufficient to anſwer to mine offences, &c. truſting that they would lay no ſuch burthen upon me, whereby the wrong done to me might be covered, but I would be proved to have wrong or right.

Winchest. maketh a miracle that there was no Law in King Edward's time againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

Winch. He ſaid, if thou wilt declare thy ſelf to the Church to be a Chriſtian, thou ſhalt go, and then have a writ of wrong Impriſonment, &c.

Shet. I ſaid I was not minded to ſue now, but require to have right juſtice; but to make a promiſe I will not: but if I offend the Law, then puniſh me accordingly. For it might be that my Conſcience was not perſwaded, nor wouldbe, in Priſon; ſeeing theſe things which I have learned, were by Gods Law openly taught and received by authority of the Realm. And he ſaid it was never received, that I might ſpeak againſt the Sacrament, I ſaid againſt ſome opinion of the Sacrament it was openly taught.

Winch. By no Law, and that was not able to conſider, that all that while God preſerved that, ſo that no Law could paſs againſt it.

Shet. I ſaid their Law did not only perſwade me, but this moſt; when they Preached unto us, they took pain to ſet out the Word of God in our Tongue, ſo that we may read and judge whether they ſay true or no, but now they take the light from us, and would have us believe it, becauſe they ſay ſo, which is to me a great perſwaſion.

The Catholicks ſtand upon the number.

Winch. It was not a few that could be your guide in underſtanding, but the Doctors and all the whole Church, now whom wouldeſt thou believe? either the few or the many?

Shet. I did not believe for the few, nor for the many, but only for that he bringeth the word, and ſheweth it to me to be ſo according to the proceſs thereof.

The faithful ſtand upon the word.

Winch. Well ſaid he, then if an Arrian come to thee with Scripture, thou wilt believe him, if he ſhew this Text, *My Father is greater than I.*

Shet. I anſwered no, my Lord, he muſt bring me alſo the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he ſaith, *My Father and I am one.*

Winch. Yea, ſaid he, that is by charity, as we be one with him.

Shet. I ſaid that gloſs would not ſtand with the reſt of the Scripture, where he ſaid; *I am the very ſame, that I ſay to you*; He ſaid the Truth, and the Truth was God, &c. with much ſuch like. And here he made many words (but very gently) of the Sacrament: Likewiſe Chriſt ſaid (quoth he) it was his Body; yea, (that is to ſay) a figure of his Body, and how Men did not conſider the Word was God, and God the Word, and ſo provoked me with ſuch temptation; but I let him alone, and ſaid nothing.

Wincheſter defendeth Images.

So after many words he came to the Churches faith and comely orders of Ceremonies and Images. And then I joyned to him again with the Commandments.

Winch. He ſaid, that was done that no falſe thing ſhould be made, as the Heathen would worſhip a Cat, becauſe ſhe killed Mice.

Shet. I ſaid that it was plain that the Law forbade not only ſuch, but even to make an Image of God to any manner of likeneſs.

No Image of God to be made.

Winch. Where find ye that?

Shet. Forſooth in the Law where God gave them the Commandments: for he ſaid, *Ye ſaw no ſhape, but heard a voice only:* and added a reaſon why? *leſt they ſhould after make Images, and marr themſelves:* So that God would not ſhew his ſhape, becauſe they ſhould have no Image of him which was the true God, &c.

Winch. He ſaid, I made a goodly interpretation.

Shet. I ſaid no, it was the Text.

Then was the Bible called for, and when it came, He bade me find it, and I ſhould ſtrait be confounded with mine own words; ſo that if there were any grace with me, I would truſt mine own wit no more; and when I looked, it was Latin.

Winch. Why, ſaid he, can ye read no Latin?

Shet. No. Then was the *Engliſh* Bible brought. He bade me find it; and ſo I read it aloud, and then he ſaid; lo here thou mayſt ſee; this is no more to forbid the Image of God, than of any other Beaſt, Fowl or Fiſh (the place was *Deut.* 4.) I ſaid it did plainly forbid to make any of theſe as an Image of God, becauſe no Man might know what ſhape he was of. Therefore might no Man ſay of any Image, this is an Image of God. Ann. 1555. Deut. 4.

Winch. Well, yet by your leave, ſo much as was ſeen we may, that is, of Chriſt, of the Holy Ghoſt; and the Father appeared to *Daniel*, like an old (*a*) Man &c.

(*a*) But the Commandment ſaith: Deut. 4. Thou ſhalt make no Image of God either man or woman, &c.

Shet. That is no proof that we may make Images contrary to the Commandment: for though the Holy Ghoſt appeared like a Dove, yet was he not like in ſhape, but in certain qualities, and therefore when I ſaw the Dove, which is Gods Creature, indeed I might remember the Spirit to be ſimple and loving, &c. and with that he was ſomewhat moved, and ſaid, I had learned my Leſſon, and asked who taught me, with many words; and he ſaid he would prove how good and profitable Images were to teach the unlearned, &c.

The Holy Ghoſt like a Dove in ſome qualities but not in ſhape. The qualities of this ſeemed here to want in Wincheſter.

Shet. At the laſt I ſaid, my Lord, although I were able to make never ſo good a gloſs upon the Commandments, yet obedience is better than all our good intents, and much ado we had: at laſt he ſaw, he ſaid, what I was, and how he had ſent for me for charity ſake to talk with me, but now he would not meddle, and ſaid my wrong Impriſonment could not excuſe me, but I muſt clear my ſelf.

Shet. I ſaid that was eaſie for me to do, For I had not offended.

Winch. He ſaid I could not eſcape ſo, there I was deceived.

Shet. Well, then I am under the Law, &c.

How the Catholicks falſly ſlander the faithful innocent.

Arch. The Archdeacon was there called in for me, and he laid to me, that with ſuch arrogancy and ſtoutneſs, as never was heard, I behaved my ſelf before him, whereas he was minded with ſuch mercy towards me, &c. and many lies he laid to me, that I was ſent home till another time; and I would not be contented, but went out of the Church with ſuch an cut-cry as was notable.

Shet. I declare, that he falſly herein reported me, and brought in the Laws then in the Realm, and the Queens Proclamation that none of her ſubjects ſhould be compelled till the Law were to compel, and that I rehearſed the ſame in the Court for me, and I did uſe him then (ſaid I) as I uſe your grace now, and no otherwiſe.

Winch. He ſaid that I did not uſe my ſelf very well now.

Shet. I ſaid, I had offered my ſelf to be bailed, and to confer with them, when and where they would.

Winch. He ſaid, I ſhould not confer, but be obedient. I ſaid, let me go, and I will not deſire to confer neither: and when I offended, let them puniſh me, and ſo departed.

By your Brother, Nicholas Sheterden,
priſoner for the truth in Weſtgate.

The laſt Examination with the Condemnation of Maſter Bland, John Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, *and* Humfrey Middleton.

The final Condemnation of the 4. godly Martyrs. Ex Regiſt. Cant.

AND thus much touching the particular, and ſeveral Examinations of *Nicholas Sheterden*, and of Mr. *Bland*. Now to touch ſomething alſo of the other Martyrs, which the ſame time were examined, and ſuffered with them together, to wit, *Humfrey Middleton* of *Aſhford* and *John Frankeſh*, Vicar of *Rolvynden*, in the Dioceſs of *Kent* above mentioned, here firſt would be declared the Articles which publickly in their laſt examinations were joyntly and ſeverally miniſtred unto them by the foreſaid *Thornton* Biſhop of *Dover*. But foraſmuch as theſe Articles, being ordinary and of courſe, are already expreſſed in the Story of M. *Bland*, as may appear before; It ſhall not therefore be needful to make any new rehearſal thereof.

To theſe ſeven Articles then being propounded to the five perſons above named, to wit, *John Frankeſh*, *John Bland*, *Nicholas Sheterden*, *Humfrey Middleton*, and one *Thacker*, firſt anſwered *John Frankeſh* ſomewhat doubtfully, deſiring further reſpite to be given him of fourteen

days

Anno 1555.

days to deliberate with himſelf. Which was granted: Mr. *Bland* anſwered flatly and roundly, as before ye heard. *Nicholas Sheterden*, and *Humfrey Middleton* anſwered to the firſt and ſecond Articles affirmatively. To the third concerning the Catholick Church after a ſort they granted. To the fourth, and fifth, and ſixth, touching the Real preſence, and the Sacrament to be miniſtred in the Latin Tongue, and in one kind, they refuſed utterly to anſwer. *Sheterden* ſaid, he would not anſwer thereto before the cauſe were determined why he was impriſoned, and ſo ſtill remained Priſoner, before the Laws of Parliament received, &c. *Middleton* added moreover and confeſſed, that he believed in his own God, ſaying, My living God, and no dead God, &c. *Thacker* only relented, and was content to take Penance. Thus the aforeſaid four upon theſe Anſwers were condemned by the Biſhop of *Dover*, the 25 day of *June*, *An.* 1555.

Thacker recanted.

The burning of four Martyrs.

The Martyrdom of *John Bland*, *Joh. Frankeſh*, Miniſters: Alſo of *Nicholas Sheterden* and *Humfrey Middleton*, burned at two ſeveral Stakes in *Canterbury*, Anno 1555. July 12.

And ſo being given to the Secular Power, they were burned at *Canterbury* the 12 of *July*, at two ſeveral Stakes, but all in one Fire together, where they in the ſight of God and of his Angels, and before Men, like true Souldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, gave a conſtant teſtimony to the truth of his holy Goſpel.

The Prayer of Nicholas Sheterden *before his death.*

A Chriſtian Prayer of *Nicholas Sheterden* before his death.

O Lord my God and Saviour, which art Lord in Heaven and Earth, maker of all things viſible and inviſible, I am the Creature and work of thy hands; Lord God look upon me, and other thy People, which at this time are oppreſſed of the worldly minded for thy Laws ſake: yea Lord, thy Law it ſelf is now trodden under foot, and mens inventions exalted above it, and for that cauſe do I, and many thy Creatures, refuſe the glory, praiſe and commodity of this life, and do chuſe to ſuffer adverſity, and to be baniſhed; yea to be burnt with the Books of thy Word, for the hopes ſake that is laid up in ſtore. For Lord thou knoweſt, if we would but ſeem to pleaſe men in things contrary to thy Word, we might by their permiſſion enjoy theſe commodities that others do, as Wife, Children, Goods and Friends, which all I knowledge to be thy gifts, given to the end I ſhould ſerve thee. And now Lord, that the World will not ſuffer me to enjoy them, except I offend thy Laws, behold I give unto thee my whole Spirit, Soul and Body, and lo, I leave here all the pleaſures of this life, and do now leave the uſe of them for the hopes ſake of eternal life purchaſed in Chriſts Blood, and promiſed to all them that fight on his ſide, and are content to ſuffer with him for his Truth, whenſoever the World and the Devil ſhall perſecute the ſame.

Sacrifice of obedience to God.

Sacrifice of thanks for redemption.

O Father, I do not preſume unto thee, in mine own righteouſneſs, no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son my Saviour. For the which excellent gift of ſalvation I cannot worthily praiſe thee, neither is my ſacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in compariſon of our Bodies mortified, and obedient unto thy will: and now Lord, whatſoever rebellion hath been, or is found in my Members, againſt thy will, yet do I here give unto thee my Body to the death, rather than I will uſe any ſtrange worſhipping, which I beſeech thee accept at my hand for a pure ſacrifice: let this torment be to me the laſt enemy deſtroyed, even Death, the end of miſery, and the beginning of all joy, peace and ſolace; and when the time of Reſurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again theſe members then glorified, which now be ſpoiled and conſumed by the fire. O Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit into thy hands. *Amen.*

Sacrifice of the Body.

Letters of *Nicholas Sheterden*; and firſt a Letter to his Mother.

A Letter of *Nicholas Sheterden* to his Mother.

After my humble and bounden duty remembred, well-beloved Mother, this ſhall be to wiſh you increaſe of grace and godly wiſdom, that ye may ſee and perceive the crafty bewitching of Satan our mortal Enemy, which, as I have divers times declared unto you, doth not openly ſhew himſelf in his own likeneſs, but under colour of devotion deceiveth them that keep not a diligent eye upon him; but having confidence in mens traditions and cuſtoms of the World, leaving the Commandments of God, and Teſtament of his Son Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, do grow more into ſuperſtition and hypocriſie, than into wiſdom and true holineſs. For this is moſt true, that Satan, the enemy of Souls, doth by his Miniſters make many believe, that thoſe things, which they compel us unto for their Bellies ſake, have many godly ſignifications, although they be moſt contrary to Gods will, as doubtleſs they be, even as did the Serpent in Paradiſe to our firſt Mother Eve. What (ſaid he) hath God commanded ye ſhall not eat of all the Trees in the Garden? The Woman ſaid, of the fruits of the Trees in the Garden we may eat: but of the Tree in the midſt of the Garden, ſaid God, ſee ye eat not leſt ye die. Even ſo our Miniſters now-

Satan tranſformeth himſelf in to an Angel of light.

As the Serpent ſeduced Eve by an Apple, ſo Prieſts ſeduce the People by Images.

now-adays, ſay, Hath God commanded ye ſhall not make you any Image or likeneſs of any thing? Yea forſooth. Tuſh, ſay they, what harm can they do? May we not remember God the better when we ſee his Image or Picture? For they are good Books for the Lay-men; but indeed they be better for the Prieſts, becauſe they receive the offerings.

Images more profitable Books for Prieſts than for Lay-men.

And look how truly the promiſe of the Serpent was kept with Eve, *ſo is the perſwaſion of our Prieſts found true to us. For as* Adam *and* Eve *did become like God in knowing good and evil, ſo are we in remembring God by his Image. For* Adams *eyes were ſo open, that he loſt both innocency and righteouſneſs, and was become moſt miſerable of all Creatures: and even ſo we remember Chriſt ſo well by Images, that we forget his Commandments, and count his Teſtament, confirmed in his Blood, for ſtark madneſs or hereſie; ſo miſerably have we remembred him, that of all People we are moſt blind: and this doth follow upon our preſumption, when we remember God by breaking of his Law: and therefore ſurely except we repent, ſhortly God will remember us in his wrath, and reward us with his plagues, as ſure as there is a God it will come to paſs.*

Sheterden propheſieth of Gods Plagues.

But I know the craftineſs of them herein (I thank God) which will ſay; Where went he to School? Is he wiſer than our great Doctors that ſtudied all their life? And lo, they ſay that it is good Hay; although we ſmell it muſty our ſelves, yet muſt we believe it is ſweet, and then pay them well for their ſo ſaying, and all is ſafe. But I might ſay again, What Sir, be ye wiſer than Chriſt, and God his Father, or the Holy Ghoſt? What, wiſer than the Prophets, and the holy Apoſtles, and all the holy Martyrs? I pray you Sir, where had you your high Learning? Is it higher than God (being in Heaven) is able to reach, or have ye ſet it lower in Hell than ever Chriſt durſt to venture? For it is ſome ſtrange Learning belike, that Chriſt and his Apoſtles could never attain to the knowledge of it. But vain men are never without ſome ſhift: for peradventure they will not be aſhamed to ſay, that Chriſt coming on his Fathers meſſage, did forget half his Errand by the way. For I dare ſay, the greater half of their Ceremonies were never commanded by Chriſt: Yea, I doubt it would be hard to find one in the Church perfectly as he left it: ſo Romiſhly *hath Antichriſt turned the Church upſide-down for lucres ſake.*

Learning againſt or without Gods Word is vain, and to no purpoſe.

Antichriſt hath turned the Church clean upſide down.

Beloved Mother, as I have aſtentimes ſaid unto you, even ſo now I beſeech you from my very heart-root in Chriſt, to conſider your own Souls health is offered you, do not caſt it of: we have not long time here. Why ſhould we deceive our ſelves either for eaſe of our fleſh, or for the winning of this worlds Treaſure: I know that ſome will ſay to you, Why ſhould we condemn our Fathers that lived thus: God forbid that we ſhould condemn any that did according to their knowledge. But let us take heed that they condemn not us for if they had heard the Word as we have, and had been warned as we have, it is to be thought that they would more thankfuly have received it than we do: yea, they were more faithful in that they knew, than many now are. Therefore they ſhall be our condemnation, if we do not imbrace this grace offered us. And ſurely look how many of them God will accept and ſave, thoſe ſhall we never ſee, nor have any part among them: for our diſobedience is more great than their ignorance. Wherefore if we will meet our Fathers in bliſs and joy, let us not refuſe his mercy offered more largely to us than to them, even according to Chriſts promiſe, which ſaid, after ſuch great ignorance as to ſeek him from Country to Country, and find him not; Yet ſhall the Goſpel *(ſaith he)* be preached in all the world, and then ſhall the end come.

The Fathers that heard no better are not to be condemned, but rather will condemn us that hear and receive it not.

And now let us know the time of our viſitation, and not turn back again, ſeeing we are once delivered: for ſurely God will not bear it at our hands to turn backward. O remember Lots Wife. God muſt needs puniſh out of hand our ſhameful backſliding, either with induration and hardneſs of heart, ſo that they ſhall perſecute his Church and his true Servants, or elſe reward it with open vengeance and plagues. And therefore, good Mother, accept this my ſimple Letter as a fruit of my love and obedience to you. Would God we might be ſo knit in Faith and truſt in Gods Word and Promiſes here in this life, as we might together enjoy the bliſs and conſolation of eternal Life; which I deſire and ſeek above all worldly treaſure, as ye partly know. If I would ſeek the good will of Men contrary to my Conſcience, I could make ſome my Friends which now peradventure are jealous over me amiſs. But I thank God, let them weigh the matter between God and their Conſciences, and they have no juſt cauſe ſo to do: Nevertheleſs I would they would yet refram and put their matter and mine into the ballance of Gods moſt holy Word, there to be weighed by the mind of the holy Ghoſt, expreſſed unto us by the holy Patriarks, and Prophets, and by Jeſus Chriſt our only Saviour and Mediator, amd by his holy Apoſtles; and then I doubt not, but our matter ſhall be ended with peace, and joyfulneſs of heart; which God grant us for his mercy ſake. Amen.

Gods viſitation not to be refuſed.

Your own Child, *Nicholas Sheterden*, Priſoner for the Truth in *Weſtgate*, 1555.

Anno 1555.

Experience how Gods Martyrs ſeek not the World.

A Letter to his Brother, *Walter Sheterden.*

I Wiſh you health in Chriſt, true knowledge of his Word, and a faithful obedient heart unto the ſame. It is ſhewed me, my Brother, that ye willed me by a Letter made to a Friend of yours to perſwade with me, that I ſhould be ruled by mine Uncle, which ſaith, he will beſtow his goods very largely upon me, if I ſhould not ſtand too high in mine own conceit. But, my good Brother, I truſt ye do not judge ſo evil of me, that I ſhould have a Faith to ſell for money. For though he or you were able to give me the treaſure of the whole Country, yet I thank my Lord God, I do judge it but an heap of dung, in reſpect of the treaſure hid within; yet I do eſteem a Buckle of your ſhoo, if it come with good will. And for to be counſeld and ruled by him or you, or any other my Friends, I do not, neither have refuſed it, if they require no more of me than my power, and that which belongeth to mortal men. But if they require of me any thing which pertaineth to God duly, there is neither high nor low, Friend nor Foe, I truſt in God, ſhall get it of me, nor yet the Angels in heaven.

My Uncle hath been with me, and made great Promiſes and great threats alſo.

For though I be not learned (as the vain men of the world call Learning) yet, I thank my Lord God, I have learned out of Gods Book, to know God from his Creatures, and to know Chriſt from his Sacraments, and to put a difference between the merits of Chriſts Paſſion and his Supper, and a difference between the Water of Baptiſm, and the Holy Ghoſt, and not to mix and mingle all things confuſedly together: ſo that if one ask me a queſtion or a reaſon of my Faith, I muſt ſay thus; I believe as the holy Church beleiveth: if he ask me what is the order of that Faith, I ſhould be ſo ignorant that I could not diſcern God from his Creatures, nor Chriſt from his Sacraments; If I ſhould ſo monſtrouſly utter my Faith, that I were not able to judge between Chriſts birth and his burial, nor which were firſt, of his mortification, and his glorification, who would believe that my Faith were ſound?

No order nor reaſon in the Popes Doctrine.

For ſome affirm that Chriſt did not give to his Apoſtles a mortal and a paſſible Body, but an immortal and glorified Body, ſo that he ſhould have a glorified Body before his Death, and ſo his Glorification was before his Reſurrection; and that he was riſen before he was crucified, and crucified before his Baptiſm, and then they may as well ſay, he was baptiſed before his birth, and born before he was conceived, and conceived before he was promiſed, and that were even right Antichriſt to turn all things backward, and then ſay, Oh, ye muſt believe, for God is Almighty, he can do all things, &c. Truth it is, that God is almighty indeed, and yet I may not belive things contrary to his Word, that Chriſts Body was glorified before he died: for Gods Omnipotency doth not ſtand in things contrary to his will, but in performing his will at his pleaſure in time, Neither doth he require of us to judge or believe of his Almighty power, that he hath made the end of the world to come before the beginning, or yet the fruit to come before the bloſſom, and yet is he nevertheleſs Almighty.

So ſhould we have two Bodies at once, one glorified, and another mortal.

We are bound to believe what God hath expreſly willed, not what he is able to do.

But if peradventure you ſhall think with your ſelf, Why, they are Learned; it were marvel but they ſhould know what is the truth, as well as other which never kept any ſuch Study, &c. To that I anſwer, that if thy had ſtudied

Gods

Anno 1555.

Gods word, the Author of Truth, as they have done Logick, and Duns, *with the Legend of Lies, they ſhould have been as expert in the Truth, as they be now in bald Reaſons. But thus hath God fulfilled his promiſe, that ſuch ſhould be deluded with Lies, which would not believe nor walk in his Truth.*

He ſpeaketh not againſt the true uſe of Logick.

And again; this is a good cauſe to make us think ſurely, that this was the cauſe that God gave them over at the firſt to error, after the Apoſtles time by little and little, as they grew in ſin. For ſeeing we had his Truth now among us a few years, becauſe we did not obey unto it, we ſee what a ſudden change God hath brought upon us for our ſins ſake. And why ſhould not we think that this and ſuch like diſobedience was the cauſe that God took his word from all Chriſtendom at the firſt, and caſt a darkneſs upon them that would not walk in his light? For it is evident enough to ſee how unlike their doings be to Chriſts and his Apoſtles: and that ſeen, either we muſt judge Chriſts doings very ſlender, and theirs good, or elſe that indeed they be the very Antichriſts, which ſhould come and turn all things out of frame. Thus I have been bold to trouble you, which I truſt ſhall not be altogether in vain. Pray for me as I do for you.

Why God taketh his Word from Realms.

Your Brother *Nicholas Sheterden*,
Priſoner for the Truth in *Weſtgate*.

Another Letter to his Brother

Another Letter of *Nicholas Sheterden* to his Brother.

GOd, which is the giver of all goodneſs, and that freely for his love to us (not only without our deſerts, but contrary to the ſame) grant you my Brother, ſuch increaſe of godly knowledg and love unto the vertues thereunto belonging, as may give you ſuch a taſt in heavenly things, that all treaſures of earthly things may ſavour to you, as indeed they are, moſt vain and uncertain, ſo ſhall ye never take them for better than they be. Yea, whether God take them from us, or give them unto us, we ſhall know our ſelves neither richer nor poorer before God. But if we lay up in our hearts the treaſure of his Word, we ſhall not only enrich our ſelves againſt the time of need, but alſo arm our ſelves againſt the battle with weapons and harneſs, which is invincible, and cloath our ſelves againſt the marriage. For behold, the Lord hath called us of long time to the feaſt, and blown the Trumpet to prepare the battle. Let us know the time of our viſitation, leſt the Lord ſitting on his mount, bewail our deſtruction, which he deſireth not, but becauſe he is juſt to puniſh ſuch as continue in ſin, even as he is merciful to forgive the repentant that turn in time; for ſo is God that cannot deny himſelf.

Time of Gods viſitation to be received.

Let us therefore in this day, while it is called to day, hear his voyce, and not harden our hearts by reſiſtance of his will, leſt he ſwear in his wrath, that, we ſhall not enter into his reſt. Let us count it ſufficient, that we have ſpent the time paſt (as S. *Peter* ſaith) after the will of the *Gentiles*, in eating and drinking, chambering and wantonneſs, and in abominable Idolatry, &c. And now let us aſſay a new life, and trade our members in vertue another while, leſt peradventure we might run paſt any return in the contrary. But if we now return and lay hand of his word in deed and verity, as we have long time done in talk and liberty, then will God heap upon us ſuch certificate of Conſcience, as ſhall kindle our conſolation in him, ſo that all treaſure ſhall be dung to the excellent knowledge of our Saviour. Dear Brother, my hearts deſire and and Prayer to God is, that we may together enjoy the bliſs of eternal inheritance by one ſpiriritual regeneration and new birth, as we are joyned by nature. But alack the way and mean thereunto hath been much neglected of me (I will not ſay of you) for I had rather ye ſhould accuſe your ſelf: for no doubt the beſt of us both hath not ſought for wiſdom in Gods Word, as ſome in the world whom we know have ſought for mony: therefore they ſhall be our Judges, if we do not learn by them: yea the very Emmet, as *Solomon* ſaith, doth teach us to provide for the time to come; for ſhe provideth in Summer againſt Winter.

Certificate of Conſcience.

Spiritual proviſion.

3 Eſd. 4.

This is the beſt token I have for you now, which though it be ſimple, yet ſhall it declare partly my hearts deſire to you ward, which is even as to mine own Soul. Let nothing diſmay you for my cauſe: but be ye ſure I ſhall have victory in the Truth, which Truth is ſtronger than Kings, Wine, or Women. For as *Zorobabel* ſaith; Wine is unrighteous, the King is unrighteous, Women are unrighteous, yea all the Children of men are unrighteous, but the Truth endureth, and is always ſtrong, and conquereth for ever without end: Therefore this is to deſire you and all other my Friends that wiſh me good, to pray that God will always keep me in his Truth, as he hath begun, which prayer, if it be of ſuch a mind as laboureth to depart from evil, ſhall be to me the greateſt pleaſure under Heaven. For I deſire nothing in compariſon of Gods Truth, I thank him of his mercy, which ſo hath wrought: for I take it as a ſure ſeal of the endleſs Joy which ſhall hereafter follow; which God bring us unto, when his will and pleaſure is, *Amen*. From *Canterbury*.

The victory of Truth.

By yours Nicholas, Sheterden.

Another Letter of Nicholas Sheterden *to his Mother.*

To his Mother another Letter written the day before his death.

OMy good Mother, whom I love with reverence in the Lord, and according to my duty, I deſire your favorable bleſſing and forgiveneſs of all my miſdeeds towards you. Oh my good Mother, in few words, I wiſh you the ſame ſalvation, which I hope my ſelf to feel, and partly taſt of before this come to you to read; and in the reſurrection, I verily believe to have it more perfectly in Body and ſoul joyned together for ever: and in that day God grant you to ſee my face with joy: but, dear Mother, then beware of that great Idolatry, and blaſphemous Maſs. Oh let not that be your God, which mice and worms can devour. Behold I call Heaven and Earth to record, that it is no God, yea the fire that conſumeth it, and the moiſtneſs that cauſeth it to mould, and I take Chriſts Teſtament to witneſs, that it is none of his ordinances, but a meer invention of men, and a ſnare to catch innocents Blood; and now that God hath ſhewed it unto you, be warned in time. Oh give over old cuſtoms, and become new in the Truth. What ſtate ſoever your Father be in, leave that to God; and let us follow the councel of his Word. Dear Mother, imbrace it with hearty affection, read it with obedience, let it be your paſtime; but yet caſt of all carnal affections, and Love of worldly things: ſo ſhall we meet in Joy at the laſt day, or elſe I bid you farewel for ever more: O farewel my Friends and lovers all, God grant me to ſee your faces in Joy. *Amen.*

Teſtimony and warning againſt the Idol of the Altar.

Whatſoever the Fathers were, Gods Word muſt needs be followed.

From Weſtgate *the* 11 *of* July, 1555.
Your Child, written with his hand, and ſealed with his Blood, Nicholas Sheterden, *being appointed to be ſlain.*

The Copy of a Letter written to his Wife.

Another Letter of *Nicholas* Sheterden to his Wife.

I *Wrote unto you as one that longed more to hear of your health, than of all worldly treaſure, willing you to intreat* Eſau *the elder Brother by nature gently, giving to him his own, yea, and offer him one of the droves, and ſay they be* Jacobs, *and are ſent for a preſent to my Lord* Eſau, *but he will not take it, &c. Now my Beloved ye know the bleſſing of our Father is, that the elder ſhall ſerve the younger, and wiſdom our Mother hath taught us the ſame, and I know ye do complain of your * ſervant the fleſh, that he is rebellious, diſobedient, and untoward; unruly and crookedly ye think he doth his ſervice: but yet behold, how ſhall ye plead your cauſe before an indifferent Judge? For if it be true that his ſervice be not according to his duty, as it is many times found in Servants; yet, I ſay, can you ſhew your cauſe to no indifferent Judge, but he ſhall object againſt you that he is not kept like a ſervant, but he lacketh both meat and drink, and other neceſſaries meet and due for a ſervant: ſo ſhall ye take more ſhame of your own complaint, than remedy or vantage againſt your ſervant, and it ſhall be a cloak for him to hide all his rebellion and untoward ſervice, becauſe ye have miſuſed him.*

* By this Servant belike he meant her own body, which ſhe pinched too much with penury or faſting more than needed.

And therefore my ſentence is, that ye patiently bear with him in ſmall faults, and amend your own great faults, as Oppreſſion, Cruelty, and Coveteouſneſs, requiring more than a Servant can do, ſpecially being tyred with labour, famined with hunger, and lamed with ſtripes. And theſe things amended, if he do his ſervice negligently

How a mans Body is to be ordered with diſcretion.

Anno 1555.

*as no doubt ſometime he will) yet then he may boldly correct him with diſcretion, and ſometime if he do not his Taſk, ye may make him go to bed Supperleſs: but yet beat him not with durable ſtrokes, neither with-hold his meat in due time, and pinch him not by the *Belly continually, but let him have ſomething to joy in: only watch him, and keep him from doing of harm. Though he be but a ſtranger in the life that is in God; yet be good to ſtrangers for we are all ſtrangers in darkneſs, and Captives in ſin, as well ſoul and ſpirit, being in Egypt, as now the fleſh is yet unbaptized with the terrible Red Sea of death, and remember that one law abideth for the ſtranger, I mean one reward abideth both for Body and ſoul in the land of everlaſting reſt. And (†) therefore intreat him gently, and deal with him juſtly now: for the time will come that the yoke of Bondage ſhall be taken from his neck, and he ſhall be a fellow heir with your younger Brother.*

* Corporis curam agite, non ad concupiſcencias.

† The Body of man is redeemed as well as the Soul.

Circumciſe him therefore, but do not miſuſe him, nor keep him from his own, but deal mercifully with the ſtranger, that he may ſay, Oh of what underſtanding heart is this people: Who hath God? Or where is God ſo nigh as to theſe? God make you wiſe and politick in heart, victorious in the field of this world, to rule the Nations with a rod: but kill not the Gibeonites, *with whom peace is taken; but let them draw Water, and hew wood, but give them their meat and drink due for Labourers, and be glad becauſe your diſeaſe is ſo remedied: for it is better and eaſier for a thirſty labouring man to drink, then for a drunken man to tell a ſober tale. Yea, it is a token that ye have earneſtly followed your labour, and not kept company with drunkards and belly-gods: and therefore be glad I ſay, yea, and glad again; for great is your reward in heaven; yea bleſſed ſhall they be, that in this your zeal ſhall meet you, and withdraw your hand from revenging your ſelf upon that churliſh* Nabal: *which thing I hope to doe now with theſe ſweet Raiſons, and frails of Figs, I being of one houſe with your ſervant* Nabal, *I dare ſay to you that churliſhneſs is his name: but revenge not, for the Lord ſhall do it in his due time. Farewel mine own Heart.*

The Gibeonites, though they be but ſtrangers and not to be pampered, yet are they not to be caſt out.

Yours in bonds at *Weſtgate*,

Nicholas Sheterden.

The next day after the condemnation of theſe foreſaid, which was the 26. day of *July*, were alſo condemned for the ſame Articles, W. *Coker*, W. *Hopper* of *Cambrook*, *Henry Laurence*, *Richard Wright* of *Aſhford*, *W. Stere* of *Aſhford*. But becauſe the execution of theſe Martyrs pertaineth not to this month, more ſhall be ſaid, the Lord willing, of them, when we come to the month following of *Auguſt*.

Nicholas Hall, *and* Chriſtopher Waid, *Martyrs.*

July 19. *Nich. Hall* and *Chriſtopher Waid*, Martyrs.

THe ſame month of *July* next after the ſuffering of the *Kentiſhmen* above named followed the death and Martyrdom of *Nicholas Hall Bricklayer*. and *Chriſtopher Waid* of *Dartford*, which both were condemned by *Maurice*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, about the laſt day of the month of *June*. The ſix Articles miniſtred to them were of the ſame ordinary courſe and effect with the Articles of the other Martyrs before ſpecified, the brief ſum whereof were theſe.

* *A breif ſum of their Articles.*

Articles objected againſt *Nich. Hall* and *Chriſtopher Waid*.

1. FIrſt, that they were Chriſtian men and profeſſed the Catholick determinations of our Mother holy Church.

2. That they which maintain or hold otherwiſe then our holy Mother the Catholick Church doth, are Hereticks.

3. That they hold and maintain, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine, is not the very Body and Blood of Chriſt. And that the ſaid very Body of Chriſt is verily in heaven only, and not in the Sacrament.

4. *Item*, that they have and do hold and maintain, that the Maſs, as it is now uſed in the Catholick Church, is naught and abominable.

5. *Item*, that they have been and be amongſt the people of that Juriſdiction vehemently ſuſpected upon the premiſſes, and thereupon Indicted, &c.

Their Anſwers.

Their Anſwers.

TO theſe Articles they anſwered, as commonly others uſed to do, which ſtand with Chriſt and his truth againſt theſe pretended Catholicks, and their ſiniſter Doctrine. Firſt granting themſelves Chriſtian men, and acknowledging the determinations of the holy Church, that is, of the Congregation or Body of Chriſt; Save that *Hall* denied to call the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church his Mother, becauſe he found not this word, *Mother*, in the Scripture.

This word Mother Church is not found in the Scripture.

To the ſecond they granted. To the third Article as touching the very Body and Blood of Chriſt to be under the forms of Bread and Wine in ſubſtance they would not grant, only affirming the very Body of him to be in Heaven, and the Sacrament to be a token or remembrance of Chriſts death; *Nicholas Hall* adding moreover, and ſaying, That whereas before he held the Sacrament to be but only a token or remembrance of Chriſts death, now he ſaid, that there is neither token nor remembrance, becauſe it is now miſuſed and clean turned from Chriſts inſtitution, &c. And concerning the Maſs in the fourth Article, to be abominable, *Chriſtopher Waid* with the other anſwered, that as they had confeſſed before, ſo would they now not go from that they had ſaid. To the fifth Article, for the peoples ſuſpicion they made no great accompt nor ſticking to grant to the ſame.

Anſwer of *Nich. Hall*.

Anſwer of *Chr. Waid*.

And thus much concerning the Articles and Anſwers of theſe good men. Which being received, immediately ſentence of Condemnation was pronounced by the ſaid *Maurice* the Biſhop againſt them, the copy of which ſentence as it runneth much what after the common courſe in condemning all other like Servants of Chriſt, ſo the ſame being exemplified before in the ſtory of Maſter *Rogers*, ſhall not greatly need here again to be repeated, but rather may be referred over to the place above noted. *Nicholas Hall* was burned at *Rocheſter* about the 19. day of *July*.

Condemnation of *Nich. Hall* and *Chriſtopher Waid*, Martyrs.

Furthermore, with the foreſad *Hall* and *Waid*, in the ſame month of *July*, three other more were condemned by *Maurice*, Biſhop aforenamed, whoſe names were *Joan Beach* Widow, *John Harpol* of *Rocheſter*, and *Margery Polley*. Of which *Margery Polley*, touching her examination and condemnation here followeth in ſtory.

Ex Regiſtro.

The Condemnation and Martyrdom of Margery Polley.

Ex Regiſtro *Margery Polley*, Widow and Martyr.

MArgery Polley widow, Wife ſome time of *Richard Polley* of *Pepingbery*, was accuſed and brought before the ſaid *Maurice*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, about the beginning of the month of *June*. Which Biſhop according to the Pontifical ſolemnity of that Church, riſing up out of the Chair of his Majeſty, in the high ſwelling ſtile after his ordinary faſhion to daſh the ſilly pror Woman, beginning in theſe words.

We Maurice, *by the ſufferance of God, Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *proceeding of our meer office in a cauſe of Hereſie, againſt thee* Margery Polley, *of the pariſh of* Pepingbery, *of our Dioceſs and Juriſdiction of* Rocheſter, *do lay and object againſt thee all and ſingular theſe Articles enſuing. To the which, and to every parcel of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plain anſwer, by vertue of thine Oath thereupon to be given, &c.*

Thus the Oath firſt being miniſtred, and the Articles commenced againſt her, which Articles were the ſame that were miniſtred to *Nicholas Hall* and *Waid* before, ſhe ſo framed her Anſwers again, eſpecially anſwering to the third and fourth Article, that ſhe neither allowed the Deity of their Sacrament, nor the abſurdity of their Maſs. For the which, Sentence was read againſt her about the begin-

Anno 1555. The Condemnation of *Margery Polley.*

begining of *June*, and ſhe condemned for the ſame. But becauſe her death followed not upon the ſame, we will therefore deferr the tractation thereof to the due place and time, firſt ſetting down in order of hiſtory the execution of *Chriſtopher Wade* above mentioned.

The Execution and Martyrdom of Chriſtopher Waid.

Chriſtopher Waid of Darford, in the County of *Kent*, Linnen-Weaver, was condemned by *Maurice*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and appointed to be burned at *Darford* aforeſaid. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of *July*, there was betimes in the morning carried out of the Town, in a Cart, a Stake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the Town, called the *Brimth*, into a gravel pit thereby, the common place of the execution of Felons. Thither alſo was brought a load of Broom-faggots, with other Faggots and Tall-wood. Unto which place reſorted the people of the Country in great number, and there tarried his coming. Inſomuch as thither came divers Fruiterers with horſ-loads of Cherries, and ſold them. About ten of the Clock cometh riding the Sheriff, with a great many of other Gentlemen, and Retinue, appointed to aſſiſt him therein, and with them *Waid*, riding pinioned by him one *Margery Polley* of *Tunbridge*, both ſinging of a Pſalm; which *Margery*, as ſoon as ſhe eſpied afar off the multitude gathered about the place where he ſhould ſuffer, waiting his coming, ſhe ſaid unto him very loud and cheerfully; *You may rejoyce* Waid *to ſee ſuch a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day.*

And ſo paſſing by the place, which joyned hard to the high-way, they were carried ſtraight down to the town, where ſhe was kept until the Sheriff returned from *Waids* execution. And *Waid* being made ready, and ſtripped out of his clothes in an Inn, had brought unto him a fair long white ſhirt from his wife, which being put on, and he pinoned, was led up on foot again to the foreſaid place. And coming ſtraight to the ſtake, he took it in his arms, embracing it, and kiſſed it, ſetting his back unto it, and ſtanding in a Pitchbarrel, wich was taken from the Beacon, being hard by; then a Smith brought a hoop of Iron, and with two ſtaples, made him faſt to the ſtake under his arms.

As ſoon as he was thus ſetled, he ſpake, with his hands and eyes lifted up to Heaven, with a cheerful and loud voyce, the laſt verſe of the lxxxvi. *Pſalm*; *Shew ſome good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me, may ſee it, and be aſhamed; becauſe thou Lord haſt helped me, and comforted me.* Near unto the ſtake was a little hill, upon the top whereof were pitched up four ſtayes, quadrangle wiſe, with a covering round about like a Pulpit: into the which place, as *Waid* was thus praying at the ſtake, entered a Frier with a Book in his hand; whom when *Waid* eſpied, he cried earneſtly unto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of *Babylon*, exhorting them to embrace the Doctrine of the Goſpel preached in King *Edwards* days. whom the Sheriff thus ſpeaking to the people, often interrupted, ſaying, Be quiet *Waid*, and die patiently. I am (ſaid he) I thank God, quiet, Maſter Sheriff, and ſo truſt to die. All this while the Frier ſtood ſtill looking over the Coverlet, as though he would have uttered ſomewhat: but *Waid* very mightily admoniſhed the people to beware of that Doctrine; which when the Frier perceived, whether he were amazed, or could have no audience of the people, withdrew himſelf out of the place immediatly, without ſpeaking any word, and went away down to the Town. Then the Reeds being ſet about him, he pulled them, and imbraced them in his arms, always with his hands making a hole againſt his face, that his voyce might be heard, which they perceiving that were his Tormentors, alway caſt faggots at the ſame hole, which, notwithſtanding, he ſtill, as he could, put off, his face being hurt with the end of a Faggot caſt thereat. Then fire being put unto him, he cried unto God often, *Lord Jeſus receive my ſoul*; without any token or ſign of impatiency in the fire, till at length, after the fire was once thorowly kindled, he was heard by no man to ſpeak, ſtill holding his hands up over his head together towards heaven, even when he was dead and altogether roſted, as though they had bin ſtaied up with a prop ſtanding under them.

This ſign did God ſhew upon him, whereby his very Enemies might perceive, that God had according to his prayer ſhewed ſuch a token upon him, even to their ſhame and confuſion. And this was the order of this godly Martyrs execution, this was his end. Whereby God ſeemed to confound and ſtrike with the ſpirit of dumbneſs the Frier that Locuſt which was riſen up to have ſpoken againſt him; and alſo no leſs wonderfully ſuſtaining thoſe hands which he lifted up to him for comfort in his torment.

Spectatores præſentes Richardus Fletcher *Pater, nunc Miniſter Eccleſiæ* Crambroke, Richardus Fletcher *filius*, *Miniſter Eccleſiæ* Kienſis.

The apprehenſion, examination, condemnation, and burning of Dirick Carver *and* John Launder, *who ſuffered Martyrdom for the teſtimony of Chriſts Goſpel.*

THe 22. day of this month of *July*, was burned at *Lewes*, within the County of *Suſſex*, one *Dirick Carver*, late of the pariſh of *Brighthamſted* in the ſame County. And the next day (being the 23 day of the ſame month) was alſo burned at *Stening*, another named *John Launder*, late of *Godſtone* in the County of *Surry*. Which two men were (with others) about the end of the month of October, *Anno* 1554. apprehended by *Edward Gage*, Gentleman, as they were at prayer within the dwelling-houſe of the ſaid *Dirick*; and by him were ſent up unto the Queens Councel. Who, after examination, ſent them as priſoners to *Newgate*, there to attend the leiſure of *Boner* Biſhop of *London*. From whence (upon the Biſhops receipt of a Letter from the Lord Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* now Lord Treaſurer) they were brought by the Keeper of the Priſon the 8. of *June* next after, into the Biſhops Chamber at his houſe in *London*; and there (being examined upon divers points of Religion) they made their ſeveral confeſſions, ſubſcribing and ſigning them with their own hands. Which being read, the Biſhop objected unto them certain other Articles, cauſing them to ſwear truly and directly to anſwer thereunto; which Articles they confeſſed to be true, referring themſelves chiefly to their former Confeſſions.

July 22. and 23. *Dirick Carver*, and John Launder, Martyrs. *Edw. Gage*, Gentleman, Perſecutor.

Carver and *Launder* appearing before Biſhop *Boner.*

This done, after long perſwaſions and fair exhortations, they were demanded whether they would ſtand to their Anſwers. To whom *Launder* ſaid, I will never go from theſe Anſwers ſo long as I live. The other alſo confirmed the ſame, and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the Biſhop in the Conſiſtory at *Pauls*, the tenth day of the ſame month next following. Which Articles and Confeſſion, with the aforementioned Letter do here enſue.

A Letter from the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, Lord Treaſurer, unto *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, touching the examination of the ſaid Priſoners.

After my right hearty Commendations to your good Lordſhip, I ſhall not forget your livery of Black againſt this time; no more I ſhall Mr. Dean, to whom I wrote to make the Sermon, who muſt now aſſuredly do it: for my Lord of Chicheſter *cannot attend it. To whom I have given like knowledge by my Letter now ſent, and your Lordſhip muſt command the Sextons of your Church to be in a readineſs for ringing in the time of ſervice. And if ye be not furniſhed with Black apparel for the Altar, and for the Prieſt, Deacon and Subdeacon, I muſt have knowledge thereof, that it be taken of the Queens ſtuff, whereof I pray you let me be advertiſed.*

Theſe Funerals were for the Kings Grandmother the old Queen of *Spain.*

A *Significavit* to be ſent to the Lord Treaſurer for burning of *Bradford.* He meaneth *Dirick Carver* and *Joh. Launder.*

And ye have ſent Bradford *to* Newgate, *as a man convicted of hereſie before you: but as I perceive ye have not ſent me a* Significavit, *and therefore you muſt ſend me one, that I may proceed with him, and that ſhall I do, as ſoon as I am anſwered of you.*

There be divers like Priſoners that came from Suſſex, *that be not yet examined before you, lying now in* Newgate, *which muſt be examined by you, ſince they be come to* London, *and ſo I pray they may be, and I certified of your proceedings, that I may follow, which I ſhall do, thanking your Lordſhip heartily for my Conies, truſting*

Lord Treaſurer calleth upon *Boner* for examination of theſe two Perſons.

truſting to recompence your Lordſhip again ſhortly with twice as many. From my Houſe this ſeventh of June, 1555.

Your loving Friend,
Wincheſt.

The Confeſſion of Dirick Carver, *before* Boner *Biſhop of* London.

Dirick Carver his Confeſſion.

DIrick *Carver* Beer-Brewer of *Brighthamſted*, in the County of *Suſſex*, where he hath dwelled by the ſpace of 8 or 9 years, born in the Village of *Dilſon* by *Stockom* in the Land of *Luke*, 40 years of Age, or thereabout, and now Priſoner in *Newgate*, where he hath remained and continued at the Councils commandment, ſince *Alhalown* day laſt paſt, being examined concerning his faith and belief in the Sacrament of the Altar, ſaith, that he hath, and doth believe, that the very ſubſtance of the Body and Blood of Chriſt is not in the ſaid Sacrament, and that there is no other ſubſtance remaining in the ſaid Sacrament after the words ſpoken by the Prieſt, but only the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine.

The materiall ſubſtance of the Sacrament denied to be the Body of Chriſt really.

Item, Being examined concerning the Maſs in Latin now uſed in the Church of *England*, he believeth that there is no Sacrifice in the ſaid Maſs, and that there is in it no ſalvation for a Chriſtian man, except it ſhould be ſaid in the Mother Tongue, that he might underſtand it; and concerning the Ceremonies of the Church, he ſaith and believeth, that they be not profitable to a Chriſtian man.

The uſe and ſacrifice of the Latine Maſs denied.

Auricular Confeſſion and Abſolution of the Prieſt rejected.

Item, Being examined concerning auricular Confeſſion, he anſwereth, That he hath and doth believe, that it is neceſſary to go to a good Prieſt for good counſel; but the abſolution of the Prieſt, laying his hand upon any mans head, as is now uſed, is nothing profitable to a Chriſtian mans ſalvation. And further he ſaith, that he hath not been confeſſed, nor received the Sacrament of the Altar, ſince the Coronation of the Queen that now is.

The Faith of the Church of England in Q. Maries time reproved.

Item, Concerning the Faith and Religion now taught, ſet forth and believed in the Church of *England*, he anſwereth and believeth, that the Faith and Doctrine now taught, ſet forth, and uſed in the ſaid Church of *England*, is not agreeable to Gods Word. And furthermore he ſaith, that Biſhop *Hooper*, *Cardmaker*, *Rogers*, and others of their Opinion, which were of late burned, were good Chriſtian men, and did preach the true Doctrine of Chriſt, as he believeth; and ſaith that they did ſhed their Blood in the ſame Doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he ſaith and believeth.

And further being examined, he ſaith, That ſince the Queens Coronation, he hath had the Bible and Pſalter in Engliſh, read in his houſe at *Brighthamſted* divers times, and likewiſe ſince his coming into *Newgate:* but the Keeper hearing thereof, did take them away; and ſaith alſo, that about a Twelve-month now paſt, he had the *Engliſh* Proceſſion ſaid in his Houſe, with other *Engliſh* Prayers. And further ſaith, that *Thomas Iveſon*, *John Launder*, and *William Veſie* being Priſoners with him in *Newgate*, were taken with this Examinate in his Houſe at *Brighthamſted*, as they were hearing of the Goſpel, then read in *Engliſh*, a little before *Alhalown* day laſt paſt, and brought into the Court: and being examined thereupon by the Council, were committed by them to Priſon in *Newgate*.

Iveſon, Launder and Veſie, Impriſoned for hearing the Goſpel.

The Confeſſion of John Launder, *before* Boner *Biſhop of* London.

John Launder his Confeſſion.

JOhn *Launder* Husbandman of the Pariſh of *Godſtone*, in the County of *Surrey*, of the Age of 25 years, born at *Godſtone* aforeſaid, being examined, doth confeſs and ſay, that about two days next before *Alhalowntide* laſt paſt, this Examinate and one *Dirick Carver*, *Thomas Iveſon*, *William Veſie*, with divers other Perſons to the number of twelve, (being altogether in their Prayers, ſaying the Service in *Engliſh*, ſet forth in the time of King *Edward* the Sixth, in the Houſe of the ſaid *Dirick*, ſcituate at *Brighthamſted* in *Suſſex*) were apprehended by one M. *Edw. Gage*, and by him ſent up hither to *London*, to the King and Queens Council, and by them (upon his examination) committed to *Newgate*, where he with his ſaid other Fellows, hath ever ſince remained in Priſon. Anno 1555.

The cauſe of the apprehenſion of John Launder.

And further being examined, he doth confeſs and ſay, that the occaſion of his coming to the ſaid *Brighthamſted* was upon certain buſineſs there to be ſped for his Father: and ſo being there, and hearing that the ſaid *Dirick* was a man that did much favour the Goſpel, this Examinate did reſort to his houſe and company, whom before that time he did never ſee or know, and by reaſon of that his reſort, he was apprehended as before: And further doth confeſs and believe, that there is here in Earth one whole and Univerſal Catholick Church, whereof the Members be diſperſed through the World, and doth believe alſo, that the ſame Church doth ſet forth and teach only two Sacraments, *Videlicet*, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the Supper of our Lord. And whoſoever doth teach or uſe any more Sacraments; or yet any Ceremonies, he doth not believe that they be of the Catholick Church, but doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart: And doth further ſay and believe that all the Service, Sacrifices and Ceremonies, now uſed in this Realm of *England* (yea and in all other parts of the world, which hath been uſed after the ſame manner) be erroneous and naught and contrary to Chriſts inſtitution, and the determination of Chriſts Catholick Church whereof he believeth that he himſelf is a member.

Two Sacraments only.

Ceremonies abhorred.

The real preſence of Chriſts Body under the forms of Bread and Wine denied.

Alſo he doth confeſs and believe, that in the Sacrament now called the Sacrament of the Altar there is not really, and truly contained, under the forms of Bread and Wine, the very natural Body and Blood of Chriſt in ſubſtance: but his belief and faith therein is as followeth, *videlicet*, that when he doth receive the material Bread and Wine he doth receive the ſame in a remembrance of Chriſts death and paſſion, and ſo receiving it, he doth eat and drink Chriſts Body and Blood by faith and none other ways as he believeth.

The Maſs abominable.

And moreover he doth confeſs, ſay, and believe, that the Maſs now uſed in the Realm of *England*, or elſewhere in all Chriſtendom, is naught and abominable, and directly againſt Gods Word, and his Catholick Church; and that there is nothing ſaid or uſed in it good and profitable. For he ſaith, that albeit the *Gloria in excelſis*, the Creed, *Sanctus Paternoſter*, *Agnus*, and other parts of the Maſs be of themſelves good and profitable, yet the ſame being uſed amongſt other things that be naught and ſuperfluous in the Maſs, the ſame good things do become naught alſo, as he believeth.

Auricular Confeſſion not neceſſary.

Alſo he doth believe and confeſs that auricular Confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to any Prieſt, or to any other creature, but every perſon ought to acknowledge and Confeſs his ſins only to God; and alſo that no perſon hath any authority to abſolve any man from his ſins and alſo believeth that the right and true way (according to the Scripture) after a man hath ſain from grace to ſin, to ariſe to Chriſt again, is to be ſorry for his offences, and to do the ſame or the like no more; and not to make any auricular Confeſſion of them to the Prieſt, either to take abſolution for them at the Prieſts hands. All which his ſaid Opinions he hath believed by the ſpace of theſe ſeven or eight years paſt, and in that time hath divers and many times openly argued and defended the ſame, as he ſaith, &c.

Articles objected by Boner *Biſhop of* London *againſt* Dirick Carver *and* John Launder

Articles laid to Dirick Carver and John Launder.

1. FIrſt, I do object againſt you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, being within the ſaid priſon of *Newgate*, and within this ſaid City of *London* are of my Juriſdiction (being Biſhop of *London*) and ſubject unto the ſame, offending and treſpaſſing within the ſaid priſon and City in matters of Religion, and concerning the Catholick faith and belief of the Church in any wiſe.

Sacraments of Penance, and the Altar.

2. *Item*, I do object againſt you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, ſince your firſt coming and entring into the ſaid priſon, and during your abode there, both there and in ſundry places within this City and Diocеſs of *London*, have holden, maintained, and defended ſundry opinions againſt the Sacraments of the Church, eſpecially

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eſpecially againſt the Sacrament of Penance, and alſo againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

Real Preſence.

3. *Item*, I do likewiſe object that ye, and every of you, in all or ſome of the ſaid places, have (as concerning the Sacrament of the Altar) holden, maintained and defended, to the beſt of your power, that in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar there is not the very ſubſtance of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, but that in the Sacrament there is only the ſubſtance of natural Bread and Wine, and no other ſubſtance.

The Latine Maſs.

4. *Item*, I do likewiſe object that you, and every of you, in all or ſome of the ſaid places, have, concerning the Maſs in Latin now uſed in the Church, and the ſacrifice of the ſame, holden, maintained, and likewiſe defended, that the ſaid Maſs is not good or profitable, and that there is no ſacrifice in the ſame.

5. *Item*, I do likewiſe object, that you and every of you, in all or ſome of the places, have concerning the ceremonies of the Church, holden, maintained, and likewiſe defended, that the ſaid ceremonies are not profitable to a Chriſtian man, but hurtful and evil.

Auricular confeſſion.

6. *Item*, I do likwiſe object, that you and every of you, in all or ſome of the ſaid places, have concerning the Sacrament of Penance, holden, maintained, and likewiſe defended, that auricular Confeſſion (being a part thereof) albeit it may be made unto a good Prieſt for councel, yet the abſolution of the Prieſt, laying his hand upon any mans head, and doing as is now uſually done in the Church, is nothing profitable to any mans ſalvation, and that therefore ye neither have been confeſſed to the Prieſt after the uſual manner of the Church, nor yet received the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar ſince the coronation of the Queens Majeſty, which is more then the ſpace of one whole year and a half.

The Faith and doctrine of the Church of *England*.

7. *Item*, I do likewiſe object, that ye and every of you, in all or ſome of the ſaid places, concerning the Faith and Religion now taught, ſet forth, uſed and believed in the Church of this Realm of *England*, and the Doctrine of the ſame, have holden, believed and ſaid, that it is not agreeable to Gods Word, but clean contrary to the ſame.

Defending of *Hooper*, *Cardmaker*, *Rogers*, &c.

8. *Item*, I do likewiſe object, that ye and every of you, in all, or ſome of the ſaid places, have believed, ſpoken, and ſaid, and to your power upholden maintained, and ſaid, that Biſhop *Hooper*, *Cardmaker*, *Rogers*, and others of their Opinion, which of late within this Realm were burnt for Hereſie, were good Chriſtian men, in ſpeaking and holding againſt the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar and that they did preach nothing but the true Doctrine of Chriſt, ſhedding their Blood for the maintenance of the ſaid Doctrine.

Engliſh Service defending the Religion uſed in King *Edwards* time.

9. *Item*, I do likewiſe object, that ye and every of you, have earneſtly laboured and travelled, to the beſt and uttermoſt of your power, to have up again the Engliſh Service, and the Communion in all points, as was uſed in the later days of *K. Edward* the Sixth, here in this Realm of *England*.

10. *Item*, I do likewiſe object, that ye and every of you have thought and do think firmly and ſtedfaſtly, and ſo have and do believe, that the Faith, Religion, and Doctrine, ſet forth in the ſaid time of the fore ſaid King *Edward*, was in all points good and godly, containing in it the true Faith and Religion of Chriſt, in every part.

Abſence from Popiſh ſervice.

11. *Item*, Ido likewiſe object and ſay, that ye, and every of you (for your misbelief, offence, tranſgeſſion, and miſbehaviour in the premiſſes, and for that alſo that you would not come to your ſeveral Pariſh Churches, and hear your divine Service there, as other Chriſtian people did and do; but abſent your ſelves from the ſame, and have your private Service in your houſes, eſpecially in the houſe of *Dirick Carver*) were ſent up unto the King and Queens Majeſties privy Councel, and by them or ſome of them ſent afterward into the Priſon of *Newgate* aforeſaid, having there by their Authority remained as Priſoners, during all the time ye have been there.

If their putting to death were lawful by God, why do ye excuſe it? If it were not lawful, why do ye ſo at mans commandment?

12. *Item*, I do likewiſe object and ſay, that I the ſaid Biſhop of *London* was commanded by the Authority of the ſaid Councel, to make proceſs againſt you, and every of you, ſo that it was not my procuring or ſearching that ye ſhould be commanded or called before me in this matter of Hereſie, but partly by your demerits, and partly the commandment enforced me to call and ſend for you, to make anſwer herein, and hereof to ſhew you the ſaid Letters.

Their Anſwers to the Articles:

Their Anſwers.

UPon Monday, being the tenth day of *June*, theſe two perſons (with other,) were brought by the Keeper unto the Biſhops Conſiſtory (as it was before commanded) at one of the Clock in the Afternoon, where the Biſhop firſt beginning with the ſaid *Dirick Carver*, cauſed his Confeſſion with the Articles and Anſwers to be openly read unto him (which order he kept at the condemnation of every Priſoner) asking him whether he would ſtand to the ſame. To whom the ſaid *Dirick* anſwered, that he would: for your Doctrine, quoth he, is poyſon and ſorcery. If Chriſt were here you would put him to a worſe death then he was put to before:

The words of *Dirick Carver* to *Boner*.

You ſay that you can make a god; ye can make a pudding as well. Your Ceremonies in the Church be beggary and poyſon. And further I ſay, that auricular Confeſſion is contrary to Gods Word, and very poyſon: with divers other ſuch words.

The Biſhop ſeeing his conſtancy, and that neither his accuſtomed flatteries, nor yet his cruel threatnings could once move this good man to incline to their Idolatry, pronounced his uſual and general bleſſing, (as well towards this *Dirick* as alſo upon the ſaid *John Launder*) although ſeverally:) who (after the like manner of proceſs uſed with him) remained in the ſame conſtancy, as did the other, and therefore were both delivered unto the Sheriffs, who were there preſent, but afterwards were conveyed to the places above named, and there moſt joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their ſouls into the hands of Almighty God, by Jeſus Chriſt, who hath aſſured them to a better hope of life.

Dirick Carver and *John Launder*, ſent down into the Country to be burned.

This *Dirick* was a man whom the Lord had bleſſed as well with temporal riches, as with his ſpiritual treaſures; which riches yet were no clog or let unto his true profeſſing of Chriſt, (the Lord by his grace ſo working in him; of the which, there was ſuch havock made, by the greedy raveners of that time, that his poor wife and Children had little or none thereof. During his impriſonment, although he was well ſtricken in years (and as it were, paſt the time of learning) yet he ſo ſpent his time, that being at his firſt apprehenſion utterly ignorant of any letter of the Book, he could before his death read perfectly any Printed Engliſh. Whoſe diligence and zeal is worthy no ſmall commendation, and therefore I thought it good not to paſs it over in ſilence, for the good encouragement and example of others.

The cruel ſpoil of *Dirick's* goods.

Dirick learned to read in the Priſon

Moreover, at his coming into the Town of *Lewes* to be burned, the people called upon him, beſeeching God to ſtrengthen him in the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt. He thanked them, and prayed unto God, that of his mercy he would ſtrengthen them in the like Faith. And when he came to the ſign of the *Starr*, the people drew neer unto him, where the Sheriff ſaid, that he had found him a faithful man in all his Anſwers. And as he came to the ſtake, he kneeled down and made his prayers, and the Sheriff made haſt.

Dirick burned at *Lewes*.

Then his Book was thrown into the Barrel, and when he had ſtript himſelf (as a joyful member of God) he went into the Barrel himſelf. And as ſoon as ever he came in, he took up the Book and threw it among the people, and then the Sheriff commanded in the King and Queens name, on pain of death, to throw in the Book again. And immdiately, that faithful Member ſpake with a joyful voyce, ſaying:

Dirick's Book commanded in the Queens name to be thrown again into the Fire.

Dear Brethren and Siſters, witneſs to you all, that I am come to ſeal with my blood Chriſts Goſpel, becauſe I know that it is true: it is not unknown unto all you, but that it hath been truly preached here in *Lewes*, and in all places of *England*, and now it is not. And becauſe that I will not deny here Gods Goſpel, and be obedient to mans Laws, I am condemned to dye. Dear Brethren and Siſters, as many of you as do believe upon the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt, unto everlaſting life, ſee you do the works appertaining to the ſame. And as many of you as do believe upon the Pope of *Rome*, or any of his Laws, which he ſets forth in theſe days, you do belive to your utter condemnation, and except the great mercy of God, you ſhall burn in Hell perpetually.

The teſtimony of *Dirick* at the ſtake.

The exhortation of *Dirick* to the People.

Imme-

Where find you that in the Creed, to believe on the Pope.

Immediately the Sheriff ſpake unto him, and ſaid, If thou doſt not believe on the Pope thou art damned Body and Soul. And further the Sheriff ſaid unto him, Speak to thy God, that he may deliver thee now, or elſe to ſtrike me down to the example of this People; but this faithful Member ſaid, The Lord forgive you your ſayings: Anno 1555.

The Martyrdom of *Dirick Carver* at *Lewes*, Anno 1555. July. 22.

Horrible provoking of Gods Judgment.

And then ſpake he again to all the People there preſent, with a loud voice, ſaying, Dear Brethren, and all you whom I have offended in words or in deed, I ask you for the Lords ſake to forgive me, and I heartily forgive all you, which have offended me in thought, word, or deed. And he ſaid further in his Prayer, Oh Lord my God, thou haſt written, *He that will not forſake Wife, Children, Houſe, and all that ever he hath, and take up thy Croſs and follow thee, is not worthy of thee.* But thou Lord knoweſt, that I have forſaken all, to come unto thee: Lord have mercy upon me, for unto thee I commend my Spirit; and my Soul doth rejoyce in thee. Theſe were the laſt words of that faithful Member of Chriſt, before the fire was put to him. And after that the fire came to him, he cried, Oh Lord, have mercy upon me, and ſprung up in the fire, calling upon the Name of Jeſus, and ſo he ended.

Dirick's Prayer at his death.

Thomas Iveſon, *Martyr.*

Tho. Iveſon, or Everſon, apprehended with *Dwick* and others, and ſuffered at *Chicheſter.*

AT *Chicheſter*, about the ſame Month was burned one *Thomas Iveſon* of *Godſtone* in the County of *Surrey*, Carpenter; whoſe apprehenſion, examination and condemnation (for as much as it was at one time, and in one form with *Dirick Carver*, and *John Launder*) I do here omit, referring the Reader to their Hiſtory and Proceſs before-mentioned, ſaving only this his ſeveral Confeſſion and private Anſwers made before Biſhop *Boner* at his laſt examination in the Conſiſtory, I thought not to pretermit, who being examined upon the foreſaid Articles, anſwered as followeth.

The Anſwers of Thomas Iveſon *to the Objections of Biſhop* Boner *of* London, *in a Chamber at his Houſe, in the Month of* July.

Anſwers of *Tho. Iveſon.*

1. FIrſt, That I believed, that there is but one Catholick, Univerſal, and whole Church of Chriſt thorow the whole World, which hath and holdeth the true Faith, and all the neceſſary Articles of Chriſtian belief, and all the Sacraments of Chriſt, with the true uſe and adminiſtration of the ſame.

2. *Item*, That he is neceſſarily bounden to believe and give credit, in all the ſaid Faith, Articles of the Belief, Religion, and the Sacraments of Chriſt, and the adminiſtration of the ſame.

3. *Item*, That that Faith, Religion, and adminiſtration of Sacraments, which now is believed, uſed, taught, and ſet forth in this our Church of *England*, is not agreeing with the Truth and Faith of Chriſt, nor with the Faith of the ſaid Catholick and Univerſal Church of Chriſt.

4. *Item*, Concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, he believeth, that it is a very Idol, and deteſtable before God as it is now miniſtred.

5. *Item*, That the Maſs is naught, and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, but that it is of Mans invention: and being demanded whether any thing uſed in the Maſs be good, he ſaid that he would anſwer no further.

6. *Item*, That he had not received the Sacrament of the Altar, ſince it had been miniſtred as now it is in *England*, neither was confeſſed at any time within theſe ſeven years; nor he hath not heard Maſs by the ſame ſpace.

7. *Item*, That auricular Confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to a Prieſt; for that he cannot forgive, nor abſolve him from ſins.

8. *Item*, Concerning the Sacrament of Baptiſm, that it it is a ſign and token of Chriſt, as Circumciſion was, and none otherwiſe, and he believeth that his ſins are not waſhed away thereby, but his Body only waſhed: for his ſins be waſhed away only by Chriſts Blood.

He meaneth not by the meer virtue of the Element.

9. *Item*, That there be in the Catholick Church of Chriſt only two Sacraments, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord, and no more, which are not rightly uſed at this preſent time in *England*, and therefore be unprofitable.

Two Sacraments.

10. *Item*, He believeth, that all the Ceremonies now uſed in the Church of *England*, are vain, ſuperfluous, ſuperſtitious and naught.

Againſt Ceremonies.

Furthermore, The ſaid *Iveſon* being earneſtly travelled withal to recant, ſaid in this wiſe, I would not recant and forſake my opinion and belief for all the goods in *London*: I do appeal to Gods mercy, and will be none of your Church, nor ſubmit my ſelf to the ſame: and that I have ſaid, I will ſay again. And if there came an Angel from Heaven, to teach me any other Doctrine then

Anno 1555.

The Martyrdome of Thomas Iveſon.

The Martyrdome of Maſter Iohn Denley.

The Martyrdom of *Tho. Iveſon* at *Chicheſter*, Anno 1555. July.

Tho. Iveſon condemned.

than that which I am now in, I would not believe him. Which anſwer thus made, he was condemned as an Heretick, and with the ſame Perſons was committed to the Secular Power (as they term it) and at the place abovementioned was burned; perſevering ſtill in his conſtant Faith unto the end.

John Aleworth.

John Aleworth died in Priſon.

IN the latter end of this Month of *July*, *John Aleworth* died in Priſon, at the Town of *Reading*, being there in bonds for the cauſe and teſtimony of the truth of the Lords Goſpel. Whom although the Catholick Prelates (according to their uſual ſolemnity) did exclude out of there Catholick burial, yet we ſee no cauſe why to exclude him out of the number of Chriſts holy Martyrs, and heirs of his holy Kingdom.

James Abbes, *a Martyr of bleſſed memory, ſuffering for the true cauſe of Chriſts Goſpel.*

Auguſt.

James Abbes Martyr.

AMong many that travelled in theſe troubleſom days to keep a good Conſcience, there was one *James Abbes*, a young man, which through compulſion of the tyranny then uſed, was enforced to have his part with his Brethren in wandring, and going from place to place, to avoid the peril of apprehending. But when time came, that the Lord had another work to do for him, he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before the Biſhop of *Norwich*, D. *Hopton*. Who examining him of his Religion, and charging him therewith very ſore, both with threats and fair ſpeech, at the laſt the ſaid poor *James*, did yield and relented to their naughty perſwaſions, although his Conſcience conſented not thereto.

James Abbes relented.

Now when he was diſmiſſed, and ſhould go from the Biſhop, the Biſhop calling him again, gave him a piece of Money, either lx. d. or xx. d. whether I know not; which when the ſaid *James* had received, and was gone from the Biſhop, his Conſcience began to throb, and inwardly to accuſe his fact, how he had diſpleaſed the Lord by conſenting to their beaſtly Illuſions: In which combat with himſelf (being pitiouſly vexed) he went immediatly to the Biſhop again, and there threw him his ſaid Money, which he had received at his hand, and ſaid, it repented him that he ever gave his conſent to their wicked perſwaſions, and that he gave his conſent in taking of his Money.

Mony given to James Abbes by the Biſhop.

A notable example of ſting of Conſcience.

James Abbes throweth to the Biſhop his Mony again.

Now this being done, the Biſhop with his Chaplains did labour afreſh to win him again, but in vain: for the ſaid *James Abbes* would not yield for any of them all, although he had played *Peter* before through infirmity, but ſtood manfully in his Maſters quarrel to the end, and abode the force of the fire, in the conſuming of his Body into aſhes, which tyranny of burning was done in *Bury*, the ſecond day of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1555.

James Abbes made ſtrong by his infirmity.

A diſcourſe of the Apprehenſion, Examination, and Condemnation of John Denley, *Gentleman*, John Newman, *and* Patrick Packingham, *martyred for the Teſtimony of Chriſts Goſpel.*

John Denley Gentleman, *I. Newman*, *Patrick Packingham*, Martyrs. *Edm. Tyrell*, Eſquire, Promoter.

IN the midſt of this tempeſtuous rage of malignant Adverſaries, perſecuting and deſtroying the poor flock of Chriſt, many there were, which though they were not Spiritual men, yet thought to help forward, for their parts, and as one would ſay, to heap up mo Coals to this furious flame of Perſecution, whether of a blind zeal or a paraſitical flattery, I know not. Amongſt which, one was *Edmund Tyrel* Eſquire, and at that time a Juſtice of Peace within the County of *Eſſex*, an Aſſiſter (as it ſeemeth) to cruel murtherers of Gods Saints. Who as he came from the burning and death of certain godly Martyrs, met with *John Denley*, Gentleman, and one *John Newman* (both of *Maidſtone* in *Kent*) travelling upon the way, and going to viſit ſuch their godly Friends, as then they had in the ſaid County of *Eſſex*. And upon the ſight of them, as he yet braggeth, firſt upon ſuſpicion apprehended, and ſearched them; and at laſt, finding the confeſſions of their Faith in writing about them, ſent them up unto the Queens Commiſſioners, directing alſo unto one of the ſame Commiſſioners, theſe his favourable Letters in their behalf. The Copy whereof here may appear as followeth.

A Copy of Edmund Tyrels *Letter, to one of the Queens Commiſſioners.*

A Letter of detection written by *M. Edmund Tyrell* to a Commiſſioner, whom I gheſs to be Sir *Richard Southwel*.

SIR, with moſt hearty Commendations unto you, theſe ſhall be to advertize you, that I have received a Letter from Sir *Nicholas Hare* and you, and other of the King and Queens Majeſties Commiſſioners, by a Servant of the King and Queens, called *John Failes*, for certain buſineſs about S. *Oſythes*, the which I could not immediatly go about, for that I had received a Letter

from

from the Council, to aſſiſt the Sheriff for the execution of the Hereticks, the one at *Raleigh*, and the other at *Rochford*, the which was done on Tueſday laſt.

M. Denley and John Newman by the way met and apprehended by M. Edmund Tyrel.

And as I came homeward, I met with two men: Even as I ſaw them I ſuſpected them, and then I did examine them, and ſearch them, and I did find about them certain Letters which I have ſent you, and alſo a certain writing in Paper, what their Faith was. And they confeſſed to me, that they had forſaken and fled out of their Country for Religions ſake; and ſince they have been in many Countries, by their confeſſion, which I have ſent you: for the which I thought it good (for that they came from *London*, and that there might be more had of them than I yet have underſtood) to ſend them to you, whereby you and others of the King and Queens Commiſſioners there might try them ſo that their lewdneſs might be thorowly known; for I think theſe have cauſed many to trouble their Conſciences. So this hath been ſome let to me, wherefore I could not go about thoſe matters expreſſed in your Letters: but to morrow at Noon I intend by Gods grace to accompliſh your Letters, with as much diligence as I may. And thus the holy Trinity have you ever in his keeping. I beſeech you to be ſo good (Maſter) to diſcharge theſe poor men that bring theſe Priſoners up, as ſoon as may be. And thus moſt heartily farewel. From *Raimeſdon* Park the 12. of *June* 1555.

By your aſſured to command,
Edmund Tyrel.

Forſomuch as in this Letter mention is made of a certain Writing in paper found about them of their Faith; what this Writing was, and what were the contents of it, the Copy thereof here enſueth.

Certain Notes collected and gathered out of the Scriptures by John Denley *Gentleman, with a Confeſſion of his Faith, touching the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood, found about him ready written, at his Apprehenſion.*

Chriſt is in the Sacrament, as he is where two or three are gathered together in his Name.

M. Denleys notes touching matter of the Sacrament.

THe difference of Doctrine between the Faithful and the Papiſts concerning the Sacrament is, that the Papiſts ſay, that Chriſt is corporally under or in the forms of Bread and Wine; but the Faithful ſay, that Chriſt is not there, neither corporally nor ſpiritually; but in them that worthily eat and drink the Bread and Wine, he is ſpiritually, but not corporally.

Figuratively, Spiritually, Really.

For figuratively he is in the Bread and Wine, and ſpiritually he is in them that worthily eat and drink the Bread and Wine; but really, carnally, and corporally he is only in Heaven, from whence he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead.

My belief in the Sacrament of the bleſſed Body and Blood of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

The belief of M. Denley of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord. How Bread repreſenteth the Body of Chriſt.

AS concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, my belief is this, that the Bread and Wine is appointed unto a Sacrament; and that after thanks be given to God the Father, then it doth repreſent unto me the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; not that the Bread is the Body, or the Wine the Blood, but that I in Faith do ſee that bleſſed Body of our Saviour broken on the Croſs, and his precious Blood plenteouſly ſhed for the redemption of my ſins. Alſo in faith I hear him call us unto him, ſaying, *Come unto me all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refreſh you, Eſay.* 55. a. b. *Matth.* 11, &c. In Faith I come unto him, and I am refreſhed, ſo that I believe that all that do come unto the Table of the Lord in this faith, fear, and love, being ſorry for their offences, intending earneſtly to lead a godly converſation in this vale of miſery, do receive the fruit of the death of Chriſt, which fruit is our ſalvation.

The fruit of Chriſts death, what it is, and how it is received in the Sacrament.

How Chriſt is received ſpiritually in the Sacrament.

I do underſtand (Spiritually) that as the outward man doth eat the material Bread which comforteth the Body, ſo doth the inward man (through Faith) eat the Body of Chriſt, believing that as the Bread is broken, ſo was Chriſts Body broken on the Croſs for our ſins; which comforteth our Souls unto live everlaſting, and ſignifying thereby, that even as that Bread was divided among them, ſo ſhould his Body and fruit of his Paſſion be diſtributed unto as many as believed his words. But the Bread broken and eaten in the Supper, moniſheth and putteth us in remembrance of his death, and ſo exciteth us to thankſgiving, to laud and praiſe God for the benefits of our Redemption. Anno 1555.

And thus we there have Chriſt preſent; in the inward eye and ſight of our Faith we eat his Body, and drink his Blood; that is, we believe ſurely that his Body was crucified for our ſins, and his Blood ſhed for our ſalvation.

The groſs errour of the Papiſts in the real being of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

Chriſts Body and Blood is not contained in the Sacramental Bread and Wine, as the Papiſts have ſaid, and as ſome yet do ſay, as ye read in theſe Scriptures following: Firſt read in S. *Matth.* 9. *Luke* 5. *Matth.* 24, and 26. *Mark.* 16. *Luke* 24. *John* 13. *Luke* 23. in the end, *John* 14, 15, 16, 17. *Acts* 1. 3. 7. 9. *Rom.* 8. *Pſal.* 8. 1 *Corin.* 10, 11. *Exod.* 12. *Coloſſ.* 1. *Epheſ.* 1. 4. *Phil.* 2. 1. 1 *Theſ.* 1. 4. *Hebr.* 1. 5. 8, 9, 10. 12. 1 *Pet.* 3. *Pſal.* 11. 47. 103. 10.

Chriſts material Body is not in all places, as theſe Scriptures do teſtifie hereafter.

Chriſts Body not in all places at once.

Firſt, read St. *Matthew* the laſt, *Mark* the laſt, *Luke* the laſt, *John* 11. 20, 21. Theſe places of the Scriptures do plainly declare, that his Body, that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, cannot be in more places than one, and that is in Heaven, on the right hand of God, and not in the Sacrament, nor in all places, as the Papiſts have affirmed, and yet do affirm.

Idolatry to the creatures of Bread and Wine.

Therefore whoſoever they be that do worſhip the Creatures of Bread and Wine, do commit Idolatry, and make abominable Idols of them, and take the glory from God, and give it to his Creatures, which is contrary to the mind of God, as theſe Scriptures hereafter do teſtifie, firſt in *Exod.* 20. 22, 23, 24. *Lev.* 19. *Deut.* 4. 6. 32. *Pſal.* 80. *Eſay* 45. *Mal.* 2. *Mat.* 4. *Luke* 4. *Acts* 14. *Revel.* 14. *Pſal.* 98. 1 *Cor.* 1. *Epheſ.* 4. 1 *Tim.* 2. 1 *John* 5. *Revel.* 19. 22.

John Denley.

M. Denley and his fellow Priſoners ſent to Biſhop Boner.

Now to return to the Commiſſiones again: they receiving theſe Priſoners afore-mentioned, after they ſaw they could little prevail with their own perſwaſions, ſent them unto Biſhop *Boner* to be handled after his fatherly and charitable diſcretion. Which how diſcreet and favourable it was, as well the hiſtory of others, as alſo the ſequel of this doth manifeſtly declare. For the 28. of *June* then next following, he cauſed the ſaid *Denley* and *Newman*, with one *Patrick Packingham*, to be brought into his Chamber within his houſe or palace, there examining them upon their Confeſſions (which *Tyrel* had found about them) objecting alſo unto them certain other Articles of his own. To the which they all anſwered in effect one thing, although *Denley* anſwered more largely than the others, and therefore I thought it enough only to manifeſt his, as ſufficient, and in no part differing from the others, except that *Packingham* had one Article of no great force objected to him, which the reſt had not.

M. Denley Newman, and Packingham, had in examination before the Biſhop of London.

This done, the Biſhop uſed with them his accuſtomed perwaſions, to the which Maſter *Denley* ſaid; God ſave me from your counſel, and keep me in the mind that I am in, for that you count hereſie, I take to be the Truth: and thereupon they were commanded to appear in the Biſhops Conſiſtory the fifth of *July* then next coming, in the afternoon, where theſe Articles were objected againſt them.

The words of M. Denley to Biſhop Boner.

The Articles objected by Edmund Boner *Biſhop of* London, *againſt* John Denley, John Newman, *and* Patrick Packingham, *joyntly and ſeverally the* 28. *of* June, 1555.

Articles objected.

FIrſt that the ſaid *N.* now is of the Dioceſs of *London*, and the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *London*.

Slander of untruth.

Secondly, That the ſaid *N.* hath not believed, nor doth

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doth believe, that there is any Catholick Church of Christ here in earth.

Catholick Church.

Thirdly, That the said *N.* hath not believed, nor doth believe, that this Church of *England* is any part or member of the said Catholick Church.

Mass.

Fourthly, That the said *N.* hath believed, and doth believe, that the Mass now used in this Realm of *England* is naught, and full of Idolatry and evil, and plain against Gods Word, and therefore he the said *N.* hath not heard it, nor will hear it.

Auricular Confession.

Fifthly, That the said *N.* hath believed, and doth so believe, that auricular Confession used now in this Realm of *England*, is not good, but contrary to Gods Word.

Popish Absolution.

Sixthly, That the said *N.* hath believed, and doth so believe, that Absolution, given by the Priest hearing Confession, is not good, nor allowable by Gods Word, but contrary to the same.

Mattins, Evensong, Aneling, with other rites of the Popes Church.

Seventhly, That the said *N.* hath believed, and doth so believe, that Christning of Children, as it is now used in the Church of *England*, is not good, nor allowable by Gods Word, but against it: likewise confirming of Children, giving of Orders, saying of Mattins and Evensong, anointing or aneling of sick Persons, making of holy Bread, and holy Water, with the rest of the Church.

Two Sacraments.

Eighthly, That the said *N.* hath believed, and doth so believe, that there are but two Sacraments in Christs Catholick Church, that is to say, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Sacrament of the Altar.

Ninthly, That the said *N.* hath believed, and doth so believe, that forasmuch as Christ is ascended up into heaven, therefore the very Body of Christ is not in the Sacrament of the Altar.

This Article was only objected against *Patrick Packingham.*

Tenthly, That thou *Patrick Packingham* now being of the age of 21 at the least, being within the house of the Bishop of *London* at *Pauls*, and by him brought to the great Chappel to hear Mass there, the said 23 day of *June*, the year of our Lord 1555. didst unreverendly stand in the said Chappel, having thy Cap on thy head all the Mass while; and didst also refuse to receive holy Water, and holy Bread at the Priests hands, there contemning and despising both the Mass, and the said holy Water and holy Bread.

The Answer of John Denley *and the rest, to the Articles objected.*

Their Answers. The true Catholick Church not denied.

TO the first Article I answer, it is very true.

To the second Article I answer, that it is not true: for I believe the holy Catholick Church which is builded upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Christ being the head, which holy Church is the Congregation of the faithful People, dispersed thorow the whole World, the which Church doth preach Gods holy Word truly, and doth also minister the two Sacraments, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, according to his blessed Word.

A notice of the true Church.

The Church of *England* now no member of the true Catholick Church, and the reason why.

To the third Article I answer, that I do believe, that this Church of *England*, using the Faith and Religion which is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid Catholick Church, but is the Church of Antichrist, the Bishop of *Rome* being the head thereof: for it is plain, that they have altered the Testament of God, and set up a Testament of their own devising, full of blasphemy and lies: for Christs Testament is, that he would have all things done to the edifying of the People, as it appeareth when he taught them to pray, *Matth.* 6. and also it appeareth by St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. 14. for he saith, That *he that prophesieth, speaketh unto men for their edifying, for their exhortation, and for their comfort; he that speaketh with the tongue, profiteth himself; he that prophesieth, edifieth the Congregation.*

1 Cor. 14.

Also he saith, *Even so likewise when ye speak with Tongues, except ye speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? for ye shall but speak in the Air*; that is as much to say, *in vain.* Also he saith, *Thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak with Tongues more than ye all: yet I had rather in the Congregation to speak five words with understanding, to the information of other, than ten thousand words with the Tongue.* Also he saith, *Let all things be done to edification.*

The Popes Service in a Tongue which edifieth not the People.

Also it is written in the *Psalm* 46. *For God is King of all the Earth: O sing praises unto him with understanding, &c.* So it doth appear, that this Church of *England*, now used, is not builded upon Christ, if S. *Pauls* words be true, and also the *Psalms*; therefore this Church is not builded upon the Prophets, Apostles, nor Christ, as I have declared before.

To this fourth Article I answer, and I do believe (as I have afore-said) that the Mass, now used in this Realm of *England*, is naught, and abominable Idolatry and Blasphemy against Gods holy Word; for Christ in his holy Supper instituted the Sacraments of Bread and Wine, to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he come, and not to have them worshipped, and make an Idol of them: for God will not be worshipped in his Creatures, but we ought to give him praise for his Creatures, which he hath created for us. For he saith in the second Commandment, *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them.* So it appeareth by this Commandment, that we ought not to worship the Sacrament of Bread and Wine, for it is plain Idolatry; for he saith, *No similitude*, therefore, *Thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them.* I pray you what do you call kneeling down, holding up the hands, knocking of the breast, putting off the Cap, and making curtesie, with other like Superstition? you would make men to be so blind, that this is no worshipping.

The Mass abominable and Idolatrous.

The Mass against Gods Commandment.

Peradventure you will object and say, You do not worship the Bread and the Wine, but Christs Body which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, contained under the forms of Bread and Wine. But that is a very lye; for Christs Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary* is in heaven, if S. *Pauls* words be true, as undoubtedly they are: for he saith in the 10*th* of the *Hebrews*, *But this man, after he hath offered one sacrifice for sins, is set down for ever on the right hand of God, and from henceforth tarrieth till his foes be made his foot-stool.*

Objection of the Papists removed.

Heb 10.

Also in the 9*th* Chapter he saith, *For Christ is not entred into holy Places that are made with hands, which are similitudes of true things, but is entred into very heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us, &c.* Also *Phil.* 3. *But our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ, &c.* 1 Thes. 1. *For they themselves shew of you, what manner of entring in we had unto you, and how ye turned to God from Images, to serve the living God, and to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from death, even Jesus which delivered us from the wrath to come, &c.* Also *John* 16. *I went out from the Father, and came into the world.* Again, *I leave the world, and go to the Father, &c.* John 17. *Now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I come to thee.* All these places of the Scripture, with other more, prove plainly to them that have ears to hear, that Christs Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary* is in heaven, and not in the Sacramental Bread and Wine; and therefore it is Idolatry to worship them, &c.

Heb. 9.

Phil. 3.

1 Thes. 1.

Scripture proving Christ not to be bodily in the Sacrament.

John 16.

John 17.

To this fifth Article I answer, that I do believe as I have afore-said, that auricular Confession is not good, as it is now used. Touching my sins, wherein I have offended God, I must seek to him for remission thereof, for our Saviour Christ saith in the 11. of S. *Matthew*, *Come unto me all ye that labour and are laden, I will ease you, &c.* The riotous Son, *Luke* 15. saith, *I will arise and go to my Father, and I will say to him, Father, I have sinned against Heaven and before thee, and I am no more worthy to be called thy Son, &c.* *Psalm* 31. *I said I will knowledge mine offences, and accuse my self unto the Lord, and so thou forgavest me the wickedness of my sin, &c.* Job 13. *But I will reprove mine own ways in his sight: He shall make me whole, and there may no hypocrite come before him.* Syrach 34. saith, *Who can be cleansed of the unclean?* And there was but one of the ten Lepers that were cleansed, that came to Christ to give him thanks. He asked for the other nine. But if I have offended my Neighbour, I must reconcile my self to my Neighbour: and if I be a notorious Sinner, after the 1*st* and 2*d* admonition, it ought to be declared to the Congregation, and the Minister of the Congregation hath power by the

Against auricular Confession.

Matth. 11.

Luke 15.

Psal. 31.

Job 13.

Syrach 34.

Remission of sins to be sought only at the hands of Christ.

the Word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as an Heathen perſon, not for a day, or 40. days, but unto ſuch time as I do openly in the Congregation knowledge my fault, then the Miniſter hath power by the Word to preach to me or them the remiſſion of our ſins in the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, as it is written in the 13. of the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, and *Mat.* 18. Other confeſſion I know none.

To this ſixth Article, I the ſaid *John Denley* have anſwered in the fifth.

To the ſeventh Article I anſwer, that as touching the Sacrament of Baptiſm, which is the Chriſtening of Children, it is altered and changed; for *S. John* uſed nothing but the preaching of the Word and the Water, as it doth appear, when Chriſt required to be baptized of him, and others alſo which came to *John* to be baptized, as it appeareth, *Matth.* 3. *Mark* 1. *Luke* 3. and *Acts* 8. the Chamberlain ſaid; *See here is Water, what letteth me to be Baptized?* It appeareth here that *Philip* had preached unto him; for he ſaid *Here is Water.* We do not read that he asked for any Cream, nor Oyl, not for Spittle, nor conjured Water, nor conjured Wax, nor yet Croyſom, nor Salt, for it ſeemeth that *Philip* had preached no ſuch things to him; for he would as well have asked for them as for Water: and the Water was not Conjured, but even as it was afore. Alſo *Act.* 10. *Then anſwered* Peter *Can any man forbid Water that theſe ſhould not be Baptized? &c.* Acts 16. *And* Paul *and* Silas *preached unto him the Word of the Lord, and to all that were in his houſe: and he took them the ſame hour of the night, and waſhed their wounds, and ſo was he Baptized, and all they of his houſhold ſtraightway,* Where ye ſee nothing but preaching the Word and the Water. The like alſo is to be ſaid of the reſt of the Ceremonies of your Church.

Acts 10.

Acts 16.

The Rainbow as good a Sacrament as ſome of the Popiſh Sacraments.

To the eighth Article I anſwer ſhortly, that there be Sacraments no more but two; Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, except ye will make the Rain-bow a Sacrament: for there is no Sacrament but hath a promiſe annexed unto it.

To the ninth Article I do anſwer you, that ye have my mind written already. For it was found about me when I was taken, and alſo ye know my mind in the fourth Article, plainly expreſſed concerning the Bodily preſence: For Chriſts body is in heaven, and will not be contained in ſo ſmall a piece of Bread. And as the words which Chriſt ſpake are true indeed, ſo muſt they alſo be underſtood by other of the Scriptures which Chriſt ſpake himſelf, and alſo the Apoſtles after him. And thus I make an end, &c.

By me John Denley.

The firſt day of the month of *July*, the ſaid three priſoners were brought into the Conſiſtory in *Pauls* Church, where he proceeded againſt them after the uſual form and manner of Law, reading firſt their Confeſſions, Articles, and Anſwers, and then tempting them, ſomtime with fair promiſes, otherwhiles with threatnings, which were alwayes his chiefeſt arguments and reaſons to perſwade withal. In the end, ſeeing their unmovable conſtancy, upon the fifth of *July* he condemned them as Hereticks, and gave them unto the Sheriffs of *London*, as to his common executioners, who kept them until they were commanded by Writ to ſend them to their ſeveral places of ſuffering; which was for Mr. *Denley*, *Uxbridge*: where the 8. day of *Auguſt* he was burned. And being ſet in the fire with the burning flame about him, he ſung in it a Pſalm.

The ungentle dealing of *D. Story* againſt *M. Denley.*

Then cruel Dr. *Story* being there preſent, commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a Faggot at him, whereupon being hurt therewith upon the face that he bled again, he left his ſinging, and clapt both his hands on his face. Truly, quoth Dr. *Story* to him that hurled the Faggot, thou haſt mar'd a good old Song.

The ſaid *John Denley* being yet ſtill in the flame of the fire, put his hands abroad, and ſung again, yeelding at the laſt his ſpirit into the hands of God through his Son Jeſus Chriſt.

The Martyrdom of *Patrick Packingham* at *Uxbridge*, Anno 1555. Aug. 28.

After the Martyrdom of Mr *Denley* at *Uxbridge*, which was the 8 of *Auguſt*, ſuffered alſo not long after *Patrick Packingham* at the ſame Town of *Uxbridge*, about the 28 of the ſaid Month. This *Packingham* was charged of *Boner* (as ye hard in the tenth Article before) for his behaviour ſhewed in the Biſhops Chappel, who at the Maſs time there ſtanding, would not put of his Cap, which was taken for a heinous offence. The ſaid *Packingham* alſo being much laboured by *Boner* to recant, proteſted in theſe words to the Biſhop, that the Church which he believed was no Catholick Church, but was the Church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, &c.

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Furthermore, as touching the other, which was *John Newman* Pewterer, dwelling at *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, he was burned the laſt of *Auguſt*, at *Saffron Walden* in the County of *Eſſex*, whoſe examination and confeſſion of his Faith and Belief, for the which he was cruelly burnt and perſecuted, hereunder followeth.

The Martyrdom of *John Newman* at *Saffron Walden*, An. 1555. Aug. 31.

The Examination of John Newman, *Martyr.*

John Newman firſt was apprehended in *Kent* dwelling in the Town of *Maidſtone*, and there was examined before Dr. *Thorneton* Suffragan, and others, at *Tenterden*. From thence he was brought to *Boner*, and there condemned with Mr. *Denley* amd *Packingham*, and burned at *Saffron Walden*, as is before ſtoried. But becauſe his Examination and Anſwers before the Suffragan came not then to my hands I thought here in this place to beſtow them, rather than they ſhould utterly be ſuppreſſed. And firſt what his anſwer was by writing to the ſaid Suffragan, after his apprehenſion, you ſhall hear by the tenor of his own words, as follow.

The Copy of J. Newmans writing to Doctor Thornton.

IT may pleaſe you to underſtand, that for the ſpace of all the time of King Edward's *raign, we were diligently inſtructed with continual Sermons, made by ſuch men, whoſe faith, wiſdom, learning, and vertuous living, was commended unto all men under the Kings Hand and Seal and under the hands of the whole Councel. Theſe men taught diligently a long time, perſwading us by the alle, gations of Gods Word, that there was no Tranſubſtantiation, nor Corporal preſence in the Sacrament. Their Doctrine was not believed of us ſuddenly, but by their continual preaching, and alſo by our continual prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived; but if it were true, that God would incline our hearts unto it: and if it were not true, that we might never believe it. We weighed that they laboured with Gods Word, and we asked the advice of our friends, neither could we find that they preached falſe Doctrine. We conſidered alſo, as we did learn, that the Kings Grace and his Council, and the moſt part of the whole Realm believed as they taught, becauſe no man preached the contrary. Alſo wee know that the Preachers were commanded by the King and Laws of the Realm, to preach unto us ſuch Doctrine, as was to the authority of Gods Word agreeable, and no other, and by their diligent ſetting forth of it by the Kings commandment, and the whole conſent of the whole Council, and by the authority of the Parliament, we imbraced it, and received it as a very infallible Truth, taught unto us for the ſpace of ſeven years. Wherefore, until ſuch time as our Conſciences are otherwiſe taught and inſtructed by Gods Word, we cannot with ſafeguard of our Conſciences take it, as many ſuppoſe at this time. And we truſt in God that the Queens merciful highneſs, neither yet her moſt honourable counſel will in a matter of Faith uſe compulſion nor violence, becauſe Faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, neither of mans Laws, neither at ſuch time as men require it, but at ſuch time as God giveth it.*

The Examination and Anſwers of John Newman *Martyr before Dr.* Thornton, *and others.*

The Examination and Anſwers of J. Newman.

FIrſt, one of the Doctors, or one of the Bench, either the Archdeacon or *Faucet*, or ſome other, whoſe name *John Newman* doth not expreſs, beginneth, asking in this wiſe.

Doctor. How ſay you to this: *This is my Body which is given for you.*

Newman. It is a figurative ſpeech, one thing ſpoken, and another meant, as Chriſt ſaith; *I am a Vine, I am a Dore I am a Stone, &c.* Is he therefore a material Stone, a Vine, or a Dore?

Doct.

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Doct. This is no figurative ſpeech. For he ſaith; *This is my Body which is given for you*, and ſo ſaith he not of the ſtone, Vine, or Door; but that is a figurative ſpeech.

This Cup is the new Teſtament, is a figurative ſpeech.

New. Chriſt ſaith, *This Cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood*: If ye will have it ſo meant, then let them take and eat the Cup.

Doct. Nay, that is not ſo meant; for it is a common phraſe of ſpeech among our ſelves: We ſay to our friend drink a Cup of Drink, and yet we meant he ſhould Drink the Drink in the Cup.

New. Why, if ye will have the one ſo underſtood, ye muſt ſo underſtand the other.

Doct. Nay, it is a common uſe of ſpeech, to ſay; Drink a Cup of Ale or Beer. And therefore it is no figurative ſpeech.

What is a figurative ſpeech.

New. The often uſing of a thing doth not make that thing otherwiſe than it is; but wherſoever one thing is ſpoken, and another meant, it is a figurative ſpeech.

Doc. Well, we will not ſtand hereabout. How ſay ye of the real preſence? Is not Chriſts natural Body there that was born of the Virgin Mary?

New. No, I do not ſo believe, neither can I ſo believe; for the Soul of man doth not feed upon natural things as the Body doth.

Doct. Why, how then doth it feed?

New. I think the Soul of man doth feed as the Angels in Heaven, whoſe feeding is only the pleaſure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God: and ſo the Soul of man doth feed and eat, through Faith, the Body of Chriſt.

Collins reaſoneth with Newman.

Collins. Yea, but if the Body do not feed upon natural things, the Soul cannot continue with the Body: therefore the Body muſt needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together.

New. I grant it to be true; but yet the Soul doth live otherwiſe than the Body which doth periſh: therfore natural things do but feed the Body only. I pray you what did *Judas* receive at the Supper?

Col. Marry, *Judas* did receive the very Body of Chriſt, but it was to his damnation.

New. Why? was the Devil entred into him before? Then he had not the Devil and Chriſt *in* him at one time.

Whether Judas received the Body of Chriſt, or no?

Col. Nay, the Devil did enter into him afterward.

New. Yea, and before too: what do ye think? Had he but one Devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of Devils at the latter end.

Col. Well, put caſe it be ſo: what ſay you to that?

New. Marry, if Chriſt and the Devil were both in *Judas* at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?

Col. We grant that they were both in *Judas* at that time: for Chriſt may be where the Devil is, if he will; but the Devil cannot be where Chriſt is, except it pleaſe Chriſt.

New. Chriſt will not be in an unclean perſon that hath the Devil.

D. Thornton reaſoneth with John Newman.

Thornton. Why, will ye not believe that Chriſt was in Hell? and ye will grant that the Devil is there; and ſo might he be in *Judas*, if it pleaſed him.

New. Chriſt would not ſuffer *Mary Magdalen* to touch him which ſought him at his grave, and did love him intirely; much leſs he will ſuffer an ungodly man to recive him into his unclean Body.

Thorn. Yes, ſeeing God may do all things, he may do what he liſt, and be where he will. And doth not the *Pſalm* ſay; He is in Hell, and in all places? Why ſhould we then doubt of his being there?

New. Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not ſufficient to prove that his Humanity is in all places.

Thorn. No, do you not believe that God is Omnipotent, and may do all things?

New. I do believe that God is Almighty, and may do all that he will do.

The Omnipotency of Chriſt doth not prove him to be really in the Sacrament.

Thorn. Nay, but if he be Omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing unpoſſible for him to do.

New. I know God is almighty, and can do all that he will: but he cannot make his Son a lyar, he cannot deny himſelf, nor can he reſtore Virginity once violated and defiled.

Thorn. What is that to your purpoſe? God doth not defile Virginity; we ſpeak but of things that God doth.

New. Why, will ye have the Humanity of Chriſt in all places as the Deity is?

Thorn. Yea, he is in all places as the Deity is, if it pleaſe him.

Abſurdity in the Popes Doctrine.

New. I will promiſe you that ſeemeth to me a very great Hereſie, for Heaven and Earth are not able to contain the Divine Power of God, for it is in all places, as here and in every place: and yet ye ſay, that whereſoever the Deity is, there is alſo the Humanity, and ſo ye will make him no Body, but a fantaſtical Body, and not a Body indeed.

Thorn. Nay, we do not ſay he is in all places as the Deity is, but if it pleaſe him he may be in all places with the Deity.

The Humanity of Chriſt may not be in all places.

New. I promiſe you, that ſeemeth to me as great an Hereſie as ever I heard in my life, and I dare not grant it, leſt I ſhould deny Chriſt to be a very Man, and that were againſt all the Scriptures.

Thorn. Tuſh, what ſhall we ſtand reaſoning with him? I dare ſay he doth not believe that Chriſt came out of his Mother, not opening the matrice. Do you believe that Chriſt roſe from death, and came thorow the ſtone?

New. I do believe that Chriſt roſe from death; but I do not believe that he came thorow the ſtone, neither doth the *Scripture* ſo ſay.

Note the groſs Ignorance of this Suffragan.

Thorn. Lo, how ſay you? he doth not believe that Chriſt came through the ſtone; and if he doth not believe this, how ſhall he believe the other? If he could believe this, it were eaſie for him to believe the other.

New. The Scripture doth not ſay he went thorow the ſtone, but it ſaith the Apoſtle of God came down, and rolled away the ſtone, and for fear of him the Keepers became even as dead men.

Thorn. Ah fool, fool, that was becauſe the woman ſhould ſee that he was riſen again from death.

New. Well, the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you, and more too.

Thorn. Well let us not ſtand any longer about this. Back again to the real Preſence. How ſay ye, is the Body of Chriſt really *in* the Sacrament, or no?

New. I have anſwered you already.

Thorn. Well, do ye not believe that it is there really?

New. No, I believe it not.

Thorn. Well, will ye ſtand to it?

New. I muſt needs ſtand to it, till I be perſwaded by a further Truth.

Thorn. Nay, ye will not be perſwaded, but ſtand to your own Opinion.

New. Nay, I ſtand not to mine own Opinion, God I take to witneſs, but only to the Scriptures of God, and that can all thoſe that ſtand here witneſs with me, and nothing but the Scriptures: and I take God to witneſs, that I do nothing of preſumption, but that that I do, is only my Conſcience, and if there be a further Truth than I ſee, except it appear a Truth to me, I cannot receive it as a Truth. And ſeeing Faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man; for it is not you that can give me Faith, nor no man elſe: therefore I truſt ye will bear the more with me, ſeeing it muſt be wrought by God, and when it ſhall pleaſe God to open a further Truth to me, I ſhall receive it with all my heart, and imbrace it.

Thornton had many other queſtions which I did not bear away; but as I do underſtand, theſe are the chiefeſt: as for Taunts, fooliſh and unlearned, he lacked none. Praiſe God for his gifts, ond God increaſe in us ſtrength.

The Arguments of John Newman.

Argument in the ſecond figure.

If the Body of Chriſt were really and bodily in the Sacrament, then whoſoever received the Sacrament, received alſo the Body.

The wicked receiving the Sacrament, receive not the Body of Chriſt.

Ergo, the Body of Chriſt is not really in the Sacrament.

Argument.

Ca- They which eat the Fleſh, and drink the Blood of Chriſt, dwell in him, and he in them.
meſ- The wicked dwell not in Chriſt, nor he in them.
tres. Ergo, the wicked eat not the Fleſh, nor drink the Blood of Chriſt.

Argument.

Ca- They that have Chriſt dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit, *John 15. He that dwelleth in me, and, I in him bringeth forth much fruit.*
meſ- The wicked bring forth no fruit of goodneſs.
tres. Ergo, they have not Chriſts Body dwelling in them.

Argument

Argument in the third figure.

Da- Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the abſence thereof.
ti- Remembrance of Chriſts Body is in the Sacrament, *Do this in remembrance of me, &c.*
ſi- *Ergo*, Chriſts Body there is imported to be abſent.

Marry they will ſay, we ſee him not with our outward eyes, but he is commended under the forms of Bread and Wine, and that we ſee is nothing but a quality or an accident. But let them ſhew me a quality or an accident without a ſubſtance, and I will believe them. And thus much concerning *Newmans* Examinations and Arguments.

The faith of John Newman, *dwelling at* Maidſton *in* Kent, *who was by Occupation, a Pewterer.*

Abac. 2. Heb. 10. *The Lord is the Protector of my life. The juſt ſhall live by Faith, and if he withdraw himſelf, my ſoul ſhall have no pleaſure in him.*

MY. Faith is, that there is one God, which is without beginning, and without ending. This God Gen. 1. 2. created all things viſible and inviſible. And after that he had made both Heaven and Earth, with all other Creatures, he made Man, and ſet him in the place which he had prepared for him, which place he called *Eden*: he gave to *Adam* his commandments and Precepts, and ſaid, Whenſoever thou doſt the thing which I forbid, thou ſhalt ſurely die the death; yet did Man for all this diſobey God his Creator, and after his ſin, he fled from God, and himſelf, and was in a miſerable deſperate caſe. But God ſeeing man in his miſerable eſtate, becauſe he and all poſterity ſhould not continue in death, promiſed Gen. 3. *Adam* that the womans Seed ſhould break the Serpents head, whereby is meant, that the Son of God ſhould become man, and deſtroy the devil, which by his ſubtile perſwaſions had deceived *Adam*. Then did *Adam*, by Faith, take hold of Gods promiſe, and became the ſervant of righteouſneſs, through the Faith which he had in the promiſe of the Womans Seed. So did *Abel*, *Seth*, *Henoch*, and *Noah*, with Faithful *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, and the reſt of the faithful until Chriſts time, as St. *Paul* ſaith; They did eat all of one ſpiritual meat, and did all drink 1 Cor. 10. of one ſpiritual drink, they did drink of that ſpiritual rock that followed them, which rock was Chriſt that ſaveth us. And when the time was full come, God ſent his Son, made of a woman, that is, he took fleſh of the virgin *Mary*, and became man; not the ſhadow of a man, nor a Gal. 4. fantaſtical man, as ſome falſly feign, but a very natural man in all points, ſin only excepted, which God and man is Chriſt the promiſed Womans Seed. This Chriſt was here converſant among men for the ſpace of 30 years & more, and when the time was come that he ſhould go to his Father, he gave unto us the myſtery of our Luke 22. 1 Cor. 11. Redemption, that we through Faith ſhould eat his Body, and drink his Blood, that we might feed on him through Faith to the end of the world. After this Chriſt offered up his Body on the Croſs to pacifie his Father, and to deliver us from the thraldom of the Devil, in the which we were through ſin original and actual. And with Heb. 10. that one ſacrifice of his Body once offered on the Croſs, he hath made perfect for ever all them that are ſanctified. He deſcended into hell, the third day he roſe again from death, and was converſant at certain times with his Diſciples for the ſpace of 40 days after he roſe from death Then in the ſight of all his Diſciples he aſcended into Acts 1. Heaven: and as his Diſciples ſtood looking upward, and beholding him how he went into Heaven, two men ſtood by them in white apparel, which alſo ſaid; Ye men of Galilee, *why ſtand ye gazing up into Heaven? This Jeſus which is taken up from you into Heaven, ſhall ſo* Acts 1. *come even as ye have ſeen him go into Heaven.* St. *Peter* alſo ſaith, that the Heavens muſt receive him, until the time that all things which God hath ſpoken by the mouth of all his Prophets ſince the world began, be reſtored again, which is the latter day, when he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead. I do Believe in the Holy Ghoſt, which is the Spirit of God, proceeding from the Father and the Son, which Holy Spirit is one God with them. I believe that there is an Holy Church, which is the company of the faithful and elect People of God, diſperſed abroad throughout the whole world, which Holy Church or Congregation doth not look for Chriſt here, Mat nor Chriſt there, neither in the deſert, nor in the ſecret places whereof Chriſt warneth us, but as St. *Paul* ſaith, in Heaven; where he ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father; they ſet their affections on things that are a- Coloſſ. 3. bove, and not on things that are on earth. For they are dead concerning the things of this world, and their life is hid with Chriſt in God: and when Chriſt, which is their life ſhall ſhew him ſelf, then ſhall they alſo appear with him in glory. I believe that there is a communion of Saints, even the fellowſhip of the Faithful People which are diſperſed abroad throwout all the whole world, and are of one mind: they follow Chriſt their Head, they love one another as Chriſt loved them, and are knit together in one, even in Chriſt; which Church or Congregation hath forgiveneſs of Sins through Chriſt, and ſhall enter without ſpot before the face of God into his glory. For as Chriſt, being their Head, hath entered pure and clean, ſo they entring by him, ſhall be like him in glory. And I am certain and ſure, that all they which do die, ſhall riſe again and receive their Bodies. In them ſhall they ſee Chriſt come in his glory, to judge the quick and the dead. At whoſe coming all men ſhall appear and give a reckoning of their doings: he ſhall ſeparate the good from the bad, he ſhall ſay to them which are his elect; *Come ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the beginning*; but to the other that have always reſiſted his will, he ſhall ſay: *Depart from me ye curſed into everlaſting fire which is prepared for the Devil and his Angels.*

Thus have I briefly declared my Faith, which were no Faith at all if I were in doubt of it. This Faith therefore I deſire God to increaſe in me. Praiſe God for his gifts.

And thus have ye the Martyrdom with the Confeſſion of the bleſſed man, and witneſs of the Lords Truth, who for that gave his life, as is before declared.

Richard Hook.

LIkewiſe *Richard Hook* about the ſame ſeaſon, and for the ſame matter gave his life at *Chicheſter* *Richard Hook martyred at Chicheſter.*

The Examinations, Anſwers, and condemnation of William Coker, Willam Hooper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, William Stere, *before the Biſhop of* Dover, *and* Harpsfield *Archdeacon of* Canterbury.

MEntion was made a little before in the ſtory of M. *Bland* and *Nicholas Sheterden*, of certain other *Kentiſh-men*, who being the ſame time with them called forth and examined by *Thornton* Biſhop of *Dover*, *Nich. Harpsfield*, *Rich. Faucet*, and *Robert Collins*: yet notwithſtanding, becauſe the condemnation and execution of them was deferred a little longer, till the later end of the month of *Auguſt*; coming therfore now to the time of ſuffering, we will breifly touch ſome part of their Examinations and Anſwers as we find them in the Regiſter

Six Martyrs in Kent. *Thornton, Harpsfield, Rich. Faucet, Rob. Collins.* Perſecutors.

Anno 1555.

Anno 1555. Regiſters. The Names of theſe were *William Coker, Wil. Hopper, Henry Laurence, Rich. Colliar, Rich. Wright, Wil. Stere.* What the Articles objected to Maſter *Bland* and them were, ye heard before. To the which Articles they anſwered for themſelves ſeverally, in effect as followeth.

The burning of Six Godly Martyrs in one fire.

The Martyrdom of 6 Martyrs. *M. Coker W. Hopper, Hen. Laurence Rich. Colliar Rich. Wright, Wil. Stere,* at *Canterbury*, An. 1555. *Aug.*

Wil. Coker condemned.

FIrſt *William Coker* ſaid, he would anſwer no otherwiſe then he had already anſwered; and being offered to have longer reſpite of ſix days after, he refuſed to take it, and ſo upon the ſame, ſentence of condemnation was read againſt him, the eleventh of *July*.

Wil. Hopper. condemned.

William Hopper firſt ſeemed to grant to the faith and determination of the Catholick Church, after calling himſelf better to mind, conſtantly ſticking to the truth, he was condemned the next week after, the 16. of *July*.

The words of *Hen. Laurence.*

Henry Laurence examined the ſaid 16 of *July*, and partly deferred to the 2 of *Auguſt*, anſwered to the Articles objected againſt him; firſt denying auricular confeſſion, and that he neither had nor would receive the Sacrament, becauſe, ſaith he, the order of the Holy Scriptures is changed in the order of the Sacrament,

Mr Regiſt. putting off his cap at the mention of the Sacrament.

Moreover, the ſaid *Laurence* was charged for not putting off his cap, when the Suffragan made mention of the Sacrament, and did reverence to the ſame: the ſaid *Laurence* anſwering in theſe words, What? ſaid he, ye ſhall not need to put off your cap: for it is not ſo holy that you need to put off your cap thereunto.

Chriſt gave his Body, as he ſaid he was a Door.

Further, being oppoſed concerning the verity of the Sacrament given to Chriſts Diſciples, he affirmed, that even as Chriſt gave his very Body to his Diſciples, and confeſſed it to be the ſame; ſo likewiſe Chriſt himſelf ſaid, he was a Door, &c. adding moreover, that as he had ſaid before ſo he ſaith ſtill, that the Sacrament of the Altar is an Idol, and no remembrance of Chriſts paſſion, and contrary he knoweth not. At laſt required to put to his hand in ſubſcribing to his anſwers, he wrote theſe words under the bill of their examinations, *Ye are all of Antichriſt, and him ye fol.* And here is hand was ſtayed to write any further: belike he would have written out (*follow*), &c. And ſo upon the ſame, ſentence was given againſt him the ſecond of *Auguſt*.

The ſubſcription of Henry *Laurence.*

Richard Colliar of Aſhford.

Rich. Colliar.

Richard Colliar above mentioned, having the 16 of *Auguſt* to appear, examined of the Sacrament of the Popiſh Altar, anſwered and ſaid, that he did not believe, that after the Conſecration there is the reall and ſubſtantial Body of Chriſt, but onely Bread and Wine, and that it is moſt abominable, moſt deteſtable, and moſt wicked to believe otherwiſe, &c. Upon this the ſentence was read againſt him, and he condemned the 16 of *Auguſt*. After his condemnation he ſang a Pſalm. Wherefore the Prieſts and their Officers railed at him, ſaying, he was out of his wits.

The words of *Rich. Colliar.* Onely in the ſubſtance he meaneth.

Richard Wright.

Rich. Wright.

Richard Wright the ſame place and day, being the 16 of *Auguſt*, appearing, and required of the Judge what he believed of the reall preſence in the Sacrament, anſwered again, that as touching the Sacrament of the Altar and the Maſs, he was aſhamed to ſpeak of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was uſed in the Church. Againſt whom the ſentence was alſo read the day and place aforeſaid.

Rich. Wright. aſhamed to ſpeak of the Sacrament of the Altar.

William Stere.

William Stere Martyr.

William Stere of the aforeſaid Pariſh of *Aſhford*, likewiſe detected and accuſed, was brought to appear the ſaid 16 day of *Auguſt*, where he in the ſaid Chapterhouſe of *Canterbury*, being required to make anſwer to the poſitions laid unto him by the Judge, made anſwer again, that he ſhould command his dogg, and not him: and further declared, that *Dick* of *Dover* had no Authority to ſit againſt him in judgement, and asked where his Authority was? Who then ſhewed him certain Buls and Writings from *Rome*, as he ſaid. *William Stere* denying that to be of ſufficient force, the ſaid *Dick* ſaid alſo he had Authority from the Queen. Then the Martyr alleadging that the Biſhop of *Canterbury* (who then was in priſon) was his Dioceſan, urged him to ſhew his Authority from the Archbiſhop, or elſe he denied his Authority to be ſufficient. And as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, he found it not (he ſaid) in the Scripture; and therefore he would not anſwer thereunto.

Dick of *Dover*, ſo they tearmed then Richard Thornton Biſhop of *Dover*

He meaneth D. Cranmer impriſoned at *Oxford*

And moreover, the Judge ſpeaking of the Sacrament of the Altar, with reverence thereof, and putting off his cap, he ſaid, That he needed not to reverence that matter ſo highly. And thus (ſaying to the Judge, that he was a Bloody man, &c.) the ſentence was pronounced againſt him; after which ſentence being read, he ſaid, that the Sacrament of the Altar was the moſt blaſphemous Idol that ever was, &c.

Sentence againſt *William Sitre.*

And thus theſe ſix heavenly Martyrs and Witneſs-bearers to the truth, being condemned by the bloody Suffragan and Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, Maſter *Collins*, and Maſter *Faucet*, were burned all together in the ſame Town of *Canterbury*, at three ſtakes and one fire, about the later end of *Auguſt*.

The copy of their ſentence condemnatory, you may find above in the ſtory of *John Rogers*; for the Papiſts in their condemnations follow one manner of ſentence of courſe commonly againſt all that be condemned through their unmerciful Tyranny.

The perſecution of ten Martyrs together, ſent by certain of the Councel to Boner *to be examined.*

Ten Martyrs, ſent up together to Biſhop *Boner.*

AFter the burning of theſe ſix above named, next followeth the perſecution of ten other true Servants and Saints of the Lord, not ſuch Saints as the Pope maketh, or which are mentioned in *Legenda Sanctorum*, or in *Vitis Patrum*, or in the fabulous book *De vita Sanctorum Wallenſium, &c.* but ſuch as are ſpoken of in the Holy *Apocalyps*, of whom it is written, *Hij ſunt qui ſequuntur Agnum quocunque jerit, quique lavarunt ſtolas ſuas in ſanguine Agni. i.* Theſe be they that follow the Lamb whitherſoever he goeth, and which have waſhed their ſtoles in the Blood of the Lamb, &c. Thus theſe Saints be not of the Popes making, or rather, to ſay the truth, they are of the Popes making; of the Popes making (I ſay) in this reſpect, not that the Saints of God are made by the Pope, but that the Saints of God are tried and declared by the Pope: ſo, as by afflictions of Satan *Job's* patience was proved, by *Pharaoh* Gods power declared, and by *Salinator Tarentum* was won (as *Tully* writeth,) for except he had loſt it before, *Q. Fabius* could not have recovered it; ſo in like manner, unleſs by Antichriſt good men had been deſtroyed, otherwiſe they had not been true Martyrs of Chriſt. The names of theſe were.

Apoc. 22.

Saints of the Popes making.

Ten Martyrs ſent by the Commiſſioners.

Elizabeth Warne,	*William Hale,*
George Tankerfield,	*Thomas Leyes,*
Robert Smith,	*George King,*
Stephen Harwood,	*John Wade,*
Thomas Fuſt,	*Joan Laſhford*

The priſons of *London* beginnnig now to be repleniſhed with Gods Saints, and ſtill moe and moe coming in, the Councel and Commiſſioners, thinking to make ready diſpatch with the poor priſoners, cauſed theſe ten above named, to be ſent with their letter directed to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, by him to be examined, and rid out of the way. The copy of which their letter, with their names ſubſcribed, here followeth to be read and noted.

A Letter ſent by the Commiſſioners to the Biſhop of London, *Doctor Boner.*

The Letter of the Commiſſioners to Biſhop *Boner.*

AFter our hearty commendations to your good Lordſhip, we ſend your here John Wade, Wil. Hale, George King, Thomas Leyes *of Thorpe in* Eſſex, Thomas Fuſt *Hoſier*, Robert Smith *Painter*, Stephen Harwood *Brewer*, George Tankerfield *Cook*, Elizabeth Warne, Joan Laſhford *of* London, *Sacramentaries; all which we deſire your Lordſhip to examine, and to order according to the Eccleſiaſtical lawes: praying your Lordſhip to appoint ſome of your Officers to receive them at this bearers hand. And thus moſt heartily fare your Lordſhip well. From* London *this ſecond of* July.

Your Lordſhips loving Friends,

The names of the Commiſſioners.

Nich Hare, *Rich. Rede.*
Will. Roper. *Will. Cooke.*

The Hiſtory of Elizabeth Warne *Widow, burnt at* Stratford Bow.

NOw ſeverally to proſecute the ſtories of theſe ten Martyrs aforenamed: firſt we will begin with the hiſtory of *Elizabeth Warne*, who in this Month of *Auguſt* was burnt at *Stratford Bow*, nigh unto *London*, Widow, late the Wife of *John Warne* Upholſter, and Martyr, who alſo was burned in the end of the Month of *May* laſt paſt, as before in his ſtorie is recorded. This *Elizabeth* had been apprehended amongſt others, the firſt day of *January*, in a houſe in *Bow* Churchyard in *London*, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that preſent was carried to the *Counter* (as is alſo above ſpecified) where ſhe lay as priſoner untill the 11. day of *June*. At which time ſhe was brought into *Newgate*, and remained there in the like caſe unto the ſecond day of *July*. Then ſhe was ſent by the King and Queens Commiſſioners unto *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, who the ſixth day of the ſame month cauſed her with divers others (as *Robert Smith*, *George Tankerfield*, &c.) to be brought before him into his Palace, and there examined her upon ſundry articles, ſuch as of common order be miniſtred unto the poor Saints and Martyrs of God, as you may more plainly perceive by other more large and ample proceſſes, as well before, as hereafter mentioned.

Elizabeth Warne Martyr.

Eliza. Warne brought to examination.

The chiefeſt objection that he uſed either towards her, or the moſt of thoſe, was touching the reall and corporall preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, as the chiefeſt ground and profitableſt foundation for their Catholick dignitie. Many other matters he objected againſt them, as for not coming to the Church, for ſpeaking againſt the Maſs, for deſpiſing their ceremonies and new found Sacraments, with divers other fond and triffling toyes, not worthy any mentioning.

In the end, when ſhe had been divers times brought before him and other his adherents, and there earneſtly exhorted to recant, ſhe ſaid; Do what ye will. For if Chriſt were in an errour, then am I in an errour. Upon which anſwer, ſhe was the 12. day of the ſame month of *July* adjudged and condemned as an Heretick, and ſo delivered unto the ſecular power, as they term it, to be by them (yet at the Clergies appointment) put to death, which thing was accompliſhed in her the ſame month above mentioned.

The words of *Eliza.* Warne at her examination.

The chiefe procurer of this her death was Doctor *Story*, being (as it is thought) of ſome alliance either to her the ſaid *Elizabeth*, or elſe to her late Husband. Who, though he was at the firſt apprehenſion of his ſaid kinſwoman, a very earneſt ſuter for her deliverance to Doctor *Martin*, then one of the King and Queens Commiſſioners in matters of Religion (himſelf being as yet not made Commiſſioner) and had by his ſute obtained her deliverance for that preſent, as Doctor *Martin* himſelf (the author hereof) hath reported, yet afterwards, upon what occaſion God onely knoweth, except upon ſome burning charity, the ſaid D. *Story* obtaining now the room of one of the Commiſſioners, cauſed not onely the ſaid *John Warne*, but alſo his Wife, and afterwards his daughter to be again apprehended, never leaving them until he had brought them all to aſhes. Such was the rage of that devout Catholick, and white Child of the Mother Church, that neither kindred nor any other conſideration could prevail with him, although it did (at his requeſt) with others, who in reſpect of him were but ſtrangers unto them. The Lord, if it be his will, turn his heart, or elſe rid his poor Church from ſuch an Hydra, as thanked be the Lord, now he hath.

A ſtory of Doc. *Story* written upon the report of D. *Martins* own words.

D. *Story* perſecuteth his kinſfolks.

George Tankerfield, *a faithful Martyr and Witneſs of the Goſpel, conſtantly ſuffering for the teſtimony of the ſame.*

The ſtory of *George Tankerfield*, Martyr.

GEorge Tankerfield of *London*, Cook, born in the *City* of *York*, about the age of 27. or 28. years was in King *Edwards* dayes a very Papiſt, till the time Queen *Mary* came in, and then, perceiving the great cruelty uſed of the Popes ſide, was brought into a miſdoubt of their doings, and began (as he ſaid) in his heart to abhor them. And as concerning the Maſs, whereof he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much ſtriving

with

Anno 1555.

Tankerfield prayeth to God to know whether the Maſs be good, or no.

Tankerfield how he was firſt called to the knowledge of the Goſpel.

with himſelf in that caſe; at length he fell to prayer, deſiring God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thorowly perſwaded therein, whether it were of God, or no: If not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhor it: which according to his prayer the Lord mercifully heard, working daily more and more in him to deteſt and abhor the ſame: and ſo he was moved to read the Teſtament, whereby (as is ſaid) the Lord lightned his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working lively Faith in him to believe the ſame, and utterly to deteſt all Papiſtry, and ſo he came no more to their doings: And not only that, but alſo this lively Faith, ſaith he, kindled ſuch a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but utter it ſelf by confeſſion thereof, reproving his own former doings to his Friends, exhorting them likewiſe to convert and turn to the truth with him, and thus he began to be ſmelled out among them, till at the laſt he was ſent for, as followeth.

The order and manner how *Tankerfield* was firſt apprehended by *Beard*.

It pleaſed God to ſtrike him with ſickneſs, whereby he lay long ſick; and on a certain day to take the ayr abroad, he roſe up, and went and walked into the Temple fields to ſee the ſhooters. In the mean ſeaſon came *Beard* home to his Houſe, and inquired for him, pretending to his Wife, that he came onely to have him to come and dreſs a Banquet at the Lord *Pagets*. The Wife, becauſe of his apparel (which was very brave) took him to be ſome honeſt Gentleman, and with all ſpeed prepared her ſelf to fetch her Husband, having a good hope he ſhould now earn ſome Money: and leſt this Gentleman ſhould be noyed with tarrying, ſhe fetcht him a cuſhion to ſet him ſoft, and laid a fair napkin before him, and ſet bread thereon, and came to her Husband; who when he heard it, ſaid; A Banquet Woman? Indeed it is ſuch a Banquet as will not be very pleaſant to the fleſh, but Gods will be done. And when he came home he ſaw who it was, and called him by his name, which when his Wife perceived, and wherefore he came, like a tall Woman would play *Peters* part, and inſtead of a Sword, took a Spit, and had run him thorow, had not the Conſtable, which *Beard* had ſent for by his man, come in withal, who reſcued him; yet ſhe ſent a Brickbat after him, and hit him on the back. And ſo *Tankerfield* was delivered to the Conſtable, and brought to *Newgate* about the laſt day of *February*, *Anno* 1555. by the ſayd *Beard* Yeoman of the Guard, and *Simon Ponder* Pewterer, Conſtable of Saint *Dunſtans* in the *Weſt*, ſent in by *Roger Chomley* Knight, and by Doctor *Martin*.

A falſe Judas part of *Beard*.

Beard and *Simon Ponder* troublers of Gods Saints. Sir *Roger Chomley*, Doctor *Martin*.

Tankerfield thus being brought to priſon by his Adverſaries, at length with the other above named was brought to his examination before *Boner*. Who, after his accuſtomed manner, ordered his Articles and poſitions unto him; the copie and tenor of which his ordinary Articles ye may read above expreſſed.

Articles ordinary.

To theſe Articles, as above rehearſed, he anſwered again, conſtantly declaring his mind both touching Auricular confeſſion, and alſo the Sacrament of the Popiſh Altar, and likewiſe of the Maſs, &c. Firſt, that he was not confeſſed to any Prieſt five years paſt, nor to any other but onely to God: and further denying that he would hereafter be confeſſed to any Prieſt, for that he found it not in Chriſts book, and took it only to be a Counſel.

Auricular confeſſion.

Sacrament of the Altar.

And concerning the Sacrament, commonly called here in *England* of the Altar, he confeſſed that he neither had nor did believe, that in the ſaid Sacrament there is the Reall Body and Blood of Chriſt, becauſe that the Body is aſcended into Heaven, and there doth ſit at the Right Hand of God the Father.

The Maſs abominable.

Two Sacraments.

And moreover he ſaid, that the Maſs now uſed in the Church of *England* was naught, and full of Idolatry and Abomination, and againſt the Word of God; affirming alſo, that there are but two Sacraments in the Church of Chriſt, Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord, &c. And to theſe Aſſertions, he ſaid, he would ſtand: and ſo he did to the end.

The words of *Tankerfield* to *Boner*.

And when at laſt the Biſhop began to read the ſentence, exhorting him before with many words to revoke his profeſſed opinion (which they called Damnable and Heretical) he notwithſtanding reſiſted all contrary perſwaſions, anſwering the Biſhop again in this form of words; I will not, ſaid he, forſake mine opinions, except you (my Lord) can refell them by Scriptures; and I care not for your Divinity: for you condemn all men, and prove nothing againſt them. And after many fair words of exhortation, which *Boner* then uſed (after his ordinary manner) to convert, or rather pervert him, he anſwered boldly again, ſaying moreover; That the Church, whereof the Pope is ſupreme head, is no part of Chriſts Catholick Church: and adding thereunto, and pointing to the Biſhop, ſpake to the People ſaying, good People beware of him, and ſuch as he is, for theſe be the People that deceive you, &c.

The words of *Tankerfield* at his condemnation.

Tankerfield giveth the People warning of *Boner*.

Tankerfield, condemned.

Theſe with other words moe he ſpake; whereupon the Biſhop, reading the ſentence of his Popiſh condemnation, gave him to the ſecular power.

The Martyrdom of *George Tankerfield* at *S. Albans* an. 1555. Aug. 26.

And ſo this bleſſed Servant of God was had to St. *Albans*, and there with much patience and conſtancy ended his life, the 26. day of *Auguſt*, for the defence of the truth, which at length will have the Victorie.

Certain notes concerning George Tankerfield, *after he came to ſuffer Martyrdom at Saint* Albans.

IN *primis*, he was brought unto St. *Albans* by the high Sheriff of *Hertfordſhire*, Maſter *Edward Brocket* Eſquire, and one *Pulter* of *Hitchen*, which was under Sheriff.

Item their *Inn* was the croſs-keyes, whereas there was great concourſe of People to ſee and hear the priſoner: among the which Multitude ſome were ſory to ſee ſo godly a man brought to be burned, others praiſed God for his conſtancie and preſeverance in the truth. Contrariwiſe, ſome there were which ſaid, it was pity he did ſtand in ſuch opinions: and others, both old Women and Men cried againſt him; one called him Heretick, and ſaid it was pity that he lived. But *George Tankerfield* did ſpeak unto them ſo effectually out of the Word of God, lamenting of their ignorance, and proteſting unto them his unſpotted Conſcience, that God did mollifie their hardned hearts, inſomuch that ſome of them departed out of the Chamber with weeping eyes,

Item, there came unto him a certain School-maſter (which retained unto Sir *Thomas Pope* Knight,) this man had a certain communication with *George Tankerfield* the day before he was coming towards St. *Albans*, as touching their Sacrament of the Altar, and other points of Papiſtical Religion: but as he urged *Tankerfield* with the Authority of the Doctors, wreſting them after his own will; ſo on the other ſide *Tankerfield* anſwered him mightily by the Scriptures, not wreſted after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jeſus, &c. So that as he would not allow ſuch allegations as *Tankerfield* brought out of the Scriptures without the opinions of the Doctors; ſo again *Tankerfield* would not credit his Doctrine to be true, except he could confirm it by the Scriptures. In the end *Tankerfield* prayed him that he would not trouble him in ſuch matters, for his Conſcience was eſtabliſhed, &c. and ſo he departed from him, wiſhing him well, and proteſting that he meant him no more hurt than his own Soul.

Item, when the hour drew on apace that he ſhould ſuffer, he deſired the wine-drawer, that he might have a pint of Malmſey and a loaf, that he might eat and drink that in remembrance of Chriſts Death and Paſſion becauſe he could not have it miniſtred unto him by others in ſuch manner as Chriſt commanded, and then he kneeled down, making his confeſſion unto the Lord with all which were in the chamber with him; and after that he had prayed earneſtly unto the Lord, and had read the inſtitution of the Holy Supper by the Lord Jeſus out of the Evangeliſts, and out of St. *Paul*, he ſaid; O Lord, thou knoweſt it, I do not this to derogate Authority from any man, or in contempt of thoſe which are thy Miniſters, but only becauſe I cannot have it miniſtred according to thy word, &c. and when he had ſpoken theſe and ſuch like words, he received it with giving of thanks.

Item, when ſome of his Friends willed him to eat ſome meat, he ſaid he would not eat that which ſhould do others good that had more need, and that had longer time to live than he.

Item, he prayed his Hoſt to let him have a good fire in the chamber; he had ſo, and then he ſitting on a form before the fire, put off his ſhoos and hoſe, and ſtretched out his legg to the flame, and when it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his legg, ſhewing how the fleſh did perſwade him one way, and the Spirit another way. The fleſh ſaid, O thou fool, wilt thou burn and needeſt not? The Spirit ſaid, Be not afraid, for this is nothing in reſpect of fire eternal. The fleſh ſaid, Do not leave the company of thy Friends and acquaintance which love thee, and will let thee lack nothing. The Spirit ſaid, The company of Jeſus Chriſt and his glorious preſence doth exceed all fleſhly Friends. The fleſh ſaid, Do not ſhorten thy time, for thou mayeſt live if thou wilt much longer. The Spirit ſaid, This life is nothing unto the life in heaven which laſteth for ever, &c. And all this time the Sheriffs were at a certain Gentlemans houſe at dinner, not farr from the Town, whither alſo reſorted Knights and many Gentlemen out of the Country, becauſe his Son was married that day, and until they returned from dinner the priſoner was left with his Hoſt to be kept and looked unto. And *George Tankerfield* all that time was kindly and lovingly intreated of his Hoſt; and conſidering that his time was ſhort, his ſaying was, That although the day was never ſo long, yet at the laſt it ringeth to evening ſong.

Item, about two of the Clock, when the Sheriffs were returned from dinner, they brought *George Tankerfield* out of his Inn unto the place where he ſhould ſuffer, which is called *Romeland*, being a green place night unto the weſt end of the Abby Church: unto the which when he was come, he kneeled down by the ſtake that was ſet up for him, and after he had ended his prayers he aroſe, and with a joyful Faith he ſaid, that although he had a ſharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful Supper in Heaven.

Item, while the Fagots were ſet about him, there came a Prieſt unto him, and perſwaded him to believe on the Sacrament of the Altar, and he ſhould be ſaved. But *George Tankerfield* cried out vehemently, and ſaid; I defie the Whore of *Babylon*, I defie the Whore of *Babylon*: Fie of that abominable Idol: Good People do not believe him, good People do not believe him. And then the Maior of the Town commanded to ſet fire to the Heretick, and ſaid, If he had but one load of Fagots in the whole World, he would give them to burn him. There was a certain Knight by, who went unto *Tankerfield*, and took him by the hand, and ſaid, Good Brother, be ſtrong in Chriſt, this he ſpake ſoftly; and *Tankerfield* ſaid, O Sir, I thank you, I am ſo, I thank God. Then fire was ſet unto him, and he deſired the Sheriff and all the People that they would pray for him; the moſt part did ſo. And ſo imbracing the fire, he bathed himſelf in it, and calling on the name of the Lord Jeſus he was quickly out of pain, &c.

After the Martyrdom was ended, and that he was fallen aſleep in the Lord, there were ſome ſuperſtitious old Women who did blaſphemouſly ſay, that the Devil was ſo ſtrong with him and all ſuch Hereticks as he was, that they could not feel any pain almoſt, nor yet be ſorry for their ſins.

The Hiſtory and Examinations of Robert Smith, *conſtantly maintaining the truth of Gods Word, and ſuffering for the ſame in the Month of* Auguſt:

Robert Smith of London, Martyr.

Robert Smith was brought unto *Newgate* the fifth of *November*, in the firſt and ſecond year of the King and Queen, by *John Matthew* Yeoman of the Guard of the Queens ſide, by the commandment of the Councel. This *Smith* firſt gave himſelf unto Service in the houſe of Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight, being then Provoſt of *Eaton*: from thence he was preferred to *Windſor*, having there in the Colledge a Clerkſhip of ten pound a year. Of ſtature he was tall and ſlender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the Art of painting, which many times, rather for his minds ſake than for any living or lucre, he did practiſe and exerciſe. In Religion he was fervent, after he had once taſted the truth; wherein he was much confirmed by the preachings and readings of one Maſter *Turner* of *Windſor*, and others. Whereupon at the coming of Queen *Mary* he was deprived of his Clerkſhip by her Viſitors, and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before *Boner*, as here followeth, written and teſtified with his own hand.

Robert Smith active in the Art of painting.

Anno 1555.

The firſt Examination of Robert Smith *before Biſhop* Boner.

The firſt examination of Robert Smith before Biſhop Boner.

ABout 9. of the Clock in the Morning, I was among the reſt of my Brethren brought to the Biſhops houſe; and I firſt of all was brought before him into his chamber, to whom the Biſhop ſaid as followeth, after he had asked my name.

Boner. How long is it ago ſince the time that ye were confeſſed to any Prieſt?

Confeſſion not needful.

Smith. Never ſince I had years of diſcretion. For I never ſaw it needful, neither commanded of God to come to ſhew my faults to any of that ſinful number, whom ye call Prieſts.

Boner. Thou ſheweſt thy ſelf even at the firſt chop to be a rank Heretick, which being weary of painting, art entred into Divinity, and ſo fallen, through thy departing from thy Vocation, into Hereſie.

Smith. Although I have underſtanding in the ſaid occupation, yet (I praiſe God) I have had little need all my life hitherto to live by the ſame, but have lived without the ſame in mine owne houſe as honeſtly in my Vocation, as ye have lived in yours, and yet uſed the ſame better than ever you uſed the Pulpit.

Rejecto criminis ingeniosa & divina.

Boner. How long is it ago ſince ye received the Sacrament of the Altar, and what is your opinion in the ſame?

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Smith. I never received the ſame ſince I had years of diſcretion, nor never will, by Gods grace; neither do eſteem the ſame in any point, becauſe it hath not Gods ordinance, neither in name, nor in other uſage, but rather is ſet up and erected to mock God withall.

Bon. Do ye not believe that it is the very Body of Chriſt that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, naturally, ſubſtantially, and really, after the words of Conſecration?

Smith. I ſhewed you before it was none of Gods ordinances, as ye uſe it; then much leſs to be God, or any part of his ſubſtance, but only Bread and Wine erected to the uſe aforeſaid: yet nevertheleſs, if ye can approve it to be the Body that ye ſpake of by the Word, I will believe it; if not, I will, as I do, account it a deteſtable Idol; not God, but contrary to God and his truth.

Boneri argumentum to prove the Sacrament.

Bon. Then after many raging words and vain objections, he ſaid, there was no remedy but I muſt be burned.

Smith. Ye ſhall do no more unto me, then ye have done to better men than either of us both. But think not thereby to quench the Spirit of God, neither thereby to make your matter good. For your ſore is too well ſeen to be healed ſo privily with Blood. For even the very Children have all your deeds in deriſion; ſo that although ye patch up one place with Authority, yet ſhall it break out in forty to your ſhame.

Bon. Then after much ado, and many railing ſentences, he ſaid, throwing away the paper of mine examination; Well, even now, by my troth, even in good earneſt, if thou wilt go and be ſhriven, I will tear this paper in pieces.

Smith. To which I anſwered; it would be too much to his ſhame to ſhew it to men of diſcretion.

After which Anſwer, I was carried down to the garden with my Jayler, and there remained untill my Brother *Harwood* was examined; and then being again brought up before the ſaid *Boner*, he demanded if I agreed with *Harwood* in his confeſſion, upon theſe Articles following.

St. Harwood examined before the Biſhop.

Bon. What ſay you to the Catholick Church? Do ye not confeſs there is one in Earth?

Smith examined by the Biſhop.

Smith. Yes verily, I believe that there is one Catholick Church, or faithful congregation, which as the Apoſtle ſaith, is builded upon the Prophets and Apoſtles, Chriſt Jeſus being the head cornerſtone? which Church in all her words and works maintaineth the word, and bringeth the ſame for her Authority, and without it doth nothing, nor ought to do, of which I am aſſured I am by grace made a member.

Bon.

Anno 1555.

Bon. Ye ſhall underſtand, that I am bound when my Brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation: now if your Church be the ſame, where may a man find it, to bring his Brother before the ſame?

Where was the viſible Church amongſt the Proteſtants? Where was the viſible Church amongſt the Apoſtles?

Smith. It is written in the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, that when the Tyrannie of the Biſhops was ſo great againſt the Church in *Jury*, they were fain to congregate in houſes and privie places, as they now do; and yet were they nevertheleſs the Church of God: and ſeeing they had their matters redreſſed being ſhut up in a corner, may not we do the like now adays?

Here he would not anſwer me to the Church of Jury but flyeth to the Church of the *Corint.*

Bon. Yea, their Church was known full well. For S. *Paul* writ to the *Corinthians*, to have the man puniſhed and excommunicate, that had committed evil with his Fathers Wife. Whereby we may well perceive it was a known Church; but yours is not known.

Smith. Then could you not perſecute it as ye do: but as ye ſay the Church of God at *Corinth* was manifeſt both to God, and *Paul*; even ſo is this Church of God in *England*, whom ye perſecute, both known to God, and alſo even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will not know their truth nor converſation; yea, and your ſinful number have profeſſed their veritie, and maintained the ſame a long ſeaſon.

Bon. Well, thou ſayeſt that the Church of God was only at *Corinth*, when *Paul* writ unto them, and ſo will I put in writing, ſhall I?

How Boner layeth ſnares to catch the innocent.

Smith. I do marvel greatly, my Lord, that ye are not aſhamed to lay ſnares for your Brethren on this manner. This is now the third ſnare you have layed for me. Firſt, to make me confeſs that the Church of *England* is not the Church of Chriſt. Secondly, to ſay, it is not known. Thirdly, to ſay the Church of God is not univerſal, but particular: and this is not the office of a Biſhop. For if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your beſt, I ſee, to have intangled him.

Harpſ. Well Friend, quoth one of my Lords Chaplains, you are no innocent, as it appeareth.

Smith. By the grace of God, I am that I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain.

Bon. Well, quoth my Lord, laughing; tell me, how ſayeſt thou of the Church?

The Church of Chriſt is not univerſally in one particular place.

Smith. I told you whereupon the true Church is builded, and I affirm in *England* to be the Congregation of God, and alſo *in omnem terram*, as it is written; *Their ſound is gone forth into all lands*, and that this is the afflicted and perſecuted Church, which ye ceaſe not to impriſon, ſlay, and kill. And in *Corinth* was not all the Congregation of God, but a number of thoſe holy and elect People of God. For neither *Paul* nor *Peter* were preſent at *Corinth* when they wrote, and yet were they of the Church of GOD as many thouſands moe, which alſo communicate in that Holy Spirit.

Bon. What call ye Catholick, and what call you Church?

Smith. Catholick is univerſal, and Church is a Congregation knit together in unity.

Then after much like vain talk, it was laid to my charge, that my fellow and I ſpake one thing. Whereof I praiſed God and was ſent again to a garden. Where after a while as my Brother *Harwood* and I had been together, cometh one of my Lords Chaplains, that much deſired to commune with me, demanding firſt if I were a priſoner.

Talk between Robert *Smith* and the Biſhops Chaplains.

Smith. I am in this fleſh a priſoner, and ſubject to my Maſter and yours; but I hope yet the Lords free man through Chriſt Jeſus.

Doct. I do much deſire to talk with you lovingly, becauſe ye are a man that I much lament, with many other ſweet words.

Abſurdity granted by the Catholicks, that the Body of Chriſt goeth into the belly, and ſo into the draught.

To which I anſwered; *Sub melle latet venenum.* And after much ado about his god, I compelled him to ſay, that it muſt needs enter into the belly, and ſo fall into the draught. To which he anſwered.

Doct. What Derogation was it to Chriſt, when the Jewes ſpit in his face?

Compariſon between the Jewes that ſpit in Chriſts face, and Papiſts which let him fall into the draught.

Smith. If the Jewes, being his enemies, did ſpit in his face, and we being his Friends throw him into the draught, which of us have deſerved the greateſt damnation? Then by your argument, he that doth injury to Chriſt, ſhall have a moſt plenteous Salvation.

Note this Catholick Doctrine, which reſembleth the Body of Chriſt, to the incomprehenſible Soul of man.

Doct. Then ſtart he away, and would have his humanity incomprehenſible, making a compariſon between our Soul and the Body of Chriſt, bringing in to ſerve his turn, which way Chriſt came in among his Diſciples, the Doors being ſhut?

The queſtion is not what Chriſt is able to do in the Sacrament, but what he doth therein.

Smith. Although it be ſaid, that when he came the Doors were ſhut, yet have I as much to prove, that the Doors opened at his coming, as ye have to prove he came through the Door: For that mighty GOD that brought the Diſciples out of priſon, which yet when ſearch came, were found ſhut, was able to let Chriſt in at the Door although it were ſhut: and yet it maketh not for your purpoſe; for they ſaw him, heard him, and felt him, and ſo can we not ſay ye do, neither is he in more then in one place at once. At which anſwer when he had made many ſcoffings, he departed away from me, and we were carried unto my Lords hall, where we were baited of my Lords band, almoſt all the day, until our Keeper ſeeing their miſorder, ſhut us up all in a fair chamber, while my Lord went into his Synagogue to condemn Maſter *Denly* and *John Newman.*

Robert Smith brought again before the Biſhop and the Lord Maior.

Then brought they up my Lord Mayor to hear our matter above in the chamber, and I firſt of all was called into the chamber, where my Lord intended to Sup. Where my Lord Mayor being ſet with the Biſhop and one of the Sheriffs, wine was walking on every ſide: I ſtanding before them as an out-caſt, which made me remember how *Pilat* and *Herod* were made Friends, but no man was ſory for *Joſephs* hurt. But after my Lord had well drunk, my Articles were ſent for and read, and he demanded whether I ſaid not, as was written?

Smith. That I have ſaid, I have ſaid, and what I have ſaid, I do mean utterly.

B. Boner excuſeth himſelf of Bloodineſs.

Boner. Well, my Lord Mayor, your Lordſhip hath heard ſomewhat, what a ſtout Heretick this is, and that his Articles have deſerved Death: Yet nevertheleſs forſomuch as they report me to ſeek *Blood*, and *call* me Bloody *Boner*, whereas God knoweth, I never ſought any mans Blood in all my life, I have ſtayed him from the Conſiſtory this day, whither I might have brought him juſtly: and yet here before your Lordſhip I deſire him to turn, and I will with all ſpeed diſpatch him out of trouble; and this I profeſs before your Lordſhip and all this audience.

B. Boner proved to be cruel and Bloody.

Smith. Why, my Lord, do ye put on this fair viſor before my Lord Mayor, to make him believe that ye ſeek not my Blood, to cloak your Murthers through my ſtoutneſs, as ye call it? Have ye not had my Brother *Tomkins* before you, whoſe hand when you had burned moſt cruelly, ye burnt alſo his Body, and not only of him but of a great many of the members of Chriſt, men that feared God, and lived vertuouſly, and alſo the Queens Majeſties moſt true Subjects, as their goods and Bodies have made manifeſt? and ſeeing in theſe Saints ye have ſhewed ſo little mercy, ſhall it ſeem to my Lord and this audience, that ye ſhew me more favour? No, no, my Lord. But if ye mean as ye ſay, why then examin ye me of that I am not bound to anſwer you unto?

Boner. Well, what ſaiſt thou by the Sacrament of the Altar? is it not the very Body of Chriſt, fleſh, Blood, and bone, as it was born of the Virgin?

By this queſtion it may appear whether the Biſhop ſought Blood or no.

Smith. I have anſwered, that it is none of Gods order, neither any Sacrament, but mans own vain invention, and ſhewed him the Lords inſtitution. But when he was ſo earneſt before the audience, declaring that we knew nothing, bringing out his *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, to lay in my diſh, I proved before the audience, that it was a dead god, declaring the deſtinction appointed between the two creatures of Bread and Wine, and that a Body without Blood hath no life. At which *Harpsfield* found himſelf much offended, and took the tale out of my Lords mouth ſaying,

The Papiſts dead god, having Body without Blood.

Harpſ. I will approve by the Scriptures, that ye blaſpheme God in ſo ſaying: for it is given in two parts, becauſe there is two things ſhewed, that is to ſay, his Body and his paſſion, as ſaith Saint *Paul*: and therefore is the Bread his Body, and the Wine the repreſentation of his Death and Bloodſhedding.

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Smith. Ye falſifie the Word, and rack it to ſerve your purpoſe. For the wine was not onely the ſhewing of his paſſion, but the bread alſo: for our Saviour ſaith, *So oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.* And Saint *Paul* ſaith, *So oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lords death till he come.* And here is as much reverence given to the one, as to the other.

Even as the bread is the Body, ſo is the cup the Blood.

Wherefore if the bread be his Body, the cup muſt be his Blood, and as well ye make his Body in the cup, as his Blood in the bread. Then up roſe my Lord, and went to the Table, where my Lord Mayor deſired me to ſave my Soul. To whom I anſwered, I hope it was aved through Chriſt Jeſus, deſiring him to have pity on his own Soul, and remember whoſe ſword he carried.

Robert Smith commanded of Boner into Limbo.

At which I was carried into the garden, and there abode until the reſt of my Friends were examined, and ſo were we ſent away with many foul farewels to *Newgate* again, my Lord Biſhop giving the Keeper a charge to lay me in Limbo.

Another examination of Robert Simth *before the ſaid Biſhop.*

Another examination of R: Smith.

UPon Saturday at eight of the Clock, I was brought to his chamber again, and there by him examined, as followeth.

Boner begineth with an untruth:

Bon. Thou *Robert Smith*, &c. ſaiſt that there is no Catholick Church here on earth.

Smith. Ye have heard me both ſpeak the contrary, and ye have written as a witneſs of the ſame.

Bon. Yea, but I muſt ask thee this queſtion: how ſaiſt thou?

Smith. Muſt ye of neceſſity begin with a lie? it maketh manifeſt that ye determine to end with the ſame. But there ſhall no liars enter into the Kingdom of God. Nevertheleſs, if ye will be anſwered, ask mine Articles that were written yeſterday, and they ſhall tell you that I have confeſſed a Church of God, as well in earth as in Heaven, and yet all one Church, and one mans members, even Chriſt Jeſus.

The Church.

Bon. Well, what ſaiſt thou to auricular confeſſion? is it not neceſſary to be uſed in Chriſts Church, and wilt thou not be ſhriven of the Prieſt?

Auricular confeſſion is but a pick-purſe matter

Smith. It is not needful to be uſed in Chriſts Church, as I anſwered yeſterday. But if it be needful for your Church, it is to pick mens purſes. And ſuch pick-purſe matters is all the whole rabble of your ceremonies: for all is but money matters that ye maintain.

Boner. Why, how art thou able to prove that confeſſion is a pick-purſe matter? Art thou not aſhamed ſo to ſay?

The inconveniences of Auricular confeſſion:

Smith. I ſpeak by experience. For I have both heard and ſeen the fruits of the ſame. For firſt it hath been, we ſee, a bewrayer of Kings ſecrets, and the ſecrets of other mens conſciences; who being delivered, and glad to be diſcharged of their ſins, have given to Prieſts great ſums of money to abſolve them, and ſing Maſſes for their Souls health.

A falſe practice of a Prieſt under confeſſion.

And for enſample, I began to bring in a Pageant, that by report was played at Saint *Thomas* of *Acres*, and where I was ſometime a Child waiting on a Gentleman of *Norfolk*, which being bound in conſcience through the perſwaſion of the Prieſt, gave away a great ſum of his goods, and forgave unto Maſter *Greſham* a great ſum of money, and to another as much. The Prieſt had for his part a ſum, and the Houſe had an annuity to keep him, the which thing when his Brother heard, he came down to *London*, and after declaration made to the Councel, how by the ſubtilty of the Prieſt he had robbed his Wife and Children, recovered a great part again, to the value of two or three hundred pounds of Maſter *Greſham* and his other Friend; but what he gave to the Houſe, could not be recovered. This tale began I to tell. But when my Lord ſaw it favored not to his purpoſe, he began to revile me, and ſaid; By the Maſs, if the Queens Majeſty were of his mind, I ſhould not come to talk before any man, but ſhould be put into a ſack, and a dog tied unto the ſame, and ſo ſhould be thrown into the water.

Smith. To which I anſwered again, ſaying; I know you ſpeak by practice, as much as by ſpeculation: for both you and your predeceſſors have ſought all means poſſible to kill Chriſt ſecretly; record of Maſter *Hunne*, whom your predeceſſor cauſed to be thruſt in at the noſe with hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, and ſaid the ſame *Hunne* to have hanged himſelf: and alſo a good Brother of yours, a Biſhop of your profeſſion, having in his priſon an innocent man, whom becauſe he ſaw he was not able by the Scriptures to overcome, he made him privily to be ſnarled, and his fleſh to be torn and plucked away with a pair of pinſers, & bringing him before the People ſaid, the Rats had eaten him. Thus according to your Oath is all your dealing, and hath been; and as you, taking upon you the office, do not without Oaths open your mouth, no more do you without murder maintain your traditions.

Example of terrible cruelty ſhewed upon a poor innocent.

Boner. Ah, ye are a generation of lyars; there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouths.

Smith. Yes, my Lord, I have ſaid that Jeſus Chriſt is dead for my ſins, and riſen for my juſtification, and this is no lye.

Boner. Then made he his man to put in my tale of the Gentleman of *Northfolk*, and would have had me recite it again: which when I would not do, he made his man to put in ſuch ſums as he imagined. At the end of this cometh in Maſter *Mordant* Knight, and ſate dow to hear my examination. Then ſaid my Lord, how ſaiſt thou *Smith* to the ſeven Sacraments? Beleveſt thou not that they be Gods order, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of &c.

Sir John *Mordant* Knight.

Smith. I believe that in Gods Church are but two Sacraments, that is to ſay, the Sacrament of Regeneration, and the Sacrament of the Lords Supper: and as for the Sacrament of the Altar, and all your Sacraments, they may well ſerve your Church, but Gods Church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to anſwer them, nor you to examine me of them.

2: Sacraments.

Boner. Why, is Gods order changed in Baptiſm? In what point do we diſſent from the Word of God?

Baptiſm in what points it is abuſed by the Catholicks.

Smith. Firſt, in hallowing your water; in conjuring of the ſame; in Baptizing Children with anointing and ſpitting in their mouths, mingled with ſalt, and with many other lewd ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in Gods order.

Boner. By the Maſs this is the moſt unſhamefac'd Heretick that ever I heard ſpeak.

Smith. Well ſworn my Lord, ye keep a good watch.

Boner. Well, Mr. Controller, ye catch me at my words: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee.

Mordant. By my troth, my Lord, quoth Mr. *Mordant*, I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you my Lord, mark well his anſwer for Baptiſm. He diſalloweth therein holy oyntment, ſalt, and ſuch other laudable ceremonies, which no chriſtian man will deny.

Smith. That is a ſhameful blaſphemy againſt Chriſt, ſo to uſe any mingle mangle in Baptizing young Infants.

Boner. I believe, I tell thee, that if they die before they be Baptized, they be damned.

Smith. Ye ſhall never be ſaved by that belief. But I pray you my Lord, ſhew me, are we ſaved by water, or by Chriſt?

Boner. By both.

This was ſpoken more to confound the opinion of water.

Smith. Then the water died for our ſins; and ſo muſt ye ſay, that the water hath life, and it being our Servant, and created for us, is our Saviour: this (my Lord) is a good Doctrine, is it not?

Then to ſee Children to have water.

Boner. Why, how underſtandeſt thou the Scriptures? *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.*

And again, *Suffer* (ſaith our Saviour) *theſe Children to come unto me*: and if thou wilt not ſuffer them to be Baptized after the laudable order, thou letteſt them to come unto Chriſt.

Smith. Where ye alledge Saint *John*, *Except a man, &c.* and will thereby prove the water to ſave, and ſo the deed or work to ſave and put away ſins, I will ſend you to Saint *Paul*, which aſketh of the *Galathians*, *Whether they received the Spirit by the deeds of the Law or by the preaching of Faith?* and there concludeth, that the Holy Ghoſt accompanieth the preaching of faith,

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and with the word of faith entreth into the heart. So now if Baptiſm preach to me the waſhing in Chriſts Blood, ſo doth the Holy Ghoſt accompany it, and it is unto me as a Preacher, and not a Saviour. And where ye ſay, I let the Children to come unto Chriſt, it is manifeſt by our Saviours words, that ye let them to come, that will not ſuffer them to come to him without the neceſſitie of water. For he ſaith, Suffer them to come unto me, and not unto water, and therefore if ye condemn them, ye condemn both the merits and words of Chriſt. For our Saviour ſaith, *Except ye turn and become as Children, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* And ſo brought I out many other enſamples, to make manifeſt, that Chriſt hath cleanſed original ſin, bringing in enſamples out of Scriptures for the ſame.

The water of Baptiſm a Preacher and not a Saviour.

Boner. Then thou makeſt the water of none effect, and then put away water.

Smith. *It is not* (ſaith Saint *Peter*) *the waſhing away of the filth of the fleſh, but in that a good conſcience conſenteth unto God.* And to prove that water onely bringeth not the Holy Ghoſt, it is written in the 8 of the *Acts*, that *Simon* received water but would have received the Holy Ghoſt for money. Alſo that the Holy Ghoſt hath come before Baptiſm; it is written that *John* had the Holy Ghoſt in his Mothers womb. *Cornelius*, *Paul*, and the Queen of *Candaces* ſervant, with many others, received the Holy Ghoſt before Baptiſm. Yea, and although your generation have ſet at naught the Word of God, and like ſwine turned his Words upſide down, yet muſt his Church keep the ſame in that order which he left them, which his Church dare not break; and to judge Children damned that be not baptized, it is wicked.

The element of water in Baptiſm, bringeth not the Holy Ghoſt.

The Holy Ghoſt received of ſome before Baptiſm.

Mord. By our Lady, Sir, but I believe that if my child die without water, he is damned.

Boner. Yea, and ſo do I, and all Catholick men, good Maſter *Mordant*.

Smith. Well, my Lord, ſuch Catholick, ſuch ſalvation.

Boner. Well Sir, what ſay you to the Sacrament of Orders?

Smith. Ye may call it the Sacrament of miſorders: for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your ſhaving, annointing, greaſing, poling, and rounding, there are no ſuch things appointed in Gods Book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, my Lord, if ye had grace and intelligence, ye would not ſo disfigure your ſelf as ye do.

The Sacrament of Orders.

Boner. Saiſt thou ſo? now by my troth I will go ſhave my ſelf to anger thee withall: and ſo ſent for his Barber, which immediatly came. And before my face at the Door of the next chamber he ſhaved himſelf, deſiring me before he went, to anſwer to theſe Articles.

Boner ſhaveth himſelf in anger of *Robert Smith*

Boner. What ſay you to Holy Bread and Holy Water, to the Sacrament of annointing, and to all the reſt of ſuch ceremonies of the Church?

Holy Bread. Holy water. Annointing.

Smith. I ſay, they be bables for fools to play withal, and not for the Children of God to exerciſe themſeves in; and therefore they may go among the refuſe. Then went away Maſter *Mordant*, and my Lord went to ſhaving, leaving there certain Doctors, as he called them, to aſſay what they could do, of whom I was baited for half an hour: of whom I alſo asked this queſtion, Where were all you in the days of King *Edward*, that ye ſpake not that which ye ſpeak now?

Doct. We were in *England*.

Smith. Yea, but then ye had the faces of men, but now ye have put on Lions faces again, as ſaith S. *John*, *Ye ſhew your ſelves as full of malice as ye may be.* For ye have for every time a vizor; yea, and if another King *Edward* ſhould ariſe, ye would then ſay, Down with the Pope, for he is Antichriſt, and ſo are all his Angels.

Talk between R. *Smith* and the Doctors.

Then was I all to reviled, and ſo ſent away, and brought in again to come before theſe men; and one of them that baited me before, asked me if I diſallowed confeſſion?

Smith. To whom I anſwered, Look in mine Articles, and they ſhall ſhew you what I allow.

Doct. Your Articles confeſs that you allow not auricular confeſſion.

Smith. I allow it not, becauſe the word alloweth is not, nor commandeth it.

Doct. Why, it is written, thou ſhalt not hide thy ſins and offences.

Smith. No more do I when I confeſs them to almighty God.

Doct. Why, ye cannot ſay that ye can hide them from God, and therefore you muſt underſtand the words are ſpoken to be uttered to them that do not know them.

Smith. Ye have made a good anſwer, then muſt the Prieſt confeſs himſelf to me, as I to him. For I know his faults and ſecrets no more then he knoweth mine. But if ye confeſs you to the Prieſt, and not unto God, ye ſhall have the reward that *Judas* had: for he confeſſed himſelf to the Prieſt, and yet went and hanged himſelf by and by; and ſo as many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are ſaid to hide them.

Doct. What did they that came to *John* to be Baptiſed?

Againſt Auricular confeſſion.

Smith. They came and confeſſed their ſins unto almighty God.

Doct. And not unto *John*?

Smith. If it were unto *John*, as ye are not able to prove, yet was it to God, before *John* and the whole congregation.

Confeſſing unto *John* in the Wilderneſs, was not to him, but before him to God.

Doct. Why, *John* was alone in the Wilderneſs.

Smith. Why, and yet the Scriptures ſay he had many Diſciples, and that many Phariſees and Sadducees came to his Baptiſm. Here the Scriptures and you agree not. And if they confeſſed themſelves to *John*, as ye ſay, it was to all the Congregation, as Saint *Paul* doth to *Timothy*, and to all that read his Epiſtle, in opening to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an Apoſtle, becauſe he had been a Tyrant. But as for ear-confeſſion, ye never heard it allowed by the Word. For the Prophet *David* maketh his confeſſion unto God, and ſaith, *I will confeſs my ſins unto the Lord.* *Daniel* maketh his confeſſion unto the Lord; *Judith*, *Toby*, *Jeremy*, *Manaſſeh*, with all the forefathers did even ſo. For the Lord hath ſaid, *Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee. Knock, ask, ſeek*, with ſuch like; and this is the Word of God; Now bring ſome what of the Word to help your ſelf withal. Then they raged, and called me dog, and ſaid I was damned.

Smith. Nay, ye are dogs, that becauſe holy things are offered, will ſlay your Friends. For I may ſay with Saint *Paul*, *I have fought with beaſts in the likeneſs of men.* For here I have been baited theſe two days, of my Lord and his great Bulls of *Baſan*, and in his Hall beneath have I been baited of the reſt of his band. With this came my Lord from ſhaving, and asked me how I liked him?

Smith. Forſooth, ye are even as wiſe as ye were before ye were ſhaven.

Boner. How ſtandeth it, Maſter Doctors, have ye done any good?

Doct. No by my troth, my Lord, we can do no good.

Smith. Then it is fulfilled which is written, *How can an evill tree bring forth good fruit?*

Boner. Nay, naughty fellow, I ſet theſe Gentlemen to bring thee home to Chriſt.

Smith. Such Gentlemen, ſuch Chriſts; and as truely as they have that name from Chriſt, ſo truly do they teach Chriſt.

Boner. Well, wilt thou neither hear them nor me?

Smith. Yes I am compelled to hear you; but ye cannot compel me to follow you.

Boner. Well thou ſhall be burnt at a ſtake in *Smithfield* if thou wilt not turn.

Smith. And ye ſhall burn in hell, if ye repent not: but my Lord, to put you out of doubt, becauſe I am weary, I will ſtrain courteſie with you: I perceive you will not with yours Doctors come unto me, and I am not determined to come unto you, by Gods grace. For I have hardned my face againſt you as hard as braſs. Then after many railing ſentences I was ſent away. And thus have I left the truth of mine anſwers in writing (gentle Reader) being compelled by my Friends to do it: that ye may ſee how the Lord hath according to his promiſe given me a mouth and wiſdom to anſwer in his cauſe, for which I am condemned; and my cauſe not heard.

The marvelous boldneſs of *Robert Smith*, given him of God againſt Chriſts enemies.

The

The laſt Examination of Robert Smith.

The laſt examination of *R. Smith* before B. *Boner*, with his condemnation in the Conſiſtory.

THe tweleth of *July* I was with my Brethren brought into the Conſiſtory, and mine Articles read before my Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, with all the aſſiſtants; to which I anſwered, as followeth,

Boner. By my Faith, my Lord Mayor, I have ſhewed him as much favour as any man living might do: but I perceive all is loſt, both in him and all his company.

Smith. At this word which he coupled with an Oath, came I in, and taking him with the manner, ſaid, My Lord, it is written, *Ye muſt not Swear.*

Boner. Ah Maſter controller, are ye come? Loe, my Lord Mayor, this is Maſter Speaker, pointing to my Brother *Tankerfield*, and this is Maſter Controller, pointing to me. And then beginning to read my Articles, he perſevered till he came at my Tale of the Gentleman of *Northfolk*, and then demanded of my Lord Mayor, if he heard of the ſame before. To which he anſwered, no. To whom I anſwered:

Smith. My Lord Mayor, will it pleaſe you to hear me recite it, as I heard it, and I told it, and then ſhall you hear the truth. For this tale that my Lord hath told, is untrue.

Boner. How ſay you good Maſter *Mordant*, ſpake he not this is here, as it is written? were ye not by?

Sir *John Mordant* came in after this ſtory was told.

Mord. Yes, my Lord, that it is: I heard him ſay it.

Smith. How heard you me ſay it, and were not preſent when I ſpake it? ſhould ſuch a man make a lie? it is manifeſtly proved that the Prophet ſaith; *Even as the King ſaith, ſo ſaith the Judge, that he may do him a pleaſure again.* And ſo was brought out my goaler for trial thereof, who there openly profeſſed, that neither Mr. *Mordant* nor the Doctors before mentioned were preſent when I ſpake it. At which Maſter *Mordant* with bluſhing cheeks, ſaid, he heard them read, and heard me affirm the ſame, which was alſo not true. Then proceeded my Lord with the reſt of mine Articles, demanding of me, if I ſaid not as was written. To which I anſwered, No: and turning to my Lord Mayor, I ſaid, I require you, my Lord Mayor, in Gods behalf, unto whom pertaineth your ſword and juſtice, that I may here before your preſence anſwer to theſe objections that are laid againſt me, and have the probation of the ſame; and if any thing that I have ſaid or will ſay, to be proved (as my L. ſaith) Hereſie, I ſhall not onely with all my heart forſake the ſame, and cleave to the truth, but alſo recant whereſoever ye ſhall aſſign me, and all this audience ſhall be witneſs to the ſame.

The words of *Rob. Smith* to the Lord Mayor.

Mayor. Why *Smith*, thou canſt not deny, but this thou ſaidſt.

Smith. Yes my Lord, I deny that which he hath written, becauſe he hath both added to, and diminiſhed from the ſame: But what I have ſpoken, I will never deny.

Mayor. Why, thou ſpakeſt againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar,

Here my Brother *Tankerfield* recited the ſtory of my L. Biſhops *Cook.*

Smith. I denied it to be any Sacrament, and I do ſtand here to make probation of the ſame; and if my Lord here or any of his Doctors be able to approve either the name or uſage of the ſame, I will recant mine errour. Then ſpake my Brother *Tankerfield*, and defended the probation of things, which they called Hereſie: to the which the Biſhop anſwered.

Bon. By my troth, Maſter Speaker, ye ſhall preach at a ſtake.

Smith. Well ſworn, my Lord, ye keep a good watch.

Boner no Saint.

Boner. Well, Maſter Controller, I am no Saint.

Smith. No, my Lord, nor yet good Biſhop. For a Biſhop, ſaith S. *Paul*, ſhould be faultleſs, and a dedicate veſſell unto God; and are ye not aſhamed to ſit in judgment, and be a blaſphemer, condemning Innocents?

Bon. Well, Maſter Controller, ye are faultleſs.

This Mayor Sir *John Lyon.*

Smith. My Lord Mayor, I require you in Gods Name, that I may have Juſtice. We be here to day a great many of Innocents that are wrongfully accuſed of Hereſie. And I require you, if you will not ſeem to be partial, let me have no more favor at your hands, then the Apoſtle had at the hands of *Feſtus* and *Agrippa*, which being Heathen and Infidels, gave him leave not onely to ſpeak for himſelf, but alſo heard the probation of his cauſe. This require I at your hands, which being a Chriſtian Judge, I hope will not deny me that right, which the Heathen have ſuffered: if ye do, then ſhall all this audience, yea, and the Heathen ſpeak ſhame of your fact. *For a City* (ſaith our Saviour) *that is builded on a hill cannot be hid*: if they therefore have the truth, let it come to light. For all that well do, come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light.

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Here my Brother *Tankerfield* pulled out of his boſom a Teſtament, requiring judgement by the ſame, but it would not be heard

Then my Lord Mayor hanging down his head, ſaid nothing, but the Biſhop told me, I ſhould preach at a Stake, and ſo the Sheriff cryed, with the Biſhop, away with me.

This Sheriff was *Maſter Woodroſe.*

Thus came I in before them four times, deſiring Juſtice, but could have none: and at length my Friends requiring with one voyce the ſame, and could not have it, we had ſentence, and then being carried out, were brought in again, and had it every man ſeverally given. But before the Biſhop gave me ſentence, he told me in deriſion of my Brother *Tankerfield*, a tale between a Gentleman and his Cook. To which I anſwered, My Lord, ye fill the Peoples eares with fantaſies and fooliſh tales, and make a laughing matter at Blood; but if ye were a true Biſhop, ye ſhould leave theſe railing ſentences, and ſpeak the words of God.

Juſtice required in the Biſhops conſiſtory but could not be had.

Boner. Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, M. Speaker, your companion the Cook, that my Chancellor ſhould here inſtruct him, but he hath here with great diſdain forſaken it. How ſayeſt thou, wilt thou have him inſtruct thee, and lead thee in the right way?

Smith. My Lord, if your Chancellor ſhall do me any good, and take any pains, as ye ſay, let him take mine Articles in his hands, that ye have objected againſt me, and either prove one of them Hereſie, or any thing that you do to be good: and if he be able ſo to do, I ſtand here with all my heart to hear him; if not, I have no need, I praiſe God, of his Sermon: for I come to anſwer for my life, and not to hear a Sermon.

A lawful requeſt not heard.

Then began the ſentence, *In Dei nomine.* To which I anſwered, that he began in a wrong name, requiring of him, where he learned in Scriptures to give ſentence of death againſt any man for his conſcience ſake. To the which he made no anſwer, but went forward to the end, and immediately cried, Away with him. Then I turned me to the Mayor, and, ſaid, Is it not enough for you my Lord Mayor, and ye that are the Sheriffs, that ye have left the ſtraight way of the Lord, but that ye muſt condemn Chriſt cauſeleſs?

The Biſhops ſentence beginneth with a wrong name; Where find the Catholicks in the Scripture to put any to death for their conſcience ſake?

Boner. Well, Maſter Controller, now ye cannot ſay, but I have offered you fair, to have inſtruction. And now I pray thee, call me Bloody Biſhop, and ſay, I ſeek thy Blood.

Smith. Well, my Lord, although neither I, nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your fact, yet ſhall theſe ſtones cry it out, rather then it ſhall be hidden.

Boner. Away with him, away with him.

Woodroſe. Away with him, take him away.

Smith. Well, good Friends, ye have ſeen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and ye are all records that we have deſired the probation of our cauſe by Gods Book, and it hath not been granted: but we are condemned, and our cauſe not heard. Nevertheleſs, my Lord Mayor, for as much as here ye have excerciſed Gods ſword cauſeleſs, and will not hear the right of the poor. I commit my cauſe to Almighty God, that ſhall judge all men according unto right, before whom we ſhall both ſtand without Authority; and there will I ſtand in the right, and have true judgment, to your great confuſion, except ye repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will. And then was I with the reſt of my Brethren carried away to *Newgate.*

Robert Smith wrongfully condemned by the Biſhop. The words of *Robert Smith* again to the Lord Mayor.

Thus, gentle Reader, as near as I can, I have ſet out the truth of my examination, and the verity of mine unjuſt condemnation for the truth, requiring God that it may not be laid to the charge of thee, O *England*, requiring your hearty prayers unto God for his grace and

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and ſpirit of boldneſs; with hope even ſhortly to ſet to my Seal, at *Uxbridge*, the 8*th* of *Auguſt*, by Gods grace: pray that it may be his honour, my ſalvation, and your conſolation, I pray you.

Da gloriam Deo.

Robert Smith.

Thus haſt thou (good Reader) not only to note, but alſo to follow in this man a ſingular example of Chriſtian fortitude, which ſo manfully and valiantly did ſtand in the defence of his Maſters cauſe. And as thou ſeeſt him here boldly ſtand in examination before the Biſhop and Doctors; ſo was he no leſs comfortable alſo in the Priſon among his fellows. Which alſo is to be obſerved no leſs in his other Priſon fellows, who being there together caſt in an outward houſe within *Newgate*, had godly confererice with themſelves, with daily praying and publick reading, which they to their great comfort uſed in that houſe together; amongſt whom this foreſaid *Smith* was chief doer. Whoſe induſtry was always ſollicitous, not only for them of his own company, but alſo his diligence was careful for other Priſoners, whom he ceaſed not to dehort and diſſwade from their old accuſtomed iniquity; and many he converted unto his Religion. Divers Letters he wrote there in Priſon to ſundry his Friends, partly in metre, and partly in proſe. And firſt in metre as followeth.

The godly behaviour of *Robert Smith* and his Fellows in Priſon.

A Picture deſcribing the manner and place of them which were in bonds for the Teſtimony of the truth, conferring among themſelves.

O ye that love the Lord, ſee that ye hate the thing that is evil.

THe God that giveth life and light,
And leadeth into reſt:
That breaketh bonds aud bringeth out
The poor that are oppreſt.
And keepeth mercy for the meek,
His treaſure and his ſtore:
Increaſe thy life in perfect love,
Both now and evermore.
That as thou haſt begun to ground
In faith and fervent love:
Thou maiſt be made a mighty Mount,
That never may remove.
That thine enſample may be ſhewed
Among all thine increaſe:
That they may live and learn the like,
And paſs their time in peace.
Thy ſalutations that were ſent,
I heartily retain:
And ſend thee ſeventy times as much,
To thee and thine again.
And now becauſe I know the goal,
That thou doſt moſt deſire:
I ſend thee here a paper full,
Is fined in the fire:
In hope thou wilt accept it well,
Although it be but ſmall:
Becauſe I have no other good,
To make amends withal.
For all thy free and friendly facts,
Which thy good will hath wrought,
I ſend thee ſurely for a ſhift
The thing that coſt me nought.
Abſtain from all ungodlineſs,
In dread direct your days:
Poſſeſs not ſin in any wiſe,
Beware of wicked ways.
Hold faſt your Faith unfeignedly,
Build as you have begun:
And arm your ſelf in perfect Faith,
To do as ye have done.
Leſt that the wicked make a mock,
That ye have taken in hand,
In leaving of the perfect Rock,
To build upon the Sand.
Beware theſe filthy Phariſees,
Their building is in Blood:
Eat not with them in any wiſe,
Their Leaven is not good.
Their Salt is all unſavoury:
And under good intents
They maintain all their knavery,
And murder Innocents.
They ſeek to ſit in Chriſt his ſeat,
And put him out of place:
And make all means that may be made
His doings to deface.
They keep him down with bills and bats,
That made the blind to ſee:
They make a god for Mice and Rats,
And ſay the ſame is he.
They ſhew like Sheep, and ſweat like Wolves,
Their baits be all for blood:
They kill and ſlay the ſimple Souls,
And rob them of their good.

And

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The dark illuſions of the Devil
Have dimmed ſo their eyes,
That they cannot abide the Truth,
To ſtir in any wiſe.
And if ye keep the perfect path,
(As I have hope you do)
Ye ſhall be ſure to have ſuch ſhame,
As they may put you to.
For, all that lead a godly life,
ſhall ſurely ſuffer loſs:
And eke the world will ſeek their ſhame,
And make them kiſs the Croſs.
Ye ſhall be killed all ſaith Chriſt,
Your ſorrows ſhall not ceaſe:
And yet in your afflictions,
I am your perfect peace.
For in the world ye ſhall have wo:
Becauſe ye are unknown:
And eke becauſe ye hate the world,
The world will love his own.
Be fervent therefore to the death,
Againſt all their decrees:
And God ſhall ſurely fight for thee
Againſt thine Enemies.
Commit your cauſe unto the Lord,
Revenge not any evil:
And thou ſhalt ſee the wicked want,
When thou ſhalt have thy will.
For all afflictions that may fall,
That they can ſay or do:
They are not ſure of the wealth,
That we attain unto.
For I have ſeen the Sinners ſpread
Their branches like a Bay:
And yet ere one could turn his head,
Were withered clean away.

Beware that mony make ye not
In riches to ariſe
Againſt the goodnoſs of the Lord,
Among the worldly wiſe.
For many miſchiefs it hath made,
That may not be expreſt:
And many evils it hath begun,
Which may not be redreſt.
For money maketh many a one,
In riches to rebel:
And he that maketh Gold a god,
He hath a Soul to ſell.
It maketh Kings to kill and ſlay,
And waſte their wits in war;
In leaving of the Wolf at home,
To hunt the Fox afar.
And where they ſhould ſee juſtice done,
And ſet their Realm in reſt:
By mony they be made a mean
To ſee the poor oppreſt.
It maketh Lords obey the Laws,
That they do ill and nought:
It maketh Biſhops ſuck the Blood,
That God hath dearly bought.
And where they ſhould be faithful friends,
And Fathers to their flock:
By money they do turn about,
Even like a Weather-cock.
The Prieſt doth make a mony mean,
To have again his whores,
To put away his wedded Wife,
And Children out of doors.
It holdeth back the husbandman,
Which may not be forborn:
And will not ſuffer him to ſow,
And caſt abroad his Corn.
In like caſe it doth let again,
When that the ſeed they ſow:
It choaketh up the Corn again,
So that it cannot grow.
The husband he would have a wife,
With Nobles new and old:
The wife would have the husband hang'd,
That ſhe might have his gold.
It maketh murtherers many a one,
And beareth much with blood:
The Child would ſee the Parents ſlain,
To ſeiſe upon their good.
And though it be a bleſſed thing,
Created in the kind:
It is a neceſſary evil,
Annexed to the mind.
For whoſo playeth with the Pitch,
His fingers are defiled:
And he that maketh Gold a god,
Shall ſarely be beguiled.
Be friendly to the fatherleſs,
And all that are oppreſt:
Aſſiſt them always out of hand,
And ſee them ſet at reſt.
In all your doings and your deeds
Let mercy ſtill remain:
For with the meaſure that ye mete,
Shall ye be met again.
Be always lowly in your life,
Let love enjoy her own:
The higheſt Trees are ſeldom ſure,
And ſooneſt overthrown.
The Lions lack and ſuffer ſore,
In hunger and in thirſt:
And they that do oppreſs the poor,
Continue ſtill accurſt.
The Bee is but a little beaſt
In body or in ſight:
And yet ſhe bringeth more increaſe,
Than either Crow or Kite.
Therefore beware in any wiſe,
Keep well your watch alway:
Be ſure of Oil within your lamp,
Let not your light decay.
For Death deſpiſeth them that lack,
And hateth them that have:
And treadeth down the rich and poor
Together in the grave.
Exhort your Children to be chaſt,
Rebuke them for their ill:
And let them not at any wiſe
Be wedded to their will.
Laugh not with them, but keep them low
Shew them no merry chear:
Leſt thou do weep with them alſo,
But bring them up in fear.
And let your light and living ſhine,
That ye be not ſuſpect;
To have the ſame within your ſelf,
For which they are correct.
Be meek and modeſt in a mean,
Let all your deeds be done:
That they which are without the Law,
May ſee how right ye run.
Keep well the member in your mouth,
Your Tongue ſee that ye tame:
For out of little ſparks of fire
Proceedeth out a flame.
And as the poyſon doth expreſs,
The natures of the Toad:
Even ſo the Tongue doth manifeſt
The heart that feareth God.
For therewith bleſs we God above,
And therewith curſe we men:
And thereby murders do ariſe,
Through women now and then.
And ſeeing God hath given a Tongue,
And put it under power:
The ſureſt way it is to ſet
A watch before the door.
For God hath ſet you in a ſeat,
Of double low degree:
Firſt unto God, and then to man,
A ſubject for to be.
I write not that I ſee in you
Theſe things to be ſuſpect:
But only ſet before your face,
How ſin ſhould be correct.
For fleſh and blood I know ye are,

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As other women be:
And if ye dwell in fleſh and blood,
There is infirmity.
Receive a warning willingly,
That to thy teeth is told:
Accompt the gift of greater price
Than if he gave thee gold.
A wiſe man, ſaith Solomon,
A warning will imbrace:
A fool will ſooner (as ſaith he)
Be ſmitten on the face.
And as your members muſt be dead
From all things that are vain:
Even ſo by baptiſm ye are born
To live with Chriſt again.
Thus farewel free and faithful friend:
The Lord that is above
Increaſe in thee a perfect faith,
And lead thee in his love.
And as I pray with perfect love,
And pour out bitter tears
For you and all that are at large
Abroad among the briers:
Even ſo I pray thee to prefer
My perſon and my bands,
Unto the everlaſting God
That hath me in his hands.
That I may paſs out of this pond,
Wherein I am oppreſt:
Incloſed in a clod of clay,
That here can have no reſt.
That as he hath begun in me
His mercies many one,
I may attain to overtake,
My brethren that be gone.
That when the death ſhall do his worſt
Where he ſhall point a place,
I may be able like a man
To look him in the face.
For though he catch away my cloak,
My body into duſt:
Yet am I ſure to have a ſoul,
When death hath done his worſt.
And though I leave a little duſt
Diſſolved without blood:
I ſhall receive it ſafe again,
When God ſhall ſee it good.
For my Redeemer I am ſure
Doth live for evermore,
And ſitteth high upon the heavens,
For whom I hunger ſore.
Even as the Deer with deadly wounds
Eſcaped from the ſpoil,
Doth haſt by all the means he may
To ſeek unto the ſoyl.
Of whom I hope to have a crown,
That always ſhall remain:
And eke enjoy a perfect peace,
For all my wo and pain.
The God that giveth all increaſe,
And ſeeketh ſtill to ſave,
Abound in thee that perfect peace,
Which I do hope to have.
And I beſeech the living God
To hold thee in his hands:
And wiſh thee even with all my heart,
The bleſſing of my hands.
Which I eſteem of higher price
Than pearl or precious ſtone:
And ſhall endure for evermore,
When earthly things are gone.
For though the fire do conſume
Our treaſure and our ſtore:
Yet ſhall the goodneſs of the Lord
Endure for evermore.
And where thou art a friend to him
That is to me full dear,
That God of might make thee amends,
When all men ſhall appear.
That hath ſhewed mercy to the meek,
And rid them out of pain.
And thus the Lord poſſeſs thy ſpirit,
Till we do meet again.

If thou wilt have a recompence,
Abide ſtill in obedience.

The Exhortation of *Robert Smith* unto his Children, commonly ſet out in the name of Mr. *Rogers*.

Give ear my Children to my words, Prov. 5.
Whom God hath dearly bought:
Lay up my Law within your heart,
And print it in your thought.
For I your Father have foreſeen
The frail and filthy way,
Which fleſh and blood would follow fain
Even to their own decay.
For all and every living beaſt,
Their crib do know full well: Eſay 1.
But Adams heirs, above the reſt,
Are ready to rebel:
And all the creatures on the earth,
Full well can keep their way:
But man above all other beaſts,
Is apt to go aſtray. Sap. 2.
For earth and aſhes is his ſtrength,
His glory and his raign:
And unto aſhes at the length,
Shall he return again.
For fleſh doth flouriſh like a flower, Gen. 3.
And grow up like a graſs,
And is conſumed in an hour,
As it is brought to paſs.
In me the image of your years,
Your treaſure and your truſt:
Whom ye do ſee before your face,
Diſſolved into duſt.
For as you ſee your fathers fleſh
Converted into clay:
Even ſo ſhall ye my children dear,
Conſume and wear away. 2 Pet. 3.
The ſun and moon, and eke the ſtars,
That ſerve the day and night:
The earth and every earthly thing
Shall be conſumed quite.
And all the worſhip that is wrought Sap. 13.
That have been heard or ſeen,
Shall clean conſume and come to nought
As it had never been.
Therefore that ye may follow me,
Your faſher and your friend,
And enter into that ſame life, John 7.
Which never ſhall have end.
I leave you here a little book,
For you to look upon:
That you may ſee your fathers face,
When I am dead and gone.
Who for the hope of heavenly things, 1 Cor. 2.
While he did here remain,
Gave over all his golden years,
In priſon and in pain.
Where I among mine iron bands,
Incloſed in the dark,
Not many days before my death,
Did dedicate this work
To you mine heirs of earthly things
Which I have left behind:
That ye may read and underſtand,
And keep it in your mind.
That as you have been heirs of that
Which once ſhall wear away:
Even ſo ye may poſſeſs the part
Which never ſhall decay.
In following of your fathers foot,
In truth and eke in love: 1 Tob. 1.
That ye may alſo be his heirs
For evermore above.
And in example to your youth,
To whom I wiſh all good,

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I preach you here a perfect faith,
And ſeal it with my blood.
Have God always before your eyes,
In all your whole intents:
John 9. *Commit not ſin in any wiſe,*
Keep his Commandements.
Abhor that arrant whore of Rome,
Apoc. 14. *And all her blaſphemies:*
And drink not of her decretals,
Nor yet of her decrees.
Exod. 22. *Give honour to your mother dear,*
Matth 15. *Remember well her pain:*
And recompence her in her age,
In like with love again.
Be always aiding at her hand,
And let her not decay:
Remember well your fathers fall,
That ſhould have been her ſtay.
Matth. 25. *Give of your portion to the poor,*
As riches doth ariſe:
And from the needy naked ſoul
Turn not away your eyes.
For he that will not hear the cry
2 Cor. 9. *Of ſuch as are in need:*
Shall cry himſelf and not be heard
When he would hope to ſpeed.
If God have given you great increaſe,
And bleſſed well your ſtore:
Luke 12. *Remember ye are put in truſt,*
To miniſter the more.
Beware of foul and filthy luſt,
John 2. *Let whoredom have no place:*
1 Cor. 6. *Keep clean your Veſſels in the Lord,*
That he may you embrace.
Ye are the Temples of the Lord,
For ye are dearly bought:
And they that do defile the ſame,
Shall ſurely come to nought.
Poſſeſs not pride in any caſe,
Build not your neſts too high:
But have always before your face,
That ye be born to dye.
Defraud not him that hired is,
Your labours to ſuſtain:
But give him always out of hand,
His penny for his pain.
Matth. 7. *And as ye would that other men*
Againſt you ſhould proceed:
Do ye the ſame again to them,
When they do ſtand in need.
And part your portion with the poor,
In money and in meat:
Heb. 13. *And feed the fainted feeble ſoul,*
Deut. 15. *With that which ye ſhould eat.*
That when your members lacketh meat
And clothing to your back:
Ye may the better think on them
That now do live and lack.
Ask counſel alſo at the wiſe,
Matth. 6. *Give ear unto the end:*
Refuſe not you the ſweet rebuke
Of him that is your friend.
Matth. 6. *Be thankful always to the Lord,*
With prayer and with praiſe:
Deſire you him in all your deeds,
Eke to direct your ways:
And ſin not like that ſwiniſh ſort,
Whoſe bellies being fed,
Conſume their years upon the earth
From belly unto bed.
Prov. 4. *Seek firſt I ſay the living God;*
Set him always before:
Sirac. 30. *And then be ſure that he will bleſs*
Your basket and your ſtore.
And thus if you direct your days
According to this book,
Then ſhall they ſay that ſee your ways,
How like me you do look.
And when you have ſo perfectly,
Tob. 2. *Upon your fingers ends,*
Poſſeſſed all within your book,
Then give it to your friends.
And I beſeech the living God,
Repleniſh you with grace,
That I may have you in the heavens,
And ſee you face to face.
And though the ſword have cut me off
Contrary to my kind,
That I could not enjoy your love,
According to my mind:
Yet I do hope when that the heavens
Shall vaniſh like a ſcrole:
I ſhall receive your perfect ſhape,
In body and in ſoul. 2 Pet. 3.
And that I may enjoy your love,
And ye enjoy the land,
I do beſeech the living God
To hold you in his hand.
Farewel my children from the world
Where ye muſt yet remain:
The Lord of Hoſts be your defence,
Till we do meet again.
Farewel my love, and loving wife,
My children, and my friends:
I hope to God to have you all,
When all things have their ends.
And if you do abide in God,
As ye have now begun:
Your courſe I warrant will be ſhort,
Ye have not far to run.
God grant you ſo to end your years
As he ſhall think it beſt:
That ye may enter into heaven,
Where I do hope to reſt.

Written at the Requeſt of a Lady in her Book.

IF you will walk the way
That Chriſt hath you aſſign'd:
Then learn this little verſe,
Which I have left behind.
Be fervent in the truth,
Although it bear the blame:
And eke apply your youth,
To ſtick unto the ſame.
That when old age is come,
And death begins to call:
The truth may be your ſtaff,
To ſtay you up withal.
And though it bring rebuke,
And cauſe you kiſs the croſs:
Yet is it a reward,
To all that ſuffer loſs.
For here we do lay out
The things that be but vain:
But we are ſure to reap
The things that do remain.
For all that ye do loſe,
Is but a ſinful ſlime,
And like unto a roſe,
That tarrieth but a time.
But if ye carry Chriſt,
And walk the perfect way,
Ye ſhall poſſeſs the gold,
That never ſhall decay.
And all your fathers goods
Shall be your recompence:
If ye confeſs the word,
With double diligence.
Not only for to hear
His pure and perfect word,
But alſo to embrace
The fire and eke the ſword.
And if ye keep this path,
And do not run a crook,
Then ſhall ye meet the man
That writ this in your Book,
In that eternal joy,
That always ſhall remain:
Thus farewel faithful friend,
Till we do meet again.

Legem

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Legem pone.

TEach me, O Lord, to walk thy ways,
My living to amend,
And I ſhall keep it all my days,
Even to my lives end.
Give me a mind to underſtand,
So ſhall I never ſtart:
But I ſhall keep all thy precepts,
Even wholly with my heart.
Make me to go a perfect pace
In that I have begun:
For all my love and my delight,
Is in thy ways to run.
Encline my heart unto thy ways,
Set thou thereon my thought:
And let me not conſume my days,
To covet that is naught.
O quicken me in all thy ways,
The world now to deſpiſe:
And from all fond and fooliſh toyes,
Turn thou away mine eyes.
O plant in me thy perfect Word,
Which is to me ſo dear:
Lay up thy Laws within my heart,
To keep me ſtill in fear.
And rid me of that great rebuke
Which I do fear full ſore:
For all thy judgments and thy law
Endure for evermore.
Behold, O Lord, in thy precepts,
Is all my whole delight:
O quicken me in all thy ways,
That I may walk aright.

To his Brother.

AS Nature doth me bind,
Becauſe thou art my blood,
According to my kind
To give thee of my good.
That thou maiſt have in mind
How I have run my race,
Although thou bide behind
But for a little ſpace.
I give thee here a pearl,
The price of all my good,
For which I leave my life,
To buy it with my blood.
More worth then all the world,
Or ought that I can note,
Although it be yclad
In ſuch a ſimple coat.
For when I had obtained
This pearl of ſuch a price,
Then was I ſure I gained
The way for to be wiſe.
It taught me how to fight,
My fleſh for to deſpiſe,
To ſtick unto the light,
And eke to leave the lies.
In ſending out my ſeed
With bonds and bitter tears,
That I might reap with joy
In everlaſting years.
And have for all my loſs
My travail and my pain,
A thouſand times and more
Of better goods again.
And for becauſe the good
That hath been got and gained,
And that the Lords elect
Hath evermore obtained,
Is cloſed in this book
Which I do give to thee:
Wherein I have my part,
As thou thy ſelf maiſt ſee.
In which I hope thou haſt
A ſtock alſo in ſtore:
And will not ceaſe to ſail
Till God hath made it more.
I will thee to beware,
Be ſure thou keep it well:
For if thou do it loſe,
Thy part ſhall be in hell.
And here I teſtifie
Before the living God,
That I deteſt to do
The things that are forbod.
And as my judgment is,
My body to be brent,
My heart is ſtirely ſet
Therewith to be content.
And ſith it is his will,
To put in me his power,
Upon his holy hill
To fight againſt this whore,
Full well I am content,
If he allow it ſo,
To ſtand with all my might
The whore to overthrow.
Even with a willing mind,
The death I will outface:
And as I am aſſured,
The battel to embrace.
That they which hear the truth;
How I have paſt the pike,
May ſet aſide their youth,
And learn to do the like.

And though it be my lot, to let her ſuck my blood,
Yet am I well aſſured, it ſhall do her no good.
For ſhe is ſet to kill the things ſhe thinks accurſt,
And ſhall not have her fill of blood until ſhe burſt.
And when as thou ſhalt ſee, or hear of my deceaſe,
Pray to the living God, that I may paſs in peace.
And when I am at reſt, and rid out of my pain:
Then will I do the like for thee to God again.
And to my woful wife, and widow deſolate,
Whom I do leave behind, in ſuch a ſimple ſtate,
And compaſſed with tears, and mournings many one;
Be thou her ſtaying ſtaff when I am dead and gone.
My mouth may not expreſs the dolors of my mind:
Nor yet my heavineſs to leave her here behind.
But as thou art my bone, my brother and my blood,
So let her have thy heart if it may do her good.
I took her from the world, and made her like the croſs:
But if ſhe hold her own, ſhe ſhall not ſuffer loſs.
For where ſhe had before a man unto her make,
That by the force of fire was ſtrangled at a ſtake,
Now ſhall ſhe have a King to be her helping hand:
To whom pertain all things that are within the land.
And eke my daughter dear, whom I bequeath to thee,
To be brought up in fear, and learn the A B C.
That ſhe may grow in grace, and ruled by the rod:
To learn and lead her life within the fear of God.
And always have in mind, thy brother being dead,
That thou art left behind a father in my ſtead.
And thou my brother dear, and eke my mothers ſon,
Come forth out of all fear, and do as I have done,
And God ſhall be thy guide, and give thee ſuch increaſe,
That in the flames of fire thou ſhalt have perfect peace.
Into eternal joy, and paſs out of all pain:
Where we ſhall meet with mirth, and never part again.

If thou wilt do my daughter good,
Be mindful of thy brothers blood.

To all which love God unfeignedly, and intend to lead a godly life according to his Goſpel, and to perſevere in his Truth unto the end: grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

This Letter is thought of ſome to be Mr. Hooper's, partly for that in one Copy amongſt diverſ, it is intituled unto him: and alſo by the phraſe and manner of writing, it may be well conjectured ſo to be.

BE not afraid, moſt dearly beloved in our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, at theſe moſt perillous days, wherein by the ſufferance of God, the Prince of darkneſs is broken looſe, and rageth in his Members againſt the Elect of God with all cruelty, to ſet up again the Kingdom of Antichriſt: againſt whom, ſee that ye be ſtrong in faith to reſiſt his moſt devilliſh doctrine with the pure Goſ-

pel of God, arming your ſelves with patience, to abide whatſoever ſhall be laid to your charge for the Truths ſake, knowing that thereunto ye be called, not only to believe in him, but alſo to ſuffer for him. Oh how happy are ye that in the ſight of God are counted worthy to ſuffer for the teſtimony of Chriſt? Quiet therefore your ſelves, O my loving Brethren, and rejoyce in him for whom ye ſuffer: for unto you do remain the unſpeakable joyes, which neither the eye hath ſeen, nor the ear hath heard, neither the heart of man is able to comprehend in
Apoc. 17. any wiſe. Be not afraid of the bodily death, for your
Pſal. 115. Names are written in the Book of Life. And the Prophets do record, that in the ſight of the Lord, precious is the death of his Saints. Watch therefore and pray, that ye be
Matth. 7. not prevented in the day of temptation. Now cometh
Epheſ. 2. the day of your trial, wherein the waters rage, and the
2 Tim. 2. ſtormy winds blow. Now ſhall it appear, whether ye
Epheſ. 6. have builded upon the fleeting Sand, or upon the unmoveable Rock Chriſt, which is the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets: whereon every houſe that is builded, groweth into an holy Temple of the Lord, by the mighty
Phil. 2. working of the Holy Ghoſt. Now approacheth the day
Heb. 12. of your battel, wherein it is required that ye ſhew your
Coloſſ. 1. ſelves the valiant Souldiers of Chriſt Jeſus, with the armour of God, that ye may be able to ſtand faſt againſt all the crafy aſſaults of the Devil. Chriſt is your Captain, and ye be his Souldiers, whoſe cogniſance is the Croſs, to the which he willingly humbled himſelf even unto the death, and thereby ſpoiled his enemies, and now triumpheth he over them in the glory of his Father, making interceſſion for them *that here do remain to ſuffer the afflictions* that are to be fulfilled *in* his Myſtical Body. It behoveth
1 Pet. 1. therefore every one that will be counted his Scholar, to take up his own Croſs, and follow him, as ye have him for enſample: and I aſſure you that he being on your ſide,
Apoc. 6. nothing ſhall be able to prevail againſt you. And that he will be with you even to the worlds end, ye have his promiſe in *Matthew* 28. He will go forth with his hoſt as a Conquerer to make a conqueſt. He is the man that ſitteth on the white horſe, crowned with immortality, and ye
1 Cor. 1. Brethren, are his fellowſhip, whereof he is the Head. He
1 Cor. 10. hath your heart in his hand as a Bow bent after his godly will; he ſhall direct the ſame according to the riches of his glory, into all ſpiritual and heavenly cogitations. He is faithful and will not ſuffer you to be further aſſaulted, then he will give you ſtrength to overcome, and in the moſt danger he will make a way, that ye may be able to bear it.

1 Pet. 3. Shrink not therefore dear hearts, when ye ſhall be called to anſwer for the hope that is in you: for we have the Comforter, even the Spirit of Truth which was ſent
Luke 19. from the Heavens to teach us: He ſhall ſpeak in us, he
Acts 2. ſhall ſtrengthen us: what is he then that ſhall be able to
Pſal. 52. confound us? Nay, what Tyrant is he that now boaſteth himſelf of his ſtrength to do miſchief, whom the Lord ſhall not with the ſame Spirit, by the mouth of his Servants, *ſtrike down to Hell fire? Yea, ſuddenly will the Lord* [illegible] down the glory of the proud *Philiſtines*, by the [illegible] his ſervant *David*. Their ſtrength is in the ſpear [illegible] ield, but our help is in the name of the Lord which [illegible]de both Hea'en and Earth. He is our buckler and wall, a ſtrong tower of defence. He is our God, and we are his people. He ſhall bring the Councels of the ungodly to nought. He ſhall take them in their own net. He
Pſalm 117. Pſalm 52. Pſalm 65. ſhall deſtroy them in their own inventions. The right hand of the Lord ſhall work this wonder. His power is known among the Children of men. Their fathers have felt it, and are confounded. In like manner ſhall they know that there is no counſel againſt the Lord, when their ſecrets are opened to the whole world, and are found to be againſt the living God. Work they never ſo craftily, build they never ſo ſtrongly; yet down ſhall their rabble fall,
Gen 11. and the builders themſelves ſhall then be ſcattered upon the face of the Earth, as accurſed of God. The juſt ſhall
Pſalm 33. ſee this and be glad, and praiſe the name of the Lord, that ſo marvelouſly hath dealt with his Servants, as to bring their enemies under their feet. Then ſhall the fearful ſeed
Gen. 4. of *Cain* tremble and quake. Then ſhall the mocking *Iſ-*
Gen. 21. *maelites* be caſt out of door. Then ſhall the proud *Nem-*
Gen. 11. *broth* ſee his labour loſt. Then ſhall the Beaſt of *Babylon* be
Phil. 3. troden under foot. Then ſhall the Scribes and Phariſees for
Pſal. 2. madneſs fret and rage. Then ſhall their painted wiſdom be
1 Cor. 3. known, for extream folly. Then ſhall the bloody Dragon
Pſalm 74. be void of his prey. Then ſhall the Whore of *Babylon* receive double vengeance. Then ſhall they ſcratch their Crowns for the fall of their Miſtreſs Harlot, whom they
Job 5. now ſerve for filthy lucre; when no man will buy their
Apoc. 12. wares any more. Then ſhall the Popiſh Prieſthood cry
Apoc. 18. weal away with care, even when the Lord ſhall help his
Pſalm 145. Servants; which day is not far off, the day wherein the Kingdom of Antichriſt ſhall have an end, and never riſe
1 Cor. 6. any more. In the mean time, abide in certain and ſure hope,
1 Cor. 8. cleaving unto the promiſes of God, which in their own
Hebr. 9. time ſhall be fulfilled.

Acquit your ſelves like men againſt the enemies of God in all humbleneſs of mind, be ſtrong in ſpirit to acknow-
Acts 5. ledge one God, one holy Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, one only, everlaſting and ſufficient Sacrifice for the remiſſion of ſins,
Hebr. 1. even the precious Body of the Lord Jeſus once offered for
1 Peter 3. all and for ever. Which now ſitteth on the right hand of
Epheſ. 1. God, and from thence ſhall he come to judge both the quick and the dead at the laſt day; and until that time occupieth the bleſſed Body none other place to dwell in, to be kept in, to be incloſed in, but only in the Heavens, even
Epheſ. 2. in the glorious Majeſty of God, perſonally abiding there in the Fleſh, not coming down from thence till the laſt hour. And as he never ceaſeth to be man, ſo doth he never loſe the ſimilitude of man; his body there hath his lineaments, he leaveth them not, ſo hath that body there
Rom. 8. his highneſs, and ſhrinketh not, and his manly ſhape he altereth not at any time. He is, in that he took of the Virgin *Mary*, a natural man in all conditions, except ſin.

And what he took of his bleſſed Mother, by the working of the Holy Ghoſt, he took it for ever, and will not
Epheſ. 2. exchange the ſame for any other. He took the ſhape of a man with the ſubſtance of his manhood, in one ſacred womb. There were they two coupled together by the Holy Ghoſt, never to be divided aſunder. He retaineth the one with the other, inſeparably. As he will not alter the ſubſtance of his fleſh into the ſubſtance of bread, no more will he alter the ſhape of his body into the form of bread. There cannot be a greater abſurdity againſt the truth, than to think that he would leave the ſhape that he took in the Virgins womb, being an accident unto his manhood, and joyn unto the ſame a Wafer-cake baken in an Oven, or between a pair of Irons. As he is in Heaven very man,
1 John 2. one only Mediator between God and Man, even the Man
Coloſſ. 1. Chriſt Jeſus, he it is that is the Propitiation for our ſins. Be bold therefore to confeſs this moſt pure and Apoſtolical Doctrine; and alſo that all favour, mercy, and forgiveneſs
1 Cor. 2. cometh only by him. He only of God the Father was made for us all wiſdom, righteouſneſs, ſanctification and redemption. All theſe are the gifts of God the Father, freely given
Epheſ. 2. unto us by Chriſt Jeſus God and Man, through faith in his
Abac. 2. blood, and not by the merits of men; Gifts they are, I
Galat. 3. ſay, freely given unto us of favour, without our deſert, by
Acts 10. believing, and not by deſerving. To this do the Law and the Prophets bear witneſs.

This Doctrine have all the bleſſed Martyrs of Chriſts Church witneſſed with their blood to be true. To this truth, have all the Conſciences of all true Believers ſubſcribed ever ſince the Aſcenſion of Chriſt. This witneſs
Luke 9. is not of Man, but of God. What better quarrel can ye then have to give your lives for, than the Truth it ſelf? That man that giveth his Life for the Truth, taketh the readieſt way to life. He that hath the Popes Curſe for the Truth, is ſure of Chriſts Bleſſing. Well then, my Brethren, what ſhall now let? but that ye go forward as ye have begun? Nay, rather run with the runners, that ye may obtain the appointed glory. Hold on the right way, look not back, have the eye of your heart fixed upon God, and ſo run, that ye may get hold of it. Caſt away all your worldly pelf, and worldly reſpects, as the favour of friends, the fear of men, ſenſual affection, reſpect of perſons, honour, praiſe, ſhame, rebuke, wealth, poverty,
John 14. riches, lands, poſſeſſions, carnal fathers and mothers, wife
Pſalm 15. and children, with the love of your own ſelves; and in re-
Epheſ. 4. ſpect of that heavenly treaſure ye look for, let all theſe be
Coloſſ. 3. denied, and utterly refuſed of you, ſo that in no condition
Matth. 10. they do abate your zeal, or quench your love towards God.
Mark 8. In this caſe make no accompt of them, but rather repute them as vile, in compariſon of everlaſting life. Away
Phil 3. with them as thorns that choak the heavenly Seed of the
Luke 8. 14. Goſpel,

Anno 1555.

Anno 1555.

Gospel, where they be suffered to grow. They are burdens of the Flesh, which encumber the Soul. Exchange them therefore for advantage. Doth not he gain, that findeth heavenly and immortal treasure, for earthly and corruptible riches? Loseth that Man any thing, which of his carnal Father and Mother is forsaken, when therefore he is received of God the Father to be his Child and Heir in Christ? Heavenly for Earthly, for Mortal Immortal, for transitory things permanent, is great gains to a Christian Conscience.

Phil. 3. Luke 8. 14. Rom. 7. Ephes. 1. Gal. 4. Phil. 3.

Therefore, as I began, I exhort you in the Lord, not to be afraid. Shrink not my Brethren, mistrust not God, be of good comfort, rejoyce in the Lord, hold fast your faith, and continue to the end. Deny the World, and take up your Cross, and follow him which is your leadsman, and is gone before. If you suffer with him, you shall raign with him. What way can you glorifie the Name of your Heavenly Father better, than by suffering death for his Sons sake? What a spectacle shall it be to the World to behold so godly a fellowship as you servants of God, in so just a quarrel as the Gospel of Christ is, with so pure a Conscience, so strong a Faith, and so lively a hope, to offer your selves to suffer most cruel torments of the hands of Gods enemies, and so to end your days in peace, to receive in the resurrection of the Righteous, life everlasting?

Heb. 6. 2 Cor. 2.

Be strong therefore in your battel: The Lord God is on your side, and his truth is your cause; and against you be none, but the enemies of the Cross of Christ, as the Serpent and his seed, the Dragon with his Tail, the marked Men of the beast, the off-spring of the Pharisees, the congregation malignant, the generation of Vipers, Murderers, as their father the devil hath been from the beginning. To conclude, such are they as the Lord God hath always abhorred, and in all ages resisted and overthrown. God, from whom nothing is hid, knoweth what they are. He that searcheth the Hearts of Men, he hath found out them to be crafty, subtile, full of poyson, proud, disdainful, stiffnecked, devourers, raveners, and barkers against the truth, filthy and shameless: and therefore doth the Spirit of God, by the mouths of his holy Prophets and Apostles, call them by the names of Foxes, Serpents, Cockatrices, Lions, Leopards, Buls, Bears, Wolves, Dogs, Swine, Beasts, teaching us thereby to understand, that their natural inclination is: to deceive, Poison, and destroy (as much as in them lieth) the faithful and elect of God, But the Lord with his right Arm shall defend his little Flock against the whole rabblement of these Worldlings, which have conspired against him: he hath numbred all the hairs of his Childrens head, so that one of them shall not perish without his Fatherly Will. He keepeth the sparrows, much more will he preserve them whom he hath purchased with the Blood of the immaculate Lamb. He will keep them unto the hour appointed, wherein the Name of God shall be glorified in his Saints. In the mean time let them work their Wills, let them envy, let them malign, let them Blaspheme, let them curse, ban, betray, whip, scourge, hang, and burn: for by these means God will try his elect as Gold in the Furnace; and by these fruits, shall they also bring themselves to be known what they be, for all their sheeps skins. For as he that in suffering patiently for the Gospel of God, is thereby known to be of Christ; even so likewise is the persecutor of him known to be a member of Antichrist. Besides this, their extream cruelty shall be a mean the sooner to provoke God to take pity upon his servants, and to destroy them that so tyrannously entreat his People; as we may learn by the histories, as well in the bondage of *Israel* under *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*, as also in the miserable captivity of *Judah* in *Babylon*: Where, when the people of God were in most extream thraldom, then did the Lord stretch forth his mighty power to deliver his servants. Though God for a time suffer them to be exalted in their own pride, yet shall they not scape his vengeance. They are his rods, and when he hath worn them to the stumps, then will he cast them into the fire; this shall be their final reward. Our duty is the mean while patiently to abide the will of God, which worketh all things for the best.

Heb. 11. Phil 3. Matth. 3. John. 8. Psal. 34. Heb. 4. Jude 1. Psal. 76. Matth. 20. Luke 21. Matth. 10. 1 Pet. 2. Matth. 10. Sapien. 3. Psal. 7. Exod. 13. Esd. 3. 15. 2 Macch. 7. Jacob. 4. 1 Pet. 5. Apoc. 9. Heb. 12. Jacob. 2.

Thus dealeth he with us, partly for our trial, partly also for our sins, which we most grievously have committed to the great slander of his Gospel, whereby the Name of God was evil spoken of among his enemies: for the which he now punisheth us with his fatherly corrections in this World, that we should not be damned with the World. By this means seeketh he his sheep that were lost, to bring them home to the fold again. By this way seeketh he to reform us, that we may be like unto him after the Image of his Son Jesus Christ, in all holiness and righteousness before him. Finally, this way useth his Godly Wisdom, to make us thereby to know him, and our selves in him, that aforetime had in a manner forgotten him, praised be his Name therefore. And as for those *Balaamites* which now molest us, commit them to the hands of God, give him the vengeance, and he will reward them. Fall ye to prayer, and let these belly-gods prate. For he is in Heaven, and sleepeth not, that keepeth Israel. He is in Heaven that made the Seas calm, when the Disciples were afraid. Let us now faithfully call upon him, and he will hear us. Let us cry unto the Lord, for he is gracious and merciful. When we are in trouble he is with us, he will deliver us, and he will glorifie us. If we come unto him, we shall find him turned unto us. If we repent us of our wickedness done against him, then shall he take away the plague that he hath devised against us.

2 Cor. 12. Ezdras 3. 6. Rom. 1. 1 Cor. 11. Luke 15. Ephes. 4. Ose 13. Rom. 12. Phil. 2. Luke 8. Mark 4. Psal. 8. Psal. 4. Jeremy 12. Jeremy 18.

Let us therefore earnestly repent, and bring forth the worthy fruits of repentance. Let us study to be his, then shall we not need to fear what these hypocrites do against us, which with their pretensed holiness deceive the hearts of the simple, and abuse the authority of God in his Princes, causing them (by their procurement) to testifie their ambitious Prelacy, and to erect up their Idol again with the Romish Mass. God, in whose hands are the hearts of Kings, open the heart of the Queens Highness to espy them out what they be, and so to weed them out, that they no longer be suffered to trouble the Congregation of God, and to poyson the Realm with Pope-holy Doctrine. God almighty for his Son Jesus Christs sake deliver the Queens Highness and this her Church and Realm, from these proud Prelates, which are as profitable in the Church of Christ as a Polecat in the middest of a warren of Conies.

Matth. 12. Job. 12. Prov. 15. 22. Psal. 24. 36.

To conclude, my brethren, I commit you to God, and to the power of his word: which is able to establish you in all truth. His spirit be with you, and work alway that ye may be mindful of your duties towards him, whose ye are both Body and Soul. Whom see that ye love, serve, dread, and obey, above all worldly powers, and for nothing under the Heavens defile your Conscience before God. Dissemble not with his word; God will not be mocked, nay they that dissemble with him, deceive themselves. Such shall the Lord deny, and cast out at the last day: such, I say, as bear two faces in one hood, such as deny the known truth; such as obstinately rebel against him. All such with their partakers shall the Lord destroy. God defend you from all such, and make you perfect unto the end. Your sorrow shall be turned unto joy.

Mark. 1. Matth. 10. Apoc. 5. John. 16.

Another Letter sent to his Wife.

THe God and Father eternal, which brought again from death our Lord Jesus Christ, keep thee, dear Wife, now and ever, Amen, and all thy Parents and Friends. I praise God for his mercy, I am in the same state that ye left me in, rather better than worse, looking daily for the living God, before whom I hunger full sore to appear, and receive the glory, of which I trust thou art willing to be a partaker. I give God most hearty thanks therefore, desiring thee of all loves to stand in that faith which thou hast received, and let no Man take away the seed that Almighty God hath sown in thee, but lay hands of everlasting Life which shall ever abide, when both the earth and all earthly friends shall perish, desiring them also to receive thankfully our trouble which is momentany and light, and as S. *Paul* saith, not worthy of the things which shall be shewed on us; that we patiently carrying our Cross, may attain to the place where our Saviour Christ is gone before, to the which I beseech God of his mercy bring us speedily. I have been much troubled about your deliverance, fearing much the

perſwaſions of worldlings, and have found a friend, which will (I truſt) find a mean for you if you be not already provided, deſiring you in any caſe to abide ſuch order, as thoſe my friends ſhall appoint in God. And bear well in mind the words which I ſpake at our departing, that as God hath found us, and alſo elected us worthy to ſuffer with him; we may endeavour our ſelves to follow uprightly in this our vocation, deſiring you to preſent my hearty Commendations to all our Friends, and eſpecially to your Parents, keeping your matter cloſe in any wiſe. Give moſt hearty thanks to my Friend, which only for our cauſe is come to *Windſor*. Continue in Prayer. Do well. Be faultleſs in all things. Beware of abominations. Keep you clean from ſin. Pray for me, as I do for you. I have ſent you a piece of Gold for a token, and moſt entirely deſire you to ſend me word if ye lack any thing. The Lord Jeſus preſerve you and yours, Amen. From *Newgate* the 15th of *April*.

By your Husband here and in Heaven,
Robert Smith.

The martyrdom and comfortable death of Rob. Smith at Uxbridge, An. 1555. Aug. 8.

The foreſaid *Robert Smith* the valiant and conſtant Martyr of Chriſt, thus repleniſhed, as ye have heard with the fortitude of Gods Spirit, was condemned at *London* by *Boner* their Biſhop, the 12th day of *July*, and ſuffered at *Uxbridge* the 8th day of *Auguſt*, who as he had been a comfortable inſtrument of God before to all them that were in Priſon with him: ſo now alſo being at the Stake, he did no leſs comfort the people, there ſtanding about him, willing them to think well of his cauſe, and not to doubt but that his body dying in that quarrel, ſhould riſe again to life. And ſaid he, I doubt not but that God will ſhew you ſome token thereof. At length he being well-nigh half burnt, and all black with fire, cluſtered together as in a lump like a black coal, all men thinking him for dead, ſuddenly roſe upright before the people, lifting up the ſtumps of his arms, and clapping the ſame together, declaring a rejoycing heart unto them; and ſo bending down again, and hanging over the fire, ſlept in the Lord, and ended this mortal life.

A token of comfort and reſurrection given by R. Smith at his martyrdom.

LETTERS.

A Sententious Letter of Robert Smith, *to* Anne Smith *his Wife.*

A Letter of R. Smith to his wife, full of ghoſtly inſtruction.

SEek firſt to love God, dear Wife, with your whole heart, and then ſhall it be eaſie to love your Neighbour.

Be friendly to all Creatures, and eſpecially to your own Soul.

Be always an enemy to the Devil and the World, but eſpecially to your own Fleſh.

In hearing of good things joyn the ears of your head and heart together.

Seek unity and quietneſs with all men, but ſpecially with your Conſcience; for he will not eaſily be intreated.

Love all men, but eſpecially your Enemies.

Hate the ſins that are paſt, but eſpecially thoſe to come.

Be good to thy enemy.

Be as ready to further your Enemy, as he is to hinder you, that ye may be the Child of God.

Defile not that which Chriſt hath cleanſed, leſt his blood be laid to your charge.

A double hedge to the tongue.

Remember that GOD hath hedged in your tongue with the teeth and lips, that it might ſpeak under correction.

Caſt out the mote in thine own eye firſt.

Be ready at all times to look to your brothers eye, but eſpecially in your own eye: For he that warneth other of that he himſelf is faulty, doth give his neighbour the clear wine, and keepeth the dregs to himſelf.

Covet not to be rich.

Beware of riches and worldly honour: for without underſtanding, prayer, and faſting, it is a ſnare, and alſo poverty, all which are like to conſuming fire, of which if a man take a little, it will warm him, but if he take too much, it will conſume him. For it is hard for a man to carry fire in his boſom, and not to be burnt.

Bleſſed be the merciful.

Shew mercy unto the Saints for Chriſts ſake, and Chriſt ſhall reward you for the Saints ſake. Among all other Priſoners viſit your own Soul: for it is incloſed in a perillous Priſon. Anno 1555.

If you will love God, hate evil, and ye ſhall obtain the reward of well doing.

Thus fare you well good *Anne*. Have me heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfeignedly. I beſeech you have me in your prayer while I am living, and I am aſſured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my Children and yours in the fear of God, and then ſhall I not fail but receive you together in the everlaſting Kingdom of God, which I go unto.

Your Husband, Robert Smith.

If ye will meet with me again,
Forſake not Chriſt for any pain.

Another Letter ſent to his wife Anne Smith.

Another Letter of R. Smith to his wife.

THe Grace of Almighty God be always with you, and comfort, ſtrengthen, and ſtabliſh you in all things, that what his bleſſed will is, ye may follow faithfully, to his honour, my comfort, and your own ſalvation, and the good enſample to our Poſterity.

I have received your Letter, and, I praiſe God, without any danger: nevertheleſs, if Gods marvellous goodneſs had not brought it to my hands by *Peter* the Keeper, there might have riſen a great trouble upon the ſame. For well ye know *George* is a wicked man, utterly without all fear of God; and if he had gotten it, the Councel ſure had ſeen it. But *Peter* like an honeſt man never opened it. Wherefore I deſire you from henceforth let your Letters be delivered at *Chancery-lane* end, to my Siſter *Tankerfield*, and ſhe may deliver them ſafe into my hand. We are very ſtreightly kept, I praiſe God of his mercy. Nevertheleſs Almighty God is always with us. I have ſent you that ye wrote for. The two Nutmegs that ſhoold have gone by *Nicholas* to our Friends, I ſend now, and deſire them to accept them as a poor Priſoners gift, until God give more largely. *Thomas Iveſon* ſendeth you a Peny, I pray you give him thanks for the ſame, and *Dirick* alſo. I have ſent you of that little that I have two pieces of Spaniſh money. The Lord Jeſus have you in his cuſtody, and ſend you good ſpeed. In any caſe keep your ſelf cloſe, I doubt much of your walkings. Have my hearty Commendations to your Parents, and deſire them with you to have me in their Prayers. Be fervent in Prayer, pray, pray, pray, that God would of his mercy put up his Sword, and look on his People. Tell my Brother, with Commendations, that the next comer ſhall bring up the Epiſtle and Exhortation, I have written all this fortnight for my Lady, yea, and almoſt done nothing elſe. I would have ſent him the Articles of *William Flower*, and my talk with him, if I could have delivered it from the Priſon. The Holy Ghoſt keep you, I would ye could make a means, for your money, to ſend a Cheeſe to *Peter*, for I find much kindneſs at his hands. Ye ſhall always hear of me at *Tankerfields* houſe. All the Congregation ſalute you. Fare you moſt heartily well.

Commendation of Peter the Keeper.

I have not yet (tell my Brother) ſpoken with the perſon. There hath come ſo ſtreight a Commandment, that no man might come to us, becauſe *Tooly* curſed the Pope at the Gallows. They thought it to be our counſel.

Yours, and ever yours,
Robert Smith.

Another Letter ſent to his Wife.

Another Letter of Rob. Smith to his wife.

GRace, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be with you, dear Wife, now and ever, Amen, and prevent your ways through his holy Spirit, that ye may in all your words and works pleaſe God, and eſchew evil, to his honour and your ſalvation, that they which ſee your converſation may in all things learn to do like, even to the utter ſhame and confuſion of the wicked and ungodly, Amen.

I ſent you by Mr. *Alexander* a Purſe with money. I have certain Tokens for you, ſent by my Priſon Fellows to you, that is, from Mr. *Hawkes* 12 *d.* from Mr. *Simſon*

Anno 1555.

Simſon 12 *d.* from his Wife 4 *d.* from Maſter *Wats* five new groats, from M. *Ardeley* 12 *d.* from Maſter *Bradford* 12 *d.* which Men be all gone to death, except Maſter *Bradford*, he abideth ſtill. There is alſo gone to death *Nicholas Chamberlain*, *Thom. Oſmund*, *William Bamford*. There is alſo Condemned this *Monday Dirick Carver*, *Thomas Iveſon*, *John Launder*, and *William Vaſſay* is reprieved. Pray to God to have mercy upon his People, and bid my Brother, if he can conveniently, come down on *Monday* next; if he cannot well do it, let him abide at home. Have me heartily commended to your parents. I have ſent each of them a token, a bowed groat, and deſire them for Gods ſake to help us with their Prayers. Have little *Katherine* in mind. Commend me unto all good friends. Continue in Prayer Beware of vanity. Let not God be diſhonoured in your converſation, but like a good Matron, keep your veſſel in holineſs. The peace of God reſt with you for ever, Amen.

Behold here the Communion of Saints.

My Brother *Iveſon* ſendeth to you a token, to your Mother a token, and to *Katherine* a token, three pence. *John Launder* ſendeth you a piece of Spaniſh Money. Father *Herault* a piece of ſix penee. *W. Andrews* ſendeth you a raſe of Ginger, and I ſend your Mother one, and a Nutmeg. I ſend *Katherine* Comfits, for a token, to eat. I have ſent you a key-clog for a token.

Your husband Robert Smith.

A Letter ſent to hie friend.

Another Letter of *Rob. Smith* to a friend of his.

THe eternal God keep you in his fear. I have hearty commendations unto you and your husband, beſeeching Almighty God to preſerve you in well doing, and in perfect knowledge of his Chriſt, that ye may be found faultleſs in the day of the Lord. I have heard ſay, that my friend is given over to vanity; it breaketh my heart, not only to hear that he ſo doth, but alſo teacheth other, that it is unhurtful to go to all abomination, which now ſtand in the Idols Temples: Nevertheleſs, dear friend, be ye not moved to follow ſinners; for they have no inheritance with God and Chriſt. But look, that by going into the Idol Temple, ye defile not the Temple of God; for light hath no fellowſhip with darkneſs. But look what the Lord hath commanded, that do. For if not going to Church were without perſecution, they would not learn you that leſſon. But all things that is ſweet to the Fleſh, is allowed of the Fleſhly. The Lord ſhall reward every Man according to his works, and he that leadeth into captivity, ſhall go into captivity, and he that by the Fleſhly Man is led in the Fleſh, ſhall of the Fleſh reap corruption. The Lord Jeſus give thee his holy Spirit, Amen.

I have ſent thee an Epiſtle in metre, which is not to be laid up in my coffer, but in thy heart.

Seek peace, and inſue it. Fear God, love God with all thy Heart, with all thy Soul, and with all thy ſtrength.

Thy friend and all Mens in Chriſt Jeſus, *Robert Smith.*

Scribled in much haſt from N. the twelfth of *May.*

Robert Smith *to all Faithful Servants of Chriſt, exhorting them to be ſtrong under Perſecution.*

Content thy ſelf with patience,
With Chriſt to bear the Croſs of pain,
Which can and will thee recompence,
A thouſand fold with joyes again.
Let nothing cauſe thy heart to quail,
Launch out thy boat, hale up thy ſail,
Put from the ſhore:
And be thou ſure thou ſhalt attain,
Vnto the port that ſhall remain.
For evermore.

The burning of Stephen Harwood, *and* Thomas Fuſt, *martyred for the teſtimony of the Goſpel.*

Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fuſt, Martyrs.

ABout this time dyed alſo by cruel fire theſe two Martyrs of God, that is to ſay, *Stephen Harwood* at *Stratford*, and *Thomas Fuſt* at *Ware*. Which both two, as they were about one time burned with the forementioned *Robert Smith* and *George Tankerfield*, although in ſundry places; ſo were they alſo examined and openly Condemned together with them. Their proceſs, becauſe it was joyned all in one with the proceſs of *Robert Smith*, and other of the ſame company above mentioned; I thought it ſuperfluous again to repeat the ſame; ſave that of *Thomas Fuſt* this is to be added, that whereas he in his laſt appearing the 12. of *July*, was moved by the Biſhop to revoke his opinion, thus he anſwered; No (ſaid he) my Lord, for there is no truth cometh out of your Mouth, but all lies. Ye condemn Men, and will not hear the Truth. Where can ye find any annointing or greaſing in Gods Book? I ſpeak nothing but the Truth, and I am certain that it is the Truth that I ſpeak. This anſwer of him only I find noted by the Regiſter; although how ſlenderly theſe Regiſters have dealt in uttering ſuch matters, that is, in omitting thoſe things which moſt worthy were to be known, by their doings it is eaſie to be ſeen. But to be ſhort, after their anſwers made, both he and *Thomas Fuſt* were for their faithful perſeverance Condemned together by the Biſhop in his accuſtomed pity, as Hereticks to be burned, and ſo (as before ye have heard) finiſhed they their Martyrdom, the one at *Stratford*, & the other at *Ware*, in the Month of *Auguſt* and year above ſaid.

The anſwer of *Thomas Fuſt* to Biſhop *Boner.*

The condemnation and Martyrdom of *Stephen Harwood* and *Thomas Fuſt*, Anno 1555. Auguſt.

The conſtant Martyrdom of William Hale, *burned at* Barnet.

William Hale Martyr.

OF the ſame company of theſe ten above recorded which were ſent up to Biſhop *Boner* by Sir *Nicholas Hare* and other Commiſſioners, in the company of *George Tankerfield* and *Robert Smith*, was alſo *William Hale* of *Thorp* in the County of *Eſſex*, who likewiſe being examined with the reſt, the 12. of *July* received with them alſo the ſentence of Condemnation; Giving this exhortation withal to the lookers on: Ah good People, ſaid he, beware of this Idolater, and this Antichriſt, pointing unto the Biſhop of *London*, and ſo was he delivered to the Sheriffs as an Heretick to be burned, who ſent him to *Barnet*, where about the latter end of *Auguſt* he moſt conſtantly ſealed up his Faith with the conſuming of his Body by cruel fire, yielding his Soul unto the Lord Jeſus his only and moſt ſure Redeemer.

Hales words to the People. Ex Regiſt.

George King, Thomas Leyes, John Wade, *ſickned in Priſon, and were buried in the fields.*

YE heard before of ten ſundry perſons ſent out of *Newgate* by Maſter *Hare* and other Commiſſioners, to be examined of *Boner* Biſhop of *London*. Of whom ſix already have been executed in ſeveral places, as hath been ſhewed; whoſe names were *Elizabeth Warn*, *George Tankerfield*, *Robert Smith*, *Stephen Harwood*, *Thomas Fuſt*, and *William Hale*. Other three, to wit, *George King*, *Thomas Leyes*, and *John Wade* ſickning in *Lollards Tower*, were ſo weak that they were removed into ſundry houſes within the City of *London*, and there departed, and were caſt out into the fields, and there buried by night of the faithful Brethren, when none in the day durſt do it, *propter metum Judæorum*. The laſt that remained of this foreſaid company was *Joan Layſh* or *Layſhford*, the daughter-in-law to *John Warn* and *Elizabeth Warn*, Martyrs: but becauſe ſhe was reprieved to a longer day, her ſtory and Martyrdom we will defer till the Month of *January* the next year following.

Three Martyrs ſickned in Priſon, and buried in the fields.

George King, *Thom. Leyes*, *John Wade*, Martyrs.

The Story of *Joan Layſhford* hereafter following among the Martyrs of the next year.

William Andrew.

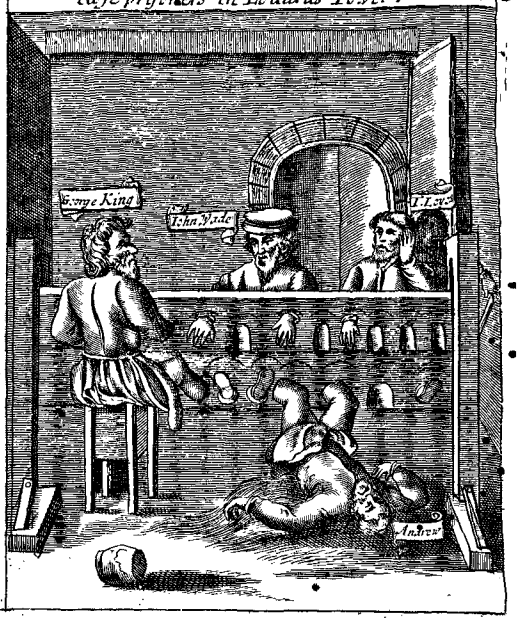
THe like Catholick charity was alſo ſhewed upon *William Andrew* of *Horſley*, in the County of *Eſſex*, Carpenter, who was brought to *Newgate* the firſt day of *April*, Anno 1555. by *John Motham* Conſtable of *Mauldon* in *Eſſex*. The firſt and principal promoter of him was the Lord *Rich*, who ſent him firſt to Priſon. Another great doer againſt him alſo ſeemeth to be Sir *Richard Southwell* Knight, by a Letter written by him to *Boner*, as by the Copy hereof appeareth.

William Andrew buried in the fields.

The Lord *Rich* the firſt fender up of *William Andrew.*

The Martyrdome of William Hale.

A Picture deſcribing the ſtrait handling of theſe priſoners in Lollards Tower.



A Letter ſent to Boner *Biſhop of* London, *from Sir* Richard Southwell.

A Letter of Sir *Richard Southwell* to Biſhop *Boner.*

PLeaſeth it your Lordſhip to underſtand, that the Lord Rich *did about ſeven or eight weeks paſt, ſend up unto the Councel, one* William Andrew *of* Thorp, *within the County of* Eſſex, *an arrogant Heretick. Their pleaſure was to command me to commit him unto* Newgate, *where he remaineth; and as I am informed, hath infected a number in the Priſon with his hereſie. Your Lordſhip ſhall do very well, if it pleaſe you to convent him before you, and to take order with him, as his caſe doth require. I know the Councel meant to have writ herein unto your Lordſhip, but by occaſion of other buſineſs, the thing hath been omitted. Wherefore knowing their good pleaſure, I did adviſe the Keeper of* Newgate *to wait upon you with theſe few lines. And ſo referring the reſt to your vertuous conſideration, I remain your good Lordſhips to command, this* 12. *of* June, 1555.

Richard Southwell.

W. *Andrew* twice before B. *Boner.*

This *William Andrew* being twice brought before *Boner* to Examination, there manfully ſtood in the defence of his Religion. At length through ſtraight handling in the Priſon of *Newgate*, there he loſt his Life, which elſe his adverſaries would have taken away by fire: and ſo after the Popiſh manner he was caſt out into the field, and by night was privily buried by the hands of good Men and Faithful Brethren.

W. *Andrew* through ſtrait handling, died in *Newgate.*

W. *Andrew* buried in the fields.

The Martyrdom of Robert Samuel, *Preacher, ſuffering for the true defence of Chriſts Goſpel.*

Mr. *Foſter* Juſtice perſecutor of Chriſts People.

MAſter *Foſter*, Juſtice, dwelling at *Cobdock* in the County of *Suffolk*, and a little from *Ipſwich*, being in continual hatred againſt the truth and the profeſſors of the ſame, did not only not ceaſe day nor night to ſtudy how to bring thoſe in thrall and captivity, that were honeſt and godly inclined to Religion; but alſo whatſoever they were that once came in his claws, they eaſily eſcaped not without clog of Conſcience, or elſe loſs of Life, ſo greedy was he of Blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one *Samuel*, in King *Edwards* days a very godly and right faithful Preacher of Gods Word, who for his valiant and conſtant behaviour in his Sermons, ſeemeth worthy of high admiration. He was Miniſter at *Barfold* in *Suffolk*, where he taught faithfully and fruitfully that flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, ſo long as the time would ſuffer him to do his duty.

Rob. Samuel in K. *Edward* days a godly Preacher.

At the laſt being removed from the Miniſtry, and put from his Benefice (as many other good Paſtors were beſide) when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, yet would he not give over his care that he had for his Flock, but would teach them privily and by ſtealth, when he could not openly be ſuffered ſo to do. At what time order was taken by the Queen, to be publiſhed by the Commiſſioners, that all Prieſts which had married in King *Edwards* days, putting their wives from them, ſhould be compelled to return again to their chaſtity and ſingle life. This Decree would not *Samuel* ſtand unto, for that he knew it to be manifeſtly wicked and abominable; but determining with himſelf that Gods Laws were not to be broken for Mans traditions, kept his Wife ſtill at *Ipſwich*, and gave his diligence in the mean time to the inſtructing of other which were about him, as occaſion ſerved. At laſt Maſter *Foſter* having intelligence hereof, being a great doer in thoſe quarters, foreſlacked no time nor diligence, but eſtſoons ſendeth out his eſpials abroad, laying hard wait for *Samuel*, that if he came home to his Wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to Priſon.

Rob. Samuel removed from the Miniſtry.

Rob. Samuel would not conſent to the wicked decree of *Q. Mary* to put away his Wife.

In concluſion, when ſuch as ſhould betray him eſpied him at home with his Wife, they bringing word to the Officer, came immediately flocking about his houſe, and beſet it with a great company, and ſo took him in the night ſeaſon, becauſe they durſt not do it in the day time, for fear of trouble and tumult; although good *Samuel* did nothing withſtand them at all, but meekly yielded himſelf into their clutches of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into *Ipſwich Jayl*, where he paſſed his time meekly among his Godly Brethren, ſo long as he was permitted to continue there. Howbeit not long after, being taken from thence, he was carried (through the malice of the wicked ſort) to *Norwich*, where the ſaid Biſhop Doctor *Hopton* (whether he or Dr. *Dunnings* his Chancellor) full like unmerciful Prelates exerciſed great cruelty againſt him, as indeed they were Men in that time of perſecution, as had not their matches for ſtraitneſs and cruel tormenting the Bodies of the Saints among all the reſt beſide, and ſpecially through the procuring of *Dunnings*. For although the

Rob. Samuel apprehended in his houſe by night.

Rob. Samuel put in *Ipſwich* Jayl.

Rob. Samuel removed to *Norwich.*

The cruelty of *Dunning* the Blood Chancellor.

Anno 1555.

the other were ſharp enough in their Generation; yet could they be ſatisfied with impriſonment and death, and could go no farther. Neither did I ever yet hear of any beſides theſe, which ſo far exceeded all bounds of pity and compaſſion in tormenting their poor Brethren, as this Biſhop did; in ſuch ſort, that many of them he perverted, and brought quite from the truth, and ſome from their wits alſo.

The cruel handling of *Rob. Samuel* in Priſon.

The Biſhop therefore, or elſe his Chancellor, thinking that he might as eaſily prevail with *Samuel*, as he had done with the other before, kept him in a very ſtreight Priſon at his firſt coming, where he was chained bolt-upright to a great Poſt, in ſuch ſort, that ſtanding only on tiptoe, he was fain to ſtay up the whole poiſe or weight of his body thereby. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain that he ſuffered, they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirſt; ſaving that he had every day allowed two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three ſpoonfuls of water, to the end rather that he might be reſerved to farther torment, then that they would preſerve his life. O worthy conſtancy of the Martyr! O pitileſs hearts of Papiſts, worthy to be complained of, and to be accuſed before God and Nature! O the wonderful ſtrength of Chriſt in his Members! Whoſe ſtomack, though it had been made of Adamant ſtone, would not have relented at the intolerable vexations, and extream pains above Nature?

Rob. Samuel famiſhed in Priſon.

Rob. Samuel deſirous to drink his own water, and could not.

How oftentimes would he have drunken his own water? But his body was ſo dried up with his long emptineſs, that he was not able to make one drop of water.

Samuel brought to burning.

At the laſt, when he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in compariſon of thoſe pains that he had paſſed, certain there were that heard him declare what ſtrange things had happened unto him during the time of his impriſonment: to wit, that after he had been famiſhed or pined with hunger two or three days together, he then fell into a ſleep, as it were one half in a ſlumber, at which time one clad all in white ſeemed to ſtand before him, which miniſtred comfort unto him by theſe words; *Samuel, Samuel, be of good chear, and take a good heart unto thee. For after this day ſhalt thou never be either hungry or thirſty.* Which thing came even to paſs accordingly; for ſpeedily after he was burned, and from that time till he ſhould ſuffer, he felt neither hunger nor thirſt. And this declared he to the end, as he ſaid, that all men might behold the wonderful works of God. Many more like matters concerning the great comfort he had of Chriſt in his afflictions, he could utter, he ſaid, beſides this, but that ſhamefaſtneſs and modeſty would not ſuffer him to utter it. And yet if it had pleaſed God, I would he had been leſs modeſt in that behalf, that the love and care that Chriſt hath of his might have the more appeared thereby unto us by ſuch preſent Arguments, for the more plentiful comfort of the godly, though there be ſufficient teſtimonies of the ſame in the holy Scriptures already.

Strange viſions that happened to *Samuel*.

Great comforts miniſtred by the Lord to *Samuel* in his painful priſonment.

No leſs memorable it is, and worthy alſo to be noted, concerning the three Ladders which he told to divers he ſaw in his ſleep, ſet up toward Heaven; of the which there was one ſomewhat longer than the reſt, but yet at length they became one joyning (as it were) all three together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, declaring undoubtedly the Martyrdom firſt of himſelf, and from the death of two honeſt women, which were brought forth, and ſuffered in the ſame Town anon after.

Another memorable viſion of *Samuel* in Priſon.

As this godly Martyr was going to the fire, there came a certain Maid to him, which took him about the neck and kiſſed him, who being marked by them that were preſent, was ſought for the next day after to be had to Priſon and burned, as the very party her ſelf informed me: Howbeit, as God of his goodneſs would have it, ſhe eſcaped their fiery hands, keeping her ſelf ſecret in the Town a good while after. But as this Maid, called *Roſe Nottingham*, was marvellouſly preſerved by the Providence of God; ſo there were other two honeſt women did fall into the rage and fury of that time. The

The name of this maid was *Roſe Nottingham*.

The cruell burning of Robert Samuel, Martyr.

The martyrdom of *Rob. Samuel* at *Ipſwich*, Anno 1555. Auguſt 31.

Two godly women, the one a Brewers wife, the other a Shoomakers wife, apprehended.

one was a Brewers wife, the other was a Shoomakers wife, but both together now eſpouſed to a new Husband, Chriſt.

With theſe two was this Maid aforeſaid very familiar and well acquainted, who on a time giving counſel to the one of them, that ſhe ſhould convey her ſelf away while ſhe had time and ſpace, ſeeing ſhe could not away with the Queens unjuſt proceedings, had this anſwer at her hands again: I know well, ſaith ſhe, that it is lawful enough to fly away, which remedy you may uſe, if you liſt. But my caſe ſtandeth otherwiſe. I am tied to an Husband, and have beſide a ſort of young Children at home; and then I know not how my Husband, being a Carnal man, will take my departure from him; therefore I am minded, for the love of Chriſt and his Truth, to ſtand to the extremity of the matter.

This godly wife exhorted to fly, would not do ſo, having Husband and Children to ſtick to.

And

Anne Totten. Mr. Trunchfields wife.

And to the next day after *Samuel* ſuffered, theſe two godly Wives, the one called *Anne Potten*, the other called *Jone Trunchfield*, the Wife of *Michael Trunchfield*, Shoomaker of *Ipſwich*, were apprehended, and had both to Priſon together. Which as they were both by Sex and Nature ſomewhat tender; ſo were they at firſt leſs able to indure the ſtraitneſs of the Priſon, and eſpecially the Brewers Wife was caſt into marvellous great agonies and troubles of mind thereby. But Chriſt beholding the weak infirmity of his Servant, did not fail to help her when ſhe was in this neceſſity. So at the length they both ſuffered after *Samuel*, *Anno* 1556. *Febr.* 19. as ſhall be by the Lords grace declared hereafter. And theſe, no doubt, were thoſe two Ladders, which being joyned with the third, *Samuel* ſaw ſtretched up into Heaven. This bleſſed *Samuel*, the Servant of Chriſt, ſuffered the 31 of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1555.

The Lord Jeſus a ready help in time of weakneſs

The report goeth among ſome that were there preſent, and ſaw him burn, that his Body in burning did ſhine as bright and white as new tried ſilver in the eyes of them that ſtood by, as I am informed by ſome which were there, and did behold the ſight.

Letters of Robert Samuel, *Preacher.*

A Letter or Exhortation to the patient ſuffering of Afflictions for Chriſts Cauſe.

Eccleſ. 9. Eccleſ. 4.

A Man knoweth not his time, but as the fiſh is taken with the Angle, and as the birds are caught with the ſnare; even ſo are men caught and taken in the *perillous time* when *it* cometh upon them. The time cometh; the day draweth near, *Ezekiel* 7. Better it were to die (as the Preacher ſaith) then to live and ſee the miſerable works which are done under the Sun; ſuch ſudden and ſtrange mutation, ſuch woful, heinous, and lamentable diviſions ſo faſt approach, and none or very few thoroughly repent. Alas for this ſinful Nation, a People of great iniquity and ſeed of ungraciouſneſs, corrupting their ways. They have forſaken the Lord, they have provoked the holy One of *Iſrael* to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in ſuch ſecurity and reſt, as though all dangers were clean overpaſt? Who now blindeth and buffeteth not Chriſt, which ſeeth me, and ſeeth me not? Yea, who liveth not now in ſuch felicity, worldly pleaſures and joyes, wholly ſeeking the world, providing and craftily ſhifting for the earthly clod and all carnal appetites, as though ſin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hoggiſh *Gergeſites*, now are we more affraid and aſhamed of Chriſt our Meſſias, fearing the loſs of our filthy Pigs, I mean our tranſitory Goods, and diſquieting of our ſinful and mortal Bodies in this ſhort, uncertain, and miſerable life, then of a Legion of Devils, ſeducing and driving us from hearing, reading, and believing Chriſt Gods eternal Son, and his holy Word, the power to ſave our Souls, unto vanities, lies, and fables, and to this bewitching world.

Iſai. 1. Complaint againſt *England*, and that not undeſerved. Matth. 8. Engliſh people rightly reſembled to the *Gergeſites*. Mark 5. Rom. 10.

Oh perillous abundance of goods, too much ſaturity of meats, wealth, and quietneſs, which deſtroyed with ſo many ſouls, thoſe goodly Cities, *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*! *Jeroboam*, ſo long as he was but a poor man, not yet advanced to his dignity, lived in the Laws of God without reprehenſion; but brought once to wealth and proſperous ſtate, he became a wicked and moſt ſhameful Idolater. And what made the covetous young man ſo loath to follow Chriſt, when he was bidden to forſake but worldly wealth which he then enjoyed? Wo be unto theſe falſe illuſions of the World, baits of Perdition, hooks of the Devil, which have ſo ſhamefully deceived and ſeduced full many from the right path unto the Lord, into the High-ways of Confuſion and Perpetual Perdition.

Abundance of Goods is a thing perillous. Gen. 19. Matth. 19.

We might now worthily (dear Chriſtians) lament and bewail our heavy ſtate, miſerable condition, and ſorrowful chance: yea, I ſay, we might well accuſe our ſelves, and with *Job* curſe theſe our troublous, wicked, and bloudy laſt days of this world, were it not that we both ſee and believe, and find in Gods ſacred Book, that a remnant God hath in all Ages reſerved, I mean the faithful, as many as have been from the beginning of the world, exerciſed, whetted, and poliſhed with divers afflictions, troubles, and toſſings, caſt and daſhed againſt all perils and dangers, as the very droſs and outcaſts of the Earth, and yet will in no wiſe halt between God and *Baal*; for God verily abhorreth two men in one: he cannot away with them that are between both, but caſteth them away as a filthy vomit. Chriſt will not part ſpoil with his mortal enemy the Devil; he will have all, or loſe all: he will not permit the Devil to have the ſervice of the body, and he to ſtand contented with the heart and mind: but *he will be glorified both in your bodies and in your ſpirits, which are his*, as S. *Paul* ſaith, 1 *Cor.* 6. For he hath made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as S. *Peter* ſaith, *With his own immaculate body hath he clean diſcharged your bodies from ſin, death, and hell, and with his moſt precious blood paid your ranſome and full price once for all and for ever.*

Job 3. Iſai. 10. God hath always a remnant, whom he puniſheth with hard adverſities. 1 Cor. 4.

Two men in one, God abhorreth. Apoc. 3. 1 Pet. 1.

Now what harm, I pray you, or what loſs ſuſtain you by this? Why are you, O vain men, more affraid of Jeſus your gentle Saviour, and his Goſpel of Salvation, then of a Legion of cruel Devils, going about with falſe deluſions utterly to deſtroy you both bodies and ſouls? Think you to be more ſure then under your Captain, Chriſt? Do you promiſe your ſelves to be more quiet in Satans ſervice, then in Chriſts Religion? Eſteem you more theſe tranſitory and pernicious pleaſures, then God and all his heavenly treaſures? Oh palpable darkneſs, horrible madneſs, and wilful blindneſs, without compariſon, too much to be ſuffered any longer! We ſee and will not ſee; we know and will not know; yea, we ſmart and will not feel, and that our Conſcience well knoweth. Oh miſerable and brainleſs ſouls, which would for fooliſh pleaſures and ſlippery wealth loſe the Royal Kingdom and permanent joyes of God, with the everlaſting glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world. The Children of the world live in pleaſure and wealth; and the Devil, who is their God and Prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it. But let us which be of Chriſt ſeek and inquire for heavenly things, which by Gods promiſe and mercy in Chriſt ſhall be peculiar unto us. Let, I ſay, the *Cretians*, *Epicures*, and ſuch other beaſtly Belials and Carnal People, paſs for things that be pleaſant for the body, and do appertain to this tranſitory life: *Yet ſhall they once* (as the Kingly Prophet ſaith) *run about the City of God, to and fro howling like dogs, deſiring one ſcrap of the joyes of Gods Elect*, but all too late, as the rich Glutton did.

No true quietneſs in Satans ſervice. The miſerable madneſs of worldly men lamented. 2 Cor. 4. John 12. Tranſitory pleaſures of this life not to be paſſed upon. Pfalm 58. Luke 16.

Let us therefore paſs for thoſe things that do pertain to the Spirit, and be Celeſtial. *We muſt be here* (ſaith *Paul*) *not as inhabiters, and home dwellers, but as ſtrangers*: not as ſtrangers only, but after the mind of *Paul*, as painful ſouldiers appointed of our Governour to fight againſt the Governour of darkneſs of this world, againſt ſpiritual craftineſs in heavenly things. The time is come; we muſt to it; the judgment muſt begin firſt at the Houſe of God. Began they not firſt with the green and ſappy Tree? and what followed then on the dry branches? *Jeremy* ſpeaking in the Perſon of God, ſaith; *In the City wherein my Name is invocate, will I begin to puniſh*: but as for you (meaning the wicked) ſhall you be as innocents, and not once toucht. Nay, the dregs of Gods wrath, the bottom of all ſorrows, are reſerved unto them in the end: but Gods houſhold ſhall drink the flower of the Cup of his Mercy. And therefore let us ſay with *Ezechias*; *Play the men, and ſhrink not: Let us comfort our ſelves, for the Lord is with us our helper, and fighteth for us. The Lord is* (ſaith he) *with you, when you be with him; and when you ſeek him, he will be found of you*: And again, when you forſake him, he will forſake you.

Coloſſ. 3. Heb. 13. John 7. Epheſ. 5. 1 Pet. 4. Jerem. 25. 2 Par. 32.

Wherefore we ought not to be diſmayed, or diſcourage our ſelves, but rather to be of good comfort; not to be ſad but merry; not ſorrowful, but joyful, in that God of his goodneſs will vouchſafe to take us as his beloved Children, to ſubdue our ſinful luſts, our wretched fleſh and blood unto his glory, the promoting of his holy Word, and edifying of his Church. What if the earthly houſe of this our habitation (*Paul* meaning the body) be deſtroyed? We know aſſuredly we ſhall have

2 Cor. 5.

Anno 1555.

a building of God not made with hands, but everlaſting in Heaven, with ſuch joyes as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They paſs all deſires and wiſhes. Gotten they may be by Chriſt; eſteemed they cannot be. Wherefore the more affliction and perſecution the Word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abideth in Heaven. But the worldly peace, idle eaſe, wealthy pleaſure, and this preſent and pleaſant tranſitory life and felicity, which the ungodly fooliſhly imagine to procure unto themſelves by perſecuting, and thruſting away the Goſpel, ſhall turn unto their own trouble, and at laſt unto horrible deſtructions and mutations of Realms and Countries, and after this life, if they repent not, unto their perpetual *infelicity*, *perdition*, and damnation. For they had rather with *Nabal*, and his temporal pleaſures, deſcend to the Devil, than with poor Chriſt, and his bodily troubles, aſcend unto the Kingdom of God his Father. *But an unwiſe man (*ſaith the *Pſalmiſt) comprehendeth them not, neither doth the fooliſh underſtand them*: that is, theſe bloody Perſecutors grow up and flouriſh like the flower and graſs in the field. But unto this end do they ſo flouriſh, that they might be cut down and caſt into the fire for ever. For as *Job* ſaith, *Their joy laſteth but the twinkling of an eye*, and death ſhall lye gnawing upon them, as doth the flock upon the paſture; yea, the cruel worm, late repentance, (as S. *Mark* ſaith) ſhall lye gnawing, tormenting, and accuſing their wretched Conſcience for evermore.

Joys laid up in Chriſt to mans ſenſe ineſtimable.

Samuel propheſieth of the deſtruction of the perſecutors. 1 Reg. 25.

Pſal. 40.

To what end the perſecutors do flouriſh in this World. Job 21. Mark 9.

Let us therefore (good Chriſtians) be conſtant in obeying God rather then men. For although they ſlay our ſinful bodies (yea, rather our deadly enemies) for Gods verity; yet they cannot do it, but by Gods ſufferance and good will, to his praiſe and honour, and to our eternal joy and felicity. For our blood ſhed for the Goſpel ſhall preach it with more fruit, and greater furtherance, then did our mouths, lives, and writings, as did the blood of *Abel*, *Steven*, with many other more. What though they laugh Chriſt and his Word to ſcorn, which ſit in the chair of perverſe peſtilent Scorners? To whom, as to the wiſe Gentiles of the world, the Goſpel of Chriſt is but fooliſhneſs, as it was to the Jews, a hinder and a ſtumbling ſtone, whereat they now being faln, have provoked the wrath and vengeance of God upon them.

The blood of Gods Martyrs preacheth with more fruit than did their mouths.

Theſe are the days of vengeance, ſaith *Luke*, that all things written may be fulfilled. And ſurely it ſhall be no leſs than a huge ſtorm of evils that ſhall come upon us, becauſe that a long and curſed obſtinate maliciouſneſs of us hath gone before, crying in the ears of the Lord God of Hoſts, who ſo many times and ſo many ways have been provoked with the unſpeakable riches of his goodneſs, his patience and long ſuffering, to amendment, and have nevertheleſs contemned the ſame, and proceeded forward to worſe and worſe, provoking and ſtirring the preſence of Gods Majeſty unto anger.

Luke 2. God long looketh for repentance, and we wax worſe and worſe.

Now therefore ſaith God by the mouth of his Prophet, *I will come unto thee, and I will ſend my wrath upon thee:* Upon thee (I ſay) O *England*, and puniſh thee according to thy ways, and reward thee after all thine abominations. Thou haſt kindled the fire of Gods wrath, and haſt ſtirred up the coals. For thou waſt once lightned, and hadſt taſted of the heavenly gift, and waſt become partaker of the Holy Ghoſt, and hadſt taſted of the good Word of God: Yea, it is yet in thy mouth, ſaith the Prophet. Alas, O *England*, thou kneweſt thy Lord and Maſters will, but didſt nothing thereafter; *Thou muſt therefore*, ſaith he, *ſuffer many ſtripes*, and many ſharp ſtrokes, and walk in the glittering and hot flame of thine own fire, and on the coals that thou haſt kindled. This cometh to thee from my hand, ſaith the Lord, namely, *That thou ſhalt ſleep in ſorrow*, yea, even ſo thou ſhalt. The plain truth telleth the tale, the immutable juſtice of the everliving God, and the ordinary courſe of his plagues from the beginning confirmeth the ſame. The joy of our heart, ſaith *Jeremy*, is gone, our glory is fallen away, our merry ſinging is turned into mourning, the garland of our head is fallen: Alas and weal away that ever we ſinned ſo ſore: Wo worth all abominations and wickedneſs; wo worth cloaked hypocriſie; wo worth our carnal liberty; wo worth our moſt curſed Idolatry. For, becauſe of theſe things, ſaith the Lord, ye ſhall periſh with ſword, hunger, and peſtilence.

Iſai. 3.

Wickedneſs of *England* declared. Iſai. 3.

England worthily rebuked.

Jerem. 5. He bewaileth the ſtate of *England*.

Wherefore, let all the wicked enemies of Chriſt, and all the unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed with all helliſh Furies, and clean without hope of Gods accounting day, which know not God in Chriſt to be their very righteouſneſs, their life, their only ſalvation and alone Saviour, nor believe in him. They muſt, ſaith S. *John*, needs abide and periſh with their ſins in death and in eternal damnation. But we be the Children of Saints, as the elder *Toby* did anſwer, and look for another life, which God ſhall give to all them which change not their faith, nor ſhrink not from him. Rejoyce therefore ye Chriſtian afflicted brethren, for they cannot take our ſouls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, which be kept as in the boſom of our moſt ſweet and loving Father: and if we abide faſt in Chriſt, and turn not away like Weather-cocks, ſurely we ſhall live for ever. Chriſt affirmeth the ſame, ſaying, *My ſheep hear my voice, I know them, they hearken unto me, and to no ſtrangers, and I give them everlaſting life; for they ſhall not be loſt, and no man ſhall pluck them out of my hands:* no, nor yet this flattering world with all his vain pleaſures, nor any Tyrant with his great threats and ſtout brags can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What conſolation and comfort may we have more pleaſant and effectuous than this? God is on our ſide, and fighteth for us; he ſuffereth, he ſmarteth, and is afflicted with us. As the world can do nothing againſt his might, neither in taking away, or diminiſhing of his glory, nor putting him from his Celeſtial Throne; ſo can it nor harm nor hurt any one of his Children without his good will. For we are Members of his Body, out of his Fleſh, and of his Bones, and as dear to him as the Apple of his Eye.

John 2. Comfort to the afflicted brethren.

Matth. 10. John 10.

Chriſt himſelf ſuffereth in his members afflicted. Iſai. 5.

Ephef. 5.

Let us therefore with an earneſt faith ſet faſt hold and ſure feeling upon the Promiſes of God in the Goſpel, and let us not be ſundred from the ſame by any temptation, tribulation, or perſecution. Let us conſider the verity of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable, promiſing and giving us his faithful Souldiers life eternal. It is he only that hath deſerved it for us: It is his only benefit, and of his only meer mercy, and unto him only muſt we render thanks. Let not therefore the vain fantaſies and dreams of men, and fooliſh gauds and toys of the world, nor the crafty deluſions of the Devil, drive and ſeparate us from our hope of the Crown of Righteouſneſs, that is laid up in ſtore for us againſt the laſt day. Oh that happy and merry laſt day, I mean to the faithful, when Chriſt by his Covenant ſhall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may aſcend and ſit in ſeat with him, as he hath aſcended and ſitteth on Throne with his Father. The ſame body and ſoul that is now with Chriſt afflicted, ſhall then be with Chriſt glorified: now in the Butchers hands, as ſheep appointed to dye; then ſitting at Gods Table with Chriſt in his Kingdom, as Gods honourable and dear Children; where we ſhall have for earthly poverty, heavenly riches; for hunger and thirſt, ſaturity of the pleaſant preſence of the glory of God; for ſorrows, troubles, and cold irons, celeſtial joyes, and the company of Angels; and for a bodily death, life eternal. Oh happy ſouls! Oh precious death and evermore bleſſed, right dear in the eyes of God; to you the ſpring of the Lord ſhall ever be flouriſhing. Then (as ſaith *Iſaiah*) *The redeemed ſhall return and come again into* Sion, *praiſing the Lord, and eternal mercies ſhall be over their heads: they ſhall obtain mirth and ſolace; ſorrow and wo ſhall be utterly vanquiſhed.* Yea, I am he, ſaith the Lord, that in all things giveth you everlaſting conſolation. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be glory and praiſe for ever, Amen.

Gods promiſe is immutable.

2 Tim. 4. O merry laſt day.

Chriſts Saints be here in Butchers hands. Pſal. 16.

Precious is the death of Gods Saints.

Robert Samuel.

Another Letter written to the Chriſtian Congregation by Robert Samuel, *wherein he declareth the Confeſſion of his Faith.*

The belief of the heart juſtifieth, and the knowledge with the mouth maketh a man ſafe, Rom. 10.

Fear

Fear not the curſe of men, be not afraid of their blaſphemies and revilings; for worms and moths ſhall eat them up like cloth and wool, but my righteouſneſs ſhall endure for ever, and my ſaving health from generation to generation, Iſai. 51.

2 Tim. 3. An other Letter of *Rob. Samuel* containing his faith. 1 Pet. 3.

COnſidering with my ſelf theſe perillous times, periſhing days, and the unconſtant and miſerable ſtate of man, the decay of our faith, the ſiniſter report and falſe ſlander of Gods moſt holy Word, theſe urgent cauſes in Conſcience do conſtrain me to confeſs and acknowledge my faith and meaning in Chriſts holy Religion, as S. *Peter* teacheth me, ſaying, *Be ready always to give an anſwer to every man that asketh you a reaſon of the hope that is in you, and that with meekneß and fear, having a good conſcience, that when they backbite you as evil doers, they may be aſhamed, foraſmuch as they have falſly accuſed your good converſation in Chriſt.*

As touching my Doctrine, for that little Talent that God hath given me, God I take to record, mine own Conſcience and mine Auditory knoweth, that I neither in doctrine nor manners willingly taught any other thing than I received of the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Chriſt, and his Apoſtles. For it were not only ſin, but alſo the very part of a curſed Miſcreant, to deny, bely, or betray the innocency of that heavenly doctrine, or to be aſhamed to confeſs and ſtand to the defence of the ſame; ſeeing that Chriſt planted it with his moſt precious blood, and all good men have more eſteemed the true and infallible Word of God, then all this tranſitory World, or their own mortal lives. Mark 8. And I believe this Doctrine of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, to be ſufficient and abſolutely perfect to inſtruct and teach me, and all the holy Church, of our duties towards God, the Magiſtrates, and our Neighbours.

One God. Firſt and principally I do aſſuredly believe, without any doubting, that there is one Deity or Divine Eſſence, and *Infinite Subſtance*; which is both called, and is indeed God *everlaſting*, unbodily, unpartible, unmeaſurable in power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, the Maker and Preſerver of all things, as well viſible as inviſible; and yet there be three diſtinct Perſons, all of one Godhead or Divine Being, and all of one power, coequal, conſubſtantial, coeternal, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. Three Perſons.

I believe in GOD the Father Almighty, &c. As touching God the Father of Heaven, I believe as much as holy Scripture teacheth me to believe. The Father is the firſt Perſon in the Trinity, firſt cauſe of our Salvation, which hath bleſſed us with all manner of bleſſings in heavenly things by Chriſt, which hath choſen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we ſhould be holy and without blame before him; who hath predeſtinate us and ordained us to be his Children of Adoption, through Chriſt Jeſus; in him, as it is ſaid, we live, we move, and have our being; he nouriſheth, feedeth, and giveth meat to every Creature. Epheſ. 1. Acts 17. Pſal. 147.

And in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord. I believe that the Word, that is, the Son of God the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity, did take mans nature in the womb of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*: So that there be in him two Natures, a Divine Nature, and an Humane Nature, in the unity of one Perſon inſeparable, conjoyned and knit in one Chriſt, truly God, and truly Man, the expreſs and perfect Image of the inviſible God, wherein the will of God the Father ſhineth apparently, and wherein man, as it were in a glaſs, may behold what he ought to do, that he may pleaſe God the Father. The ſecond Article. Heb. 1.

Born of the Virgin *Mary*; truly ſuffering his paſſion, crucified, dead, and buried, to the intent to bring us again into favour with God the Father Almighty, and to be a Sacrifice, Hoſte, and Oblation, not only for Original ſin, but alſo for all Actual ſins of the whole generation of mankind. For all the works, merits, deſervings, doings, and obedience of man towards God, although they be done by the Spirit of God, in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validity, worthineſs, nor merit before God, except God for his mercy and grace account them worthy for the worthineſs and merits of Chriſt Jeſus. No merits of ſalvation but only in Chriſt. Iſai. 48. 43. Gen. 1. 22. Iſai. 53. Acts 10. Matth. 8.

The ſame Chriſt went down to the Hells, and truly roſe again the third day, and aſcended into the Heavens, that he might there ſtill reign and have dominion over all Creatures: And from thence ſhall come, *&c.* Anno 1555.

I believe in the Holy Ghoſt, coequal with God the Father and the Son, and proceeding from them both; by whoſe virtue, ſtrength, and operation, the true Catholick Church, which is the Communion and Society of Saints, is guided in all truth and verity, and kept from all errors and falſe doctrine, the Devil, and all power of ſin. Which Church is ſanctified and hallowed with the precious blood and ſpirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; which hath alſo her ſign and mark, that ſhe heareth and followeth the voice of her only and true Paſtor Chriſt, and no ſtrangers. This Church alſo is the Houſe of God, the Congregation of the living God, the Pillar of Truth, the lively Body of Chriſt, a Church both in name and in deed. The Catholick Church is the Communion of Saints. John 10. 8. Galat. 1. 1 Tim. 2.

I believe the remiſſion of ſins, by the only means and merits of Chriſts death and paſſion; who is made unto us of God, that only Sacrifice and Oblation offered once for all and for ever, for all them that be ſanctified. Remiſſion of ſins only by the merits of Chriſt apprehended by faith.

I believe the Reſurrection of the Body, whereby in the laſt day all men ſhall riſe again from death, the ſouls joyned again to the bodies, the good to everlaſting life, the wicked to everlaſting pain and puniſhment. And nothing may more certainly ſtabliſh and confirm our faith, that we ſhall riſe again immortal both in body and ſoul, then the Reſurrection of Chriſt our Saviour, and firſt fruits of the dead. Now that Chriſt our Head is riſen, we being his Body and Members muſt follow our Head. Death, Hell, and Sin cannot ſunder nor pluck us from him. For as the Son cannot be divided nor ſundred from the Father, nor the Holy Ghoſt from them both, no more may we, being the faithful Members of Chriſt, be ſeparated from Chriſt. And for a confirmation of our Reſurrection, Chriſt would be ſeen after his Reſurrection in his moſt glorious body, his wounds being handled and felt, ſpeaking and teaching, eating and drinking, &c. We look (ſaith S. *Paul*) for Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, which ſhall transfigure our vile bodies, and conform them to his glorious body by the ſame power and vertue, wherewith he is able to ſubdue all things: even like as the grain of Wheat ſown in the ground is firſt putrified and brought as into a thing of nought, yet after that it ſpringeth up freſhly with a more goodly colour, form, and beauty then it had before. The body is ſown in corruption, and riſeth in incorruption; it is ſown in diſhonour, and riſeth in honour. Confirmation of our Reſurrection. John 10. John 11. Phil. 4. John 12. 1 Cor. 15.

Thus I verily know, and aſſuredly believe the Reſurrection of our bodies, and to have life eternal by Chriſt, and for Chriſts ſake. Verily, verily, I ſay unto you (ſaith Chriſt) he that heareth my word, and believeth on him that ſent me, hath everlaſting life, and ſhall not come into damnation, but is eſcaped from death to life. It is Chriſt that died once for our ſins, and is riſen again never more to dye: It is he that ſwallowed up death, and hath caſt it under his feet for ever. What now can death do unto us? Verily nothing elſe, but for a little time ſeparate our precious ſouls from our wretched bodies, that divine ſubſtance from a maſs of ſin, that eternal life from a body of death, and ſo ſend our ſouls out of this miſerable, wretched, and ſorrowful life, cumbred with all calamities, unto that moſt bleſſed felicity and joyes eternal. John 5. Rom. 10. Oſea 13. The ſting of death pluckt out.

As concerning the holy and reverend Sacraments of Chriſts Church, which be in number two, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord. I believe them to be as S. *Paul* calleth them, Confirmations or Seals of Gods Promiſes, which have added to them a promiſe of grace; and therefore they are called Viſible ſigns of inviſible Grace. His confeſſion touching the Sacraments. Sacraments are confirmations of Gods grace and acceptation.

The Sacrament of Baptiſm is a mark of Chriſts Church, a Seal and Confirmation of our acception into the Grace and Favour of God for Chriſts ſake. For his Innocency, his Righteouſneſs, his Holineſs, his Juſtice, is ours, given us of God, and our Sins and Unrighteouſneſs, by his obedience and abaſing of himſelf to the death of the Croſs, are his, whereof Baptiſm is the ſign, ſeal, and confirmation. The Sacrament of Baptiſm.

Bap-

Anno 1555.

Baptiſm is alſo a ſign of Repentance, to teſtifie that we be born to the waves of perils, and changes of life, to the intent that we ſhould dye continually, as long as we live, from ſin, and riſe again like new men unto righteouſneſs, *Rom.* 6.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

The other Sacrament, which is the Supper and holy Maundy of our Saviour Chriſt, whereby the Church of Chriſt is known, I believe to be a remembrance of Chriſts Death and Paſſion, a ſeal and confirmation of his moſt precious body given unto death, even to the vile death of the Croſs, wherewith we are redeemed and delivered from ſin, death, hell, and damnation. It is a viſible Word, becauſe it worketh the ſame thing in the eyes, which the Word worketh in the ears: For like as the Word is a mean to the ears, whereby the Holy Ghoſt moveth the heart to believe, *Rom.* 10. ſo this Sacrament is a mean to the eyes, whereby the Holy Ghoſt moveth the heart to believe: it preacheth peace between God and man; it exhorteth to mutual love and all godly life, and teacheth to contemn the world for the life to come, when as Chriſt ſhall appear, which now is in Heaven, and no where elſe as concerning his Humane Body.

Gods Word to the ear, Gods Word the eye. Acts 2. 3.

Yet do I believe aſſuredly, that his very Body is preſent in his moſt holy Supper at the contemplation of our ſpiritual eyes, and ſo verily eaten with the mouth of our Faith. For aſſoon as I hear theſe moſt comfortable and heavenly words ſpoken and pronounced by the mouth of the Miniſter: This is my Body which is given for you? when I hear (I ſay) this heavenly harmony of Gods infallible Promiſes and Truth: I look not upon, neither do I behold bread and wine; for I take and believe the words ſimply and plainly, even as Chriſt ſpake them. For hearing theſe words, my ſenſes be wrapt and utterly excluded; for faith wholly taketh place, and not fleſh, nor the carnal imaginations of our groſs, fleſhly, and unreverent eating after the manner of our bodily food, which profiteth nothing at all, as Chriſt witneſſeth, *John* 6. but with a ſorrowful and wounded Conſcience, an hungry and thirſty Soul, a pure and faithful mind do fully embrace, behold, and feed, and look upon that moſt glorious Body of Chriſt in Heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, very God and very Man, which was crucified and ſlain, and his blood ſhed for our ſins, there now making interceſſion, offering and giving his holy body for me, for my body, for my ranſom, for my full price and ſatisfaction, who is my Chriſt, and all that ever he hath; and by this ſpiritual and faithful eating of this lively and heavenly bread, I feel the moſt ſweet ſap and taſte of the fruits, benefits, and unſpeakable joyes of Chriſts Death and Paſſion, fully digeſted into the bowels of my Soul. For my mind is quieted from all worldly adverſities, turmoilings, and troubles, my Conſcience is pacified from ſin, death, hell, and damnation; my ſoul is full, and hath even enough, and will no more; for all things are but loſs, vile dung, and droſs, vain vanity, for the excellent knowledge ſake of Chriſt Jeſus my Lord and Saviour.

Chriſts body preſent in the Sacrament to our ſpiritual eyes.

How the body of Chriſt is ſpiritually to be eaten. Rom. 8. Heb. 9.

Rom. 6.

Phil. 3.

Thus now is Chriſts fleſh my very meat indeed, and his blood my very drink indeed, and I am become fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones. Now I live, yet not I, but Chriſt liveth in me: yea, I dwell in him, and he in me; for through faith in Chriſt, and for Chriſts ſake we are one, that is, of one conſent, mind and fellowſhip with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, *Joh.* 17. Thus am I aſſured and fully perſwaded, and on this Rock have I builded, by Gods grace, my dwelling and reſting place for body and ſoul, life and death. And thus I commit my cauſe unto Chriſt the righteous and juſt Judge, who will another day judge theſe debates and controverſies; whom I humbly beſeech to caſt his tender and merciful eyes upon the afflicted and ruinous Churches, and ſhortly to reduce them into a godly and perpetual concord, Amen.

John 6. Ephes. 5. Gal. 2.

Mark 8.

Thus do I believe, and this is my faith and my underſtanding in Chriſt my Saviour, and his true and holy Religion. And this whoſoever is aſhamed to do among this adulterous and ſinful Generation, of him ſhall the Son of Man be aſhamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy Angels.

Robert Samuel.

William Allen, Martyr.

Will. Allen Martyr.

NOw after the ſuffering of *Robert Samuel*, about the beginning of *September*, was burned *William Allen* in *Walſingham*, labouring man, ſervant ſometime to *John Houghton* of *Somerton*. He being brought before the Biſhop, and asked the cauſe why he was impriſoned; anſwered, That he was put in Priſon, becauſe he would not follow the Croſs, ſaying, that he would never go on Proceſſion.

Then being willed by the Biſhop to return again to the Catholick Church; he anſwered, that he would turn to the Catholick Church, but not to the Romiſh Church: and ſaid, That if he ſaw the King and Queen, and all other follow the Croſs, or kneel down to the Croſs, he would not. For the which, Sentence of Condemnation was given againſt him the 12. of *Auguſt*, and he burned at *Walſingham* about the beginning of *September*, who declared ſuch conſtancy at his Martyrdom, and had ſuch credit with the Juſtices, by reaſon of his upright and well tried converſation among them, that he was ſuffered to go untied to his ſuffering, and there being faſtened with a Chain, ſtood quietly without ſhrinking until he died.

The Martyrdom of Will. Allen at Walſingham, Anno 1555. Septemb.

The Martyrdom of Roger Coo *of* Melford *in* Suffolk; *Sheerman, firſt examined before the Biſhop of* Norwich, *and by him condemned*, Anno 1555. Auguſt 12.

Roger Coo Martyr.

ROger *Coo* brought before the Biſhop, firſt was asked why he was impriſoned.

Coo. At the Juſtices commandment.

Talk between Roger Coo and Hopton Bp. of Norwich.

Biſh. There was ſome cauſe why.

Coo. Here is my Accuſer, let him declare.

And his Accuſer ſaid, that he would not receive the Sacrament.

Biſh. Then the Biſhop ſaid, that he thought he had tranſgreſſed a Law.

Coo. But *Coo* anſwered that there was no law to tranſgreſs.

Biſh. The Biſhop then asked, what he ſaid to the law that then was?

Coo. He anſwered how he had been in Priſon a long time, and knew it not.

No, ſaid his Accuſer, nor will not. My Lord, ask him when he received the Sacrament.

Roger Coo to his Accuſer.

Coo. When *Coo* heard him ſay ſo, he ſaid, I pray you my Lord let him ſit down and examine me himſelf.

Biſh. But the Biſhop would not hear that, but ſaid, *Coo*, why? will ye not receive.

The Biſhop of Rome.

Coo. He anſwered him, That the Biſhop of *Rome* had changed Gods Ordinances, and given the people bread and wine in ſtead of the Goſpel, and the belief of the ſame.

Biſh. How prove you that?

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

Coo. Our Saviour ſaid, *My fleſh is meat in deed, and my blood is drink in deed. He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood abideth in me, and I in him*, and the bread and wine doth not ſo.

Biſh. Well *Coo*, thou doſt ſlander our holy Fathers. Did not Chriſt take bread, give thanks, and brake it, and ſaid, *This is my Body*?

Coo. Yes, ſaid he; and ſo he went further with the Text, ſaying, *Which ſhall be given for you: do this in remembrance of me.*

Biſh. You have ſaid the truth.

Coo. Then *Coo* replied further, and ſaid, Chriſt willed to do this in remembrance of him, and not to ſay this in remembrance of him, neither did the Holy Ghoſt ſo lead the Apoſtles, but taught them to give thanks, and to break bread from houſe to houſe, and not to ſay as the Biſhop ſaid.

Biſh. How prove you that?

Coo. It is written in the ſecond of the *Acts*.

Then the Biſhops Chaplain ſaid it was true.

Biſh. The Biſhop asked him if he could ſay his Belief.

Coo. He anſwered yea, and ſo ſaid part of the Creed, and then after he ſaid, he believed more; for he believed the Ten Commandments, that it was meet for all

ſuch as look to be ſaved, to be obedient unto them.

Biſh. Is not the holy Church to be believed alſo?

Coo. Yes, if it be builded upon the Word of God.

Biſh. The Biſhop ſaid to *Coo*, that he had charge of his ſoul.

Coo. Have ye ſo my Lord? Then if ye go to the Devil for your ſins, where ſhall I become?

Biſh. Do you not believe as your Father did? Was not he an honeſt man?

Daniel 9. *Coo.* It is written, that after Chriſt hath ſuffered, *There ſhall come a People with the Prince that ſhall deſtroy both City and Sanctuary.* I pray you ſhew me whether this deſtruction was in my fathers time, or now?

Biſh. The Biſhop not anſwering his queſtion, asked him whether he would not obey the Kings Laws.

Coo. As far as they agree with the Word of God, I will obey them.

* Well ſpoken, and like the Popes Clerk. *Biſh.* * Whether they agree with the Word of God or not, we be bound to obey them, if the King were an Infidel.

Coo. If *Sydrach*, *Myſaac*, and *Abednago* had ſo done. *Nebuchodonoſor* had not confeſſed the living God.

Biſh. Then the Biſhop told him, that theſe 22. years we have been governed with ſuch Kings.

Coo. My Lord, why were ye then dumb, and did not ſpeak or bark?

Biſh. I durſt not for fear of death: and thus they ended.

But after this done, it was reported that I railed; wherefore I called it to memory, and wrote this my railing, that light ſhould not be taken for darkneſs, nor ſin for holineſs, and the Devil for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and ever, Amen.

The Martyrdom of *Roger Coo* at *Yexford*, An. 1555. *Sept.* This *Roger Coo*, an aged Father, after his ſundry troubles and conflicts with his Adverſaries, at length was committed to the fire at *Yexford* in the County of *Suffolk*, where he moſt bleſſedly ended his aged years, *Anno* 1555. *Menſ. Septemb.*

Thomas Cob of *Haverhill*, Butcher, Martyr. Anno 1555.

Thomas Cob of Haverhill in Norfolk, Martyr.

OVer and beſides this foreſaid *Roger Coo*, *William Allen*, *James Abbes* of *Stokenneyland*, *Robert Samuel*, and other more, in the ſame year, upon the 12. of *Auguſt*, was alſo with them condemned *Thomas Cob* of *Haverhill*, Butcher, executed in the Month of *September* aforeſaid. Who being brought and examined by *Michael Dunnings* the bloody Chancellor of *Norwich*; firſt, whether he believed that Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially in the Sacrament of the Altar; anſwered, That the Body of Chriſt, born of the bleſſed Virgin, was in Heaven, and otherwiſe (he ſaid) he would not anſwer, becauſe he had read it in the Scripture, that Chriſt did aſcend, and did never deſcend ſince; and therefore ſaid, that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Chriſt ſhould be in the Sacrament.

Examination of *Thomas Cob.*

The Real Preſence of Chriſt only in Heaven.

Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the Laws of the Realm of *England*, made for the unity of faith, or no: he anſwered, That his body ſhould be at the King and Queens commandment ſo far as the Law of God would ſuffer, &c. In fine, the ſaid *Thomas Cob* being condemned the ſame 12. day of *Auguſt*, with the other his Fellow-Martyrs, was burned in the Town of *Thetford*, *Anno* 1555. *Menſ. Septemb.*

The Martyrdom of *Thomas Cob* at *Thetford*, Anno 1555. *Sept.*

The Martyrdom of George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, *and* James Tutty.

NOw from *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, to return again into the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, we have to intreat of five worthy Martyrs, whoſe blood in the ſame year and month of *September* was ſpilt for the true teſtimony of Chriſt, and his Goſpels cauſe. The Names of the which five Martyrs, were theſe:

George Catmer of *Hith.*
Robert Streater of *Hith.*
Anthony Burward of *Calete.*
George Brodbridge of *Bromfield.*
James Tutty of *Brenchley.*

Examinations of theſe five Martyrs. Who upon the Third day of *Auguſt* were brought before *Thornton* the foreſaid Biſhop of *Dover* and his Complices, and there were both joyntly and ſeverally examined upon certain Articles, touching the Sacrament of their Altar, Auricular Confeſſion, and other ſuch like.

Examination and anwers of *Catmer.* To the which the ſaid *Catmer* (being firſt examined) made anſwer on this wiſe; Chriſt (quoth he) ſitteth in Heaven on the right hand of God the Father; and therefore I do not believe him to be in the Sacrament of the Altar: but he is in the worthy Receiver ſpiritually, and the Sacrament, as you uſe it, is an abominable Idol.

Next unto him was called forth *Robert Streater* who being alſo asked, Whether he did believe the Real Preſence of Chirſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, ſaid,

Examination and anſwers of *Streater.*

Anno 55.

ſaid, that he did not ſo believe; for you do maintain Hereſie and Idolatry (quoth he) in that ye teach to worſhip a falſe God in the Sacrament, encloſed in a Box. It is you that are the malignant Church; for in your Church there are twenty things uſed againſt the Law of God.

Burward examined.

The like objection was articulate alſo againſt *Anthony Burward*, who alſo ſaid, that their Sacrament was made an Idol.

Brodbridge examined.

After him was *George Brodbridge* demanded what he ſaid to thoſe Articles. Who anſwered, that he would not be confeſſed of a Prieſt, becauſe he could not forgive his own ſins. And further ſaid, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the real Body of our Saviour Chriſt, but Bread given in the remembrance of him. Moreover, as for your holy Bread, your holy Water, and your Maſs, I do (quoth he) utterly deſie them.

James Tutty examined, with his anſwer to the ſame.

And laſt of all, did alſo *James Tutty* make and confirm their ſaid former anſwers.

And therefore they were all five condemned to be burned as Hereticks, and ſo were they all, in one fire at *Canterbury* aforeſaid, about the ſixth day of *September* then next following.

Thomas Hayward and *John Goreway*, Martyrs.

Th. Hayward, Joh. Goreway, Martyrs.

ALthough the rage nnd vehemency of this terrible Perſecution in Queen *Maries* days did chiefly light in *London*, *Eſſex*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Kent*, as hath been partly already declared; yet notwithſtanding, beſides the ſame, we find but few parts of this Realm free from this fatal ſtorm, but ſome good Martyrs or other there ſhed their blood. And firſt to begin with the Dioceſs of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, there we find theſe two to be condemned and alſo burned about the midſt of the ſaid Month of *September* at the Town of *Litchfield*; whoſe names were *Thomas Hayward* and *John Goreway*.

The Martyrdom of *Tho. Hayward* and *Joh. Goreway* at *Litchfield*, Anno 1555. *Septemb.*

The perſecution and ſtory of Mr. Robert Glover *Gentleman, and of* John Glover *his Brother, in the Dioceſs of* Litchfield.

The ſtory of Mr. *Rob. Glover*, Martyr, and of Mr. *John Glover* his brother.

UNto this preſent time and month of *September*, pertaineth alſo the memorable Martyrdom of Mr. *Robert Glover* Gentleman, in the Dioceſs of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*. Of whoſe apprehenſion and troubles, becauſe I cannot well intreat, but I muſt alſo intermix ſome mention of his Brother *John Glover*, forſomuch as this privy Commiſſion was chiefly ſent down for the ſaid *John*, and not for *Robert Glover*, (albeit it pleaſed Almighty God, that *John* eſcaped, and *Robert* in his ſtead was apprehended) I thought therefore in one ſtory to comprehend them both, in deſcribing ſome part of their vertuous inſtitution and order of life: and firſt to begin with *John* the eldeſt Brother. Who being a Gentleman, and heir to his Father, dwelling in the Town of *Mancetor*, was endued with fair Poſſeſſions of worldly Goods, but yet much more plentifully enriched with Gods heavenly grace and inward vertues. Which grace of God ſo working in him, he with his other Brethren, *Robert* and *William*, not only received and embraced the happy light of Chriſts holy Goſpel, but alſo moſt zealouſly profeſſed, and no leſs diligently in their living and converſation followed the ſame; much unlike unto our Table-Goſpellers now adays, *Virtutem qui verba putant, ut lucum ligna*, as *Horace* ſaith.

John Glover, Rob. Glover, Wil. Glover, three godly brethren, and zealous profeſſors of the Goſpel.

And as touching this foreſaid *John Glover* (who through his manifold afflictions ſeemed to have a deeper taſte and contemplation of ſpiritual things, joyned with mortification from all worldly cares more than the other had) although ſufficient relation be made before in our firſt edition to be ſeen; yet concerning his ſpiritual conflicts, and the Lords gracious working in him, becauſe the conſideration thereof is both worthy of memory, and the example may work experience peradventure to the comfort of the godly, it ſhall not be hurtful to rehearſe ſome part of the ſame. So it pleaſed God to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous paſſions upon this man, that though he ſuffered not the pains of the outward fire, as his Brother and other Martyrs did; yet if we conſider what inwardly in ſpirit and mind this man felt and ſuffered, and that of ſo long time, he may well be counted with his Brother *Robert* for a Martyr, being no leſs deſirous with him of the ſame Martyrdom; yea, and in compariſon may ſeem to be Chronicled for a double Martyr.

Touching further mention of Mr. *John Glover*, read in the firſt edition.

The inward conflicts and exerciſe of *John Glover*. *Joh. Glover* a double Martyr.

For as the ſaid *Robert* was ſpeedily diſpatched with the ſharp and extream torments of the fire in a ſhort time; ſo this no leſs bleſſed Saint of God, what and how much more grievous pangs, what ſorrowful torments, what boiling heats of the fire of hell in his ſpirit inwardly he felt and ſuſtained, no ſpeech outwardly is able to expreſs. Being young, I remember I was once or twice with him, who partly by his talk I perceived, and partly by mine own eyes ſaw to be ſo worn and conſumed by the ſpace of five years, that neither almoſt any brooking of meat, quietneſs of ſleep, pleaſure of life, yea and almoſt no kind of ſenſes was left in him. And doubtleſs I have greatly wondred oftentimes at the marvellous works and operation of Chriſt ſhewed upon him, who unleſs he had relieved betimes his poor wretched ſervant ſo far worn, with ſome opportune conſolation now and then betwixt, it could not poſſible be, that he ſhould have ſuſtained ſo intolerable pains and torments. And yet the occaſion thereof was not of ſo great moment and weight. But this we ſee common among holy and bleſſed men, how the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more ſuſpicion and miſtruſt they have of themſelves; whereby it cometh to paſs, that often they are ſo terrified and perplexed with ſmall matters, as though they were huge Mountains; whereas contrary, others there be whom moſt heinous and very ſore crimes indeed do nothing touch or ſtir at all.

A heavy croſs of inward torments laid upon John Glover.

The better conſcience the tooner diſquieted.

The occaſion of this was, That he being firſt called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the Goſpel, and having received a wondrous ſweet feeling of Chriſts heavenly Kingdom, his mind, after that, falling a little to ſome cogitation of his former affairs belonging to his vocation, began by and by to miſdoubt himſelf upon the occaſion of theſe words written in the ſeventh to the *Hebrews*; *For it cannot be that they which were once illumined, and have taſted the heavenly gift, &c.* Upon the conſideration of which words, he fully perſwaded himſelf that he had ſinned verily againſt the Holy Ghoſt: even ſo much, that if he had been in the deepeſt pit of Hell, he could almoſt have deſpaired no more of his ſalvation. Here readily every good man may judge of himſelf, what terrors, boilings, and convulſions turmoiled in the mean time in his woful breaſt: although it be hard for any man to judge the grievouſneſs thereof, unleſs he which hath experience of the like.

The firſt occaſion of *John Glover's* inward afflictions.

Hebr. 7.

In comparing now the torments of all Martyrs with his pains, I pray you what pains, puniſhment, and flames would not he willingly have ſuffered, to have had ſome refocillation and time of refreſhing? Who in ſuch intolerable griefs of mind, although he neither had nor could have any joy of his meat, yet was he compelled to eat againſt his appetite, to the end to defer the time of his damnation, ſo long as he might, thinking with himſelf no leſs, but that he muſt needs be thrown into Hell, the breath being once out of the body. Albeit Chriſt, he thought, did pity his caſe, and was ſorry for him; yet he could not (as he imagined) help, becauſe of the verity of the word, which ſaid, *It cannot be, &c.*

No grief like to the grief of conſcience.

Hebr. 7.

And this I rehearſe of him, not ſo much to open his wounds and ſorrows, as for that by his example all we with him may glorifie the Sonof God, who ſuffereth none to be tempted above his ſtrength, but ſo tempereth and ſeaſoneth the aſperity of evils, that what ſeemeth to us intolerable, not only he doth allienate the ſame, that we may bear it, but alſo turneth it to our further commodity then we can think. Which well appeared in this good Servant of God, in no man more. Who albeit (as we have ſaid) he ſuffered many years ſo ſharp temptations and ſtrong buffetings of Satan; yet the Lord, who graciouſly preſerved him all the while, not only at laſt did rid him out of all diſcomfort, but alſo framed him thereby to ſuch mortification of life, as the like lightly hath not been ſeen, in ſuch ſort as he being like one placed

Chriſt a merciful helper in temptations and hard diſtreſſes.

John Glover by the grace of Chriſt reſtored *gata* to perfect tranquillity.

in Heaven already, and dead in this World, both in word and meditation led a life altogether Celeſtial, abhorring in his mind all prophane doings. Neither was his talk any thing diſcrepant from the fruits of his life, throwing out never any idle, vile or vain language. The moſt part of his Lands he diſtributed to the uſe of his Brethren, and committed the reſt to the guiding of his Servants and Officers, whereby the more quietly he might give himſelf to his godly ſtudy, as to a continual Sabbath reſt. This was about the latter end of King *Henry*'s reign, and continued a great part of the time of King *Edward* the ſixth.

After this, in the perſecuting days of Queen *Mary*, as ſoon as the Biſhop of *Coventry* heard the fame of this *John* aforeſaid, being ſo ardent and zealous in the Goſpel of Chriſt, eſtſoons he wrote his Letter to the Maior and Officers of *Coventry* to apprehend him as ſoon as might be. But it chanced otherwiſe by Gods holy Providence, diſpoſing all things after his own ſecret pleaſure, who ſeeng his old and truſty Servant ſo many years with ſo extream and many torments broken and dried up, would in no wiſe heap too many ſorrows upon one poor ſilly wretch: neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been already baked and ſcorched with the ſharp fires of inward affliction, and had ſuſteined ſo many burning darts and conflicts of Satan ſo many years: God therefore of his Divine Providence, thinking it too much that one man ſhould be ſo much overcharged with ſo many plagues and torments, did graciouſly provide, that *Robert* his Brother being both ſtronger of body, and alſo better furniſhed with helps of learning to anſwer the Adverſaries (being a Maſter of Art in *Cambridge*) ſhould ſuſtain that conflict, and even ſo it came to paſs, as ye ſhall hear.

The Maior of *Coventry* ſendeth a privy watch word to *John Glover*.

For as ſoon as the Maior of *Coventry* had received the Biſhops Letters for the apprehending of Mr. *John Glover*, he ſent forthwith a privy watch word to the ſaid *John* to convey away himſelf: Who with his Brother *William* was not ſo ſoon departed out of his houſe, but that yet in the ſight of the Sheriff and other, the ſearchers came and ruſhed in to take him, according to the Biſhops commandment.

Mr. Rob. Glover apprehended lying ſick in his Chamber.

But when the ſaid *John* could in no place be found, one of the Officers going into an upper Chamber, found there *Robert* the other Brother lying on his bed, and ſick of a long Diſeaſe; who was by him incontinent brought before the Sheriff. Which Sheriff notwithſtanding favouring *Robert* and his cauſe, would indeed fain have diſmiſſed him, and wrought what means he could, ſaying, That he was not the man for whom they were ſent: Yet nevertheleſs being feared with the ſtout words of the Officer, contending with him to have him ſtayed till the Biſhops coming, he was conſtrained to carry him away againſt his will, and ſo laid him faſt while the Biſhop came. And thus much by the way of preamble firſt concerning the worthy remembrance of Mr. *John Glover*.

Now to enter the matter which principally we have in hand, that is, to conſider the Story and Martyrdom of Mr. *Robert Glover*, forſomuch as the whole Narration of the ſame by his own record and teſtimony in writing was ſent unto his Wife, concerning the manner of his ordering and handling: it ſhall therefore ſeem beſt for the more credit of the matter, to exhibit the ſaid his own Letter, the words and contents whereof here enſue as followeth.

A Letter of Mr. Robert Glover *to his wife, containing the whole diſcourſe and deſcription of his troubles ſuſtained in priſon, and of his ſundry conflicts between the Biſhop and him about Religion.*

To my entirely beloved wife, Mary Glover.

A Letter of Mr R. Glover to his wife, certifying his troubles ſince his firſt apprehenſion.

THe Peace of Conſcience which paſſeth all underſtanding, the ſweet conſolation, comfort, ſtrength, and boldneſs of the Holy Ghoſt be continually increaſed in our heart, through a fervent, earneſt, and ſtedfaſt faith in our moſt dear and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

I thank you heartily (moſt loving Wife) for your Letters ſent unto me in my Impriſonment. I read them with tears more than once or twice, with tears (I ſay) for joy and gladneſs, that God had wrought in you ſo merciful a work; firſt, an unfeigned repentance; ſecondly, an humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a willing ſubmiſſion and obedience to the will of God in all things. Which when I read in your Letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart; I could not but be thankful to God, rejoycing with tears for you, and theſe his great mercies poured upon you. Anno 1555.

Theſe your Letters, and the hearing of your moſt godly proceedings and conſtant doings from time to time, much relieved and comforted me at all times, and ſhall be a goodly teſtimony with you at the great day, againſt many worldly and dainty Dames, which ſet more by their own pleaſure and pelf in this world, than by Gods glory, little regarding (as it appeareth) the everlaſting health of their own ſouls or others. My prayer ſhall be whilſt I am in this world, that God, which of his great mercy hath begun his good work in you, will finiſh it to the glory of his Name, and by the mighty power and inſpiration of his holy Spirit ſo ſtrengthen, ſtabliſh, and confirm you in all his ways to the end, that we may together ſhew forth his Praiſes in the world to come, to our unſpeakable conſolation everlaſtingly, Amen.

The worldly wantonneſs commonly of Engliſh women noted.

So long as God ſhall lend you continuance in this miſerable world, above all things give your ſelf continually to prayer, lifting up, as S. *Paul* ſaith, clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting, forgiving (as he ſaith alſo) if you have any thing againſt any man, as Chriſt forgiveth us. And that we may be the better willing to forgive, it is good often to call to remembrance the multitude and greatneſs of our ſins, which Chriſt daily and hourly pardoneth and forgiveth us, and then we ſhall, as S. *Peter* affirmeth, be ready to cover and hide the offences of our Brethren, be they never ſo many. And becauſe Gods Word teacheth us, not only the true manner of praying, but alſo what we ought to do or not to do in the whole diſcourſe and practice of this life, what pleaſeth or diſpleaſeth God, and that, as Chriſt ſaith, *The Word of God that he hath ſpoken ſhall judge in the laſt day:* Let your prayer be to this end ſpecially, That God of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart the true ſenſe, knowledge, and underſtanding of his moſt holy Word, and give you grace in your living, to expreſs the fruits thereof.

1 Tim. 2. Ghoſtly Leſſons and Precepts of Chriſtian life.

1 Pet. 4.

John 1.

And foraſmuch as it is, as the Holy Ghoſt calleth it, the word of affliction, that is, it is ſeldom without hatred, perſecution, peril, danger of loſs of life and goods, and whatſoever ſeemeth pleaſant in this world, as experience teacheth you in this time: call upon God continually for his aſſiſtance always, as Chriſt teacheth, caſting your accounts what it is like to coſt you, endeavouring your ſelf, through the help of the Holy Ghoſt by continuance of prayer, to lay your foundation ſo ſure, that no ſtorm or tempeſt ſhall be able to overthrow or caſt it down; remembring always (as Chriſt ſaith) *Lots* wife; that is, to beware of looking back to that thing that diſpleaſeth God. And becauſe nothing diſpleaſeth God ſo much as Idolatry, that is falſe worſhipping of God, otherwiſe than his Word commandeth: Look not back (I ſay) nor turn not your face to their idolatrous and blaſphemous maſſing, manifeſtly againſt the word, practice, and example of Chriſt; as it is moſt manifeſt to all that have any taſte of the true underſtanding of Gods Word, that there remaineth nothing in the Church of *England* at this preſent, profitable or edifying to the Church and Congregation of the Lord, all things being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the expreſs commandment of the Holy Ghoſt.

1 Cor. 1.

Luke 17. Example of *Lots* wife.

Nothing uſed in Queen *Maries* time profitable to edification.

They object that they be the Church, and therefore they muſt be believed. My anſwer was, The Church of God knoweth and reknowledgeth no other Head but Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, whom ye have refuſed, and choſen the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, Enemy to Chriſt, the Devils Deputy and Lieutenant, the Pope.

The firſt note proving the Church of the Papiſts not to be the true Church.

Chriſts Church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by his word, as he ſaith, *My ſheep hear my voice. If you abide in me, and my word in you, you be my Diſciples.* Their

2. Note. John 10.

Church

Anno 1555.

Church repelleth Gods Word, and forceth all men to follow their Traditions.

3 Note. Acts 7.

Christs Church dare not add or diminish, alter or change his blessed Testament; but they be not afraid to take away all that Christ instituted, and go a whoring (as the Scripture saith) with their own Inventions, *Et lætari super operibus manuum suarum*; *i.* To glory and rejoyce in the works of their own hands.

4 Note to know the Church.

The Church of Christ is, hath been, and shall be in all Ages under the Cross, persecuted, molested, and afflicted, the World ever hating them, because they be not of the world. But these persecute, murther, slay, and kill such as profess the true Doctrine of Christ, be they in learning, living, conversation, and other vertues never so excellent.

5 Note. John 5.

Christ and his Church referred the trial of their Doctrine to the Word of God, and gave the people leave to judge thereof by the same Word, *Search the Scriptures:* But this Church taketh away the Word from the people, and suffereth neither learned nor unlearned to examine or prove their Doctrine by the Word of God.

6 Note to know the Church.

The true Church of God laboureth by all means to resist and withstand the Lusts, Desires, and Motions of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil: These for the most part give themselves to all Voluptuousness, and secretly commit such things, which (as S. *Paul* saith) it is shame to speak of.

Ephes. 5. Compare the proceedings and doings of the Popes Church, with the true Members of Christs Church, and you shall see what they are.

By these, and such like manifest probations, they do declare themselves to be none of the Church of Christ, but rather of the Synagogue of Satan. It shall be good for you oftentimes to confer and compare their proceedings and doings with the practise of those whom the Word of God doth teach to have been true Members of the Church of God, and it shall work in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldness to withstand with suffering their doings. I likened them therefore to *Nemrod*, whom the Scripture calleth a mighty Hunter, or a stout Champion, telling them that that which they could not have by the Word, they would have by the Sword, and be the Church whether men will or no, and called them with good Conscience, as Christ called their Forefathers, the Children of the Devil; and as their Father the Devil is a liar and a murtherer, so their Kingdom and Church (as they call it) standeth by lying and murthering.

The Church of the valiant Papists compared to *Nemrod*, and why? The Popes Church standeth all in lying and murdering.

Have no fellowship with them therefore, my dear wife, nor with their Doctrine and Traditions, lest you be partaker of their sins, for whom is reserved a heavy damnation, without speedy repentance. Beware of such as shall advertise you something to bear with the world as they do, for a season. There is no dallying with Gods matters, *It is a fearful thing* (as S. *Paul* saith) *to fall into the hands of God.* Remember the Prophet *Helias*, *Why halt ye on both sides?* Remember what Christ saith, *He that putteth his hands to the Plough, and looketh back, is not worthy of me.* And seeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good Souldier in the foreward, play not the coward, neither draw back to the rereward. S. *John* numbreth among them that shall dwell in the fiery Lake, such as be fearful in Gods cause. Set before your eyes always the examples of such as have behaved themselves boldly in Gods cause, as *Stephen*, *Peter*, *Paul*, *Daniel*, the three Children, the Widows sons, and in your days, *Anne Askew*, *Laurence Saunders*, *John Bradford*, with many other faithful Witnesses of Christ. *Be afraid in nothing* (saith S. *Paul*) *of the Adversaries of Christs Doctrine, the which is to them the sign of perdition, but to you of everlasting salvation.* Christ commandeth the same, saying, *Fear them not.* Let us not follow the example of him which asked time first to take leave of his friends. If we so do, we shall find few of them that will encourage us to go forward in our business, please it God never so much. We read not that *James* and *John*, *Andrew* and *Simon*, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers and friends pleasure. But the Scripture saith, *They forsook all, and by and by followed Christ.* Christ likened the Kingdom of God to a precious Pearl, the which whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it. Yea, whosoever hath but a little taste of glimmering how precious a Treasure the Kingdom of Heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods for the obtaining of it. But the most part now adays be like to *Esops* Cock, which when he had found a precious stone, wished rather to have found a barley corn. So ignorant be they how precious a Jewel the Word of God is, that they choose rather the things of this world, which being compared to it, be less in value than a barley corn.

3 Reg. 18. Luke 9.

The Popes Church under pain of damnation is to be avoided. Apoc.

Worldly Christians resembled to *Esops* Cock.

Phil. 1. He exhorteth to be bold in Christ.

Matth. 13.

If I would have given place to worldly reasons, these might have moved me: First, the foregoing of you and my Children; the consideration of the state of my Children, being yet tender of Age, and young, apt and inclinable to vertue and learning, and so having the more need of my assistance, being not altogether destitute of gifts to help them withal; possessions above the common sort of men; because I was never called to be a Preacher or Minister; and (because of my sickness) fear of death in imprisonment before I should come to my answer, and so my death to be unprofitable.

Worldly allurements and motions of drawing back by Gods grace withstanded

But these and such like, I thank my heavenly Father (which of his infinite mercy inspired me with his holy Ghost, for his Sons sake my only Saviour and Redeemer) prevailed not in me: but when I had by the wonderful permission of God, fallen into their hands, at the first sight of the Sheriff, Nature a little abashed; yet e're ever I came to the Prison, by the working of GOD, and through his goodness, fear departed. I said to the Sheriff at his coming unto me, What matter have you Master Sheriff to charge me withal? He answered, You shall know when you come before the Masters; and so taking me with him, I looked to have been brought before the Masters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me withal: but contrary to my expectation, I was committed forthwith to the Goal, not being called to my Answer, little justice being shewed therein. But the less justice a man findeth at their hands, the more consolation in Conscience shall he find from God; for whosoever is of the world, the world will love him.

Experience of the Lords assistance in confirming his servants.

Mr. *Glover* committed to the Goal before any cause was declared.

Gods mighty consolation upon R. *Glover* in prison.

After I came into Prison, and had reposed my self there a while, I wept for joy and gladness, my belly full, musing much of the great mercies of God; and (as it were) saying to my self after this sort; O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldest bestow this thy great mercy, to be numbred among the Saints that suffer for the Gospel sake? And so beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, unableness, sinful misery, and unworthiness, and on the other side the greatness of Gods mercy, to be called to so high promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladness, concluding thus with my self in my heart; O Lord, thou shewest power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness; who shall let thee to choose where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealously loved the confession of thy Word, so ever thought I my self to be most unworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the same.

Mr. *Glover* weepeth for joy in prison.

Not long after came unto me Mr. *W. Brasbridge*, Mr. *C. Phineas*, Mr. *N. Hopkins*, travelling with me to be dismissed upon bonds. To whom my answer was (to my remembrance) after this sort: Forasmuch as the Masters have imprisoned me, having nothing to burthen me withal, if I should enter into bonds, I should in so doing accuse my self; and seeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me pass without bonds, as with bonds.

Mr. *Glover* counselled to put in bonds. R. *Glover* refuseth to enter into bonds.

Secondarily, If I shall enter bonds, covenant, and promise to appear, I shall do nothing but excuse, colour and cloak their wickedness, and indanger my self nevertheless, being bound by my promise to appear. They alledged many worldly perswasions to me to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture, if I brake promise: I said unto them, I had cast up my penny-worth by Gods help. They undertook also to make the bond easie.

Worldly perswasions not received

And when they were somewhat importunate, I said to Mr. *Hopkins*, That liberty of Conscience was a precious thing, and took, as it were, a pause, lifting up my heart to God earnestly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might please him. And so when they had let their suit fall, my heart (me thought) was wonderfully comforted. Mr. *Dudley* communed with me in like manner; whom I answered in effect as I did before.

Mr. *Glover* again visited with Gods holy comfort.

Afterward debating the matter with my self, these considerations came into my head; I have from time to

time with good Conſcience (God I take to record) moved all ſuch as I had conference withal to be no dalliers in Gods matters, but to ſhew themſelves, after ſo great a light and knowledge, hearty, earneſt, conſtant, and ſtable in ſo manifeſt a Truth, and not to give place one jot contrary to the ſame. Now thought I, if I ſhall withdraw my ſelf, and make any ſhifts to pull my own neck out of the collar, I ſhall give great offence to my weak Brethren in Chriſt, and advantage to the Enemies to ſlander Gods Word. It will be ſaid, He hath been a great boldner of others to be earneſt and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himſelf will give no ſuch example.

Mr. *Glover* reaſoning with himſelf.

Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and Man, being (as it were) by the great goodneſs of God marvelouſly called and appointed hereunto, to ſet aſide all fear, perils and dangers, all worldly reſpects and conſiderations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the meaſure of my ſmall gift within the compaſs of my vocation and calling, from the bottom of my heart unfeignedly moved, exhorted and perſwaded all that profeſs Gods Word, manfully to perſiſt in the defence of the ſame, not with ſword and violence, but with ſuffering and loſs of life, rather than to defile themſelves again with the whoriſh abomination of the Romiſh Antichriſt; ſo the hour being come, with my fact and example to ratifie, confirm, and proteſt the ſame to the hearts of all true Believers: and to this end, by the mighty aſſiſtance of Gods holy Spirit, I reſolved my ſelf, with much peace of Conſcience, willingly to ſuſtain whatſoever the Romiſh Antichriſt ſhould do againſt me, and the rather becauſe I underſtood the Biſhops coming to be at hand, and conſidered that poor mens Conſciences ſhould be then ſharply aſſaulted. So remained I priſoner in *Coventry* by the ſpace of ten or eleven days, being never called to my anſwer of the Maſters, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, they having neither Statute, Law, Proclamation, Letter, Warrant, nor commandment for my apprehenſion. They would have laid all the matter upon the Sumner: who being examined, denied it before their faces (as one of my friends told me) ſaying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extream doings againſt me to their charge at the great day.

Mr. *Glover* taketh courage all fear and danger ſet aſide.

Mr. *Glover* reſolved in himſelf to abide the uttermoſt for the Goſpels cauſe.

The Papiſts proceed with M. *Glover* againſt the Laws of the Realm. Commandment given to the Sumner againſt *John Glover*, and not againſt R. *Glover*.

This Biſhops name was D. *Banes*.

Mr. *Warren* of *Coventry* perſecutor of R. *Glover*.

A Leſſon for all Perſecutors.

The ſecond day after the Biſhops coming to *Coventry*, Mr. *Warren* came to the *Guildhall*, and willed the chief Jaylor to carry me to the Biſhop. I laid to Mr. *Warrens* charge the cruel ſeeking of my death; and when he would have excuſed himſelf, I told him he could not wipe his hands ſo; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

And ſo he departed from me, ſaying, I needed not to fear if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes if it be his will, and give him grace to believe this, which he and all of his inclination ſhall find (I fear) too true for their parts; that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciouſly, and ſpitefully perſecute, moleſt, and afflict the Members of Chriſt for their Conſcience ſake, and for the true teſtimony of Chriſts Word, and cauſe them moſt unjuſtly to be ſlain and murthered, without ſpeedy repentance, ſhall dwell with the Devil and his Angels in the fierce lake everlaſtingly; where they ſhall wiſh and deſire, cry and call, but in vain (as their right Companion *Epulo* did) to be refreſhed of them, whom in this world they contemned, deſpiſed, diſdained, as Slaves, Miſers, and Wretches.

Luke 16.

When I came before the Biſhop in one *Denton*'s houſe, he began with this Proteſtation, that he was my Biſhop for lack of a better, and willed me to ſubmit my ſelf.

R. *Glover* brought before *Banes* Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*. Mr. R. *Glover* M. of Art in *Cambridge*.

I ſaid to him, I am not come to accuſe my ſelf; what have you to lay to my charge?

He asked me whether I was learned? I anſwered, ſmally learned.

Maſter Chancellor ſtanding by, ſaid, I was a Maſter of Art.

R. *Glover* charged for not coming to the Church.

Then my Lord laid to my charge my not coming to the Church.

Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, foraſmuch as I had not been for a long ſeaſon in his Dioceſs, neither was any of the Citizens able to prove any ſuch matter againſt me. Notwithſtanding I anſwered him through Gods merciful help, that I neither had nor would come at their Church as long as their Maſs was uſed there, to ſave (if I had them) five hundred lives. I willed him to ſhew me one jot or tittle in the Scriptures for the proof and defence of the Maſs.

Anno 15[illegible]

He anſwered, he came to teach, and not to be taught.

I was content (I told him) to learn of him, ſo far as he was able to teach me by the Word of God.

Biſh. Who ſhall judge the Word?

Glover. Chriſt was content that the people ſhould judge his Doctrine by ſearching the Scriptures, and ſo was *Paul*; me thinketh ye ſhould claim no further priviledge nor preheminence than they had.

The Biſhop refuſeth to be judged by the Primitive Church.

Thus ſpake *Robert Glover*, offering him further, that he was content the Primitive Church next to the Apoſtles time, ſhould judge betwixt the Biſhop and him. But he refuſed alſo to be judged by that. Then he ſaid he was his Biſhop, and therefore he muſt believe him.

Glover. If you ſay black is white, my Lord (quoth *Glover*) muſt I alſo ſay as you ſay, and believe the ſame becauſe you ſay it is ſo? Maſter Chancellor here noted me to be arrogant, becauſe I would not give place to my Biſhop.

Glover. If you will be believed becauſe you be a Biſhop, why find you fault with the people that believed Mr. *Latimer*, Mr. *Ridley*, Mr. *Hooper*, and the reſidue of them that were Biſhops?

Biſh. Becauſe they were Hereticks.

Where was the Church before King *Edwards* time?

Glover. And may not you err (quoth I) as well as they? I looked for learning at my Lords hand to perſwade me, and he oppreſſed me only with his Authority. He ſaid I diſſented from the Church, and asked me where my Church was before King *Edwards* time?

The Biſhop could not ſhew where Gods Church was in *Iſrael* nor where any Prophet was in all *Judah* in *Helias* time.

I deſired him to ſhew me where their Church was in *Helias*'s time, and what outward ſhew it had in Chriſts time.

Biſh. Helias's complaint was only of the Ten Tribes that fell from *Davids* houſe, whom he called Hereticks.

Glover. You be not able to ſhew any Prophets that the other two Tribes had at that ſame time.

My Lord making no anſwer to that, Mr. *Rogers*, one of the Maſters of the City, cometh in the mean ſeaſon, taking upon him as though he would anſwer to the Text. But my Lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to ſome Tower, if they had any beſides the Common Goal, ſaying, He would at the end of his Viſitation of his Dioceſs, weed out ſuch Wolves. Mr. *Rogers* willed him to content himſelf for that night, till they had taken further order for me. Even where it pleaſeth you, ſaid I to my Lord, I am content; and ſo I was returned at that time to the Common Goal again from whence I came.

R. *Glover* ſomewhat diſcouraged at the firſt hearing that he ſhould be removed from *Coventry* to *Litchfield*.

On the *Friday* morning, being the next day after, I had warning by one of the Priſoners to prepare my ſelf to ride with my Fellow-Priſoners the ſame day to *Litchfield*, there to be beſtowed at the Biſhops pleaſure. Which tydings at the firſt ſomething diſcouraged me, fearing leſt I ſhould by the means of my great ſickneſs, through extream handling (which I looked for) have dyed in the Priſon before I ſhould come to my anſwer: But I rebuked immediately with Gods Word this infidelity in my ſelf, and by the ſame corrected mine own miſtruſt and fantaſie after this manner. What make I of God? Is not his Power as great in *Litchfield* as in *Coventry*? Doth not his Promiſe extend as well to *Litchfield* as to *Coventry*? Was he not with *Habakkuk*, *Daniel*, *Miſaach*, and *Jeremy*, in their moſt dangerous impriſonments? He knoweth what things we have need of. He hath numbred all the hairs of our head. The Sparrow falleth not on the ground, without our heavenly Fathers will; much more will he care for us if we be not faithleſs, whom he hath made worthy to be witneſſes of his Truth. So long as we put our truſt in him, we ſhall never be deſtitute of his help, neither in priſon, neither in ſickneſs, nor in health, neither in life, nor in death, neither before Kings, nor before Biſhops, nor the Devil himſelf, much

R. *Glover* comforted again with the meditation of the Scripture, and Gods promiſe.

leſs

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leſs one of his Miniſters ſhall be able to prevail againſt us. With ſuch like Meditations I waxed chearful, of good conſolation and comfort: ſo that hearing one ſay that they could not provide horſes enow for us, I ſaid, let them carry us in a Dung-cart for lack of horſes, if they liſt; I am well content for my part.

Mr. Glover waxeth chearful again and bold.

Notwithſtanding, at the requeſt of my Friends, I wrote to Maſter Maior, and his Brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make anſwer here to ſuch things as ſhould be laid to my charge: The Contents of which Letter were theſe.

R. Glover requireth to make his anſwer at Coventry.

A Letter of Mr. Robert Glover *to the Maior of* Coventry *and his Brethren.*

The conteants of Mr. Glovers Letter ſent to the Maior of Coventry and his brethren

I Beſeech you to underſtand, that it is not unknown, as well to the Keeper of the Goal, as to the Inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a man ſubject to very great ſickneſs, and have been by the ſpace of ſeven years and more, ſo that it is not like that I ſhall be removed without peril and danger of life. And becauſe I was here committed to ward by your appointment, I would gladly here anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be laid to my charge. If I may obtain this of you, I have cauſe thankfully to acknowledge your indifference; if otherwiſe, I pray God it be not laid to your charge at the great day, where every man ſhall have juſt Judgment without reſpect of perſon.

Your priſoner in the Lord, always mindful of you in my poor prayer,
Robert Glover.

But I received no anſwers of my Letters to nor fro. I conjectured, that when the Biſhop and the Chancellor had ſeen them, it moved them the rather to have me away, being more deſirous (as I ſuppoſe) to have had me diſpatched privily in Priſon, then to come openly to my anſwer. The manner of intreating and uſing me at my firſt coming to Priſon, did partly declare the ſame.

R. Glover and his fellow priſoners removed from Coventry to Litchfield in the face of the open market.

Certain Sergeants and Conſtables of *Coventry*, being appointed to have the conveying of us to *Litchfield*, to be delivered there to one *Jephcot* the Chancellors man, ſent from *Coventry* with us for the ſame purpoſe, we were commanded to horſback about eleven or twelve of the clock on *Friday*, being Market-day, that we might be the more gazed and wondred at: and to kindle the peoples hearts more againſt us, they did proclaim a Letter concerning a Proclamation made for calling in, and diſanulling of all ſuch Books as truly expound and interpret the Scriptures. We came to *Litchfield* about four of the clock at night, and had leave to repoſe our ſelves for our Supper time. We Inned at the ſign of the *Swan*, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

Jephcot the Chancellors ſervant.

After Supper *Jephcot* repaired to us, whom we intreated that upon Sureties we might reſt our ſelves that night, being unprovided of any thing to help our ſelves withal in the Priſon at that preſent. He was content at the firſt (as he ſeemed) but afterwards, whether it was by perſwaſion, or rather (as it ſeemed to me) he did but of policy put off the time till he had gathered a multitude to ſtare and wonder upon us, and alſo that we ſhould provide nothing to eaſe our ſelves withal; he revoked his promiſe, and ſo by conſent we were had to the Priſon, the Multitude wondring at us. I willed *Jephcot* before to execute his Office with mercy, telling him that they ſhould have judgment without mercy, that ſhewed no mercy. And this mercy I found at his hand.

Papiſts keep no promiſe.

He put me into a Priſon that ſame night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next to the Dungeon, narrow of rooms, ſtrong of building, and very cold, with ſmall light, and there allowed he me a bundle of ſtraw, in ſtead of my bed, without chair, form, or any other thing elſe to eaſe my ſelf withal. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, ſo, that if it had been his pleaſure, I could have been contented to have ended my life: But *Jephcot* and one *Perſey* the Biſhops man, which afterwards was my continual Keeper for the moſt part, came to me in the morning, to whom I ſaid, This is a great extremity, God ſend us patience, and no more.

Jephcot and Perſey cruel and ſtraight againſt Mr. Glover.

Then they were content that I ſhould have a bed of mine own procurement. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithſtanding my great ſickneſs; nor yet paper, pen nor ink, or books, ſaving my New Teſtament in Latin, and a Prayer-Book which I privily ſtole in.

Talk between Mr. Glover and the Chancellor in priſon.

Within two days after, Maſter Chancellor, and one *Temſey* a Prebendary there, came to me into my Priſon. Maſter Chancellor exhorted me to conform my ſelf to my Lord and to the Church. He wiſhed to my Soul no more hurt than to his own, belike becauſe I had laid to his charge at *Coventry* the ſeeking of my blood unjuſtly and wrongfully.

Now thus the ſecond time I anſwered Mr. Chancellor to his Exhortation, That I refuſed not to be ruled by that Church that was content to be ordered and governed by the Word of God.

Chan. He asked me how I knew the Word of God, but by the Church.

Glover. The Church ſheweth which is the Word of God, therefore the Church is above the Word of God. This is no good reaſon in learning, ſaid I to Maſter Chancellor. For it is like unto this; *John* ſhewed the people who was Chriſt; *Ergo*, *John* was above Chriſt. Or elſe, I have a man that knoweth not the King, and I tell him who was the King: am I therefore above the King?

The Church giveth witneſs which be the true books and writings of the Apoſtles: as alſo the old Synagogue of the Jews doth witneſs which be the true books of the holy Prophets: yet it followeth not thereby, that the Jews have authority over the Scripture.

Mr. Chancellor ſaid, he came not to reaſon with me, and ſo departed. So remained I without any further conference of any man by the ſpace of eight days, and till the Biſhops coming: In the which time I gave my ſelf continually to prayer, and meditation of the merciful promiſes of God, made unto all, without exception of perſon, that call upon the Name of his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt. I found in my ſelf daily amendment of health of body, increaſe of peace in conſcience, and many conſolations from God, by the help of his holy Spirit, and ſometimes as it were a taſte and glimmering of the life to come; all for his only Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake: to him be all praiſe for ever and ever.

The comforts and ſweet feeling of Mr. Glover in priſon.

The Enemy ceaſed not many times ſundry ways to aſſault me, often objecting to my Conſcience mine own unworthineſs, through the greatneſs of the benefit to be counted among the number of them that ſhould ſuffer for Chriſt, for his Goſpels ſake. Againſt him I replyed with the Word of God on this ſort, What were all thoſe whom God had choſen from the beginning, to be his witneſſes, and to carry his name before the world? Were they not men, as *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſaid, *Similiter obnoxii peccato*, as well ſubject to wickedneſs, ſin, and imperfections, as other men be? Even ſuch were *Noah*, *Abraham*, *David*, and all the reſt. *Quis prior dedit illi*, as *Paul* ſaith, *Who gave firſt unto him?* And alſo ſpeaking to every man, *What haſt thou that thou receiveſt not?* Likewiſe *John*, *All have received of his fulneſs*; they were no bringers of any goodneſs to God, but altogether receivers. They choſe not God firſt, but he choſe them. They loved not God firſt, but he loved them firſt. Yea, he both loved and choſe them when they were his enemies, full of ſin and corruption, and void of all goodneſs. *Eſt Dominus omnium, dives in omnes & ſuper omnes invocantes eum.* He is and will be ſtill the ſame God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive ſins without reſpect of perſon, to the worlds end, of all them that call upon him. *Prope eſt Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum:* God is near, he is at hand, he is with all, with all (I ſay) and refuſeth none, excepteth none that faithfully in true repentance call upon him, in what hour, what place, or what time ſoever it be. It is no arrogancy nor preſumption in any man, to burthen God (as it were) with his promiſe, and of duty to claim and challenge his aid, help, and aſſiſtance in all our perils, dangers and diſtreſs, calling upon him, not in the confidence of our own godlineſs, but in the truſt of his promiſes made in Chriſt, in whom, and by whom, and for whoſe ſake, whoſoever boldly approacheth to the Mercy ſeat of the Father, is ſure to receive whatſoever is expedient or neceſſary, either for body or ſoul, in more ample wiſe and large manner, than he can well wiſh, or dare deſire. His Word cannot lye, *Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee, and thou ſhalt praiſe me.*

Acts 24.

Rom. 11. Rom. 4.

John 1. Gods election bound to no worthineſs or perſon. Rom. 10.

Pſal. 145.

It is no arrogancy to preſume upon Gods promiſe.

I

Mr. Glover replieth againſt the temptation of the enemy in that he is a ſinner.

I anſwered the enemy alſo on this manner; I am a ſinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witneſs of this truth. What then? Muſt I deny his Word, becauſe I am not worthy to profeſs it? What bring I to paſs in ſo doing, but add ſin to ſin? What is greater ſin than to deny the truth of Chriſts Goſpel? as Chriſt himſelf beareth witneſs, *He that is aſhamed of me or of my words, of him I will be alſo aſhamed before my Father and all his Angels.* I might alſo by like reaſon forbear to do any of Gods Commandments.

When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may ſay to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I ſhall not pray: and ſo in like manner of all the Commandments, I ſhall not forbear ſwearing, ſtealing, murdering, becauſe I am not worthy to do any Commandment of God. Theſe be the deluſions of the Devil, and Satans ſuggeſtions, which muſt be overcome by continuance of Prayer, and with the Word of God applyed, according to the meaſure of every mans gift, againſt all aſſaults of the Devil.

Mr. Glover brought again before the Biſhop.

At the Biſhops firſt coming to *Litchfield*, after mine impriſonment, I was called into a By-chamber next to my Priſon, to my Lord. Before whom, when I came and ſaw none but his Officers, Chaplains and Servants, except it were an old Prieſt, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and aſſiſtance.

Reaſoning between *Mr. Glover* and the Biſhop.

My Lord asked me how I liked my impriſonment, I gave him no anſwer touching that queſtion. He proceeded to perſwade me to be a Member of his Church, which had continued ſo many years. As for our Church (as he called it) it was not known he ſaid, but lately in King *Edwards* time.

* The true Church is always builded upon the Doctrine of the Apoſtles; which though it appear not always alike in outward ſight, the fault is in the time, not in the Church. Times did alter, and with the times the outward face of the Church may alter, ſometimes appearing more, ſometimes leſs, ſometimes very little, ſometimes nothing at all, according as the Perſecution is. Nevertheleſs, the Truth of the Church abideth always one. Neither doth it go by number of men, but by ſoundneſs of truth. Many agreeing in one maketh an unity: but the verity of the word maketh the Church, whether it be in few or in many.

I profeſs my ſelf to be a Member of that Church (ſaid I) that is builded * upon the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Jeſus Chriſt being the Head corner ſtone; and ſo alledged the place of St. *Paul* to the *Epheſians*. And this Church hath been from the beginning (ſaid I) though it bear no glorious ſhew before the world, being ever, for the moſt part, under the Croſs and Affliction, contemned, deſpiſed and perſecuted; My Lord on the other ſide, contended that they were the Church.

Glover. So cried all the Clergy againſt the Prophets of *Jeruſalem*, ſaying, *Templum Domini, Templum Domini, The Church, the Church, &c.*

Biſhop. And always when I was about to ſpeak any thing, my Lord cried, Hold thy peace; I command thee by the vertue of obedience to hold thy peace, calling me a proud arrogant Heretick.

Glover. I willed my Lord to burthen me with ſome ſpecialties, and then to convince me with ſome Scriptures and good Learning.

Then my Lord began to move certain queſtions. I refuſed to anſwer him in corners, requiring that I might make my anſwer openly. He ſaid I ſhould anſwer him there. I ſtood with him upon that point until he ſaid, I ſhould to priſon again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had anſwered him.

Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might ſtand and agree with the Doctrine of his moſt holy Word.

The firſt queſtion.

Biſh. The firſt queſtion was this, How many Sacraments Chriſt inſtituted to be uſed in the Church?

Glover. The Sacrament of Baptiſm, ſaid I, and the Sacrament that he inſtituted at his laſt Supper.

Biſh. No more, ſaid he?

Power by Gods word in the Miniſtry, to remit ſin.

Glover. To all thoſe that declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a ſure hope, truſt and confidence in the death of Chriſt, to ſuch, Miniſters (I grant) have authority to pronounce, by the power of Gods Word, the remiſſion of ſins.

Here interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a Sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, becauſe that matter was of no great weight or importance; although he in ſo doing did me wrong, for I called it not a Sacrament.

He asked me further, whether I allowed their confeſſion?

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I anſwered, No.

2 Queſtion. 3 Queſtion.

Biſh. Then he would know my mind what I thought of the preſence of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament.

Glover. I anſwered, that their Maſs was neither Sacrifice nor Sacrament, becauſe (ſaid I) you have taken away the true inſtitution, which when you reſtore again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Chriſts Body in the Sacrament.

And thus much did this worthy Martyr of God leave behind him by his own hand in writing concerning the manner of his uſing and intreating in Priſon, and alſo of his conflicts had with the Biſhop and his Chancellor. More Examinations he had (no doubt) with the Biſhop in the publick Conſiſtory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which alſo he would have left unto us, if either length of life, or leiſure of time, or haſte of execution had permitted him to finiſh that he intended; but by reaſon of the Writ of his burning being come down from *London*, lack of time neither did ſerve him ſo to do, neither yet could I get the Records of his laſt Examinations, whereſoever they are become.

Only this which I could learn by relation of one *Auſten Bernher*, a Miniſter, and a familiar friend of his, concerning the going to his death; I can report, that the ſaid bleſſed Servant of the Lord, Mr. *Robert Glover*, after he was condemned by the Biſhop, and was now at a point to be delivered out of this world, it ſo happened, that two or three days before, his heart being lumpiſh and deſolate of all ſpiritual conſolation, felt in himſelf no aptneſs nor willingneſs, but rather a heavineſs and dulneſs of ſpirit, full of much diſcomfort to bear the bitter Croſs of Martyrdom ready to be laid upon him.

R. Glover deſtitute for a time of the Lords comfort.

Whereupon fearing in himſelf leſt the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, made his moan to this *Auſten* his friend above remembred, ſignifying unto him how earneſtly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no motion nor ſenſe of any comfort from him.

Unto whom the ſaid *Auſten* anſwering again, willed and deſired him patiently to wait the Lords pleaſure, and howſoever his preſent feeling was, yet ſeeing his cauſe was juſt and true, he exhorted him conſtantly to ſtick to the ſame, and to play the man, nothing miſdoubting but the Lord in his good time would viſit him, and ſatisfie his deſire with plenty of conſolation, whereof (he ſaid) he was right certain and ſure, and therefore deſired him whenſoever any ſuch feeling of Gods heavenly mercies ſhould begin to touch his heart, that then he ſhould ſhew ſome ſignification thereof, whereby he might witneſs with him the ſame, and ſo departed from him.

The Lord for a time may withdraw his comforts, but at length he viſiteth his ſervants.

The next day when the time came of his Martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was now come to the ſight of the Stake, although all the night before praying for ſtrength and courage he could feel none, ſuddenly he was ſo mightily repleniſhed with Gods holy comfort and heavenly joyes, that he cried out, clapping his hands to *Auſten*, and ſaying in theſe words, *Auſten, he is come, he is come, &c.* and that with ſuch joy and alacrity, as one ſeeming rather to be riſen from ſome deadly danger to liberty of life, than as one paſſing out of the world by any pains of death. Such was the change of the marvellous working of the Lords hand upon that good man.

R. Glover receiveth again comfort of the Lord.

Cornelius Bungey, *Fellow Martyr with Maſter* Robert Glover.

Cor. Bungey Martyr.

IN the ſame fire with him was burned alſo *Cornelius Bungey*, a Capper of *Coventry*, and condemned by the ſaid *Radulph* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. As concerning the Articles which were to him objected, the effect thereof was this.

Articles objected to *Cor. Bungey.*

Firſt, It was articulate againſt him, that theſe three years laſt, in the City of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and other places about, he did hold, maintain, argue and teach, that the Prieſt hath no power here to abſolve any ſinner from his ſins.

Secondly, That by Baptiſm ſins be not waſhed away, becauſe he ſaid that the waſhing of the fleſh purgeth the fleſh outwardly, and not the ſoul.

Thirdly,

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Thirdly, That there be in the Church only two Sacraments, that is, Baptiſm and the Lords Supper.

Fourthly, That in the Sacrament of the Popiſh Altar, was not the real Body and Blood of Chriſt, but the Subſtance of Bread and Wine there remaining ſtill, becauſe St. *Paul* calleth it Bread and Wine, *&c.*

Fifthly, That he within the compaſs of the ſaid years and time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the Pope is not the Head of the Viſible Church here on Earth, *&c.*

Sixthly, That he was of the Dioceſs and Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, *&c.*

Seventhly, That the Premiſſes are true, manifeſt and notorious, and that upon the ſame there hath been and is a publick voice and fame, as well in the places above rehearſed, as in other quarters alſo about, *&c.*

His Anſwer.

His Anſwers to the Articles.

Unto the which Articles he anſwered again: To the firſt he granted, and to every part thereof, meaning after the Popiſh manner of Abſolution.

To the ſecond he granted firſt, after revoked the ſame.

To the third alſo he granted, adding withal that in Scripture there be no more contained.

To the fourth, touching the Sacrament, he granted, and to every part thereof.

To the fifth, concerning the Pope likewiſe.

Alſo to the ſixth he granted, and likewiſe to the ſeventh.

Upon theſe Articles and his Anſwers to the ſame, the ſaid *Radulph* the Biſhop read the Sentence, and ſo committed him alſo after condemnation of Mr. *Robert Glover*, to the Secular Power.

Thus this foreſaid *Cornelius*, falſly condemned by the Biſhop before mentioned, ſuffered at the ſame Stake with the Chriſtian Martyr Mr. *Robert Glover* at *Coventry*, about the twentieth day of *September*.

Here followeth the Story of John Glover *and* William Glover, *how they were Excommunicate and caſt out after theie death, and buried in the Fields.*

John Glover and W. Glover, after their death, condemned and caſt out for Hereticks.

NOw that we have diſcourſed the Story of Mr. *Robert Glover*, ſomething alſo would be touched of his other two Brethren, *John* and *William Glover*. Who albeit they were not called to finiſh their courſe by like kind of Martyrdom in the fire, as the other did; yet becauſe for their conſtant profeſſion of Gods Goſpel unto the later end, they were exempted after their death, and caſt out of the ſame Church, as the other was, I thought them not unworthy therefore in the ſtory to be joyned together, which in one cauſe and the ſame profeſſion were not ſundred one from the other.

And firſt concerning Mr. *John Glover* the eldeſt Brother, what inward ſtorms and agonies he ſuſtained by the ghoſtly Enemy, partly ye heard before deſcribed: now what his bodily Enemies wrought againſt him, remaineth to be declared. Whoſe rage and malice, although God reſtrained, that they could little prevail againſt him ſo long as his life endured, yet after his deceaſe, having power upon him, what they did ye ſhall now underſtand.

After the Martyrdom of Mr. *Robert Glover*, although *John Glover*, ſeeing his Brother to be apprehended for him, had ſmall joy of his life for the great ſorrow of his heart, wherewith he was ſore oppreſſed, and would gladly have put himſelf in his Brothers ſtead, if Friends had not otherwiſe perſwaded him, ſhewing that in ſo doing he might intangle himſelf, but ſhould do his Brother no good: He thus in great care and vexation endured, yet notwithſtanding rubbed out as well as he could, till at length about the later end of Queen *Mary*, there was a new ſearch made for the ſaid *John Glover*.

A new ſearch made for J. Glover.

Whereupon the Sheriffs, with their under Officers and Servants, being ſent to ſeek him, came into his Houſe where he and his wife were. It chanced as he was in the Chamber by himſelf, the Officers bruſting into the houſe, and ſearching other rooms, came to the Chamber door where this *John Glover* was, who being within, and holding the latch ſoftly with his hand, perceived and heard the Officers buskling about the door, amongſt whom, one of the ſaid Officers having the ſtring in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the ſame.

The providence of God again in ſaving John Glover.

In the mean time another coming by (whoſe voice he heard and knew) bade them come away, ſaying they had been there before. Whereupon they departing thence, went to ſearch other corners of the houſe, where they found *Agnes Glover* his wife, who being had to *Lichfield*, and there examined before the Biſhop, at length, after much ado, was conſtrained to give place to their tyranny: *John Glover* in the mean time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the Woods where he

Agnes Glover wife to John Glover, apprehended.

did

did live, took an Ague, whereupon not long after he left his life, which the cruel Papists so long had sought for.

Thus by the mighty protection of the Almighty Lord, how *John Glover* was delivered and defended from the hands of the persecuting Enemies during all the time of his life, ye have heard. Now what befell after his death both to him, and *William* his brother, it is not unworthy to be remembred. Who after that he was dead, and buried in the Church-yard without Priest or Clerk, Dr. *Dracot* then Chancellor, six weeks after, sent for the Parson of the Town, and demanded how it chanced that he was there buried. The Parson answered that he was then sick, and knew not of it. Then the Chancellor commanded the Parson to go home, and to cause the body of the said *John Glover* to be taken up, and to be cast over the Wall into the High-way: The Parson again answered, that he had been six weeks in the Earth, and so smelled, that none was able to abide the savour of him. Well, quoth Dr. *Dracot*, then take this Bill, and pronounce him in the Pulpit a damned Soul, and a twelve month after take up his bones (for then the flesh will be consumed) and cast them over the Wall, that Carts and Horses may tread upon them, and then I will come and hallow again that place in the Church-yard where he was buried. Recorded by the Parson of the Town, who told the same to *Hugh Burrows*, dwelling at *Fynden* in *Darbyshire*, and to Mr. *Robert Glovers* wife, by whose credible Information we received the same.

Dr. Dracot not suffering John Glover to be buried in the Churchyard.

John Glover after his death judged of Dr. Dracot to be a damned soul.

Testimony of the story.

Not much unlike usage was practised also by these Catholick Children of the Mother Church, upon the body of *William* the third brother. Whom after it had pleased Almighty God about the same season to call out of this vale of misery, the good disposed people of the Town of *Weme* in *Shropshire*, where he died, brought the body unto the Parish Church, intending there to have it buried. But one *Bernard* being then Curate of the said Church (and yet is, as I hear say, to this day) to stop the burial thereof rode to the Bishop named *Ralph Baine*, to certifie him of the matter, and to have his advice therein. In the mean time the body lying there a whole day, in the night-time one *Richard Morice* a Taylor, would have enterred him. But then came *John Thorlyne* of *Weme* with other more, and would not suffer the body to be buried; expressing to us the contrary examples of good *Toby*: for as he was religious in burying the dead, so this man putteth Religion in not burying the dead: so that after he had lain there two days and one night, cometh the foresaid *Bernard* the Curate with the Bishops Letter, the Contents of which Letter being copied out word for word, here followeth.

The manner of handling the body of Wil. Glover after his death.

Bernard a Popish Curate of Weme.

Jo. Thorlyne against the burying of Wil. Glovers body.

A Copy of the Bishops Letter written to the Parish of Weme.

The Letter of Ralph Baine Bp. of Chester, for the not burying of W. Glovers body.

UNderstanding that one *Glover* an Heretick is dead in the Parish of *Weme*, which *Glover* hath for all the time of my being in this Country been known for a Rebel against our holy Faith and Religion, a contemner of the holy Sacraments and Ceremonies used in the holy Church, and hath separated himself from the holy Communion of all good Christian men, and never required to be reconciled to our Mother holy Church, nor in his last days did call for his Ghostly Father, but died without all rites belonging to a Christian man; I thought it good not only to command the Curate of *Weme*, that he should not be buried in Christian mans burial, but also will and command all the Parish of *Weme*, that no man procure, help, nor speak to have him buried in holy ground: but I do charge and command the Churchwardens of *Weme* in special, and all the Parish of the same, that they assist the said Curate in defending and letting, and procuring that he be not buried either in the Church, or within the Wanybles of the Church-yard: and likewise I charge those that brought the body to the place, to carry it away again, and that at their charge, as they will answer at their peril. At *Eccleseh* this sixth of *September*, *Anno* 1558.

By your Ordinary, Radulph Coventry *and* Litchfield.

By the vertue of this foresaid Letter, so it fell out, that they which brought the Corps thither, were fain at their own Charges to carry it back again. But for so much as the body was corrupted, and smelt so strongly that unneth any man might come near it, they were forced to draw it with Horses into a Broom-field, and there was he buried. *Ann.* 1555.

The dead Corps of W. Glover dragged with horse into the fields.

Witnesses of the godly end of the said *William Glover*, dying in the true Faith and Confession of Christ, Mr. *Nowell* Dean of *Litchfield*, *George Wilestone* and his Wife, *Thomas Constantine*, *Roger Wydhouse*, *John Prynne*, *George Torpelley*, *&c.*

The like example of charitable affection in these Catholick Church-men, is also to be seen and noted in the burying of one Mr. *Edward Burton* Esquire, who in the same Dioces of *Chester*, departing out of this world the very day before Queen *Elizabeth* was crowned, required of his friends, as they would answer for it, that his body should be buried in his Parish Church (which was S. *Chads* in *Shrewsbury*) so that no Massmonger should be present thereat. Which thing being declared to the Curate of that Parish, named Sir *John Marshall*, and the Body being withal brought to the burial, upon the same day when the Queen was crowned, the Curate being therewith offended, said plainly, That he should not be buried in the Church there. Whereunto one of his friends, named *George Torpelley*, answering again, said, That God would judge him in the last day, *&c.* Then the Priest, Judge God (saith he) or Devil, the body shall not come there. And so they buried him in his own Garden, where he is no doubt as near the Kingdom of Heaven, as if he had been buried in the midst of the Church.

Mr. Ed. Burton not suffered to be buried in christian burial, the same day when Queen Elizabeth was crowned.

Moreover, in the said County of *Salop*, I find that one *Oliver Richardine* of the Parish of *Whitchurch*, was burned in *Hartford-west*, Sir *John Ygone* being Sheriff the same time, which seemeth to be about the latter year of King *Henry* the Eighth. Whose name, because it was not mentioned before, I thought here to give some little touch of him, having now in hand to speak of the Persecution within the Dioces of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*.

Oliver Richardine in Hartford-west, Martyr.

The Martyrdom of William Wolsey, *and* Robert Pygot *Painter.*

AFter the suffering of Mr. *Robert Glover*, and *Cornelius Bungey* at *Coventry*, followeth next the condemnation of other two blessed Martyrs, which were judged and condemned at *Ely*, by *John Fuller* the Bishops Chancellor of *Ely*, Dr. *Shaxton* his Suffragane, *Robert Steward*, Dean of *Ely*, *John Christopherson* Dean of *Norwich*, *Anno* 1555. *October* 9. the names of which Martyrs, were *William Wolsey* and *Robert Pygot*, dwelling both in the Town of *Wisbitch*, which *William Wolsey* being a Constable, dwelling and inhabiting in the Town of *Well*, was there brought to death by the means and procurement of one *Richard Everard* Gentleman, a Justice appointed for those days, who extreamly handled the same *William Wolsey*, and bound him to the good abearing, causing him to put in Sureties upon his good behaviour, until the next General Sessions holden within the Isle of *Ely*: and so the said *Wolsey* being dispatched of his Office, and brought in trouble, removed his house and dwelling place, coming to dwell in the Town of *Wisbitch*. Then being called again at the next Sessions, he was still constrained to put in new Sureties, which at the length he refused to do, and so was commanded to the Jayl, at the Size holden at *Ely* in Lent.

W. Wolsey and R. Pygot Martyrs.

R. Everard extream against Wil. Wolsey.

Wil. Wolsey commanded to the Jayl.

In the *Easter* week following, there repaired to confer with him, Dr. *Fuller*, the Chancellor, with *Christopherson*, and one Dr. *Yong*, who laid earnestly to his charge that he was out of the Catholik faith, willing him to meddle no further with the Scriptures, than it did become such a Lay-man as he was, to do. The said *William Wolsey* standing still a great while, suffering them to say their pleasures, at the last answered in this wise; Good Mr. Doctor, what did our Saviour Christ mean, when he spake these words written in the 23. Chap. of St. *Matthews* Gospel, *Wo be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, ye*

Dr. Fuller, Christopherson and Dr. Yong come to confer with Wolsey.

Wolsey putteth a question to the Doctors.

Anno 1555.

ye hypocrites, for ye ſhut up the Kingdom of Heaven before men: ye your ſelves go not in, neither ſuffer ye them that come to enter in.

Yea, ſaith Dr. *Fuller*, you muſt underſtand, that Chriſt ſpake to the Scribes and Phariſees.

Nay, Maſter Doctor (ſaith *Wolſey*) Chriſt ſpake even to you, and your fellows here preſent, and to all other ſuch like as you be.

Away Maſter Doctor (ſaid *Chriſtopherſon*) for you can do no good with this man. Yet ſaith Dr. *Fuller*, I will leave thee a Book to read, I promiſe thee of a learned mans doing, that is to ſay, of Dr. *Watſons* doing (who was then Biſhop of *Lincoln.*)

Dr. *Watſons* Book of Sermons or Homilies.

Wolſey receiving the ſame Book, did diligently read it over, which in many places did manifeſtly appear contrary to the known truth of Gods Word. At the length, a fortnight or three weeks following, the ſaid Dr. *Fuller*, reſorting again to the Priſon-houſe to confer with the ſaid *Wolſey*, did ask him how he did like the ſaid Book (thinking that he had won him by the reading of the ſame:) who anſwered him and ſaid, Sir, I like the Book no otherwiſe than I thought before I ſhould find it. Whereupon the Chancellor taking his Book, departed home.

Dr. *Fuller* again reſorteth to *Will. Wolſey.*

At night when Dr. *Fuller* came to his Chamber to look on it, he did find in many places, contrary to his mind, the Book raſed with a Pen by the ſaid *Wolſey*. The which he ſeeing, and being vexed therewith, ſaid, Oh, this is an obſtinate Heretick, and hath quite marred my Book.

The Chancellor giveth leave to *Wolſey* to depart.

Then the Sizes holden at *Wisbich* drawing nigh, Dr. *Fuller* cometh again to the ſaid *Wolſey*, and ſpeaketh unto him on this manner; Thou doeſt much trouble my Conſcience, wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, ſo that I hear no more complaint of thee, and come to the Church when thou wilt, and if thou be complained upon, ſo far as I may, I promiſe thee I will not hear of it.

Maſter Doctor (quoth *Wolſey*) I was brought hither by a Law, and by a Law I will be delivered.

W. Wolſey laid in the Caſtle of *Wisbich.*

Then being brought to the Seſſions before named, *Wolſey* was laid in the Caſtle at *Wisbitch*, thinking to him and all his friends, that he ſhould have ſuffered there at that preſent time, but it proved nothing ſo.

Rob. Pygot Painter, preſented for not coming to the Church.

Then *Robert Pygot* the Painter, being at liberty, was there preſented by ſome evil diſpoſed perſons (ſworn men as they called them) for not coming to the Church.

Talk between Sir *Clement Higham* Judge, and *Rob. Pygot.*

The ſaid *Pygot* being called in the Seſſions, would not abſent himſelf, but there did plainly appear before Sir *Clement Hygham* being Judge, who ſaid unto him; Ah, are you the holy Father the Painter? How chance ye came not to the Church? Sir, quoth the Painter, I am not out of the Church, I truſt in God.

No Sir, ſaid the Judge? This is no Church, this is a Hall. Yea Sir, ſaid *Pygot*, I know very well it is a Hall: but he that is in the true Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, is never abſent, but preſent in the Church of God.

Rob. Pygot brought to the Jayl where W. *Wolſey* lay. *Wolſey* and *Pygot* returned to *Ely* to priſon.

An Sirra, ſaid the Judge, you are too high learned for me to talk withal: wherefore I will ſend you to them that be better learned than I, ſtreight-ways commanding him to the Jayl where *Wolſey* lay. So the Seſſions being broken up and ended, the ſaid *Wolſey* and *Pygot* were carried again to *Ely* into Priſon, where they both did remain till the day of their death.

In the mean time certain of their Neighbours of *Wisbitch* aforeſaid, being at *Ely*, came to ſee how they did.

Tho. Goodrick Biſh. of *Ely.* The Biſhops Chaplain a Frenchman, confirmeth the Priſoners in the truth.

There came thither alſo a Chaplain of Biſhop *Goodrikes* a Frenchman born, one *Peter Valentius*, who ſaid unto the ſaid *Wolſey* and *Pygot*; My Brethren, according to mine Office I am come to talk with you, for I have been Amner here theſe twenty years and above. Wherefore I muſt deſire you, my Brethren, to take it in good part that I am come to talk with you, I promiſe you, not to pull you from your Faith. But I both require and deſire in the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, that you ſtand to the truth of the Goſpel and Word, and I beſeech the Almighty God, for his Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake, to preſerve both you and me in the ſame unto the end. For I know not my ſelf (my Brethren) how ſoon I ſhall be at the ſame point that you now are. Thus with many other like words he made an end, cauſing all that were there preſent to water their cheeks, contrary to the hope they all had in him, God be praiſed therefore:

Pygot and *Wolſey* called to judgment in the Biſhops Conſiſtory.

Then within ſhort time after, *Pygot* and *Wolſey* were called to Judgment about the ninth day of *October*, before Dr. *Fuller* then Chancellor, with old Dr. *Shaxton*, *Chriſtopherſon*, and others in Commiſſion, who laid earneſtly to their charge for their belief in divers *Articles*, but eſpecially of the Sacrament of the Altar. Whereunto their anſwer was, That the Sacrament of the Altar was an Idol, and that the *natural* body and blood of Chriſt was not preſent really in the ſaid Sacrament, and to this opinion they ſaid they would ſtick, believing perfectly the ſame to be no hereſie that they had affirmed, but the very truth, whereunto they would ſtand. Then ſaid the Doctors, that they were out of the Catholick Faith.

The words of *Nicholas Shaxton* to the Martyrs. *Wolſeys* anſwer to *Shaxton.*

Then Dr. *Shaxton* ſaid unto them; Good Brethren, remember your ſelves, and become new men, for I my ſelf was in this fond Opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man.

Ah, ſaid *Wolſey*, are you become a new man? Wo be to thee thou wicked new man; for God ſhall juſtly judge thee.

Dr. *Fuller* then ſpake, ſaying, This *Wolſey* is an obſtinate Fellow, and one that I could never do good upon. But as for the Painter, he is a man quiet and indifferent (as far as I perceive) and is ſoon reformed, and may very well be delivered for any evil Opinion I find in him.

Mr. Chriſtopherſon writeth what he would have *Pygot* confeſs of the Sacrament.

Then *Chriſtopherſon* called for Pen and Ink, and wrote theſe words following; I *Robert Pygot* do believe, that after the words of Conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Chriſt really and ſubſtantially, the ſelf ſame that was born of the Virgin *Mary*; and reading it to the Painter, he ſaid thus, Doſt thou believe all this according as it is written?

Pygot. No, Sir, ſaid the Painter, that is your Faith, and not mine.

Pygot refuſeth to ſubſcribe to *Chriſtopherſons* Faith.

Chriſtopher. Lo, Maſter Dr. *Fuller*, you would have let this Fellow go, he is as much an Heretick as the other. And ſo immediately Judgment was given upon them to dye. Which done, after the Sentence read, they were ſent again to the Priſon, where they did lye till the day of their death. At which day, one *Peacock* Batchelor of Divinity, being appointed to preach, took his Text out of the firſt Epiſtle of S. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, Ch. 5. of one that had lived inordinately, by abuſing his Fathers wife; likening the ſaid *Pygot* and *Wolſey* to the ſame man, oftentimes ſaying, that ſuch Members muſt be cut off from the Congregation, moſt maliciouſly reporting the ſaid *Wolſey* to be clean out of the Faith, and in many places quite denying the Scripture.

M. Peacock appointed to preach at the burning of *Wolſey* and *Pygot.*

So his Sermon being ended, the forenamed *Pygot* and *Wolſey* being brought to the place of Execution, and ſo bound to the Stake with a Chain, thither cometh one Sir *Richard Collinſon* a Prieſt, at that time deſtitute of any biding place or ſtay of Benefice, who ſaid unto *Wolſey*; Brother *Wolſey*, the Preacher hath openly reported in his Sermon this day, that you are quite out of the Catholick Faith, and deny Baptiſm, and that you do err in the holy Scripture; wherefore I beſeech you for the certifying of my Conſcience, with others here preſent, that you declare in what place of the Scripture you do err or find fault.

W. Wolſey cleareth himſelf to be found in all points of the Scripture belonging to his ſalvation.

Wolſey. I take the eternal and everlaſting God to witneſs, that I do err in no part or point of Gods Book, the holy Bible, but hold and believe in the ſame to be moſt firm and ſound Doctrine in all points moſt worthy for my ſalvation, and for all other Chriſtians to the end of the world. Whatſoever mine Adverſaries report by me, God forgive them therefore. With that cometh one to the fire with a great ſheet knit full of Books to burn, like as they had been New Teſtaments. O, ſaid *Wolſey*, give me one of them, and *Pygot* deſired another, both of them clapping them cloſe to their breaſts, ſaying the 106 *Pſalm*, deſiring all the People to ſay Amen, and ſo received the fire moſt thankfully.

Books burned with *Wolſey* and *Pygot.*

Witneſſes and Informers hereof,

Robert Scortred,	*Robert Kendall,*
Robert Crane,	*Richard Beſt,*
Edward Story,	*&c.*

Con-

Concerning the Story of *William Woolſey*, I received moreover from the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, by a credible perſon, and my faithful friend *William Fulke*, this Relation which I thought in this place not unmeet to be notified unto the Reader in order and form as followeth.

Th natures of *Wolſy* and *Pygot* deſcribed.

There were burned at *Ely* two godly Martyrs, the one called *Wolſey*, the other *Pygot*. In theſe two appeared a divers diſpoſition of ſpirit. *Pygot* was mild, humble and modeſt, promiſing that he would be conformable to his Perſecutors, if they could perſwade him by the Scripture. The other, *Wolſey* was ſtout, ſtrong, and vehement, as one having πληροφορίαν of the Spirit, and deteſted all their doings, as of whom he was ſure to receive nothing but cruelty and tyranny. He was wonderful jealous over his Companion, fearing leſt his gentle nature would have been overcome by the flattering enticements of the world, and therefore the ſame day that they were burned, when they would have talked with him alone, he pulled him away from them almoſt by force. He was ſo deſirous to glorifie God with his ſuffering, that being wonderful ſore tormented in the Priſon with the Toothach, he feared nothing more than that he ſhould depart before the day of Execution (which he called his glad day) were come.

W. Wo*ſey* deſirous of Martyrdom. *Wolſey* calleth the day of his Martyrdom his glad day.

This *Wolſey* being in Priſon at *Ely*, was viſited by *Thomas Hodilo* Beer-Brewer in *Ely*. To him he delivered certain money to be diſtributed (as he appointed) part to his Wife, and part to his Kinsfolks and Friends, and eſpecially ſix ſhillings eight pence to be delivered to one *Richard Denton*, Smith, dwelling at *Wells* in *Cambridgeſhire*, within the Juriſdiction of the Iſle of *Ely*, with his Commendation, that he marvelled that he tarried ſo long behind him, ſeeing that he was the firſt that delivered him the Book of Scripture into his hand, and told him that it was the Truth, deſiring him to make haſte after as faſt as he could.

Tho. Hodilo Beer-Brewer in *Ely* witneſs of the ſtory.

Rich. Denton firſt converter of *Wolſey*.

Money ſent by *Wolſey* to *Denton*.

Wolſey exhorting R. *Denton* to perſiſt in the truth.

Denton afraid of burning.

R. *Denton* burned in his own houſe, which before would not burn for Chriſt, *Anno* 1564. April 18.

This *Thomas Hodilo*, both to avoid the danger of the time, and to have a witneſs of his doings herein, delivered the ſaid ſum of Money to one Mr. *Laurence*, Preacher in *Eſſex* (who then reſorted often to his houſe) to be diſtributed as *Wolſey* had appointed; which thing he performed, riding from place to place. And when this ſix ſhillings eight pence was delivered to *Richard Denton* with the Commendation aforeſaid: His anſwer was this, I confeſs it is true, but alas I cannot burn. This was almoſt one whole year after *Wolſey* was burned. But he that could not burn in the Cauſe of Chriſt, was afterward burned againſt his will, when Chriſt had given peace to his Church. For in the year of our Lord 1564. on *Tueſday* being the eighteenth of *April*, his houſe was ſet on fire, and while he went in to ſave his goods, he loſt his life, with two other that were in the ſame houſe.

Witneſſed by Thomas Hodilo
and William Fulke.

Not much unlike to this, was alſo the example of M. *Weſt*, Chaplain to Biſhop *Ridley*, who refuſing to dye in Chriſts Cauſe with his Maſter, ſaid Maſs againſt his Conſcience, and ſoon after died.

Dr. Nicholas *Ridley*, and Mr. *Hugh Latimer*, *both Biſhops, Preachers, and Martyrs of Chriſt, with their doings, conferences, and ſufferinge deſcribed.*

Dr. *Nicholas Ridley* Martyr.

THe ſame year, month and day which the foreſaid two Martyrs, *William Wolſey* and *Thomas Pygot* ſuffered at *Ely*, the which was *Anno* 1555. *Octob.* 16. followed alſo at *Oxford* the ſlaughter of two other ſpecial and ſingular Captains and principal Pillars of Chriſts Church, Mr. *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, and Mr. *Hugh Latimer*, Biſhop ſometime of *Worceſter*, of whoſe famous doings and memorable learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, joyned with no leſs commendable ſincerity of life, as all the Realm can witneſs ſufficiently; ſo it needeth not greatly that we ſhould ſtand exactly at this time in ſetting forth a full deſcription of the ſame, but only to comprehend briefly in a few words, touching the order of their lives, ſo much as neceſſarily ſerveth to the due inſtruction of the Reader, and maketh to the uſe of this preſent Hiſtory, in declaring firſt their beginning and bringing up, then their ſtudies and acts in the Univerſity, their preferments alſo by their ſtudies to higher dignity, at laſt their trouble and travel in ſetting forth Religion, and in maintaining the ſame to the ſhedding of their blood. And firſt to begin with the life of Mr. *Ridley*, whoſe ſtory here enſueth. Anno 1555

A Mong many other worthy and ſundry Hiſtories and notable Acts of ſuch as of late days have been turmoiled, murthered, and martyred for the true Goſpel of Chriſt in Queen *Maries* reign, the tragical ſtory and life of Dr. *Ridley*, I thought good to commend to Chronicle, and leave to perpetual memory; beſeeching thee (gentle Reader) with care and ſtudy well to peruſe, diligently to conſider, and deeply to print the ſame in thy breaſt, ſeeing him to be a man beautified with ſuch excellent qualities, ſo ghoſtly inſpired and godly learned, and now written doubtleſs in the Book of Life, with the bleſſed Saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned amongſt the glorious Company of Martyrs. Firſt, deſcending of a ſtock right worſhipful, he was born in *Northumberlandſhire*, who being a Child, learned his Grammar with great dexterity in *Newcaſtle*, and was removed from thence to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he in ſhort time became ſo famous, that for his ſingular aptneſs, he was called to higher functions and offices of the Univerſity, by degree attaining thereunto, and was called to be Head of *Pembroke Hall*, and there made Doctor of Divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to *Paris*, who at his return was made Chaplain to King *Henry* the Eighth, and promoted afterwards by him to the Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter*; and ſo from thence tranſlated to the See and Biſhoprick of *London* in King *Edwards* days.

Nich. Ridley born in *Northumberland*.
Nich. Ridley learned at *Newcaſtle*.
Nich. Ridley Maſter of *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*.
Nich. Ridley made Dr. of Divinity.
Nich. Ridley King *Henries* Chaplain.
Nich. Ridley made Bp. of *Rocheſter*.
Nich. Ridley made Bp. of *London*.

In which calling and offices he ſo travelled and occupied himſelf by preaching and teaching the true and wholeſom Doctrine of Chriſt, that never good Child was more ſingularly loved of his dear Parents, than he of his Flock and Dioceſs. Every Holiday and Sunday he lightly preached in ſome one place or other, except he were otherwiſe letted by weighty affairs and buſineſs, to whoſe Sermons the people reſorted ſwarming about him like Bees, and coveting the ſweet flowers and wholeſom juyce of the fruitful Doctrine, which he did not only preach, but ſhewed the ſame by his life, as a glittering Lanthorn to the eyes and ſenſes of the blind, in ſuch pure order and chaſtity of life (declining from evil deſires and concupiſcences) that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any one jot thereof.

The fruitful diligence of Bp. *Ridley* in preaching Gods word.

Beſides this, he was paſſingly well learned, his memory was great, and he of ſuch reading withal, that of right he deſerved to be comparable to the beſt of this our Age, as can teſtifie as well divers his notable Works, pithy Sermons, and ſundry his Diſputations in both the Univerſities, and alſo his very Adverſaries, all which will ſay no leſs themſelves.

Bp. *Ridley* of great memory and reading.

Beſides all this, wiſe he was of counſel, deep of wit, and very politick in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obſtinate Papiſts from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleneſs to win them to the Truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of Dr. *Heath*, late Archbiſhop of *York*, being Priſoner with him in King *Edwards* time in his houſe one year, ſufficiently declareth. In fine, he was ſuch a Prelate, and in all points ſo good, godly, and ghoſtly a man, that *England* may juſtly rue the loſs of ſo worthy a Treaſure. And thus hitherto concerning theſe Publick Matters.

Now will I ſpeak ſomething further particularly of his perſon and conditions. He was a man right comly and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour from his heart, but ſtreightways forgetting all injuries and offences done againſt him. He was very kind and natural to his Kinsfolk, and yet not bearing with them any thing otherwiſe than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea to his own Brother and Siſter, that they doing evil ſhould ſeek or look for nothing

Bp. *Ridley* comly of proportion and complexion.
The fair conditions of Bp. *Ridley*, tender to his kindred, yet no otherwiſe than truth and right required.

Anno 1555.

nothing at his hand, but ſhould be as ſtrangers and aliens unto him, and they to be his Brother and Siſter, which uſed honeſty, and a godly trade of life.

Biſhop Ridley a great mortifier of himſelf.

He uſing all kinds of ways to mortifie himſelf, was given to much prayer and contemplation: For duly every Morning, ſo ſoon as his apparel was done upon him, he went forthwith to his Bed-chamber, and there upon his knees prayed the ſpace of half an hour; which being done, immediately he went to his Study (if there came no other buſineſs to interrupt him) where he continued till ten of the Clock, and then came to the Common Prayer, daily uſed in his houſe. The prayers being done, he went to dinner; where he uſed little talk, except otherwiſe occaſion by ſome had been miniſtred, and then was it ſober, diſcreet and wiſe, and ſometime merry, as cauſe required.

The order of his ſtudy and diet.

The dinner done, which was not very long, he uſed to ſit an hour or thereabouts talking, or playing at the Cheſs: That done, he returned to his Study, and there would continue, except Suters or buſineſs abroad were occaſion of the contrary, untill five of the Clock at Night, and then would come to Common-Prayer, as in the fore-noon: which being finiſhed, he went to Supper behaving himſelf there as at his dinner before. After Supper recreating himſelf in playing at Cheſs the ſpace of an hour, he would then return again to his Study; continuing there till 11 of the Clock at Night, which was his common hour to go to Bed, then ſaying his prayers upon his knees as in the Morning when he roſe. Being at his Manor of *Fulham*, as divers times he uſed to be, he read daily a Lecture to his Family at the Common-Prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apoſtles, and ſo going thorow all the Epiſtles of S. *Paul*, giving to every man that could read a New teſtament, hiring them beſides with mony to learn by heart certain principal Chapters, but eſpecially the 13 Chapter of the *Acts*, reading alſo unto his houſhold oftentimes the 101 *Pſalm*, being marvellous careful over his Family, that they might be a ſpectacle of all vertue and honeſty to others. To be ſhort, as he was godly and vertuous himſelf, ſo nothing but vertue and godlineſs reigned in his houſe, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

His order after Supper.

The careful diligence of B. *Ridley* in inſtructing his Family.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kindly pity in the uſage of an Old woman called Mrs. *Boner*, Mother to Dr. *Boner* ſometime Biſhop of *London*, which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemeney of Dr. *Ridley*, as the unworthy inhumanity and ingrateful diſpoſition again of Dr. *Boner*. Biſhop *Ridley* being at his Manor of *Fulham*, always ſent for this ſaid Mrs. *Boner*, dwelling in a houſe adjoyning to his houſe, to dinner and Supper, with one Mrs. *Mungey*, *Boners* Siſter, ſaying, Go for my Mother *Boner*, who coming, was ever placed in the Chair at the Tables end, being ſo gently intreated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own Body, never diſplaced of her ſeat, although the Kings Council had been preſent, ſaying, when any of them were there (as divers times they were) By your Lordſhips favour this place of right and cuſtom is for my Mother *Boner*. But how well he was recompenced for this his ſingular gentleneſs, and pitiful pity after, at the hands of the ſaid Dr. *Boner*, almoſt the leaſt Child that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward was more enemy to *Ridley*, than *Boner* and his? Who more went about to ſeek his deſtruction than he? recompenſing this his gentleneſs with extreme Cruelty; As well appeared by the ſtrait handling of *Ridleys* own Natural Siſter, and *George Shipſide* her Husband from time to time: whereas the gentleneſs of the other did ſuffer *Boners* Mother, Siſter, and other of his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had of *Boner*, but alſo entertained them in his houſe, ſhewing much courteſie and friendſhip daily unto them: whereas on the other ſide, Biſhop *Boner* being reſtored again, would not ſuffer the Brother and Natural Siſter of Biſhop *Ridley*, and other his friends not only not to enjoy that which they had by the ſaid their Brother Biſhop *Ridley*, but alſo curriſhly without all order of Law or honeſty, by extort power wreſted from them all the Livings they had.

The behaviour of B. *Ridley* to B. *Boners* Mother.

The courtieſie of *Ridley*, and the curriſhneſs of *Boner* deſcribed and compared together.

B. *Ridley* good and kind to *Boners* Mother.

Boner unkind and churliſh to Biſh. *Ridleys* Siſter, and ſeeketh the death of his Brother in Law.

And yet being not therewith ſatisfied, he ſought all the means he could to work the death of the foreſaid *Shipſide*, ſaying, that he would make twelve Godfathers to go upon him; which had been brought to paſs indeed, at what time he was Priſoner at *Oxford*, had not God otherwiſe wrought his deliverance by means of Dr. *Heath*, then the Biſhop of *Worceſter*. *Teſte Georgio Shipſidio.*

Whereby all good indifferent Readers notoriouſly have to underſtand, what great diverſity was in the diſpoſition of theſe two Natures. Whereof as the one excelled in mercy and piety, ſo the other again as much or more excelled in churliſh ingratitude, and deſpiteful diſdain. But of this matter enough.

Now concerning Gods vocation, how Dr. *Ridley* was firſt called to the ſavouring and favouring of Chriſt and his Goſpel, partly by his diſputation before, and other his Treatiſes it may appear, that the firſt occaſion of his Converſion, was by reading of *Bertrams* Book of the Sacrament, whom alſo the conference with Biſhop *Cranmer*, and with *Peter Martyr* did not a little confirm in that behalf. Who now by the grace of God, being thorowly won and brought to the true way, as he was before blind and zealous in his old ignorance, ſo was he conſtant and faithful in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him (as well appeared by his preachings and doings during all the time of King *Edward*) and ſo long did much good, while Authority of extern power might defend and hold up the peace of the Church, and proceedings of the Goſpel. But after that it ſo pleaſed the heavenly will of the Lord our God, to bereave us of our ſtay, and call from us King *Edward* that precious Prince, as the whole ſtate of the Church of *England* was left deſolate and open to the enemies hand: ſo this Biſhop *Ridley*, after the coming in of Queen *Mary*, eſtſoon and with the firſt was laid hands upon, and committed to Priſon, as before hath ſufficiently been expreſſed: firſt in the *Tower*, then after tranſlated from thence with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Mr. *Latimer* to *Oxford*, was with them incloſed in the Common Gaol, and Priſon of *Bocardo*, while at length, being diſſevered from them, he was commited to cuſtody in the houſe of one *Iriſh*, where he remained till the laſt day of his death and Martyrdom, which was from the year of our Lord, 1554, till the year 1555. and 16 day of *October*.

B. *Ridley* firſt converted by *Bertrams* Book.

B. *Ridley* one of the firſt in trouble after the death of K. *Edward*.

B. *Ridley* in the *Tower*.

B. *Ridley* removed to the Priſon of *Bocardo* in *Oxford*.

Furthermore, as touching his diſputations and conflicts had at *Oxford*, and alſo of his determination had at *Cambridge*, alſo his travels in perſwading and inſtructing the Lady *Mary* before ſhe was Queen, his reaſons and conference likewiſe had in the *Tower* at the Lieutenants Boord, enough hath been ſaid already. Beſide this, other conferences he had in Priſon both with Dr. *Cranmer*, and Mr. *Latimer*, as here followeth to be read.

A Conference had betwixt Mr. Ridley, *and Mr.* Latimer *in Priſon, upon the Objection of* Antonian, *meaning by that name ſome Popiſh Perſecutor, as* Winchester, *alluding thereby to the Story of* Victor. *lib.* 3. *De perſecut. Aphri.*

IN writing again ye have done me an unſpeakable pleaſure, and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in that day. For I have received great comfort at your words: but yet I am not ſo filled withal, but that I thirſt much more now than before, to Drink more of the Cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable with pleaſant. I pray you, good Father, let me have one draught more to comfort my ſtomach. For ſurely except the Lord aſſiſt me with his gracious aid, in the time of his ſervice, I know I ſhall play but the part of a white-livered Knight. But truly my truſt is in him, that in mine infirmity he ſhould try himſelf ſtrong, and that he can make the Coward in his cauſe to fight like a man.

M. Ridley.

Sir, now I daily look when *Diotrephes* with his warriors ſhall aſſault me: wherefore I pray you good Father, for that you are an old Souldier, and an expert Warriour, and God knoweth I am but a young Souldier, and as yet of ſmall experience in theſe feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harneſs. And now I would have you to think, that theſe darts are caſt at my Head of ſome one of *Diotrephes*, or *Antonius* Souldiers.

The Objection of the Antonian.

Anton. object. 1. All men marvel greatly, why you, after the liberty you have granted unto you, more than the reſt, do not go to Maſs, which is a thing (as you know) now much eſteemed of all men, yea of the Queen herſelf.

The Anſwer

N. Rid. ys Anſwers Luke 9. Gal 2. Becauſe no man that layeth hand on the plough and looketh back is fit for the Kingdom of God, and alſo for the ſelf ſame cauſe why St. *Paul* would not ſuffer *Titus* to be circumciſed, which is, that the Truth of the Goſpel might remain with us uncorrupt, *Galat.* the ſecond: And again, If I build again the things which I deſtroyed I make my ſelf a Treſpaſſer. This is alſo another cauſe: leſt I ſhould ſeem by outward fact to allow the thing, which I am perſwaded is contrary to ſound Doctrine, and ſo ſhould be a ſtumbling ſtock unto the weak. But wo be unto him by whom offence cometh: *Matth 18. Mark 9.* it were better for him that a Mill-ſtone were hanged about his neck, and he caſt into the midſt of the Sea.

Except the Lord help me, ye ſay. Truth it is. For without me, ſaith he, ye can do nothing, much leſs ſuffer death of our Adverſaries, through the bloody Law now *H. Latimer. John 15.* prepared againſt us. But it followeth, If you abide in me, and my word abide in you, ask what you will, and it ſhall be done for you. What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make anſwer your ſelf ſo well, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to ſmell what you mean by travelling thus with me, you uſe me as *Bilney* did once, when he converted me, pretending as though he would be taught of me, he ſought ways and means to teach me, and ſo do you. I thank you therefore moſt heartily. For indeed you miniſter armour unto me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, ſaving that I give my ſelf to prayer for my refuge,

Anton. object. 2. What is it then that offendeth you ſo greatly in the Maſs that you will not vouchſafe once either to hear it or ſee it? And from whence cometh this new Religion upon you? have not you uſed in times paſt to ſay Maſs your ſelf?

N. Ridleys Anſwer. He meaneth his own confeſſion openly in preaching. Matth. 26. I confeſs unto you my fault and ignorance; but know you that for theſe matters I have done penance long ago, both at *Pauls* Croſs, and alſo openly in the Pulpit at *Cambridge*, and I truſt God hath forgiven me this mine offence: for I did it upon ignorance. But if you be deſirous to know and will vouchſafe to hear what things do offend me in the Maſs, I will rehearſe unto you thoſe things which be moſt clear, and ſeem to repugn moſt manifeſtly againſt Gods word, and they be theſe: the ſtrange Tongue; the want of the ſhewing of the Lords Death; the breaking of the Lords Commandment of having a Communion; the Sacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the Word of the Lord; the ſign is ſervilely worſhipped for the thing ſignified; Chriſts Paſſion is injured, foraſmuch as this Maſs-ſacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of ſins; to be ſhort, the mainfold ſuperſtitions, and trifling fondneſs which are in the Maſs, and about the ſame. *1 Tim. 1.*

H. Latimer. Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much; you ſhall prevail more with praying, than with ſtudying, though mixture be beſt, for ſo one ſhall alleviate the tedioufneſs of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reaſonable account of my Faith given: for it ſhall be but in vain. They will ſay, as their Fathers ſaid, when *John 19. 1 Cor. 15. 1 Tim. 3. John 15. Colos. 1.* they have no more to ſay: We have a Law, and by our Law he ought to die. Be ye ſtedfaſt and unmoveable, ſaith St. *Paul*: and again *Perſiſtito*, Stand faſt: And how oft is this repeated, If ye abide, if ye abide? &c. But we ſhall be called obſtinate, ſturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not? ſo that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with ſuch men.

Anton. object. 3. But you know how great a Crime it is to ſeparate your ſelf from the Communion or fellowſhip of the Church, and to make a Schiſm, or diviſion. You have been reported to have hated the Sect of the Anabaptiſts, and always to have impugned the ſame. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of *Novatus*, and of the Hereticks called (*Cathari*) that they would not communicate with the Church. Anno 1555.

N. Ridleys Anſwer. I know that the Unity of the Church is to be retained by all means, and the ſame to be neceſſary to ſalvation. But I do not take the Maſs, as it is at this day, for the Communion of the Church, but a Popiſh device, whereby both the Commandment and Inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt, for the oft frequenting of the remembrance of his Death, is eluded, and the People of God are miſerably deluded. The Sect of the *Anabaptiſts*, and the Hereſie of the *Novatians* ought of right to be condemned, foraſmuch as without any juſt or neceſſary cauſe they wickedly ſeparated themſelves from the Communion of the Congregation, for they did not alledge that the Sacraments were unduly miniſtred, but turning away their eyes from themſelves, wherewith according to St. *Pauls* rule they ought to examine themſelves, and caſting their eyes ever upon others, either Miniſters, or *1 Cor. 11.* Communicants with them, they always reproved ſomething for the which they abſtained from the Communion, as from an unholy thing.

H. Latimer Hilarius contra Axem I remember that *Calvin* beginneth to confute the *Interim* after this ſort with this ſaying of *Hilary*, The name of Peace is beautiful, and the Opinion of Unity is fair: but who doubteth that to be the true and only Peace of the Church, which is Chriſt? I would you had that little Book, there ſhould you ſee how much is to be given to Unity. St. *Paul* when he requireth Unity, he joyneth ſtraight-withal, *ſecundum Jeſum Chriſtum*, *Rom. 15.* according to Jeſus Chriſt, no further. *Diotrephes* now of late did ever harp upon Unity, Unity. Yea Sir (quoth I) but in Verity, not in Popery. Better is diverſity, than an Unity in Popery. I had nothing again but ſcornful Taunts, with commandment to the *Tower*.

Anton. object. 4. But admit there be in the Maſs, that peradventure might be amended, or at leaſt made better: yea, ſeeing you will have it ſo, admit there be a fault; if you do not conſent thereto, why do you trouble your ſelf in vain? do you not know both by *Cyprian* and *Auguſtine* that *Cyr. l. 1. ep. 2. Aug. ep. 152.* Communion of Sacraments doth not defile a man, but conſent of deeds?

N. Ridleys Anſwer. If it were any one trifling Ceremony, or if it were ſome one thing of it ſelf indifferent (although I would wiſh nothing ſhould be done in the Church, which doth not edifie the ſame) yet for the continuance of the common quietneſs I could be content to bear it. But foraſmuch as things done in the Maſs tend openly to the overthrow of Chriſts Inſtitution, I judge that by no means either in word or deed I ought to conſent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the Fathers, I acknowledge it to be well ſpoken, if it be well underſtood. But it is meant of them which ſuppoſe they are defiled if any ſecret vice be either in the Miniſters, or in them that communicate with them, and is not meant of them which do abhor ſuperſtition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not ſuffer the ſame to be thruſt upon themſelves, or upon the Church in ſtead of Gods Word and the Truth of the Goſpel.

H. Latimer. The very Marrow-bones of the Maſs are altogether deteſtable, and therefore by no means to be born withal: ſo that of neceſſity the mending of it is to aboliſh it for ever. For if you take away oblation and adoration, which do hang upon Conſecration and Tranſubſtantiation, the moſt Papiſts of them all will not ſet a Button by the Maſs, as a thing which they eſteem not, but for the gain that followeth thereon, For if the *Engliſh* Communion, which of late was uſed, were as gainful to them, as the Maſs hath been heretofore, they would ſtrive no more for their Maſs; from thence groweth the grief.

Anton. object. 5. Conſider into what dangers you caſt your ſelf, if you forſake the Church; and you cannot but forſake it, if you refuſe to go to Maſs. For the Maſs is the Sacrament of Unity; without the Ark there is no ſalvation. The *Aug. lib. 1. de Sim. 10. In ep. poſt. col. contra Donat.* Church is the Ark and *Peters* Ship. Ye know this ſaying well enough; He ſhall not have God to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the Church to be his Mother. Moreover without the Church, (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) be the life never ſo well ſpent, it ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.

The

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The Holy Catholick or universal Church, which is the communion of Saints, the House of God, the City of God, the Spouse of Christ, the Body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth; this Church I believe, according to the Creed. This Church I do reverence, and honor in the Lord. But the rule of this Church is the Word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I say with Saint *Paul*, Peace be upon them, and upon *Israel* which pertaineth unto God. The guide of this Church is the Holy Ghost. The marks whereby this Church is known unto me in this dark World, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these; The sincere preaching of Gods Holy Word, the due administration of the Sacraments, charity, and faithful observing of Ecclesiastical discipline, according to the Word of God. And that Church or congregation which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly *Jerusalem*, which consisteth of those that be born from above. This is the Mother of us all, and by Gods grace I will live and die the Child of this Church. Forth of this (I grant) there is no salvation; and I suppose the residue of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this Church only. In times past (saith *Chysostome*) there were many ways to know the Church of Christ, that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by Doctrine, by ministring the Sacraments. But from that time that Heresies did take hold of the Church, it is onely known by the Scriptures which is the true Church. They have all things in outward shew, which the true Church hath in truth. They have Temples like unto ours.

N. Ridleys anſwer. 1 Tim. 3. Apoc. 21. Epheſ. 1. Gal. 6. Phil. 2. Apoc. 21. John 3. Gal. 4. In op. im. hom. 49. in Matth.

And in the end concluded. Wherefore onely by the Scriptures do we know which is the true Church. To that which they say, that the Mass is the Sacrament of Unity, I answer; The Bread which we break, according to the institution of the Lord, is the Sacrament of the Unity of Christs mystical Body. For we being many, are one Bread and one Body, forsomuch as we all are partakers of one Bread. But in the Mass the Lords institution is not observed; for we are not all partakers of one Bread, but one devoureth all, &c. So that (as it is used) it may seem a Sacrament of singularity, and of a certain special priviledge for one sect of People, whereby they may be discerned from the rest, rather then a Sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is represented.

1. Cor. 10.

Yea, what fellowship hath Christ with Antichrist? Therefore is it not lawful to bear the yoke with Papists. Come forth from among them, and separate your selves from them, saith the Lord. It is one thing to be the Church indeed, another thing to counterfeit the Church. Would God it were well known what is the forsaking of the Church. In the Kings days that dead is, who was the Church of *England*? The King and his fautors, or Mass-mongers in corners? If the King and the fautors of his proceedings, why be not we now the Church abiding in the same proceedings? If clanculary Mass-mongers might be of the Church, and yet contrary to the Kings proceedings, why may not we as well be of the Church contraryng the Queens proceedings? Not all that be covered with the title of the Church, are the Church indeed. Separate thy self from them that are such, saith S. *Paul*; from whom? The text hath before, If any man follow other Doctrine, &c. he is puft up, and knoweth nothing, &c. Weigh the whole text, that ye may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations: But wherefore are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old Verses,

M. Latimer. 2 Cor. 6. 1 Tim. 6.

Hoc eſt neſcire, ſine Chriſto plurima ſcire:
Si Chriſtum bene ſcis, ſatis eſt, ſi cætera neſcis.

That is, This is to be ignorant, to know many things without Christ. If thou knowest Christ well, thou knowest enough, though thou know no more. Therefore would S. *Paul* know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified, &c. As many as are Papists and Mass-mongers, they may well be said to know nothing. For they know not Christ, forasmuch as in their massing they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ.

2 Cor. 2.

That Church which you have described unto me is invisible, but Christs Church is visible and known. For else why would Christ have said, *Dic Ecclesiæ*, Tell it unto the Church. For he had commanded in vain to go unto the Church, if a man cannot tell which it is.

Anton. object. 6.

The Church which I have described is visible, it hath members which may be seen; and also I have afore declared, by what marks and tokens it may be known. But if either our eyes are so dazeled, that we cannot see, or that Satan hath brought such darkness into the World, that it is hard to discern the true Church; that is not the fault of the Church, but either of our blindness, or of Satans darkness. But yet in this most deep darkness there is one most cleer candle, which of it self alone is able to put away all darkness. Thy Word is a candle unto my feet, and a light unto my steps.

N. Ridleys anſwer.

The Church of Christ is a Catholick or universal Church, dispersed throughout the whole World; this Church is the great house of God, in this are good men and evil mingled together, goats and sheep, corn and chaff; it is the net which gathereth all kind of fishes; this Church cannot err, because Christ hath promised it his Spirit, which shall lead it into all truth, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; that he will be with it unto the end of the World; whatsoever it shall loose or bind upon earth, shall be ratified in heaven, &c. This Church is the pillar and stay of the truth; this is it for the which Saint *Augustine* saith, he believeth the Gospel: But this universal Church alloweth the Mass, because the more part of the same alloweth it. Therefore, &c.

Anton. object. 7.

I grant that the name of the Church is taken after three divers manners in the Scriptures. Sometimes for the whole multitude of them which profess the Name of Christ, of the which they are also named Christians. But as S. *Paul* saith of the Jew, not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, &c. Neither yet all that be of *Israel*, are counted the seed; even so not every one which is a Christian outwardly is a Christian indeed. For if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. Therefore that Church which is his Body, and of which Christ is the head, standeth onely in living stones, and true Christians, not onely outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But forsomuch as this Church (which is the second taking of the Church) as touching the outward fellowship, is contained within the great house, and hath with the same, outward society of the Sacraments and ministery of the Word, many things are spoken of that Universal Church (which S. *Augustine* calleth the mingled Church) which cannot truly be underdstood, but only of that pure part of the Church. So that the rule of *Ticonius* concerning the mingled Church, may here well take place; where there is attributed unto the whole Church that which cannot agree unto the same, but by reason of the one part thereof; that is, either for the multitude of good men, which is the very true Church indeed; or for the multitude of evill men, which is the malignant Church and Synagogue of Satan. And there is also a third taking of the Church; of the which, although there be seldomer mention in the Scriptures, in that signification, yet in the World, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendom, this Church hath born the greatest swinge. This distinction presupposed of the three sorts of Churches, it is an easie matter, by a figure called *Synecdoche*, to give to the mingled and Universal Church, that which cannot truly be understood but onely of the one part thereof. But if any man will stiffly affirm, that Universal doth so pertain unto Church, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the Church, it must needs be understood of that, I would gladly know of the same man, where that Universal Church was in the times of the Patriarks and Prophets, of *Noah*, *Abraham*, and *Moses*, (at such time as the People would have stoned him) of *Helias*, of *Jeremy*, in the times of Christ, and the dispersion of the Apostles, in the time of *Arrius*, when Constantius was Emperour, and *Felix* Bishop of *Rome* succeeded *Liberius*. It is worthy to be noted, that *Lyra* writeth upon *Matthew*; The Church (saith he) doth not stand in men by reason of their power or dignity, whether it be Ecclesiastical or Secular. For many Princes and Popes, and other inferiours, have been found to have faln away from God. Therefore the Church consisteth in those persons,

N. Ridleys anſwer. Apoc. 21. Exod. 17. 3 Reg. 19. Jerem. 6. Theo. eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 2. ca. 15. 61. Lyra in Mat.

ſons, in whom is true knowledge and confeſſion of the faith, and of the truth. Evil men (as it is in a gloſs of the decrees) are in the Church in name, and not indeed.

De poenit. dist. 1 cap. eccles. lib. 2 cap. And Saint *Auguſtine, contra Creſconium grammaticum,* ſaith; Whoſoever is affraid to be deceived by the darkneſs of this queſtion, let him ask Counſel at the ſame Church of it: which Church the Scripture doth point out without any doubtfulneſs. All my notes which I have written and gathered out of ſuch Authors as I have read in this matter, and ſuch like, are come into the hands of ſuch, as will not let me have the leaſt of all my written books; wherein I am inforced to complain of them unto God: for they ſpoil me of all my labours, which I have taken in my ſtudy theſe many years. My memory was never good, for help whereof I have uſed for the moſt part to gather out notes of my reading, and ſo to place them, that thereby I might have had the uſe of them when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be Gods will, that I ſhould be thus ordered, and ſpoiled of the poor learning I had (as me thought) in ſtore, to the intent that I now deſtitute of that, ſhould from henceforth,

1 Cor. 2. learn onely to know with *Paul*, Chriſt, and him crucified? The Lord grant me herein to be a good young Scholar, and to learn this leſſon ſo well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor wo, &c. make me ever to forget that, *Amen, Amen.*

H. *Latimer.* I have no more to ſay in this matter; for you yourſelf have ſaid all that is to be ſaid. That ſame vehement ſaying of Saint *Auguſtine*, I would not believe the Goſpel, &c. was wont to trouble many men; as I remember,

Mel. de. eccleſ. I have read it well qualified of *Philip Melanchton*; but my memory is altogether ſlippery. This it is in effect; The Church is not a Judge, but a witneſs. There were in his time that lightly eſteemed the teſtimony of the Church, and the outward miniſtery of Preaching, and rejected the outward word it ſelf, ſticking onely to their inward revelations. Such raſh contempt of the word provoked and drave Saint *Auguſtine* into that exceſſive vehemency. In the which after the bare ſound of the words, he might ſeem to ſuch as do not attain unto his meaning, that he preferred the Church farr before the Goſpel, and that the Church hath a free Authority over the ſame; but that godly man never thought ſo. It were a ſaying worthy to be brought forth againſt the Anabaptiſts, which think the open miniſtery to be a thing not neceſſary, if they any thing eſteemed ſuch teſtimonies. I would not ſtick to affirm, that the more part of the great houſe, that is to ſay, of the whole Univerſal Church, may eaſily err. And again, I would not ſtick to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the Name of Chriſt, and another thing to come together with a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt going before. For in the firſt Chriſt ruleth, in the later the Devil beareth the ſwing; and how then can any thing be good that they go about? From this later ſhall our ſix Articles come forth again into the light, they themſelves being very darkneſs. But it is demanded, whether the

A queſtion. founder or better part of the Catholick Church may be

Anſwer. ſeen of men, or no? Saint *Paul* ſaith; The Lord knoweth them that are his. What manner of ſpeaking is this in commendation of the Lord, if we knew as well as he who are his? Well, thus is the text: The ſure foundation of God ſtandeth ſtill, and hath this ſeal, the Lord knoweth them that are his; and let every man that nameth the name of Chriſt depart from iniquity. Now how many are there of the whole Catholick Church of *England* which depart from iniquity? How many of the Noble men, how many of the Biſhops or Clergy, how many of the rich men, or Merchants, how many of the Queens Councellors, yea, how many of the whole Realm? In how ſmall room then I pray you is the true Church within the Realm of *England*? And where is it? And in what ſtate? I had a conceit of mine own well grounded (as they ſay) when I began, but now it is faln by the way.

Anton: object. 1. General Councils repreſent the Univerſal Church, and have this promiſe of Chriſt; Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midſt of them. If Chriſt be preſent with two or three, then much more where there is ſo great a multitude, &c. But in general Councils Maſs hath been approved and uſed: Therefore, &c.

Of the Univerſal Church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think; Whatſoever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the ſame, and to whom the whole myſtical Body of Chriſt doth obey, are the lively members of Chriſt, and walk after the guiding and rule of his Word, and go before the flock towards everlaſting life, then undoubtedly Councils gathered together of ſuch guides and paſtours of the Chriſtian flock, do indeed repreſent the Univerſal Church, and being ſo gathered in the name of Chriſt, they have a promiſe of the gift and guiding of his Spirit into all truth. But that any ſuch Council hath at any time allowed the Maſs; ſuch an one as ours was of late, in a ſtrange tongue, and ſtuffed with ſo many abſurdities, errours, and ſuperſtitions; that I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impoſſible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt 2 Cor. 6. light and darkneſs, between Chriſt and *Belial*; ſo ſurely ſuperſtition and the ſincere Religion of Chriſt, will worſhip and the pure worſhipping of God, ſuch as God requireth of his, that is, in Spirit and truth, can never agree together. But ye will ſay, where ſo great a company is gathered together, it is not credible but there be two or three gathered in the name of Chriſt. I anſwer; If there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad (forſomuch as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices) what can the leſs number of voices avail? It is a known A proverb. thing; and a common Proverb; Oftentimes the greater part overcometh the better.

As touching general Councils, at this preſent I have H. *Latimer.* no more to ſay, then you have ſaid. Onely I referr you to your own experience, to think of our Country Parliaments and Convocations, how and what ye have The inconſtancy of the Engliſh Parliaments and Convocations. ſeen and heard. The more part in my time did bring forth ſix Articles; for then the King would ſo have it, being ſeduced of certain. Afterward the more part did repel the ſame, our good *Joſias* willing to have it ſo. The ſame Articles now again (alas) another great, but worſe part hath reſtored. O what an uncertainty is this? But after this ſort moſt commonly are mans proceedings, God be merciful unto us. Who ſhall deliver us from ſuch torments of mind? Therefore is death the beſt Phyſitian, but unto the faithful, whom ſhe together and at once delivereth from all griefs. You muſt think this written upon this occaſion, becauſe you would needs have your paper bloted. Death is the beſt Phyſitian to the faithful.

If the matter ſhould go thus, that in general Councils Anton: object. 2. men ſhould not ſtand to the more number of the multitude (I mean of them which ought to give voices) then ſhould no certain rule be left unto the Church; by the which controverſies in weighty matters might be determined; but it is not to be believed, that Chriſt would leave his Church deſtitute of ſo neceſſary a help and ſafeguard.

Chriſt, who is the moſt loving ſpouſe of his eſpouſe Nich. Ridley: anſwer. the Church, who alſo gave himſelf for it, that he might Epheſ. 5. ſanctifie it unto himſelf, did give unto it abundantly all things which are neceſſary to ſalvation; but yet ſo, that the Church ſhould declare it ſelf obedient unto him in all things, and keep it ſelf within the bounds of his commandments, and further not to ſeek any thing which he teacheth not, as neceſſary unto ſalvation. Now further, for determination of all controverſies in Chriſts Religion, Chriſt himſelf hath left unto the Church not onely *Moſes* Luke 16. and the Prophets, whom he willeth his Church in all Iſaiah 8. doubts to go unto, and ask Counſel at, but alſo the Goſpels, and the reſt of the Body of the New Teſtament; in the which whatſoever is heard of *Moſes* and the Prophets, and whatſoever is neceſſary to be known unto ſalvation, is revealed and opened.

So that now we have no need to ſay, Who ſhall climb Rom. 10. up into Heaven, or who ſhall go down into the depth, to tell us what is needful to be done? Chriſt hath done both, and hath commended unto us the Word of faith, which alſo is abundantly declared unto us in his Word written; ſo that hereafter if we walk earneſtly in Luke 1. this way, to the ſearching out of the truth, it is not to be doubted, but through the certain benefit of Chriſts Spirit, which he hath promiſed unto his, we may find it, and obtain everlaſting life. Should men ask Counſel of the dead for the living, ſaith *Iſaiah*? Let them go rather Iſaiah 8.

to

Anno 1555.

to the Law and to the Teſtimony, &c. Chriſt ſendeth them that be deſirous to know the Truth, unto the Scriptures, ſaying, *Search the Scriptures.* I remember a like thing well ſpoken of *Hierom*; *Ignorance of the Scriptures. is the mother and cauſe of all Errours.* And in another place, as I remember in the ſame Author; *The knowledge of the Scriptures. is the food of everlaſting life.* But now me thinketh I enter into a very broad Sea, in that I begin to ſhew, either out of the Scriptures themſelves, or out of the ancient Writers, how much the holy Scripture is of force to teach the Truth of our Religion. But this is it, that I am now about that Chriſt would have the Church his Spouſe in all doubts to ask counſel at the Word of his Father written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Teſtaments, the Old and New. Neither do we read, that Chriſt in any place hath laid ſo great a burthen upon the members of his Spouſe, that he hath commanded them to go to the Univerſal Church. *Whatſoever things are written,* ſaith *Paul*, are *written for our learning.* And it is true, that Chriſt gave unto his Church, ſome Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Evangeliſts, ſome Shepherds and Teachers, to the edifying of the Saints, till we come all to the unity of Faith, &c. But that all men ſhould meet together out of all parts of the world, to define of the Articles of our Faith, I neither find it commanded of Chriſt, nor written in the word of God.

John 5.

Hier. 23. in Matt.

Rom. 15. Ephel. 4.

M. Latimer.

There is diverſity betwixt things pertaining to God or Faith, and Politick and Civil matters. For in the firſt we muſt ſtand only to the Scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and inſtructed unto ſalvation, if they well be underſtood. And they offer themſelves to be well underſtood only to them, which have good wills, and give themſelves to ſtudy and prayer. Neither are there any men leſs apt to underſtand them, then the prudent and wiſe men of the World. But in the other, that is, in Civil or Politick matters oftentimes the Magiſtrates do tolerate a leſs evil, for avoiding of a greater, as they which have this ſaying oft in their mouths; Better an inconvenience than a miſchief. And it is the property of a wiſe man, ſaith one, to diſſemble many things; and he that cannot diſſemble, cannot Rule. In which ſayings they bewray themſelves, that they do not earneſtly weigh what is juſt, what is not. Wherefore forſomuch as mans laws, if it be but in this reſpect only, that they be deviſed by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are inforced of neceſſity to ſuffer many things out of ſquare, and are compelled ſometime to wink at the worſt things: ſeeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwiſe, they do ordain that the more part ſhall take place. You know what theſe kinds of ſpeeches mean, I ſpeak after the manner of men; ye walk after the manner of men, all men are lyars. And that of S. *Auguſtine, If ye live after mans reaſon, ye do not live after the will of God.*

2 Tim. 3.

Galat. 5. 1 Cor. 3. Rom. 3. Pſal. 115.

Anton. object. 10.

If ye ſay, that Councils have ſometime erred, or may err, how then ſhould we believe the Catholick Church? for that Councils are gathered by the authority of the Catholick Church.

N. Ridley's Anſwer.

From may be, to be indeed, is no good Argument; but from being, to may be, no man doubteth but it is a moſt ſure Argument. But now that Councils have ſometime erred it is manifeſt. How many Councils were there in the Eaſt parts of the World, which condemned the *Nicene* Council; and all thoſe which would not forſake the ſame, they called by a ſlanderous name (as they thought) *Homouſians.* Was not *Athanaſius, Chryſoſtom, Cyril, Euſtachius*, men very well learned, and of godly life, baniſhed and condemned as famous Hereticks, and that by wicked *Councils?* How many things are there in the Canons and Conſtitutions of the Councils, which the Papiſts themſelves do much miſlike? But here peradventure one man will ſay unto me; We will grant you this in provincial Councils, or Councils of ſome one Nation, that they may ſometimes err, forſomuch as they do not repreſent the Univerſal Church; but it is not to be believed, that the general and full Councils have erred at any time. Here if I had my Books of the Councils, or rather ſuch notes as I have gathered out of thoſe Books, I could bring ſomthing which ſhould ſerve for this purpoſe. But now ſeeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of S. *Auſtin*, which (in my judgment,) may ſuffice in this matter in ſtead of many. Who knoweth not (ſaith he) that the holy Scripture is ſo ſet before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it, and that the Letters of Biſhops may be reproved by other mens words, and by Councils, and that the Councils themſelves which are gathered by Provinces and Countries, do give place to the authority of the general and full Councils; and that the former and general Councils are amended by the later, when as by ſome experience of things, either that which was ſhut up, is opened, or that which was hid, is known. Thus much out of *Auſtin.* But I will plead with out *Anton.* upon matter confeſſed. Here with us when as Papiſtry reigned, I pray you how doth that Book, which was called the Biſhops Book, made in the time of King *Henry* the Eighth, whereof the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* is thought to be either the firſt Father, or chief gatherer; how doth it (I ſay) ſharply reprove the *Florentine* Council, in which was decreed the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and that with the conſent of the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, and of the *Grecians*? So that in thoſe days our learned ancient Fathers and Biſhops of *England* did not ſtick to affirm, that a general Council might err. But me think I hear another man deſpiſing all that I have brought forth, and ſaying, Theſe which you have called Councils, are not worthy to be called Councils, but rather Aſſemblies, and Conventicles of Hereticks. I pray you Sir, why do you judge them worthy of ſo ſlanderous a name? Becauſe (ſaith he) they decreed things Heretical, contrary to true godlineſs and ſound Doctrine and againſt the Faith of Chriſtian Religion. The cauſe is weighty, for the which they ought of right ſo to be called. But if it be ſo that all Councils ought to be deſpiſed, which decree any thing contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the true Word, which is according to godlineſs, forſomuch as the Maſs, ſuch as we had here of late, is openly againſt the Word of God; forſooth it muſt follow of neceſſity, that all ſuch Councils, as have approved ſuch Maſſes, ought of right to be fled and deſpiſed, as Conventicles and Aſſemblies of men that ſtray from the Truth.

Answer.

Lib. 2. de baptiſ. cont. Don. c. 3.

The Biſhops Book.

1 Tim. 6.

Another man alledgeth unto me the *Authority* of the Biſhop of *Rome*, without which, neither can the Councils (ſaith he) be lawfully gathered, neither being gathered determine any thing concerning Religion. But this Objection is only grounded upon the ambitious and ſhameleſs maintainance of the *Romiſh Tyranny* and uſurped dominion over the Clergy; which *Tyranny* we *Engliſh* men long ago, by the conſent of the whole Realm, have expulſed and abjured. And how rightly we have done it, a little Book ſet forth *de utraque Poteſtate* (that is, of both the Powers) doth clearly ſhew. I grant that the *Romiſh* ambition hath gone about to challenge to it ſelf and to uſurp ſuch a Priviledge of old time. But the Council of *Carthage*, in the year of our Lord 457. did openly withſtand it, and alſo the Council at *Milevite*, in the which S. *Auſtin* was preſent, did prohibit any appellations to be made to Biſhops beyond the Sea.

The Biſhop of *Romes* Authority.

England abjured the Popes Supremacy.

Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 22.

S. *Auſtin* ſaith, the good men are not to be forſaken for the evil, but the evil are to be born withal for the good. Ye will not ſay (I trow) that in our Congregations all be evil.

Anton. object. 11. Epheſ. 4.

I ſpeak nothing of the goodneſs or evilneſs of your Congregations; but I fight in Chriſts quarrel againſt the Maſs, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Chriſt. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that made the ſtrife, ſhall be broken down. Now to the place of S. *Auſtin*; for bearing with the evil for the goods ſake, there ought to be added other words, which the ſame writer hath expreſſedly in other places; that is, if thoſe evil men do caſt abroad no ſeeds of falſe Doctrine, nor lead other to deſtruction by their example.

N. Ridley's Anſwer.

Aug. lib. 3. cont. literas Parm. cap. 23.

It is perillous to attempt any new thing in the Church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perillous is it to commit any act, unto the which the example of the Prophets, of Chriſt, and of the Apoſtles are contrary? But unto this your fact, in abſtaining from the Church by reaſon of the Maſs, the Example of the Prophets, of Chriſt, and of the Apoſtles are clean contrary:

Anton. object. 12.

Therefore, &c. The firſt part of the Argument is evident, and the ſecond part I prove thus. In the times of the Prophets, of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, all things were moſt corrupt. The People was miſerably given to ſuperſtition, the Prieſts deſpiſed the Law of God; and yet notwithſtanding we read not that the Prophets made any Schiſms or diviſions, and Chriſt himſelf haunted the Temple, and taught in the Temple of the Jews. *Peter* and *John* went up into the Temple at the ninth hour of Prayer; *Paul* after the reading of the Law, being deſired to ſay ſomthing to the People, did not refuſe to do it. Yea further, no man can ſhew, that either the Prophets, or Chriſt, and his Apoſtles did refuſe to pray together with others, to ſacrifice, or to be partakers of the Sacrament of *Moſes* Law.

Luke 21. Heb. 1. Acts 13.

I grant the former part of your Argument, and to the ſecond part I ſay, that although it contain many true things, as of the corrupt ſtate in the times of the Prophets, of Chriſt, and the Apoſtles, and of the Temple being haunted of Chriſt and his Apoſtles; yet notwithſtanding the ſecond part of your Argument is not ſufficiently proved: For ye ought to have proved, that either the Prophets, either Chriſt or his Apoſtles did in the Temple communicate with the People in any kind of worſhipping, which is forbidden by the Law of God, or repugnant to the Word of God. But that can no where be ſhewed. And as for the Church, I am not angry with it, and I never refuſed to go to it, and to pray with the People, to hear the Word of God, and to do all other things whatſoever may agree with the Word of God. S. *Auſtin* ſpeaking of the Ceremonies of the *Jews* (I ſuppoſe in the Epiſtle *ad Januarium*) although he grant they grievouſly oppreſſed that People, both for the number, and bondage of the ſame, yet he calleth them burdens of the Law, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not preſumptions of men, which notwithſtanding if thy were not contrary to Gods Word, might after a ſort be born withal. But now, ſeeing they are contrary to thoſe things which are in the Word of God written, whether they ought to be born of any Chriſtian or no, let him judge which is ſpiritual, which feareth God more then man, and loveth everlaſting life more then this ſhort and tranſitory life. To that which was ſaid, that my fact lacketh example of the godly Fathers that have gone before, the contrary is moſt evident in the hiſtory of *Toby*. Of whom it is ſaid, that when all other went to the golden Calves, which *Jeroboam* the King of *Iſrael* had made, he himſelf alone fled all their Companies, and got him to *Jeruſalem* unto the Temple of the Lord, and there worſhipped the Lord God of *Iſrael*. Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues both unto the Prieſts of *Bethel*, and to the Altar which *Jeroboam* had there made after his own fantaſie? Which plagues King *Joſias* the true Miniſter of God, did execute at the time appointed. And where do we read, that the Prophets or the Apoſtles did agree with the People in their Idolatry, when as the People went a whoring with their Hill-altars? For what cauſe I pray you did the Prophets rebuke the People ſo much, as for their falſe worſhipping of God after their own minds, and not after Gods Word? For what was ſo much as that was? Wherefore the falſe Prophets ceaſed not to malign the true Prophets of God: therefore they beat them, they baniſhed them, &c. How elſe, I pray you, can you underſtand that S. *Paul* alledgeth, when he ſaith, what concord hath Chriſt with *Belial*? Either what part hath the Believer with the Infidel? or how ageeth the Temple of God with Images? For ye are the Temple of the living God, as God himſelf hath ſaid; I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my People. Wherefore, come out from among them, and ſeparate your ſelves from them (ſaith the Lord) and touch none unclean thing; ſo will I receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye ſhall be my Sons and Daughters, ſaith the Lord Almighty.

N. Ridleys Anſwer.

Ephes. 1. 19.

Tob. 1.

3 Reg. 13.

4 Reg. 23.

Jerem. 20. Heb. 11.

2 Cor. 6.

Levit. 26. Iſai. 52.

Judith that holy Woman, would not ſuffer her ſelf to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the Saints of God, which truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do any thing which they knew to be contrary to Gods Laws, have choſen to die, rather then to forſake the Laws of their God. Wherefore the *Machabees* put themſelves in danger of death for the defence of the Law, Yea and at length died manfully in the defence of the ſame. If we do praiſe (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) the *Machabees*, and that with great admiration, becauſe they did ſtoutly ſtand even unto death, for the Law of their Country; how much more ought we to ſuffer all things for our Baptiſm, for the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, &c? But the Supper of the Lord, ſuch a one (I mean) as Chriſt commandeth us to celebrate, the Maſs utterly aboliſheth, and corrupteth moſt ſhamefully.

Judith. 12.

Who am I that I ſhould add any thing to this which you have ſo ſpoken? Nay I rather thank you that have vouchſafed to miniſter ſo plentiful armour to me, being otherwiſe altogether unarmed, ſaving that he cannot be left deſtitute of help, which rightly truſteth in the help of God. I only learn to die in reading of the New Teſtament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that he will be an helper unto me in time of need.

H. Latimer.

Pſal. 9.

Seeing you are ſo obſtinately ſet againſt the Maſs, that you affirm, becauſe it is done in a Tongue not underſtood of the People, and for other cauſes, I cannot tell what; therefore is it not the true Sacrament ordained of Chriſt? I begin to ſuſpect you, that you think not catholickly of Baptiſm alſo. Is our Baptiſm, which we do uſe in a Tongue unknown unto the People, the true Baptiſm of Chriſt, or no? If it be, then doth not the ſtrange Tongue hurt the Maſs. If it be not the Baptiſm of Chriſt, tell me how were you Baptized. Or whether will ye (as the Anabaptiſts do) that all which were Baptized in Latin, ſhould be Baptiſed again in the Engliſh Tongue?

Anſw. obj.

Although I would wiſh Baptiſm to be given in the vulgar Tongue for the Peoples ſake which are preſent, that they may the better underſtand their own profeſſion, and alſo be more able to teach their Children the ſame, yet notwithſtanding there is not like neceſſity of the vulgar Tongue in Baptiſm, as in the Lords Supper. Baptiſm is given to Children, who by reaſon of their Age are not able to underſtand what is ſpoken unto them, what Tongue ſoever it be. The Lords Supper is, and ought to be given to them that are waxen. Moreover, in Baptiſm which is accuſtomed to be given to Children in the Latin Tongue, all the ſubſtantial points (as a man would ſay) which Chriſt commanded to be done, are obſerved. And therefore I judge that Baptiſm to be a perfect and true Baptiſm; and that it is not only not needful, but alſo not lawful for any man ſo chriſtned, to be chriſtned again. But yet notwithſtanding, they ought to be taught the Catechiſm of the Chriſtian Faith, when they ſhall come to years of diſcretion; which Catechiſm whoſoever deſpiſeth, or will not deſirouſly imbrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a Chriſtian man. But in the Popiſh Maſs are wanting certain ſubſtantials, that is to ſay, things commanded by the Word of God to be obſerved in the Miniſtration of the Lords Supper; of the which there is ſufficient declaration made before.

N. Ridleys anſwer.

Where you ſay (I would wiſh) ſurely I would with that you had ſpoken more vehemently, and to have ſaid, it is of neceſſity, that all things in the Congregation ſhould be done in the vulgar Tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are preſent, notwithſtanding that the Child it ſelf is ſufficiently Baptized in the Latin Tongue.

H. Latimer.

Foraſmuch as I perceive you are ſo ſtiffly, I will not ſay obſtinately bent, and ſo wedded to your Opinion, that no gentle Exhortations, no wholſom counſels, no other kind of means can call you home to a better mind, there remaineth that which in like caſes was wont to be the only remedy againſt ſtiffnecked and ſtubborn perſons, that is, you muſt be hampered by the Laws, and compelled either to obey whether ye will or no, or elſe to ſuffer that which a Rebel to the Laws ought to ſuffer. Do you not know that whoſoever refuſeth to obey the Laws of the Realm, he bewrayeth himſelf to be an enemy to his Country? Do you not know that this is the readieſt way to ſtir up Sedition and Civil war? it is better that you ſhould bear your own ſin, than that through the example of your breach of the Common Laws, the common quiet ſhould be diſturbed. How can you ſay, you will be the Queens true ſubject, when as you do openly profeſs that you will not keep her Laws?

Anſ. obj. 14.

Anno 15[illegible]

Cont. Epiſt. Gauden. ca. Cap. 22.

Anno 1555.

N. Ridleys Anſwer.

O heavenly Father, the Father of all wiſdom, underſtanding, and true ſtrength, I beſeech thee for thy only Son our Saviour Chriſts ſake, look mercifully upon me wretched Creature, and ſend thine holy Spirit into my breaſt, that not only I may underſtand according to thy wiſdom, how this peſtilent and deadly dart is to be born off, and with what anſwer it is to be beaten back, but alſo when I muſt joyn to fight in the field for the glory of thy Name, that then I being ſtrengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully ſtand in the Confeſſion of thy Faith, and of thy Truth, and continue in the ſame unto the end of my life, through the ſame our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

Now to the objection. I grant it to be reaſonable, that he which by words and gentleneſs cannot be made to yield to that is right and good, ſhould be bridled by the ſtrait correction of the Laws: that is to ſay, he that will not be ſubject to Gods Word, muſt be puniſhed by the Law. It is true that is commonly ſaid, He that will not obey the Goſpel, muſt be tamed and taught by the rigour of the Law. But theſe things ought to take place againſt him, which refuſeth to do that is right and juſt according to true Godlineſs, not againſt him, which cannot quietly bear Superſtitions, but doth hate and deteſt from his heart ſuch kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the Name of God. To that which ye ſay, a tranſgreſſor of the common Laws bewrayeth himſelf to be an enemy of his Country, ſurely a man ought to look unto the nature of the Laws, what manner of Laws they be which are broken. For a faithful Chriſtian ought not to think alike of all manner of Laws. But that ſaying ought only truly to be underſtood of ſuch Laws as be not contrary to Gods Word. Otherwiſe, whoſoever love their Country in Truth (that is to ſay, in God) they will always judge if at any time the Laws of God and man be the one contrary to the other) that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they that think otherwiſe, and pretend a love to that Country forſomuch as they make their Country to fight as it were againſt God, in whom conſiſteth the only ſtay of their Country, ſurely I do think that ſuch are to be judged moſt deadly enemies, and traytors to their Country. For they that fight againſt God which is the ſafety of their Country, what do they elſe but go about to bring upon their Country a preſent ruine and deſtruction? But they that do ſo are worthy to be judged enemies to their Country, and betrayers of the Realm. Therefore, &c.

But this is the readieſt way (ye ſay) to ſtir up Sedition, to trouble the quiet of the Common-wealth; therefore are theſe things to be repreſſed in time by force of Laws. Behold, Satan doth not ceaſe to practiſe his old guiles, and accuſtomed ſubtleties. He hath ever this dart in a readineſs to hurl againſt his Adverſaries, to accuſe them of Sedition, that he may bring them (if he can) in danger of the Higher Powers. For ſo hath he by his Miniſter always charged the Prophets of God. *Ahab* ſaid unto *Elias*; *Art thou he that troubleth* Iſrael? The falſe Prophets alſo complained to their Princes of *Jeremy*, that his words were ſeditious, and not to be ſuffered: Did not the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* falſly accuſe Chriſt as a Seditious perſon, and one that ſpake againſt *Cæſar*? Did they not at the laſt cry, *If you let this man go, ye are not Cæſars Friend*? The Orator *Tertullus*, how doth he accuſe *Paul* before *Felix* the high Deputy? *We have found this man, ſaith he, a peſtilent fellow, and a ſtirrer of ſedition, unto all the* Jews *in the whole world, &c.* But I pray you were theſe men, as they were called, Seditious perſons? Chriſt, *Paul* and the Prophets? God forbid. But they were of falſe men falſly accuſed. And wherefore I pray you? but becauſe they reproved before the People their guiles, ſuperſtition, and deceits. And when the other could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accuſed them as Seditious perſons, and troublers of the Common-wealth, that being by this means made hateful to the People and Princes, they might the more eaſily be ſnatched up to be tormented, and put to death. But how far they were from all Sedition, their whole doctrine, life, and converſation doth well declare. For that which was objected laſt of all, that he cannot be a faithful ſubject to his Prince, which profeſſeth openly that he will not obſerve the Laws which the Prince hath made; here I would wiſh that I might have an indifferent Judge, and one that feareth God, to whoſe Judgment in this cauſe I promiſe I will ſtand. I anſwer therefore, A man ought to obey his Prince, but in the Lord, and never againſt the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his Prince againſt God, doth not a duty to the Prince, but is a deceiver of the Prince, and an helper unto him to work his own deſtruction. He is alſo unjuſt, which giveth not to the Prince that is the Princes, and to God that is Gods. Here cometh to my remembrance, that notable ſaying of *Valentinianus* the Emperour for chooſing the Biſhop of *Millain*. Set him (ſaith he) in the Biſhops ſeat, to whom if we (as man) do offend at any time, we may ſubmit our ſelves. *Polycarpus* the moſt conſtant Martyr, when he ſtood before the cheif Rulers and was commanded to blaſpheme Chriſt, and to ſwear by the fortune of *Cæſar*, &c. he anſwered with a mild ſpirit; We are taught (ſaith he) to give honour unto Princes: and thoſe powers which be of God; but ſuch honour as is not contrary to Gods Religion.

Theod. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 4. c. 5. Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 4. c. 4. Niceph. lib. 3. cap. 35.

Hitherto ye ſee (good Father) how I have in words only made as it were a flouriſh before the fight, which I ſhortly look after, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight againſt the adverſary of Chriſt, and to muſe with my ſelf how the darts of the old enemy may be born off, and after what ſort I may ſmite him again with the Sword of the Spirit. I learn alſo hereby to be in ure with armour, and to aſſay how I can go armed. In *Tindal* where I was born, not far from the *Scotiſh* Borders, I have known my Country-men to watch night and day in their harneſs, ſuch as they had, that is, in their Jacks, and their Spears in their hand (you call them Northern-gads) eſpecially when they had any privy warning of the coming of the *Scots*. And ſo doing, although at every ſuch bickering ſome of them ſpent their lives, yet by ſuch means, like pretty men, they defended their Country. And thoſe that ſo died, I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their off-ſpring and Progeny all the Country loved them the better for their Fathers ſake. And in the quarrel of Chriſt our Saviour, in the defence of his own Divine Ordinances, by the which he giveth unto us life and immortality; yea, in the quarrel of Faith, and Chriſtian Religion, wherein reſteth our everlaſting ſalvation, ſhall we not watch? ſhall we not go always armed? ever looking when our Adverſary (which like a roaring Lion ſeeketh whom he may devour) ſhall come upon us by reaſon of our ſlothfulneſs? yea, and wo be unto us, if he can oppreſs us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us ſleeping. Let us awake therefore. For if the good man of the houſe knew at what hour the thief ſhould come he would ſurely watch, and not ſuffer his houſe to be broken up. Let us awake therefore, I ſay: Let us not ſuffer our houſe to be broken up. Reſiſt the Devil, ſaith Saint *James*, and he will fly from you. Let us therefore reſiſt him manfully, and taking the Croſs upon our ſhoulders, let us follow our Captain Chriſt, who by his own Blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlaſting joys. Let us follow, I ſay, whither he calleth and allureth us, that after theſe afflictions which laſt but for a moment, whereby he trieth our Faith, as gold by the fire, we may everlaſtingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and that through the ſame our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; to whom with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory, now and for ever, *Amen, Amen.*

Eph. 6.

1 Pet. 5.

Matth. 24.

James 4.

1 Tim. 6.

Good Father, forſomuch as I have determined with my ſelf, to pour forth theſe my cogitations into your boſom, here, me thinketh, I ſee you ſuddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your Prophetical countenance, and ſpeaking unto me, with theſe or like words; Truſt not, my Son (I beſeech you vouchſafe me the honour of this name; for in ſo doing I ſhall think my ſelf both honoured, and beloved of you.) Truſt not, I ſay, my Son, to theſe word-weapons; for the Kingdom of God is not in words but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord. Do not imagine aforehand, what and how

1 Cor. 4.

Satan and his Miniſters do alway charge the godly with Sedition. Reg. 18. Jer. 26. Luke 23. John 18. Acts 14.

Anno 1555.

Matt 10. Mark 13. how you will ſpeak: for it ſhall be given you even in that ſame hour what ye ſhall ſpeak. For it is not ye that ſpeak, but the Spirit of your Father which ſpeaketh in you. I pray you therefore, Father, pray for me, that I may caſt my whole care upon him, and truſt upon him in all perils. For I know, and am ſurely perſwaded, that whatſoever I can imagine or think aforehand, it is nothing, except he aſſiſt me with his Spirit when the time is. I beſeech you therefore, Father, pray for me, that ſuch a compleat harneſs of the Spirit, ſuch boldneſs of mind may be given unto me, that I may out of a true Faith ſay with *David*; *I will not truſt in my Bow, and it is not my Sword that ſhall ſave me. For he hath no pleaſure in the ſtrength of an Horſe, &c. But the Lords delight is in them that fear him, and put their truſt in his mercy.* I beſeech you pray, pray, that I may enter this fight only in the Name of God, and that when all is paſt, I being not overcome through his gracious aid, may remain and ſtand faſt in him, till that day of the Lord, in the which to them that obtain the victory ſhall be given the lively Manna to eat, and a triumphant Crown for evermore.

Ephes. 6. Pſal. 44. Pſal. 147. Apoc. 2.

Now Father, I pray you help me to buckle on this gear a little better. For ye know the deepneſs of Satan, being an old Souldier, and you have collered with him ere now: bleſſed be God, that hath ever aided you ſo well. I ſuppoſe he may well hold you at the bay. But truly he will not be ſo willing (I think) to joyn with you as with us yonglings: Sir, I beſeech you, let your ſervant read this my babling unto you, and now and then, as it ſhall ſeem unto you beſt, let your pen run on my Book; ſpare not to blot my Paper: I give you good leave.

H. *Latimer.* Sir, I have cauſed my Man not only to read your Armour unto me, but alſo to write it it out. For it is not only no bare Armour, but alſo well buckled Armour. I ſee not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and my prayer ſhall you not lack, truſting that you do the like for me; For indeed there is the help, &c. Many things make confuſion in memory. And if I were learned as well as St. *Paul*, I would not beſtow much amongſt them, further than to gall them, and ſpur-gall too, when and whereas occaſion were given, and matter came to mind; for the Law ſhall be their ſhoot-anchor ſtay, and refuge. Therefore there is no remedy; Namely, now when they have the maſter bowl in their hand, and rule the roſt, but patience. Better it is to ſuffer what cruelly they will put upon us, than to incur Gods high indignation. Wherefore (good my Lord) be of good cheer in the Lord, with due conſideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promiſe you. Our common Enemy ſhall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, which will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength, &c. Be at a point what ye will ſtand unto; ſtick unto that, and let them both ſay and do what they liſt. They can but kill the Body, which otherwiſe is of it ſelf mortal. Neither yet ſhall they do that when they liſt, but when God will ſuffer them, when the hour appointed is come. To uſe many words with them it ſhall be but in vain, now that they have a bloody and deadly Law prepared for them. But it is very requiſite that ye give a reſonable account of your Faith, if they will quietly hear you; elſe ye know in a wicked place of judgment a man may keep ſilence, after the example of Chriſt. Let them not deceive you with their ſophiſtical Sophiſms and fallacies: you know that falſe things may have more appearance of Truth, than things that be moſt true: therefore *Paul* giveth us a watch-word, Let no man deceive you with likelineſs of ſpeech. Neither is it requiſite that with the contentious ye ſhould follow ſtrife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the ſubverſion of the hearers, and the vain bragging and oſtentation of the Adverſaries. Fear of death doth moſt perſwade a great number. Be well ware of that Argument; for that perſwaded *Shaxton* (as many men thought) after that he had once made a good profeſſion openly before the judgment ſeat. The fleſh is weak, but the willingneſs of the Spirit ſhall refreſh the weakneſs of the fleſh.

1 Cor. 10. 1 Pet. 3. Luke 23. Coloſ. 2. 2 Tim. 2.

The number of the Criers under the Altar muſt needs be fulfilled; if we be ſegregated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greateſt promotion that God giveth in this world, to be ſuch *Philippians*, to whom it is given not only to believe, but alſo to ſuffer, &c. But who is able to do theſe things? Surely all our ability, all our ſufficiency is of God. He requireth and promiſeth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it ſhall be requiſite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midſt of the fire.

Apoc. 6. Phil. 1.

When that number is fulfilled, which I ween ſhall be ſhortly, then have at the Papiſts, when they ſhall ſay peace, all things are ſafe, when Chriſt ſhall come to keep his great Parliament to the redreſs of all things that be amiſs. But he ſhall not come as the Papiſts feign him, to hide himſelf, and to play bo-peep as it were under a piece of Bread: but he ſhall come glorioully, to the terrour and fear of all Papiſts; but to the great conſolation and comfort of all that will here ſuffer for him. Comfort your ſelves one another with theſe words.

1 Theſ. 5. 1 Theſ. 4.

Lo Sir, here have I blotted your Paper vainly, and played the fool egregiouſly; but ſo I thought better than not to do your requeſt at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me, pray for me, I ſay, pray for [illegible]. For I am ſomtime ſo fearful, that I would creep into a Mouſe-hole; ſomtime God doth viſit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, leſt I ſhould rob him of his due, as many do, and almoſt all the world. Fare ye well.

What credence is to be given to Papiſts, it may appear by their wracking, writing, wrinching, and monſtrouſly injuring of Gods holy Scripture, as appeareth in the Popes Law. But I dwell here now in a School of oblivioufneſs. Fare you well once again, and be you ſtedfaſt and unmovable in the Lord. *Paul* loved *Timothy* marvellous well, notwithſtanding he ſaith unto him; *Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the Goſpel*; and again, *Harden thy ſelf to ſuffer afflictions. Be faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a Crown of life*, ſaith the Lord.

1 Cor 15. 2 Tim. 1. Apoc. 2.

Here followeth the Letters of the Reverend Biſhop and Martyr, Nicholas Ridley.

A Letter ſent from Biſhop *Ridley*, and his Priſon-fellows unto Mr. *Bradford* and his Priſon-fellows, in the *Kings-Bench* in *Southwark*, Anno 1554.

A Letr of B. Rid. to M. Brad. and others.

Well beloved in Chriſt our Saviour, we all with one heart wiſh to you, with all thoſe that love God in deed and Truth, grace and health, and eſpecially to our dearly beloved Companions which are in Chriſts cauſe, and the cauſe both of their Brethren, and of their own ſalvation, to put their neck willingly under the yoke of Chriſts Croſs. How joyful it was to us to hear the report of Dr. Taylor, *and of his godly Confeſſion, &c. I inſure you, it is hard for me to expreſs.*

Bleſſed be God, which was and is the giver of that, and of all godly ſtrength and ſtomach in the time of adverſity. As for the rumours that have or do go abroad, either of our relenting or maſſing; we truſt, that they wich know God and their duty towards their Brethren in Chriſt, will not be too light of credence. For it is not the ſlanderers evil Tongue, but a mans evil deed that can with God defile a man; and therefore with Gods grace ye ſhall never have cauſe to do otherwiſe than ye ſay ye do, that is, not to doubt but that we will, by Gods grace, continue, &c. Like rumour as ye have heard of our coming to London, *hath been here ſpread of the coming of certain learned men Priſoners, hither from* London; *but as yet we know no certainty whether of theſe rumors is, or ſhall be more true. Know you that we have you in our daily remembrance, and wiſh you and all the reſt of our foreſaid companions well in Chriſt.*

His Reports ſpread by the policy of the Papiſts.

It ſhould do us much comfort, if we might have knowledge of the State of the reſt of our moſt dearly Beloved, which in this troubleſom time do ſtand in Chriſts cauſe, and in the defence of the Truth therof. Somewhat we have heard of Mr. Hoopers *matter; but of the reſt never a deal. We long to hear of Father* Crome, *Dr.* Sands, *Mr.* Saunders, Veron, Beacon, Rogers, &c. *We are in good health, thanks be to God, and yet the manner of our intreating doth change as ſowr Ale doth in ſummer. It is reported to us of our Keepers, that the*

This Letter ſeemeth to be written a little before, about the time of the burning of M. Rogers.

Anno 1555.

the Univerſity beareth us heavily. A cole chanced to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floor, and no more harm was done, the Bayliffs ſervant ſitting by the fire. Another night there chanced (as Mr. Bayliffs told us) a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the ſame he was ſet in Bocardo. *Upon theſe things (as is reported) there is riſen a rumour in the Town and Country about, that we ſhould have broken the priſon with ſuch violence, as that if Maſter Bayliffs had not playèd the pretty men, we ſhould have made a ſcape. We had out of our priſon a wall that we might have walked upon, and our ſervants had liberty to go abroad in the Town or fields, but now both they and we are reſtrained of both.*

Whatſoever fault is done, the cauſe is laid upon the poor Chriſtians.

My Lord of Worceſter *paſſed by throw* Oxford, *but he did not viſit us. The ſame day began our reſtraint to be more, and the book of the Communion was taken from us by the Bayliffs at the Mayors commandment, as the Bayliffs did report to us. No man is licenſed to come into us before they might, that would ſee us upon the wall, but that is ſo grudged at, and ſo evil reported, that we are now reſtrained, &c. Sir, bleſſed be God, with all our evil reports, grudges, and reſtraints, we are merry in God, all our cure and care is and ſhall be (by Gods grace) to pleaſe and ſerve him, of whom we look and hope after theſe temporall and momentany miſeries, to have eternall joy and perpetual felicity with* Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Jacob, Peter *and* Paul, *and all the heavenly company of the Angels in heaven, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.*

M. Ridley and his fellow priſoner in *Bocardo*, reſtrained of their liberty.

As yet there was never learned man, nor any Scholar, or other that viſited us ſince we came into Bocardo, *which now in* Oxford *may be called a Colledge of* "Quondams. *For as ye know, we be no fewer than three, and I dare ſay, every one well contented with his portion, which I do reckon to be our heavenly Fathers fatherly, good and gracious gift. Thus fare you well. We ſhall by Gods grace one day meet together, and be merry. The day aſſuredly approacheth apace; the Lord grant that it may ſhortly come. For before that day come, I fear me the World will wax worſe and worſe. But then all our enemies ſhall be overthrown, and troden under foot; Righteouſneſs and truth then ſhall have the victory, and bear the bell away, whereof the Lord grant us to be partakers, and all that love truely the truth.*

The ingratitude of the Scholars in not viſiting the Biſhops in *Bocardo*.

"*Bocardo* a Colledge of *Quondams*.

We all pray you, as we can, to cauſe all our commendations to be made unto all ſuch as ye know did viſit us and you, when we were in the Tower, *with their friendly remembrances and benefits. Miſtreſs* Wilkſon *and Miſtreſs* Warcup *have not forgotten us, but ever ſince we came to* Bocardo, *with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us: not that elſe we did lack (for God be bleſſed, he ever hitherto hath provided ſufficiently for us) but that is a great comfort, and an occaſion for us to bleſs God, when we ſee that he maketh them ſo friendly to tender us, whom ſome of us were never familiarly acquainted withall.*

The goodneſs of Miſtreſs Wilkſon and *Anne* Warcup to help the Biſhops in *Bocardo*.

Yours in Chriſt, *Nich. Ridley.*

A Letter of Maſter *Ridley*, ſent to a Couſin of his.

GOds Holy Spirit be with you now and ever, Amen.

Another Letter of B. Ridley to his Couſin.

When I call to remembrance (beloved Couſin) the ſtate of thoſe that for fear of trouble, either for loſs of goods, will do in the ſight of the World thoſe things that they know and are aſſured are contrary to the will of God, I can do no leſs but lament their caſe, being aſſured the end thereof will be ſo pitiful (without ſpeedy repentance) that I tremble and fear to have it in remembrance. I would to God it lay upon ſome earthly burden, ſo that freedom of conſcience might be given unto them. I wrote (as God knoweth) not of preſumption, but onely lamenting the ſtate of thoſe, whom I thought now in this dangerous time ſhould have given both you and me comfortable inſtruction. But alas, inſtead thereof we have inſtructions to follow (I lament to rehearſe it) ſuperſtitious Idolatry. Yea, and that worſt of all is, they will ſeek to prove it by the Scriptures. The Lord for his mercy turn their hearts, Amen. *Commend me, &c.*

M. Ridley lamenteth the ſtate of them which for fear of trouble do winde with the world, and go contrary to their conſcience.

Yours, *Nicholas Ridley.*

To Maſter *Bradford.*

Another worthy letter of Biſhop Ridley to *M. Bradford.*

BRother *Bradford*, I wiſh you and your company in Chriſt, yea, and all the Holy Brotherhood, that now with you in divers priſons ſuffereth and beareth patiently Chriſts Croſs for the maintenance of his Goſpel, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Sir, conſidering the ſtate of this chivalry and warfare, wherein I doubt not but we be ſet to fight under Chriſts banner, and his Croſs, againſt our ghoſtly enemy the Devil, and the old Serpent Satan, me think I perceive two things to be his moſt perillous and moſt dangerous engines, which he hath to impugne Chriſts verity, his Goſpel, and his faith; and the ſame two alſo to be the moſt maſſy poſts, and moſt mighty pillars, whereby he maintaineth and upholdeth this Satanical Synagogue. Theſe two, Sir, are they, in my judgement: the one, his falſe Doctrine and Idolatrical uſe of the Lords Supper, and the other, the wicked and abominable uſurpation of the primacy of the See of *Rome*. By theſe two Satan ſeemeth to me principally to maintain and uphold his Kingdom; by theſe two he driveth down mightily (alas I fear me) the third part of the ſtarrs in heaven. Theſe two poyſonful rotten poſts he had ſo painted over with ſuch a pretence and colour of Religion, of Unity in Chriſts Church of the Catholick faith, and ſuch like, that the wily Serpent is able to deceive (if it were poſſible) even the elect of God. Wherefore *John* ſaith not without great cauſe; *If any man know not Satans ſubtilties and the profundities thereof, I will wiſh him no other burden to be laden withall.*

Two main pillars holding up the Synagogue of Satan.
1. Falſe doctrine in the Sacrament.
2. The Popes primacy: Apoc. 8: Sátans poyſon painted over with fair pretenſes of Religion. Apoc. 2:

Sir, becauſe theſe be his principal and main poſts whereupon ſtandeth all his falſhood, craft, and treachery, therefore according to the poor power that God hath given me, I have bended mine Artillery to ſhoot at the ſame. I know it to be but little (God knoweth) that I can do, and of my ſhot I know they paſs not. Yet I will not (God willing) ceaſe to do the beſt that I can, to ſhake thoſe cankered and rotten poſts. The Lord grant me good ſucceſs, to the glory of his Name, and the furtherance of Chriſts Goſpel. I have now already (I thank God) for this preſent time ſpent a good part of my powder in theſe ſcriblings, whereof this bearer ſhall give you knowledge. Good Brother *Bradford*, let the wicked ſurmiſe and ſay what they liſt; know you for a certainty, by Gods grace, without all doubt, that in Chriſts Goſpels cauſe, againſt and upon the aforeſaid Gods enemies, I am fully determined to live and die. Farewel (dear Brother) and I beſeech you and all the reſt of our Brethren to have good remembrance of the condemned Hereticks (as they call them) of *Oxford*, in your prayers. The bearer ſhal certifie you of our ſtate. Fare well in the Lord. From *Bocardo*

Biſh. *Ridleys* purpoſe to live and dye upon the enemies of *Chriſt*, and of the Goſpel.

Yours in Chriſt. Nich. Ridley

Another Letter of Maſter Ridley *unto Maſter* Bradford, *and other his priſon-fellows, Anno*, 1555.

DEarly beloved, I wiſh you grace, mercy, and peace.

Another Letter of B. *Ridley* anſwering to M. *Bradford*, This was a treatiſe of the Lords Supper with other things which *M. Bradford* ſent to him to peruſe, and to judge thereof:

According to your mind, I have run over all your "papers, and what I have done (which is but ſmall) therein may appear. In two places I have put in two looſe leaves. I had much ado to read that was written in your great leaves. and I ween ſomewhere I have altered ſome words, becauſe I could not read perfectly that which was written. Sir, what ſhall be beſt done with theſe things, now ye muſt conſider; for if they come in ſight at this time, undoubtedly they muſt to the fire with their Father: and as for any ſafeguard that your cuſtody can be unto them, I am ſure you look not for it. For as you have been partner of the work, ſo I am ſure you look for none other, but to have and receive like wages, and to drink of the ſame cup. Bleſſed be God, that hath given you liberty in the mean ſeaſon, that you may uſe your pen to his glory, and the comfort (as I hear ſay) of many. I bleſs God daily in you, and all your whole company, to whom I beſeech you commend me heartily. Now I love my country-man in deed and in truth. I mean D. *Taylor*

not

Commendation of Doctor *Taylor*.

not for my earthly countries ſake, but for our heavenly Fathers ſake, and for Chriſts ſake, whom I heard ſay, he did ſtoutly in time of perill confeſs, and yet alſo for our countries ſake, and for all our Mothers ſake; but I mean of the Kingdom of Heaven, and of heavenly *Jeruſalem*, and becauſe of the Spirit, which bringeth forth in him, in you, and in our company ſuch bleſſed fruits of boldneſs in the Lords cauſe, of patience and conſtancy. The Lord which hath begun this work in you all, perform and perfect this his own deed, until his own day come *Amen*.

And yet I perceive ye have not been baited, and the cauſe thereof God knoweth, which will let them do no more to his, than is his pleaſed will and pleaſure to ſuffer them to do for his own glory, and to the profit of them which be truely his. For the Father, which doth guide them that be Chriſts to Chriſt, is more mighty than all they, and no man is able to pull them out of the Fathers hands: except, I ſay, it pleaſe our Father, it pleaſe our Maſter Chriſt to ſuffer them, they ſhall not ſtir one hair of your heads.

My Brother *P.* the bearer hereof, and Maſter *Hoopers* Letters; would that we ſhould ſay what we think good concerning your "mind: that is, not to anſwer, except ye might have ſomewhat indifferent Judges; We are (as ye know) ſeparated, and one of us cannot in any thing conſult with another, and much ſtrait watching of the Bayliffs is about us, that there be no privy conference amongſt us. And yet, as we hear, the Scholars bear us more heavily then the Townſmen. A wonderful thing, among ſo many, never yet Scholar offered any of us (ſo farr as I know) any manner of favour, either for or in Chriſts cauſe.

"This matter was concerning the deliberation of the priſoners in *London* what to do if they were called to open diſputation.

Now as concerning your demand of your Counſell, for my part I do not miſlike that which I perceive ye are minded to do. For I look for none other, but if ye anſwer afore the ſame Commiſſioners that we did, ye ſhall be ſerved and handled as we were, though ye were as well learned as ever was either *Peter* or *Paul*. And yet further I think, that occaſion afterward may be given you, and the conſideration of the profit of your auditory may perchance move yo to do otherwiſe.

Finally, determinately to ſay what ſhall be beſt, I am not able; but I truſt he, whoſe cauſe ye have in hand, ſhall put you in mind to do that which ſhall be moſt for his glory, the profit of his flock, and your own ſalvation. This Letter muſt be common to you and Maſter *Hooper*, in whom and in his priſon-fellow good Father *C.* I bleſs God, even from the bottom of my heart; for I doubt not but they both do to our Maſter Chriſt, true, acceptable, and honorable ſervice, and profitable to his flock; the one with his pen, and the other with his fatherly example of patience and conſtancy, and all manner of true godlineſs. But what ſhall I need to ſay to you? Let this be common among your Brethren, among whom (I dare ſay) it is with you as it is with us, to whom all things here are common, meat, money, and whatſoever any of us hath, that can or may do another good. Although I ſaid the Bayliffs and our Hoſteſs ſtraitly watch us, that we have no conference or intelligence of any thing abroad, yet hath God provided for every one of us inſtead of our ſervants, faithful fellows, which will be content to hear and ſee, and to do for us whatſoever they can. It is Gods work ſurely, bleſſed be God for his unſpeakable goodneſs. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God, and the communication of the Holy Ghoſt be with you all, *Amen*, *Amen*.

Communion of Saints in Biſhop *Ridley*, Biſhop *Hooper*, D. *Taylor*, and other.

Gods proviſion for his Saints.

As farr as *London* is from *Oxford*, yet thence we have received of late, both meat, money, and ſhirts, not onely from ſuch as are of our acquaintance, but of ſome (whom this bearer can tell) with whom I had never to my knowledge any acquaintance. I know for whoſe ſake they do it; to him therefore be all honour, glory, and due thanks.

The Chriſtian charity of certain godly Brethren of *London*, toward the priſoned Biſhops in *Oxford*.

And yet I pray you do ſo much as to ſhew them, that we have received their benevolence, and (God bee bleſſed) have plenty of all ſuch things. This I deſire you to do; for I know they be of Maſter *Hoopers* and your familiar acquaintance. Maſter *Latimer* was craſed; but I hear now (thanks be to God) that he amendeth again.

Nicholas Ridley.

Another Letter of M. Ridley *unto Maſter* Bradford.

This letter of B. *Ridley* was written to M. *Bradford* ſoon after his condemnation. when it was thought that he ſhould be had to *Lancaſhire*. Mat. 25.

OH dear Brother, ſeeing the time is now come, wherein it pleaſeth the heavenly Father for Chriſt our Saviour his ſake, to call upon you, and to bid you to come, happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be found awake at the Lords calling. *Euge ſerve bone & fidelis, quia ſuper pauca fuiſti fidelis, ſuper multa te conſtituet, & intrabis in gaudium Domini*, i. Well done good and faithful ſervant, becauſe thou haſt been truſty in ſmall matters, he ſhall ſet thee over great things, and thou ſhalt enter into the joy of thy Lord.

O dear Brother, what meaneth this, that you are ſent into your own native Country? The wiſedom and policy of the World may mean what they will, but I truſt God will ſo order the matter finally by his fatherly providence, that ſome great occaſion of Gods gracious goodneſs ſhall be plentifully powred abroad amongſt his [illegible] thren in that Country, by this your Martyrdom, where the Martyrs for Chriſts ſake ſhed their Blood, and loſt their lives. Oh what wondrous things hath Chriſt afterward wrought to his glory, and confirmation of their Doctrine? if it be not the place that ſanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Chriſt ſanctifie the place, Brother *Bradford*, then happy and holy ſhall be that place wherein thou ſhalt ſuffer, and ſhall be with thy aſhes in Chriſts cauſe ſprinkled over withall. All thy Country may rejoyce of thee, that it ever brought forth ſuch a one, which would render his life again in his cauſe, of whom he had received it. Brother *Bradford*, ſo long as I ſhall underſtand thou art in thy journey, by Gods grace I ſhall call upon our heavenly Father for Chriſts ſake, to ſet thee ſafely home: and then, good Brother, ſpeak you, and pray for the remnant which are to ſuffer for Chriſts ſake, according to that thou then ſhalt know more clearly.

We do look now every day when we ſhall be called on, bleſſed be God, I ween I am the weakeſt many ways of our company; and yet I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Chriſt, that ſince I heard of our dear Brother *Rogers* departing, and ſtout confeſſion of Chriſt and his truth even unto the death, my heart (bleſſed be God) rejoyced of it, that ſince that time (I ſay) I never felt any lumpiſh heavineſs in my heart, as I grant I have felt ſometimes before. Oh good Brother, bleſſed be God in thee, and bleſſed be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewel, farewel.

The rejoycing of B. *Ridley* at the conſtancy of M. *Rogers*.

Your Brother in Chriſt, Nicholas Ridley; *Brother farewel.*

To the Brethren remaining in captivity of the fleſh, and diſperſed abroad in ſundry priſons, but knit together in Unity of Spirit and Holy Religion in the bowels of the Lord Jeſus.

A Letter of B. *Ridley* to the perſecuted flock of Chriſt. Written in Latine, and tranſlated into Engliſh.

GRace, peace, and mercy be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord for you my Brethren, namely, for the great conſolation which through you we have received in the Lord, who notwithſtanding the rage of Satan that goeth about by all manner of ſubtile means to beguile the World, and alſo buſily laboureth to reſtore and ſet up his Kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruine; ye remain yet ſtill unmoveable, as men ſurely grounded upon a ſtrong rock. And now, albeit that Satan by his ſouldiers and wicked miniſters, daily (as we hear) draweth numbers unto him, ſo that it is ſaid of him, that he plucketh even the very Stars out of heaven, whiles he driveth into ſome men the fear of death, and loſs of all their goods, and ſheweth and offereth to otherſome the pleaſant baits of the World: namely, riches, wealth and all kind of delights and pleaſures, fair houſes, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not; and all to the intent they ſhould fall down and worſhip, not the Lord, but the Dragon, the old Serpent, which is the Devil, that great Beaſt and his Image, and ſhould be inticed to commit fornication with the Strumpet of *Babylon*, together with the Kings of the earth, with the leſſer Beaſt and with the falſe Prophets, and ſo to rejoyce and be pleaſant with her, and to be drunken with the wine of her fornication;

Apoc. 12.

Apoc. 17.

Anno 1555.

fornication; yet bleſſed be God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which hath given unto you a manly courage, and hath ſo ſtrengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can contemn as well all the terrors, as alſo the vain flatterings and allurements of the world, eſteeming them as vanites, meer triſles, and things of nought: Who hath alſo wrought, planted, and ſurely ſtabliſhed in your hearts, ſo ſtedfaſt a Faith and love of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, joyned with ſuch conſtancy, that by no engines of Antichriſt, be they never ſo terrible or plauſible, ye will ſuffer any other Jeſus, or any other Chriſt to be forced upon you, beſides him whom the Prophets have ſpoken of before, the Apoſtles have preached, the holy Martyrs of God have confeſſed and teſtified with the effuſion of their Blood.

He exhorteth the Brethren to ſtand faſt. Gal. 5.

In this Faith ſtand ye faſt, my Brethren, and ſuffer not your ſelves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and ſuperſtition any more. For ye know, Brethren, how that our Saviour warned his beforehand, that ſuch ſhould come as would point unto the world another Chriſt, and would ſet him out with ſo many falſe miracles, and with ſuch deceivable and ſubtile practices, that even the very elect (if it were poſſible) ſhould thereby be deceived: ſuch ſtrong deluſion to come did our Saviour give warning of before. But continue ye faithful and conſtant, be of good comfort, and remember that our grand Captain hath overcome the world; for he that is in us, is ſtronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promiſeth unto us that for the elects ſake, the days of wickedneſs ſhall be ſhortned. In the mean ſeaſon abide ye and endure with patience as ye have begun: endure, I ſay, and reſerve your ſelves unto better times, as one of the Heathen Poets ſaid, ceaſe not to ſhew your ſelves valiant ſouldiers of the Lord and help to maintain the travelling Faith of the Goſpel.

Matth. 24.

1 John 4.

Virg. Æneid. 1. Phil. 1.

Ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye may receive the promiſes. *For yet a very little, and he that ſhall come, will come and will not tarry, and the juſt ſhall live by Faith: but if any withdraw himſelf my Soul ſhall have no pleaſure in him* (ſaith the Lord.) *But we are not they which do withdraw our ſelves unto damnation, but believe unto the ſalvation of the Soul.* Let us not ſuffer theſe words of Chriſt to fall out of our hearts by any manner of terrour, or threatnings of the world. Fear not them which kill the Body, the reſt ye know. For I write not unto you, as to men which are ignorant of the Truth, but which know the Truth, and to this end only, that we agreeing together in one Faith, may take comfort one of another, and be the more confirmed and ſtrengthned thereby. We never had a better or more juſt cauſe either to contemn our life, or ſhed our Blood; we cannot take in hand the defence of a more certain, clear, and manifeſt Truth. For it is not any Ceremony for the which we contend; but it toucheth the very ſubſtance of our whole Religion, yea, even Chriſt himſelf. Shall we, either can we receive and acknowledge any other Chriſt inſtead of him, who is alone the everlaſting Son of the everlaſting Father, and is the brightneſs of the glory and a lively image of the ſubſtance of the Father, in whom only dwelleth corporally the fulneſs of the Godhead, who is the only way, the Truth, and the life? Let ſuch wickedneſs (my Brethren) let ſuch horrible wickedneſs be far from us. For although there be that are called gods, whether in Heaven or in Earth, as there be many gods and many Lords, yet unto us there is but one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him; but every man hath not knowledge. *This is life eternal* (ſaith S. *John*) *that they know thee to be the only true God, and whom thou haſt ſent Jeſus Chriſt.* If any therefore would force upon us any other God, beſides him whom *Paul* and the Apoſtles have taught, let us not hear him but let us flee from him, and hold him accurſed.

Heb. 10. Patience neceſſary for all Chriſtians.

John 10.

The quarrel of the Martyrs is juſt and true. Heb. 1. Coloſ. 1.

Martyrs put to death, becauſe they will acknowledge no more Chriſts but one. 1 Cor. 8.

Brethren, ye are not ignorant of the deep and profound ſubtilties of Satan; for he will not ceaſe to range about you, ſeeking by all means poſſible whom he may devour: but play ye the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord. And albeit your enemies and the adverſaries of the Truth, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, do ſet upon you; yet be ye not faint hearted, and ſhrink not therefore; but truſt unto your Captain Chriſt, truſt unto the Spirit of Truth, and truſt to the Truth of your cauſe; which as it may by the malice of Satan be darkned, ſo can it never be clean put out. For we have (high praiſe be given to God therefore) *moſt plainly, evidently, and clearly on our ſide,* all the Prophets, all the Apoſtles, and undoubtedly all the *ancient Eccleſiaſtical Writers which have written,* until of late years paſt.

The profundities of Satan. Acts 20.

1 Pet. 5. The Martyrs have all the Prophets, Apoſtles, and ancient Eccleſiaſtical Writers on their ſide.

Let us be hearty and of good courage therefore, and thorowly comfort our ſelves in the Lord. Be in no wiſe afraid of your Adverſaries; for that which is to them an occaſion of perdition, is to you a ſure token of ſalvation, and that of God. For unto you it is given, that not only ye ſhould believe on him, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake. And when ye are railed upon for the Name of Chriſt, remember that by the voice of *Peter*, yea, and of Chriſt our Saviour alſo, ye are counted with the Prophets, with the Apoſtles, and with the holy Martyrs of Chriſt, happy and bleſſed therefore: for the glory and Spirit of God reſteth upon you.

Phil. 1.

1 Pet. 4.

On their part our Saviour Chriſt is evil ſpoken of, but on your part he is glorified. For what can they elſe do unto you by perſecuting you, and working all cruelty and villany againſt you, but make your Crowns more glorious, yea beautifie and multiply the ſame, and heap upon themſelves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God: and therefore (good Brethren) though they rage never ſo fiercely againſt us, yet let us not wiſh evil unto them again, knowing that whiles for Chriſts cauſe they vex and perſecute us, they are like mad men, moſt outragious and cruel againſt themſelves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads; but rather let us wiſh well unto them, knowing that we are thereunto called in Chriſt Jeſus, that we ſhould be heirs of the bleſſing. Let us pray therefore unto God, that he would drive out of their hearts this darkneſs of Errors, and make the light of his Truth to ſhine unto them, that they acknowledging their blindneſs, may with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and together with us confeſs him to be the only true God, which is the Father of light, and his only Son Jeſus Chriſt, worſhipping him in Spirit and verity, *Amen.* The Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt comfort your hearts in the love of God, and patience of Chriſt, *Amen.*

He exhorteth us not to wiſh evil to our Perſecutors.

1 Pet. 3.

Your Brother in the Lord, whoſe name this Bearer ſhall ſignifie unto you, ready always by the grace of God to live and dye with you.

To the Brethren which conſtantly cleave unto Chriſt, in ſuffering affliction with him, and for his ſake.

Another Letter of B. *Ridley*, wherein he confirmeth the Brethren in captivity, tranſlated out of the Latin.

GRace and Peace *from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be multiplied unto you,* Amen.

Although Brethren, we have of late heard nothing from you, neither have at this preſent any news to ſend to you; yet we thought good ſomething to write unto you, whereby ye might underſtand that we have good remembrance of you continually, as we doubt not but ye have of us alſo. When this Meſſenger, coming unto us from you of late, had brought us good tidings of your great conſtancy, fortitude, and patience in the Lord, we were filled with much joy and gladneſs, giving thanks to God the Father through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which hath cauſed his face ſo to ſhine upon you, and with the light of ſpiritual underſtanding hath ſo lightned your hearts, that now being in captivity and bonds for Chriſts cauſe, ye have not ceaſed, as much as in you lieth, by words, but much more by deed and by your example, to ſtabliſh and confirm that thing, which when ye were at liberty in the world, ye laboured to publiſh and ſet abroad by the Word and Doctrine: that is to ſay, holding faſt the Word of Life, ye ſhine as lights in the world, in the midſt of a wicked and crooked Nation, and that with ſo much the greater glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and profit of your Brethren, by how much Satan more cruelly now rageth, and buſily laboureth to darken the light of the Goſpel.

Communion and Unity of Saints.

Phil. 2.

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And as for the darkneſs that Satan now bringeth upon the Church of England, *who needeth to doubt thereof? Of late time our Saviour Chriſt, his Apoſtles, Prophets, and Teachers ſpake in the Temple to the People of* England *in the Engliſh Tongue, ſo that they might be underſtood plainly, and without any hardneſs, of the godly and ſuch as ſought for heavenly knowledge in matters, which of neceſſity of ſalvation pertained to the obtaining of eternal life; but now thoſe things, which once were written of them for the edifying of the Congregation, are read in a ſtrange Tongue without interpretation, manifeſtly againſt St.*Pauls *commandment, ſo that there is no man able to underſtand them, which hath not learned that ſtrange and unknown Tongue.*

Reaſons proving the Religion in Queen *Maries* time not to be of God.

Of late days thoſe heavenly Myſteries, whereby Chriſt hath ingraffed us into his Body, and hath united us one to another, whereby alſo being regenerate, and born anew unto God; he hath nouriſhed, increaſed and ſtrengthned us, whereby moreover, either he hath taught and ſet forth an order amongſt them which are whole, or elſe to the ſick in Soul or Body, hath given, as it were, wholſom medicines and remedies; thoſe (I ſay) were all plainly ſet forth to the People in their own language; ſo that what great and exceeding good things every man had received of God, what duty every one owed to another by Gods Ordinance, what every one had profeſſed in his vocation, and was bound to obſerve, where remedy was to be had for the wicked and feeble, he to whom God hath given a deſire and willing heart to underſtand thoſe things, might ſoon perceive and underſtand. But now all theſe things are taught and ſet forth in ſuch ſort, that the People redeemed with Chriſts Blood, and for whoſe ſakes they were by Chriſt himſelf ordained, can have no manner of underſtanding thereof at all.

Comparison between the Religion in King *Edward's* time, and the Religion ſet out in Q. *Maries* time.

Scriptures in King *Edward's* time known, in Q. *Maries* time unknown.

Of late (forſomuch as we know not how to pray as we ought) our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in his Prayer, whereof he would have no man ignorant, and alſo the Holy Ghoſt in the Pſalms, Hymns, and ſpiritual Songs which are ſet forth in the Bible, did teach and inſtruct all the People of England *in the Engliſh Tongue, that they might ask ſuch things as are according to the will of the Father, and might joyn their hearts and lips in Prayer together; but now all theſe things are commanded to be hid and ſhut up from them in a ſtrange Tongue, whereby it muſt needs follow, that the People can neither tell how to pray, nor what to pray for; and how can they joyn their hearts and voice together, when they underſtand no more what the voice ſignifieth, than a brute Beaſt?*

In King *Edward's* time the People knew what they prayed. In Queen *Maries* time they neither knew what, nor to whom they prayed.

The Catechiſm ſet forth in King *Edward's* time for Children, in Queen *Maries* time forbidden.

Finally, I hear ſay, that the Catechiſm which was lately ſet forth in the Engliſh Tongue, is now in every Pulpit condemned. Oh deviliſh malice, and moſt ſpitefully injurious to the ſalvation of Mankind purchaſed by Jeſus Chriſt! Indeed Satan could not long ſuffer that ſo great light ſhould be ſpread abroad in the world; he ſaw well enough that nothing was able to overthrow his Kingdom ſo much, as if Children being godly inſtructed in Religion, ſhould learn to know Chriſt whilſt they are yet young; whereby not only Children, but the Elder ſort alſo and aged Folks that before were not taught to know Chriſt in their Childhood, ſhould now even with Children and Babes be forced to learn to know him. Now therefore he roareth, now he rageth. But what elſe do they (Brethren) which ſerve Satan, and become his miniſters and ſlaves in maintaining of his impiety, but even the ſame which they did, to whom Chriſt our Saviour threatneth this Curſe in the Goſpel; Wo unto you which ſhut up the Kingdom of Heaven before men, and take away the Key of knowledge from them: you your ſelves have not entred in, neither have ye ſuffered them that would enter, to come in.

Matt. 23. The Catholick Phariſees neither enter themſelves, nor will ſuffer other to enter Gods Kingdom.

And from whence ſhall we ſay (Bretbren) that this horrible and miſchievous darkneſs proceedeth, which is now brought upon the world? From whence, I pray you, but even from the ſmoke of the great furnace of the bottomleſs Pit, ſo that the Sun and the Air are now darkned by the ſmoke of the Pit? Now, even now (out of doubt Brethren) the Pit is opened againſt us, and the Locuſts begin to ſwarm, and Abaddon *now reigneth.*

Apoc. 9. The Pit of Locuſts opened.

*Ye therefore (my Brethren) which pertain unto Chriſt, and have the Seal of God marked in your Foreheads: that is to wit, are Sealed with the earneſt of the Spirit to be a peculiar People of God, quit your ſelves like men, and be ſtrong; for he that is in us, is ſtronger than he which is in the World; and ye know that all that is born of God overcometh the World, and this is our victory that overcometh the World, even our Faith. Let the World fret, let it rage never ſo much, be it never ſo cruel, and bloody, yet be ye ſure that no man can take us out of the Fathers hands, for he is greater than all; who hath not ſpared his own Son, but hath given him to death for us all; and therefore how ſhall he not with him give us all things alſo; Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of Gods elect? It is God that juſtifieth, who then ſhall condemn? It is Chriſt that is dead, yea rather which is riſen again, who alſo is at the right hand of God, and maketh requeſt alſo for us. Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt? ſhall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine, or nakedneſs, or peril, or ſword? the reſt ye know, Brethren. We are certainly perſwaded with S.*Paul, *by the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, no kind of thing ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. Which thing, that it may come to paſs by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to the comfort both of you and of us all, as we for our parts will continually (God willing) pray for you; ſo (dear Brethren in the Lord) with all earneſt and hearty requeſt we beſeech you, even in the bowels of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ye will not ceaſe to pray for us. Fare ye well dear Brethren. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you all evermore,* Amen.

Exhortation to ſtand conſtant in Chriſt and his Truth. Rom. 8.

A Letter of Biſhop *Ridley*, anſwering to a certain Letter of one Mr. *Weſt* ſomtime his Chaplain.

Another Letter of B. *Ridley*, anſwering one M. *Weſt*, ſometime his Chaplain.

I Wiſh you grace in God, and love of the Truth, without the which truly eſtabliſhed in mens hearts by the mighty hand of the Almighty God, it is no more poſſible to ſtand by the Truth in Chriſt in time of trouble, than it is for the wax to abide the heat of the fire. Sir you know this, that I am (bleſſed be God) perſwaded that this World is but tranſitory, and (as St. John *ſaith)* The World paſſeth away, and the luſt thereof. *I am perſwaded Chriſts words to be true;* whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before men, him will I confeſs alſo before my Father which is in heaven: *And I believe that no earthly Creature ſhall be ſaved, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the World ſhall before his Father deny. This the Lord grant, that it may be ſo graffed, eſtabliſhed, and fixed in my heart, that neither things preſent nor to come, high or low, life nor death, be able to remove me thence. It it is a goodly wiſh, that you wiſh me deeply to conſider the things pertaining unto Gods glory; but if you had wiſhed alſo, that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly proſperity ſhould let me to maintain Gods word and his Truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would have liked me well. You deſire me for Gods ſake to remember my ſelf. Indeed Sir, now it is time ſo to do; for ſo far as I can perceive, it ſtandeth me upon no leſs danger, than of the loſs both of Body and Soul; and I trow, then it is time for a man to awake, if any thing will awake him. He that will not fear him that threatneth to caſt both Body and Soul into everlaſting fire, whom will he fear? With this fear, O Lord, faſten thou together our frail fleſh, that we never ſwerve from thy Laws. You ſay, you have made much ſute for me. Sir, God grant that you have not in ſuing for my worldly deliverance, impaired and hindered the furtherance of Gods Word and his Truth.*

1 John 2.

Matt. 10.

No Creature can be ſaved, whom Chriſt denieth before his Father.

What it is for a man well to remember himſelf.

Luke 12. Fear God.

Biſhop *Ridley* refuſeth to have ſute made for him.

You have known me long indeed; in the which time it hath chanced me, as you ſay, to miſlike ſome things. It is true, I grant; for ſudden changes without ſubſtantial and neceſſary cauſe, and the heady ſetting forth of extremities, I did never love. Confeſſion unto the Miniſter which is able to inſtruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant Conſcience, indeed I ever thought might do much good in Chriſts Congregation, and ſo I aſſure you, I think even at this day. My Doctrine and my Preaching you ſay you have heard often, and after your judgment have thought it godly, ſaving only for the Sacrament, which thing although it was of me reverently handled, and a great

Confeſſion to the Miniſter in the way of asking counſel, not miſliked. B. *Ridley* ever a Reverend handler of the Sacrament.

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deal better than of the rest (as you say) yet in the Margent you write warily, *and in this world* Wisely; *and yet me thought all sounding not well. Sir, but that I see so many changes in this world, and so much alteration, else at this your saying I would not a little marvel. I have taken you for my Friend, and a man whom I fancied for plainness and faithfulness, as much I assure you, as for your learning; and have you kept this so close in your heart from me unto this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and will not say all that I think. But what need you to care what I think, for any thing I shall be able to do unto you, either good or harm? You give me good Lessons to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain-glory. Truly Sir, I herein like your counsel very well, and by Gods grace I intend to follow it unto my lives end.*

The part of a true Bishop, only to seek the glory of Christ his Master.

To write unto those whom you name, I cannot see what it will avail me. For this I would have you know, that I esteem nothing available for me, which also will not further the glory of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeal and desire of my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly misery, If I should not bear you a good heart in God again, me think I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lords will be fulfilled how soon soever it shall come. I know the Lords words must be verified on me that I shall appear before the incorrupt Judge, and be countable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercies is my Shoot-anchor of eternal salvation, yet am I perswaded, that whosoever wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to clear his Conscience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conscience therefore moveth me, considering you were one of my Family, and one of my household, of whom then I think I had a special Cure, and of all them which were within my house, which in deed ought to have been an example of godliness to all the rest of my Cure, not only of good life, but also in promoting of Gods Word to the uttermost of their power, (but alas, now when the trial doth separate the Chaff from the Corn, how small a deal it is, God knoweth, which the wind doth not blow away) this Conscience (I say) doth move me to fear, lest the lightness of my Family shall be laid to my charge for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction, which should have been done. But blessed be God which hath given me grace to see this my default and to lament it from the bottom of my heart, before my departing hence.

B. Ridley repenteth that he was not more earnest in stablishing the Consciences of his Family and Cure.

Dr. Harvey charged.

This Conscience doth move me also now to require both you and my Friend Dr. Harvey, *to remember your promises made to me in times past, of the pure setting forth and Preaching of Gods Word and his Truth. These promises, although you shall not need to fear to be charged with them of me hereafter before the world, yet look for none other (I exhort you as my Friends) but to be charged with them at Gods hand. This Conscience and the love that I bear unto you, biddeth me now say unto you both in Gods Name; Fear God, and love not the world: for God is able to cast both Body and Soul into Hell-fire. When his wrath shall suddenly be kindled, blessed are all they that put their trust in him. And the saying of St.* John *is true,* All that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world, and the world passeth away and the lust thereof, but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever. *If this gift of grace (which undoubtedly is necessarily required unto eternal salvation) were truly and unfeignedly graffed and firmly established in mens hearts, they would not be so light, so suddenly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the Truth as is now (alas) seen so manifestly of so many in these days. But here peradventure you would know of me, what is the Truth. Sir, Gods Word is the Truth, as St.* John *saith, and that even the same that was heretofore. For albeit man doth vary and change as the Moon, yet Gods Word is stable, and abideth one for evermore: and of Christ it is truly said,* Christ yesterday and to day, the same is also for ever.

Good admonitions of B. Ridley to his old Chaplains.

Psal. 2. 1 John 2.

What is Truth. John 17. Eccles. 27. Heb. 13.

Common-Prayer in the common Tongue.

When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in Gods Word, agreed this to be a Truth in Gods Word written, that the Common Prayer of the Church should be had in the Common Tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I ensure you, I never found man (so far as I do remember) neither old nor young, Gospeller nor Papist of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a Truth of Gods Word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? If it cannot, why then do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this Truth received once of us all? For what is it, I pray you, else to confess or deny Christ in this world, but to maintain the Truth taught in Gods Word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from the same? This one thing have I brought for an ensample; other things be in like case, which now particularly I need not rehearse. For he that will forsake wittingly, either for fear or gain of the world, any one open Truth of Gods Word, if he be constrained, he will assuredly forsake God and all his Truth, rather than he will endanger himself to lose or to leave that he loveth better indeed, than he doth God and the Truth of his Word.

What it is to confess Christ.

He that denieth an open Truth against Gods Word for worldly danger, will be as ready to deny God himself.

I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say, I must either agree or die, and I think that you mean of the bodily death, which is Common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make such an agreement, by the which I could never escape this death which is common to all, and also incurr the guilt of death and eternal damnation? Lord, grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement so long as I live. And because (I dare say) you wrote of friendship unto me this short earnest advertisement, and I think verily, wishing me to live and not to die, therefore bearing you in my heart no less love in God, then you do me in the world, I say unto you in the Word of the Lord (and that I say to you, I say to all my Friends and lovers of us in God) that if you do not confess and maintain to your power and knowledge that which is grounded upon Gods Word, but will either for fear or gain of the world shrink and play the * Apostata, *indeed you shall die the death; you know what I mean. And I beseech you all true Friends and lovers in God, remember what I say, for this may be the last time peradventure that ever I shall write unto you.*

Death common to good and bad. Damnable agreement.

* Apostata was he who fled from his Captain to the enemy. He was also called that departed from the Christians to the Jews or Gentiles.

From *Bocardo* in *Oxford* the 8. day of *April*, 1555.

Master *Grindal* now Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being in the time of exile in the City of *Frankford*, wrote to Dr. *Ridley* then Prisoner, a certain Epistle, wherein first he lamenteth his captivity, exhorting him withal to be constant. Secondly, he certifieth him of the state of the *English* Exiles being dispersed in *Germany*, and of the singular providence of God in stirring up the favour of the Magistrates and Rulers there towards them. Thirdly, he writeth to know his mind and will concerning the printing of his Book against Transubstantiation, and of certain other Treatises and his disputations. Whereunto Bishop *Ridley* answereth again in order, as followeth

The sum of *Grindals* Letter to Bishop Ridley.

The Answer of Dr. Ridley *to the Letter aboveseid.*

An answer of B. Ridley to M. *Grindals* Letter sent from *Frankford.*

BLessed be God our heavenly Father which enclined your heart to have such a desire to write unto me, and blessed be he again which hath heard your request, and hath brought your Letters safe unto my hands; and over all this I bless him through our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the same, of the knowledge of your state, and of other our dearly beloved Brethren and Country-men in those parts beyond the Sea.

Dearly beloved Brother *Grindal*, I say to you and all the rest of our Brethren in Christ with you, rejoyce in the Lord, and as you love me, and the other my Reverend Fathers and Concaptives, (which undoubtedly are *Gloria Christi*) lament not our state, but I beseech you and them all to give to our heavenly Father for his bounceless mercies and unspeakable benifits even in the midst of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For Know ye, that as the weight of his Cross hath increased upon us, so he hath not nor doth not cease to multiply his mercies to strengthen us; and I trust, yet by his

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Experience of Gods ſtrength towards his Saints in their impriſonment.

grace I doubt nothing, but he will ſo do for Chriſt our Maſters ſake even to the end. To hear that you and our other Brethren do find in your exile favour, and grace with the Magiſtrates, Miniſters, and Citizens at *Tigury*, *Frankford*, and otherwhere, it doth greatly comfort (I dare ſay) all here that do indeed love Chriſt and his true Word. I enſure you, it warmed my heart, to hear you by chance to name ſome, as *Scory* and *Cox*, &c. Oh that it had come in your mind to have ſaid ſomewhat alſo of *Cheek*, of *Turner*, of *Leaver*, of *Sampſon*, of *Chambers*, but I truſt in God they be all well. And Sir, ſeeing you ſay, that there be in thoſe parts with you of Students and Miniſters ſo good a number, now therefore care you not for us, otherwiſe than to wiſh that Gods glory may be ſet forth by us. For whenſoever God ſhall call us home (as we look daily for none other, but when it ſhall pleaſe God to ſay, Come) you, bleſſed be God, are enow through his aid, to light, and ſet up again the Lantern of his Word in *England*. As concerning the Copies ye ſay ye have with you, I wonder how ever they did and could find the way to come to you. My diſputation, except ye have that which I gathered my ſelf after the diſputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithal the whole manner after the which I was uſed in the diſputation.

As for the Treatiſe in Engliſh, *Contra tranſubſtantiationem, vix poſſum adduci ut credam operæ pretium fore ut in Latinum transferatur. Cæterum, quicquid ſit nullo modo velim ut quidquam quocunq; modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis Dominus, conſtituerit fieri, vobis prius certo conſtiterit*; and thus much unto your Letters. Now although I ſuppoſe you know a good part of our ſtate here (for we are forth-coming, even as when ye departed, &c. You ſhall underſtand that I was in the *Tower* about the ſpace of two months cloſe Priſoner, and after that had granted to me without my labour, the liberty of the *Tower*, and ſo continued about half a year, and then, becauſe I refuſed to allow the Maſs with my preſence, I was ſhut up in Priſon again.

B. Ridley Priſoner in the *Tower* half a year and more.

The laſt Lent ſave one: it chanced by reaſon of the tumult ſtirred up in *Kent*, there were ſo many Priſoners in the *Tower*, that my Lord of *Canterbury*, M. *Latimer*, M. *Bradford*, and I were put all together in one Priſon, where we remained till almoſt the next *Eaſter*, and then we three, *Canterbury*, M. *Latimer*, and I, were ſuddenly ſent a little before *Eaſter* to *Oxford*, and were ſuffered to have nothing with us, but that we carried upon us. About the *Whitſontide* following was our diſputations at *Oxford*, after the which was all taken from us, as Pen, Ink, &c. Our own ſervants were taken from us before, and every one had put to him a ſtrange man, and we each one appointed to be kept in ſeveral places, as we are unto this day.

Canterbury, Ridley, Latimer, Bradford, Priſoners together in the *Tower*.

Cant. Ridley, Latimer removed to *Oxford*.

Bleſſed be God, we three at the writing hereof were in good health, and (in God) of good chear. We have looked long ago to have been diſpatched, for we were all three on one day within a day or two of our diſputations, of Dr. *Weſton* being the head Commiſſioner, condemned for Hereticks, and ſince that time we remain as we were of him left. The Lords will be fulfilled in us, as, I do not doubt but by his grace it ſhall be to his glory, and our endleſs ſalvation through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

D. *Weſton* condemner of *Canter. Ridley* and *Latimer*.

Likewiſe the Lord hath hitherto preſerved above all our expectation, our dear Brother, and in Chriſts cauſe a ſtrong Champion, *John Bradford*. He is likewiſe condemned, and is already delivered to the Secular Power, and Writs (as we have heard ſay) given out for his execution, and called in again.

Writs for burning of *J. Bradford* called in again.

Thus the Lord, ſo long as his bleſſed pleaſure is, preſerveth whom he liſteth, notwithſtanding the wonderful raging of the world. Many (as we hear ſay) have valiantly ſuffered confeſſing Chriſts Truth. and nothing yielding to the Adverſary, yea not for the fear or pains of death.

The names of them which I knew, and have now ſuffered, are theſe: *Farrar* the Biſhop of S. *Davids*, *Hooper* the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Rogers* tuus olim comprebendarius, Dr. *Taylor* of *Hadley*, M. *Sanders*, and one *Tomkins a* Weaver, and now this laſt day M. *Cardmaker*, with another, were burnt in *Smithfield* at *London*, and many other in *Eſſex* and *Kent*, whoſe names are written in the Book of Life, whom yet I do not know.

Names of Martyrs.

Weſt, your old companion, and ſomtime mine Officer (alas) hath relented (as I have heard) but the Lord hath ſhortned his days, for anon after he died, and is gone. *Grembold* was caught by the heel, and caſt into the *Marſhalſey*, but now is at liberty again, but I fear me he eſcaped not without ſome becking or bowing (alas) of his knee unto *Baal*.

This *Weſt* when he had relented and ſaid Maſs againſt his Conſcience, ſhortly after pined away, and died for ſorrow.

My dear Friend *Thomas Ridley* of the *Bull-head* in *Cheap*, which was to me the moſt faithful Friend, that I had in my trouble, is departed alſo unto God. My Brother *Shipſide*, that hath married my ſiſter, hath been almoſt half a year in Priſon, for delivering (as he was accuſed) of certain things, I ween, from me; but now, thanks be to God, he is at liberty again, but ſo that the Biſhop hath taken from him his * Park.

* Note how *Boner* here requited the kindneſs of *B. Ridley* ſhewed to his Mother.

Of all us three Concaptives at *Oxford*, I am kept moſt ſtrait, and with leaſt liberty, *Vel quia [illegible] cujus ædibus ego cuſtodior, uxor dominatur (licet modo ſit Præfectus Civitatis) mulier vetula, moroſa, & ſuperſtitioſiſſ. quæ etiam hoc ſibi laudi ducit quod me dicatur. arctiſſime & cautiſſime cuſtodire; vir autem ipſe*, Iriſchius *nomine, mitis ſatis eſt omnibus, uxori vero pluſquam obſequens. Licet uxorem (uti noſti) nunquam habuerim, tamen ex hac quotidiana conſuetudine quam cum iſtis conjugibus habeo, videor mihi nonnihil poſſe intelligere, quam grave malum & intoler abile jugum ſit cum mala muliere in conjugio collocari. Recte ergo ſapiens dixit, uxor bona donum Dei; & iterum, mulieris bonæ beatus vir. Vel hæc, inquam, cauſa eſt, vel quia à magnis Magiſtratibus (neſcio quas ob cauſas) illud eſt, ut ita fieret, ipſis mandatum: idque illi, ſi quando de mea nimia ſervitute apud eos conqueror, ſedulo ſæpe rurſus mihi inculcant.*

At *Cambridge* (as I hear ſay) *Omnes ſtudiorum & ſtatutorum reformationes nuper factæ nunc ſunt denuo deformatæ & deletæ, & omnia ſunt in priſtinum chaos & in antiquum Papiſmum reducta: omnes Collegiorum Præfecti qui ſynceritati Evangelij favebant, vel qui conjugati erant loco moti ſunt, & alij Papiſticæ factionis in eorum loca ſurrogati, quod & de Sociis Collegiorum qui noluerunt flectere genu* Baal *factum eſſe audio. Nec mirum, nam idem paſſim factum eſt in univerſo regno* Angliæ, *in omnibus Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Decanis, Prebendariis, Sacerdotibus Eccleſiarum, & in toto Clero*: and to tell you much naughty matter in few Words; *Papiſmus apud nos ubique in pleno ſuo antiquo robore regnat.*

All the Statutes of Reformation in *Cambridge* broken, and all things reduced again into the old ſtate of Popery.

The Lord be merciful, and for Chriſts ſake pardon us our old unkindneſs and unthankfulneſs: for when he poured upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favours, (alas) we did not ſerve him nor render unto him thanks according to the ſame. We Paſtors many of us were too cold, and bare to much (alas) with the wicked world; our Magiſtrates did abuſe, to their own worldly gain, both Gods Goſpel and the Miniſters of the ſame. The People in many places was wayward and unkind. Thus of every ſide and of every ſort we have provoked Gods anger and wrath to fall upon us: but bleſſed might he be that hath not ſuffered his to continue in thoſe ways which ſo wholly have diſpleaſed his Sacred Majeſty, but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his own Sons Croſs, unto his glory and our endleſs ſalvation, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

Unthankful receiving of Gods great gifts and graces. Coldneſs of Paſtors, corruption of Magiſtrates, waywardneſs of the People provoked Gods wrath.

My daily Prayer is (as God doth know) and by Gods grace ſhall be ſo long as I live in this world, for you, my dear Brethren that are fled out of your own Country, becauſe you will rather forſake all worldly things than the Truth of Gods Word. It is even the ſame that I uſe to make to God, for all thoſe Churches abroad thorow the world, which have forſaken the Kingdom of Antichriſt, and profeſſed openly the purity of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt; that is, that God our eternal Father, for our Saviour Chriſts ſake, will daily increaſe in you the gracious gift of his heavenly Spirit, to the true ſetting forth of his glory and of his Goſpel, & make you to agree Brotherly in the Truth of the ſame, that there ariſe no root of bitterneſs among you that may infect that good ſeed which God hath ſown in your hearts already, and finally that your life may be ſo pure and ſo honeſt, according to the rule of Gods Word and according to that vocation whereunto we

The Prayer of *B. Ridley* for the Churches abroad, which openly profeſs the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt.

Anno 1555.

we are called by the Gospel of Christ our Saviour, that the honesty and purity of the same may provoke all that shall see or know it, to the love of your Doctrine, and to love you for your honesty and vertues sake, and so both in brotherly Unity of your true Doctrine, and also in the godly vertue of your honest life, to glorifie our Father which is in heaven.

B. Ridley prayeth for Queen Mary.

Ex nostratibus magni aliquot Magistratus, Cancellarius Wint. Comes Arundellius, & Dominus Pachetus jam legationis funguntur, una cum Cardinali Polo, in partibus transmarinis, ad componendam (ut aiunt) pacem inter Imperatorem, Regem nostrum, & Francorum Regem. Post illorum Magistratuum nostrorum reditum, & partum Reginæ, quem jam quotidie expectamus, & jam aliquandiu expectavimus, quemque Deus pro sui nominis gloria dignetur bene illi fortunare; nos tunc statim nihil aliud quam nostræ confessionis de hoste nostro antiquo triumphales [illegible] coronas expectamus.

Omnium vestrum precibus me humillimè ex toto corde commendo; In primis, tuis O charissim in Christo frater, & dilectiss. Grindalle, & chariss. fratrum & unice mihi in Domino dilectorum, Checi, Coxi, Turneri, Leveri, Sampsonis, Chamberi, & omnium fratrum nostrorum & conterraneorum qui apud vos degunt, & diligunt Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum in veritate. Commendo etiam vobis precandiss. Patres & concaptivos meos in Domino Thomam Cranmerum jam veri magni Pastoris & Archipræsulis nomine digniss. & veteranum illum Christi & nostræ gentis Anglicanæ verum Apostolum Hugonem Latimerum. Condona mihi, frater, harum prolixitatem, non enim posthac credo, charissime frater, meis literis jam amplius aliquando turbaberis, Oxonij.

N. R.

To Augustine Bernher.

A Letter of B. Ridley to one Augustin Bernher.

BRother *Augustine*, I bless God with all my heart in his manifold merciful gifts, given unto our dear Brethren in Christ, specially to our Brother *Rogers*, whom it pleased him to set forth first, no doubt out of his gracious goodness and fatherly favour towards him. And likewise blessed be God in the rest, as *Hooper*, *Sanders*, and *Taylor*, whom it hath pleased the Lord likewise to set in the forefront of the battel against his Adversaries, and hath endued them all (so far as I can hear) to stand in the confession of his truth, and to be content in his cause, and for his Gospels sake to lose their life. And evermore and without end blessed be even the same our heavenly Father for our dear and entirely beloved Brother *Bradford*, whom now the Lord (I perceive) calleth for: for I ween he will no longer vouchsafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this World. I do not doubt but that he (for those gifts of grace which the Lord hath bestowed on him plenteously) hath holpen those which are gone before in their journey, that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keep the high way, *& sic currere, uti tandem acciperent præmium.* The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt, and I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had such a one in my house. And yet again I bless God in our dear Brother, and of this time Protomartyr *Rogers*, that he was also one of my calling to be a Prebendary Preacher of *London*. And now because *Grindal* is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath and knoweth wherein he will bestow him) I trust to God, it shall please him of his goodness to strengthen me to make up the trinity out of *Pauls* Church, to suffer for Christ whom God the Father hath anointed, the Holy Spirit doth bear witness unto, *Paul* and all the Apostles preached. Thus fare you well, I had no paper, I was constrained thus to write.

Commemoration of Saints.

Protomartyr is the first martyr, whom he so called, because he was the first that suffered here in those Bloody days.

Besides these Letters of Bishop *Ridley*, divers other tractations also were written by him, partly out of prison, partly in prison: as namely among certain other, there remain in my hands certain notes answering to the two notable Sermons of Doctor *Watson*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, &c.

Here beginneth the life, acts, and doings of Master Hugh Latimer, *the famous Preacher and worthy Martyr of Christ and his Gospel.*

The story of M. Hugh Latimer, Martyr.

NOw consequently after the life of Bishop *Ridley*, with other his Letters, which partly we have expressed, and partly we have deferred to our latter appendix, followeth likewise the life and doings of the worthy Champion, and old practised Souldier of Christ; Master *Hugh Latimer*: of whose acts and long travels even from his first years and tender age, to begin here to entreat: first, he was the Son of one *Hugh Latimer*, of *Thirkesson* in the County of *Liecester*, a Husbandman of right good estimation; with whom also he was brought up until he was of the age of four years or thereabout. At which time his Parents (having him as then left for their onely son, with six other daughters) seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition; and knowledge of good literature; wherein he so profited in his youth, at the common Schools of his own Country, that at the age of 14. years, he was sent to the Universitie of *Cambridge*. Where, after some continuance of exercises in other things, he gave himself to the study of such School Divinity, as the ignorance of that age did suffer.

M. Latimer first set to School.

M. Latimer sent to Cambridge.

Zealous he was then in the Popish Religion, and therewith so scrupulous, as himself confessed, that being a Priest, and using to say Mass, he was so servil an observer of the Romish Decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water: and moreover that he should never be damned, if he were once a professed Frier, with divers such superstitious fantasies. And in this blinde zeal he was a very enemy to the Professors of Christs Gospel; as both his Oration made, when he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity, against *Philip Melanchthon*, and also his other works did plainly declare. But especially his Popish zeal could in no case abide in those days good Master *Stafford*, Reader of the Divinity Lectures in *Cambridge*, most spitefully railing against him, and willing the youth of *Cambridge* in no wise to believe him.

M. Latimer a long time was a zealous and superstitious Papist.

M. Latimer declaimed in Cambridge against Melanchthon.

Notwithstanding, such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, that when he saw his good time, by the which way he thought to have utterly defaced the professors of the Gospel, and true Church of Christ, he was at length himself by a member of the same pretily caught in the blessed net of Gods Word. For M. *Thomas Bilney* (whose story is before described) being at that time a trier out of Satans subtilties, and a secret overthower of Antichrists Kingdom, seeing Master *Latimer* to have a zeal in his ways (although without knowledge) was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and bethought by what means he might best win this zealous ignorant Brother, to the true knowledge of Christ. Wherefore, after a short time, he came to Master *Latimers* study, and desired him to hear him make his confession. Which thing he willingly granted; by hearing whereof, he was (through the good Spirit of God) so touched, that hereupon he forsook his former studying of the School Doctors, and other such fopperies, and became an earnest student of true Divinity, as he himself, as well in his conference with Master *Ridley*, as also in his first Sermon made upon the *Pater noster*, doth confess. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his old manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kinde of conferring, both with Master *Bilney* and others, and came also to Master *Stafford* before he dyed, and desired him to forgive him.

Latimer converted by M. Bilney.

Read M. Latimers own confession in his first Sermon upon the *Pater noster*.

M. Latimer a Papist, turned to a zealous Christian.

After this, his winning to Christ, he was not satisfied with his own conversion onely, but like a true Disciple of the blessed Samaritane, pitied the misery of other, and therefore became both a Publick Preacher, and also a private instructer to the rest of his Brethren within the University, by the space of three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongst the simple People in his natural and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Satan never sleepeth when he seeth his Kingdom to begin to decay, so likewise now, seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd

M. Latimer becommeth a Preacher in Cambridge, &c.

Anno 1555.

ſhaker therof he raiſed up his impious Imps to moleſt and trouble him:

Enemies ſtirred in *Cambridge* againſt Mr. *Latimer*.

Amonſt theſe there was an *Auguſtine* Frier who took occaſion upon certain Sermons that Mr. *Latimer* made about Chriſtmas 1529. as well in the Church of St. *Edward*, as alſo in St. *Auguſtines*, within the Univerſity of *Cambridge* to envy againſt him, for that Mr. *Latimer* in the ſaid Sermons (alluding to the common uſage of the ſeaſon) gave the People certain Cards out of the 5, 6, 7. Chapters of S. *Matthew*, whereupon they might, not only then, but always elſe, occupy their time. For the chief triumph in the Cards he limited the Heart, as the principal thing that they ſhould ſerve God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external Ceremonies, not tending to the neceſſary furtherance of Gods holy Word and Sacraments. For the better attaining hereof, he wiſhed the Scriptures to be in *Engliſh*, whereby the Common People might the better learn their duties, as well to God as their neighbours.

Mr. *Latimers* preaching of the Cards in *Cambridge*

The handling of this matter was ſo apt for the time, and ſo pleaſantly applied of him, that not only it declared a ſingular towardneſs of wit in the Preacher, but alſo wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of Popiſh ſuperſtition, and ſetting up of perfect Religion.

This was upon the Sunday before Chriſtmas day; on which day coming to the Church, and cauſing the bell to be tolled to a Sermon, he entered into the Pulpit, taking for his text the words of the Goſpel aforeſaid, read in the Church that day; *Tu quis es? &c.* In delivering the which Cards (as is aboveſaid) he made the Heart to be triumph, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to ſerve the Lord with inward Heart and true affection, and not with outward Ceremonies: adding moreover to the praiſe of that triumph, that though it were never ſo ſmall, yet it would take up the beſt Coat Card beſide in the bunch, yea, though it were the King of Clubs, &c. meaning thereby how the Lord would be worſhipped and ſerved in ſimplicity of Heart and verity, wherein conſiſteth true Chriſtian Religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the gliſtering ſhew of mans Traditions, or Pardons, Pilgrimages, Ceremonies, Vows, Devotions, voluntary Works, and works of Supererogation, Foundations, Oblations, the Popes Supremacy, &c. ſo that all theſe either were needleſs, where the other is preſent; or elſe were of ſmall eſtimation, in compariſon of the other.

The difference between true and falſe.

The tenor and effect of theſe his Sermons, ſo far as they could come to our hands, here follow.

The tenor and effect of certain Sermons made by Maſter Latimer *in* Cambridge, *about the Year of our Lord*, 1529.

TU quis es? Which words are as much to ſay in Engliſh, *Who art thou?* Theſe be the words of the *Phariſees*, which were ſent by the *Jews* unto St. *John Baptiſt* in the Wilderneſs, to have knowledge of him, who he was; which words they ſpake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Chriſt, and ſo they would have had him done with their good wills, becauſe they knew that he was more carnal, and given to their Laws, than Chriſt indeed ſhould be, as they perceived by their old Propheſies: and alſo, becauſe they marvelled much of his great Doctrine, Preaching and Baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Chriſt or not: wherefore they ſaid unto him, *Who art thou?* Then anſwered S. *John*, and confeſſed that he was not Chriſt. Now here is to be noted, the great and prudent anſwer of S. *John Baptiſt* unto the *Phariſees*, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly anſwer of himſelf, what he was himſelf; but he ſaid he was not Chriſt, by the which ſaying he thought to put the *Jews* and *Phariſees* out of their falſe opinion, and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exerciſe the office of Chriſt, and ſo declared further unto them of Chriſt, ſaying, *He is in the midſt of you, and amongſt you, whom ye know not, whoſe latchet of his ſhoo I am not worthy to unlooſe, or undo.* By this you may perceive that St. *John* ſpake much in the laud and praiſe of Chriſt his Maſter, profeſſing himſelf to be in no wiſe like unto him. So likewiſe it ſhall be neceſſary unto all men and women of this world, not to aſcribe unto themſelves any goodneſs of themſelves, but all unto our Lord God, as ſhall appear hereafter, when this queſtion aforeſaid *(Who art thou?)* ſhall be moved unto them: not as the *Phariſees* did unto S. *John*, of an evil purpoſe, but of a good and ſimple mind, as may appear hereafter.

Now then, according to the Preachers mind, let every Man and Woman, of a good and ſimple mind, contrary to the *Phariſees* intent, ask this queſtion *(Who art thou?)* This queſtion muſt be moved to themſelves, what they be of themſelves, on this faſhion, What art thou of thy only and natural generation between Father and Mother, when thou cameſt into the world? What ſubſtance, what vertue, what goodneſs art thou of by thy ſelf? Which queſtion if thou rehearſe oftentimes unto thy ſelf, thou ſhalt well perceive and underſtand, how thou ſhalt make anſwer unto it: which muſt be made on this wiſe; I am of my ſelf, and by my ſelf, coming from my natural Father and Mother, the Child of the ire and indignation of God, the true Inheritor of Hell, a lump of ſin, and working nothing of my ſelf, but all towards Hell, except I have better help of another, than I have of my ſelf. Now we may ſee in what ſtate we enter into this world, that we be of our ſelves the true and juſt inheritors of Hell, the Children of the ire and indignation of Chriſt, working all towards Hell, whereby we deſerve of our ſelves perpetual damnation, by the right judgment of God, and the true claim of our ſelves: which unthrifty ſtate that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deſerts, as proveth well this example following.

Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might pleaſe the Kings Grace now being, to accept into his favour a mean man, of ſimple degree and birth, not born to any poſſeſſion; whom the Kings grace favoureth, not becauſe this perſon hath of himſelf deſerved any ſuch favour, but that the King caſteth his favour unto him of his own meer motion and fantaſie: and becauſe the Kings Grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto this ſaid man a thouſand pounds in Lands, to him and his heirs, on this condition, that he ſhall take upon him to be the chief Captain and Defender of his Town of *Calice*, and to be true and faithful to him in the cuſtody of the ſame, againſt the *French-men* eſpecially, above all other enemies.

This man taketh on him this charge, promiſing his fidelity thereunto; It chanceth in proceſs of time, that by the ſingular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this Captain with the *French-men*, theſe *French-men* give unto the ſaid Captain of *Calice* a great ſum of money, ſo that he will be but content and agreeable, that they may enter into the ſaid Town of *Calice* by force of arms, and ſo thereby poſſeſs the ſame unto the Crown of *France*: upon this agreement the *French-men* do invade the ſaid Town of *Calice*, alonely by the negligence of this Captain.

Now the Kings Grace hearing of this Invaſion, cometh with a great puiſſance to defend this his ſaid Town, and ſo by good policy of war overcometh the ſaid *French-men*, and entreth again into his Town of *Calice*. Then he being deſirous to know how theſe Enemies of his came thither, he maketh profound ſearch and inquiry, by whom this Treaſon was conſpired; by this ſearch it was known and found his own Captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying of it. The King, ſeeing the great infidelity of this Perſon, diſchargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thouſand pounds poſſeſſions. Think you not that the King doth uſe juſtice unto him, and all his poſterity and heirs? Yes truly: the ſaid Captain cannot deny himſelf, but that he had true juſtice, conſidering how unfaithfully he behaved himſelf to his Prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promiſe: So likewiſe it was of our firſt Father *Adam*. He had given unto him the ſpirit and ſcience of knowledge, to work all goodneſs therewith; this ſaid ſpirit was not given alonely unto him, but unto all his heirs and poſterity. He had alſo delivered him the Town of *Calice*, that is to ſay, Paradiſe in earth, the moſt ſtrong and faireſt Town in the world, to be in his cuſtody: He nevertheleſs by the inſtigation of theſe *French-men*, *i.e.* the temptation of the Fiend, did obey unto their deſire,

and

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and ſo he brake his promiſe and fidelity, the commandment of the everlaſting King his Maſter, in eating of the Apple by him inhibited.

Now then, the King ſeeing this great treaſon in his Captain, depoſed him of the thouſand pounds of poſſeſſions, that is to ſay, from everlaſting life in glory, and all his heirs and poſterity: for likewiſe as he had the ſpirit of ſcience and knowledge, for him and his heirs; ſo in like manner when he loſt the ſame, his heirs alſo loſt it by him, and in him. So now, this example proveth, that by our Father *Adam* we had once in him the very inheritance of everlaſting joy; and by him, and in him again we loſt the ſame.

The Heirs of the Captain of *Calice*, could not by any manner of claim ask of the King the right and title of their Father, in the thouſand pounds poſſeſſions, by reaſon the King might anſwer, and ſay unto them, that although their Father deſerved not of himſelf to enjoy ſo great poſſeſſions, yet he deſerved by himſelf to loſe them, and greater, committing ſo high treaſon, as he did, againſt his Princes commandments; whereby he had no wrong to loſe his title, but was unworthy to have the ſame, and had therein true juſtice; let not you think which be his heirs, that if he had juſtice to loſe his poſſeſſions, you have wrong to loſe the ſame: In the ſame manner it may be anſwered unto all men and women now being, that if our Father *Adam* had true juſtice to be excluded from his poſſeſſion of everlaſting glory in Paradiſe, let us not think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in loſing alſo the ſame; yea, we have true juſtice and right. Then in what miſerable eſtate we be, that of the right and juſt title of our own deſerts have loſt the everlaſting joy and claim of our ſelves to be true inheritors of Hell? For he that committeth deadly ſin willingly, bindeth himſelf to be an inheritor of everlaſting pain: and ſo did our Fore-father *Adam* willingly eat of the Apple forbidden. Wherefore he was caſt out of the everlaſting joy in Paradiſe, into this corrupt world amongſt all vileneſs, whereby of himſelf he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleaſant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections and beaſtly appetites, transformed into the uncleaneſt and variableſt nature that was made under heaven, of whoſe ſeed and diſpoſition all the world is lineally deſcended, inſomuch that this evil Nature is ſo diffuſed and ſhed from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living, that can of themſelves waſh away this abominable vileneſs: and ſo we muſt needs grant of our ſelves to be in like diſpleaſure unto God, as our Father *Adam* was; by reaſon hereof, as I ſaid, we be of our ſelves the very Children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of Hell, and working all towards Hell, which is the anſwer to this queſtion, made to every man and woman by themſelves, *Who art thou?*

And now the world ſtanding in this damnable ſtate, cometh in the occaſion of the Incarnation of Chriſt; the Father in Heaven perceiving the frail nature of man, that he by himſelf and of himſelf could do nothing for himſelf, by his prudent wiſdom ſent down the ſecond perſon in Trinity, his Son Jeſus Chriſt, to declare unto man his pleaſure and commandment: and ſo at the Fathers will Chriſt took on him humane Nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miſerable way, and was content to ſuffer cruel paſſion in ſhedding his blood for all mankind, and ſo left behind for our ſafeguard, Laws and Ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlaſting life, as the Evangelies, the Sacraments, the Commandments, and ſo forth: which if we do keep and obſerve according to our profeſſion, we ſhall anſwer better unto this queſtion, *(Who art thou?)* than we did before: for before thou didſt enter into the Sacrament of Baptiſm, thou wert but a natural Man, a natural Woman; as I might ſay, A man, a woman. But after thou takeſt on thee Chriſts Religion, thou haſt a longer name: for then thou art a Chriſtian man, a Chriſtian woman. Now then, ſeeing thou art a Chriſtian man, what ſhall be the anſwer of this queſtion, *Who art thou?*

The anſwer of this Queſtion is, when I ask it unto my ſelf, I muſt ſay that I am a Chriſtian man, a Chriſtian woman, the Child of everlaſting Joy, through the merits of the bitter Paſſion of Chriſt. This is a joyful anſwer. Here we may ſee how much we be bound, and in danger unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and ſaved us that were damned: which great benefit we cannot well conſider, unleſs we do remember what we were of our ſelves before we medled with him or his Laws: and the more we know our feeble nature, and ſet leſs by it, the more we ſhall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us: and the more we know what God hath done for us, the leſs we ſhall ſet by our ſelves; and the more we ſhall love and pleaſe God; ſo that in no condition we ſhall either know our ſelves or God, except we do utterly confeſs our ſelves to be meer vileneſs and corruption. Well, now it is come unto this point, that we be Chriſtian men, Chriſtian women; I pray you what doth Chriſt require of a Chriſtian man, or of a Chriſtian woman? Chriſt requireth nothing elſe of a Chriſtian man or woman, but that they will obſerve his Rule. For likewiſe as he is a good *Auguſtine* Frier that keepeth well St. *Auguſtine*'s rule, ſo is he a good Chriſtian man that keepeth well Chriſts Rule.

Now then; what is Chriſts Rule? Chriſts Rule conſiſteth in many things, as in the Commandments, and the works of Mercy, and ſo forth. And becauſe I cannot declare Chriſts Rule unto you at one time, as it ought to be done, I will apply my ſelf according to your cuſtom at this time of Chriſtmaſs, I will, as I ſaid, declare unto you Chriſts Rule, but that ſhall be in Chriſts Cards. And where you are wont to celebrate Chriſtmaſs in playing at Cards, I intend by Gods grace to deal unto you Chriſts Cards, wherein you ſhall perceive Chriſts Rule. The game that we will play at ſhall be called the Triumph, which if it be well played at, he that dealeth ſhall win; the Players ſhall likewiſe win; and the ſtanders and lookers upon ſhall do the ſame; inſomuch that there is no man that is willing to play at this Triumph with theſe Cards; but they ſhall be all winners, and no loſers.

Let therefore every Chriſtian man and woman play at theſe Cards, that they may have and obtain the Triumph; you muſt mark alſo that the Triumph muſt apply to fetch home unto him all the other Cards, whatſoever ſuit they be of. Now then take ye this firſt Card, which muſt appear and be ſhewed unto you as followeth. You have heard what was ſpoken to men of the old Law, *Thou ſhalt not kill*; whoſoever ſhall kill ſhall be in danger of Judgment. But I ſay unto you of the new Law, ſaith Chriſt, that whoſoever is angry with his neighbour, ſhall be in danger of Judgment, and whoſoever ſhall ſay unto his neighbour, *Racha*, that is to ſay, Brainleſs, or any other like word of rebuking, ſhall be in danger of a Council; and whoſoever ſhall ſay unto his neighbour, Fool, ſhall be in danger of Hell-fire. This Card was made and ſpoken by Chriſt, as appeareth in the *5th* Chap. of St. *Matthew*.

Now it muſt be noted, that whoſoever ſhall play with this Card, muſt firſt before they play with it, know the ſtrength and virtue of the ſame; wherefore you muſt well note and mark terms how they be ſpoken, and to what purpoſe: Let us therefore read it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

Now behold and ſee, this Card is divided into four parts: The firſt part is one of the Commandments that was given unto *Moſes* in the old Law, before the coming of Chriſt, which Commandment we of the new Law be bound to obſerve and keep, and it is one of our Commandments. The other three parts ſpoken by Chriſt, be nothing elſe but expoſitions unto the firſt part of this Commandment: for in very effect of all theſe four parts be but one Commandment, that is to ſay, *Thou ſhalt not kill*: yet nevertheleſs, the three laſt parts do ſhew unto thee how many ways thou maiſt kill thy neighbour contrary to this Commandment: yet for all Chriſts expoſition, in the three laſt parts of this Card, the terms be not open enough to thee that doſt read and hear them ſpoken. No doubt, the *Jews* underſtood Chriſt well enough when he ſpake to them theſe three laſt ſentences, for he ſpake unto them in their own natural terms and tongue: wherefore ſeeing that theſe terms were natural terms of the *Jews*, it ſhall be neceſſary to expound them, and compare them unto ſome like terms of our natural ſpeech, that we in like manner may underſtand Chriſt as well as the *Jews* did. We will begin firſt with the firſt part of this Card, and then after with the other three parts: you muſt therefore

underſtand that the *Jews* and the *Phariſees* of the old Law, to whom this firſt part, this commandment, *Thou ſhalt not kill*, was ſpoken, thought it ſufficient and enough for their diſcharge not to kill with any manner of material weapon, as Sword, Dagger, or with any ſuch weapon, and they thought it no great fault whatſoever they ſaid or did by their neighbour, ſo that they did not harm or meddle with their corporal bodies, which was a falſe Opinion in them, as prove well the three laſt other Sentences following the firſt part of this Card,

Now as touching the three other Sentences, you muſt note and take heed what difference is between theſe three manner of offences, To be angry with your neighbour, To call your neighbour brainleſs, or any ſuch word of diſdain, Or to call your neighbour Fool: whether theſe three manner of offences be of themſelves more grievous one than the other, it is to be opened unto you. Truly, as they be of themſelves divers offences, ſo they kill diverſly one more than the other, as you ſhall perceive by the firſt of theſe three, and ſo forth: A man which conceiveth againſt his neighbour or Brother, ire, or wrath in his mind, by ſome manner of occaſion given unto him, although he be angry in his mind againſt his ſaid neighbour, he will peradventure expreſs his ire by no manner of ſign, either in word or deed; yet nevertheleſs he offendeth againſt God, and breaketh this Commandment in killing his own Soul; and is therefore in danger of judgment.

Now to the ſecond part of theſe three; That man that is moved with ire againſt his neighbour, and in his ire calleth his neighbour brainleſs, or ſome other like word of diſpleaſure, as a man might ſay in a fury I ſhall handle thee well enough, which words and countenances do more repreſent and declare ire to be in this man, than in him that was but angry, and ſpake no manner of word nor ſhewed any countenance to declare his ire: wherefore as he that ſo declareth his ire either by word or countenance, offendeth more againſt God, ſo he both killeth his own Soul, and doth that in him is to kill his neighbours Soul in moving him unto ire, wherein he is faulty himſelf, and ſo this man is in danger of a Councel.

Now to the third offence, and laſt of theſe three; That man that calleth his neighbour Fool, doth more declare his angry mind toward him, than he that called his neighbour brainleſs, or any ſuch words moving ire: but for to call a man Fool, that word repreſenteth more envy in a man, than brainleſs doth. Wherefore he doth moſt offend, becauſe he doth moſt earneſtly with ſuch words expreſs his ire, and ſo he is in danger of Hell-fire: wherefore you may underſtand now theſe three parts of this Card to be three offences, and that one is more grievous to God than the other, and that one killeth more the Soul of man than the other.

Now peradventure there be ſome that will marvel that Chriſt did not declare this commandment by ſome greater faults of ire, than by theſe which ſeem but ſmall faults, as to be angry and ſpeak nothing of it, to declare it and to call a man brainleſs, and to call his neighbour Fool; truly theſe be the ſmalleſt, and the leaſt faults that belong to ire, or to killing in ire. Therefore beware how you offend in any kind of ire: ſeeing that the ſmalleſt be damnable to offend in, ſee that you offend not in the greateſt. For Chriſt thought, if he might bring you from the ſmalleſt manner of faults, and give you warning to avoid the leaſt, he reckoned you would not offend in the greateſt and worſt, as to call your neighbour thief, Whoreſon, Whore, Drab, and ſo forth, into more blaſphemous names, which offences muſt needs have puniſhment in Hell, conſidering how that Chriſt hath appointed theſe three ſmall faults, to have three degrees of puniſhment in Hell, as appeareth by theſe three terms, Judgment, Council, and Hell-fire; theſe three terms do ſignifie nothing elſe but three divers puniſhments in Hell, according to the offences: Judgment is leſs in degree than Council, therefore it ſignifieth a leſſer pain in Hell, and it is ordained for him that is angry in his mind with his neighbour, and doth expreſs his malice neither by word, nor countenance: Council is a leſs degree in Hell, than Hell-fire, and is a greater degree in hell than judgment; and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour brainleſs, or any ſuch word, that declareth his ire and malice: wherefore it is more pain than Judgment. Hell-fire is more pain in Hell, than Council or Judgment, and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour Fool, by reaſon that in calling his neighbour Fool, he declareth more his malice, in that it is an earneſt word of ire. Wherfore Hell-fire is appointed for it, that is, the moſt pain of the three puniſhments. Anno 1555.

Now you have heard that to theſe divers offences of ire and killing, be appointed puniſhments according to their degrees: for look as the offence is, ſo ſhall the pain be: if the offence be great the pain ſhall be according: if it be leſs, there ſhall be leſs pain for it. I would not now that you ſhould think becauſe that here are but three degrees of puniſhment ſpoken of, that there be no more in Hell: no doubt Chriſt ſpake of no more here but of theſe three degrees of puniſhment, thinking they were ſufficient enow for example, whereby we might underſtand, that there be as divers and many pains as there be offences: and ſo by theſe three offences, and theſe three puniſhments, all other offences and puniſhments may be compared with each other: yet I would ſatisfie your minds further in theſe three terms, of Judgment, Council, and Hell-fire. Where you might ſay, what was the cauſe that Chriſt declared more the pains of Hell by theſe terms, than by any other terms? I told you afore that he knew well to whom he ſpake them; theſe terms were natural and known well amongſt the *Jews* and the *Phariſees*. Wherefore Chriſt taught them with their own terms, to the intent they might underſtand the better his Doctrine: and theſe terms may be likened unto three terms which we have common and uſual amongſt us, that is to ſay, the Seſſions of enquirance, the Seſſions of deliverance, and the Execution day: Seſſions of enquirance is like unto Judgment: for when Seſſions of enquiry is, then the Judges cauſe Twelve men to give verdict of the Felons crime, whereby he ſhall be judged to be endited: Seſſions of deliverance, is much like Council: for at Seſſions of deliverance, the Judges go among themſelves to Council, to determine ſentence againſt the Felon. Excution day is to be compared unto Hell-fire: for the *Jews* had amongſt themſelves a place of Execution, named Hell-fire: and ſurely when a man goeth to his death it is the greateſt pain in this world: wherefore you may ſee that there are degrees in theſe our terms, as there be in thoſe terms. Theſe evil diſpoſed affections and ſenſualities in us are always contrary to the rule of our ſalvation. What ſhall we do now or imagine to thruſt down theſe *Turks*, and to ſubdue them? It is a great ignominy and ſhame for a Chriſtian man to be bond and ſubject unto a *Turk*: Nay, it ſhall not be ſo, we will firſt caſt a Trump in their way, and play with them at Cards who ſhall have the better, let us play therefore on this faſhion with this Card. Whenſoever it ſhall happen theſe foul paſſions and *Turks* to riſe in our ſtomachs againſt our Brother, or neighbour, either for unkind words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary unto our mind, ſtraightways let us call unto our remembrance, and ſpeak this queſtion unto our ſelves, Who art thou? The anſwer is, I am a Chriſtian man. Then further we muſt ſay to our ſelves, What requireth Chriſt of a Chriſtian man? Now turn up your Trump, your Heart (Hearts is Trump as I ſaid before) and caſt your Trump, your Heart, on this Card, and upon this Card you ſhall learn what Chriſt requireth of a Chriſtian man, not to be angry, ne moved to ire againſt his Neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor other ways, by word or deed. Then take up this Card with your Heart, and lay them together; that done, you have won the game of the *Turk*, whereby you have defaced and overcome by true and lawful play: but alas for pity, the *Rhodes* are won and overcome by theſe falſe *Turks*, the ſtrong Caſtle Faith is decayed, ſo that I fear it is almoſt impoſſible to win it again.

Harts Trump.

The great occaſion of the loſs of this *Rhodes* is by reaſon that Chriſtian men do ſo daily kill their own Nation, that the very true number of Chriſtianity is decayed: which murther and killing one of another, is increaſed ſpecially two ways, to the utter undoing of Chriſtendom, that is to ſay, by example and ſilence. By example as thus: When the Father, the Mother, the Lord, the Lady, the Maſter, the Dame, be themſelves overcome

Two manner of killings.

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come with these *Turks*, they be continual swearers, adulterers, disposers to malice, never in patience, and so forth in all other vices: Think you not when the Father, the Mother, the Master, the Dame, be disposed unto vice or impatience, but that their Children and Servants shall encline and be disposed to the same? No doubt, as the Child shall take disposition natural of his Father and Mother, so shall the Servants apply unto the vices of their Masters and Dames; if the Heads be false in their faculties and crafts, it is no marvel if the Children, Servants, and Apprentices do joy therein. This is a great and shameful manner of killing Christian men, that the Fathers, the Mothers, the Masters, and the Dames, shall not alonely kill themselves, but all theirs, and all that belongeth unto them, and so this way is a great number of Christian linage murthered and spoyled. The second manner of killing is silence. By silence also is a great number of Christian men slain; which is on this fashion: although that the Father and Mother, Master and Dame of themselves be well disposed to live according to the Law of God, yet they may kill their Children and Servants in suffering them to do evil before their own faces, and do not use due correction according unto their offences; the Master seeth his Servant or apprentice take more of his neighbour than the Kings Laws, or the order of his faculty doth admit him, or he suffered him to take more of his neighbour than he himself would be content to pay if he were in like condition: thus doing, I say, such men kill willingly their Children and Servants, and shall go to Hell for so doing; but also their Fathers and Mothers, Masters and Dames, shall bear them company for so suffering. Wherefore I exhort all true Christian men and woman to give good example unto your Children and Servants, and suffer not them by silence to offend: every man must be in his own house, according uo St. *Augustines* mind, a Bishop, not alonely giving good ensample, but teach according to it, rebuke and punish vice, not suffering your Children and Servants to forget the Laws of God: you ought to see them have their belief, to know the commandments of God, to keep their holy-days, not to lose their time in idleness; if they do so, you shall all suffer pain for it, if God be true of his saying, as there is no doubt thereof: and so you may perceive that there be many one that break this Card, *Thou shalt not kill*, and playeth therewith, oftentime, at the blind Trump, whereby they be no winners, but great losers, but who be those now a days that can clear themselves of these manifest murders used to their Children and Servants? I think not the contrary, but that many have these two ways slain their own Children unto their damnation, were not the great mercy of God ready to help them when they repent therefore.

Wherefore considering that we be so prone and ready to continue in sin, let us cast down our selves with *Mary Magdalen*, and the more we bow down with her toward Christs feet, the more we shall be afraid to rise again in sin, and the more we know and submit our selves, the more we shall be forgiven, and the less we know and submit our selves, the less we shall be forgiven, as appeareth by this example following.

Christ when he was in the world amongst the *Jews* and *Pharisees*, there was a great *Pharisee* whose name was *Simon*; this *Pharisee* desired Christ on a time to dine with him, thinking in himself that he was able and worthy to give Christ a dinner: Christ refused not his dinner, but came unto him. In time of their dinner it chanced there came into the house a great and a common sinner named *Mary Magdalen*. As soon as she perceived Christ, she cast herself down, and called unto her remembrance what she was of her self, and how greatly she had offended God, whereby she conceived in Christ great love, and so came near unto him, and washed his feet with bitter tears, and shed upon his head precious oyntment, thinking that by him she should be delivered from her sins; this great and proud *Pharisee* seeing that Christ did accept her oblation in the best part, had great indignation against this woman, and said to himself, if this man Christ were a holy Prophet, as he is taken for, he would not suffer this sinner to come so nigh him. Christ understanding the naughty mind of this *Pharisee* said to him; *Simon*, I have somewhat to say unto thee: Say what you please (quoth the *Pharisee.*) Then said Christ, I pray thee tell me this: If there be a man to whom is owing twenty pound by one, and forty by another, this man to whom this mony is owing, perceiveth these two men be not able to pay him, he forgiveth them both. Which of these two debtors ought to love this man most? The *Pharisee* said, That man ought to love him best that had most forgiven him: Likewise said Christ, it is by this woman. She hath loved me most, therefore most is forgiven her, she hath known her sins most, whereby she hath most loved me? and thou hast least loved me, because thou hast least known thy sins, therefore because thou hast least known thine offences, thou art least forgiven. So this proud *Pharisee* had an answer to allay his pride: and think you not, but that there be amongst us a great number of these proud *Pharisees*, which think themselves worthy to bid Christ to dinner, which will perk and presume to sit by Christ in the Church, and have disdain of this poor Woman *Magdalen*, their poor Neighbour, with an high disdainous and solemn countenance, and being always desirous to climb highest in the Church, reckoning their selves more worthy to sit there than another, I fear me poor *Magdalen* under the Boord, and in the Belfrey, hath more forgiven of Christ than they have: for it is like that these *Pharisees* do less know themselves and their offences, whereby they less love God, and so they be less forgiven.

I would to God we would follow this example, and be like unto *Magdalen*. I doubt not but we be all *Magdalens* in falling into sin, and in offending: but we be not again *Magdalens* in knowing our selves, and in rising from sin. If we be the true *Magdalens*, we should be as willing to forsake our sin, and rise from sin, as we were willing to commit sin, and to continue in it, and we then should know our selves best, and make more perfect answer than ever we did, unto this question, *Who art thou?* To the which we might answer; that we be true Christian men and women: and then I say you should understand, and know how you ought to play at this Card, *Thou shalt not kill*; without any interruption of your deadly enemies the *Turks*, and so triumph at the last, by winning everlasting life in glory, *Amen*.

It would ask a long discourse to declare what a stir there was in *Cambridge*, upon this preaching of M. *Latimer*. Belike Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men of arms.

First came out the Prior of the Black Friers called *Buckneham*, otherwise surnamed *Domine labia*, who thinking to make a great hand against Mr. *Latimer*, about the same time of *Christmas*, when Mr. *Latimer* brought forth his Cards to deface belike the doings of the other, brought out his *Christmas* Dice, casting there to his audience *cinque* and *quater*, meaning by the *cinque* five places in the new Testament, and the four Doctors by the *quater*; by which his *Cinque quater*, he would prove that it was not expedient the Scripture to be in *English*, lest the ignorant and vulgar sort through the occasion therof, might haply be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or else to run into some inconvenience: as for example.

D. Denyse playeth at Dice with M. Latimer.

The Plowman when he heareth this in the Gospel, No man that layeth his hand on the Plough and looketh back, is meet for the Kingdom of God; might peradventure hearing this, cease from his Plough. Likewise the Baker, when he hears that a little Leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough, may percase leave our Bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the simple man, when he heareth in the Gospel, If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee, may make himself blind. and so fill the world full of beggars. These with other more this Clerkly Frier brought out, to the number of five to prove his purpose.

Note these great reasons of the Catholicks, why the Scriptures should not come in English.

Mr. *Latimer* hearing this Frierly Sermon of Dr. *Buckneham*, cometh again the afternoon, or shortly after to the Church, to answer the Frier, where resorted to him a great multitude, as well of the University as of the Town, both Doctors and other Graduates, with great expectation to hear what he could say: among whom also, directly in the face of *Latimer* underneath the Pulpit, sate

ſate *Buckneham* the foreſaid Frier, Prior of the Black-Friers, with his Black Friers coul about his Shoulders.

Anſwer of M. Latimer to D. Buckneams Sermon.

Then Maſter *Latimer* firſt repeating the Frierly reaſons of Doctor *Buckneham*, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar People to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, ſo refuted the Frier, ſo anſwered to his objections, ſo dallied with his bald reaſon of the Ploughman looking back, and of the Baker leaving his Bread unleavened, that the vanity of the Frier might to all men appear, well proving and declaring to the People, how there was no ſuch fear nor danger for the Scriptures to be in Engliſh, as the Frier pretended; at leaſt requiring this, that the Scripture might be ſo long in the Engliſh tongue, till Engliſhmen were ſo mad, that either the Ploughman durſt not look back, or the Baker ſhould leave his bread unleavened. And proceeding moreover in his Sermon, he began to diſcourſe of the myſtical ſpeeches, and figurative phraſes of the Scripture: which phraſes he ſaid were not ſo diffuſe and difficult, as they were common in the Scripture, and in the Hebrew tongue are commonly uſed and unknown: and not onely in the Hebrew tongue, but alſo every ſpeech (ſaith he) hath his like metaphors and figurative ſignifications, ſo common and vulgar to all men, that the very Painters do paint them on walls, and on houſes.

As for example (ſaith he, looking toward the Frier that ſate over againſt him) when they paint a Fox preaching out of a Friers coul, none is ſo mad to take this to be a Fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to paint out unto us, what hypocriſie, crafts, and ſubtile diſſimulation lieth hid many times in theſe Friers couls, willing us thereby to beware of them. In fine, Frier *Buckneham* with this Sermon was ſo daſhed, that never after he durſt peep out of the pulpit againſt M. *Latimer*.

Another barking Frier againſt Mr. Latimer.

Beſides this *Buckneham*, there was alſo another railing Frier, not of the ſame coat, but of the ſame note and faction, a gray Frier and a Doctor, an Outlandiſhman called Doctor *Venetus*, who likewiſe in his brawling Sermons railed and raged againſt Maſter *Latimer*, calling him a mad and brainleſs man, and willing the People not to believe him, &c. To whom Maſter *Latimer* anſwering again, taketh for his ground the words of our Saviour Chriſt, *Matthew* 5. Thou ſhall not kill, &c. But I ſay unto you, whoſoever is angry with his neighbour ſhall be in danger of judgement; and whoſoever ſhall ſay unto his neighbour, *Racha* (or any other like words of rebuking, as brainleſs) ſhall be in danger of Council: And whoſoever ſhall ſay to his neighbour, Fool, ſhall be in danger of hell fire.

Matth. 5.

Anſwer of M. Latimr to another railing Frier

In diſcuſſing of which place, firſt he divideth the offence of killing into three branches. One to be with hand, the other with heart, the third with word. With hand, when we uſe any weapon drawn, to ſpill the life of our neighbour: With heart, when we be angry with him: With word, when in word or countenance we diſdainfully rebuke our neighbour, or deſpitefully revile him. Words of rebuking are, when we ſpeak any opprobrious or unſeemly thing, whereby the patience of our neighbour is moved, as when we call him mad (ſaid he) or brainleſs, or ſuch like, which are guilty of Council: Words of ſpite, or reviling are, when we call him Fool; which Chriſt ſaith is guilty of hell fire, &c.

Thus M. *Latimer* in handling and trimming this matter, after that with the weight of Chriſts words, and the explaining of the ſame, he had ſufficiently born the Frier clean down, then he turned to the fifth Chapter of the Book of Wiſedom. Out of the which Chapter he declared to the audience, how the true Servants and preachers of God in this World commonly are ſcorned and reviled of the proud enemies of Gods Word, which account them here as mad men, fools, brainleſs, and drunken: ſo did they (ſaid he) in the Scripture call them which moſt purely preached, and ſet forth the glory of Gods Word. But (ſaid he) what will be the end of theſe jolly fellows, or what will they ſay in the end? *Nos inſenſati, nos inſenſati, &c.* We mad men, we mad fools, we, we our ſelves, &c. And that will be their end except they repent. And thus ending his Sermon, he ſo confounded the poor Frier, that he drave him not onely out of countenance, but alſo clean out of the Univerſity.

Sap. 5.

Ann. 1555.

But what ſhould I here ſtand deciphering the names of his Adverſaries, when whole ſwarms of Friers and Doctors flockt againſt him on every ſide, almoſt thorow the whole Univerſity, preaching likewiſe and barking againſt him? Amongſt whom was Doctor *Watſon*, Maſter of Chriſts *Colledge*, whoſe Scholar *Latimer* had been afore. Doctor *Notaries*, Maſter of *Clare-hall*, Doctor *Philo*, Maſter of *Michael-houſe*, Doct. *Metcalfe*, Maſter of St. *Johns*, Doctor *Blithe* of the *Kings-Hall*, Doctor *Bullock*, Maſter of the *Queens Colledge*, Doctor *Cliffe* of *Clement-Houſe*, Doctor *Donnes* of *Jeſus Colledge*, Doctor *Pſalms*, M. of St. *Nicholas Hoſtel*, *Bain*, *Rud*, and *Greenwood*, Bachelor of Divinity, all three of St. *Johns Colledge*. Alſo *Brikenden* Bachelor of Divinity of the ſame houſe, and Scholar ſomtimes to the ſaid *Latimer*. Briefly, almoſt as many as were Heads there of houſes, ſo many impugners did this worthy ſtandard-bearer of Chriſts Goſpel ſuſtain.

D. Weſt Biſh. of Ely forbidding Mr. Latimer to preach.

Then came at laſt Doctor *Weſt*, Biſhop of *Ely*, who preaching againſt M. *Latimer* at *Barwel Abbey*, forbade him within the Churches of that Univerſity to preach any more. Notwithſtanding, ſo the Lord provided, that Doctor *Barnes*, Prior of the *Auguſtine* Friers, did licence Maſter *Latimer* to preach in his Church of the *Auguſtines*, and he himſelf preached at the Church by, called Saint *Edwards* Church, which was the firſt Sermon of the Goſpel, which Doct. *Barnes* preached, being upon *Chriſtmas* Even upon a Sunday. Whereupon certain Articles were gathered out of his Sermon, and were commenced againſt him by Maſter *Tirell*, Fellow of the *Kings Hall*, and ſo by the Vice-chancellor preſented to the Cardinal, as in his ſtory before hath been declared.

This M. *Latimer* (as you have heard) being baited by the Friers, Doctors, and Maſters of that Univerſity, about the year aforeſaid, 1529. notwithſtanding the maugre and malice of theſe malignant Adverſaries, continued yet in *Cambridge* preaching the ſpace of three years together with favour and applauſe of the godly, alſo with ſuch admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the Biſhop himſelf coming in, and hearing his gift wiſhed himſelf to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the ſame.

Bilney and Latimer joyned companions.

So M. *Latimer*, with M. *Bilney*, after this continued yet in *Cambridge* a certain ſpace, where he with the ſaid *Bilney* uſed much to confer and company together, inſomuch that the place where they moſt uſed to walk in the fields, was called long after, the Hereticks hill.

The ſociety of theſe two, as it was much noted of many in that Univerſity, ſo it was full of many good examples, to all ſuch as would follow their doings, both in viſiting the priſoners, in relieving the needy, in feeding the hungry, whereof ſomewhat is before mentioned in the hiſtory of Maſter *Bilney*, in a place of his Sermons. Maſter *Latimer*, maketh mention of a certain hiſtory which happened about this time in *Cambridge* between them two, and a certain woman then priſoner in the *Caſtle* or *Tower* of *Cambridge*, which I thought here not unworthy to be remembred. The hiſtory is this: It ſo chanced, that after Maſter *Latimer* had bin ſo acquainted with the foreſaid Maſter *Bilney*, he went with him to viſit the Priſoners in the *Tower* in *Cambridge*, and being there, among other priſoners there was a woman which was accuſed that ſhe had killed her own child, which act ſhe plainly and ſtedfaſtly denied. Whereby it gave them occaſion to ſearch for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore ſought all means he could to make her away. The mattter was thus:

A ſtory of a certain woman condemned, who was ſaved by M. Latimer.

A child of hers had been ſick a whole year, and at length died in harveſt time, as it were in a conſumption: Which when it was gone, ſhe went to have her neighbours to help her to the burial, but all were in harveſt abroad, whereby ſhe was enforced with heavineſs of heart, alone to prepare the child to the burial. Her husband coming home, and not loving her, accuſed her of murthering the child. This was the cauſe of her trouble, and Mr. *Latimer*, by earneſt inquiſition, of conſcience thought the woman not guilty. Then immediately after, was he called to preach before King *Henry* the Eighth at *Windſor*, where

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M. Latimer obtained pardon of the King for a woman wrongfully condemned.

where after his Sermon the Kings *Majesty* sent for him, and talked whith him familiarly. At which time Master *Latimer* finding opprortunity, kneeled down, opened this whole matter to the King, and begged her pardon, which the King most graciously granted, and gave it him at his return homeward. In the mean time the woman was delivered of a child in the prison, whose Godfather was M. *Latimer*, Mistress *Cheek* Godmother. But all the while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her confess the truth of the matter. At length the time came when she should look to suffer, and Master *Latimer* came as he was wont to instruct her: unto whom she made great lamentation and moan, to be purified before her suffering, for she thought to be damned if she should suffer without purification.

Purification of women.

Then Master *Bilney* being with Master *Latimer*, both told her that that Law was made to the Jews, and not to us, and that women be as well in the favour of God before they be purified, as after; and rather it was appointed for a civil and politick law, for natural honesty sake, than that they should any thing the more be purified from Sin thereby, &c. So thus they travelled with this woman, till they had brought her to a good trade, and then at length shewed her the Kings pardon, and let her go.

This good act among many other at this time happened in *Cambridge* by Master *Latimer*, and Master *Bilney*. But this was not alone, for many more like matters were wrought by them, if all were known, whereof partly some are touched before, such especially as concern Master *Bilney*, mention whereof is above expressed. But as it is commonly seen in the naturall course of things, that as the fire beginneth more to kindle, so the more smoke ariseth withal, in much like sort it happened with Master *Latimer*; whose towardness the more it began to spring, his vertues to be seen, and his doings to be known, the more his Adversaries began to spurn and kick against him. Concerning these Adversaries, and such as did molest him, partly their names be above expressed. Among the rest of this number was Doctor *Redman*, of whom mention is made before in the raign of King *Edward*, a man savouring at that time somewhat more of superstition, then of true Religion, after the zeal of the Pharisees, yet not so malignant or harmful, but of a civil and quiet disposition, and also so liberal in well doing, that few poor Scholars were in that University, which fared not better by his purse. This D. *Redman* being of no little Authoritie in *Cambridge*, perceiving and understanding the bold enterprise of M. *Latimer*, in setting abroad the word and Doctrine of the Gospel, at this time, or much about the same, writeth to him, seeking by perswasion to revoke the said *Latimer* from that kind and manner of teaching; to whom M. *Latimer* maketh answer again in few words: The sum and effect of both their letters, translated out of Latine, here followeth to be seen.

D. Redman against M. Latimer.

The sum of the Epistle written by D. Redman *to M.* Latimer.

A letter of D. Redman to M. Latimer.

GRace be with you, and true peace in Christ Jesus. I beseech you heartily, and require most earnestly, even for charities sake, that you will not stand in your own conceit with a mind so indurate, nor prefer your own singular judgement in matters of Religion and controversies before so many learned men, and that more is, before the whole Catholick Church, especially considering that you neither have any thing at all in the word of God to make for you, nor yet the testimony of any authentical Writer. Nay, nay: I beseech you rather consider that you are a man, and that lying and vanity may quickly blear your eye, which doth sometime transform it self into an Angel of light.

Judge not so rashly of us, as that wicked Spirit hath tickled you in the ear. Wit you well that we are careful for you, and that we wish you to be saved, and that we are careful also for your own salvation. Lay down your stomach I pray you, and humble your Spirit, and suffer not the Church to take offence with the hardness of your heart, nor that her unity and Christs coat without seam (as much as lyeth in you) should be torn asunder. Consider what the saying of the wiseman is, and be obedient thereunto: Trust not your own wisedom. The Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

The sum of M. Latimers *answer to Doctor* Redman.

Answer of M. Latimer to D. Redman.

REverend Master *Redman*, it is even enough for me, that Christs Sheep hear no mans voice but Christs: and as for you, you have no voice of Christ against me, whereas for my part I have a heart that is ready to harken to any voice of Christ that you can bring me. Thus fare you well, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God.

M. Latimer called up to the Cardinal.

After M. *Latimer* had thus travelled in preaching and teaching in the University of *Cambridge* about the space of three years, at length he was called up to the Cardinal for Heresie, by the procurement of certain of the said University, where he was content to subscribe, and grant to such Articles as then they propounded unto him, &c.

D. Buts a worthy favourer of Gods Word.

After that he returned to the University again, where shortly after by the means of Doctor *Buts*, the Kings Physitian, a singular good man, and a special favourer of good proceedings, he was in the number of them which laboured in the cause of the Kings supremacy. Then went he to the Court, where he remained a certain time in the said Doctor *Buts* chamber, preaching then in *London* verie often. At last being weary of the Court, having a benefice offered by the King, at the sute of the L. *Cromwel*, and Doctor *Buts*, was glad thereof, seeking by that means to be rid out of the Court, wherewith in no case he could agree; and so having a grant of the Benefice, contrary to the mind of D. *Buts*, he would needs depart, and be resident at the same.

This Benefice was in *Wiltshire*, under the Dioces of *Sarum*, the name of which Town was called *West-Kingston*, where this good Preacher did exercise himself with much diligence of teaching to instruct his flock, and not only to them his diligence extended, but also to all the Country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his Preaching so mighty, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that there in like sort he could not escape without enemies. So true it is that S. *Paul* foretelleth us, Whosoever will live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution. It so chanced, that whereas he Preaching upon the blessed Virgin Christs Mother (whom we call our Lady) had thereupon declared his mind, referring and reducing all honor only to Christ our only Saviour, certain Popish Priests, being therewith offended, sought and wrought much trouble against him, drawing out Articles and impositions which they untruly, unjustly, falsly, and uncharitably imputed unto him: First, that he should preach against our Lady, for that he reproved in a sermon the superstitious rudeness of certain blinde Priests, which so held together upon that blessed Virgin, as though she never had any sin, nor were saved by Christ the only Saviour of the whole World.

M. Latimer Benefliced in Wiltshire in Westkingston.

M. Latimer troubled for preaching. Christ only to be our Saviour, and not our Lady.

The superstitious rude ness of blind Priests.

Item, that he should say, that Saints were not to be worshipped.

Item, that *Ave Maria* was a salutation only, and no prayer.

Item, that there was no material fire in hell.

Item, that there was no Purgatory, in saying, that he had rather be in Purgatory than in *Lollards Tower*.

Matter devised against M. Latimer by Popish Priests.

Touching the whole discourse of which Articles, with his reply and answer to the same, hereafter shall follow (by the Lords assistance) when we come to his letters.

The chief impugners and molesters of him, besides these Country Priests, were Doct. *Powel* of *Salisbury*, D. *Wilson* sometime of *Cambridge*, M. *Hubberdin*, and D. *Sherwood*. Of whom some preached against him, some also did write against him; insomuch that by their procurement he was cited up and called to appear before *W. Warrham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *John Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, Anno 1531 *Jan.* 29. the copie of which citation here followeth.

Doct. Wilson, Doct. Powel, D. Sherwood, Hubberdine, Dr. Warrham Archb: of Cant. Dr. Stokesly, B. of London, troublers of M. Latimer.

The

The Copy of a Citation ſent to the ſaid M. *Latimer* by the Chancellor of *Sarum*, at the interceſſion of the Biſhop of *London*.

RIchardus Hilley *decretorum Doctor, Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini, Domini* Laurentii *Dei gratia* Sarum *Epiſcopi, in remotis extra regnum* Angliæ *agentis Vicarius in ſpiritualibus generalis, univerſis & ſingulis Rectoribus, Vicariis, Capellanis, Curatis, Cleriſque & literatis per Dioceſ.* Sarum *ubilibet conſtitutis, ſalutem in authore ſalutis. Vobis conjunctim & diviſim committimus ac firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus citetis, vel citari faciatis peremptorie Magiſtrum* Hugonem Latimer. *Vicarium de* Weſtkingſton *in archimatu* Wiltef. Sarum *Dioceſ. quod compareat coram Reverendo in Chriſto Patre, & Domino domino* Johanne, *Dei gratia* London. *Epiſcopo, aut ejus Vicario in ſpiritualibus generali, ſive commiſſario in Eccleſia Cathedrali Sancti* Pauli London, *in loco conſiſtorali ibidem, die Lunæ, videlicet 29. die menſis* Januarii *jam inſtantis, inter horam 9, & 11. ante meridiem ejuſdem diei, certis articulis ſive interrogatoriis, crimina ſeu exceſſus graves infra juriſdictionem* London. *per ipſum commiſſ. concernentibus perſonaliter reſponſur. ulteriuſque fiatur. & receptur. quod juſtitia in ea parte ſuadebit: & quid in præmiſſis feceritis, nos citra 22. diem ejuſdem menſis* Januarii, *vel in eo apud* Sarum *debite certificari curetis, ut nos certificatorium hujuſmodi ſupradicto Reverendo Patri, Domino* London *Epiſcopo erga dictum 22. diem tranſmittere valeamus, prout idem Reverendus Pater nos in juris ſubſidium ac mutuæ viciſſitudinis obtentu rogavit, & etiam requiſivit. Datum* Sarum, *ſub ſigillo antedicti Reverendiſſimi Patris ad cauſas, 10. die menſis* Januarii, *Anno* 1531.

Mr. *Latimer* appealed from the Biſhop of *London's* citation, to his own Ordinary. *M. Latimer* moleſted by *Warham* Archb. of *Cant.* and *Tokeſly* B. of *London*.

Againſt this Citation, although Mr. *Latimer* did appeal to his own Ordinary, requiring by him to be ordered, yet all that notwithſtanding, he was had up to *London* before *Warham* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *London*, where he was greatly moleſted, and detained a long ſpace from his Cure at home. There he being called thrice every week before the ſaid Biſhops, to make anſwer for his Preaching, had certain Articles or Propoſitions drawn out and laid to him, whereunto they required him to ſubſcribe. At length he not only perceiving their practical proceedings, but alſo much grieved with their troubleſom unquietneſs, which neither would preach themſelves, nor yet ſuffer him to preach and do his duty, writeth to the foreſaid Archbiſhop, partly excuſing his Infirmity, whereby he could not appear at their commandment, partly expoſtulating with them for ſo troubling and detaining him from his duty doing, and that for no juſt cauſe, but only for preaching the truth againſt certain vain abuſes crept into Religion, much needful to be ſpoken againſt. Which all may appear by his Epiſtle ſent to a certain Biſhop or Archbiſhop, whoſe name is not expreſſed; the Copy of which Epiſtle in Latin is this.

The Copy of the Epiſtle written by Mr. *Latimer* to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

M. *Latimers* Letter to the Archb.

NOn licet, *Reverendiſſime Præſul, per ſupervenientem ægrotationem ad tuum Palatium venire, non novam quidem illam, ſed inveteratam, etſi novis occaſionibus nuper exaſperatam. Certe quantum videre videor, & quantum conjecturis ducor, hodie non licebit, citra meum (inquam) magnum malum non licebit. Et ne meum expectaret adventum diutius tua dominatio fruſtra: en hanc qualemcunque ſchedulam mea manu oblitam ad tuam amplitudinem mitto, velut excuſationis noſtræ certiſſimum judicem. In qua utinam vel per temporis importunitatem, vel per capitis gravedinem, juſtam aliquam expoſtulationem liceret tecum facere, qui me, curam animarum habentem, ab earundem curatione debita tam diu detines invitam, & hac quidem tempeſtate detines, qua Paſtores cum gregibus adeſſe oportet vel maxime. Quid ni enim expoſtulem, ſi modo tam vili mancipio cum tanto Patre expoſtulare ſit licitum? Nam ſi* Petrus *arbitrabatur juſtum eſſe ratione officii ſui, quamdiu in hoc foret Tabernaculo, ut populum admonere & docere neutiquam ceſſaret, & quo propius morti hoc inſtantius: ergo non poteſt non videri injuſtum, ſi qui hodie neque docent ipſi (ut jam nihil mirer ſi non ante docuerunt) neque cupientes docere permittunt, niſi quos habuerunt votis per omnia & in omnibus obſecundantes. Primum liberum erat meipſum amplitudini veſtræ præſentare & offerre; ſed inde meipſum eripere & extricare, parum nunc quidem videtur mihi liberum eſſe. Et dum aliud in principio prætenditur, aliud in progreſſu tam longo temporis tractu agitur, noſtri negotii quis aut qualis ſit futurus exitus non immerito dubitatur; ſed veritas tandem liberabit ut ſpero. Dominus qui cuſtodit veritatem in ſeculum liberabit, ſuper quo quid ſcribit* Hieronymus *utinam nunquam è memoria excideret. Non poterunt me moleſtare quicquid eſſera pro veritate paſſus; ſed vivit Deus, & ipſi cura eſt de nobis. Tum modo ad* Lond. *miſſus ſum, cæterum coram* Cant. *interdum multis faramidandis patribus ſtipato geruntur omnia. Res velut cancellos quoſdam & limites habet, ab eo qui me miſit præſtitutos, verum ſic tractatur cauſa, & ambagibus dicitur, quaſi in infinitum abitura, nullo tandem claudenda termino, dum ſine modo & fine, alia poſt alia ad me, ſive pertinentia, ſive impertinentia, nunc ab hoc nunc ab illo interrogantur, ſi non egomet modo, & ſi forte inciviliter, ac non imprudenter tamen (ni fallor) modum imponere, veritus ne inter multa dum multis reſpondet unus, unum aliquod (ut fit) ex inconſulto erumperet, quod cauſam læderet, alioqui juſtiſſimam: & me malum oſtendat oportet nemini volentem male moliri, ſi quid in conſcientia eſt erroris: & meminiſſe omnino illud oportet, nempe ad Gehennam ædificare, contra conſcientiam facere, his fuit fuerit ſua profiteri, ſua aſſerere, ſua defenſare: mihi vero aſſertiones alienæ obtruduntur, neſcio quo jure aſſerendæ. Sine exemplo, opinor, hoc fit mihi, qui tamen intractabilis fere videor, dum nihil aliud quam iniquis efflagitationibus (quod ego judico) acquieſcere detrecto. Adverſus prædicationes meas ſi quis quid intentare conabitur, tanquam vel obſcuriores, vel parum caute pronunciatas, paratus ſum prædicationes prædicationibus illuſtrare, qui nihil adverſus veritatem, nihil adverſus decreta Patrum, nil non Catholice (quod ſciam) prædicavi unquam. Id quod per adverſariorum & obloquentium teſtimonia commonſtrare poteram eſſe verum. Optavi & opto judicium vulgi reparari. Optavi & opto diſcrimen rerum deprehendi, & ſua dignitate, ſuo loco, & tempore, ſuo gradu & ordine, unamquamq; rem pollere, gaudere, ut ingenue ſciant omnes permultum intereſſe inter ea quæ præparavit Deus, ut in eis ambularemus, quiſque vocationis opera ſedulo facturi, poſtquam quæ omnibus ſunt communia pari ſedulitate ſunt facta, & inter ea quæ ſpontanea ſunt, ut in quibus non niſi noſtropte marte obambulamus. Imaginibus uti licet, peregrinari licet, ſanctos invocare licet, animarum in purgatorio reſidentium memores eſſe licet: ſed ſic temperanda ſunt, quæ voluntaria ſunt, ut præcepta Dei factu neceſſaria quæ (facientibus vitam æternam, non facientibus æternam mortem afferunt) juſta æſtimatione non priventur, nè præpoſtere diligentes Deum ſtulte devoti, Deum contra experiamur non redamantem nos, ſed odio potius proſequentem; cum hoc eſt Deum vere diligere nimirum præcepta Dei diligenter ſervare, juxta illud Chriſti; Qui habet præcepta mea & facit ea, hic eſt qui diligit me, ne quis tam vilia reputet præcepta Dei vocationem concernentia, in ſuis potius adinventionibus aberraturus, cum in fine ante tribunal Chriſti ſecundum illa, non ſecundum has, omnes ad unum judicabimur, juxta illud Chriſti, Sermo quem locutus ſum, ipſe judicabit in noviſſimo die. Et quis poteſt unum præceptum Dei ullis additiis inventis quamlibet aut multis, aut ſpecioſis compenſare. O ſi eſſemus ad ea quæ Deo ſunt peragenda tam propenſi, quam ſumus ad noſtra excogitamenta exercenda ſeduli & devoti. Multa ſunt quæ ſimplici fide facta non improbat Deus, ſed probat utcunque ſaltem quorundam infirmitati indulgens, quæ tamen antequam fierent interrogatus, nec præciperet, nec conſuleret fieri, utpote quæ juſtius tolerranda ſunt, dum ſic fiant, quam prædicanda ut fiant; ne occaſione prædicationis (ut fit) omittantur, quæ periculo damnationis fieri debeant. Et quid magis indecorum, quam ad id prædicationem convertere, quod Deus ipſe nec præciperet, nec conſuleret fieri, ſaltem quam diu negligenter fiunt quæ præcipiuntur facienda. Proinde ego ex parte mandatorum Dei ſto hactenus immobilis; ſic non meum ſed Chriſti lucrum, non meam ſed Dei gloriam quæritans, & donec reſpirare licebit, ſtare non deſinam, ſic Germanos verbi præcones, quotquot hactenus fuere, imitaturus. Intolerabiles ſane ſunt, & diu fuere quarundam rerum abuſus,*

Anno 1555.

Indigna Epiſcoporum actio contra Latimerum.

Quid in religione cor rigendum.

Diſcrimen inter mandata Dei, & præcepta hominum.

Multa tolerat Deus quæ tamen non erat præceptarus ut fierent.

Anno 1555.

Abuſus in rebus Religioni amovendi.

quot hactenus fuere, imitaturus. Intolerabiles ſane ſunt, & diu fuere quarundam rerum abuſus, ut nemo Chriſtianæ gloriæ ſtud. oſus poteſt, niſi abuſibus rerum multo etiam magis improbatis, res ipſas e ſuggeſtu probare: quæ ſi rarius fierent (ne dicam nunquam) modo hac occaſione quæ mandantur a Deo fieri fierent officioſius, quid quæſo paterctur jacturæ Religio Chriſtiana? niſi forte ſic cæcutimus miſeri, ut illa turpi quæſtu noſtro, non cultu Dei vero putentur conſiſtere. Iam non poteſt (opinor) fieri, ut damnabilis ejuſmodi rerum abuſus juſte reprobetur, niſi paulatim infrequentior earundem uſus ſequatur. Quanquam præſtiterit quædam nunquam fieri quam tam fiducialiter fieri, ut minus curentur quæ oportuit fieri, cum alia oportet facere, alia oportet non omittere, alia nec oportet facere, & omittere licet. Et quis manifeſtum multarum rerum abuſum non videt? quis videt, & non vehementer dolet? quis dolet deniq; & non laborat amovere? & quando amovebitur, ſi uſus prædicatione celebrabitur, tacebitur abuſus? Imo non poteſt non regnare & dominari abuſus. Aliud eſt, res quæ poſſunt in loco fieri tolerare, aliud eaſdem pro rebus quæ debent fieri aut paſſim prædicare, aut legibus prædicanda conſtituere. Euntes docete (inquit) omnia. Quænam omnia? omnia quæ ego præcepi vobis (inquit,) non dicit omnia quæ vobis ipſis videntur prædicanda. Agite igitur per immortalem Deum. Sic nervos intendamus noſtros, ut quæ Dei ſunt prædicemus ad unum omnes, ne adulterarii & caupones prædicationis verius, quam vere prædicatores evadamus; maxime, dum homines ad divina ſunt pigerrimi, ad ſua velociſſimi, ut nihil ſit opus calcaribus; injuſta rerum æſtimatione, & innata ſuperſtitione, certe ab ineunte ætate a majoribus contracta miſerabiliter decepti, quibus rebus medere vix ullis prædicationibus, quamlibet frequentibus, quamlibet ſinceris & puris, quimus. Quare prohibeat Deus: Sed in hac dierum malitia qui debent ipſi potius prædicare (præcepit enim nobis, inquit Petrus, *prædicare) vel volentes & potentes prædicare præpediant, contra illud, noli prohibere eum benefacere qui poteſt, vel cauponantes prædicare compellant, ſic miſeram plebeculam in ſuperſtitione & fallaci fiducia damnabiliter detinentes. Quin Deus potius miſereatur noſtri, ut cognoſcamus in terra viam tuam, ne videamur in quos illud quadret digne, non cogitationes meæ, cogitationes veſtræ, neque viæ meæ, viæ veſtræ, dicit Dominus. Hinc ego nudis ſententiis ſubſcribere non audeo, Domine cum primis obſervande, quia popularis ſuperſtitionis diutius duraturæ, quoad poſſum, authorculus eſſe nolo, ne mei ipſius damnationis ſimul ſim author. Quod ſi dignus eſſem qui tibi conſilium darem, Colendiſſime Pater, ſed cohibeo me; quam ſit parvum & intolerabile hominis cor detur vel conjectare. Neque ſane quiſquam novit quæ ſunt hominis, niſi ſpiritus hominis qui eſt in eo. Non ſuperbia detinet ulla ab illa ſubſcriptione tôties a tua Dominatione cum maxima mei animi moleſtia rogata. Non poteſt non eſſe impium Patribus & Proceribus Eccleſiæ non obtemperare; ſed videndum interim illis, & quid & quibus imperent, cum in loco, Deo quam hominibus obedire oportet magis. Sic dolet mihi caput, & reliquum corpus languet, ut nec venire, nec hæc reſcribere licet, & emendare. Sed tua dominatio, ſi non judicium meum, certe ſtudium (ſpero) probabit. Valeat Dominatio tua.*

Multa tolerari poſſunt quum fiunt, quæ tamen ut fierent, neceſſitatem nullam habent.

In this foreſaid Epiſtle (as ye hear) he maketh mention of certain Articles or Propoſitions, whereunto he was required by the Biſhops to ſubſcribe. The Copy and effect of thoſe Articles or rude Propoſitions (as he calleth them) be theſe.

Articles deviſed by the Biſhops, for M. Latimer *to ſubſcribe unto.*

Articles propounded to M. Latimer to ſubſcribe unto.

I Believe that there is a Purgatory to purge the Souls of the dead after this life.

That the Souls in Purgatory are holpen with the Maſſes, Prayers, and Alms of the living.

That the Saints do pray as Mediators now for us in Heaven.

That they are to be honoured of us in Heaven.

That it is profitable for Chriſtians to call upon the Saints, that they may pray as Mediators for us unto God.

That Pilgrimages and Oblations done to the Sepulchres and Reliques of Saints are meritorious.

That they which have vowed perpetual chaſtity may not marry, nor break their Vow, without the diſpenſation of the Pope.

That the Keys of binding and looſing delivered to *Peter*, do ſtill remain with the Biſhops of *Rome*, his Succeſſors, although they live wickedly, and are by no means nor at any time committed to Laymen.

That men may merit and deſerve at Gods hand by faſting, Prayer, and other good works of piety.

That they which are forbidden of the Biſhop to preach, as ſuſpect perſons, ought to ceaſe until they have purged themſelves before the ſaid Biſhop, or their Superiors, and be reſtored again.

That the faſt which is uſed in Lent, and other faſts preſcribed by the Canons, and by cuſtom received of the Chriſtians (except neceſſity otherwiſe require) are to be obſerved and kept.

That God in every one of the ſeven Sacraments giveth grace to a man, rightly receiving the ſame.

That conſecrations, ſanctifyings, and bleſſings by uſe and cuſtom received in the Church, are laudable and profitable.

That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable Images of the Crucifix and other Saints, ſhould be had in the Churches as a remembrance, and to the honour and worſhip of Jeſus Chriſt, and his Saints.

That it is laudable and profitable to deck and to cloath thoſe Images, and ſet up burning lights before them to the honour of the ſaid Saints.

M. Latimer, whether he ſubſcribed or not, it is uncertain.

To theſe Articles whether he did ſubſcribe or no, it is uncertain. It appeareth by this Epiſtle above written to the Biſhop, that he durſt not conſent unto them, where he writeth in theſe words, *His ego nudis ſententiis ſubſcribere non audeo, quia popularis ſuperſtitionis diutius duraturæ, quoad poſſum, authorculus eſſe nolo, &c.* But yet whether he was compelled afterwards to agree, through the cruel handling of the Biſhops, it is in doubt. By the words and the title in *Tonſtal's* Regiſter prefixed before the Articles, it may ſeem that he did ſubſcribe. The words of the Regiſter be theſe: *Hugo* Latimerus *in ſacra Theologia* Bacch. *in Univerſitate* Cantabrig. *coram* Cant. *Archiepiſc.* Johan. Lond. *Epiſcopo, reliquaq; concione apud* Weſtmon. *vocatus, confeſſus eſt & recognovit fidem ſuam ſic ſentiendo ut ſequitur in his artic.* 21. *die* Martii *Anno* 1531 If theſe words be true, it may be ſo thought that he ſubſcribed. And whether he ſo did, no great matter nor marvel, the iniquity of the time being ſuch, that either he muſt needs ſo do, or elſe abide the Biſhops bleſſing, that is, cruel ſentence of death, which he at that time (as he himſelf confeſſed preaching at *Stamford*) was loath to ſuſtain for ſuch matters as theſe were, unleſs it were for Articles neceſſary, of his belief; by which his words I conjecture rather that he did ſubſcribe at length, albeit it was long before he could be brought ſo to do. Yet this by the way is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitful handling of theſe Biſhops in his Examinations, what ſubtile devices they uſed the ſame time to entrap him in their ſnares. The Truth of the ſtory he ſheweth forth himſelf in a certain Sermon preached at *Stamford*, *An.* 1550. *Octob.* 9. his words be theſe: I was once (ſaith he) in Examination before five or ſix Biſhops, where I had much turmoiling; every week thrice I came to Examinations, and many ſnares and traps were laid to get ſomthing. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the Law, but that God gave me anſwer and wiſdom what I ſhould ſpeak; it was God indeed, for elſe I had never eſcaped them. At the laſt I was brought forth to be examined into a Chamber hanged with Arras, where I was wont to be examined: but now at this time the Chamber was ſomewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the Chimny, now the fire was taken away, and an Arras hanged over the Chimny, and the Table ſtood neer the Chimnies end.

The crafty handling of the Biſhops in examining *M. Latimer.*

Ex verbis Latimeri.

There

There was amongſt the Biſhops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and took him for my great Friend, an aged man, and he ſate next the tables end.

Then amongſt all other queſtions he put forth one, a very ſubtile and crafty one, and ſuch an one indeed, as I could not think ſo great danger in. And when I ſhould make anſwer; I pray you Mr. *Latimer*, ſaid one, ſpeak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that ſit farr off. I marvelled at this, that I was bidden ſpeak out, and began to miſdeem, and gave an ear to the chimny; and, Sir, there I heard a pen walking in the chimny behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine anſwers; for they made ſure, that I ſhould not ſtart from them: there was no ſtarting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me anſwer, I could never elſe have ſcaped it. The queſtion to him there and then objected was this; Whether he thought in his Conſcience, that he hath been ſuſpected of Hereſie. This was a captious queſtion. There was no holding of peace would ſerve; for that was to grant him ſelf faulty. To anſwer, it was every way full of danger; But God, which alway giveth in need what to anſwer helped him, or elſe (as he confeſſed himſelf) he had never eſcaped their Bloody hands. Albeit what was his anſwer, he doth not there expreſs. And thus hitherto you have heard declared the manifold troubles of this godly Preacher, in the time not onely of his being in the Univerſity, but eſpecially at his Benefice, as partly in his own words above mentioned, and partly by his own Letters hereafter following, may better appear.

A ſubtile and captious queſtion put to Mr. *Latimer* by the Biſhops.

In theſe ſo hard and dangerous ſtraits, and ſuch ſnares of the Biſhops, hard it had been for him and impoſſible to have eſcaped and continued ſo long; had not the Almighty helping hand of the higheſt, as he ſtirred him up, ſo preſerved him through the favour and power of his Prince; who with much favour embraced him, and with his meer power ſometime reſcued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. Moreover, at length alſo, through the procurement partly of Doctor *Buts*, partly of good *Cromwel* (whoſe ſtory ye heard before) he advanced him to the diguity and degree of a Biſhop, making him the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, which ſo continued a few years, inſtructing his Dioceſs, according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant Paſtor, with wholſome Doctrine and example of perfect converſation duly agreeing to the ſame. It were a long matter to ſtand particularly upon ſuch things as might here be brought to the commendation of his pains; as ſtudy, readineſs, and continual carefulneſs in teaching, preaching, exhorting viſiting, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability could ſerve, or elſe the time would bear. But the dayes then were ſo dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do that he would. Yet what he might do, that he performed to the uttermoſt of his ſtrength, ſo that although he could not utterly extinguiſh all the ſparkling reliques of old ſuperſtition, yet he ſo wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they ſhould be uſed with as little hurt, and with as much profit as might be. As (for example) in this thing, and in divers other it did appear, that when it could not be avoided, but holy water and holy bread muſt needs be received, yet ſo he prepared and inſtructed them of his Dioceſs, with ſuch informations and leſſons, that in receiving thereof ſuperſtition ſhould be excluded, and ſome remembrance taken thereby, teaching and charging the Miniſters of his Dioceſs, in delivering the Holy water and the Holy Bread, to ſay theſe words following.

M. *Latimer* reſcued by the King.

M. *Latimer* advanced to the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter* by the King.

The Paſtoral diligence of M. *Latimer* in this Dioceſs.

The time unable for Biſhop *Latimer* to work in.

Words ſpoken to the People in giving them Holy Water.

Words uſed in B. *Latimers* Dioceſs in giving holy water.

Remember your promiſe in Baptiſm.
Chriſt his mercy and Blood-ſhedding.
By whoſe moſt Holy ſprinkling,
Of all your ſins you have free pardoning.

What to ſay in giving Holy Bread.

Words uſed in giving holy bread.

Of Chriſts Body this is a token,
Which on the Croſs for our Sins was broken.
Wherefore of your ſins you muſt be forſakers,
If of Chriſts death ye will be partakers.

Anno 1555.

By this it may be conſidered what the diligent care of this Biſhop was in doing the duty of a faithful Paſtor among his flock. And moreover it is to be thought that he would have brought more things elſe to paſs, if the time then had anſwered to his deſire; for he was not ignorant how the inſtitution of Holy Water and Holy Bread, not onely had no ground in Scripture, but alſo how full of prophane exorciſms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the Goſpel. Thus this good man behaved himſelf in his Dioceſs. But (as before) both in the Univerſity, and at his Benefice, he was toſt and turmoiled by wicked and evil diſpoſed perſons; So in his Biſhoprick alſo he was not all clear and void of ſome that ſought his trouble. As among many other evil willers, one eſpecially there was, and that no ſmall perſon, which accuſed him then to the King for his Sermons. The ſtory becauſe he himſelf ſheweth in a Sermon of his before King *Edward*. I thought therefore to uſe his own words, which be theſe:

The behaviour of B. *Latimer* in his Office.

The troubles of M. *Latimer* in his Biſhoprick.

Ex verbis Latimer. pro concione.

In the Kings days that is dead, a great many of us were called together before him, to ſay our minds in certain matters. In the end, one kneeleth down and accuſeth me of ſedition: and that I had preached ſeditious Doctrine. A heavy ſalutation, and a hard point of ſuch a man's doing, as if I ſhould name, ye would not think. The King turned to me, and ſaid; What ſay you to that Sir?

B. *Latimer* accuſed to King Henry for his preaching.

Then I kneeled down, and turned me firſt to my accuſer, and required him; Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me, in preaching before a King? would you have me preach nothing as concerning a King in the Kings Sermon? have you any commiſſion to appoint me what I ſhall preach? beſides this, I asked him divers others queſtions, and he would make no anſwer to any of them all; he had nothing to ſay.

M. *Latimer* anſwereth his accuſer.

Then I turned me to the King, and ſubmitted my ſelf to his Grace, and ſaid; I never thought my ſelf worthy, nor did I ever ſue to be a Preacher before your Grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you miſlike me) to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your Graces pleaſure ſo to allow them for Preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your Grace allow me for a Preacher, I would deſire your Grace to give me leave to diſcharge my Conſcience, give me leave to frame my Doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt to have preached ſo at the borders of your Realm, as I preach before your Grace.

The words of B. *Latimer* to the King.

And I thank Almighty God (which hath always been my remedy) that my ſayings were well accepted of the King; for like a gracious Lord he turned into another communication. It is even as the Scripture ſaith; *Cor Regis in manu Domini, i.* The Lord directeth the Kings heart. Certain of my Friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I ſhould have been in the *Tower* the ſame night.

The Kings heart reſteth toward Biſhop *Latimer.*

Beſides this, divers other conflicts and combats this godly Biſhop ſuſtained in his own Country and Dioceſs, in taking the cauſe of right and equity againſt oppreſſion and wrong. As for another example, there was at that time not far from the Dioceſs of *Worceſter* a certain Juſtice of Peace, whom here I will not name, being a good man afterward, and now deceaſed. This Juſtice in purchaſing of certain land for his Brother, or for himſelf, went about to wrong or damnifie a poor man, who made his complaint to Mr. *Latimer*. He firſt hearing, then tendring his rightful cauſe, wrote his letter to the Gentleman, exhorting him to remember himſelf, to conſider the cauſe, and to abſtain from injury. The Juſtice of Peace not content with al (as the faſhion of men is when they are told of their fault) ſendeth word again in great diſpleaſure, that he would not ſo take it at his hands, with ſuch threatning words, &c. Maſter *Latimer* hearing this, anſwered again by writing to a certain Gentleman: the Copy whereof among his Letters hereafter followeth in the ſequel of this ſtory to be ſeen.

B. *Latimer* taketh the poor mans part againſt his oppreſſor.

It were a large and long proceſs to ſtory out all the doings, travels, and writings of this Chriſtian Biſhop, neither

Anno 1555. neither yet have we expreſſed all that came to our hands; but this I thought ſufficient for this preſent. Thus he continued in this laborious Function of a Biſhop the ſpace of certain years, till the coming in of the ſix Articles. Then being diſtreſſed through the ſtreightneſs of time, ſo that either he muſt loſe the quiet of a good Conſcience, or elſe forſake his Biſhoprick, he did of his own free accord reſign his Paſtorſhip. At which time *Shaxton* the Biſhop of *Salisbury* reſigned likewiſe with him his Biſhoprick. And ſo theſe two remained a great ſpace unbiſhopped, keeping ſilence till the time of King *Edward* of bleſſed memory. At what time he firſt put off his Rochet in his Chamber among his Friends, ſuddenly he gave a skip in the floor for joy, feeling his ſhoulder ſo light, and being diſcharged (as he ſaid) of ſuch an heavy burden. Howbeit neither was he ſo lightned, but that troubles and labours followed him wheresoever he went. For a little after he had renounced his

Biſh. *Latimer* at the coming in of the ſix Articles reſigned his Biſhoprick.

Mr. *Latimer* kept ſilence till the time of K. *Edward*

The whole life of Mr. *Latimer* full of tribulation.

Biſhoprick, firſt he was almoſt ſlain, but ſore bruiſed with the fall of a Tree. Then coming up to *London* for remedy, he was moleſted and troubled of the Biſhops, whereby he was again in no little danger, and at length was caſt into the *Tower*, where he continually remained Priſoner, till the time that bleſſed King *Edward* entred his Crown, by means whereof the golden mouth of this Preacher, long ſhut up before, was now opened again. And ſo he beginning afreſh to ſet forth his Plough again, continued all the time of the ſaid King, labouring in the Lords Harveſt moſt fruitfully, diſcharging his Talent as well in divers other places of this Realm, as in *Stamford*, and before the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk* (whoſe Sermons be extant and ſet forth in print) as alſo at *London* in the Covocation-houſe, and eſpecially before the King at the Court: In the ſame place of the inward Garden, which was before applied to laſcivious and courtly Paſtimes, there he diſpenſed the fruitful Word of the glorious Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, preaching there before the King and his whole Court, to the edification of many.

Mr. *Latimer* almoſt ſlain with the fall of a Tree.

Mr. *Latimer* caſt into the *Tower*.

Mr. *Latimer* reſtored by K. *Edward* to liberty of preaching.

Divers Sermons of Mr. *Latimer* in K. *Edwards* time.

Mr. *Latimer* preaching before King *Edward*.

IN this his painful travel he occupied himſelf all King *Edward*'s days, preaching for the moſt part every Sunday twice, to no ſmall ſhame of all other loytering and unpreaching Prelates, which occupy great rooms, and do little good; and that ſo much more to their ſhame, becauſe he being a ſore bruiſed man by the fall of a Tree, mentioned a little before, and above 67 years of age, took ſo little eaſe and care of ſparing himſelf, to do the people good. Now to ſpeak here of his indefatigable travel and diligence in his own private ſtudies, who notwithſtanding both his years, and other pains in preaching, every morning orderly, Winter and Summer, about two of the Clock in the morning, was at his Book moſt diligently. How careful his heart was of the preſervation of the Church, and the good ſucceſs of the Goſpel, his Letters can teſtifie, wherewith he admoniſhed ſuch as as then were in authority of their duty, and aſſiſted them with his godly counſel.

The diligent travelling of Mr. *Latimer* in King *Edwards* time.

The early waking of Mr. *Latimer* to his Book.

As the diligence of this man of God never ceaſed all the time of King *Edward*, to profit the Church both publickly and privately, ſo among other doings in him to be noted, this is not lightly to be overpaſſed, but worthy to be obſerved, that God not only gave unto him his Spirit plenteouſly and comfortably to preach his word unto his Church, but alſo by the ſame Spirit he did ſo evidently foreſhew and prophecy of all thoſe kinds of Plagues afore, which afterward enſued, that if *England* ever had a Prophet, he might ſeem to be one. And as touching himſelf, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the Goſpel would coſt him his life, to the which he no leſs chearfully prepared himſelf, than certainly was perſwaded that *Wincheſt.* was kept in the *Tower* for the ſame purpoſe, as the event did too truly prove the ſame. For after the death of the ſaid bleſſed King *Edward*, not long after Queen *Mary* was proclaimed, a Purſuivant was ſent down (by the means no doubt of *Wincheſter*) into the Country, to call him up, of whoſe coming, although Mr. *Latimer* lacked no forewarning, being premoniſhed about ſix hours before by one *John Careles* (whoſe ſtory hereafter followeth) yet ſo far off was it that he thought to eſcape, that he prepared himſelf towards his journey before the ſaid Purſuivant came to his Houſe.

Mr. *Latimer* prophecieth what plagues are to be come in Queen *Maries* time.

Mr. *Latimer* called up to *London* by *Wincheſter*.

Mr. *Latimer* being premoniſhed before, yet refuſeth to eſcape.

At the which thing when the Purſuivant marvelled, ſeeing him ſo prepared towards his journey, he ſaid unto him, *My Friend, you be a welcome Meſſenger to me. And be it known unto you, and to all the World, that I go as willingly to London at this preſent, being called by my Prince to render a reckoning of my Doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his Word before two excellent Princes, ſo will he able me to witneſs the ſame unto the third, either to her comfort or diſcomfort eternally, &c.* At the which time the Purſuivant,

Mr. *Latimers* words to the Queens Purſuivant.

ſervant, when he had delivered his Letters, departed, affirming that he had Commandment not to tarry for him. By whoſe ſudden departure it was manifeſt that they would not have him appear, but rather to have fled out of the Realm. They knew that his conſtancy ſhould deface them in their Popery, and confirm the godly in the Truth.

Mr Latimer comes up to London not compelled.

Mr. Latimer chearful in imprisonment.

Thus Mr. *Latimer* being ſent for, and coming up to *London*, thorow *Smithfield* (where merrily he ſaid, That *Smithfield* had long groaned for him) was brought before the Councel, where he patiently bearing all the mocks and taunts given him by the ſcornful Papiſts, was caſt again into the *Tower*, where he being aſſiſted with the heavenly Grace of Chriſt, ſuſtained moſt patient impriſonment a long time, notwithſtanding the cruel and unmerciful handling of the lordly Papiſts, which thought then their Kingdom would never fall; yet he ſhewed himſelf not only patient, but alſo chearful in and above all that which they could or would work againſt him; yea, ſuch a valiant Spirit the Lord gave him, that he was able not only to deſpiſe the terribleneſs of Priſons and Torments, but alſo to deride and laugh to ſcorn the doings of his Enemies. As it is not unknown to the ears of many, what he anſwered to the Lieutenant being then in the *Tower*. For when the Lieutenants man upon a time came to him, the aged Father kept without fire in the froſty Winter, and well nigh ſtarved for cold, merrily bade the man tell his Maſter, That if he did not look the better to him, perchance he would deceive him.

Mr. Latimers merry meſſage to the Lieutenant.

The Lieutenant hearing this, bethought himſelf of theſe words, and fearing leſt that indeed he thought to make ſome eſcape, began to look more ſtreightly to his Priſoner, and ſo coming to him, beginneth to charge him with his words, reciting the ſame unto him which his man had told him before; How that if he were not better looked unto, perchance he would deceive him, *&c.*

The anſwer of Mr. Latimer to the Lieutenant.

Yea, Mr. Lieutenant, ſo I ſaid, quoth he, for you look, I think, that I ſhould burn; but except you let me have ſome fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am like here to ſtarve for cold.

Many ſuch like Anſwers and Reaſons, merry, but ſavoury, coming not from a vain mind, but from a conſtant and quiet reaſon, proceeded from that man, declaring a firm and ſtable heart, little paſſing for all this great bluſtering of their terrible threats, but rather deriding the ſame.

Mr. Latimer with Dr. Cranmer and Bp. Ridley, removed from the Tower to Oxford.

Thus Mr. *Latimer* paſſing a long time in the *Tower*, with as much patience as a man in his caſe could do, from thence was tranſported to *Oxford*, with Dr. *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Mr. *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, there to diſpute upon Articles ſent down from *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, as is before touched, the manner and order of which Diſputations between them and the Univerſity Doctors, is alſo before ſufficiently expreſſed. Where alſo is declared, how and by whom the ſaid *Latimer* with his other Fellow-priſoners were condemned after the Diſputations, and ſo committed again to the Priſon, and there they continued from the Month of *April* above mentioned, to this preſent Month of *October*; where they were moſt godly occupied, either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing.

October 16.

Albeit Mr. *Latimer*, by reaſon of the feebleneſs of his Age, wrote leaſt of them all in this later time of his impriſonment; yet in Prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes ſo long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to riſe without help: And amongſt other things, theſe were three principal matters he prayed for.

Three requeſts of Mr. Latimers prayer.

First, That as GOD had appointed him to be a Preacher of his Word, ſo alſo he would give him grace to ſtand to his Doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart blood for the ſame.

Once again, Once again.

Secondly, That God of his mercy would reſtore his Goſpel to *England* once again; and theſe words *once again, once again*, he did ſo inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had ſeen God before him, and ſpoken to him face to face.

Mr. Latimers prayer for Q. Elizabeth.

The third matter was, to pray for the preſervation of the Queens Majeſty that now is, whom in his Prayer he was wont accuſtomably to name, and even with tears deſired God to make her a comfort to this comfortleſs Realm of *England*. Theſe were the matters he prayed for ſo earneſtly. Neither were theſe things of him deſired in vain, as the good ſucceſs thereof after following did declare; for the Lord moſt graciouſly did grant all thoſe his requeſts.

Anno 1565.

First, Concerning his conſtancy, even in the moſt extremity the Lord graciouſly aſſiſted him. For when he ſtood at the Stake without *Bocardo-gate* at *Oxford*, and the Tormentors about to ſet the fire to him, and to the learned and godly Biſhop Mr. *Ridley*, he lifted up his eyes towards Heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, ſaying theſe words, *Fidelis eſt Deus, qui non ſinit nos tentari ſupra id quod poſſumus*; God is faithful, which doth not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength; and ſo afterward by and by ſhed his blood in the cauſe of Chriſt, the which blood ran out of his heart in ſuch abundance, that all thoſe that were preſent, being godly, did marvel to ſee the moſt part of the blood in his body to be gathered to his heart, and with ſuch violence to guſh out, his body being opened by the force of the fire; by the which thing God moſt graciouſly granted his requeſt, which was, That he might ſhed his heart blood in the defence of the Goſpel.

All three requeſts of M. Latimer granted of the Lord.

How mercifully the Lord heard his ſecond Requeſt, in reſtoring his Goſpel once again unto this Realm, theſe preſent days can bear record. And what then ſhall *England* ſay now for her defence, which being ſo mercifully viſited and refreſhed with the Word of God, ſo ſlenderly and unthankfully conſidereth either her own miſery paſt, or the great benefit of God now preſent? The Lord be merciful unto us, Amen.

The unthankfulneſs of England.

Again, Concerning his third Requeſt, it ſeemeth likewiſe moſt effectuouſly granted, to the great praiſe of God, the furtherance of his Goſpel, and to the unſpeakable comfort of this Realm. For whether at the requeſt of his Prayer, or of other Gods holy Saints, or whether God was moved with the cry of his whole Church, the truth is, that when all was deplorate and in a deſperate caſe, and ſo deſperate that the Enemies mightily flouriſhed and triumphed, Gods Word was baniſhed, Spaniards received, no place left for Chriſts Servants to cover their heads, ſuddenly the Lord called to remembrance his mercy, and forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of all theſe miſeries, and wrought a marvellous change of things; at the change whereof the ſaid Queen *Elizabeth* was appointed and anointed, for whom this gray-headed Father ſo earneſtly prayed in his impriſonment: through whoſe, true, natural, and imperial Crown, the brightneſs of Gods Word was ſet up again to confound the dark and falſe vizored Kingdom of Antichriſt, the true Temple of Chriſt re-edified, the captivity of ſorrowful Chriſtians releaſed, which ſo long was wiſhed for in the Prayers of ſo many good men, ſpecially of this faithful and true ſervant of the Lord, Mr. *Latimer*.

Gods gracious help in time of need, upon the Realm of England.

Acts 2. Q. Elizabeth granted of God to England.

The ſame God, which at the requeſts of his holy and faithful Saints hath poured upon us ſuch benefits of his mercy, peace, and tranquillity, aſſiſt our moſt vertuous and chriſtian Princeſs, and her Subjects, that we may every one in his ſtate and calling ſerve to his glory, and walk in our Vocation, that we loſe not that which they have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulneſs, to build and keep up the Houſe and Temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glory, and our everlaſting comfort in him. And thus much concerning the doings and laborious travels of Mr. *Latimer*. Now after theſe things thus finiſhed and diſcourſed pertaining to the ſtory of his Life, let us come to his Letters, which he wrote at divers and ſundry times from the firſt beginning of his preaching, all which here to comprehend which he wrote both in Engliſh and Latin, lack of ſpace and place at this preſent will not permit: nevertheleſs certain we will take, and firſt concerning the Articles above mentioned, for the which he was troubled by the Prieſts of the Country about his Benefice at *Weſt-Kington*; which he writeth thereof to Mr. *Morice*, the Copies whereof followeth.

God for Chriſts ſake to grant.

Anno 1555.

Articles untruly unjuſtly, falſly, uncharitably imputed to me by Dr. Powell *of Salisbury.*

Firſt that our Lady was a Sinner.

OCcaſioned of ſome, not only Lay-men, but alſo Prieſts and Beneficed-men, which gave ſo much to our Lady of Devotion without Judgment, as though ſhe had not needed Chriſt to ſave her: to prove Chriſt her Saviour, to make Chriſt a whole Saviour of all that be, or ſhall be ſaved: I reaſoned after this manner; That either ſhe was a ſinner, or no ſinner; there is no mean: if ſhe were a ſinner, then ſhe was redeemed or delivered from ſin by Chriſt, as other ſinners be: If ſhe were no ſinner, then ſhe was preſerved from ſin by Chriſt; ſo that Chriſt ſaved her, and was her neceſſary Saviour, whether ſhe ſinned or no. Now certain Authors (ſaid I) as *Chryſoſtom*, *Theophilact*, and others, writeth as though ſhe had been ſomething faulty in her time. Alſo I ſaid that certain Scriptures ſtandeth ſomething to the ſame, unleſs they be the more warily underſtood and taken, (as in the 3. 10. 20.) All have declined, that every mouth be ſtopped, and all the world be bounden or in danger to God. And after in the ſame Chapter, All have ſinned, and need the glory of God. And in the fifth, And ſo death paſſed thorow into all men and women, foraſmuch as all have ſinned. But to theſe Scriptures I ſaid it might be anſwered that the priviledge of one, or of a few, doth not derogate or miniſh the verity of a univerſal Expoſition in Scriptures.

And as to the Doctors, I ſaid, that other more ſaith otherwiſe; and foraſmuch as now it is univerſally and conſtantly received and applyed that ſhe was no ſinner, it becometh every man to ſtand and agree to the ſame, and ſo will I, quoth I, nor any man that wiſe is, will the contrary: But to my purpoſe it is neither to nor from, to prove neither this nor that; for I will have her ſaved, and Chriſt her Saviour, whether ever ſhe was, *&c.*

And to that, what need you to ſpeak of this? I anſwered great need, when men cannot be content that ſhe was a Creature ſaved, but as it were a Savioureſs, not needing Salvation, it is neceſſary to ſet her in degree to the glory of Chriſt, Creator and Saviour of all that be or ſhall be ſaved. Good Authors have written that ſhe was not a ſinner: but good Authors never wrote that ſhe was not ſaved: for though ſhe never ſinned, yet ſhe was not ſo impeccable, but ſhe might have ſinned, if ſhe had not been preſerved: It was of the goodneſs of God that ſhe never ſinned: it had come of her own illneſs if ſhe had ſinned: there was difference betwixt her and Chriſt: And I will give as little to her as I can (doing her no wrong) rather than Chriſt her Son and Saviour ſhall lack any parcel of his glory; and I am ſure that our Lady will not be diſpleaſed with me for ſo doing, for our Lady ſought his glory here upon Earth, ſhe would not defraud him now in Heaven: But ſome are ſo ſuperſtitiouſly religious, or ſo irreligiouſly ſuperſtitious, ſo prepoſterouſly devout toward our Lady, as though there could not too much be given to her: ſuch are zeals without knowledge and judgment to our Ladies diſpleaſure.

Our Lady is not diſpleaſed to have God honoured.

No doubt our Lady was, through the goodneſs of God, a good and a gracious Creature, a devout Handmaid of the Lord, indued with ſingular gifts and graces from above, which through the help of God ſhe uſed to Gods pleaſure, according to her duty, ſo giving us enſample to do likewiſe, ſo that all the goodneſs that ſhe had, ſhe had it not of her ſelf, but of God the Author of all goodneſs: the Lord was with her favourably, and poured graces unto her plenteouſly, as it is in the *Ave Marie*. The Son of God, when he would become man, to ſave both man and woman, did chooſe her to his Mother, which love he ſhewed to her alone, and to none other, of his benign goodneſs, by the which ſhe was the natural Mother of Chriſt: and through faith in Chriſt ſhe was the ſpiritual Siſter of Chriſt, ſaved by Chriſt, bleſſed by hearing Chriſts Word, and keeping the ſame. It ſhould not availed her to Salvation, to have been his natural Mother, if ſhe had not done the will of his heavenly Father: By him ſhe was his Mother, by him ſhe did the will of his Father: ſhe the Handmaiden, he the Lord. The Handmaiden did magnifie her Lord, the Handmaiden would that all ſhould magnifie the Lord, to whom be honour and glory Amen, *&c.*

To honour him worthily, is not to diſhonour our Lady; he is as able to preſerve from ſin, as to deliver from ſin; he was then ſubject to *Joſeph*, his Father in Law, his Mothers Husband; *Joſeph* is now ſubject to him. He never diſhonoured *Joachim* and *Anna*, his Grandfather and Grandmother, and yet I have not read that he preſerved them from all ſin.

To ſay that *Peter* and *Paul*, *David* and *Mary Magdalen*, were ſinners, *is not* to diſhonour them: for then Scripture doth diſhonour them. It had not been for our profit to have preſerved all that he could have preſerved.

For remembrance of that fall and upriſing, keepeth us in our fall from deſpairing: both is of God, to have not ſinned, and to have forſaken and left ſin. And as ſure is this of Heaven, as that, and this more common then that, and to us that have been ſinners more comfortable.

It hath been ſaid in times paſt, without ſin, that our Lady was a ſinner: but it was never ſaid, without ſin, that our Lady was not ſaved, but a Saviour: I go not about to make our Lady a ſinner, but to have Chriſt her Saviour. When mine Adverſaries cannot reprove the thing that I ſay, then they will bely me, to ſay the thing that they can reprove. They will ſin to make our Lady no ſinner, to prove that, that no man dieth. So that provers, and ſo cold probations ſaw you never. It were better unproved, than ſo weakly proved. But they be devout towards honouring of our Lady, but to ſin to have our Lady no ſinner, or to ſay ſhe was no ſinner.

I would be loath to diſhonour our Lady as they, I pray God we may honour her as ſhe would be honoured; for verily ſhe is worthy to be honoured.

To make a pernicious and a damnable lye, to have our Lady no ſinner, is neither honour, nor yet pleaſure to our Lady, but great ſin, to the diſhonour and diſpleaſure both of God and our Lady.

They ſhould both pleaſe and honour our Lady much better, to believe their ſinful living, and keep themſelves from ſinfulneſs, as our Lady did, than ſo ſinfully to lye to make our Lady no ſinner; which if they do not, they ſhall go to the Devil certainly, though they believe that our Lady was no ſinner never ſo ſurely.

And for the *Ave Marie* they lye falſly, I never denied it: I know it was a heavenly ſaluting or greeting of our Lady, ſpoken by the Angel *Gabriel*, and written in holy Scripture of S. *Luke*. But yet it is not properly a Prayer, as the *Pater noſter* is. Saluting or greeting, lauding or praiſing, is not properly praying. The Angel was ſent to greet our Lady, and to annunciate and ſhew the good will of God towards her, and therefore it is called The Annunciation of our Lady, and not to pray her, or to pray to her properly: Shall the Father of Heaven pray to our Lady? When the Angel ſpake it, it was not properly a Prayer. And is it not the ſame thing now that it was then? Nor yet he that denieth the *Ave Marie* to be properly a Prayer, denieth the *Ave Marie*; ſo that we may ſalute our Lady with *Ave Marie*, as the Angel did, though we be not ſent of God ſo to do, as the Angel was. So though we may ſo do, yet we have no plain bidding of God ſo to do, as the Angel had; ſo that the Angel had been more to blame peradventure to have left it unſaid than we be. Foraſmuch as he was appointed of God to ſay it, and not we: But as I deny not, but as we may ſay the *Pater noſter*, and the *Ave Marie* together, that to God, this to our Lady, ſo we may ſay them ſunderly, the *Pater noſter* by it ſelf, and the *Ave* by it ſelf; and the *Pater noſter* is a whole and a perfect Prayer, without the *Ave Marie*; ſo that it is but a ſuperſtition to think that a *Pater noſter* cannot be well ſaid without an *Ave Marie* at his heel. For Chriſt was no fool, and when he taught the people to ſay a *Pater noſter* to God, he taught them not to ſay, neither *Pater noſter*, neither *Ave Marie* to our Lady, nor yet *Pater noſter* to S. *Peter*, as Mr. *Hubberdin* doth: Therefore to teach to ſay twenty *Ave Maries* for one *Pater noſter*, is not to ſpeak *Sermones Dei*, *ut Sermones Dei*, the Word of God as the Word of God. And one *Ave Marie* well ſaid, and devoutly with affection, ſenſe and underſtanding, is better than 25 ſaid ſuperſtitiouſly. And it is not like, but our Lady ſaid many times the *Pater noſter*, foraſmuch as her Son Chriſt, whom ſhe loved and honoured over all, did make it, and taught it to be ſaid, whether

ſhe made an *Ave Marie* with all, or ten or twenty *Ave Maries* for one *Pater noſter*, I will leave that to great Clerks, as *Hubberdin* and *Powell* to diſcuſs and determine: ſhe was not ſaved by often ſaying of the *Ave Marie*, but by conſenting to the will of him, that ſent the Angel to ſalute her with *Ave Marie*: wherefore if the praying of them which decline their ear from hearing the Law of God is execrable in the ſight of God, yea, though they ſay the *Pater noſter*, I doubt not but the ſalvation of them hath been unpleaſant to our Lady in her ſight, for whatſoever pleaſeth not her Son, pleaſeth not her; for ſhe hath delight and pleaſure in nothing, but in him, and in that that delighteth and pleaſeth him. Now we will be Trayrors to her Son by cuſtomable ſinful living, and yet we ſhall think great perfection and holineſs in numbering every day many *Ave-Maries* to our Lady, and ſo we think to make her our Friend and Patroneſs, and then we care not for God: for having our Lady of our ſide, we may be bold to take our pleaſure: for we fantaſie as though the very work and labour of ſlummering the *Ave Marie* is very acceptable to our Lady, and the more, the more acceptable, not paſſing how they be ſaid, but that they be ſaid, if the *Pater noſter* which Chriſt both made, and bid us ſay it, may be ſaid to Chriſts diſpleaſure, much more the *Ave Marie*, which neither Chriſt nor our Lady bid to be ſaid, may be ſaid to our Ladies diſpleaſure, and better never once ſaid, then often ſo ſaid. So that I would have a difference betwixt well ſaying and often ſaying, and betwixt that that Chriſt bid us ſay, and that that he bid not ſay: and whether *Ave Marie* be ſaid in Heaven or no, who can tell but Dr. *Powel*? and if it be ſaid alway there without a *Pater noſter*, why may not *Pater noſter* be ſaid here without *Ave-Marie*; and whether doth our Lady ſay it in Heaven or no? which thing I ſpeak not to withdraw you from ſaying of it, but to withdraw you from ſuperſtitious and unfruitful ſaying of it. So that by occaſion of falſe faith and truſt that ye have in the daily ſaying of it, you ſet not aſide imitation and following of holy living, which will ſerve at length, when ſuperſtitious greeting, will neither ſerve nor ſtand in ſtrength: It is meet that every thing be taken, eſteemed and valued as it is.

We ſalute alſo and greet well the Holy Croſs, or the Image of the Holy Croſs, ſaying, All hail Holy Croſs, which hath deſerved to bear the precious Talent of the World: and yet who will ſay that we pray properly to the Holy Croſs? whereby it may appear that greeting is one thing, praying another thing. The Croſs can neither hear nor ſpeak again, no more then this Pulpit: therefore we do ſalute it, not properly pray to it.

The Angel ſpake alſo to *Zachary*, before he ſpake to our Lady. *Ne timeas Zacharia, &c.* Be not afraid *Zachary*, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife *Elizabeth* ſhall bring thee forth a child, which ſhall be called *John*, and great joy and gladneſs ſhall be at his birth, and he ſhall be great and full of the Holy Ghoſt from the womb of his mother, *&c.*

What if a man ſhould ſay theſe words every day., betwixt the *Pater noſter*, and the *Ave Marie* in the worſhip of St. *Zachary*, which I think is a Saint in Heaven, and was e're ever our Lady came therefore to be honoured, I think he might pleaſe and honour Saint *Zachary*, as well ſome other way, and better too, though they be words ſent from God, ſpoken of an Angel, and written in holy Scripture of the Evangeliſt *Luke*.

And yet if it were once begun and accuſtomed, I warrant ſome men would make it more then Sacriledge to leave it of, though the Devil ſhould ſow never ſo much Superſtition by proceſs of time unto it.

Chriſt made the *Pater noſter* for a Prayer, and bid his people ſay it to his heavenly Father, one God in Trinity of Perſons, one Father and Comforter, one worker and doer of all things here in this World, ſaying unto us; *Vos autem ſic orabitis*; ſo or after ſuch manner, ſhall ye pray, *Pater noſter, &c.* God ſent his Son amongſt other things to teach his people to pray: God ſent his Angel to greet our Lady, not to teach his people to pray. For neither Chriſt nor the Angel ſaid to the people, this ſhall ye pray, *Ave Maria*. When the Apoſtles ſaid to Chriſt, *Doce nos orare*, teach us to pray; Chriſt ſaid, *Cum oratis, dicite, Pater noſter*; when you pray, ſay *Pater noſter*: he ſaid not when you pray, ſay *Ave Maria*. I wene Chriſt could teach to pray, as well as Dr. *Powell* and Mr. *Hubberdin*. I ſay that the *Ave Maria* was before the *Pater noſter*; Dr. *Powell* ſaith, it ſhall endure after the *Pater noſter*: I can prove my ſaying by Scripture, ſo cannot he his: yet as it is no good Argument, the *Ave Mary* was before the *Pater noſter*, *Ergo* it is properly a Prayer: ſo it is no good Argument, the *Ave Mary* ſhall laſt after the *Pater noſter*; *Ergo* it is properly a Prayer, without the Antecedent be impoſſible, which is not credible to come out of ſuch a phantaſtical brain.

Ave Marie no Prayer, but a Salutation.

Who was ever ſo mad as to think that words of holy Scripture could not be well ſaid? And yet we may not be ſo peeviſh as to allow the ſuperſtitious ſaying of holy Scripture. The Devil is crafty, and we frail and prone to Superſtition and Idolatry, God give me grace to worſhip him and his, not after our own curioſity, but according to his Ordinance with all Humility.

S. *Zachary* is to be honoured, and in no wiſe to be diſhonoured: ſo that we may leave unſaid that, that the Angel ſaid without diſhonouring him.

It is not neceſſary to our Salvation to make an Ordinance of honouring him with ſaying as the Angel did.

It is better for a mortal man to do the office of a man, which God biddeth him do, than to leave that undone, and do the office of an Angel which God biddeth us not do: if the other be preſumption, I had rather preſume to pray to God, which is Gods bidding and mans office, than to preſume into the office of an Angel without Gods bidding.

It is a godly preſumption to preſume to do the bidding of God.

Here I neither ſay, that our Lady was a ſinner, nor yet I deny the *Ave Mary*.

Saints are not to be honoured.

I Said this word *Saints* is diverſly taken of the Vulgar People, Images of Saints are called Saints, and Inhabitors of Heaven are called Saints. Now by honouring of Saints, is meant praying to Saints. Take honouring ſo, and Images for Saints; ſo Saints are not to be honoured, that is to ſay, dead Images are not to be prayed unto; for they have neither ears to hear withal, nor tongue to ſpeak withal, nor heart to think withal, *&c.*

They can neither help me, nor mine Ox, neither my Head nor my Tooth, nor work any Miracle for me, one no more than another: and yet I ſhewed the good uſe of them to be Lay-mens Books, as they be called, reverently to look upon them, to remember the things that are ſignified by them, *&c.*

And yet I would not have them ſo coſtly and curiouſly gilted and decked, that the quick Image of God, (for whom Chriſt ſhed his blood, and to whom whatſoever is done, Chriſt reputeth it done to himſelf) lack neceſſaries, and be unprovided for, by that occaſion, for then the Lay-man doth abuſe his Book.

A man may read upon his Book, though it be not very curiouſly gilded, and in the day time, a man may behold it without many Candles, if he be not blind.

Now I ſay, there be two manner of Mediatours, one by way of Redemption, another by way of Interceſſion; and I ſaid, that theſe Saints, that is to ſay, Images called Saints, be Mediators neither way.

As touching Pilgrimages, I ſaid, that all Idolatry, Superſtition, Error, falſe Faith, and hope in the Images, muſt be pared away, before they can be well done, houſhold looked upon, poor Chriſtian people provided for, reſtitutions made, all ordinance of God diſcharged, or ever they can be well done. And when they be at beſt, before they be vowed, they need not to be done: they ſhall never be required of us, though they be never done, and yet we ſhall be blamed when they be all done; Wives muſt counſel with their Husbands, and Husbands with their Wives, both with Curats, e're ever they may be vowed to be done.

And yet Idolatry may be committed in doing of them, as it appeareth by S. *Paul*, in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians, cap.* 10. where he biddeth the *Corinthians* this; to beware of Idolatry, and that after they had received the true Faith in Chriſt, which had been vain, if

they

Anno 155[illegible]. they could not have done Idolatry, and Expoſitors add beware not only of the act of idolatry, but alſo of all occaſion of that act: which is plain againſt Mr. *Hubberdine*; and Parſon of Chriſts Church, which went about to prove, that now there could be no idolatry.

As touching the Saints in Heaven, I ſaid, They be not our Mediatours by way of Redemption: for ſo Chriſt alone is our Mediatour and theirs both: ſo that the blood of Martyrs hath nothing to do by way of Redemption: the blood of Chriſt is enough for a thouſand worlds, &c.

But by way of Interceſſion, ſo Saints in Heaven may be Mediatours, and pray for us, as I think they do when we call not upon them; for they be charitable, and need no ſpurs, and we have no open bidding of God in Scripture to call upon them, as we have to call upon God, nor yet we may call upon them without any diffidence or miſtruſt in God; for God is more charitable, more merciful, more able, more ready to help then them all, ſo that though we may deſire the Saints in Heaven to pray God for us, yet it is not ſo neceſſary to be done, but that we may pray to God our ſelves, without making ſute firſt to them, and obtain of him whatſoever we need, if we continue in prayer, ſo that whatſoever we ask the Father in the Name of Chriſt his Son, the Father will give it us: for Saints can give nothing without him, but he can without them, as he did give to them: Scripture doth ſet Saints that be departed before our eyes for enſamples, ſo that the chiefeſt and moſt principal worſhip and honouring of them is to know their holy living, and to follow them, as they followed Chriſt, *&c.*

God biddeth us come to him with Prayer, and to do his bidding is no preſuming; it is rather preſuming to leave it undone to do that, that he biddeth us not do, *&c.* We muſt have Saints in reverent memory, and learn at Gods Goodneſs towards them to truſt in God, and mark well their Faith toward God and his Word, their Charity toward their Neighbour, their patience in all adverſity, and pray to God which gave them grace ſo to do, that we may do likewiſe, for which like doings we ſhall have like ſpeedings, they be well honoured when God is well pleaſed; The Saints were not Saints by praying to Saints, but by believing in him that made them Saints: and as they were Saints, ſo may we be Saints, yea there be many Saints that never prayed to Saints: And yet I deny not, but we may pray to Saints, but rather to him, which can make us Saints, which calleth us to him, biddeth us call upon him, promiſeth help, cannot deceive us and break his promiſe; when we pray faithfully to him we honour him, not after our own fantaſtical imagination, but even after his own moſt wiſeſt ordination, whom to honour is not to diſhonour Saints; therefore they lye that ſay, that I would not have Saints to be honoured, *&c.*

There is no fire in Hell.

I Never knew man that ever ſaid ſo. I ſpeak of divers Opinions that have been written of the nature of that fire; ſome that it is a ſpiritual fire, or at leaſt way a ſpiritual pain in the corporal fire; for as it is called a fire, ſo it is called a worm: now becauſe they think not that it is a corporal worm, but a ſpiritual and metaphorical worm, ſo they think of the fire. Some that it is a corporal and natural fire; ſome have thought diverſly before the Reſurrection without body, and after with body; ſome that the ſoul without body ſuffereth in the fire, but not of the fire; ſome both in and of the fire. The Scholaſtical Authors think, that the ſouls before the Reſurrection, becauſe they be ſpiritual ſubſtance, doth not receive the heat of the fire into them, which is a ſenſible and a corporal quality, ſo that *Athanaſius*, a Greek Author, calleth their pain *Triſtitiam*, a heavineſs or an anguiſh: and this opinion is probable enough: Some think that though they be alway in pain, yet they be not always in fire, but go from waters of ſnow to exceeding heat: but it is when their bodies be there; but whether in cold or in heat, in water or in fire, in air or in earth, they lack no pain, their torment goeth with them, for they think that the Devils that tempt us, though they have pain with them, yet they have not fire with them, for then they ſhould be known by heat of the fire.

I am certain, ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, that there is a fire in Hell, but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world, no man can tell, but he that is of Gods Privy Councel: I would adviſe every man to be more careful to keep out of Hell, then truſt he ſhall find no fire in Hell. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, That to be deprived of the fruition of the Godhead, is greater pain than the being in Hell: there is fire burning, there is the worm gnawing, there is heat, there is cold, there is pain without pleaſure, torment without eaſment, anguiſh, heavineſs, ſorrow, and penſiveneſs, which tarrieth and abideth for all lyars and hinderers of the truth.

There is no Purgatory after this life.

NOt for ſuch lyars that will bear me in hand to ſay that I ſaid not: I ſhewed the ſtate and condition of them that be in Purgatory: Then I denied it, not that they have Charity in ſuch ſure tye that they cannot loſe it, ſo that they cannot murmur nor grutch againſt God, cannot diſhonour God, can neither diſpleaſe God; nor be diſpleaſed with God, cannot be diſſevered from God, cannot dye, nor be in peril of death, cannot be damned, nor be in peril of damnation, cannot be but in ſurety of ſalvation, they be Members of the Myſtical Body of Chriſt as we be, and in more ſurety than we be; they love us charitably; Charity is not idle, if it be, it worketh and ſheweth it ſelf, and therefore I ſay, they wiſheth us well, and pray for us, they need not cry loud to God, they be in Chriſt, and Chriſt in them, they be with Chriſt, and Chriſt with them, they joy in their Lord Chriſt alway, taking thankfully whatſoever God doth with them, ever giving thanks to their Lord God, ever lauding and praiſing him in all things that he doth, diſcontent with nothing that he doth, *&c.* Purgatory.

And foraſmuch as they be always in charity, and when they pray for us, they pray always in charity, and be always Gods friends, Gods children, brethren and ſiſters to our Saviour Chriſt, even in Gods favour, even have Chriſt with them, to offer their Prayer to the Father of Heaven, to whom they pray in the Name of the Son. And we many times for lack of charity, having malice and envy, rancor, hatred, one toward another, be the children of the Devil, inheritors of Hell, adverſaries to Chriſt, hated of God, his Angels, and all his Saints; they in their ſtate may do us more good with their Prayers, than we in this ſtate: And they do us alway good, unleſs the lack and impediment be in us; for Prayer ſaid in charity, is more fruitful to him that it is ſaid for, and more acceptable to God than ſaid out of charity; for God looketh not to the work of praying, but to the heart of the Prayer. We may well pray for them, and they much better for us, which they will do of their charity, though we deſire them not.

I had rather be in Purgatory than in the Biſhop of *Londons* Priſon; for in this I might dye bodily for lack of meat: In that I could not, in this I might dye ghoſtly for fear of pain, or lack of good counſel; in that I could not: In this I might be in extream neceſſity; in that I could not, if extream neceſſity be *periculum peréundi*, peril of periſhing. And then you know what followeth, if we be not bounden, *per præceptum*, to help, but them that be in extream neceſſity, we ſee not who needeth in Purgatory, but we ſee who needeth in this world. And *John* ſaith, If thou ſee thy brother, and help him not, how is the charity of God in thee? Here, either we be, or we may be in extream neceſſity, both in body and ſoul; in Purgatory neither one nor other: Here we be bound to help one another, as we would be holpen our ſelves under pain of damnation: Here for lack of help we may murmur and grudge againſt God, diſhonour God, fordote our ſelves, which inconveniencies ſhall not follow, if we do our duty one to another. I am ſure the ſouls in Purgatory be ſo charitable, and of charity ſo loath to have God diſhonoured, that they would have nothing withdrawn from the Poor here in this world, to be beſtowed upon them which might occaſion the diſhonour of God, &c.

Therefore howſoever we do for Purgatory, let us provide to keep out of Hell. And had I a thouſand pound to beſtow, as long as I ſaw neceſſary occaſion offered to me of God to diſpenſe it upon my needy Brother here in this world, according to Gods Commandment, I would not withdraw my duty from him for any proviſion of Purgatory, as long as I ſaw dangerous ways unrepaired, poor mens daughters unmarried, men beg for lack of work, ſick and ſore for lack of ſuccour. I would have difference betwixt that that may be done, and that that ought to be done, and this to go before that, and that to come after this: *If* God command one way, mine one Devotion moveth me another way, whether way ſhould I go? I may by no Trentals, no Maſſes, no Ladders of Heaven make no foundations for my ſelf with other mens goods; goods wrongfully gotten muſt needs home again, muſt needs be reſtored to the owners, if they can be known, if not, they be poor mens goods: Debts muſt needs be paid, Creditors ſatisfied and content, Gods ordinance toward my Neighbour here in this world diſcharged, all affections and luſts moving to the contrary purged. Or elſe though our Soul-Prieſts ſing till they be blear-eyed, ſay till they have worn their tongues to the ſtumps, neither their ſingings, nor their ſayings, ſhall bring us out of Hell, whether we ſhall go for contemning of Gods forbiddings.

He that purgeth all Errors of falſe Opinions, all unluſtineſs to do Gods Ordinance, provideth not for Hell and Purgatory. Purgatories iniquity hath ſet aſide Reſtitutions, and brought poor Chriſtians to extream beggary, repleniſhed Hell, and left Heaven almoſt empty.

That can break their Charity.
That can break their Patience.
That can diſſever them from Chriſt.
That can diſſever Chriſt from them.

In Purgatory there is no pain.
That can cauſe them to diſhonour God.
That can cauſe them to diſpleaſe God.
That can cauſe them to be diſpleaſed with God.
That can bring them to peril of death.

That can bring them to peril of damnation.
That can bring them to extream neceſſity.
That can cauſe them to be diſcontent with God.
That can bring them from ſurety of ſalvation.

And yet it followeth not that there is no pain.

Howbeit if the Biſhops two fingers can ſhake away a good part, if a Friers Cowl, or the Popes Pardon, or *Scala Cæli* of a Groat can diſpatch for altogether, it is not ſo greatly to be cared for, I have not leiſure to write at large, and I wrote before ſuch things, which in this haſte cometh now to mind.

They that can reclaim at this, that the Souls in Purgatory do pray for us, if they could get as much money for the Prayer, that the Souls in Purgatory ſaith for us, as they have done for that, that they have ſaid for them, they would not reclaim: You know the Waſp that doth ſting them, and maketh them ſo ſwell, they that reclaim at that, do not reclaim at this.

Nor at this. *Chriſts blood is not ſufficient without blood of Martyrs.*
Nor at this. Magdalen *did not know Chriſt to be God, before his Reſurrection.*
Nor at this, &c. *There can be no Idolatry.*
Rome *cannot be deſtroyed.*
The Pope is Lord of all the world.
Whatſoever he doth is well done.
Pater noſter *is to be ſaid to St.* Peter.
Pater noſter *is but a beggarly prayer.*
Ave Marie *is infinitely better.*
20 Ave Maries *for one* Pater noſter.
It was not neceſſary Scripture to be written.
He that leaveth Father and Mother maketh for our Pilgrimage.
With many more.

Letters of Mr. Latimer.

Anno 1555.

A Letter of Mr. Latimer *to Mr.* Morice, *concerning the Articles written, which were falſly and untruly laid againſt him.*

A Letter of Mr. Latimer to Mr. Morice.

RIght Worſhipful, and mine own good Maſter *Morice, Salutem in Chriſto Ieſu.* And I thank you for all hearty kindneſs, not only heretofore ſhewed unto me, but alſo that now of late you would vouchſafe to write unto me ſo poor a Wretch, to my great comfort among all theſe my troubles. I truſt and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and ſupply abundantly mine unability, *&c.* Mr. *Morice*, you would wonder to know how I have been intreated at *Briſtow*, I mean of ſome of the Prieſts, which firſt deſired me, welcomed me, made me chear, heard what I ſaid, and allowed my ſaying in all things whiles I was with them; when I was gone home to my Benefice, perceiving that the People favoured me ſo greatly, and that the Maior had appointed me to preach at *Eaſter*, privily they procured an Inhibition for all them that had not the Biſhops Licence, which they knew well enough I had not, and ſo craftily defeated Maſter Maiors appointment, pretending that they were ſorry for it, procuring alſo certain Preachers to blatter againſt me, as *Hubberdine* and *Powel*, with other more, whom when I had brought before the Maior and the wiſe Councel of the Town, to know what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they ſo declaimed againſt me, they ſaid they ſpake of Information: Howbeit no man could be brought forth that would abide by any thing: So that they had place and time to bely me ſhamefully, but they had no place nor time to lay to my charge when I was preſent and ready to make them anſwer. God amend them, and ſwage their malice that they have againſt the Truth and me, *&c.*

Note the diſſembling inconſtancy of Popiſh Prieſts.

Inhibition procured againſt Mr. Latimer not to preach.

Hubberdine and Powel preach againſt Mr. Latimer.

Our Lady was a ſinner.

So they did bely me to have ſaid, when I had ſaid nothing ſo, but to reprove certain, both Prieſts and Benefic-ed-men, which do give ſo much to our Lady, as though ſhe had not been ſaved by Chriſt, a whole Saviour both of her, and of all that be and ſhall be ſaved; I did reaſon after this manner, That either ſhe was a ſinner, or no ſinner: if a ſinner, then ſhe was delivered from ſin by Chriſt; ſo that he ſaved her, either by delivering or preſerving her from ſin, ſo that without him neither ſhe, nor none other, either be, or could be ſaved. And to avoid all offence, I ſhewed how it might be anſwered, both to certain Scriptures which maketh all generally ſinners, and how it might be anſwered unto *Chryſoſtom* and *Theophilact*, which make her namely and ſpecially a ſinner. But all would not ſerve, their malice was ſo great; notwithſtanding that five hundred honeſt men can and will bear record. When they cannot reprove that thing that I do ſay, then they will bely me, to ſay that thing that they can reprove; for they will needs appear to be againſt me.

What the Papiſts do give to our Lady.

Our Lady not without ſin.

Papiſts deprave when they cannot diſprove.

Saints are not to be worſhipped.

So they lied when I had ſhewed divers ſignifications of this word (*Saints*) among the vulgar People: Firſt, Images of Saints are called Saints, and ſo they are not to be worſhipped: take worſhipping of them for praying to them; for they are neither Mediators by way of Redemption, nor yet by way of Interceſſion. And yet they may be well uſed, when they be applied to that uſe that they were ordained for, to be Lay-mens books for remembrance of heavenly things, *&c.*

Difference betwixt Images and Saints.

Take Saints for Inhabiters of Heaven, and worſhipping of them for praying to them, I never denied, but that they might be worſhipped, and be our Mediators, though not by way of Redemption (for ſo Chriſt alone is a whole Mediator, both for them, and for us) yet by the way of Interceſſion.

Mr. Latimers error in thoſe days.

Pil-

Anno 1555

Pilgrimage.

Pare away the ſcurf, and clean take away all popery

And I never denied Pilgrimage. And yet I have ſaid that much ſcurf muſt be pared away, e're ever it can be well done; Superſtition, Idolatry, falſe faith and truſt in the Image, unjuſt eſtimation of the thing, ſetting aſide Gods Ordinance for doing of the thing; Debts muſt be paid, Reſtitutions made, Wife and Children be provided for, duty to our poor Neighbours diſcharged. And when it is at the beſt, before it be vowed, it need not to be done; for it is neither under the bidding of God, nor of Man, to be done. And Wives muſt counſel with Husbands, and Husbands and Wives with Curates, before it be vowed to be done, *&c.*

Ave Maria.

Ave Maria.

As for the *Ave Maria*, who can think that I would deny it? I ſaid it was an heavenly greeting or ſaluting of our bleſſed Lady, wherein the Angel *Gabriel*, ſent from the Father of Heaven, did annunciate and ſhew unto her the good will of God towards her, what he would with her, and to what he had choſen her. But I ſaid, it was not properly a Prayer, as the *Pater noſter*, which our Saviour Chriſt himſelf made for a proper Prayer, and bid us ſay it for a Prayer, not adding that we ſhould ſay ten or twenty *Ave Maries* withal: and I denied not but that we may well ſay *Ave Maria* alſo, but not ſo that we ſhall think that the *Pater noſter* is not good, a whole and perfect Prayer, nor cannot be well ſaid without *Ave Maria*; ſo that I did not ſpeak againſt well ſaying of it, but againſt ſuperſtitious ſaying of it, and of the *Pater noſter* too; and yet I put a difference betwixt that, and that which Chriſt made to be ſaid for a Prayer.

Ave Maria, no prayer.

No fire in Hell.

Whether the fire in hell be a material fire, or ſpiritual.

Who ever could ſay or think ſo? Howbeit good Authors do put a difference betwixt a ſuffering in the fire with Bodies, and without Bodies. The Soul without the Body is a Spiritual Subſtance, which they ſay cannot receive a Corporal Quality; and ſome make it a ſpiritual fire, and ſome a corporal fire. And as it is called a fire, ſo it is called a Worm, and it is thought of ſome not to be a material Worm, that is a living Beaſt, but it is a Metaphor, but that is neither to nor fro. For a fire it is, a worm it is, pain it is, a torment it is, an anguiſh it is, a grief, a miſery, a ſorrow, a heavineſs inexplicable, intolerable, whoſe nature and condition in every point who can tell, but he that is of Gods Privy Councel, ſaith St. *Auſtin*? God give us grace rather to be diligent to keep us out of it, than to be curious to diſcuſs the property of it; for certain we be, that there is little eaſe, yea none at all, but weeping, wailing, and gnaſhing of teeth, which be two effects of extream pain, rather certain tokens what pain there is, than what manner of pain there is.

The worm of Conſcience is ſo called by a metaphorical ſpeech.

No Purgatory.

M. Latimer had rather be in Purgatory than in Lollards Tower.

He that ſheweth the ſtate and condition of it, doth not deny it. But I had rather be in it, than in *Lollards Tower*, the Biſhops Priſon, for divers skills and cauſes.

Declared why it is better to be in Purgatory than in Lollards Tower.

First, In this I might dye bodily for lack of meat and drink; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might dye ghoſtly for fear of pain, or lack of good counſel; there I could not.

Item, In this I might be in extream neceſſity; in that I could not, if it be peril of periſhing.

Item, In this I might lack Charity; there I could not.

Item, In this I might loſe my patience; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be in peril and danger of death; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be without ſurety of ſalvation; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might diſhonour God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might murmur and grudge againſt God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might diſpleaſe God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be diſpleaſed with God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be judged to perpetual Priſon, as they call it; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be craftily handled; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be brought to bear a Fagot; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be diſcontented with God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be ſeparated and diſſevered from Chriſt; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be a Member of the Devil; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be an inheritor in Hell, in that I could not.

Item, In this I might pray out of Charity, and in vain; in that I could not.

Item, In this my Lord and his Chaplains might manacle me by night; in that they could not.

Item, In this they might ſtrangle me, and ſay that I hanged my ſelf; in that they could not.

As they did with Hunne.

Item, In this they might have me to the Conſiſtory and judge me after their faſhion; from thence they could not.

Ergo, I had rather to be there then here. For though the fire be called never ſo hot, yet if the Biſhops two fingers can ſhake away a peice, a Friers cowl another part, and *ſcala cœli* altogether, I will never found Abbey, Colledge, nor Chauntrey, for that purpoſe.

For ſeeing there is no pain that can break my charity, break my patience, cauſe me to diſhonour God, to diſpleaſe God, to be diſpleaſed with God, cauſe me not to joy in God, nor that can bring me to danger of death or to danger of deſperation, or from ſuretie of Salvation, that can ſeparate me from Chriſt, or Chriſt from me, I care the leſs for it. *John Chryſoſtome* ſaith, that the greateſt pain that damned Souls have, is to be ſeperate and cut off from Chriſt for ever: which pains the Souls in Purgatory neither have nor can have.

Chryſoſt. What is the greateſt pain to damned Souls.

Conſider, Maſter *Morice*, whether proviſion for Purgatory hath not brought thouſands to hell. Debts have not been paid; reſtitution of evil gotten lands and goods hath not been made; Chriſtian People (whoſe neceſſities we ſee, to whom whatſoever we do, Chriſt reputeth done to himſelf, to whom we are bounden under pain of damnation to do for, as we would be done for our ſelf) are neglected and ſuffered to periſh; laſt wills unfulfilled and broken; Gods ordinance ſet aſide: and alſo for Purgatory, foundations have been taken for ſufficient ſatisfaction; ſo we have trifled away the ordinance of God, and reſtitutions. Thus we have gone to hell with Maſſes, Dirges and ringing of many a bell. And who can pull Pilgrimages from Idolatry, and purge Purgatory from Robbery, but he ſhall be in peril to come in ſuſpicion of Hereſie with them? ſo that they may pill with Pilgrimage and ſpoyl with Purgatory. And verily the abuſe of them cannot be taken away, but great lucre and vantage ſhall fall away from them, which had rather have profit with abuſe, then lack the ſame with uſe; and that is the Waſpe that doth ſting them, and maketh them to ſwell. And if Purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by ſetting aſide reſtitution, and robbing of Chriſt, it would be but a poor Purgatory; ſo poor, that it ſhould not be able to feed ſo fat, and trick up ſo many idle and ſlothful Lubbers.

Proviſion for Purgatory bringeth many to hell.

What the waſpe is that ſtingeth the Papiſts, and maketh them to ſwell.

I take God to witneſs, I would hurt no man, but it grieveth me to ſee ſuch abuſe continue without remedy, I cannot underſtand what they mean by the Popes pardoning of Purgatory, but by way of ſuffrage; and as for ſuffrage, unleſs he do his duty, and ſeek not his own but Chriſts glory, I had rather have the ſuffrage of Jack of the Skullery, which in his calling doth exerciſe both faith and charity; but for his Maſs; And that is as good of another ſimple Prieſt as of him: For as for Authority of Keyes, it is to looſe from guiltineſs of Sin and eternal pain, due to the ſame, according to Chriſts Word and not to his own private will: And as for Pilgrimage

The Popes pardoning out of Purgatory, a vain invention. Suffrage. Maſs. Authority of keyes.

you

Pilgrimage. This blood of *Hailes* was proved before the King, and openly shewed at *Paules Croſs* by the Bp. of *Rochester* that then was, to be but the blood of a Duck.

you would wonder what jugling there is to get money withal. I dwell within half a mile of the Foſs-way, and you would wonder to ſee how they come by flocks out of the Weſt-country to many Images, but chiefly to the blood of *Hailes*. And they believe verily that it is the very blood that was in Chriſts body, ſhed upon the Mount of *Calvary* for our ſalvation, and that the ſight of it with their bodily eye, doth certifie them, and putteth them out of doubt, that they be in clean life, and in ſtate of ſalvation without ſpot of ſin, which doth bolden them to many things. For you would wonder if you ſhould commune with them both coming and going, what faiths they have. For as for forgiving their Enemies, and reconciling their Chriſtian Brethren, they cannot away withal; for the ſight of that blood doth quit them for the time.

Two Certifications of our remiſſion out of the Scripture.

I read in Scripture of two Certifications; one to the *Romans*; *Juſtificati ex fide, pacem habemus*: *i.* We being juſtified by faith, have peace with God.

If I ſee the blood of Chriſt with the eye of my ſoul, that is, true faith, that his blood was ſhed for me, *&c.*

Another in the Epiſtle of *John*; *Nos ſcimus quod tranſlati ſumus de morte ad vitam, quoniam diligimus fratres*: *i.* We know that we are tranſlated from death to life, becauſe we love the Brethren. But I read not that I have peace with God, or that I am tranſlated from death to life, becauſe I ſee with my bodily eye the blood of *Hailes*. It is very propable, that all the blood that was in the body of Chriſt, was united and knit to his Divinity, and then no part thereof ſhall return to his corruption. And I marvel that Chriſt ſhall have two Reſurrections. And if it were that they that did violently and injuriouſly pluck it out of his body when they ſcourged him and nailed him to the Croſs, did ſee it with their bodily eye, yet they were not in clean life. And we ſee the ſelf ſame blood in form of wine, when we have conſecrated, and may both ſee it, feel it, and receive it to our damnation as touching bodily receiving. And many do ſee it at *Hailes* without Confeſſion, as they ſay. God knoweth all, and the Devil in our time is not dead.

The bodily ſeeing of Chriſts blood profiteth little.

Chriſt hath left a Doctrine behind him, wherein we be taught how to believe, and what to believe; he doth ſuffer the Devil to uſe his crafty faſhion for our trial and probation. It were little thank-worthy to believe well and rightly, if nothing ſhould move us to falſe faith, and to believe ſuperſtitiouſly. It was not in vain that Chriſt, when he had taught truly, by and by bade, Beware of falſe Prophets, which would bring in errour ſlyly. But we be ſecure and uncareful, as though falſe Prophets could not meddle with us, and as though the warning of Chriſt were no more earneſt and effectual, then is the warning of Mothers when they trifle with their children, and bid them beware the Bugg, *&c.*

Warning againſt falſe Prophets.

Lo Sir, how I run at riot beyond meaſure. When I began, I was minded to have written but half a dozen lines; but thus I forget my ſelf, ever when I write to a truſty friend, which will take in worth my folly, and keep it from mine Enemy, *&c.*

As for Dr. *Wilſon*, I wot not what I ſhould ſay; but I pray God endue him with charity. Neither he, nor any of his Country-men, did ever love me, ſince I did inveigh againſt their factions, and partiality in *Cambridge*. Before that, who was more favoured of him than I? That is the Byle that may not be touched, *&c.*

Dr. *Wilſon* againſt Mr. *Latimer*, and why.

A certain friend ſhewed me, that Dr. *Wilſon* is gone now into his Country about *Beverley* in *Holdernes*, and from thence he will go a progreſs through *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and ſo from thence to *Briſtol*. What he intended by this Progreſs, God knoweth, and not I. If he come to *Briſtol*, I ſhall hear, till *&c.*

Hubberdin a great railer againſt Mr. *Latimer*.

As for *Hubberdin* (no doubt) he is a man of no great learning, nor yet of ſtable wit. He is here *ſervus hominum*; for he will preach whatſoever the Biſhops will bid him preach. Verily in my mind they are more to be blamed than he. He doth magnifie the Pope more than enough. As for our Saviour Chriſt and Chriſtian Kings, they are little beholding to him. No doubt he did miſs the Cuſhion in many things. Howbeit they that did ſend him, men think, will defend him; I pray God amend him and them both. They would fain make matter againſt me, intending ſo either to deliver him by me, or elſe to rid us both together, and ſo they would think him well beſtowed, *&c.*

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As touching Dr. *Powel*, how highly he took upon him in *Briſtol*, and how little he regarded the Sword, which repreſenteth the Kings Perſon, many can tell you. I think there is never an Earl in this Realm that knoweth his obedience by Chriſts Commandment to his Prince, and wotteth what the Sword doth ſignifie, that would have taken upon him ſo ſtoutly. Howbeit Mr. Maior, as he is a profound wiſe man, did twit him prettily; it were too long to write all. Our Pilgrimages are not a little beholding to him. For to occaſion the people to them, he alledged this Text:

Dr. *Powel* a ſtout Preacher of Popery.

Omnis qui relinquit patrem, domos, uxorem; *i.* Whoſoever leaveth father, houſe, wife, *&c.* By that you may perceive his hot zeal and crooked judgment, *&c.* Becauſe I am ſo belied, I could wiſh that it would pleaſe the Kings Grace to command me to preach before his Highneſs a whole year together every Sunday, that he himſelf might perceive how they bely me, ſaying, that I have neither learning, nor utterance worthy thereunto, &c. I pray you pardon me, I cannot make an end.

Scripture applied of the Papiſts.

A brief digreſſion touching the railing of Hubberdin *againſt Mr.* Latimer.

Forаſmuch as mention hath been made in this Letter of *Hubberdin*, an old Divine of *Oxford*, a right painted Phariſee, and a great ſtrayer abroad in all quarters of the Realm to deface and impeach the ſpringing of Gods holy Goſpel, ſomething would be added more touching that man, whoſe doings and pageants, if they might be deſcribed at large, it were as good as any Enterlude for the Reader to behold. Who in all his life, and in all his actions (in one word to deſcribe him) ſeemeth nothing elſe but a right Image or a Counterfeit, ſetting out unto us in lively colours the pattern of perfect hypocriſie. But becauſe the man is now gone, to ſpare therefore the dead (although he little deſerved to be ſpared, which never ſpared to work what villany he could againſt the true Servants of the Lord) this ſhall be enough for examples ſake, for all Chriſtian men neceſſarily to obſerve, how the ſaid *Hubberdin*, after his long railing in all places againſt *Luther*, *Melanthon*, *Zuinglius*, *John Frith*, *Tindall*, *Latimer*, and all other like Profeſſors, after his hypocritical open Alms given out of other mens Purſes, his long Prayers, pretenced Devotions, devout Faſtings, his woolward going, and other his prodigious demeanour, riding in his long Gown down to the Horſe heels like a Phariſee, or rather like a Sloven, dirted up to the Horſe belly, after his forged Tales and Fables, Dialogues, Dreams, Dancings, Hoppings and Leapings, with other like Hiſtrionical toyes and geſtures uſed in the Pulpit, and all againſt Hereticks; at laſt riding by a Church ſide, where the Youth of the Pariſh were dancing in the Church-yard, ſuddenly this *Silenus* lighting from his horſe, by the occaſion of their dancing came into the Church, and there cauſing the Bell to toll-in the People, thought in ſtead of a fit of mirth to give them a Sermon of dancing. In the which Sermon, after he had patched up certain common Texts out of the Scriptures, and then coming to the Doctors, firſt to *Auguſtine*, then to *Ambroſe*, ſo to *Jerom* and *Gregory*, *Chryſoſtom* and other Doctors, had made them every one (after his Dialogue manner) by name to anſwer to his call, and to ſing after his tune for the probation of the Sacrament of the Altar againſt *John Frith*, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Luther*, *Tindall*, *Latimer*, and other Hereticks (as he called them) at laſt to ſhew a perfect harmony of all theſe Doctors together; as he had made them before to ſing after his tune, ſo now to make them dance alſo after his Pipe, firſt he calleth out Chriſt and his Apoſtles, then the Doctors and ancient Seniors of the Church, as in a round ring all to dance together; with pipe up *Hubberdin*. Now dance Chriſt, now dance *Peter*, *Paul*, now dance *Auguſtine*, *Ambroſe*, *Jerom*; and thus old *Hubberdin*, as he was dancing with his Doctors luſtily in the Pulpit againſt the Hereticks, how he ſtampt and took on I cannot tell, but craſh quoth the Pulpit, down cometh the Dancer, and there lay *Hubberdin* not dancing, but ſprawling in the midſt of his Audience; where altogether he brake not his neck,

Note touching *Hubberdin*.

Hubberdin a right image of hypocriſie.

Hubberdin a great railer againſt the ſervants of Chriſt.

Hubberdin dancing in the Pulpit.

A dancing Sermon of *Hubberdin*.

Hubberdin fell with Pulpit, and brake his leg.

Ann. 1555. Neck, yet he ſo brake his Leg the ſame time, and bruiſed his Old Bones, that he never came in Pulpit more, and died not long after the ſame. Whereupon when the Church-Wardens were called, and charged for the Pulpit being no ſtronger, they made anſwer again, excuſing themſelves, that they had made their Pulpit for Preaching, and not for dancing, &c. But to ſpend no more Paper about this idle matter, now to our purpoſe again.

Amongſt many other impugners and adverſaries, whereof there was no ſmall ſort which did infeſt this good Man in Sermons; ſome alſo there were, which attempted the Pen againſt him. In the number of whom was one Doctor *Sherwood*, who upon the ſame occaſion of preaching of the Virgin *Mary* (or as they thought, againſt the Virgin) did invade him with his Pen, writing againſt him in Latine, whoſe long Epiſtle, with Mr. *Latimers* anſwer alſo in Latin to the ſame hereunder followeth.

Epiſtola *Gulielmi Sherwodi* adverſus Dominum *Latimerum* expoſtulatoria.

Gulielmus Sherwodus Presbiter, D. *Latimero* Kingtoniæ Rectori, gratiam & pacem à Deo Patre noſtro, & Domino Jeſu Chriſto.

NIhil moleſtè feres ſat ſcio, vir egregie, ab homine chriſtiano chriſtianè admoneri, quæ res una (eſt Deus teſtis) nos hoc tempore animavit liberius tecum per literas (quando coram fandi copia negatur) confabulari ſuper nonnullis, quæ parum chriſtianè in concione illa tua (ſi modo concio & non verius multo Satyra quædam inſana dicenda) Magnesfeldiæ effudiſſe mihi videbare. Ac primum quidem proverbio illo de fure & paſtore (quanquam proverbii vocem parabolæ vice mihi uſurpaſſe videtur Evangeliſta) carpſit, ut rectè & vere aiebas, Chriſtus Scribarum & Phariſæorum (utpote Deus, eoque πρόγνωσιν.) veſaniam obduratamque incredulitatem, ſed clam, ſed tectè, ſed in genere. Non aiebat, Scribæ & Phariſæi ad unum fures ſunt & latrones. Sed quid? Amen dico vobis qui non intrat per oſtium in ſtabulum ovium, ſed aſcendit aliunde, ille fur eſt & latro. Tu contra homo patentium intuitor, non mentium rimator. Epiſcopi omnes, Papæ omnes, Rectores eccleſiarum omnes (te uno pauciſque aliis, quos neſcio, tuæ farinæ hominibus, id enim ſenſiſſe videris, exceptis) vicarij omnes fures ſunt, & latrones, quibus furibus, quibus latronibus ſuffocandis ne Angliæ totius quidem canabum ſufficere prædicabas, aut verius dementabas, hyperbole forſan, ut ſemper, uſus, ſed temeraria, ſed audaci ſupra modum, ſed truci, ſed impia. Non eſt, mi frater, non eſt ſic temere, ſi divo credimus Paulo, ante tempus judicandum, quod veniet Dominus qui & illuminabit abſcondita tenebrarum, & manifeſtabit conſilia cordium: Chriſtus quoque ipſe, Judex vivorum & mortuorum à Deo patre conſtitutus, temerariam ejuſmodi proximi condemnationem apud Matthæum, chriſtiano homini mihi ſuſtuliſſe videtur, quum inquit; Nolite condemnare, ne condemnemini, nec tanti flagitii ſubticens pœnam. Quo enim (inquit) judicio judicatis, eo judicabitur de vobis, & qua menſura metimini, ea metientur vobis & alii. Volo hominum vitia taxari, volo ſua ſcelera populo prædicari, annunciari, revelari, & ſi fieri poſſit, ob oculos poni, non debacchari in homines eoſque abſentes, non poni lucem tenebras, & tenebras lucem, non dici bonum malum, & malum bonum, dulce amarum, & amarum dulce. Quod ſi fit, verendum ne dum alius alium mordemus & devoramus, viciſſim alius ab alio conſumetur. An iſta parcius, imo modeſtius viris objicienda, ipſe videto. Novimus, & qui te tranſverſa tuentibus birquis, & quo, ſed faciles, nimphæ riſere ſacello. Heu, heu, Latimere, quæ te dementia cæpit, ut mentireris, dixiſſem prædicares, plures longe in Chriſti eccleſia fures eſſe, quam paſtores, plures hœdos quam oves? Non ſic Cyprianus ille, non ſic. Sed quid? Eſt, inquit, Deus verax, omnis autem homo mendax. Stat confeſſorum, hoc eſt (ut ipſe intelligit pie) Chri[illegible]ianorum pars major & melior in fidei ſuæ robore, [illegible] legis ac diſciplinæ dominicæ veritate, nec ab eccleſi[illegible] diſcedunt, qui ſe in eccleſia gratiam conſeca[illegible] Dei dignatione meminerunt. Atque hoc ipſi ampl[illegible] ſequuntur fidei ſuæ laudem, quòd ab eorum perfidia [illegible] regati, qui junctis confeſſionis conſortio fuerint, à contagionis crimine receſſerunt. Vero illuminati evangelij lumine, pura & candida domini luce radiati, tam ſunt in conſervanda Chriſti pace laudabiles, quam fuerunt in diaboli congreſſione Victores. Quæ ſanctiſſimi hominis ſanctiſſima verba, auſim, te etiam reclamante, de ea ipſa, quæ nunc, eccleſia, prædicare, vereq; affirmare; quam ubi ex confeſſoribus Chriſti filij Dei vivi pepinxiſſes, ſtatim ubi eſſet gentium te neſcire prædicabas. Dicebas enim, Quiſquis cum Petro Chriſtum Dei viventis filium fatetur, Petrus eſt, & de eccleſia, ſeu uti ipſe interpretabaris, congregatione (ſubdola nimirum uſus arte, ac cæco potius præſtigio) ac ſi hoc loci magis nihil ad Petrum, Chriſti in terris ſummum Vicarium, attineret, quam ex chriſtianis alium quemlibet. Eſto, ſimus nos, ut Origenis utar verbis, aliquo modo Petrus; ſi dixerimus quod dixit Petrus; Tu es Chriſtus, Filius Dei vivi, non carne & ſanguine nobis revelante, ſed Patre qui eſt in cœlis mentem noſtram illuminante, non alio dicendi genere dicemus hæc nobis Petri competere verba, quam ipſi Petro? Abſit procul, abſit. Nam ſecundum Chriſti nomen omnes qui ſunt illius Chriſti dicuntur, dicente propheta; Ut ſalvos faciat Chriſtus ſuos. Item. Nolite tangere Chriſtos meos, & tum alio longe modo hic, alio illi unctionis vocabulo inſigniuntur. Sanius certe Roterodamus, cujus imitatorem, & ſequacem ſtrenuum te in nonnullis video. Is (tu es Petrus & mox quæ ſequuntur) in primis in Romanum pontificem, ut in Chriſtianæ fidei principem competere ait, omnium ſemoto dubio, annotatione in 16 Matthæi caput; quanquam plus æquo Origeanæ ſententiæ inniti ibidem mihi videtur. Quod ſi dixerimus te authore æqualiter, & indiſcriminatim hæc de Petro, & omnibus chriſtianis intelligi, incidemus in illam Lutheranam ſententiam; Omnes Chriſtianos eſſe ſacerdotes, & ordinatam nullam poteſtatem accipere, quam antea non habebant, ſed deputari tantum ad licite utendum poteſtate prius habita; quæ ſententia jam olim eſt ab eccleſia damnata.

Ad hæc aiebas Chriſtum, quum minima vocaret præcepta, Scribarum & Phariſæorum alluſiſſe impietati, qui ut ſua eveherent, & amplificarent, minima dicebant divina. Multum hic diſcors es ab Origene, Scripturarum interprete, ſaneq; vigilantiſſimo, qui Homilia in Matthæum quinta adeo non negat revera quædam Dei præcepta dici, & eſſe minima, ut ex ſolutione, & obſervatione eorum minimum & magnum dici in regno cœlorum nihil obſcure prædicet. Simul pugnat quod tum Chriſtus ipſe ſeorſum à plebe & populo cum pauculis Diſcipulis, ſuæ cæleſtis tum ſolis, Doctrinæ capacibus in monte verſabatur, nihil interim cum Scribis, nihil cum Phariſæis tractans, ut divina illa concione ſua prorſus indignis.

Subjunxiſti chriſtiane parum ut mihi videbatur, hominem chriſtianum carnis acquieſcentem deſideriis, non magis chriſtianum eſſe, quam ſit Judæus, quam ſit Turcus. Hoc mihi non chriſtianum, ſed Oecolampadianum.

* *Deſunt nonnulla, quæ conjecturis forſan utcunq; ſuppleri poſſunt ex ſequenti Latimeri reſponſione.*

Sit opus, quam ad beneficam Petri confeſſionem germanis fructibus referandam. Quid tu hic tibi velis neſcio. Si eſt aliquis Petri primatus, is certe Catholico cuilibet pro viribus defendendus eſt. Eſt aliquis Petri primatus; alioqui Chriſti verbum inefficax eſt (tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, &c.) Si nihil eſt opus ut defenſetur Petri primatus, nihil eſt opus ut defenſetur veritas. Et ob veritatem ad necem uſque mortali cuilibet certandum. Non puto quenquam germanis fructibus referre poſſe beneficam Petri confeſſionem, negando Petri primatum: beneficæ Petri confeſſio, an non eſt Jeſum eſſe Chriſtum filium Dei viventis? Dei filius eſt veritas. At non Chriſtus, ſi nullus eſt Petri primatus. Hic fœde lapſus mihi videre. Nihil enim alienum eſſe puto à beneficæ Chriſti confeſſione, ſi quis pro virili ſedem tueatur & defenſet Apoſtolicam.

Apertiſſimum mendacium eſſe clamitas, Chriſtum cum pauculis Diſcipulis in monte ſeorſum à turba verſatum fuiſſe. Apertiſſime tum mecum mentis eſt Origenes, Scripturarum interpres vigilantiſſimus, qui Homilia in Mattheum 5. inquit, Deſcendente Jeſu de monte, ſequutæ ſunt eum turbæ multæ, Docente vero Domino in monte, Diſcipuli erant cum ipſo, quibus datum erat cæleſtis doctrinæ noviſſe ſecreta, per quæ ſalutis ſcientia brutorum corda ſalirent, cæcorumque

oculis

oculis per mundanæ delectationis tenebras caligantibus, lucem patefecerunt veritatis, Unde & Dominus ad eos: Vos eſtis (inquit) ſal terræ, vos eſtis & lumina mundi. Nunc vero deſcendente eo de monte, turbæ ſecutæ ſunt eum. In montem ſcilicet aſcendere nequaquam poterant, quia quos delictorum ſarcinæ deprimunt, ad myſteriorum ſublimia, niſi abjecto onere, ſcandere minime valent. Audis noſtram, non tuam ab Origene probari ſententiam:

Notas præterea, quos neſcio, tibi tum notiſſimos; alij nonnulli pſeudo-prædicatores, qui populo ſuadent chriſtiano ſat eſſe, ſi credit quemadmodum credit eccleſia, & neſcire interim quid, aut quomodo credat, ita miſerum vulgus ab ampliore Dei agnitione quærenda dehortando. Iniqua, & præceps ſatis cenſura in verbi Dei miniſtros. Tales ſiqui ſunt, debemus Lutheranæ & Hæreticorum eccleſiæ: in noſtra eſſe nequeunt, quum pollicitus ſit ſponſus ad conſummationem uſque ſeculi ſe non deſerturum ſponſam ſuam eccleſiam. Quæ dicis reliqua, quum ſint mera convitia tranſeo.

Quod ſatis declarat, quod poſtremo pene dicis argute philoſophatum me de juſtificatione fidei, interim mea nihil convellens. An hoc eſt argute philoſophari de juſtificatione fidei, dicere fidem juſtificare, ſed non ſolam, imo & opera ſuam habere juſtitiam, ſed in fide, ſed in charitate? Hoc ego arguebam quod opera diceres non juſtificare. Si hoc eſt philoſophari, ego ſum philoſophatus, & non ego tantum, ſed et Jacobus Apoſtolus. Fides eſt, fateor, ut recte dixit Auguſtinus, Fundamentum & radix juſtæ vitæ, qua conſequimur bonorum operum voluntatem, ac ita juſtitiam. Tantum ne putet quis juſtitiam ſola animi exiſtimatione finiri, omni bono & pio excluſo opere. Cætera, quum non agnoſcis, ego ſepelio. Unum id adjiciens, ſi bene feceris, bene recipies; ſin autem male, ecce in foribus aderit peccatum tuum. Alias nacto otio abundantius. Interim vale. Derhamia.

Salutem plurimam.

NOn equidem ſum ego vel adeo ferox, quod ſciam, vir item eximie, ut ab homine Chriſtiano chriſtiane admoneri moleſte feram, vel adeo inſenſatus, & à communi ſenſu alienus (ni fallor) ut me prius ſuggillatum fuiſſe abs te & inter pocula, neque ſemel ſuggillatum, quam admonitum, imo nec admonitum tandem ſed acerrime, potius redargutum, ſed convitiis & mendaciis male habitum potius, ſed calumniis inique affectum potius, ſed falſo condemnatum potius, conſtanter probem. Quod ſi tuis biſce literis pro illarum jure & mei animi ductu ego jam reſponderem. Sed cohibeo me, ne dum conor tuo morbo mederi, bilem tibi moveam homini vel citra ſtumulum (ut præ ſe ferunt literæ) plus quam oportet bilioſo. Imo det utrique Deus, quod ipſe utrique norit commodo fore, & mihi videlicet vel in mediis calumniis patientiam chriſtiano homine dignam, & tibi judicium aliquando tam rectum, quam nunc habes zelum tuopte marte bene fervidum. Conducibilius, opinor, fuerit ſic orare, quam ejuſmodi criminationi apologiam parare, quum & ego jam negotioſior ſum pro concione mihi perendie dicenda, quam ut commode poſſim reſpondere; & mendaciora ſint tua omnia, quam ut jure debeam ea confutare. Sed ut paucis tamen multis, ſi fieri poſſit, ſatisfaciam, primum operæpretium fuerit in medium ſtatuere, & quid ego dixi, & quid tu ex dictis collegiſti. Collegiſti quidem multa veluti ſanguinem è ſilice collidendo excuſſurus. Sed ſic eſt affectus, uti video, erga me tuus, quem ob rabiem ejuſdem ægre noſti diſſimulare. Eſto, dixerim ego omnes Papas, omnes Epiſcopos, Vicarios, Rectoreſque omnes, per oſtium non intrantes, ſed aſcendentes aliunde, fures & latrones eſſe. Dum ſic dixi, ex introitu & aſcenſu, non ex perſonis & titulis, cum Chriſto ſum rem metitus. Hinc tu tua Minerva colligis, omnes Papas, omnes Epiſcopos, Vicarios, Rectoreſque omnes, ſimpliciter fures eſſe, ſaltem ſic me dixiſſe. Num juſta hic (mi frater) collectio? An non juſte in te quadret illud Pauli ad Romanos? Sic aiunt nos dicere, ſic male loquuntur de nobis ſed quorum damnatio juſta eſt (inquit:) & tamen juſtius videri poſſunt ex Paulo collegiſſe adverſarij, quam tu ex me. Jam ſi idem Dei verbum nunc quod prius, neque minus Deo gratum acceptumque, quiſquis interim Miniſter verbi fuerit, nonne & eadem damnatio calumniatores Miniſtri nunc manet quæ olim? Longe intereſt, dicas, omnes per oſtium non intrantes fures eſſe, & omnes ſimpliciter fures eſſe. Sed unde (quæſo) dum ego dico omnes per oſtium non intrantes fures eſſe, videor tibi dicere omnes ſimpliciter fures eſſe? niſi forte plerique omnes videntur tibi aliunde aſcendere, & non per oſtium intrare? Quod ſi ſenſeris, at nolito dicere ſi ſapis (ſapis autem plurimum) quod ſentis. Cum quanto enim id dixeris tuo periculo) ipſe videris. Et niſi id ſenſeris, cur, per Deum immortalem, ego non poſſum dicere omnes eſſe fures, qui per oſtium non intrantes aſcendunt aliunde, quibuſcunque interim titulis ſplendeſcant, niſi videar tibi dicere ſtatim omnes ad unum fures eſſe; & tum quæ te potius cepit dementia, dum ſic colligis, ut plures fures quam paſtores colligendo eſſe feceris. Nam, velis nolis, verum eſt quod ego dixi, nempe quotquot per oſtium non intrant, ſed aliunde aſcendunt, fures & latrones eſſe, ſeu Papæ, ſeu Epiſcopi fuerint. Quare dum ſic in ipſo exorbitas limine, quorſum attinet reliqua examinare? Sed age, hoc tibi arridet plurimum, quod Phariſæi ſunt tam recte à Chriſto reprehenſi, & non palam, quomodo tum non diſplicebit è regione tibi acerbiſſima illa, ſimul & apertiſſima criminatio, in os & coram turba illis objecta, (Væ vobis Scribæ & Phariſæi hypocritæ) ubi nominati taxantur? Sed Chriſtus, inquis, Deus erat pervicaciam cordis conſpicatus. Tu vero homo patientium intuitor, non mentium rimator: Sum ſane homo (uti dicis) id quod citra tuam operam jam olim habeo exploratum: homo (inquam) ſum, non labem in alieno corde delitescentem, ſed vitam omnibus patentem & expoſitam intuitus, adeoque ex fructibus cognoſcens, quos Chriſtus admonuit ex fructibus cognoſcendos, ipſum quorundam vivendi genus libenter damnans: denique, quod in ſacris literis, ſacriſque interpretibus damnatum toties comperio, nihil id quidem moratus, quæcunque ipſum amplectuntur perſonæ: quod dum ego facio, neque cordium latebras ulterius penetro, nonne immerito abs te reprehendor? qui non homo mecum, ſed pluſquam homo es, dum mei animi emphaſim melius noſti per arrogantiam, quam egomet novi, utpote qui non ſat habes quæ dico noviſſe, ſed quæ ſentio nondum dicta noveris, abditiſſima cordis mei penitiſſime rimatus, ne non ſcire inte ipſum competeret, quod in me torquere molitus es; nimirum noli ante tempus judicare, noli condemnare, ut diſcas quam oportet mendacem non eſſe immemorem, ne proprio forſan gladio juguletur, & in foveam incidat ipſe, quam ſtruxerat alteri. Nam dum ego pronuncio fures eſſe, quotquot per oſtium non intrantes aſcendunt aliunde; tibi non verba ſolum audienti ſed & corculum meum contemplanti omnes ad unum fures eſſe pronuntio, excepto meipſo videlicet & illis meæ farinæ hominibus neſcio (inquis) quos. Sed quis illam fecit exceptionem niſi tu qui cognoſcens occulta cordium, ſic inquis, ſenſiſſe videris? Sed tibi ſic ſenſiſſe videor, cui & dixiſſe videor, quod (ut liquidiſſime conſtat) neutiquam dixi. Sed tibi peculiare eſt alios à cordis intuitu prohibere, ut ipſe intuearis ſolus quicquid eſt in corde, acie videlicet tam perſpicaci, ut videas in corde, quod in corde nondum eſt natum: id quod ibi facis, dum quod ego de eccleſia recte dixi, tu tuo more calumniaris inique, quaſi ego, quod ad uſum clavium attinet, æquaſſem omnes cum Petro, cum ne unum quidem verbum de clavium poteſtate ſit dictum; imo ne cogitatum quidem, neque Petri primatui derogatum, ut cujus nulla ſit facta mentio. Sed tu pro tuo candore ſic colligis, dum ego nil aliud quam admonui auditores eccleſiam Chriſti ſupra petram non ſuper arenam fundatam, ne mortua fide plus ſatis hæreant, tum perituri & portis inferorum fœdiſſime ceſſuri, ſed fidem operibus oſtendant, tum demum vitam æternam habituri. Quid ego minus quam omnes Chriſtianos, ut ego ſum, ſacerdotes dixerim eſſe? Sed oculatiſſimi ſunt invidi ad colligendum quod venantur. Nonne hic optimo jure gogor nonnihil chriſtianæ charitatis in tuo pectore deſiderari? qui dum neſcis confutare quod dico, miris modis mihi impingis quod poſſis confutare. Tu vero optime noſti quid ſentit Lutherus de eccleſia. Et ego non gravabor ſubſcribere, quid ſentit poſt multos alios Lyranus ſuper 16. Matthæi, ex quo Pater inquit, quod eccleſia non conſiſtit in hominibus, ratione poteſtatis vel dignitatis eccleſiæ, ſeu ſecularis

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ſecularis, quia multi principes & ſummi pontifices, inquit, inventi ſunt apoſtat. eſſe à fide, propter quod Eccleſia conſiſtit, inquit, in illis perſonis, in quibus eſt notitia vera & confeſſio fidei & veritatis. Hic conſenſit & cum Hieronimo Chryſoſtomus. *Sic enim dicunt ; (neſcio an applaudant tibi quod dicunt, quippe qui in illis te prodis eſſe:) Qui promptiores ſunt ad primatum* Petri *defenſandum, etiam cum nihil ſit opus, quam ad beatificam* Petri *confeſſionem germanis fructibus referendam. Sed tu mittis me ad* Auguſtinum, *bene liberalis conſultor. Ego optem te eundem legere ſi libeat in* Epiſt. Johannis *tractatu tertio. Videris enim* [illegible] Auguſtianis *operibus non adeo excercitatus, cum de fidei juſtificatione tam argute Philoſopharis. Quocirca cuperem te in collectaneis Bedæ exercitatiorem fore, cum tua ipſius collectanea* Auguſtinum *non ſpirent, ut jam non pluribus neque illius, neque aliorum Authorum locis quærendis te gravem. Sed illud non omittam tamen, etſi alio etiam me evocent negotia, non alluſiſſe videlicet Chriſtum Phariſæorum impietati, cum præcepta vocaret minima. Sic enim tu audes dicere, quia aliam in* Origene *interpretationem legiſti; Pulchre admodum objectum, quaſi unus & idem Scripturæ locus non ſit ab aliis aliter fere expoſitus :* Origenes *de illuſione non meminit, igitur nemo : qualis conſecutio ? ſed nihil, inquis, ibi Chriſto cum Phariſæis : & id quoque non minus pulchre abs te dictum, quaſi non ſtatim poſt ſubderet Chriſtus de Scribis & Phariſæis mentionem, populum ab illorum juſtitia humanis, i. ſuis ipſorum traditionibus ſtabilita revocans. Niſi abundaverit juſtitia veſtra, inquiens, plus quam Scribarum, &c. At verſabatur tum, inquis, Chriſtus cum pauculis Diſcipulis ſeorſum à turba : imo hoc apertiſſimum mendacium eſt, id quod verbum* Matthæi *caput ſeptimum clauderitia luce clarius commonſtrat, ut tolerabiliora ſint mihi de me mendacia tua, qui audes de ipſo Chriſto & ejus ſermone mentiri. Et factum eſt, inquit, ut cum finiſſet Ieſus ſermones hos, obſtupuerunt ſuper doctrina ejus. Ecce autem, ſi Chriſtus ſeorſum à turba ſit locutus, quomodo obſtupuerunt ſuper doctrina, quam (per te) non audiverunt? Sed* Lucas *Evangeliſta, ſive de eodem, ſive de conſimili Chriſti ſermone locutus, teſtatur turbam audiiſſe, capite ſeptimo. Cum conſummaſſet Ieſus ſermones hos (inquit) audienti populo. En quo prolabitur præceps judicium tuum invidia male deformatum ? Scilicet tu ipſe hic non toto erras cælo ? dignus videlicet quia aliorum errores expiſceris & notes, & ad palinodiam revoces : Tu tuo ſenſui hic non fidis ? Medice cura te ipſum, & diſce quid ſit illud; Hypocrita, cur vides feſtucam,* &c. *Diſce ex tuis trabibus alienis feſtucis parcere. Ego nihil dixi, teſtor Deum, non mentior, quod vel* Oecolampadio, *vel* Luthero, *vel* Melanchthoni *acceptum referre debeam; & tamen tu, quæ eſt tua charitas, non vereris id meo aſſuere capiti. Ego ſi feci iſtud, decidam merito ab inimicis meis inanis. Sed neſcis tu quidem, opinor, cujus ſpiritus ſis, dum mavis miniſtrum verbi impudentiſſimis mendaciis lacerſſere, quam teſtimonium veritati perhibere; quod quantum ſit piaculum in conſpectu Dei, tu abſq; doctore non ignoras, in cumulum damnationis tuæ, niſi reſipiſcas. Jam vero num ego vitupero, ut quis credat quemadmodum Eccleſia credit ? Non ſane vitupero, niſi quod malevolentia erga me tua tam ſurdas reddidit aures tuas, ut ne audiens quidem audias quæ dicuntur. Sed hoc vitupero, ut quis cui chriſtianorum ſuadeat, quemadmodum ſuadere ſolent pſeudopræ-dicatores non pauci, ſat per omnia eſſe, credere quemadmodum Eccleſia credit, & neſcire interim quid aut quomodo credit Eccleſia, & ſic miſerum populum ab ampliori Dei agnitione quærenda dehortari ? Quod poſtremo mihi obtrudis, mendacium eſt, & illud plus quam dici poſſit inhumanum, neq; eo mea verba ſenſu accipis, ſenſu quo ſint à me dicta, ideoq; Hieronymo ſuper* 26 Matthæi *teſte falſus teſtis coram Deo futurus. Lege locum, & relinq; falſum teſtimonium. Ego dico Chriſtianum, id eſt, baptiſmo in Chriſtianorum numerum receptum, ſi profeſſioni non reſpondeat, ſed carnis deſideriis ſeſe dedat, non magis Chriſtianum eſſe, quod ad conſecutionem æternæ vitæ ſpectat quæ promittitur Chriſtianis, quam* Judæum *aut* Turcam: *in quam, hujus conditionem in illo die deteriorem fore, ſi verum tibi dixit ; melius eſſe viam veritatis non agnoſcere, quam poſt agnitam, &c. Et quibus dicit Chriſtus nunquam novi vos ? Nonne his qui per nomen ejus prophetantes, virtutes præſtiterint ? nonne negabit Chriſtus nos, illum prænegantes coram hominibus ? Nonne ſtatuemur inter oves Chriſti à dextris, ſi non vitam Chriſto dignam retulerimus profeſſi Chriſtum, ſed profeſſionem mala vita contaminantes. Sunt verius pſeudo-Chriſtiani quam Chriſtiani habendi : & ab* Auguſtino *& Chriſto vocantur Antichriſti. Non nego quin obligatio manet, ſed in majorem damnationem manet, ſi non ſatisfacit obligationi. Officium concionatoris eſt hortari auditores ut ſic ſint Chriſtiani, ut compatientes hic cum Chriſto, cum Chriſto conregnent in Cælo, ut aliter Chriſtianum eſſe non ſit illis Chriſtianum eſſe. Sic Scripturæ, ſic interpretes Scripturæ loquuntur, ut verbis hæretica tibi videatur loquutio: ſed avarus, fornicator, homicida, iniquus, catholicus eſt & Chriſti ſervus: tamen ſic animi gratia tecum ludam. Fornicator, per te, eſt Chriſti ſervus, ſed idem eſt peccati & Diaboli ſervus ; ergo idem poteſt duobus dominis ſervire, quod Chriſtum latuit. Et ſi fides mortua efficit Catholicum, & Dæmones pertinent ad Eccleſiam Catholicam, utpote qui juxta* Jacobum *credunt & contremiſcunt. Fornicator (inquis) fidit Chriſto ; ſpes non pudefacit, qui fidit Chriſto non peribit, ſed habebit vitam æternam. Neq; me latet ad* Galathas *ſcripſiſſe* Paulum *fide aberrantes Eccleſiam tamen vocaſſe ; ſic idem ad* Corinthios *ſcribens eos in eodem capite nunc carnales appellat, nunc Dei Templum,* Corinthios *nimirum intelligens, ſed alios atq; alios. Neque enim Templum Dei erant qui carnales erant ; quanquam nec me latet Eccleſiam, i. multitudinem profitentium Chriſtum, partim ex bonis, partim ex malis conflatam eſſe, nempe rete Evangelicum ex omni genere congregari. Quid hoc adverſum ea quæ ego dixi, qui conabar omnes bonos non malos efficere, & ideo laborabam ut auditores mei non putarent magnum eſſe ſi in malis Eccleſiaſtici invenirentur : ſed non viſum eſt tibi piam prædicationem piè interpretari, dum exiſtimas ad pietatem pertinere, ſi piè dicta impiè revocarentur. Si colloquia tua non ſunt quam ſcripta clementiora, neutra ego optem mihi contingere, ſed omnis amarulentia, tumor, ira, vociferatio, maledicentia tollatur à te cum omni malitia ; & tamen neque colloquiis, neque ſcriptis me gravabis. Tu non optares (opinor) tales auditores, qualem te præſiteris. Sed Deus te reddat benigniorem, vel à meis concionibus quam longiſſime ableget. Valę.*

Spiritum Veritatis.

FLammis, fumoque quam lectione, aut oculis digniores multo perlegimus tuas literas, quibus tua ipſius ſcelera in nos torquere ſubdole, & aſtute admodum moliris. Et quo firmius iſta tua ſtatuas, veterem inter pocula me tui ſuggillatorem facis. Quod quam vere (ut omnia) dicas, jam vide. Narravit nobis preſentibus jam olim Marchfieldiæ *unus & idem alter, qui tuæ interfuerant concioni, te palam ſummaq; ut præ te ferebas, cum authoritate dixiſſe, indignos eſſe miſeros homunculos, qui angelica ſalutatione ſalutent deiparam Virginem, ſi velint ipſam rurſum ut pariat Chriſtum. Ego hæc dixi, parum Chriſtiane & religioſe abs te dicta, cavendumq; diligenter piis quibuſq; Chriſtianis, ne hujuſmodi fidem habeant concionatoribus. An hoc eſt te ſuggillare, an magis & tibi & illis pie, & religioſe conſulere ? Nihil ego tibi & tu mihi, necdum viſo, bilis impingo, ſed ſumma raraque te eſſe modeſtia, & tolerantia hominem (ut videri vis) gaudeo, ſed & gaudebo, nec retorqueo in te convitia, & probra, quibus tuæ ſcatent literæ. At iſtud non video quomodo dicas (imo nec admonitum, tandem, ſed acerrime potius redargutum, ſed convitiis & mendaciis habitum potius, ſed calumniis inique affectum potius, ſed falſo condemnatum potius.) Redargui fateor, at ea redargutio quam admonitio, aliud nihil. Convitium nullum, mendacium nullum, calumnia nulla, quod ſciam, in meis conſpicitur literis, niſi mentitus eſt* Paulus, *niſi calumniatus eſt* Paulus, *niſi convitiatus eſt* Paulus, *quum diceret quoſdam ſic dixiſſe, facienda mala ut venirent bona. Nos calidi adhuc tuo ſpiritu, tua tibi retulimus verba, id quod norunt probe omnes, qui te illic una audiere; Utinam tu nil male effudiſſes, ego tum certe nihil tibi tale adſcripſiſſem. Abſit à me ut ego (quod dicere videris) ullo te animi odio, ullo te impio mentis affectu perſequar. Didici ex Chriſto diligere etiam inimicos : tantum abeſt ut hominem fratrem, ejuſdemque Domini conſervum odio habeam. Sed plus quam hoſtilia, plus quam cruenta tua verba ne quicquam me movent. Tantum quam poſſum paciſſimis tuis reſpondebo, poſthac te tuo relicturus judici.*

Primum quod dicis (Eſto dixerim ego, omnes Papas, omnes Epiſcopos, Vicarios, Rectoreſque omnes per oſtium non intrantes, ſed aſcendentes aliunde, fures eſſe & latrones, dum ſic dixi, ex aſcenſu non ex perſonis & titulis cum Chriſto ſum rem metitus.) Si id dixiſſes, nihil nobis tecum ea de re negotij fuiſſet. Sed (quod tu meæ Minervæ collegiſſe dicis) dicebas, Papæ videlicet omnes, Epiſcopi omnes, Vicarij omnes, Rectores omnes fures ſint, & latrones, nulla, quam audivi, neq; aſcenſus, neque deſcenſus, neque per oſtium, neque per feneſtram, mentione facta. Nec ego adeo ſurdis eram auribus, ut ſi quid tale ſuo [illegible] dixiſſes, continuo non excepiſſem. Eum quem nunc a[illegible]s ſenſum catholicum veneror, & exoſculor; priorem rejicio & deteſtor. Sacræ Scripturæ authoritas (Principi populi tui non maledices) non ſinit me ut ſentiam, ut tu mihi aſcribere videris, pleroſque omnes aliunde aſcendere. Quis ſum ego ut judicem alienum ſervum? (unuſquiſque enim propriam ſarcinam bajulabit.) Non ego, ſed nec alius quiſquam vetuit unquam quo minus diceres, omnes eſſe fures qui per oſtium non intrantes aſcendunt aliunde quibuſcunque interim titulis ſplendeſcant: ſed qui per oſtium non intrantes aſcendunt aliunde, jam primum audio, quod ſi prius (ut jam dixi) adjeciſſes, verbum nullum. Quid dicis, quæ me dementia cæperit, ſic collegiſſe, ut plures fures quam paſtores, plures hædos quam oves eſſe in Eccleſia, dixiſti. Quod quam dixeris, ut prius dixi, vere, ipſe videto. Jam prioribus literis ſaniorem fuiſſe divi Cypriani *Martyris de Eccleſia ſenſuram docuimus. Fruſtra dicis apertam illam & in os objectam criminationem, væ vobis, Scribæ & Phariſæi, Hypocritæ, mihi è regione diſpliciturum, quum adeo, ut dicis arrideat tecta & parabolica illa, Qui non intrat per oſtium in ſtabulum ovium, &c. Non poteſt profecto mihi unquam diſplicere aliquod ſacrum Chriſti factum. Præſentes reprehendebat ipſe impios Scribas & Phariſæos, juxta id, Annuncia populo meo ſcelera ſua, non aliena; abſentes tu Papas & Epiſcopos; qui talia fecerant væ futurum prædixit; tu vocabula, quo neſcio afflatu, tanum reſpiciebas. Nullius ego hominis animum judico unquam, ſed ne judicabo, tantum abeſt ut animi tui emphaſin mihi arrogaverim unquam. Deſine mihi objicere talia. Quod audivimus loquimur, quod vidimus teſtamur. Si ſane, & recte ad quemlibet Chriſtianum interpretatus es id* Matthæi, *Tu es* Petrus *æqualiter, ut dicis, de Eccleſia, nihil omnino de vi clavium locutus, gaudeo. Mihi certe non arridet. Nec dixi te dixiſſe omnes Chriſtianos, ut tu es, Sacerdotes eſſe, ſed ejuſmodi nudam, & confuſam interpretationem non parum fovere & nutrire hujuſmodi aſſertionem* Lutheranam, *id quod credo, ipſe vides. Me illorum adjicies numero, qui promptiores ſunt ad Primatum* Petri *defenſandum etiam, ut ais, quum nihil* [illegible] *ſed Hæreticum dictum videtur. Chriſtianus enim conditionem ſignificat non actionem ſine actu. Signe latet quippiam, &c.*

Beſides theſe Latin Letters above expreſſed, other Letters alſo he wrote in Engliſh, as well to others, as namely to Sir *Edward Baynton* Knight, which Letters, becauſe they do contain much fruitful matter, worthy to be read and known, I thought here preſently to inſert, which albeit may ſeem ſomewhat prolix in reading; yet the fruit thereof I truſt ſhall recompence the length of them.

The Copy of a Letter ſent by Mr. Latimer, *Parſon of* Weſtkington, *in the County of* Wiltſhire, *to Sir* Edward Baynton *Knight.*

Salutem in Chriſto.

RIght worſhipful Sir, I recommend me unto your Maſterſhip with hearty thanks for your ſo friendly, ſo charitable, and ſo mindful remembrance of me ſo poor a Wretch. Whereas of late I received your Letters by Mr. *Bonnam*, perceiving therein both who be grieved with me, wherefore, and what behoveth me to do, in caſe I muſt needs come up, which your goodneſs towards me with all other ſuch like to recompence, whereas I my ſelf am not able, I ſhall not ceaſe to pray my Lord God, which both is able, and alſo doth indeed reward all them that favour the favourers of his Truth for his ſake; for the Truth is a common thing, pertaining to every man, for the which every man ſhall anſwer another day. And I deſire favour neither of your Maſterſhip, neither of any man elſe, but in truth, and for the truth, I take God to witneſs, which knoweth all. In very deed Mr. Chancellor did ſhew me that my Lord Biſhop of *London* had ſent Letters to him for me; and I made anſwer that he was mine Ordinary, and that both he might and ſhould reform me as far as I needed reformation, as well and as ſoon as my Lord of *London*. And I would be very loath (now this deep Winter) being ſo weak and ſo feeble (not only exerciſed with my old Diſeaſe in my head and ſide, but alſo with new, both the Chin[illegible] and the Stone) to take ſuch a journey; and though he might ſo do, yet he needed not, for he was not bound to do: notwithſtanding I ſaid, if he, to do my Lord of *London* pleaſure to my great diſpleaſure, would needs command me to go, I would obey his commandment, yea though it ſhould be never ſo great a grievance, and painful to me; with the which anſwer he was content, ſaying, he would certifie my Lord of *London* thereof, truſting his Lordſhip would be content with the ſame: but as yet I hear nothing from him. Mr. Chancellor alſo ſaid, that my Lord of *London* maketh as though he were greatly diſpleaſed with me, for that I did contemn his Authority, at my laſt being in *London*. Forſooth I preached in *Abbe-Church*, not certain then (as I remember) whether in his Dioceſs or no, intending nothing leſs than to contemn his Authority, and this I did not of mine own ſwinge, or by mine own procuration, but at the requeſt of honeſt Merchant men (as they ſeemed to me) whoſe names I do not know, for they were not of mine acquaintance before; and I am glad thereof for their ſakes, leſt if I knew them, I ſhould be compelled to utter them ſo, and their godly deſire to hear godly preaching, ſhould return to their trouble: for they required me very inſtantly, and to ſay the truth, even importunately. Whether they were of that Pariſh or no, I was not certain: But they ſhewed not only themſelves, but alſo many other to be very deſirous to hear me, pretending great hunger and thirſt of the Word of God, and Ghoſtly Doctrine. And upon conſideration, and to avoid all inconveniencies, I put them off, and refuſed them twice or thrice, till at the laſt they brought me word that the Parſon and Curate were not only content, but alſo deſired me, notwithſtanding that they certified him both of my name plainly, and alſo that I had not the Biſhops Seal to ſhew for me, but only a Licence of the Univerſity; which Curate did receive me, welcomed me, and when I ſhould go into the Pulpit, gave me the common benediction; ſo that I had not been alone uncharitable, but alſo churliſhly uncharitable, if I ſhould have ſaid nay. Now all this ſuppoſed to be truth (as it is) I marvel greatly how my Lord of *London* can alledge any contempt of him in me.

Firſt, He did never inhibit me in my life; and if he did inhibit his Curate to receive me, what pertaineth that to me, which neither did know thereof, nor yet made any ſuit to the Curate deceitfully, nor did it appear to me very likely that the Curate would ſo little have regarded my Lords inhibition, which he maintaineth ſo vigilantly, not knowing my Lords mind before. Therefore I conjectured with my ſelf, that either the Curate was of ſuch acquaintance with my Lord, that he might admit whom he would, or elſe (and rather) that it was a train and a trap laid before me, to the intent that my Lord himſelf, or other pertaining to him, was appointed to have been there, and to have taken me if they could in my Sermon: which conjecture both occaſioned me ſomewhat to ſuſpect thoſe men which deſired me, though they ſpeak never ſo fair and friendly, and alſo rather to go. For I preach nothing, but if it might be ſo, I would my Lord himſelf might hear me every Sermon I preach. So certain I am that it is truth, that I take in hand to preach. If I had with power of my friends (the Curate gain-ſaying and notwithſtanding) preſumed to have gone into the Pulpit, there had been ſomething wherefore to pretend a contempt. I preached in *Kent* alſo, at the inſtant requeſt of a Curate; yet hear I not that his Ordinary layeth any contempt to my charge, or yet doth trouble the Curate. I marvel not a little, how my Lord Biſhop of *London*, having ſo broad, wide, and large a Dioceſs committed

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mitted unto his Cure, and ſo peopled as it is, can have leiſure for preaching and teaching the Word of God, *Opportunè, importunè, tempeſtivè, intempeſtivè, privatum, publicè*, to his own Flock, *inſtando, arguendo, exhortando, monendo, cum omni lenitate & doctrina*, have leiſure (I ſay) either to trouble me, or to trouble himſelf with me, ſo poor a wretch, a ſtranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his Cure, but as every man pertaineth to every mans Cure, ſo intermixing and intermedling himſelf with another mans Cure, as though he had nothing to do in his own. If I would do as ſome men ſay my Lord doth, gather up my joyſe, as we call it, warily and narrowly, and yet neither preach for it in mine own Cure, nor yet otherwhere, peradventure he would nothing deny me. In very deed I did moniſh Judges and Ordinaries to uſe charitable equity in their Judgments towards ſuch as he accuſed, namely, of ſuch Accuſers, which be as like to hear and bewray, as other be to ſay amiſs, and to take mens words in the meaning thereof, and not to wreſt them in another ſenſe than they were ſpoken in: For all ſuch Accuſers and Witneſſes do falſe before God, as S. *Hierom* ſaith upon the 26th Chapter of S. *Matthew*. Nor yet do I accompt thoſe Judges well adviſed, which wittingly will give Sentence after ſuch Witneſſes, much leſs thoſe which procure ſuch Witneſſes againſt any man: Nor do I think Judges now adays ſo deeply confirmed in grace, or ſo impeccable, but that it may behoove and become Preachers, to admoniſh them to do well, as well as other kinds of men, both great and ſmall. And this I did, occaſioned of the Epiſtle which I declared, *Rom.* 6. wherein is this Sentence, *Non eſtis ſub lege, ſed ſub gratia*, Ye Chriſtian men that believe in Chriſt, are not under the Law. What a ſaying is this (quoth I) if it be not rightly underſtood, that is, as S. *Paul* did underſtand it? for the words ſound as though he would go about to occaſion Chriſtian men to break Law, ſeeing they be not under the Law: And what if the Pſeudapoſtles, Adverſaries to S. *Paul*, would have ſo taken them, and accuſed S. *Paul* of the ſame to my Lord of *London*? if my ſaid Lord would have heard S. *Paul* declare his own mind of his own words, then he ſhould have eſcaped, and the falſe Apoſtles put to rebuke; if he would have rigorouſly followed *utcunque allegata & probata*, and have given Sentence after relation of the Accuſers, then good St. *Paul* muſt have born a Faggot at *Paul*'s Croſs, my Lord of *London* being his Judge. O, it had been a godly ſight to have ſeen S. *Paul* with a Faggot on his back, even at *Paul*'s Croſs, my Lord of *London* Biſhop of the ſame, ſitting under the Croſs. Nay, verily I dare ſay, my Lord ſhould ſooner have burned him, for S. *Paul* did not mean that Chriſtian men might break Law, and do whatſoever they would, becauſe they were not under the Law: but he did mean, that Chriſtian men might keep the Law, and fulfil the Law, if they would, becauſe they were not under the Law, but under Chriſt, by whom they were divided from the tyranny of the Law, and above the Law, that is to ſay, able to fulfil the Law to the pleaſure of him that made the Law, which they could never do of their own ſtrength, and without Chriſt: ſo that to be under the Law, after S. *Paul*'s meaning, is to be weak to ſatisfie the Law; and what could S. *Paul* do with all, though his Adverſaries would not ſo take it? But my Lord would ſay peradventure, that men will not take the Preachers words otherwiſe than they mean therein. *Bona verba*; as though S. *Paul*'s words were not otherwiſe taken, as it appeareth in the third Chapter to the *Romans*, where he ſaith, *Quod injuſtitia noſtra Dei juſtitiam commendat*, that is to ſay, our unrighteouſneſs commendeth and maketh more excellent the righteouſneſs of God, which ſoundeth to many as though they ſhould be evil, that good ſhould come of it, and by unrighteouſneſs to make the righteouſneſs of God more excellent. So S. *Paul* was reported to mean; yet he did mean nothing ſo; but ſhewed the ineſtimable wiſdom of God, which can uſe our naughtineſs to the manifeſtation of his unſpeakable goodneſs; not that we ſhould do naughtily to that end and purpoſe. Now my Lord will not think (I dare ſay) that S. *Paul* was to blame that he ſpake no more circumſpectly, more warily, or more plainly, to avoid evil offence of the People; but rather he will blame the People, for that they took no better heed and attendance of *Paul*'s ſpeaking, to the underſtanding of the ſame: yea, he will rather pity the People, which had been ſo long nuzled in the Doctrine of the Phariſees, and wallowed ſo long in darkneſs of mans Traditions, Superſtitions, and trade of Living, that they were unapt to receive the bright lightneſs of the Truth, and wholeſom Doctrine of God, uttered by S. *Paul*. Nor do I think that my Lord will require more circumſpection, or more convenience to avoid offence of Errours in me; than was in S. *Paul*, when he did not eſcape malevolous corrections, and ſlanderous reports of them that were of perverſe Judgments, which reported him to ſay whatſoever he appeared to them to ſay, or whatſoever ſeemed to them to follow of his ſaying: But what followeth? *Sic aiunt nos dicere, ſic male loquuntur de nobis*: ſo they report us to ſay, ſaith S. *Paul*; So they ſpeak evil of us: *ſed quorum damnatio juſta eſt*, but ſuch, whoſe damnation is juſt, ſaith he; and I think the damnation of all ſuch that evil report Preachers now adays, likewiſe juſt, for it is untruth now and then. Yea, Chriſt himſelf was miſreported, and falſly accuſed, both as touching his words, and alſo as concerning the meaning of his words. Firſt he ſaid, *deſtruite*, that is to ſay, deſtroy you; they made it *poſſum deſtruere*, that is to ſay, I can deſtroy: he ſaid *Templum hoc*, this Temple; they added *manu factum*, that is to ſay, made with hand, to bring it to a contrary ſenſe. So they both inverted his words, and alſo added unto his words, to alter his ſentence: for he did mean of the Temple of his Body, and they wreſted it to *Solomon*'s Temple. Now I report me, whether it be a juſt fame raiſed up and diſperſed after this manner. Nay verily, for there be three manner of perſons which can make no credible information: Firſt, Adverſaries, Enemies: Secondly, Ignorant and without Judgment: Thirdly, *Suſurrones*, that is to ſay, whiſperers and blowers in mens ears, which will ſpew out in hudder mudder, more than they dare avow openly. The firſt will not, the ſecond cannot, the third dare not: therefore the relation of ſuch is not credible, and therefore they can make no fame lawful, nor occaſion any indifferent Judge to make Proceſs againſt any man; and it maketh no little matter what they be themſelves that report of any man, whether well or evil: for it is a great commendation to be evil ſpoken of, of them that be naught themſelves, and to be commended of the ſame, is many times no little reproach. God ſend us once all grace to wiſh well one to another, and to ſpeak well one of another. Me ſeems it were more comely for my Lord (if it were comely for me to ſay ſo) to be a Preacher himſelf, having ſo great a Cure as he hath, than to be a diſquieter and a troubler of Preachers, and to preach nothing at all himſelf. If it would pleaſe his Lordſhip to take ſo great a labour and pain at any time, as to come to preach in my little Biſhoprick at *Weſtkingſton*, whether I were preſent or abſent my ſelf, I would thank his Lordſhip heartily, and think my ſelf greatly bounden to him, that he of his charitable goodneſs would go ſo far to help to diſcharge me in my Cure, or elſe I were more unnatural than a Beaſt unreaſonable, nor yet would I diſpute, contend, or demand by what authority, or where he had authority ſo to do, as long as his predication were fruitful, and to the edification of my Pariſhioners. As for my Lord, he may do as it pleaſeth his Lordſhip. I pray God he do always as well as I would wiſh him ever to do: But I am ſure S. *Paul*, the true Miniſter of God, and faithful Diſpenſer of Gods Myſteries, and right Exemplar of all true and very Biſhops, ſaith in the firſt Chapter to the *Philippians*, that in his time ſome preached Chriſt for envy of him, thinking thereby ſo to grieve him withal, and as it were to obſcure him, and to bring his Authority into contempt, ſome of good will and love, thinking thereby to comfort him: Notwithſtanding (ſaith he) by all manner of ways, and after all faſhions, whether it be of occaſion or of truth, as ye would ſay for Truths ſake, ſo that Chriſt be preached and ſhewed, I joy and will joy: ſo much he regarded more the glory of Chriſt, and promotion of Chriſts Doctrine, to the edification of Chriſtian ſouls, than the maintenance of his own authority,

Evil will never ſaith well.

Diffamation

Nay, my Lord will none of that.

reputation and dignity, conſidering right well (as he ſaid) that what authority ſoever he had, it was to edification, and not to deſtruction. Now I think it were no reproach to my Lord, but very commendable, rather to joy with St. *Paul*, and be glad that Chriſt be preached *quovis modo*, yea, though it were for envy, that is to ſay, in diſdain, deſpite and contempt of his Lordſhip (which thing no man well adviſed will enterpriſe or attempt) then when the preaching cannot be proved juſtly, to demand of the Preacher auſterely, as the Phariſees did of Chriſt, *qua authoritate hæc facis, aut quis dedit tibi iſtam authoritatem?* As my authority is good enough, and as good as my Lord can give me any, yet I would be glad to have his alſo, if it would pleaſe his Lordſhip to be ſo good a Lord unto me. For the Univerſity of *Cambridge* hath authority Apoſtolick to admit twelve yearly, of the which I am one: and the Kings Highneſs, God ſave his Grace, did decree that all admitted of Univerſities ſhould preach thorow out all his Realm as long as they preached well, without diſtrain of any man, my Lord of *Canterbury*, my Lord of *Dureſm*, with ſuch other not a few, ſtanding by, and hearing the Decree, nothing gainſaying it, but conſenting to the ſame. Now to contemn my Lord of *Londons* Authority, were no little fault in me; ſo no leſs fault might appear in my Lord of *London* to contemn the Kings Authority and Decree, yea ſo godly, ſo fruitful, ſo commendable a Decree, pertaining both to the edification of Chriſtian ſouls, and alſo to the regard and defence of the Popiſh grace and authority Apoſtolick. To have a Book of the King not inhibited, is to obey the King, and to inhibit a Preacher of the Kings admitted, is it not to diſobey the King? Is it not one King that doth inhibit and admit, and hath he not as great authority to admit as to inhibit? He that reſiſteth the Power, whether admitting or inhibiting, doth he not reſiſt the Ordinance of God? We low Subjects are bound to obey Powers, and their Ordinances: and are not the higheſt Subjects alſo, who ought to give us enſample of ſuch obedience? As for my preaching it ſelf, I truſt in God, my Lord of *London* cannot rightfully blame it, nor juſtly reprove it, if it be taken with the circumſtance thereof, and as I ſpake it, or elſe it is not my preaching, but his that falſly reporteth it, as the Poet *Martial* ſaid to one that depraved his Book:

Latimer admitted by the Univerſity of Cambridge to preach.

Quem recitas meus eſt, O Fidentine, libellus:
Sed male cum recitas, incipit eſſe tuus.

But now I hear ſay that my Lord of *London* is informed, and upon the ſaid Information hath informed the King, that I go about to defend *Bilney*, and his cauſe, againſt his Ordinaries and his Judges, which I enſure is not ſo: for I had nothing to do with *Bilney*, nor yet with his Judges, except his Judges did him wrong; for I did nothing elſe but moniſh all Judges indifferently to do right; nor am I altogether ſo fooliſh as to defend the thing which I knew not. It might have become a Preacher to ſay as I ſaid, though *Bilney* had never been born. I have known *Bilney* a great while, I think much better than ever did my Lord of *London*: for I have been his Ghoſtly Father many a time; and to tell you the truth, what I have thought always in him, I have known hitherto few ſuch ſo prompt and ready to do every man good after his power, both friends and foe, noyſom wittingly to no man, and towards his enemy ſo charitable; ſo ſeeking to reconcile them, as he did, I have known yet not many; and to be ſhort, in ſum, a very ſimple good Soul, nothing fit or meet for this wretched world, whoſe blind faſhion and miſerable ſtate (yea far from Chriſts Doctrine) he could as evil bear, and would ſorrow, lament, and bewail it as much as any man that ever I knew: As for his ſingular learning, as well in holy Scripture, as in all other good Letters, I will not ſpeak of it. Notwithſtanding, if he either now of late, or at any time attempted any thing contrary to the obedience which a Chriſtian man doth owe either to his Prince or to his Biſhop, I neither do nor will allow and approve that, neither in him, nor yet in any other man: we be all men, and ready to fall; wherefore he that ſtandeth, let him beware he fall not. How he ordered or miſordered himſelf in judgment, I cannot tell, nor will I meddle withal; God knoweth, whoſe judgments I will not judge. But I cannot but wonder, if a man living ſo mercifully, ſo charitably, ſo patiently, ſo continently, ſo ſtudiouſly and vertuouſly, and killing his old *Adam*, that is to ſay, mortifying his evil affections, and blind motions of his heart ſo diligently, ſhould dye an evil death, there is no more, but let him that ſtandeth, beware that he fall not: for if ſuch as he ſhall dye evil, what ſhall become of me, ſuch a wretch as I am? But let this go, as little to the purpoſe, and come to the point we muſt reſt upon. Either my Lord of *London* will judge my outward man only, as it is ſaid, *Omnes vident quæ foris ſunt*, or elſe he will be my God, and judge mine inward man, as it is ſaid, *Deus autem intuetur cor:* If he will have to do only with mine outward man, and meddle with mine outward Converſation, how that I have ordered my ſelf toward my Chriſtian Brethren, the Kings Liege People, I truſt I ſhall pleaſe and content both my Lord God, and alſo my Lord of *London:* for I have preached and teached but according to holy Scripture, holy Fathers, and ancient Interpreters of the ſame, with the which I think my Lord of *London* will be pacified: for I have done nothing elſe in my preaching, but with all diligence moved my Auditors to Faith and Charity, to do their duty, and that that is neceſſary to be done. As for things of private devotion, mean things, and voluntary things, I have reproved the abuſe, the ſuperſtition of them, without condemnation of the things themſelves, as it becometh Preachers to do: which thing, if my Lord of *London* will do himſelf (as I would to God he would do) he ſhould be reported (no doubt) to condemn the uſe of ſuch things, of covetous men which have damage, and find leſs in their boxes by condemnation of the abuſe, which abuſe they ſaid rather ſhould continue ſtill, than their profit ſhould not continue (ſo thorny be their hearts.) If my Lord will needs coaſt and invade my inward man, will I, nill I, and break violently into my heart, I fear me I ſhall either diſpleaſe my Lord of *London*, which I would be very loath, or elſe my Lord God, which I will be more loath: not for any infidelity, but for ignorance, for I believe as a Chriſtian man ought to believe: but peradventure my Lord knoweth, and will know many things certainly, which (perchance) I am ignorant in, with the which ignorance, though my Lord of *London* may if he will be diſcontent, yet I truſt my Lord God will pardon it, as long as I hurt no man withal, and ſay to him with diligent ſtudy, and daily prayer, *Paratum cor meum Deus, paratum cor meum*, ſo ſtudying, preaching, and tarrying the pleaſure and leiſure of God: And in the mean ſeaſon, *Acts* 8. as *Apollo* did, when he knew nothing of Chriſt, but *Baptiſmum Johannis*, teach and preach mine, even Chriſtian that, and no farther than I know to be true. There be three Creeds, one in my Maſs, another in my Mattins, the third common to them that neither ſay Maſs, nor Mattins, nor yet know what they ſay when they ſay the Creed: and I believe all three with all that God hath left in holy Writ, for me and all other to believe: yet I am ignorant in things which I truſt hereafter to know, as I do now know things in which I have been ignorant heretofore: ever learn, and ever to be learned, to profit with learning, with ignorance not to annoy. I have thought in times paſt, that the Pope, Chriſts Vicar, hath been Lord of all the world as Chriſt is, ſo that if he ſhould have deprived the King of his Crown, or you of the Lordſhip of *Bromeham*, it had been enough; for he could do no wrong. Now I might be hired to think otherwiſe; notwithſtanding I have both ſeen and heard Scripture drawn to that purpoſe. I have thought in times paſt, that the Popes diſpenſations of Pluralities of Benefices, and abſence from the ſame, had diſcharged conſciences before God: faraſmuch as I have heard, *Ecce vobiſcum ſum, & qui vos audit*, bended to coroborate the ſame. Now I might be eaſily intreated to think otherwiſe, *&c.*

Bilney commended.

No man ſo old but he may learn.

I have thought in times paſt that the Pope could have ſpoiled Purgatory at his pleaſure with a word of his mouth; now learning might perſwade me otherwiſe, or elſe I would marvel why he would ſuffer ſo much money to be beſtowed that way, which ſo needful is to be beſtowed otherwiſe, and to deprive us of ſo many Patrons in Heaven as he might deliver out of Purgatory, &c. I have thought in times paſt, that if I had been a Frier,

and

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and in a Cowl, I could not have been damned, nor afraid of death, and by occaſion of the ſame, I have been minded many times to have been a Frier, namely, when I was ſore, ſick, and diſeaſed: Now I abhor my ſuperſtitious fooliſhneſs, *&c.* I have thought in times paſt, that divers Images of Saints could have holpen me, and done me much good, and delivered me of my diſeaſes: Now I know that one can help as much as another. And it pitieth mine heart, that my Lord, and ſuch as my Lord is, can ſuffer the People to be ſo craftily deceived. It were too long to tell you what blindneſs I have been in, and how long it were e're I could forſake ſuch folly, it was ſo corporate in me: but by continual Prayer, continual ſtudy of Scripture, and oft communing with men of more right judgment, God hath delivered me, *&c.* Yea, men think my Lord himſelf hath thought in times paſt, that by Gods Law a man might marry his Brothers wife, which now both dare think and ſay contrary: and yet this his boldneſs might have chanced, in Pope *Julius*'s days, to ſtand him either in a fire, or elſe in a faggot. Which thing deeply conſidered, and pondered of my Lord, might ſomething ſtir him to charitable Equity, and to be ſomething remiſs toward men, which labour to do good as their power ſerveth with knowledge, and do hurt to no man with their ignorance: for there is no greater diſtance, than between Gods Law, and not Gods Law; nor is it ſo, or ſo, becauſe any man thinketh it ſo, or ſo: but becauſe it is ſo, or ſo indeed, therefore we muſt think it ſo, or ſo, when God ſhall give us knowledge thereof: for if it be indeed either ſo or not, it is ſo, or not ſo, though all the world hath thought otherwiſe theſe thouſands years, *&c.*

And finally as ye ſay, the matter is weighty, and ought ſubſtantially to be looked upon, even as weighty as my life is worth; but how to look ſubſtantially upon it, otherwiſe know not I, than to pray my Lord God day and night, that as he hath imboldened me to preach his truth, ſo he will ſtrengthen me to ſuffer for it, to the edification of them which have taken by the working of him fruit thereby, and even ſo I deſire you, and all other that favour me for his ſake, likewiſe to pray: for it is not I (without his mighty helping hand) that can abide that brunt; but I have truſt that God will help me in time of need, which if I had not, the Ocean Sea, I think, ſhould have divided my Lord of *London* and me by this day. For it is a rare thing for a Preacher to have favour at his hand which is no Preacher himſelf, and yet ought to be. I pray God that both he and I may both diſcharge our ſelves, he in his great Cure, and I in my little, to Gods pleaſure, and ſafety of our ſouls, Amen. I pray you pardon me, that I write no more diſtinctly, nor more truly, for my head is out of frame, that it would be too painful for me to write it again; and if I be not prevented, ſhortly I intend to make merry with my Pariſhioners this *Chriſtmas*, for all the ſorrow, leſt perchance I never return to them again: and I have heard ſay, that a Doe is as good in Winter, as a Buck in Summer.

A Letter of Sir Edward Baynton *Kt. anſwering to the Letter of Mr.* Latimer, *ſent to him before.*

The copy of Sir *Edward Baynetons* Letter to Mr. *Latimer.*

MAſter *Latimer*, after hearty recommendations; I have communicated the effect of your Letters to divers of my Friends, ſuch as for Chriſtian Charity (as they ſay) rather deſire in you a reformation, either in your opinion (if it ſwerve from the truth) or at the leaſt in your manner and behaviour, in as much as it giveth occaſion of ſlander and trouble, in let of your good purpoſes, than any other inconvenience to your perſon or good name. And foraſmuch as your ſaid Letter miſliketh them in ſome part, and that I have ſuch confidence in your Chriſtian breaſt, as in my judgment ye will conformably and gladly both hear, that may be reformed in you, and alſo (as it is worthy) ſo knowledge and confeſs the ſame: I have therefore deſired them to take the pain to note their minds in this Letter which I ſend to you, as aggregate of their ſayings, and ſent from me your aſſured friend and favourer, in that that is the very truth of Gods Word: wherein nevertheleſs, as I truſt you your ſelf will temper your own judgment, and in a ſoberneſs affirm no truth of your ſelf, which ſhould divide the Unity of the Congregation in Chriſt; and the received truth agreed upon by holy Fathers of the Church, conſonant to the Scripture of God, even ſo whatſoever ye will do therein (as I think ye will not do otherwiſe than ye ſhould do) I being unlearned, and not of the knowledge to give ſentence in this alteration and contention, muſt rather of good congruence ſhew my ſelf in that you diſagree with them, readier to follow their Doctrine in truth, than yours, unleſs it may pleaſe Almighty God to inſpire and confirm the hearts of ſuch people to reſtifie the ſame in ſome honeſt number, as ought to induce me to give credence unto them.

These friends of Mr. *Baynton* ſeem to be ſome Popiſh Prieſts, and enemies to the Goſpel, as *Tempil, Watſon, Sharwood, Hatherdine, &c.*

The Papiſts will not have unity diſturbed. Papiſts coloured with authority of holy Fathers.

Only God knoweth the certain truth, which is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, but that it is *per ſpeculum in ænigmate*. And there hath been *qui zelum Dei habuerunt; ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam*. Among which I repute not you, but to this purpoſe I write it, that to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep and profound knowledge, conſidering that to me unlearned, that I take for truth may be otherwiſe, not having *ſenſus exercitatos*, as S. *Paul* ſaith, *ad diſcernendum bonum & malum*: and it is ſhewed me, that an opinion or manner of teaching, which cauſeth diſſention in a Chriſtian Congregation, is not of God, by the Doctrine of S. *John* in his Epiſtle, where he ſaith, *Omnis qui confitetur Chriſtum in carne*, &c. *ex Deo eſt*. And like as the Word of God hath always cauſed diſſention among men unchriſtened, whereupon hath enſued and followed Martyrdom to the Preacher, ſo in Chriſts Congregation, among them that profeſs Chriſts Name, *In uno Domino, uno Baptiſmate, & una fide*, they that preach and ſtir rather Contention than Charity, though they can defend their ſaying, yet their teaching is not to be taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chain of Chriſtian Charity, and maketh diviſion in the people, congregate and called by God into an unity of Faith and Baptiſm. But for this point I would pray to God, that not only in the truth may be agreement, but alſo ſuch ſoberneſs and uniform behaviour uſed in teaching and preaching, as men may wholly expreſs (as they may) the Charity of God, tending only to the union and love of us all, to the profit and ſalvation of our ſouls.

Mr. *Baynton* will follow the moſt number.

Note the proceeding of the Popes Church, which would not have the people certain of Gods truth and religion.

Error and falſe Doctrine would fain lye ſtill in peace, and not to be ſtirred.

Unity in the Lord, in Baptiſm, in Faith.

The chain of Chriſtian Charity.

The anſwer of Mr. Latimer *to the Letter of Sir* Edward Baynton *above prefixed.*

Anſwer of Mr. *Latimer* to Mr. *Baynetons* Letter.

RIght worſhipful Sir, and my ſingular good Maſter, ſalutem in Chriſto Ieſu, *with due commendation and alſo thanks for your great goodneſs towards me*, &c. *And whereas you have communicate my laſt Letters to certain of your friends, which rather deſire this or that in me*, &c. *what I think therein I will not now ſay; not for that there could be any peril or danger in the ſaid Letters (well taken) as far as I can judge, but for that they were raſhly and unadviſedly ſcribled, as ye might well know both by my excuſe, and both by themſelves alſo, though none excuſe had been made. And beſides that, ye know right well, that whereas the Bee gathereth honey, even there the Spinner gathereth venome, not for any diverſity of the flower, but for divers natures in them that ſuck the flower: As in times paſt, and in the beginning, the very truth, and one thing in it ſelf, was to ſome offence, to ſome fooliſhneſs, to other otherwiſe diſpoſed, the wiſdom of God. Such diverſity was in the redreſs of hearers thereof.*

The Bee, The Spinner.

Every thing as it is taken.

But this notwithſtanding, there is no more but either my writing is good, or bad. If it be good, the communicating thereof to your Friends cannot be hurtful to me; if it be otherwiſe, why ſhould you not communicate it to them, which both could and would inſtruct you in the truth, and reform my errour? Let this paſs, I will not contend: Had I wiſt cometh ever out of ſeaſon. Truly I were not well adviſed if I would not either be glad of your inſtruction, or yet refuſe mine own reformation, but yet it is good for a man to look e're he leap, and God forbid that ye ſhould be addict and ſworn to me ſo wretched a fool, that you ſhould not rather follow the Doctrine of your Friends in truth, ſo great learned men as they appear to be, then the opinions of me, having never ſo Chriſtian a breaſt.

Had I wiſt.

Where-

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Wherefore do as you will: for as I would not if I could, ſo I cannot if I would, be noyſome unto you, but yet I ſay, I would my Letters had been unwritten, if for none other cauſe, at leaſtway, in as much as they cauſe me to more writing, an occupation nothing meet for my mad head: And as touching Points which in my foreſaid Letters miſlike your Friends, I have now little leaſure to make an anſwer thereto, for the great buſineſs that I have in my little Cure, I know not what other men have in their great Cure, ſeeing that I am alone without any Prieſt to ſerve my Cure, without any Scholar to read unto me, without any Book neceſſary to be looked upon, without learned men to come and counſel withal. All which things other have at hand abundantly, but ſomething muſt be done, howſoever it be. I pray you take it in good worth, as long as I temper my own judgment, affirming nothing with prejudice of better. Firſt ye miſlike, that I ſay I am ſure that I preach the truth, ſaying in reproof of the ſame, that God knoweth certain truth. Indeed God alone knoweth all certain truth, and God alone knoweth it as of himſelf, and none knoweth certain truth but God, and thoſe which he taught of God, as ſaith S. Paul, Deus enim illis patefecit: *And Chriſt himſelf,* Erunt omnes docti à Deo: *And your Friends deny not but that certain truth is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, which if it be truth, as it is, than there ought no more to be required of any man, but according to his capacity; now certain it is, that every man hath not like capacity,* &c.

Example of a true diligent Paſtor.

Mr. Latimer unfurniſhed without outward help.

Mr Latimer blamed for ſaying he was ſure of the truth which he preached.

As God alone knoweth all truth, ſo ſome truth he revealeth to be certain to his ſervant's

It is no preſumption in a Preacher, being certain of that which he preacheth, to ſhew it to the people.

But as to my preſumption and arrogancy; either I am certain or uncertain that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may not I ſay ſo, to encourage my hearers to receive the ſame more ardently, and enſue it more ſtudiouſly? If it be uncertain, why dare I be ſo bold to preach it? And if your friends, in whom you truſt ſo greatly, be Preachers themſelves, after their Sermon, I pray you ask them whether they be certain and ſure that they taught you the truth or no, and ſend me word what they ſay, that I may learn to ſpeak after them. If they ſay they be ſure, ye know what followeth: If they ſay they be unſure, when ſhall you be ſure, that have ſo doubtful Teachers and unſure? And you your ſelf, whether are you certain or uncertain that Chriſt is your Saviour, and ſo forth of other Articles that ye be bounden to believe? or whether be ye ſure or unſure, that Civil Ordinances be the good works of God, and that you do God ſervice in doing of them, if ye do them for a good intent? If ye be uncertain, take heed he be your ſure friend that heareth you ſay ſo, and then with what conſcience do ye doubt; Cum quicquid non eſt ex fide, peccatum ſit? *But contrary ſay you, God alone knoweth certain truth, and ye have it but* per ſpeculum in ænigmate; *and there have been* qui zelum Dei habuerunt, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam: *And to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep knowledge, conſidering that to you unlearned, that you take for truth may be otherwiſe, not having* ſenſus exercitatos (*as* Paul *ſaith*) ad diſcernendum bonum & malum, *as ye reaſon againſt me, and ſo you do beſt to know ſurely nothing for truth at all, but to wander meekly hither and thither,* omni vento doctrinæ, &c. *Our knowledge here, you ſay, is but* per ſpeculum ænigmate: *What then?* Ergo, *it is not certain and ſure.*

Every true Chriſtian ought to be certain of his faith.

The doubting Doctrine of the Catholicks.

Arguments.

I deny your Argument by your leave; yea, if it be by Faith, as ye ſay, it is much ſure, Quia certitudo fidei eſt maxima certitudo: *Becauſe the certainty of faith is the moſt ſureſt certainty, as* Duns *and other School Doctors ſay: that there is a great diſcrepance between certain knowledge and clear knowledge: for that may be of things abſent that appear not, this requireth the preſence of the object, I mean of the thing known, ſo that I certainly and ſurely know the thing which I perfectly believe, though I do not clearly and evidently know it. I know your School ſubtilties as well as you, which diſpute as though enigmatical knowledge, that is to ſay, dark and obſcure knowledge, might not be certain and ſure knowledge, becauſe it is not clear, manifeſt, and evident knowledge; and yet there have been (ſay they)* qui zelum Dei habuerunt, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam, *which have had a zeal, but not after knowledge. True it is, there have been ſuch, and yet be too many to the great hinderance of Chriſts glory, which nothing doth more obſcure, than an hot zeal accompanied with great authority without right judgment. There have been alſo,* Qui ſcientiam habuerunt abſque zelo Dei, qui veritatem Dei in injuſtitia detinentes plagis vapulabunt multis, dum voluntatem Domini cognoſcentes, nihil minus quam faciunt: *i. Which have had knowledge without any zeal of God, who holding the verity of God in unrighteouſneſs, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes, while they knowing the will of God, do nothing thereafter. I mean not among Turks and Sarazens that be unchriſtened, but of them that be chriſtened. And there have been alſo that have loſt* Scientiam Dei, id eſt, ſpiritualem divini verbi ſenſum, quem prius habuerunt: *i. The ſpiritual knowledge of Gods Word which they had before, becauſe they have not enſued after it, nor promoted the ſame, but rather with their mother wits have impugned the wiſdom of the Father, and hindered the knowledge thereof, which therefore hath been taken away from them,* Ut juſtificetur Chriſtus in ſermonibus ſuis, & vincat cum judicatur, *threatning Matth.* 13. Ei vero, qui non habet, etiam quod habet, id eſt, quod videtur habere, auferetur ab eo; cum abuti habito, vel non bene uti, ſit non habere, nec non ſit verum illud quoque, non habituram, videlicet ſapientiam in corpore peccatis ſubdito, qui adhuc etſi carnaliter ſapiant plus ſatis, at ſtat ſententia, nempe carnalem & Philoſophicam Scripturarum intelligentiam, non eſſe ſapientiam Dei, quæ à ſapientibus abſconditur, parvulis revelatur: *i. To him that hath not, that alſo which he hath, that is, that which he ſeemeth to have, ſhall be taken from him: when as to abuſe that which a man hath, or not to uſe it well, is as not to have it. And alſo ſeeing it is true, that Gods wiſdom will not dwell in a body ſubject to ſin, albeit he abound in carnal wiſdom too much: yet the ſame carnal and philoſophical underſtanding of Gods Scriptures, is not the wiſdom of God which is hid from the wiſe, and is revealed to little ones. And if to call this or that truth, requireth a deep and profound knowledge, then either every man hath a deep and profound knowledge, or elſe no man can call this or that truth: and it behoveth every Preacher to have ſo deep and profound knowledge, that he may call this or that truth, which this or that he taketh in hand to preach for the truth, and yet he may be ignorant and uncertain in many things, both this and that, as* Apollo *was: but which things, whether this or that, he will not attempt to preach for the truth. And as for my ſelf, I truſt in God, I may have* ſenſus exercitatos, *well enough,* ad diſcernendum bonum & malum: *Senſes exerciſed to diſcern good and evil in thoſe things which without deep and profound knowledge in many things I preach not, yea there be many things in Scripture in which I cannot certainly diſcern* bonum & malum, *I mean* verum & falſum, *not with all the exerciſe that I have in Scripture, nor yet with the help of all Interpreters that I have, to content my ſelf and other in all ſcrupuloſity, that may ariſe: but in ſuch I am wont to wade no further into the ſtream, then that I may either go over, or elſe return back again, having ever reſpect, not to the oſtentation of my little wit, but to the edification of them that hear me, as far forth as I can, neither paſſing mine own, nor yet their capacity.*

Every Preacher ought to be ſure of the truth. There be many truths whereof a good man may well be ignorant. There be many things in Scripture in the profundities whereof a man may wade too far.

And ſuch manner of Arguments might well ſerve the Devil contra puſillanimes, *to occaſion them to wander and waver in the faith, and to be uncertain in things in which they ought to be certain: or elſe it may appear to make and ſerve againſt ſuch Preachers which will define great ſubtilties and high matters in the Pulpit, which no man can be certain and ſure of by Gods Word to be truth,* ne ſenſus quidem habens ad diſcernendum bonum & malum exercitatiſſimos; *as whether, if* Adam *had not ſinned, we ſhould have had Stockfiſh out of* Iſland: *how many Larks for a penny if every Star in the Element were a flickering Hobby: How many years a man ſhall lye in Purgatory for one ſin, if he buy not plenty of the oyl that runneth over our Lamps to ſlake the ſin withal, and ſo forget Hell which cannot be ſlaked, to provide for Purgatory.*

Againſt Preachers which take upon them to define great ſubtilties and high matters in the Pulpit. Vain ſubtilties and queſtions to be declined. Simple and plain preaching of faith, and of the fruits thereof.

Such argumentation (I ſay) might appear to make well againſt ſuch Preachers, not againſt me, which ſimply and plainly utter true faith and the fruits of the ſame, which be the good works of God, quæ præparavit Deus ut in eis ambularemus: *i. which he hath prepared for us to walk in, every man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and duty in his degree and calling, as the Word appointeth, which thing a man may do with ſoberneſs, having* ſenſus ad diſcernendum bonum & malum, vel mediocriter exercitatos.

Certain knowledge. Clear knowledge. Mr. Latimer not ignorant of the School ſubtilties.

Anno 1555.

tos. *For it is but fooliſh humility, willingly to continue always* infantulus in Chriſto & infirmitate: *i. An Infant ſtill in Chriſt, and in Infirmity: In reproof of which it was ſaid,* Facti eſtis opus habentes lacte non ſolido cibo. *For S.* Paul *ſaith not,* Eſtote humiles, ut non capiatis. *For though he would not that we ſhould think arrogantly of our ſelves, and above that, that it becometh us to think of our ſelves, but ſo to think of our ſelves,* ut ſimus ſobrii ac modeſti, *yet he biddeth us ſo to think of our ſelves,* ut cuique Deus partitus eſt menſuram fidei: *i. As God hath diſtributed to every one the meaſure of faith. For he that may not with meekneß think in himſelf what God hath done for him, and of himſelf as God hath done for him, how ſhall he, or when ſhall he give due thanks to God for his gifts? And if your friends will not allow the ſame, I pray you enquire of them whether they may* cum ſobrietate & modeſtia, *be ſure they preach to you the Truth, and whether we may,* cum ſobrietate & modeſtia, *follow Saint* Paul's *bidding, where he ſaith unto us all,* Nolite fieri pueri ſenſibus, ſed malitia infantes eſtote: *i. Be not children in underſtanding, but in maliciouſneß be infants. God give us all grace to keep the mean, and to think of our ſelves neither too high nor too low, but ſo that we may reſtore unto him,* qui peregre profectus eſt, *his gifts again* cum uſura, *that is to ſay, with good uſe of the ſame, ſo that* ædificemus invicem *with the ſame,* ad gloriam Dei, *Amen.*

A mean between too high and too low.

For my life, I truſt in God that I neither (by Gods grace) ſhall, neither in ſoberneß, nor yet in drunkenneß, affirm any truth of my ſelf, therewith intending to divide that unity of the Congregation of Chriſt, and the received Truth agreed upon by the holy Fathers of the Church conſonant to the Scripture of God, though it be ſhewed you never ſo often, that an opinion or manner of teaching, which cauſeth diſſention in a Chriſtian Congregation, is not of God, by the Doctrine of S. John *in his Epiſtle, where he ſaith,* Omnis qui confitetur Ieſum Chriſtum in carne, ex Deo eſt: *i. Every one that confeſſeth Chriſt in the fleſh, is of God. Firſt, Not every thing whereupon followeth diſſention, cauſeth diſſention, as I would that they ſhewed you that, would alſo ſhew you, whether this opinion, that a man may not marry his brothers wife, be of God or of men: if it be of men, then as* Gamaliel *ſaid,* diſſolvetur; *if it be of God, as I think it is, and perchance your friends alſo,* quis poteſt diſſolvere niſi qui videbitur Deo repugnare? *i. Who can diſſolve it, but ſhall ſeem to repugn againſt God? And yet there be many, not Heathens, but in Chriſtendom, that diſſent from the ſame, which could bear full evil to hear ſaid unto them,* Vos ex parte Diaboli eſtis. *So that ſuch an opinion might ſeem to ſome to make a diſſention in a Chriſtian Congregation, ſaving that they may ſay perchance with more liberty than other, that an occaſion is ſometime taken and not given, which with their favour I might abuſe for my defence, ſaving that,* non omnibus licet in hac temporum iniquitate.

Not every thing whereupon diſſention cometh is the cauſe of diſſention.

He meaneth the Pope and his Papiſts, which could not abide the diſſolving of the Marriage between K. Henry and his Brothers wife.

Occaſion may be taken where none is given.

The Galathians *having for Preachers and Teachers the falſe Apoſtles, by whoſe teaching they were degenerate from the ſweet liberty of the Goſpel into the ſour Bonds of Ceremonies, thought themſelves peradventure a Chriſtian Congregation, when S.* Paul *did write his Epiſtle unto them, and were in a quiet trade under the dominion of maſterly Curats, ſo that the falſe Apoſtles might have objected to S.* Paul *that his Apoſtleſhip was not of God, foraſmuch as there was diſſention in a Chriſtian Congregation by occaſion thereof, while ſome would renue their opinions by occaſion of the Epiſtle, ſome would* opinari, *as they were wont to do, and follow their great Lords and Maſters, the falſe Apoſtles, which were not heathen and unchriſtianed, but chriſtianed, and high Prelates of the Profeſſors of Chriſt. For your friends I know right well what* Eraſmus *hath ſaid in an Epiſtle ſet before the Paraphraſes of the firſt Epiſtle to the* Corinthians, *which* Eraſmus *hath cauſed no ſmall diſſention with his Pen in a Chriſtian Congregation, in as much as many have diſſented from him, not only in Cloiſters (men more than chriſtned men) of high perfection, but alſo at* Paul's Croſs, *and S.* Mary Spittle, *beſides many that with no ſmall zeal have written againſt him, but not without anſwer.*

The Church of the Galathians.

Eraſmus in his Epiſtle ſet before the Paraphraſe, in 1 Cor.

And I would fain learn of your friends, whether that S. Hieroms *writing were of God, which cauſed diſſention in a Chriſtian Congregation, as it appeareth by his own words in the Prologue before the Canonical Epiſtles, which be theſe:* Et ut Virgo Chriſti Euſtochium, dum à me impenſius Scripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodam modo ſenectutem invidorum dentibus vel morſibus corrodendam apponis, qui me falſarium corruptoremq; Scripturarum pronunciant: ſed ego in tali opere nec illorum invidentiam pertimeſco, nec Scripturæ veritatem poſcentibus denegabo. *I pray you what were they that called S.* Hierom falſarium, *aud corrupter of Scripture, and for envy would have bitten him with their teeth? unchriſtian, or chriſtian? What had the Unchriſtian to do with Chriſtian Doctrine? They were worſhipful Fathers of a Chriſtian Congregation, men of much more hotter ſtomachs then right judgment, of a greater authority then good charity: but S.* Hierom *would not ceaſe to do good for the evil ſpeaking of them that were naught, giving in that an enſample to us of the ſame; and if this diſſention were in S.* Hieroms *time, what may be in our time?* de malo in pejus ſcilicet.

Hierom in Prologo ſuper Canon. Epiſt.

Hierom noted of ſome to be a falſifier and a corrupter of the Scripture.

Worſhipful Fathers of greater authority than of good charity.

And I pray you what mean your Friends by a Chriſtian Congregation? All thoſe (trow ye) that have been chriſtianed? But many of thoſe be in worſe condition, and ſhall have greater damnation than many unchriſtianed. For it is not enough to a Chriſtian Congregation that it of God, to have been chriſtianed: but it is to be conſidered what we promiſe when we be chriſtianed, to renounce Satan, his Works, his Pomps: Which thing if we buſie not our ſelves to do, let us not crack that we profeß Chriſts name in a Chriſtian Congregation, in uno baptiſmo, i.in one Baptiſm.

It is not enough to be chriſtianed, but to keep our promiſe made when we be chriſtianed.

Unity in Baptiſm, is not enough.

And where they add in uno Domino, *i. in one Lord: I read in Matth.* 17. Non omnis qui dicit, Domine, Domine, &c. *i. Not every one that ſaith Lord, Lord, &c. And in* Luke *the Lord himſelf complaineth and rebuketh ſuch Profeſſors and Confeſſors, ſaying to them,* Cur dicitis, Domine, Domine, & non facitis quæ dico? *i. Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not that I bid you? Even as though it were enough to a Chriſtian man, or to a Chriſtian Congregation to ſay every day,* Domine, Dominus noſter, *and to ſalute Chriſt with a double* Domine. *But I would your friends would take the pains to read over* Chryſoſtom ſuper Matthæum, hom. 49. cap. 24. *to learn to know a Chriſtian Congregation if it will pleaſe them to learn at him. And where they add,* in una fide, *i. in one faith, S.* James *ſaith boldly,* Oſtende mihi fidem ex operibus; *i. Shew me thy faith by thy works. And S.* Hierom, Si tamen credimus, inquit, opere veritatem oſtendimus: *i. If we believe, we ſhew the truth in working. And the Scripture ſaith,* Qui credit Deo, attendit mandatis: *i. He that believeth God, attendeth to his Commandments: And the Devils do believe to their little comfort. I pray God to ſave you and your friends from that believing and Congregation, and from that faithful company.*

To prevent unity under the title of one Lord, is not enough.

To be in unity of faith, except the faith be found, is not enough.

Therefore all this toucheth not them that be unchriſtianed, but them that be chriſtianed, and anſwer not to their Chriſtendom. For S. Hierom *ſheweth how true Preachers ſhould order themſelves, when evil Prieſts and falſe Preachers, and* populus ab his deceptus; *i. the People that be by them deceived, ſhould be angry with them for preaching the Truth,* Tom. 5. in Hieremiam cap. 26. *exhorting them to ſuffer death for the ſame, of the evil Prieſts and falſe Preachers, and the people deceived of them, which evil Prieſts and falſe Preachers with the people deceived, be chriſtianed as well as other: and I fear me that S.* Hierom *might appear to ſome Chriſtian Congregation, as they will be called, to write ſeditiouſly, to divide the unity of a great honeſt number confeſſing Chriſt,* in uno baptiſmate, uno Domino, una fide, *ſaying,* populus qui ante ſub magiſtris conſopitus erat, ibit ad montes, non illos quidem qui vel leviter tacti fumigant, ſed montes veteris & novi Teſtamenti, Prophetas, Apoſtolos, & Evangeliſtas, & cum ejuſmodi montium lectione verſatus, ſi non invenerit doctores (meſſis enim multa, operarii autem pauci) tunc & populi ſtudium comprobabitur, quo fugerit ad montes, & magiſtrorum deſidia coarguetur. Tom. 6. in *Naum. c.* 30. *i. The people which before were brought aſleep by their Maſters, muſt go up to the Mountains, not ſuch Mountains which ſmoak when they are touched, but to the Mountains of the Old and New Teſtament, the Prophets, Apoſtles, and Evangeliſts. And when thou art occupied with reading in theſe Mountains, if then thou find no Inſtructors, (for the Harveſt is great, and the Workmen be few) yet ſhalt*

How true Preachers ſhould order themſelves, when the wicked Prieſts be againſt them.

the diligent ſtudy of the people be fleeing to the Mountains, and the ſloathfulneſs of the Maſters ſhall be rebuked.

I do marvel why our Chriſtian Congregations be ſo greatly grieved that Lay-people would read Scripture, ſeeing that S. Hierom *alloweth and approveth the ſame, which compareth not here the unchriſtianed to the chriſtianed, but the Lay-people chriſtianed to their Curats chriſtianed, under the which they have been rocked and locked aſleep in a ſubtil trade a great while full ſoundly, though now of late they have been waked, but to their pain, at the leaſt way to the pain of them that have wakened them with the Word of God; and it is properly ſaid of S.* Hierom *to call them Maſters and not Servants, meaning that Servants teach not their own Doctrine, but the Doctrine of their Maſter Chriſt, to his glory. Maſters teach not Chriſts Doctrine, but their own, to their own glory; which Maſterly Curats cannot be quiet till they have brought the people aſleep again: but Chriſt the very true Maſter ſaith,* Vigilate, & orate, ne intretis in tentationem. Non cogitationes meæ cogitationes veſtræ, neque viæ meæ viæ veſtræ; dicit Dominus: *and there have been,* qui cogitaverunt conſilia, quæ non potuerunt ſtabilire; *i. which have gone about counſels, which they could not eſtabliſh. I pray God give our people grace ſo to wake,* ut ſtudium illorum comprobetur, *and our Maſters ſo to ſleep,* ut non deſidia illorum coarguatur. *For who is ſo blind that he ſeeth not how far our Chriſtian Congregation doth gainſay S.* Hierom, *and ſteaketh after another faſhion? God amend that is amiſs; for we be ſomething wide I wis.*

But now your Friends have learned of S. John, *that* omnis qui confitetur Ieſum Chriſtum in carne, ex Deo eſt: *i. Every one that confeſſeth Jeſus Chriſt in the fleſh, is of God: And I have learned of S.* Paul, *that there have been, not among the Heathen, but among the Chriſtians,* qui ore confitentur, factis autem negant: *i. which confeſs Chriſt with their mouth, and deny him with their acts: So that S.* Paul *ſhould appear to expound S.* John, *ſaving that I will not affirm any thing as of my ſelf, but leave it to your Friends to ſhew you* utrum qui factis negant Chriſtum & vita, ſint ex Deo necne per ſolam oris confeſſionem: *for your Friends know well enough by the ſame S.* John, qui ex Deo eſt non peccat: *and there both have been, and be now too many,* Qui ore tenus confitentur Chriſtum veniſſe in carne: *i. Which with mouth only confeſs Chriſt to be come in the fleſh; but will not effectually hear the Word of God by conſenting to the ſame, notwithſtanding that S.* John *ſaith,* Qui ex Deo eſt, verbum Dei audit, vos non auditis quia ex Deo non eſtis: *and many ſhall hear* nunquam novi vos: *i. I never knew you, which ſhall not only be chriſtianed, but alſo ſhall* prophetare, *and do puiſſant things* in nomine Chriſti: *And S.* Paul *ſaid there ſhould come* Lupi graves qui non parcerent gregi: *i. Ravening Wolves which will not ſpare the flock, meaning it of them that ſhould* confiteri Chriſtum in carne *in their lips, and yet uſurp by ſucceſſion the Office, which Chriſt calleth* Pſeudo-prophetas, *i. falſe Prophets, and biddeth us beware of them, ſaying, They ſhall come* in veſtimentis ovium, *i. in ſheeps cloathing, and yet they may wear both Satten, Silk and Velvet, called afterwards* ſervi nequam, non paſcentes, ſed percutientes conſervos, edentes & bibentes cum ebriis, habituri tandem portionem cum hypocritis: *i. Naughty Servants, not feeding, but ſmiting their Fellow-ſervants, eating and drinking with the drunken, which ſhall have their portion with Hypocrites. They are called* ſervi, *Servants I trow,* Quod ore confitentur Chriſtum in carne; nequam vero, quia factis negant eundem, non dantes cibum in tempore, dominium exercentes in gregem: *i. Becauſe they confeſs Chriſt in the fleſh: and naughty they are called, becauſe they deny him in their deeds, not giving meat in due ſeaſon, and exerciſing Maſterſhip over the Flock. And yet your Friends reaſon as though there could none bark and bite at true Preachers, but they that be unchriſtianed, notwithſtanding that S.* Auguſtine, *upon the ſame Epiſtle of* John, *calleth ſuch Confeſſors of Chriſt,* qui ore confitentur, & factis negant, Antichriſtos; *a ſtrange name for a Chriſtian Congregation: And though S.* Auguſtine *could defend his ſaying, yet his ſaying might appear not to be of God, to ſome mens judgment, in that it breaketh the chain of Chriſts Charity, ſo to cauſe men to hate* Antichriſtianiſmum, *Antichriſts, according to the Doctrine of S.* Paul, Sitis odio perſequentes quod malum eſt: *i. Hate that is evil; and ſo making diviſion, not between chriſtianed and unchriſtianed, but between Chriſtians and Antichriſtians, when neither Pen nor Tongue can divide the Antichriſtian from their blind folly. And I would you would cauſe your Friends to read over S.* Auguſtine *upon the Epiſtle of S.* John, *and tell you the meaning thereof, if they think it expedient for you to know it, as I remember it is* Tractatu 3. *but I am not ſure nor certain of that, becauſe I did not ſee it ſince I was at* Cambridge; *and here I have not S.* Auguſtine's *Works to look for it, but well I wot, that there he teacheth us to know the Chriſtians from the Antichriſtians, which both be chriſtianed, and both confeſs,* Ieſum eſſe Chriſtum, *if they be asked the queſtion: and yet the one part denieth him in very deed. But to know whether,* Non linguam, ſed facta attendamus, & vivendi genus, num ſtudeamus officia vocationes præſtare annon ſtudeamus, immo perſuaſi forte ſumus non neceſſe eſſe ut præſtemus, ſed omnia in primitivam Eccleſiam & tempora præterita, &c. quaſi nobis ſat ſit dominari, & ſecularibus negotiis nos totos volvere, ac voluptatibus & pompæ inhiare: *i. Let us not ſtand upon our talks, but attend to our doings and converſation of life, whether we, not only do not put our endeavour thereto, but alſo perſwade our ſelves as though it were not neceſſary for us to accompliſh ſuch things,* &c. *but that it is enough to bear rule and authority over them, and to beſtow our ſelves wholly upon Secular matters, pleaſures, and pomp of this world. And yet we will appear,* vel ſoli ex Deo eſſe; ſed longe aliter Chriſtum confitentur, qui confitendo ex Deo eſſe comprobantur.

And yet as long as they miniſter the Word of God, or his Sacraments, or any thing that God hath ordained to the ſalvation of Mankind, wherewith God hath promiſed to be preſent, to work with the miniſtration of the ſame to the end of the world, they be to be heard, to be obeyed, to be honoured for Gods Ordinance ſake, which is effectual and fruitful, whatſoever the Miniſter be, though he be a Devil, and neither Church nor Member of the ſame, as Origen *ſaith, and* Chryſoſtom, *ſo that it is not all one to honour them, and truſt in them, S.* Hierom *ſaith: But there is required a judgment, to diſcern when they miniſter Gods Word and Ordinance of the ſame, and their own, leſt peradventure we take chalk for cheeſe, which will edge our teeth, and hinder digeſtion. For as it is commonly ſaid, The blind eateth many a fly, as they did which were perſwaded* à principibus Sacerdotum ut peterent *Barrabbam, Ieſum* autem crucifigerent: *i. Of the High Prieſts, to ask* Barrabbas, *and to crucifie* Jeſus: *and ye know that to follow the blind Guides, is to come into the pit with the ſame. And will you know, ſaith S.* Auguſtine, *how apertly they reſiſt Chriſt, when men begin to blame them for their miſliving, and intolerable ſecularity and negligence? they dare not for ſhame blaſpheme Chriſt himſelf, but they will blaſpheme the Miniſters and Preachers of whom they be blamed,*

Therefore, whereas ye will pray for agreement both in the Truth, and in uttering of the Truth, when ſhall that be, as long as we will not hear the Truth, but diſquiet with crafty conveyance the Preachers of the Truth, becauſe they reprove our evilneſs with the Truth? And, to ſay the truth, better it were to have a deformity in preaching, ſo that ſome would preach the Truth of God, and that which is to be preached, without cauponation and adulteration of the word, (as Lyranus *ſaith in his time few did, what they do now adays, I report me to them that can judge) than to have ſuch an uniformity, that the ſilly people ſhould be thereby occaſioned to continue ſtill in their lamentable ignorance, corrupt judgment, ſuperſtition and idolatry, and eſteem things as they do all, prepoſterouſly, doing that, that they need not to do, leaving undone that they ought to do, for lack or want of knowing what is to be done, and ſo ſhew their love to God, not as God biddeth (which ſaith,* Si diligitis me, præcepta mea ſervate: *i. If ye love me, keep my Commandments. And again,* Qui habet præcepta mea & facit ea, hic eſt qui diligit me: *i. He that knoweth my Precepts, and doth them, he loveth me,) but as they bid,* Qui quærunt, quæ ſua ſunt, non quæ Ieſu Chriſti: *i. Which ſeek their own things, not Chriſts: as though to tythe Mint were more than judgment, faith, and mercy.*

Anno 1555.

Aug. in Joan. Tract. 3. Both Chriſtians and Antichriſtians are called the name of Chriſt.

In the people is required a judgment to diſcern, whether they took of their Miniſters chalk for cheeſe.

The blind eateth many a fly. Intolerable ſecularity and negligence in Church-men

Better is in the Church a deform diſgracement, ſo that Chriſt be truly preached, than uniform ignorance agreeing in idolatry.

And

Anno 1555.

The ſtate of Curates what it is.

And what is to live in ſtate of Curates, but that he taught which ſaid, Petre amas me? Paſce, paſce, paſce; Peter *loveſt thou me? Feed, feed, feed; which is now ſet aſide, as though to love were to do nothing elſe, but to wear Rings, Myters and Rochets, &c. And when they err in right living, how can the people but err in loving, and all of the new faſhion, to his diſhonour that ſuffered his paſſion, and taught the true kind of loving, which is now turned to piping playing, and curious ſinging, which will not be reformed (I trow)* niſi per manum Dei validam. *And I have both Saint* Auguſtine *and Saint* Thomas, *with divers other, that* lex *is taken not only for Ceremonies, but alſo for Rules, where it is ſaid,* Non eſtis ſub lege, *though your friends reprove the ſame. But they can make no diviſion in a Chriſtian Congregation. And whereas both you and they would have a ſoberneſs in our Preaching, I pray God ſend it unto us, whatſoever ye mean by it. For I ſee well, whoſoever will be happy, and buſie with* væ vobis, *he ſhall ſhortly after come* coram nobis.

The true honour of Chriſt turned to piping playing and ſinging.

He that will be buſie with *væ vobis*, let him look ſhortly for *coram nobis*.

And where your friends think that I made a lye, when I ſaid that I have thought in times paſt that the Pope had been Lord of the World, though your friends be much better learned than I, yet I am ſure that they know not what either I think, or have thought better than I, juxta illud, Nemo novit quæ ſunt hominis, &c. *as though better Men than I have not thought ſo, as Bonifacius (as I remember) Octavus, the great Learned Man* John *of the* Burnt Tower; *Preſbiter Cardinalis in his Book where he proveth the Pope to be above the Councel General, and Special, where he ſaith that the Pope is* Rex Regum, *and* Dominus Dominantium, i. *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and that he is,* Verus Dominus totius orbis, jure, licet non facto: i. *The true Lord of the whole World by good right, albeit in fact he be not ſo; and that* Conſtantinus *did but reſtore his own unto him, when he gave unto him* Rome, *ſo that* in propria venit, *as Saint* John *ſaith Chriſt did,* & ſui eum non receperunt: i. *He came unto his own, and his own received him not: and yet I hear not that any of our Chriſtian Congregations have reclaimed againſt him, until now of late diſſention began. Who be your friends I cannot tell; but I would you would deſire them to be my good Maſters, and if they will do me no good, at the leaſt way do me no harm; and though they can do yon more good than I, yet I am ſure I would be as loath to hurt you as they, either with mine opinions, manner of Preaching, or writing.*

Johannes de turre Cremata

The Pope great Mr. Lord and King over all the World.

And as for the Popes high Dominion over all, there is one Raphael Maruphus *in* London, *an Italian, and in times paſt a Merchant of diſpenſations, which I ſuppoſe would die in the quarrel, as Gods true Knight, and true Martyr. As touching Purgatory; and worſhipping of Saints, I ſhewed to you my mind before my Ordinary: and yet I marvelled ſomething, that after private Communication had with him, ye would (as it were) adjure me to open my mind before him, not giving me warning before, ſaving I cannot interpret your evil doings towards me; and yet neither mine Ordinary, nor you diſallowed the thing that I ſaid, and I looked not to eſcape better than Doctor* Crome *but when I have opened my mind never ſo much, yet I ſhall be reported to deny my Preaching, of them that have belyed my Preaching, as he was:* Sed opus eſt magna patientia ad ſuſtinendas calumnias malignantis Eccleſiæ: i. *I ſhall have need of great patience to bear the falſe report of the Malignant Church.*

The Popes Dominion.

Purgatory. Worſhipping of Saints.

Sir, I have had more buſineſs in my little Cure, ſince I ſpake with you, what with ſick folks, and what with Matrimonies, than I have had ſince I came to it, or than I would have thought a Man ſhould have in a great Cure. I wonder how Men can go quietly to Bed, which have great Cures and many, and yet peradventure are in none of them all. But I pray you to tell none of your friends that I ſaid ſo fooliſhly, leſt I make a diſſention in a Chriſtian Congregation, and divide a ſweet and a reſtful union, or tot quot, *with* Hæc requies mea in ſeculum ſeculi. *Sir, I had made an end of this ſcribling, and was beginning to write it again more truly and more diſtinctly, and to correct it, but there came a Man of my Lord of* Farleys, *with a Citation to appear before my Lord of* London *in haſt, to be puniſhed for ſuch exceſſes as I committed at my laſt being there, ſo that I could not perform my purpoſe; I doubt whether ye can read it as it is. If ye can, well be it: if not, I pray you ſend it me again, and that you ſo do, whether you can read it or not. Jeſus mercy, what a World is this, that I ſhall be put to ſo great labour and pains, beſides great coſts, above my power, for preaching of a poor ſimple Sermon? But I trow our Saviour Chriſt ſaid true,* Oportet pati, & ſic intrare: tam periculoſum eſt in Chriſto pie vivere velle: i. *I muſt needs ſuffer, and ſo enter: ſo perillous a thing it is to live vertuouſly with Chriſt. Yea in a Chriſtian Congregation. God make us all Chriſtians, after the right faſhion, Amen.*

A pretty nip to ſuch as have many Cures, and are reſident on none.

A publick and Authentick Inſtrument of the Biſhops, for the aboliſhing, and inhibiting of the Scripture, and divers other Books to be read in Engliſh, in the time of King Henry *the eighth.* 1531.

A writing of the Biſhops againſt Engliſh Books.

IN the Name of God, *Amen.* Be it known to all and ſingular true and faithful People, to whom theſe preſent Letters teſtimonial, or this preſent publick and authentick Inſtrument ſhall come, or ſhall ſee, read, hear or underſtand the ſame, and whom this underwritten ſhall or may teach, or appertain in any manner of wiſe in time to come. *William* by the ſufferance of Almighty God, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all the Realm of *England*, ſendeth greeting in our Lord God everlaſting. We ſignifie unto you all, and let you well wit and know by theſe preſents, that where the King our Soveraign Lord, hearing of many Books in the Engliſh Tongue, containing many deteſtable errours, and damnable opinions printed in parts beyond the Seas, to be brought into divers Towns, and ſundry parts of this his Realm of *England*, and ſown abroad in the ſame, to the great decay of our faith Catholick, and perilous corruption of his people, unleſs ſpeedy remedy were briefly provided, his Highneſs willing evermore to employ all his ſtudy and mind in the high degree which Almighty God hath called him unto, to the Wealth of his Subjects, that they might live not only in tranquillity and peace, but alſo to be kept pure and clean of all contagion and wrong opinions in Chriſts Religion: Conſidering alſo that he being Defender of the Faith, would be full loath to ſuffer ſuch evil ſeed ſown amongſt his people, and ſo take root, that it might overgrow the Corn of the Catholick Doctrine, before ſprung in the Souls of his Subjects, for the repelling of ſuch Books, calling unto him of his great goodneſs, and gracious diſpoſition, not only certain of the chief Prelates and Clerks of his Realm, but alſo of each Univerſity a certain Number of the chief Learned Men of them, propoſed ſuch of the Books, as his Grace had ready: therefore unto them to be read, requiring to hear in that behalf their Advice and Judgment of them: who both by great diligence and mature deliberation, peruſing over the ſaid Books, found in them many errours and hereſies, both deteſtable and damnable, being of ſuch a ſort, that they were like briefly to corrupt a great part of his people (if they might be ſuffered to remain in their hands any ſpace) gathering alſo out of them many great errours, and peſtilent hereſies, and noting them in writing, to the intent to ſhew for what cauſe they reputed the ſaid Books damnable, of which hereafter out of each Book gathered, many do enſue. Albeit many more there be in the ſaid Books, which Books totally do ſwarm full of Hereſies, and deteſtable Opinions.

Hereſies and errours contained in the Book, the Parable of the wicked Mammon.

FAith only doth juſtifie us. 2.

Wo be to you that call evil good, and good evil.

The Law doth make us to hate God, becauſe we be born under power of the Devil. 2.

It is impoſſible for us to conſent to the will of God. 2.

The Law requireth impoſſible things of us. 2.

The Spirit of God turneth us and nature, that we do good, as naturally as a tree doth bring forth fruit. 8.

Works do only declare unto thee that thou art juſtified. 9.

Chriſt in all his deeds did not deſerve Heaven. 14.

Labouring in good works to come to Heaven, thou doſt ſhame to Chriſts Blood. 17.

Saints in Heaven cannot help us thither 17.

To

To build a Church in honour of our Lady, or any other Saint, is in vain, they cannot help thee, they be not thy friends. 18.

All Fleſh is in Bondage of Sin, and cannot avoid to Sin continually 25.

Thou canſt not be damned, without Chriſt be damned, nor Chriſt be ſaved without thou be ſaved. 27.

The Commandments be given us, not to do them, but to know our Damnation, and call for mercy to God. 28.

Faſting is only to avoid ſurfet, and to tame the Body: all other purpoſes be nought. 36.

To bid the poor Man pray for me, is only to remember him to do his duty, not that I have any truſt in his Prayer. 38.

Though thou give me a thouſand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound now, then I was before. 40.

A good deed done and not of fervent charity, as Chriſts was, is Sin. 40.

The vrieſt Turk living hath as much right to my goods at his need, as mine own houſhold, or mine own ſelf, 42.

Alms deſerveth no meed. 42.

There is no work better then another to pleaſe God, to make Water, to waſh diſhes, to be a Souter and an Apoſtle, to waſh diſhes and to Preach, all is one to pleaſe God. 44.

Ceremonies of the Church hath brought the World from God. 45.

Beware of good intents: they are damned of God. 46.

See thou do nothing, but that God bidden thee. 46.

Churches are for Preaching only, and not as they be uſed now. 47.

To Worſhip God otherwiſe, then to believe that he is juſt and true in his promiſe, is to make God an Idol. 47.

Pharaoh had not power to let the people depart at Gods pleaſure. 61.

Our Prelates in Sin ſaith they have power. 61. We be ſo in captive of the Devil, and he holdeth our will in his power, that we cannot conſent to Gods Law, and his will is impoſſible for us.

Every Man is Lord of another Mans good 46. I am bound to love the Turk with the very bottom of my heart. 49.

Hereſies and errours contained in the Book called, the obedience of a Chriſtian Man.

Dicit quòd tenemur ſatisfacere proximo, ſed non Deo, fol. 7. pag. 1.

Dicit quòd filii nec debent, nec poſſunt contrahere matrimonium abſque conſenſu parentum, fol. 49. page 1.

Dicit quòd vota ſunt contra ordinationem divinam fol. 29. pag. 1.

Non licere Chriſtiano reſiſtere principi Infidel. & Ethnico, tollit libertaten arbitrii, fol. 36. pag. 1.

Whatſoever is done before the Spirit of God cometh, and giveth us light, is damnable Sin, *contra morales etiam virtutes, fol. 36. page 2.*

He reproveth Men that make holy Saints his Advocates to God, and there he ſayeth, that Saints were not rewarded in Heaven for there holy works, 37. *page 1.*

God moved the Hearts of the *Egyptians* to hate the people, likewiſe he moved Kings, &c. *fol. 45. page 1.*

Paul was of higher authority then *Peter, fol. 62. pag. 2. fol. 58. pag. 1. and 2.*

Qui intendit ſatisfacere Deo, infidelis eſt, & non tenemur ſatisfacere Deo, ſed proximo, fol. 70. pag. 2. in fine

Oportet Preſbiterum ducere uxorem ob duas cauſas, fol. 71. page 2.

Improbat confeſſionem auricularem, fol. 83. pag. 1, and 2.

Every Man is a Prieſt, and we need no other Prieſt to be a mean, &c. *fol. 91. page 1.*

Deſtruit Sacramenta matrimonii & ordinis, fol. 9. and 91,

He ſayeth that Purgatory is of the Popes invention, and therefore he may do whatſoever he will, *fol. 101. page 1.*

Saints be ſaved, not by their merits, but only by the merits of Chriſt, *fol. 103. page 2.*

He ſayeth that no Man may be hired to pray, *fol. 110.* Anno 1555.

Why ſhould I truſt in *Pauls* Prayer or Holineſs: if Saint *Paul* were alive, he would compare himſelf to Saint *Paul* and be as good as he.

He ſaith that Saints which be dead be but our hirelings, and that there Prayer doth not profit us, *fol. 119. page 1.*

He ſayeth, that all that be Baptiſed, become Chriſt himſelf, *fol. 113. page 2.*

He ſayeth that the Children of faith be under no Law, *fol. 124. page 1.*

There is no deed ſo good, but that Law doth Condemn it, *fol. 113. page 1.*

To ask of God more then he had promiſed cometh of falſe faith and is plain Idolatry, *fol. 139. page 1.*

Our pain taking in keeping the Commandments doth nothing but purge the Sin that remaineth in the Fleſh, but to look for any other reward or promotion in Heaven, then God hath promiſed for Chriſts ſake, is abhominable in the ſight of God, *fol. 139. page 1. and 2.*

He denieth Purgatory, *fol. 142.*

The Pope hath no other authority but to Preach only, *fol. 142. page 2.*

If thou bind thy ſelf to chaſtity to obtain that which Chriſt purchaſed for thee ſurely ſo art thou an infidel, *fol 145. page 2.*

He denieth, rebuketh, and damneth miracles, 147.

In Prayer he ſaith, that no Man ſhould ſerve God with good intent or zeal, for it is plain Idolatry, 149. and 150.

Errours, Blaſphemies, and Hereſies, noted in the Book of the Revelation *of Antichriſt, and the Epiſtle going before.*

To bind a Man perpetually to any vow of Religion is without doubt an errour, *fol. 19. page 2.*

To fain the Conſtitutions of Religion are good, becauſe Holy Men did ordain them, as *Auguſtine, Benedict, Francis, Dominick*, and ſuch other, that is to leave the Faith, and to follow ſuch examples of Fathers in ſome things, *Hoc eſt in iſtis rebus*, is erring, *fol. 19. page 1. and 2.*

Whoſoever ordained Univerſities, be it at *Alexander*, at *Halis*, Saint *Thomas*, or any other, he was a Star that fell from Heaven to Earth, there are brought in moral vertues for faith, and opinions for truth, *fol. 32. page 2.*

The Univerſities are the very confuſed cloud and opened gate of Hell, and this cloak of all other is moſt noiſom, and doth moſt hurt and damage. *fol. 31. page 1.*

All moral Divines have a Wicked Conſcience full of ſcrupuloſity, *fol. 8. page 1.*

In the whole new Law is no urgent precept nor grieveous, but only exhortations to obſerve things neceſſary for Souls health, *fol. 63. page 1.*

Moral vertues are juſt; temperance, ſtrength, chaſtity deſcribed by natural reaſon maketh a Synagogue, and corrupteth Chriſts faith, *fol. 64. pag. 2.*

Chriſt took away all Laws, and maketh us free, and at liberty, and moſt of all, he ſuppreſſeth all Ceremonies, &c.

If they would make all the Obſervations of the Ceremonies, as Lent, Faſting, Holy-days, Confeſſion, Matrimony, Maſs, Mattins, and Reliques, &c. free and indifferent, he ſhould not be Antichriſt, but now becauſe he commandeth it in the Name of Chriſt, he doth utterly corrupt the Church, ſuppreſs the faith and advance Sin, *fol. 67. page 2.*

Faith only juſtifieth, *fol. 63. page 2.*

To believe in Chriſt maketh ſure inheritors with Jeſus Chriſt, *fol. 1. page 1.*

If a Man ſay, then ſhall we no good works do, I anſwer as Chriſt did, this is the work of God, *fol. 3. page 1.*

God bindeth us to that, which is impoſſible for us to accompliſh, *fol. 3. page 1.*

Chriſt offered up our iniquities, as a Sacrifice to his Father, *fol. 4. page 1.*

Sin cannot condemn us, for our ſatisfaction is made in Chriſt which died for us, *fol. 4. page 1.*

I will ſhew you an evident Argument and reaſon, that thou majeſt know without doubt, who is Antichriſt,

All

Anno 1555.

All they, that do purſue are Antichriſts, the Pope, Biſhops, Cardinals, and their adherents do purſue: Therefore, the Pope, Biſhops, and Cardinals; and their adherents are Antichriſts. I wene our *Sillogiſmus* be well made, *fol.* 9. *page* 2.

I think verily, that ſo long as the ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles were perſecuted and martyred, there were good Chriſtian Men and no longer, *fol.* 10. *page* 1.

It is impoſſible, that the word of the Croſs ſhould be without Affliction and Perſecution, *fol.* 10. *page* 1.

That the Apoſtles did curſe ever any Man, truly we cannot read in Scripture, for Chriſt commanded that we ſhould bleſs thoſe that curſed them, *fol.* 11. *page* 10.

They are ignorant and evil that do apply Antichriſt to one perſon, for he calleth Antichriſt the whole Body and multitude of wicked Men, *fol.* 13. *page* 2.

By works, ſuperſtitions and Ceremonies, we decay from the faith, which alone doth truly juſtifie and make holy, *fol.* 15. *page* 1.

If our moſt Holy Father had theſe Laws, Mattins, Prayers, and other free and according to the Goſpel (God left us all equal) we ſhould have had none of theſe innumerable ſins, for where is no Law there is no tranſgreſſion, *fol.* 28. *page* 2.

The abuſion of the Maſs, with all his ſolemnities, with vigiles, year minds, foundations, burials, and all the buſineſs that is done for the dead, is but a Face, and a Cloak of Godlineſs, and deceit of the people, they were good works, rather for the dead, then for the quick, *fol.* 24. *page* 1. and 2.

To keep and obſerve one day to faſt, and another to abſtain, to forbear ſuch a meat upon the faſting day to deſerve Heaven thereby is a wicked face and cloak, and againſt *Paul fol.* 29. *page* 2.

The multiplication of Holy days, of Feaſts of *Corpus Chriſti*, of Viſitation, and of our Lady, &c. is a wicked face and colour, and indeed fooliſh, unprofitable and vain, *fol.* 30. *page* 1.

Keeping of virginity and chaſtity of Religion is a deviliſh thing, *fol.* 30. *page* 1.

Worſhipping of reliques is a proper thing and a cloak of advantage againſt the precept of God, and nothing but the affection of Men, *fol.* 30. *page* 2. and 31. *page* 1.

The firſt wo that the Church hath received of the Pope, with help of Saint *Thomas* is Univerſities, defenſe of free will, moral vertues, and natural philoſophy called the headed *Cerberus fol.* 35. *page* 2.

There is but one ſpecial office, that pertaineth to thine orders and that is to Preach the Word of God, 36. *page* 1.

The Temple of God is not ſtones and wood, neither in the time of *Paul* was there any houſe which was called the Temple of God, 37. *page* 2.

He that faſteth no day, that ſayeth no Mattins and doth none of the precepts of the Pope ſinneth not, if he think that he doth not Sin, 43. *page* 2.

Chriſt ordained the Sacrament of the Altar, only to nouriſh faith of them that live, but the Pope maketh it a good work, and a Sacrifice to be applied both to quick and dead, *fol.* 48. *page* 2.

Theſe ſigns (*loquitur de miraculis in peregrinationibus & viſionibus*) are not to the encreaſe of the Faith and Goſpel: for they are rather againſt the Faith and Goſpel, and they are the operation of *Sathan* and lying ſigns, *fol.* 49. *page* 1.

The people of Chriſt doth nothing, becauſe it is commanded, but becauſe it is pleaſant and acceptable unto them, *fol.* 63. *page* 1.

All things neceſſary are declared in the new Teſtament, but no Man is compelled, but according to their own will; Therefore Chriſt teacheth *Mathew* 16. That a Rebellion ſhould not be killed but avoided, 63. *page* 1. and 2. and 66.

Contra omnes ritus & ceremonias in Miſſa pluſquam inſane, 68. *page* 1.

Chriſt ordained that there ſhould be no Sin, but unbelief, infidelity, no juſtice but faith, 69. *page* 1.

No labour is now a days more tedious then ſaying of Maſs and Mattins, &c. which before God are nothing but grievous Sins, 70. *page* 1. and 2.

The Sins of *Manaſſes* and other wicked Kings Sacrificing their own Children are but light and childiſh offences to theſe; The curſed Sacrifice of Gentiles may not be compared to ours, we are ſeven times worſe gentiles then we were before we knew Chriſt, 70. *page* 2.

It were better to receive neither of the parties of the Sacrament of the Altar, then the one alone, 73. *page* 1.

The Law of the Pope that commandeth every Man to communicate together upon one day, is a moſt cruel Law, conſtraining Men to their own deſtruction, 73. *page* 2.

The New Teſtament of Chriſt will not ſuffer any Law of compulſion, but only of councel and exhortation, 74. *page* 2.

The moſt ſpiritual Man of all, if he confeſs his Sins to a Prieſt ſinneth: for he ſhould confeſs againſt his will. For this ſentence ſtandeth firm and ſtable, he that doth a thing againſt his will, doth it not, and compelled ſervice pleaſeth not God, 75. *page* 1.

The Spirit would, that nothing ſhould be done, but that which is expreſly rehearſed in Scripture, 81. *page* 1.

I doubt not, but Saint *Barnard*, *Francis*, *Dominick*, and many other Holy Men and Women erred, as concerning Maſſes, Mattins, &c. *fol.* 82. *page* 2.

Saint *Thomas de Aquino* favoureth nothing of the Spirit of God, 83. *page* 1.

The Pope did condemn the truth of the Word of God openly, at Conſtance in *John Huſſe*, perſevering unto this day in the ſame ſtubborneſs, 86. *page* 2.

The errours and Hereſies contained in the Book called, The Sum of the Scripture.

THe Water of the font hath no more vertue in it then hath any other Water.

The Water of Baptiſm lyeth not in hallowed Water, or in other outward thing, but only in faith. 6. *page* 1.

Men ſhould not ſeek their health in good works, but all only in Faith and Grace. *page* 2.

The Water of Baptiſm is nothing but a ſign that we muſt be under the ſtandard of the Croſs, 12. *page* 2.

God-Fathers and God-Mothers be bound to help them, that they be put to School, that they may underſtand the Goſpel, and the Epiſtles of Saint *Paul*, 15. *page* 2.

We be all equally bound to know the goſpel and Epiſtles of *Paul*, 15. *page* 1.

We think that when we believe that God is God, and can ſay our Creed, that we have the Faith that a Chriſtian Man is bound to have: but ſo doth the Devil believe, 17. *pag.* 2.

To believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt be one God, is not the principal that we muſt believe: our Faith doth not lye principally in that: for ſo believeth the Devil, 18. *page* 1.

We have as much right and as great to Heaven as Chriſt. 19. *page* 1.

If we believe that God hath promiſed us Everlaſting Life, it is impoſſible that we ſhould periſh, 20. *pag.* 1. and 2.

If thou canſt ſurely and ſtedfaſtly believe in God he will hold his promiſe, for he hath bound himſelf to us, and by his promiſe he oweth us Heaven in caſe that we believe him. 21. *page* 2.

A lively and ſtedfaſt Faith and truſt in God may bring us to Heaven. 22. *page* 1.

All they err that thinketh they ſhall be ſaved when they have done many good works. 25. *pag.* 2. All Chriſtly Glory is ours, 27. *pag.* 1.

We need not labour for to be Chriſts Heirs, and Sons of God, and to have Heaven, for we have all theſe things already, *ibidem.*

We need not to labour by our good works to get Everlaſting Life: for we have it already, we be all juſtified, we be all the Children of God. 28. *page* 2.

By Faith Men are ſure to be ſaved, but if God had ſaid, whoſoever do ſuch or ſuch works ſhall be ſaved, we ſhould ever have been vncertain. 35. *page* 2. 36. *page* 1.

All that thinketh that the good works helpeth any thing, or profit any thing to get the gift of Salvation they Blaſpheme againſt God, and rob God of his honour, 28. *pag.* 2.

If

If we be circumciſed, that is to ſay, if we put any truſt in works Chriſt ſhall not help us. *ibidem.*

We deſerve nothing of God. 30. *page* 2.

We deſerve not everlaſting life by our good works: for God hath promiſed it unto us before that we began to do good. 40. *page* 2.

We muſt love death and more deſire to dye then to fear death. 36. *page* 1.

All Theologians are abuſed, that ſaith that hope proceedeth out of good works, 40. *page* 2.

To ſerve God in a tediouſneſs, or for fear of hell, or for the joyes of Heaven, is but ſhadows of good works, and ſuch ſervice doth not pleaſe God 41. *page* 1.

Every Chriſtian man muſt keep Gods Commandments by love, and not by hope to get for his ſervice everlaſting Life, 42. *page* 1.

The Jews kept the Commandments, and the Law of God, yet they could not come to Heaven, 43. *page* 2.

If works might have ſaved *Abraham*, *Iſaack* and *Jacob*, *David* have been ſaved before the Nativity of Chriſt, 44. *page* 1.

God made Men his Children and his Heirs, while we were his Enemies, 44. *page* 2.

A Man muſt do his diligence to keep his heritage of God, and labour to entertain it, *ibidem.*

A Chriſtian Man perceiving his own Sins ſhould think and ſay to God: I am certain that thou wilt not damn me, and yet thou maiſt do it righteouſly, 46. *page* 1.

Men truſting in their good works, are like to the theef on the left ſide, and are ſuch Men as commeth to the Church daily, keepeth holy-days and faſting days, and heareth Maſſes, and theſe people be ſooneſt damned, and this is one of the greateſt errours in Chriſtendom, to think that his good works ſhall help to his ſalvation, 47.

It were better never to have done good works, and ask mercy therefore, then to do good works, and think that for them God is bound to a Man by promiſe 48. *page* 1.

We can ſhew no more honour to God, then faith and truſt in him, 48. *page* 2.

When we Sin, we miniſh not the glory of God *ibidem.*

All the danger in our Sins, is the evil example that we give to our Neighbour, *ibidem.*

Our Lord demandeth nothing but the Heart, 49.

When our Lord hath our heart, he regardeth not whether we faſt, pray, hear Maſs, or whether we wear blew habit or gray, *ibidem.*

All outward things are indifferent before God, 49.

When our Hearts be ruled in God, according to the goſpel, all is one, what thing ſoever we do, *ibidem.*

Faith without good works is no little, nor no feable faith, but it is no faith, 50. *page* 1.

Every Man doth as much as he believeth, 50. *page* 2.

We cannot be without motions of evil deſires: but we muſt *mortifie* them in reſiſting them, 52. *page* 2.

God commandeth us to exerciſe works of mercy: all other works in the Church be founded by avarice not commanded by God, &c. *ibidem.*

All very Chriſtianity lieth in love of our neighbours for God and not in faſting, keeping of holy days, watching, praying, and ſinging, long prayers daily, and all day hearing Maſs, roving in pilgrimage, &c. 52. *page* 1. & 2.

Many Doctors in *Theologia*, and not only common people believeth that it is a part of a Chriſtian Faith to believe that Jeſus Chriſt hath lived here in Earth, 53. *page* 2. 54. *page* 1.

He that doth good againſt his will he doth evil 56. *page* 1. 2.

No Man is righteous but that fulfilleth the Commandments with joyful Hearts, 57. *page* 1.

No Man doth more then he is bound to do, and therefore no Man may make other partakers of their good works, 59. *page* 1.

Chriſt hath gotten Heaven by his paſſion, but that right hath he no need of, but hath granted it to all them that believe in his promiſes. 59. *page* 1.

If God had promiſed us Heaven for our good works, we ſhould ever be ſure of our Salvation. 59. *page* 1.

Be our Sins never ſo great, that it ſeemeth impoſſible to us to be ſaved, yet without any doubt we ſhall believe to be ſaved, *ibidem.*

The ſalvation of a Chriſtian Man lyeth not in this Life, but rather endeth: for we cannot be ſaved but by death, and in this Life is no profit, 60. *page.* 1. Anno 1555.

It is but folly and infidelity to weep for death of our friends, 61. *page* 2.

It is a great Sin before God to ordain where thou wilt be buried, or what ſtone thou wilt have on thy Tomb, all is one before God, to be buried in the Church, or in any other place, 61. *page* 2.

In times paſſed, all that lived after the Goſpel were Monks, and gave them to that life, 62. *page* 2.

Firſt Monks were *Helias*, *Heliſeus*, the Sons of *Jonadab*, 63. *page* 1.

The Monks after our Saviours aſcenſion unto S. *Benedict* and *Gregories* days made no vows nor profeſſion: they might, eat, drink, faſt, pray, when they liſt. They had no certain Maſſes, nor howers to ſing, daily, 62. *page* 2.

What is now the Life of Religion, but a ſuperſtitious ſubjection unto certain vain Ceremonies? 66. *page* 1.

If a Man vow to live chaſt, and in poverty in a Monaſtery, then if he perceive that in the Monaſtery he liveth worſe then he did before, as in fornication and theft, then he may leave the Cloyſter and break his vow without Sin, 71. *page* 1.

Saint *Auguſtine* holdeth them for Hereticks, that ſaith that Religious Men ſhould not labour with their hands, 81. *page* 1.

Bodily labour is commanded to all perſons, *ibid.*

It is abomination to make ſumptuous Monaſteries, Chappels, Altar-clothes, 81. *page* 2.

If thou love thy Wife becauſe ſhe is thy Wife, that is no love before God: but thou ſhalt love her, becauſe ſhe is thy Siſter in God, 83. *page* 1.

It is nothing but all incredulity to run with pilgrimage, and ſeek God in one certain place, which is like mighty in all places, 87. *page* 1.

Men ſhould ſee that their Children come to Church to hear the Sermon, 89. *page* 1.

Four manner of people, or four parts of people liveth and are fed by one part, that is to ſay, by Citizens, Artificers and Husbandmen, which labour and getteth their own expences, and the expences of the other 4. parties, of Prieſts, Monks, of Lord Councellors, old People and Children, of Men of War, Theeves, Murtherers, Ruffines, common people, and that getteth nothing, but ſpendeth all, 92. *page* 2.

Thou ſhalt not count at night how much Money thou haſt gained 97. *page* 2.

Thou ſhalt not vex or grieve by Juſtice, or otherwiſe the poor that oweth unto thee: for thou maiſt not do it without Sin, 97. *page* 2.

The good Chriſtian ſhall not defend themſelves by juſtice in no manner for any manner of wrong that they ſuffer, but recommend all to the good will of God, 98. *page* 1.

He that is rich, and liveth of his rents may not uſe to over-ſpend his goods as he will, but thy goods belong as well unto the poor as to thee, 68. *page* 2.

God hath not given Riches to Rich Men for to boaſt and brag therewith; Nor to make great chear, neither to make themſelves Lords, but to the intent that they ſhould be ſervants unto all the World, 101. *page* 1.

It is not true that a Rich Man doth gain his goods, nor that he is Lord of his own goods, nor that he may not uſe them at his pleaſure, 101. *page* 2.

A Man ſhall be reproved for no other thing at the day of Judgment, but for forgetting of the poor, 101. *page* 2.

Making of Churches, and foundations of Maſſes, Chaunteries and Chappels, are rather invented by covetous mind of Men, then otherwiſe, 101. *page* 2.

There be two ſorts of people: one is the Kingdom of God, to which belongeth all true Chriſtian people, and in this Kingdom Chriſt is King and Lord, and it is impoſſible in this Kingdom, that is to ſay among very true Chriſtian people, that the Sword of Juſtice temporal ſhould have ought to do, 104, *page* 1. & 2.

There is another ſort of people belongeth to the World, and they be unrighteous, and they had need of the ſword of temporal Juſtice, 105. *page* 1.

No Man is under the ſecular power, but they that be of the Chriſtian Eſtate, & out of Gods Kingdom, 106. *p.* 1. & 2.

Jeſus

Anno 1555.

Jeſus Chriſt hath not ordained in his ſpiritual Kingdom, which is all true Chriſtians, any ſword: for he himſelf is their King and Governor, without ſword, or without outward Law, 108. *page* 2.

Chriſtian Men amongſt themſelves have nought to do with the ſword nor with the Law, for that is to them neither needful or profitable. The ſecular ſword belongeth not to Chriſts Kingdom, for in it is none but good and juſt, 109. *page* 2.

The Goſpel maketh all true Chriſtian men ſervants to all the World, 101. *page* 1.

Chriſt ſaith that no Man ſhall reſiſt evil, nor ſue any Man at the Law, 110. *page* 2.

The Goſpel is written for all Perſons, Eſtates, Prince, Duke, Pope, Emperour. 112. *page* 2.

When Judges hath hope that an evil doer will amend, they muſt be always merciful, as Chriſt was to the Woman taken in advoutry. The temporal Law muſt obey the Goſpel, and them that we may amend by warning, we ſhall not correct them by juſtice, 113. *page* 2.

A true Chriſtian Man never plaineth to the injury that men do unto him, 114. *page* 1.

By the Goſpel Chriſtian Men ought not to have ſuit and parties among them, 114. *page* 2.

The obedience of a Chriſtian Man to temporal power is, as Chriſt was obedient to temporal puiſſance, and payed tribute Money, not becauſe that he ought it, but becauſe he would not offend: ſo muſt a Chriſtian Man do: But when Lords ask nought, thou oughteſt them nought before God, 116. *page* 2.

Men of War are not allowed by the Goſpel, the Goſpel knoweth Peace and not War, 117. *page* 1.

Doctors that ſay that War is a thing reaſonable or good, underſtandeth not the Words of the Goſpel, or of Saint *John*. *Ibidem.*

Saint *John* praiſed not War by his word, but rather forbad it, as teacheth all the Goſpel. 118. *page* 1.

Some Texts of Canon-Law ſuffereth War, but the teaching of Chriſt forbiddeth all Wars. Nevertheleſs, when a City is beſieged, or a Country invaded, the Lord of the Country is bound to put his Life in jeopardy for his Subjects, *ibid.*

So a Lord may uſe horrible War charitably and chriſtianly, 119. *page* 1.

A Servant ſhould not be ſorry that his Maſter will not ſuffer him to hear Maſs, nor come to the Church, for God careth not what thing we do, nor in what place, 121. *page* 2.

Out of the Book of Beggers.

THere be many Men of great Liturature and Judgment, that for the love they have unto the Church, and unto the Commonwealth, have not feared to put themſelves into the greateſt infamy that may be in the objection of all the World, yea in the peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter, which is that there is no Purgatory, but it is a thing invented by the covetuouſneſs of the Spirituality, only to tranſlate all Kingdoms from other Princes unto them: and that there is not one word ſpoken of it in all Holy Scripture: God took *Enoch* away, that is to ſay, he departed out of this World like other Men, *Primo male vertit, nam ſcriptura dicit tranſtulit, non abſtulit deinde falſum eſt, quod addit: nam ad Hæbreos undecimo legitur, fide Enoch tranſlatus eſt, ne videret mortem & non inveniebatur, quia tranſtulit illum dominus eccleſiaſtice, Enoch placuit Deo & tranſlatus eſt in Paradiſum, ut det gentium ſapientiam.*

Davids good intent, and *Matthews*, in building the Temple, were nought: *Et quid eſt quod dicit*, 30 *Reg.* 2. *quia cogitaſti in corde tuo ædificare domum nomine meo feciſti, hoc ipſum mente pertractus & ob illum propoſitus videtur* David, *illud præmii à Deo tuliſſe, & ejus filij in regno ei ſuccederent.*

Out of the Primer.

HE putteth in the Book of ſeven Pſalms, but he leaveth out the whole Letany, by which it appeareth his erroneous opinion againſt praying to Saints.

He hath left out all the Hymns and Anthems of our Lady, by which appeareth his erroneous opinions againſt praying to our Lady.

The ungodly and erronious ſaying contained in an Engliſh work, inſcribed an expoſition upon the 7. Chap. of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians.

WHoſoever in himſelf doth not feel this Godly thing, this gift of chaſtity, but doth feel incontinency, to him, I ſay, a commandment is given that he may be married, *fol.* 2.

Hereof doth follow that no perſon may make a vow or promiſe to live chaſt or ſingle, and that none is bound to keep any ſuch vows, but rather to break them: And he that ſhall obſerve them, it is damnable; and by the Law of God already condemned, *fol. eodem.*

The touching of Women, ſome perſons have compaſſed much ſtreightly, ſo that they dare not touch a Womans hand or skin, moreover they imagined many, both Statutes and Ceremonies, to keep them from company of Women, as they thought that built Abbies, but how fortunately that hath come to paſs, what place thereby hath been given to Sathan, it were horrible to be ſpoken of, *ibidem.*

He that is compelled outwardly to abſtain from Women, and is inwardly full of luſt, is a diſſembler, and it is double letchery, *fol.* 3.

Mark what Soul-ſlayers they be that provoke fooliſh youth to a vow of chaſtity, compelling them to nouriſh inwardly hidden malice, *fol. eodem.*

All other evils may be ſuffered with a mean Conſcience.

This cannot ſo be endured, this can be holpen by no medicine, but by marriage,

It is good for a Man not to touch a Woman; this word good is not underſtood of merit and deſerving afore God, as though an unmarried Man were better afore him, then the married, like as Saint *Jerome* hath expounded this text; for it concerneth only faith, and no deed or work, but it is ſpoken of temporal quietneſs of this Life, ſo that the virgin and maid hath much more joy and tranquility, *fol.* 4.

Chaſtity is a good thing, if luſt and incontinency make it not ſo common a thing as we have hitherto uſed to do, and yet do, but all amiſs; but the Apoſtle will, that univerſally all Men be conjugal: but all the Biſhops ſince his time hath deſtroyed this godly Ordinance, when they babble and rail in Pulpits, changing this word *quiſque* into *quidam*, *fol.* 6.

Men ought to ſtint of their ſtatutes making, for a better ſtatute can none be then this, that men without any reſpect of time uſe their Wife, not to exempt certain days as they have which we call Vigils, and Women conceived, *fol.* 8.

Faſting is a meaſurable uſage of meats, and drinks; Prayer is a crying, ſigh, deſire and mourning, *fol.* 9.

No Man ought to enforce and compel Men to faſting and prayer as they hitherto by Laws have done, *fol.* 11.

Before God, all things are like and equal, *fol.* 12.

Abominable they do Sin which make Nunns ſwell in pride, when they babble, that their Religion is more precious then Matrimony, and then feign that they ſhall have a Crown or Garland of Gold, ſo maketh them arrogant, wicked, unfaithful; Chaſtity is a gift of God, and therefore can no Man neither promiſe, nor vow, nor keep it, *fol.* 13.

The Sects of all them that are called Religious, and of all manner of Shavelings, are falſly called the Spiritual Orders: for Matrimony like as in very deed, ſo it ought to be called the ſpiritual ſtate before other orders worldly and ſecular; Matrimony is of all other the higheſt Religion and moſt ſpiritual eſtate.

Matrimony is as Gold, the ſpiritual eſtate as Dung; the Spirit and ſuch ſpiritual eſtates have no more agrement then Chriſt and *Belial*, the Day and the Night, the Spirit and the Fleſh, Faith and our Senſes or Reaſon, *fol.* 17.

Their prayer, their ſinging, doing their ſpiritual works, for ſo much as they have not the very Word of God to confirm them, God cannot be pleaſed with them, *fol.* 18.

Dico autem non nuptis & viduis, &c. Of this we have gathered that *Paul* had a Wife, and here he ſpeaketh only of Widows; a Wife which either was dead, or for a

time

time left him for the Gospels sake, but the other Apostles led about their Wives, *fol.* 19.

By Testimony of Scriptures, all the Apostles and all the Bishops Successours were married, *fol.* 2.

Saint *Paul* sayth, that he ought to be chosen for to be a Bishop that is the Husband of one Wife.

Seeing ye choose not married Men to be Bishops, either Christ must be a fool and unrighteous which so did choose, or you Antichrists and deceivers.

You put away universally marriage from Priests contrary unto God, to nature, to season, to right, only of presumption without all manner of cause, *fol.* 21.

There is no Sin, ne mischief in all the World so manifold, that can let a Man from Priesthood, but godly Matrimony, *fol.* 32.

Wicked traditions and Laws and ungracious constitutions letteth *Bigamy* from Priesthood.

What other thing is it to say, that a Priest should not marry, then to say, that a Man should not be a Man? *fol.* 23.

The Body of a Christian Man must as well nourish seed, and beget Children and multiply, as the Body of Birds, Beasts and other lively things.

Every Man, as willeth Saint *Paul*, needeth to go to Matrimony, necessity so requireth, *fol.* 25.

This dare I be bold to say, that where is one chast, there ought more then an hundred thousand to live married, *fol.* 26.

Saint *Jerome* which extolleth chastity with most highest, but most perilous lauds, nevertheless confesseth, that he could not tame his Flesh; he belonged to the number of them that belonged to Matrimony, Such example shalt thou find in a Book *De vitis Patrum*, *fol.* 27.

To keep a young Man in Cloister to live chast, is as much as to offer a Child to *Moloch*, there to be burned, *fol.* 28.

If the one would be at one, and the other will not, the party that would be reconciled to love, may marry another, though the other be alive, *fol.* 23.

Whosoever doth not expel faith, is by reason of the same harmless, pure, clean, holy, profitable, *fol.* 35.

Infants be holy and clean, though they have not received Baptism, because their Parents be holy and clean.

The wretched Laws of the Pope bindeth unmarried persons to abide, other the coming again of the other, that was his mate and that under pain (O presumption, O shamles boldness!) of damnation, *fol.* 38.

To help a Man to God, or let a Man from God, cometh only of faith and unbelief, *fol.* 43.

Pretio empti estis, &c. a general proverb, or fit sentence against all humane Laws and traditions: he sheweth what liberty is granted by the doctrine of Christ, and how that faith maketh all states and things equal, *fol.* 47.

Christ with his precious Blood hath redeemed and delivered us from all Sins and Laws, so that no longer any Law can bind us in Conscience, *fol.* 48.

All exteriour things before God, are free, and that a Christian Man may use them according to his appetite either leaving or taking.

Thou owest nothing unto God, but faith and confession; by confession I mean not the whispering of Sins into the Priests ear, ne yet thy confession of thy Sins to God: but with Saint *Paul* if thou confess with thy Mouth that Jesus is Christ, and believe in thy heart that God hath raised him from death, thou shalt be saved: in all other things, he giveth thee liberty of thine own will, thou mayst do all things without jeopardy of Conscience, God careth not as concerning for himself, though thou didst forsake thy Wife, run from thy Lord or Master, and shouldst break all manner of covenants, that thou makest with all men, but for that thou art bound to thy neighbour, *fol.* 49.

Thou canst not perish or be damned whatsoever thing thou shalt outwardly either do, or else leave undone: we ow nothing unto any Man, save love only.

In Cloisters and Monasteries they do against faith, God, liberty, and Gods ordinances; They shall occupy seats appointed for them in the deep dungeon of Hell, *fol.* 52.

By this is overthrown the Deviliſh Doctrine of the brainless and doting Doctors and Preachers of the Devil, which do forge singular coronets for Nuns and Virgins; in Heaven only faith hath it, *fol.* 53. Anno 1555.

Reading, founding of Organs, singing amongst religious be superstitious; and among them, the service and honour of God is suppressed and convinced, *fol.* 54.

Where the Apostles here are better, it is to be understood of goodness in this World, *fol.* 6.

The jolly and cruel Tirants and soul Murtherers that shuty up youth in Cloisters.

ALl which great errours, and pestilent Heresies being contagious and damnable with all the Books containing the same with the translation also of Scripture corrupted by *William Tindal*, as well in the Old Testament as in the New, and all other Books in English containing such errour, the Kings Highness present in person, by one whole advice and assent of the Prelates and Clerks, as well of the Universities, as of all other assembled together, determined utterly to be repelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people and not to be suffered to go abroad among his Subjects; And his Highness willeth further that his pleasure and determination should be notified, by Preachers abroad unto the people as well for putting away of all such Books, as reading, retaining, or having hereafter of any other like, delivering unto certain Preachers, the form of a writing to be published in effect unto the people in their Sermons, whereof the form here followeth, willing them in all his Realm to publish the same.

Here followeth the bill in English to be published by the Preacher.

IT is the Office and duty of every Preacher and teacher of the Word of God, not only to shew and declare unto his audience that which might be profitable and wholesom for the wealth of their Souls, to be followed and taken, but also to note and signifie unto them such things as be dangerous and contagious, to the intent they might be avoided and eschewed, and also as near as they can judge who be Teachers and Authours of the same; this example we have of our Saviour Christ, where he sayeth, Attendite à falsis Prophetis, &c. *Saint* Paul *likewise many times giveth warning to such as he wrot unto, that they should beware of the false Apostles, that in his absence went about to corrupt the Doctrine that he had taught them being present. Wherefore considering that it hath pleased the Kings Highness like a noble, and a vertuous Prince, tendering not only the present Bodily Wealth and Tranquillity of all his Subjects, for his and the Worldly commodity and benefit, but most chiefly regarding the Wealth of their Souls and their due order towards God thereby to deserve and attain immortal glory, to assemble and call together the chief personages of his Prelates, and a great number of learned Men of both Universities, charging and commanding them for the discharge and exoneration of his Conscience, to find, read, examine, and discuss the contents of such Books as be now spread abroad within this his Graces Realm in the English Tongue concerning the Points and Articles of our Faith, and after their Learning and Conscience to make relation unto his Highness, whether the same Books be expedient and profitable for his people, to the direction and ordering of their Conscience and Soul, or else contagious and pestiferous for the same: And whether the Opinions contained in them, were agreeable to Gods Word and Doctrine or no, for us much as the said Congregation and assembly had free Liberty and Licence granted unto every Man to say as his Conscience and Learning served him without any reproof or blame to be imputed or arrected for any thing to be spoken there, whose person soever it touched, or any necessity to agree to the more part, but only to say that his own Learning and Conscience could maintain and justifie; After mature Deliberation and Consultation had, it was there by a whole consent, no Man repugning or gain-saying determined and agreed that the Books now being abroad in the English Tongue contain false traditions and corrupt Doctrine, farr discrepant from the true Sense of the Gospel and Catholick understanding*

of

Anno 1555.

of Scripture, only perſwading pernicious Hereſies to the deſtruction of the Souls of good Chriſtian men, and that the certainty hereof, I can report unto you of mine own knowledge, being one of the ſaid aſſembly and hearing and ſeeing the ſaid Opinions read, declared and examined, and by the true ſenſe and meaning of Gods learning reproved and rejected: I think therefore my duty is, taking upon me the office of a Preacher, following the example of our Maſter Chriſt and Saint Paul *as is aforeſaid to warn and admoniſh you by the words of Chriſt, as I ſpake before:* Attendite a falſis Prophetis, &c. *And take heed of your ſelf that ye be not infected by the contagion and infection of ſuch* Pſeudo-*Apoſtles as have in our Engliſh Tongue, ſet forth Books to ſeduce you from the true knowledge of Gods Laws, and bring you by their falſe interpretations of Scripture into the deteſtable and abominable Hereſies to the deſtruction of our Souls, wherefore you that have the Books called the obedience of a Chriſtian man: the ſum of Scripture; the Revelation of Antichriſt; the ſupplication of Beggars;* Mammona iniquitatis; *the Matrimony of* Tindal; *the New Teſtament in Engliſh, of the tranſlation which is now printed, and ſuch other Books in Engliſh, the Authors whereof either dare not, or do not put to their names, be pernicious Books; deteſt them, abhor them, keep them not in your hands, deliver them to the Superiours ſuch as call for them: And if by reading them heretofore, any thing remaineth in your breaſts of that teaching, either forget it, or by information of the Truth expel it and purge it, to the intent that ye being ſo purified and cleanſed of that contagious Doctrine and peſtiferous traditions may be fit and apt to receive, and retain the true Doctrine und underſtanding of Chriſts Laws to the comfort and edification of your Souls; thus I move and exhort you in God to do, this is your duty to do.*

The Prelates of the Church having the cure and charge of your Souls ought to compel you, and your Prince to puniſh and correct you not doing of the ſame, unto whom as Saint Paul *ſaith, the Sword is given by Gods ordinance for that purpoſe; ye ſhall alſo farther underſtand, that the Kings Highneſs, foraſmuch as it was reported unto him that there is engendred an Opinion in divers of his ſubjects, that it is his Graces duty to cauſe the ſcripture of God to be tranſlated into the Engliſh Tongue to be communicate unto the People, and that the Prelates, and alſo his Highneſs do wrong in hindering of the ſame, his Highneſs therefore willed every man there preſent in the ſaid aſſembly, freely and frankly to ſhew and open unto him what might be proved, and conferred by Scripture, and holy Doctors in that behalf, to the intent that his Highneſs (as he there openly proteſted) might conform himſelf thereunto, minding to do his duty towards his People, as, he would they ſhould do their duties towards him: In which matter, after the Scripture declared, holy Doctors and Authors alledged, and read, and all things ſaid, which might be on both ſides and for both parts ſpoken, deduced, and brought forth, finally it appeared, that the having of the whole Scripture in Engliſh is not neceſſary to Chriſtian men, but that without having any ſuch Scripture, endeavouring themſelves to do well, and to apply their minds to take and follow ſuch Leſſons as the Preacher teacheth them, and ſo learned by his mouth, may as well edifie ſpiritually in their Souls, as if they had the ſame Scriptures in Engliſh. And like as the having of Scriptures in the vulgar Tongue, and in the common Peoples hands, hath been by both holy Fathers of the Church heretofore in ſome times thought meet and convenient, ſo at another time, it hath been thought to holy Fathers not expedient to bee communicate amongſt them, wherein for as much as the Kings Highneſs, by the advice and deliberation of his Council, and the agreement of the great Learned men thinketh in his Conſcience, that the divulging of the Scripture at this time in the Engliſh Tongue, to be committed to the People, conſidering ſuch peſtilent Books, and ſo evil Opinions, as be now ſpread amongſt them, ſhould rather be to their further confuſion and deſtruction, then the edification of their Souls, and that as holy Doctors teſtifie, upon ſuch like conſiderations, the ſemblable hath been done in times paſt, it was thought there in that aſſembly to all and ſingular in that Congregation, that the Kings Highneſs, and the Prelates in ſo doing and not ſuffering the Scripture to be divulged and communicate in the Engliſh Tongue unto the People, at this time doth well. And alſo I think and judge the ſame, exhorting, and moving you; that in Conſideration his Highneſs did there openly ſay and proteſt that he would cauſe the New Teſtament to be, by Learned men faithfully and purely tranſlated into the Engliſh Tongue, to the intent he might have it in his hands, ready to be given to his People, as he might ſee their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the ſame, that ye will ſo deteſt theſe pernicious Books, ſo abhor theſe Hereſies, and new Opinions, ſo decline from arrogancy of knowledge and underſtanding of Scripture after your fantaſies, and ſhow your ſelf in cunning and reaſoning, ſo ſober, quiet, meet and temperate, as all fear of miſuſing the gift of Scripture taken away ye may appear ſuch in your princes eyes, and eyes of your Prelates, as they ſhall have no juſt cauſe to fear any ſuch danger; perſwading unto your ſelf in the mean time without grudging or murmuring the very Truth, which is this, that we cannot require or demand Scripture to be divulged in the Engliſh Tongue, otherwiſe then upon the diſcretion of the Superiours, ſo as whenſoever they think in their Conſcience it may do you good, they may and do well, to give it unto you: And whenſoever it ſhall be ſeen otherwiſe unto them, they do amiſs in ſuffering you to have it. Of and upon the which Decree, order and determination above recited his gracious Highneſs being in perſon in the Chappel, called the old Chappel, which ſometime was called, St. Edwards Chamber, ſate on the Eaſt-ſide of the Parliament Chamber, within his Graces pallace at* Weſtminſter, *upon the 24. day of* May, *the year of our Lord God 1530. and in the two and twentieth year of his raign called before his Grace the three Notaries here under written, and then and there in the preſence of all the Perſonages there aſſembled and gathered together, willed and required the ſaid three Notaries to make publick and authentick inſtruments, and us to ſet thereunto our Seal accordingly in and for witneſs, and perpetual memory and monument of this his Graces deſire, order and determination, and of all and ſingular the premiſſes, and all the perſonages then and there being preſent, to teſtifie the ſame, and bear Record and teſtimony thereupon: In witneſs of all, and ſingular the premiſſes, We* William *Archbiſhop, Primate and Legate aforeſaid, have commanded and obtained theſe preſent Letters teſtimonial, or preſent publick or authentick Inſtrument, containing therein the order, decree, and determination above-ſaid, to be made, and to be ſubſcribed, and conſigned by the hands of the Notaries hereafter named, and to be ſealed with our own Seal. All which premiſſes have been done in manner and form above ſpecified, then and there being preſent the noble perſonage of* Thomas Moor *Knight, great Chancellor of* England, *our Reverend Brother in Chriſt* Cutbert, *by the permiſſion of God Biſhop of* Durham; *and worſhipful perſonages, Maſter* Steven Gardiner *Secretary, Maſter* Richard Samſon, *Dean of the Chappel, Doctor of Law, Maſter* Richard Wolman, *Maſter of the Requeſt, Maſter* John Bell, *Councellor, Doctors of the holy Decrees, Maſter* Nicholas Wilſon *the Kings Confeſſor; Maſter* Richard Duck, *Arch-deacon of* Wiltſhire, *Doctors of Divinity; Mr.* John Oliver, *Maſter* Edmund Steward, *Doctors of the Law, Chaplains to our ſaid Soveraign Lord the Kings Grace, Maſter* Richard Mawdly, *Maſter* William Mortimer, *Maſter* Edward Crome, *Maſter* Edward Wiggen, *Doctors alſo of Divinity; Maſter* Robert Carter, *Maſter* Edward Leighton, *Maſter* Hugh Latimer, *and Maſter* William Latimer *and* Roger Tilſon *Maſters of Art in both the Univerſities above-ſaid with many more learned men of the ſaid Univerſities, in a great number aſſembled then and there together witneſs to the premiſſes required and exhibited: Theſe being premiſed, now let us ſee the anſwer of Maſter* Latimer *again to this foreſaid Teſtimonial or Inſtrument of the Biſhops, in a Letter which the ſaid* Latimer *wrote to King* Henry *the ſame time in that behalf.*

Here followeth a Letter of Mr. *Latimer* written to King *Henry* the Eighth upon this occaſion. Ye heard before of two ſundry Proclamations, ſet out by the Biſhops in the name of King *Henry* the one in the year

1531, and the other ſet out *An.* 1546. In the which Proclamations, being authorized by the Kings name, were inhibited all Engliſh Books, either containing or tending to any matter of the Scripture. Where alſo we have expreſſed at large the whole Catalogue of all the Errors and Hereſies, which the ſaid Biſhops falſly have excerpted, and maliciouſly imputed to godly Writers, with their places and quotations above aſſigned in the place aforeſaid. Now Mr. *Latimer* growing in ſome favour with the King, and ſeeing the great decay of Chriſts Religion by reaſon of theſe Proclamations, and touched therefore with the zeal of Conſcience, directeth unto King *Henry* this Letter hereunder enſuing, thereby intending by all means poſſible to perſwade the Kings mind to ſet open again the freedom of Gods holy Word amongſt his Subjects. The Copy and tenour of this Letter here followeth.

The Letter of Mr. Latimer *written to King* HENRY, *for the reſtoring again of the free liberty of reading the holy Scriptures.*

To the moſt Mighty Prince, King of England, HENRY *the Eighth, Grace, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father, by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

Another Letter of M. *Latimer* to K. *Henry*, Auguſt. ad Caſalanum, Chryſoſt.

THe holy Doctor St. *Auguſtine*, in an Epiſtle which he wrote *to Caſalanus*, ſaith, that he which for fear of any Power hideth the Truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him: for he feareth men more than God. And according to the ſame, the holy man St. *John Chryſoſtom* ſaith, that he is not only a traytor to the Truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lye; but he alſo which doth not freely pronounce and ſhew the truth that he knoweth. Theſe Sentences (moſt redoubted King) when I read now of late, and marked them earneſtly in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me ſore afraid, troubled, and vexed me grievouſly in my Conſcience, and at the laſt drave me to this ſtrait, that either I muſt ſhew forth ſuch things as I have read and learned in Scripture, or elſe be of that ſort that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traytors unto the Truth: the which thing rather than it ſhould happen, I had rather ſuffer extreme puniſhment.

M. Latimer touched in Conſcience to write to the King.

What it is to be a traytor to Truth.

For what other thing is it to be a traytor unto the Truth, than to be a traytor and a *Judas* unto Chriſt, which is the very truth, and cauſe of all truth? the which ſaith, that whoſoever denieth him here before men, he will deny him before his Father in Heaven. The which denying ought more to be feared and dread, than the loſs of all temporal goods, honour, promotion, fame, priſon, ſlander, hurts, baniſhments, and all manner of torments and cruelties, yea, and death it ſelf, be it never ſo ſhameful and painful. But alas, how little do men regard thoſe ſharp ſayings of theſe two holy men? and how little do they fear the terrible Judgment of Almighty God? and ſpecially they which boaſt themſelves to be Guides and Captains unto other, and challenging unto themſelves the knowledge of holy Scripture, yet will neither ſhew the Truth themſelves (as they be bound) neither ſuffer them that would. So that unto them it may be ſaid, that which our Saviour Chriſt ſaid to the *Phariſees*, *Matt.* 23. *Wo be unto you Scribes and Phariſees, which ſhut up the Kingdom of Heaven before men, and neither will you enter in your ſelves, neither ſuffer them that would to enter in.* And they will, as much as in them lieth, debar, not only the Word of God, which *David* calleth, *a light to direct and ſhew every man how to order his affections and luſts*, according to the Commandments of God, but alſo by their ſubtile wilyneſs they inſtruct, move, and provoke in a manner, all Kings in Chriſtendom, to aid, ſuccour, and help them in this their miſchief; and eſpecially in this your Realm they have ſo blinded your Liege People and Subjects with their Laws, Cuſtoms, Ceremonies, and *Banbury* Gloſſes, and puniſhed them with Curſings, Excommunications, and other corruptions, (corrections, I would ſay,) and now at the laſt when they ſee that they cannot prevail againſt the open Truth (which the more it is perſecuted, the more it increaſeth by their tyranny) they have made it treaſon to your noble Grace to have the Scripture in Engliſh.

The ſubtile wilyneſs and practices of the Phariſees.

Here I beſeech your Grace to pardon me a while, and patiently to hear me a word or two; yea, though it be ſo that, as concerning your high Majeſty and Regal Power whereunto Almighty God hath called your Grace, there is as great difference between you and me, as between God and Man: For you be here to me and to all your Subjects, in Gods ſtead, to defend, aid and ſuccour us in our right, and ſo I ſhould tremble and quake to ſpeak to your Grace. But again, as concerning that you be a mortal man, in danger of ſin, having in you the corrupt nature of *Adam*, in the which all we be both conceived and born: ſo have you no leſs need of the merits of Chriſts paſſion for your ſalvation, than I and other of your Subjects have, which be all Members of the myſtical Body of Chriſt. And though you be an higher Member, yet you muſt not diſdain the leſſer. For as S. *Paul* ſaith, *Thoſe Members that be taken to be moſt vile, and had in leaſt reputation, be as neceſſary as the other, for the preſervation and keeping of the body.* This, moſt gracious King, when I conſidered, and alſo your favourable and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and ſimple Letter unto your Grace, truſting that you will accept my true and faithful mind even as it is.

Pſal. 5. Epheſ. 2. Kings ſtand as much in need of Chriſts Paſſion, as any inferiour Subject. Rom. 12. 1 Cor. 2. Epheſ. 4. 1 Cor. 12.

Firſt, and before all things, I will exhort your Grace to mark the life and proceſs of our Saviour Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, in preaching and ſetting forth of the Goſpel, and to note alſo the words of our Maſter Chriſt, which he had to his Diſciples when he ſent them forth to preach his Goſpel, and to theſe have ever in your mind the golden Rule of our Maſter Chriſt; *The tree is known by the fruit.* For by the diligent marking of theſe, your Grace ſhall clearly know and perceive who be the true followers of Chriſt, and teachers of his Goſpel, and who be not. And concerning the firſt, all Scripture ſheweth plainly that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſts life was very poor.

Matth. 7.

The Rule of Chriſt.

Begin at his birth, and I beſeech you, who ever heard of a poorer, and ſo poor as he was? It were too long to write how poor *Joſeph* and the bleſſed Virgin *Mary* took their journey from *Nazareth* toward *Bethelem*, in the cold and froſty Winter, having no body to wait upon them, but he both Maſter and Man, and ſhe both Miſtreſs and Maid. How vilely, thinks your Grace, were they intreated in the Inns and Lodgings by the way? and in how vile and abject place was this poor Maid, the Mother of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, brought to Bed, without company, light, or any other thing neceſſary for a woman in that plight? was not here a poor beginning, as concerning this world? Yes truly. And according to this beginning was the proceſs and end of his life in this world, and yet he might by his godly power have had all the goods and treaſures of this world at his pleaſure, when and where he would.

The poverty of Chriſts life expreſſed.

But this he did to ſhew us, that his Followers and Vicars ſhould not regard and ſet by the riches and treaſures of this world, but after the ſaying of *David* we ought to take them, which ſaith thus; *If riches, promotions, and dignity happen to a man, let him not ſet his affiance, pleaſure, truſt, and heart upon them.* So that it is not againſt the poverty in ſpirit, which Chriſt preacheth in the Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, Chapter 5. to be rich, to be in dignity and in honour, ſo that their hearts be not fixed and ſet upon them, ſo much, that they neither care for God nor good men. But they be enemies to this poverty in ſpirit, have they never ſo little, that have greedy and deſirous minds to the goods of this world, only becauſe they would live after their own pleaſures and luſts. And they alſo be privy Enemies (and ſo much the worſe) which have profeſſed, as they ſay, wilful poverty, and will not be called worldly men, and they have Lords Lands, and Kings Riches, yea, rather than they would loſe one jot of that which they have, they will ſet debate between King and King, Realm and Realm, yea, between the King and his Subjects, and cauſe Rebellion againſt the Temporal Power, to the which our Saviour Chriſt himſelf obeyed, and paid Tribute, as the Goſpel declareth; unto whom the holy Apoſtle S. *Paul* teacheth every Chriſtian man to obey. Yea, and beſide all this, they will curſe and ban, as much as in them lieth, even into the

The poor condition of Chriſts life, is an example to us to caſt down our pride, not to ſet by riches.

It is not againſt the poverty of the ſpirit, to be rich.

What is to be poor in ſpirit, and what not.

Privy enemies to ſpiritual poverty.

Againſt Monks and Friers, and Prelates of the Spiritualty.

Matt. 17. Subjection to Superiour Powers.

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the deep pit of hell, all that gain-ſay their appetite, whereby they think their goods, promotions, or dignities ſhould decay.

Your Grace may ſee what means and craft the ſpiritualty (as they will be called) imagine, to break and withſtand the acts which were made in your Graces laſt Parliament againſt their ſuperfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your Grace may know them not to be true followers of Chriſt. And although I named the ſpiritualty to be corrupt with this unthrifty ambition; yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there be ſome good of them. Neither will I that your Grace ſhould take away the goods due to the Church, but take away all evil perſons from the goods, and ſet better in their ſtead.

Ambition of the ſpiritualty.

I name nor appoint no perſon nor perſons, but remit your Grace to the rule of our Saviour Chriſt, as in *Matthew* the ſeventh Chapter, *By their fruits you ſhall know them.* As touching the words that our Saviour Chriſt ſpake to his Diſciples when he ſent them to preach his Goſpel, they be read in *Matthew* the fifteenth Chapter, where he ſheweth, *that here they ſhall be hated and deſpiſed of all men Worldly, and brought before Kings and Rulers, and that all evil ſhould be ſaid by them, for their preaching ſake*, but he exhorteth them to take patiently ſuch perſecution by his own example, ſaying, *It becometh not the ſervant to be above the Maſter. And ſeeing they called me* Belzebub, *what marvel is it, if they call you deviliſh perſons and Hereticks.* Read the fourteenth Chapter of St. *Matthews* Goſpel, and there your Grace ſhall ſee that he promiſed to the true Preachers no Worldly promotions or dignity, but perſecution and all kinds of puniſhment, and that they ſhould be betrayed even by their own Brethren and Children. In *John* alſo he ſaith, *In the World ye ſhall have oppreſſion and the World ſhall hate you: but in me you ſhall have peace.* And in the tenth Chapter of S. *Matthews* Goſpel ſaith our Saviour Chriſt alſo, *Lo I ſend you forth as ſheep among Wolves.* So that the true Preachers go like Sheep harmleſs, and be perſecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrong, but remit all to God; ſo far is it off that they will perſecute any other but with the Word of God only, which is their weapon. And ſo this is the moſt evident token that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt would that his Goſpel and the Preachers of it ſhould be known by, that it ſhould be deſpiſed among thoſe Worldly wiſemen, and that they ſhould repute it but fooliſhneſs, and deceivable Doctrin, and the true Preachers ſhould be perſecuted and hated, and driven from Town to Town, yea, and at the laſt loſe both goods and life.

Chriſt promiſeth no promotion, but perſecution to his followers.

John 16.

Gods Word only is the weapon of ſpiritual Paſtors.

And yet they that did this preſecution, ſhould think that they did well, and a great pleaſure to God. And the Apoſtles remembring this leſſon of our Saviour Chriſt, were content to ſuffer ſuch perſecutions, as you may read in the Acts of the Apoſtles and the Epiſtles. But we never read that they ever perſecuted any man. The Holy Apoſtle Saint *Paul* ſaith, *That every man that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, ſhould ſuffer perſecution.* And alſo he ſaith further in the Epiſtle written to the *Philippians* in the firſt Chapter, *That it is not only given to you to believe in the Lord, but alſo to ſuffer perſecution for his ſake.*

The Apoſtles were perſecuted but never perſecutors.

Wherefore take this for a ſure concluſion, that there, where the Word of God is truly preached there is perſecution, as well of the hearers, as of the teachers: and whereas is quietneſs and reſt in Worldly pleaſure, there is not the truth. For the World loveth all that are of the World, and hateth all things that are contrary to it. And to be ſhort, S. *Paul* calleth the Goſpel, the word of the Croſs, the word of puniſhment. And the Holy Scripture doth promiſe nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this World, but trouble, vexation, and perſecution, which theſe Worldly men cannot ſuffer, nor away withal.

Perſecution a ſure mark of true preaching. The Word of the Croſs.

Therefore pleaſeth it your good grace, to return to this golden rule of our Maſter and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which is this, *By their fruits you ſhall know them.* For where you ſee perſecution, there is the Goſpel, and there is the truth; and they that do perſecute, be void and without all truth; not caring for the clear light, which (as our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt ſaith in the third Chapter of S. *Johns* Goſpel) *is come into the World, and which ſhall utter and ſhew forth every mans works.* And they whoſe works be naught, dare not come to this light, but go about to ſtop it and hinder it, letting as much as they may, that the Holy Scripture ſhould not be read in our Mother tongue, ſaying that it would cauſe Hereſie and inſurrection, and ſo they perſwade, at the leaſt way they would fain perſwade your Grace to keep it back. But here mark their ſhameleſs boldneſs, which be not aſhamed, contrary to Chriſts Doctrin, to gather figs of thorns, and grapes of buſhes, and to call light darkneſs, and darkneſs light, ſweet ſowre, and ſowre ſweet, good evil, and evil good, and to ſay, that that, which teacheth all obedience, ſhould cauſe diſſention and ſtrife: but ſuch is their belly wiſedom, wherewith they judge and meaſure every thing, to hold and keep ſtill this wicked Mammon, the goods of this World, which is their God, and hath ſo blinded the eyes of their hearts, that they cannot ſee the clear light of the ſacred Scripture, though they babble never ſo much of it.

Crafty pretenſes of the Prelates to ſtop the reading of Holy Scripture.

Belly wiſedom.

But as concerning this matter, other men have ſhewed your Grace their minds, how neceſſarie it is to have the Scripture in Engliſh. The which thing alſo your Grace hath promiſed by your laſt Proclamation: the which promiſe I pray GOD that your gracious Highneſs may ſhortly perform, even to day before to morrow. Nor let the wickedneſs of theſe Worldly men detain you from your godly purpoſe and promiſe. Remember the ſubtile Worldly wiſe Counſellors of *Hammon* the Sone of *Naas*, King of the *Ammonites*, which when *David* had ſent his Servants to comfort the young King for the death of his Father, by crafty imaginations counſelled *Hammon*, not only not to receive them gently, but to entreat them moſt ſhamefully and cruelly, ſaying, *That they came not to comfort him, but to eſpie and ſearch his land, ſo that afterward they bringing* David *word how every thing ſtood*, David *might come and conquer it.* And they cauſed the young King to ſhear their heads, and to cut their coats by the points, and ſent them away like fools; whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have entreated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards. Oh wretched Counſellors; But ſee what followed of this carnal and Worldly wiſedom. Truly nothing but deſtruction of all the whole Realm, and alſo of all them that took their parts.

Perſwaſion to let the Scripture be read in Engliſh.

Sinifter Counſell about Princes.

Wicked policy turned to his own deſtruction.

Therefore good King, ſeeing that the right *David*, that is to ſay, our Saviour Chriſt hath ſent his Servants, that is to ſay, his true Preachers, and his own word alſo to comfort our weak and ſick Souls, let not theſe Worldly men make your Grace believe that they will cauſe inſurrections and Hereſies, and ſuch miſchiefs as they imagine of their own mad brains, leſt that he be avenged upon you and your Realm, as was *David* upon the *Ammonites*, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them which have obſtinately withſtood and gainſaid his word. But peradventure they will lay this againſt me, and ſay that experience doth ſhew, how that ſuch men as call themſelves followers of the Goſpel regard not your Graces commandment, neither ſet by your Proclamation, and that was well proved by thoſe perſons which of late were puniſhed in *London* for keeping ſuch books as your Grace had prohibited by Proclamation: and ſo like as they regarded not this, ſo they will not regard or eſteem other your Graces laws, ſtatutes, or ordinances. But this is but a craftie perſwaſion. For your Grace knoweth that there is no man living, ſpecially that loveth Worldly promotion, that is ſo fooliſh, to ſet forth, promote, or inhaunce his enemies, whereby he ſhould be let of his Worldly pleaſures and fleſhly deſires: but rather he will ſeek all the wayes poſſible that he can, utterly to confound, deſtroy, and put him out of the way. And ſo as concerning your laſt Proclamation, prohibiting ſuch books, the very true cauſe of it, and chiefe Counſellors (as men ſay, and of likelihood it ſhould be) were they, whoſe evil living and cloaked hypocriſie theſe books uttered and diſcloſed: And howbeit that there were three or four, that would have had the Scripture to go forth in Engliſh, yet it happened there, as it is evermore ſeen, that the moſt part overcometh the better, and ſo it might be that theſe men did not take this Proclamation as yours, but as theirs ſet forth in your name, as they have done many times more, which hath put this your Realm in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it in great penury,

Under the preteence of inſurrections and Hereſies, the Prelates ſtop the liberty of Chriſts Goſpel.

Objection prevented and anſwered.

The cauſe and cauſes of the Kings Proclamation againſt the reading of Scripture books in Engliſh.

He meaneth of Cranmer Cromwel, and one or two mo, againſt whom the B. of Winchester and his faction did prevail.

A practice of Prelates to convey their own Proclamations under the Kings Name and Authority:

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He meaneth of the Pope, which went about to drive K. *Henry* out of his kingdom, and that not without ſome adherents neer about the King.

and more would have done, if GOD hath not mercifully provided to bring your Grace to knowledge of the falſhood and *privy* treaſon, which their head and Captain was about; and be you ſure not without adherents, if the matter be duly ſearched. For what marvel is it, that they being ſo nigh of your Counſel, and ſo familiar with your Lords, ſhould provoke both your Grace and them to prohibit theſe books, which before by their own Authority have forbidden the New *Teſtament*, under pain of everlaſting damnation: for ſuch is their manner, to ſend a thouſand men to hell, ere they ſend one to God, and yet the new Teſtament (and ſo I think by the other) was meekely offered to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

The cauſe of inſurrections is falſly laid upon Engliſh books, but rather is to be layd upon the Popes pardons.

Moreover, I will ask them the cauſes of all inſurrections, which have been in this Realm heretofore. And whence is it that there be ſo many Extortioners, Bribers, Murderers, and Theeves, which daily do not break only your Graces Laws, ordinances, and ſtatutes, but alſo the laws and Commandments of Almighty God? I think they will not ſay theſe books, but rather their pardons which cauſeth many a man to ſin in truſt of them. For as for thoſe malefactors which I now rehearſed, you ſhall not find one amongſt a hundred, but that he will cry out both of theſe books, and alſo of them that have them, yea and will be glad to ſpend the good which he hath wrongfully gotten, upon Fagots to burn both the Books, and them that have them.

Extortioners, Bribers, Theeves, be greateſt enemies to the Goſpel to be in Engliſh.

The froward life of the Goſpellers, is not to be laid to the Goſpel.

And as touching theſe men that were lately puniſhed for theſe books, there is no man, I hear ſay, that can lay any word or deed againſt them that ſhould ſound to the breaking of any of your Graces Laws, this only except, if it be yours, and not rather theirs. And be it ſo that there be ſome that have theſe books, that be evil, unruly and ſelf willed perſons, not regarding Gods Laws, nor Mans, yet theſe books be not the cauſe thereof, no more than was the bodily preſence of Chriſt and his words the cauſe that *Judas* fell, but their own froward mind and carnal wit, which ſhould be amended by the vertuous example of living of their Curates, and by the true expoſition of the Scripture. If the Lay People had ſuch Curates, that would thus do their office, neither theſe books, nor the Devil himſelf could hurt them to go out of frame, ſo that the lack of good Curates is the deſtruction and cauſe of all miſchief. Neither do I write theſe things becauſe that I will either excuſe theſe men lately puniſhed, or to affirm all to be true written in theſe books, which I have not all read, but to ſhew that there cannot ſuch inconvenience follow of them, and ſpecially of the Scripture as they would make men believe ſhould follow.

Lack of good Curats, is the cauſe of all miſchief in the Realm.

And though it be ſo that your Grace may by other books and namely by the Scripture it ſelf, know and perceive the hypocrite wolves clad in Sheeps cloathing, yet I think my ſelf bound in Conſcience to utter unto your Grace ſuch things as GOD put in my mind to write. And this I do (God ſo judge me) not for hate of any perſon or perſons living, nor for that I think the Word of GOD ſhould go forth without perſecution, if your Grace had commanded that every man within your Realm ſhould have it in his Mothers tongue. For the Goſpel muſt needs have perſecution unto the time that it be preached thorowout all the World, which is the laſt ſign that Chriſt ſhewed to his Diſciples ſhould come before the day of Judgement: ſo that if your Grace had once commanded that the Scripture ſhould be put forth, the Devil would ſet forth ſome wile or other to perſecute the truth. But my purpoſe is, for the love that I have to GOD principally, and the glory of his Name, which is only known by his Word, and for the true allegeance that I owe unto our Grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me of God, but to chaffer it forth to other, that it may increaſe to the pleaſure of GOD, to exhort your Grace to avoyd and beware of theſe miſchievous flatterers, and their abominable ways and Counſels.

The Goſpel will not go forth without perſecution, though the K would permit the reading thereof to be free. The laſt ſign before the judgment day, is that the Goſpel ſhould be preached thorow the World.

M. *Latimer* chaffereth forth his talent. He meaneth this belike by Sir. Tho. *More*, who for the Biſhops pleaſure ſet his pen againſt the Goſpel.

And take heed whoſe Counſels your Grace doth take in this matter: for there be ſome that for fear of loſing of their Worldly worſhip and honour, will not leave of their opinion, which raſhly, and that to pleaſe men withal by whom they had great promotion they took upon them to defend by writing, ſo that now they think that all their felicitie, which they put in this life, ſhould be marred and their wiſdom not ſo greatly regarded, if that which they have ſo ſlanderouſly oppreſſed ſhould be now put forth and allowed. But alas, let theſe men remember Saint *Paul*, how fervent he was againſt the truth (and that of a good zeal) before he was called; he thought no ſhame to ſuffer puniſhment, and great perſecutions for that which before he deſpiſed and called Hereſie. And I am ſure that their living is not more perfect than St. *Pauls* was, as concerning the outward works of the law, before he was converted.

S. *Paul* a good example for all perſecutors to follow.

Alſo the King and Prophet *David* was not aſhamed to forſake his good intent in building of the Temple, after that the Prophet *Nathan* had ſhewed him that it was not the pleaſure of God that he ſhould build any Houſe for him; and notwithſtanding that *Nathan* had before allowed and praiſed the purpoſe of *David*, yet he was not aſhamed to revoke and eat his words again, when he knew that they were not according to Gods will and pleaſure.

K. *Davids* good example for all kings to ſubmit their intents and purpoſes to Gods word.

Wherefore they be ſore drowned in Worldly Wiſdom, that think it againſt their worſhip to knowledge their Ignorance; whom I pray to God that your Grace may eſpie, and take heed of their Worldly Wiſdom, which is fooliſhneſs before God, that you may do that God commandeth, and not that ſeemeth good in your own ſight without the Word of God, that your Grace may be found acceptable in his ſight, and one of the members of his Church, and according to the office that he hath called your Grace unto, you may be found a faithful Miniſter of his gifts, and not a defender of his faith, for he will not have it defended by man or mans power, but by his word only, by the which he hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above mans power or reaſon, as all the ſtories of the Bible make mention.

By *Nathan* we may learn not to be aſhamed to call back our words when we know Gods pleaſure to be otherwiſe.

Wherefore, gracious King, remember your ſelf, have pitie upon your Soul, and think that the day is even at hand when you ſhall give account of your office, and of the Blood that hath been ſhed with your ſword. In the which day that your Grace may ſtand ſtedfaſtly, and not be aſhamed, but be clear and readie in your reckoning, and to have (as they ſay) your *Quietus eſt*, ſealed with the Blood of our Saviour Chriſt which only ſerveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him that ſuffered death for our ſins, which alſo praieth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praiſe for ever, *Amen*. The Spirit of God preſerve your Grace. *Anno Domini* 1530 1. *die Decembris*.

Divers things in this letter of *Mr. Latimer* to the King to be conſidered.

In this Letter of Mr. *Latimer* to the King above prefixed, many things we have to conſider: Firſt, his good Conſcience to God, his good will to the King, the dutie of a right Paſtor unto truth, his tender care to the common wealth, and ſpecially to the Church of Chriſt. Further, we have to conſider the abuſe of Princes Courts, how Kings many times be abuſed with flatterers and wicked Counſellers about them, and ſpecially we may note the ſubtle practices of Prelates, in abuſing the name and authoritie of Kings, to ſet forth their own malignant proceedings. We may ſee moreover, and rather marvel at in the ſaid Letter, the great boldneſs and divine ſtoutneſs in this man, who as yet being no Biſhop, ſo freely and plainly without all fear of Death, adventuring his own life to diſcharge his Conſcience, durſt ſo boldly to ſo mighty a Prince, in ſuch a dangerous caſe, againſt the Kings Law and Proclamation ſet out in ſuch a terrible time take upon him to write, and to admoniſh that, which no Counſellor durſt once ſpeak unto him in defence of Chriſts Goſpel. Whoſe example if the Biſhops and Prelates of this Realm, for their parts likewiſe in like caſes of neceſſity would follow (as indeed they ſhould) ſo many things perad venture would not be ſo out of frame as they be, and alſo for lack that the Officers of Gods Word do not their duty:

The heavenly courage of *Mr. Latimer* in diſcharging his Conſcience.

Finally, this moreover in the ſaid Letter is to be noted, how bleſſedly Almighty God wrought with his faithful Servants bold adventure, and wholeſom Counſel, though it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time, yet notwithſtanding God ſo wrought with his Servant in doing his duty, that no danger, nor yet diſpleaſure roſe to him thereby, but rather thanks and good will of the Prince; for not long after the ſame he was advanced by

The King well pleaſed with the plainneſs of *M. Latimer*.

the

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the King to the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, as is above declared.

Seeing Maſter *Latimer* was ſo bold and plain with the King (as is afore ſpecified) no great marvel if he did uſe the like freedom and plainneſs toward other meaner perſons in admoniſhing them of their miſorder, eſpecially if any ſuch occaſion were given, where truth and equity required his defence againſt injury and oppreſſion. For example whereof we have another Letter of his, written to a certain Juſtice of the Peace in *Warwickſhire*, who as he is long ſince departed, ſo he ſhall be here unnamed. The Letter although it may ſeem ſomewhat long and tedious; yet I thought here not to overpaſs the ſame for divers and ſundry reſpects: Firſt, that the vertue and faithful Conſcience of this good Paſtor may appear more at large; alſo for that all other Biſhops and Paſtors by this example may learn with like zeal and ſtomach to diſcharge their duty and Conſcience in reforming things amiſs, and in powdering with the Salt of Gods Word the ſores of the People. Which thing if every Biſhop for his part within his Dioceſs had done in *King Edwards* days, in redreſſing ſuch corruption of that time with like diligence as this man did, verily I ſuppoſe that the perſecution of Queen *Mary* had not ſo plagued the Realm as it did: but whereas never a man almoſt liveth in due order, and yet never a Biſhop will ſtirr to ſeek redreſs, what can become of the Realm? *Item*, another reſpect is, becauſe of the Juſtices and all other placed in room and office, which may take heed hereby, not to abuſe their Authority to tread down truth, and bear down poor men with open wrong through extortion or partiality: And finally, that all injurious oppreſſors whatſoever, by the ſaid Letter may take ſome fruit of wholeſome admonition. What the argument and occaſion was of this Letter, I ſhewed before. The tenor and purport thereof, as it was written to the Gentleman, is this as followeth.

Example for Biſhops, and all good Paſtors to follow.

Warning to Juſtices of Peace.

A fruitfull Letter of Mr. Latimer, *written to a certain Gentleman.*

A Letter of *M. Latimer* to a certain Gentleman.

RIght Worſhipful, *ſalutem in Domino*. And now, Sir I underſtand, that you be in great admirations at me, and take very grievouſly my manner of writing to you, adding thereunto that you will not bear it at my hand, no, not if I were the beſt Biſhop in *England*, &c.

Ah Sir! I ſee well I may ſay as the common ſaying is, Well, I have fiſhed and caught a Frog; brought little to paſs with much ado. You will not bear it with me, you ſay. Why Sir? what will ye do with me? You will not fight with me, I trow. It may ſeem unſeemly for a Juſtice of Peace to be a breaker of peace; I am glad the doting time of my fooliſh youth is gone and paſt. What will you then do with me, in that you ſay you will not bear it at my hand? What hath my hand offended you? Perchance you will convent me before ſome Judge, and call me into ſome Court. *Deus bene vertat. Equidem non recuſo judicium allum. Accuſemus invicem, ut emendemus alius alium in nomine Domini. Fiat juſtitia in judicio. i.* God turn it to good. I refuſe no judgment. Let us accuſe one another, that one of us may amend another, in the Name of the Lord. Let juſtice proceed in judgment. And then and there, do beſt, have beſt, for club half penny. Or peradventure ye will ſet pen to paper, and all to rattle me in a Letter, wherein confuting me you will defend your ſelf and your Brother againſt me. Now that would I ſee, quoth long *Robin*, *ut dicitur vulgariter. Non potero ſane non vehementer probare ejuſmodi induſtriam, i.* I cannot chuſe but muſt allow ſuch diligence. For ſo ſhould both your integrities and innocencies beſt appear, if you be able to defend both your own proceedings, and your Brothers doings in this matter to be upright. *Et ego tum juſtis rationibus victus, libenter cedam, culpam humiliter confeſſurus, i.* And then will I gladly give place, confeſſing my fault humbly, as one conquered with juſt reaſons. But I think it will not be. But now firſt of all let me know what it is that ye will not bear at my hand? What have I done with my hand? What hath my hand treſpaſſed you? Forſooth, that can I tell, no man better: For I have charitably moniſhed you in a ſecret Letter, of your ſupper dealing, and ſuch like misbehaviour. *O quam grave piaculum; i.* What a ſore matter is this? And will ye not bear ſo much with me? Will ye not take ſuch a ſhew of my good will towards you, and toward the ſaving of your Soul at my hand? Oh Lord God, who would have thought that Mr. *N.* had been ſo impudent, that he would not bear a godly monition for the wealth of his Soul? I have in uſe to commit ſuch treſpaſs many times in a year with your betters by two or three degrees, both Lords and Ladies, and the beſt of the Realm, and yet hitherto I have not heard that any of them have ſaid in their diſpleaſure, that they will not bear it at my hand. Are you yet to be taught what is the office, liberty, and priviledge of a Preacher? What is it elſe, but even *arguere mundum de peccato, i.* to rebuke the World of ſin, without reſpect of perſons: *Quod quidem ipſum eſt ipſius Spiritus ſancti peculiare in eccleſia munus & officium, ſed non niſi per Prædicatores legitimos exequendum, i.* Which thing undoubtedly is the peculiar office of the Holy Ghoſt in the Church of God, ſo that it be practiſed by lawful Preachers. You could but ill bear (belike) to hear your fault openly reproved in the Pulpit, which cannot bear the ſame in a ſecret ſealed up Letter, written both friendly, charitably, and truely; *Niſi forte acriter reprehendere peccata, ſit jam omni charitate, amicitia, veritate carere, i.* Unleſs perhaps to rebuke ſin ſharply, be now to lack all charity, friendſhip, and truth. But Maſter *N.* if you will give me leave to be plain with you, I fear me you be ſo plunged in Worldly purchaſings, and ſo drowned in the manifold dreggs of this deceivable World, that I ween you have forgotten your Catechiſm. Read therefore again the opening of the firſt Commandment, and then tell me whether you of me, or I of you have juſt cauſe to complain; &c.

As may well appear by his Letter ſent to the King before.

Item Sir, you ſaid further, that I am wonderfully abuſed by my neighbour, &c. How ſo, good Mr. *N.*? Wherein? Or how will you prove it to be true, and when? So you ſaid, that he had abuſed you, and given you wrong information; but the contrary is found true by good teſtimony of M. *Chamber*, which heard as well as you what my neighbour ſaid, and hath teſtified the ſame, both to you, and againſt you, full like himſelf. Mr. *N.* to forge and feign (which argueth an ill cauſe) that is one thing; but to prove what a man doth ſay, that is another thing. As though you were priviledged to out-face poor men, and bear them in hand what you liſt, as may ſeem to make ſome maintenance for your naughty cauſe. Truſt me, Mr. *N.* I was but a very little acquainted with my neighbour when this matter began; but now I have found him ſo conformable to honeſty, upright in his dealings, and ſo true in his talk, that I eſteem him better than I do ſome other whom I have perceived and found otherways. For I will flatter no man, nor yet claw his back in his folly, but eſteem all men as I find them, allowing what is good, and diſallowing what is bad: *In omnibus hominibus ſive amicis ſive inimicis, juxta præceptum Paulinum, à filiis hujus ſeculi in pretio non habitum: Sitis, odio, inquit, proſequentes quod malum eſt, adhærentes autem ei quod bonum eſt: Neque bonum malum, nec malum bonum in gratiam hominum affirmemus unquam, id quod filii hujus ſeculi vulgò faciunt, ut eſt videre ubique, i.* Among all men, either Friends or enemies, according to *Pauls* precept, not eſteemed of the Children of this World; Hate you, ſaith he, that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good. And let us not any time for the favour of men, call good evil, and evil good, as the Children of this World are commonly wont to do, as it is every where to be ſeen. And now what manner of man do you make me, Maſter *N.* when you note me to be ſo much abuſed by ſo ignorant a man, ſo ſimple, ſo plain, and ſo farr without all wrinkles? Have I lived ſo long in this tottering World, and have I been ſo many ways turmoiled and toſſed up and down, and ſo much as it were ſeaſoned with the powder of ſo many experiences to and fro, to be now ſo farr bewitched and alienated from my wits, as though I could not diſcern cheeſe from chalk, truth from falſhood, but that every ſilly Soul, and baſe witted man might eaſily abuſe me to that enterpriſe he liſted at his pleaſure? Well, I ſay not nay, but I may be abuſed. But why do you not tell me how your Brother abuſed me,

M. Latimer flattereth no man.

promiſing before me and many more, that he would ſtand to your awardſhip, and now doth deny it? Why do you not tell me, how thoſe two falſe faithleſs wretches abuſe me, promiſing alſo to abide your award, and do it not? Yea, why do you not tell me, how you your ſelf have abuſed me, promiſing me to redreſs the injury and wrong that your Brother hath done to my neighbour, and have not fulfilled your promiſe? Theſe notable abuſes be nothing with you, but only you muſt needs burthen me with my neighbours abuſing me, which is none at all, as far forth as ever I could perceive, ſo God help me at my need. For if he had abuſed me as you and others have done, I ſhould be ſoon at a point with him, for any thing further doing for him,&c.

Item, Sir, you ſaid further, that I ſhall never be able to prove that either your Brother, or the two Tenants agreed to ſtand to your award, &c. No Sir, Mr. *N.* you ſay belike as you would have it to be, or as your Brother with his adherents have perſwaded you to think it to be, ſo inducing you to do their requeſt to your own ſhame and rebuke, if you perſevere in the ſame, beſide the peril of your Soul, for conſenting, at leaſt way, to the maintenance by falſhood of your Brothers iniquity. For in that you would your awardſhip ſhould take none effect, you ſhew your ſelf nothing inclinable to the redreſs of your Brothers unright dealing with an honeſt poor man, which hath been ready at your requeſt to do you pleaſure with his things, or elſe he had never come into this wrangle for his own goods with your Brother.

Bolſtring of falſhood and iniquity. Brother ought not to bear with Brother, to bear down right and truth, eſpecially being a Juſtice.

Ah Maſter *N.* what manner of man do you ſhew your ſelf to be? or what manner of Conſcience do you ſhew your ſelf to have? For firſt as touching your Brother you know right well that Sir *Thomas Coking* with a Letter of his own hand-writing, hath witneſſed unto your Brothers agreement; which Letter he ſent to me unſealed, and I ſhewed the ſame to my neighbour, and other more ere I ſealed it, and perchance have a Copy of the ſame yet to ſhew. With what Conſcience then can you ſay that I ſhall never be able to prove it? Shall not three men upon their Oaths make a ſufficient proof, trow you? *Vel ipſo Dicente Domino; In ore duorum vel trium, &c. i.*, The Lord himſelf ſaying in the mouth of two or three, &c. Yea, you think it true, I dare ſay, in your Conſcience, if you have any Conſcience, though I were in my grave, and ſo unable to prove any thing. And as for the two Tenants, they be as they be, and I truſt to ſee them handled according as they be; for there be three men yet alive, that dare ſwear upon a Book, that they both did agree. But what ſhould we look for at ſuch mens hands, when you your ſelf play the part you do? *Verum vivit adhuc Deus, qui videt omnia, & judicat juſte, &c. i.* But God is yet alive, which ſeeth all, and judgeth juſtly.

Corrupt Tenants.

Item Sir, you ſaid yet further, that the Juſtices of Peace in the Country think you very unnatural, in taking part with me before your Brother, &c. Ah Maſter *N.* what a ſentence is this to come out of your mouth? For partaking is one thing, and miniſtring of juſtice is another thing; and a worthy miniſter of juſtice will be no partaker, but one indifferent between party and party. And did I require you to take my part, I pray you? No, I required you to miniſter juſtice between your Brother and my Neighbour, without any partaking with either other. But what manner of Juſtices be they, I pray you, which would ſo fain have you to take part naturally with your Brother, when you ought and ſhould reform and amend your Brother? as you your ſelf know, no man better. What? Juſtices? no, Jugglers you might more worthily call ſuch as they be, than Juſtices. Be they thoſe Juſtices which call you unnatural, for that you will not take your Brothers part againſt all right and Conſcience, whom you had picked out and appointed to have the final hearing and determining of my Neigbours cauſe, after your ſubſtantial and final award making? Verily I think no leſs. Forſooth he is much beholding to you, and I alſo for his ſake. Is that the wholeſom counſel that you have to give your poor Neighbours in their need? Indeed you ſhew your ſelf a worthy Juggler: Oh, I would have ſaid a Juſticer, among other of your juggling and partaking Juſtices. *Deum bonum! i.* O good God! what is in the world? Marry Sir, my Neighbour had ſpun a fair thred, if your partaking Juſtices through your good counſel had had his matter in ordering and finiſhing. I pray God ſave me and all my Friends, with all Gods flock, from the whole fellowſhip of your ſo natural and partaking Juſtices, *Amen.*

Were not here good ſort of Juſtices, trow you?

Juſtices turned to Jugglers.

Partaking Juſtices.

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Lord God! who would have thought that there had been ſo many partaking Juſtices, that is to ſay, unjuſt Juſtices in *Warwickſhire*, if Maſter *N.* himſelf one of the ſame order (but altogether out of order) and therefore knoweth it beſt, had not told us the Tale? But theſe call you, you ſay, very unnatural, &c. And why not rather, I pray you, too much natural? For we read, *De natura duplici, integra & corrupta. Illa erat juſtitiæ plena: hæc niſi reparata, ſemper manet injuſta, injuſtitiæ fructus alios poſt alios paritura, i.* Of a double nature, ſound and corrupt. That was full of Juſtice: this, unleſs it be reſtored, abideth always unjuſt, bringing forth the fruits of wickedneſs one after another: So that he that will not help his Brother, having a juſt cauſe in his need, may be juſtly called unnatural, as not doing *juxta inſtinctum naturæ, ſive integræ, ſive reparatæ, i.* according to the inſtinct of nature, either as it was at the beginning, or as it was reſtored. But he that will take his Brothers part againſt right, as to ratifie his Brothers wrong deceiving, he is too much natural, *tanquam ſequens ingenium ſive inclinationem naturæ corruptæ, contra voluntatem Dei, i.* as one following the diſpoſition and inclination of corrupt nature againſt the will of God; and ſo to be natural may ſeem to be Cater-couſin, or Couſin-germain with, to be Diabolical.

I fear me we have too many Juſtices that be too much natural, to their own periſhment both Body and Soul. For worthy Juſtices having ever the fear and dread of God before their eyes, *(quales ſunt pauciores apud nos, quam vellem, i.* Of which ſort we have a fewer amongſt us, than I would) will have no reſpect at all in their Judgments and proceedings, *ad propinquitatem ſanguinis, i.* to vicinity of Blood; but altogether *ad dignitatem & æquitatem cauſæ, ut quod juſtum eſt ſemper judicent intuitu Dei, non quod injuſtum eſt intuitu hominum*; of which number I pray God make you one, *Amen. Juſtus eſt* (ſaith *John*) *qui facit juſtitiam. At qui facit peccatum (id quod facit, quiſquis injuſte facit in gratiam & favorem ullius hominis) ex Diabolo eſt. i.* He is juſt that doth Juſtice. But he that ſinneth (as they all do, which do unjuſtly for favour and pleaſure of men) is of the Devil (ſaith he) of which ſort all our partaking and natural Juſtices be with all their partiality and naturality. *Quare dignum & juſtum eſt*, that as many as be ſuch Juſtices, *juſte priventur munere, & amplius quoque plectantur pro ſui quique facinoris quantitate, ut vel ſic tandem abſcindantur, tanquam nati in incommodum reipublicæ noſtræ, qui nos conturbant, cum adjuvare debeant, i.* Be juſtly deprived of their offices, and further alſo be puniſhed, according to the quantity or quality of their Crime, ſo that by that means they may be cut off, as men born and bred to the hurt and detriment of the Common-wealth, which trouble us, when they ought to help us, *Amen.*

Quare ſeponite juſtitiam, & ſequimini naturam, as your Naturals and Diabolicals would have you to do, that is, even as juſt as *Germains* Lips, which came not together by nine mile, *Ut vulgo dicunt, &c.*

Item Sir, finally and laſt of all you added theſe words following: Well, quoth you, let Mr. *Latimer* take heed how he meddleth with my Brother, for he is like to find as crabbed and as froward a piece of him, as ever he found in his life, &c. Ah Sir? and is your Brother ſuch an one as you ſpeak of indeed? Merciful God! what a commendation is this for one Brother to give another? *Eſtne ejuſmodi gloriatio tua, mi amice? i.* Is this your glorying my Friend? And were it not poſſible, trow you, to make him better? It is written, *Vexatio dat intellectum, i.* Vexation giveth underſtanding. And again, *Bonum mihi, Domine, quod humiliaſti me, i.* It is good, O Lord, that thou haſt humbled me. At leaſt way, I may pray to God for him as *David* did for ſuch like, *Ad hunc modum; Chamo & fræno maxillas eorum conſtringe, qui non approximant ad te, i.* After this ſort; Bind faſt Aſſes with bridle and ſnaffle, that they approach not near unto thee. In the mean ſeaſon, I would I had never

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never known either of you both; for ſo ſhould I have been without this inward ſorrow of my heart, to ſee ſuch untowardlineſs of you both to godlineſs; for I cannot be but heavy-hearted, to ſee ſuch men ſo wickedly minded. Well, let us ponder a little better your words, where you ſay, I ſhall find him as crabbed and as froward a-piece, &c. Mark well your own words. For by the tenor of the ſame it plainly appeareth, that you confeſs your Brothers cauſe wherein he ſo ſtiffly ſtandeth, to be unjuſt and very naught. For he that ſtandeth ſo ſtiffly in a good quarrel and a juſt cauſe, as many good men have done, is called a faſt man, a conſtant, a truſty man. But he that is ſo obſtinate and untractable in wickedneſs and wrong doing, is commonly called a crabbed and froward piece, as you name your Brother to be.

Wherefore knowing ſo well your Brothers cauſe to be ſo naughty, why have you not endeavoured your ſelf, as a worthy Juſtice, to reform him accordingly, as I required you, and you promiſed me to do, now almoſt twelve months ago, if not altogether. *Summa Summarum*, Maſter *N.* if you will not come off ſhortly, and apply your ſelf thereunto more effectually hereafter, then you have heretofore, be you well aſſured therof, I ſhall detect you to all the Friends that I have in *England*, both high and low, as well his crabbedneſs and frowardneſs, as your colourable ſupportation of the ſame; that I truſt I ſhall be able thereby either to bring you both to ſome goodneſs, or at leaſt way I ſhall ſo warn my Friends and all honeſt hearts to beware of your illneſs, that they ſhall take either no hurt at all, or at leaſt way leſs harm by you through mine advertiſement; in that, knowing you perfectly, they may the better avoid and ſhun your Company. You ſhall not ſtay me, Maſter *N.* no though you would give me all the lands and goods you have, as rich as you are noted to be. *Ego nolo tam juſtam cauſam derelinquere, ego nolo peccatis alienis in hac parte communicare, i.* I will not forſake ſuch a juſt cauſe, neither will I communicate with other mens ſins. For whether it be *per deteſtabilem ſuperbiam, i.* by deteſtable pride: whether *per abominabilem avaritiam, i.* by abominable avarice: or by both two linked together, it is no ſmall iniquity to keep any poor man ſo long from his right and duty ſo ſtiff-neckedly and obſtinatly, or, whether ye will, crabbedly and frowardly. And what is it then any manner of ways to conſent to the ſame? You know, I trow, Maſter *N. Furtum quid ſit, nempe, quoviſmodo auferre vel retinere alienam rem invito Domino, ut quidam definiunt. Si fur ſit qui ſic palam facit, quis erit qui facientem probat, tutatur, propugnat, vel quibuſcunque ambagibus ſuffulcit? ideſt.* What theft is, that is, to take or detain by any manner of way another mans good againſt his will that is the owner, as ſome define it. If he be a thief that ſo doth openly, what ſhall he be that approveth him which is the doer, defendeth, maintaineth, and ſupporteth him by any manner of colour? Conſider with your ſelf good Maſter *N. Quid ſit opprimere & fraudare in negotio fratrem, i.* What it is to oppreſs, and to defraud your Brother in his buſineſs, and what followeth thereof. It is truly ſaid, *Non tollitur peccatum, niſi reſtituatur ablatum, i.* The ſin is not forgiven, except the thing be reſtored again that is taken away. No reſtitution, no ſalvation; which is as well to be underſtood, *de rebus per fraudes, technas, & dolos, ut de rebus per manifeſtum furtum & latrocinium partis, i.* Of things gotten by fraud, guile, and deceit, as of things gotten by open theft and robbery. Wherefore let not your Brother, Maſter *N.* by cavillation continue in the Devils poſſeſſion. I will do the beſt I can, and wreſtle with the Devil, *omnibus viribus*, to deliver you both from him. I will leave no one ſtone unmoved to have both you and your Brother ſaved. There is neither Archbiſhop nor Biſhop, nor yet any learned man neither in Univerſities or elſewhere, that I am acquainted withal, that ſhall not write unto you, and in their writing by their learning confute you. There is no godly man of Law in this Realm that I am acquainted withal, but they ſhall write unto you, and confute you by the Law. There is neither Lord nor Lady, nor yet any noble Perſonage in this Realm, that I am acquainted withal, but they ſhall write unto you, and godly threaten you with their Authority.

Godly threats of M. Latimer to ſave the Soul of his Friend.

I will do all this; yea, and kneel upon both my knees before the Kings Majeſty, and all his honourable Council, with moſt humble petition for your reformation, rather than the Devil ſhall poſſeſs you ſtill, to your final damnation. So that I do not deſpair, but verily truſt, one way or other, to pluck both you and alſo your crabbed Brother, as crabbed as you ſay he is, out of the Devils claws, maugre the Devils heart.

Theſe premiſſes well conſidered, look upon it, good Maſter *N.* that we have no further ado: Gods plague is preſently upon us; therefore let us now diligently look about us, and in no wiſe defend, but willingly reknowledge and amend whatſoever hath been amiſs. Theſe were the capital points of your talk, as I was informed, after you had peruſed that may nipping and unpleaſant Letter? and I thought good to make you ſome anſwer to them, if perchance I might ſo move you, the rather to call your ſelf to ſome better remembrance, and ſo more earneſtly apply your ſelf to accompliſh and perform what you have begun and promiſed to do, namely, the thing it ſelf, being of ſuch ſort, as appeareth tendeth both to your worſhip, and alſo to Gods high pleaſure.

Thus, lo, with a mad head, but yet a good will, after long ſcribling I wot not well what (but I know you can read it, and comprehend it well enough) I bid you moſt heartily well to fare in the Lord, with good health, and long life to Gods pleaſure, *Amen.* From *Baxſterley* the 15 of *June.*

During the time that the ſaid Maſter *Latimer* was Priſoner in *Oxford*, we read not of much that he did write, beſides his Conference with Dr. *Ridley*, and his proteſtation at the time of his diſputation. Otherwiſe, of Letters we find very few or none that he did write to his Friends abroad, ſave only theſe few lines, which he wrote to one Mrs. *Wilkinſon* of *London*, a godly Matron, and an exile afterward for the Goſpel ſake. Who ſo long as ſhe remained in *England*, was a ſingular Patroneſs to the good Saints of God, and learned Biſhops, as to Maſter *Hooper*, to the Biſhop of *Hereford*, to Maſter *Coverdale*, Maſter *Latimer*, Doctor *Cranmer*, with many other. The Copie and effect of which his Letter to Mrs. *Wilkinſon* here followeth.

A Letter ſent to Mrs. Wilkinſon *of* London *Widow, from Mr.* Hugh Latimer *out of* Bocardo, *in* Oxford.

IF the gift of a pot of Water ſhall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountiful gifts, when he ſhall ſay to you; I was in Priſon, and you viſited me? God grant us all to do and ſuffer while we be here, as may be to his will and pleaſure, *Amen.*

Yours in Bocardo,
Hugh Latimer.

Touching the memorable acts and doings of this worthy man, among many other this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprize he attempted, in ſending to King *Henry* a Preſent, the manner whereof is this. There was then, and remaineth ſtill an old cuſtom received from the old *Romans*, that upon New-years day being the firſt day of *January*, every Biſhop with ſome handſom New-Years gift ſhould gratifie the King; and ſo they did, ſome with gold, ſome with ſilver, ſome with a purſe full of money, and ſome one thing, ſome another: but Mr. *Latimer* being Biſhop of *Worceſter* then, among the reſt, preſented a New Teſtament for his New-years gift, with a napkin having this poſie about it, *Fornicatores & adulteros judicabit Dominus.*

New-years gift ſent to King Henry.

And thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) the whole life, both of M. *Ridley*, and of M. *Latimer*, two worthy doers in the Church of Chriſt, ſeverally and by themſelves ſet forth and deſcribed, withal their doings, writings diſputations, ſufferings, their painful travels, faithful preachings, ſtudious ſervice in Chriſts Church, their patient impriſonment, and conſtant fortitude in that which they had taught, with all other their proceedings from time to time, ſince their firſt ſpringing years, to this preſent time and month of Queen *Mary*, being

B. *Ridley* and M. *Latimer* brought forth to examination.

tober. being the month of *October, Anno* 1555. In the which month they were brought forth together, to their final examination and execution. Wherefore as we have heretofore declared both their Lives ſeverally and diſtinctly one from the other; ſo now joyntly to couple them both together, as they were together both joyned in one ſociety of Cauſe and Martyrdom, we will by the grace of Chriſt proſecute the reſt that remaineth concerning their latter examination, degrading, and conſtant ſuffering, with the order and manner alſo of the Commiſſioners, which were Mr.*White* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Mr. *Brooks* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, with others; and what were their Words, their Objections, their Orations there uſed, and what again were the Anſwers of theſe men to the ſame as in the proceſs here followeth to be ſeen.

Mr.White Biſh. of Lincoln, M.Brooks Biſhop of Glouceſter, the Popes Deputies.

The order and manner of the Examination of Dr.Ridley, *and Mr.* Latimer *had the* 30th *day of* September, 1555.

The laſt examination of M. Ridley and M.Latimer.

FIrſt, after the appearing of *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* before the Popes Delegate, and the Queens Commiſſioners in St.*Maries* Church at *Oxford*, about the 12. day of *September*, whereof more ſhall be ſaid (by the Lords grace) when we come to the death of the ſaid Archbiſhop; ſhortly after, upon the 28. of the ſaid month of *September*, was ſent down to *Oxford* another Commiſſion from Cardinal *Pool* Legate *à latere*, to *John White* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, to Dr. *Brooks* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and to D.*Holyman* Biſhop of *Briſtow*.

The effect of the Cardinals Commiſſion ſent down to Oxford.

The contents and vertue of which Commiſſion was, that the ſaid *John* of *Lincoln*, *James* of *Glouceſter*, and *John* of *Briſtow*, they, or two of them ſhould have full power and authority, to aſcite, examine and judge Mr.*Hugh Latimer*, and Maſter Dr. *Ridley*, pretenced Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *London*, for divers and ſundry erroneous Opinions, which the ſaid *Hugh Latimer* and *Nicholas Ridley* did hold and maintain in open Diſputations had in *Oxford*, in the months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, in the year of our Lord 1554. as long before in the time of perdition, and ſince. The which Opinions if the named Perſons would now recant, giving and yielding themſelves to the determination of the Univerſal and Catholick Church, planted by *Peter* in the bleſſed See of *Rome*, that then they deputed Judges, by the ſaid authority of their Commiſſion, ſhould have power to receive the ſaid penitent Perſons, and forthwith miniſter unto them the reconciliation of the holy Father the Pope; but if the ſaid *Hugh Latimer*, and *Nicholas Ridley* would ſtoutly and ſtubbornly defend and maintain theſe their erroneous Opinions and Aſſertions, that then the ſaid Lords by their Commiſſion ſhould proceed in form of Judgment, according to the Law of Hereticks, that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignity of Biſhops, Prieſts, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Orders, ſhould pronounce them as Hereticks; and therefore clean cut them off from the Church, and ſo yeild them to receive puniſhments due to all ſuch Hereſie and Schiſm.

D.Ridley and M.Latimer aſcited to appear the laſt of September.

Wherefore the laſt of *September* the ſaid two perſons, *Nicholas Ridley* and *Hugh Latimer*, were aſcited to appear before the ſaid Lords, in the Divinity School at *Oxford*, at eight of the Clock. At what time thither repaired the Lords, placing themſelves in the high Seat, made for publick Lectures and Diſputations, according to the uſage of that School, being then fair ſet, and trimmed with Cloth of Tiſſue, and Cuſhions of Velvet: and after the ſaid Lords were placed and ſet, the ſaid *Latimer* and *Ridley* were ſent for: and firſt appeared Maſter Dr.*Ridley*, and anon Mr.*Latimer*. But becauſe it ſeemed good ſeverally to examine them, Mr.*Latimer* was kept back until Dr. *Ridley* was throughly examined. Therefore, ſoon after the coming of Dr. *Ridley* into the School, the Commiſſion was publiſhed by an appointed Notary, and openly read. But Dr.*Ridley* ſtanding bareheaded, humbly expecting the cauſe of that his appearance, eſtſoons as he had heard the Cardinal named, and the Popes Holineſs, put on his Cap. Wherefore after the Commiſſion was publiſhed, in form and ſenſe above ſpecified, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſpake in ſenſe following.

Biſh.Ridley putteth on his Cap, at the hearing of the Popes name.

Lincoln. Maſter *Ridley*, although neither I, neither my Lords here, in reſpect of our own perſons do look for Cap or Knee, yet becauſe we bear and repreſent ſuch perſons as we do, that is my Lord Cardinals Grace, Legate *à latere* to the Popes Holineſs, as well in that he is of a notable Parentage (and therewith Mr. *Ridley* moved his Cap with lowly obeyſance) deſcending from the Regal Blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be reverenced with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble vertues, and godly life, and eſpecially in that he is here in *England* Deputy to the Popes Holineſs, it ſhould have becomed you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore except you will of your own ſelf take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the ſaid Cardinal, as of the Popes Holineſs, uncover the ſame, leſt that this your contumacy, exhibited now before us, ſhould be prejudicial to the ſaid moſt reverend Perſons (which thing we may in no caſe ſuffer) you ſhall cauſe us to take the pain, to cauſe ſome man to pluck off your Cap from you. To whom Mr.*Ridley* making his petition for licence, anſwered:

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The words of the Biſhop of Lincoln to Dr. Ridley for not putting off his Cap.

Ridley. As touching that you ſaid (my Lord) that you of your own perſons deſire no Cap nor Knee, but only require the ſame, in conſideration that you repreſent the Cardinal Graces perſon, I do you to wit, and thereupon make my proteſtation, that I did put off my Cap at the naming of the Cardinals Grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own perſons, neither for any derogation of honour toward the Lord Cardinals Grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the moſt Regal Blood, and in that he is a man indued with manifold graces of learning and vertue, and as touching theſe vertues and points, I with all humility (therewith he put of his Cap, and bowed his Knee) and obeyſance that I may, will reverence and honour his Grace; but in that he is Legate to the Biſhop of *Rome* (and therewith put on his Cap) whoſe uſurped Supremacy, and abuſed Authority I utterly refuſe and renounce, I may in no wiſe give any obeyſance or honour unto him, leſt that my ſo doing and behaviour might be prejudicial to mine Oath, and derogation to the verity of Gods Word: and therefore that I might not only by confeſſion profeſs the verity in not reverencing the renounced Authority, contrary to Gods Word, but alſo in geſture, in behaviour, and all my doings expreſs the ſame, I have put on my Cap, and for this conſideration only; and not for any contumacy to your Lordſhips, neither contempt of this worſhipful Audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the Cardinal his Grace, both for his noble Parentage, and alſo his excellent qualities, I have kept on my Cap.

Answer of D.Ridley to the Biſhop of Lincoln.

D.Ridley reverenceth the perſon of the Cardinal, but not his Legacy.

D.Ridley oweth not reverence to the Pope.

Lincoln. Maſter *Ridley*, you excuſe your ſelf of that, with the which we preſſed you not, in that you proteſt you keep on your Cap, neither for any contumacy towards us, (which look for no ſuch honour of you) neither for any contempt of this Audience: which although juſtly they may, yet (as I ſuppoſe) in this caſe do not require any ſuch obeyſance of you; neither in derogation of any honour due to my Lord Cardinals Grace, for his Regal deſcent (at which word Mr.*Ridley* moved his Cap) and excellent qualities; for although in all the premiſſes honour be due, yet in theſe reſpects we require none of you, but only in that my Lord Cardinals Grace is here in *England*, Deputy of the Popes Holineſs (at which word the Lords and others put off their Caps, and Mr.*Ridley* put on his) and therefore we ſay unto you the ſecond time, that except you take the pains your ſelf, to put your hand to your head, and put off your Cap, you ſhall put us to the pain, to cauſe ſome man to take it from you, except you alledge ſome infirmity and ſickneſs, or other more reaſonable cauſe, upon the conſideration whereof we may do as we think good.

D.White Biſhop of Lincoln repliech again.

Putting off Caps at the naming of the Pope.

Ridley. The premiſſes I ſaid only for this end, that it might as well appear to your Lordſhips, as to this worſhipful Audience, why and for what conſideration I uſed ſuch kind of behaviour, in not humbling my ſelf to your Lordſhips with Cap and Knee: and as for my ſickneſs, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at eaſe, as I was this long ſeaſon; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that uſurped Supremacy of *Rome*, and therefore contemn

D.Ridley anſwereth.

and

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and utterly deſpiſe all authority coming from him. In taking off my Cap, do as it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhips, and I ſhall be content.

The uſurped Supremacy of *Rome* defied.

D. *Ridleys* Cap pluckt off by force.

Then the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, after the third admonition, commanded one of the Beadles (that is an Officer of the Univerſity) to pluck his Cap from his head. M, *Ridley* bowing his head to the Officer, gently permitted him to take away his Cap.

After this the Biſhop of *Lincoln* in a long Oration exhorted Mr. *Ridley* to recant, and ſubmit himſelf to the Univerſal Faith of Chriſt, in this manner.

Lincoln. Mr. *Ridley*, I am ſure you have ſufficiently pondered with your ſelf the effect of this our Commiſſion with good adviſement, conſidering both points thereof, how that Authority is given to us, if you ſhall receive the true Doctrine of the Church (which firſt was founded by * *Peter* at *Rome* immediately after the death of Chriſt, and from him by lineal ſucceſſion hath been brought to this our time) if you will be content to renounce your former Errours, recant your heretical and ſeditious Opinions, content to yield your ſelf to the undoubted Faith, and Truth of the Goſpel, received and always taught of the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, the which the King and Queen, all the Nobles of this Realm, and Commons of the ſame, all Chriſtian People have and do confeſs, you only ſtanding alone by your ſelf: You underſtand and perceive, I am ſure, that Authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you and upon due penance to adjoyn and aſſociate you again into the number of the Catholicks and Chriſts Church, from the which you have ſo long ſtraied, without the which no man can be ſaved, the which thing I and my Lords here, yea and all, as well Nobles and Commons of this realm moſt heartily deſire, and I for my part (wherewith he put off his Cap) moſt earneſtly exhort you to do.

* Nay the Faith of Chriſt may be proved to have been at *Rome* in Tiberius time before *Peter* came there.

Remember (Mr. *Ridley*) it is no ſtrange Country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us, you have taken degrees in the School. You were made a Prieſt, and became a Preacher, ſetting forth the ſame Doctrine which we do now. You were made Biſhop according to our Laws; and to be ſhort, it is not ſo long agone, ſince you ſeparated your ſelf from us, and in the time of Hereſie became a ſetter forth of that deviliſh and ſeditious Doctrine which in theſe later days was preached amongſt us. For at what time the new Doctrine of † only Faith began to ſpring, the Council willing to win my Lord Chancellor, ſent you to him (I then being in my Lords houſe unknown as I ſuppoſe to you) and after you had talked with my Lord ſecretly, and were departed, immediately my Lord declared certain points of your talk, and means of your perſwaſion, and amongſt other this was one, that you ſhould ſay, (†) Tuſh my Lord, this matter of juſtification is but a trifle, let us not ſtick to condeſcend herein to them; but for Gods love my Lord, ſtand ſtoutly in the verity of the Sacrament: for I ſee they will aſſault that alſo. If this be true (as my Lord is a man credible enough in ſuch a matter) hereby it is declared of what mind you were then, as touching the Truth of the moſt bleſſed Sacrament.

Though the Country of *Rome* be not ſtrange, yet the Doctrine of *Rome* is ſtrange.

† Another untruth in Biſhop *White*, for only Faith, is no new Doctrine.

* The words of D. *Ridley* falſly reported.

Alſo in a Sermon of yours at *Pauls* Croſs, you as effectually and as Catholickly ſpake of that bleſſed Sacrament, as any man might have done, whereby it appeareth that it is no ſtrange thing, nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wiſh you to return thither from whence you came: that is together with us to acknowledge the Church of God, wherein no man may err, to acknowledge the Supremacy of our moſt reverend Father in God the Popes Holineſs, which (as I ſaid) lineally taketh his deſcent from *Peter*, upon whom Chriſt promiſed before his death, to build his Church; the which ſupremacy or prerogative, the moſt ancient Fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge: and here he brought a place or two out of the Doctors, but eſpecially ſtayed upon a ſaying of Saint *Auguſtine*, which writeth in this manner, *Totus orbis Chriſtianus in tranſmarinis, & longe remotis terris* Romanæ *Eccleſiæ ſubjectus eſt, i.* All the Chriſtian Countries beyond the Sea are ſubject to the Church of *Rome*. Here you ſee, Mr. *Ridley*, that all Chriſtendom is ſubject to the Church of *Rome*. What ſhould ſtay you therefore to confeſs the ſame with St. *Auſtin*, and the other Fathers.

The Biſhop of *Lincoln* perſwadeth D. *Ridley* to return to the Popes Church.

Dubitatur utrum hæc forma verborum ſit *Auguſtini*.

Then Mr. *Ridley* deſired his patience, to ſuffer him to ſpeak ſomewhat of the premiſſes, leſt the multitude of things might confound his memory; and having grant thereunto, he ſaid in this manner:

Ridley. My Lord, I moſt heartily thank your Lordſhip, as well for your gentleneſs, as alſo for your ſobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation, in the which I have marked eſpecially three points, which you uſed to perſwade me to leave my Doctrine and Religion, which I perfectly know and am throughly perſwaded to be grounded not upon mans imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible Truth of Chriſts Goſpel, and not to look back, and to return to the *Romiſh* See, contrary to mine Oath, contrary to the Prerogative and Crown of this Realm, and eſpecially (which moveth me moſt) contrary to the expreſſed Word of God.

Anſwer of D. *Ridley* to the Biſh. of *Lincoln*.

Three Points noted in the Biſhop of *Lincolns* Oration.

The firſt point is this, that the See of *Rome* taking his beginning from *Peter*, upon whom you ſay Chriſt hath builded his Church, hath in all ages lineally from Biſhop to Biſhop been brought to this time.

1. The See of *Rome* founded upon *Peter*.

Secondly, that even the holy Fathers from time to time have in their writings confeſſed the ſame.

2. The See of *Rome* confirmed by old Doctors.

Thirdly, that in that I was once of the ſame Opinion, and together with you I did acknowledge the ſame.

3. D. *Ridley* once of the ſame See.

Firſt, as touching the ſaying of Chriſt, from whence your Lordſhip gathereth the foundation of the Church upon *Peter*, truly the place is not ſo to be underſtood as you take it, as the circumſtance of the place will declare. For after that Chriſt had asked his Diſciples whom men judged him to be, and they had anſwered, that ſome had ſaid he was a Prophet, ſome *Helias*, ſome one thing ſome another, then he ſaid, Whom ſay ye that I am? Then *Peter* ſaid, I ſay that thou art Chriſt, the Son of God. To whom Chriſt anſwered, I ſay *Tu es* Petrus, *& ſuper hanc petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam, i.* Thou art *Peter*, and upon this ſtone I will build my Church; that is to ſay, upon this ſtone, not meaning *Peter* himſelf, as though he would have conſtituted a mortal man, ſo frail and brickle a foundation of his ſtable and infallible Church; but upon this Rock-ſtone, that is, this confeſſion of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my Church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Chriſtianity, with word, heart, and mind to confeſs that Chriſt is the Son of God. Whoſoever believeth not this, Chriſt is not in him; and he cannot have the mark of Chriſt printed in his forehead, which confeſſeth not that Chriſt is the Son of God.

The Church not builded upon *Peter*.

The Church builded upon Faith, not upon any perſon.

Therefore Chriſt ſaid unto *Peter*, that upon this Rock, that is, upon this his confeſſion, that he was Chriſt the Son of God, he would build his Church; to declare, that without this Faith no man can come to Chriſt: ſo that this belief, that Chriſt is the Son of God is the foundation of our Chriſtianity, and the foundation of our Church. Here you ſee upon what foundation Chriſts Church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the ſtable and infallible Word of God.

The words of Chriſt to *Peter* in Matth. 16. expounded. Faith is the foundation of the Church.

Now as touching the lineal deſcent of the Biſhops in the See of Rome, true it is, that the Patriarchs of *Rome* in the Apoſtles time, and long after, were great maintainers and ſetters forth of Chriſts glory, in the which above all other Countries and Regions there eſpecially was preached the true Goſpel, the Sacraments were moſt duly miniſtred; and as before Chriſts coming it was a City ſo valiant in proweſs, and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner ſubject to it, and after Chriſts Paſſion, divers of the Apoſtles there ſuffered perſecution for the Goſpels ſake: ſo after that the Emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the Goſpel, and became Chriſtians, the Goſpel there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flouriſhed moſt, whereby the Biſhops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, moſt eſteemed in all Councils and Aſſemblies, not becauſe they acknowledged them to be their Head, but becauſe the place was moſt reverenced and ſpoken of, for the great power and ſtrength of the ſame. As now here in *England*, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* in Seſſions and Sittings hath the Prehemnence of the other Biſhops, not that he is the Head and Ruler of them; but for the dignity of the Biſhoprick

Lineal deſcent of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Why the Biſhops of *Rome* have been more eſteemed than the Biſhops of other Cities.

(and

Anno 1555.

The Prerogative that the Doctors give to the See of *Rome*, and for what cause.

(and therewith the People smiled.) Wherefore the Doctors in their Writings have spoken most reverently of this See of *Rome*, and in their writings preferred it, and this is the Prerogative which your Lordship did rehearse the ancient Doctors to give to the See of *Rome*.

The See of *Rome*, so long as it continued in found Doctrine, was worthy to be reverenced.

Semblably, I cannot, nor dare not but commend, reverence, and honour the See of *Rome*, as long as it continued in the promotion, and setting forth of Gods glory, and in due preaching of the Gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But after that the Bishops of that See, seeking their own pride, and not Gods honour, began to set themselves above Kings and Emperours, challenging to them the title of Gods Vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. *Gregory* a Bishop of *Rome* also, confess that the Bishop of that place is the very true Antichrist, whereof St. *John* speaketh by the name of the Whore of *Babylon*, and say with the said St. *Gregory*; he that maketh himself a Bishop over all the world, is worse than Antichrist.

The Bishop of *Rome* proved to be Antichrist.

The place of S. *Austin* answered.

Now whereas you say St. *Augustine* should seem not only to give such a Prerogative, but also Supremacy to the See of *Rome*, in that he saith, all the Christian world is subject to the Church of *Rome*, and therefore should give to that See a certain kind of subjection: I am sure that your Lordship knoweth, that in St. *Austins* time

Four Patriarchs in the Church in *Austins* time.

there were four Patriarchs, of *Alexandria*, *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, and *Rome*, which Patriarchs had under them certain Countries; as in *England* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* hath under him divers Bishopricks in *England* and *Wales*, to whom he may be said to be their Patriarch. Also your Lordship knoweth right well, that at what time St. *Austin* wrote this Book, he was then Bishop in *Affrica*. Farther you are not ignorant, that between *Europe* and *Affrica* lieth the Sea called *Mare Mediterraneum*, so that all the Countries in *Europe* to him which is in *Affrica* may be called *Transmarinæ*, Countries beyond the Sea. Hereof St. *Austin* saith, *Totus orbis Christianus in transmarinis & longe remotis terris, Ecclesiæ* Romanæ *subjectus est. i.* All the Christian Countries beyond the Seas and far Regions, are subject to the See of *Rome*. If I should say all Countries beyond the Sea, I do except *England*, which to me now being in *England*, is not beyond the Sea. In this sense St. *Austin* saith, All the Countries beyond the Sea are subject to the See of *Rome*, declaring thereby that *Rome* was one of the Sees of the four Patriarchs, and under it *Europe*, by what subjection I pray you? only for a preheminence, as we here in *England* say, that all the Bishopricks in *England* are subject to the Archbishopricks of *Canterbury* and *York*.

Countries beyond the Sea subject to *Rome*, how and in what respect.

Rome may be Mother of Churches, and yet not supream Head of Churches.

For this preheminence also the other Doctors (as you recited) say, that *Rome* is the Mother of Churches, as the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* is Mother to the Bishoprick of *Oxford*, because the Bishoprick of *Oxford* came from the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, and they were both once one, and so is the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* Mother to the other Bishopricks which are in her Province. In like sort the Archbishoprick of *York* is Mother to the North-Bishopricks; and yet no man will say, that *Lincoln*, *Canterbury* or *York*, is supream Head to other Bishopricks; neither then ought we to confess the See of *Rome* to be supream Head, because the Doctors in their Writings confess the See of *Rome* to be Mother of Churches.

Now where you say, I was once of the same Religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same. Yet so was St. *Paul* a persecutor of Christ. But in that you say, that I was one of you not long agone, in that I doing my message to my Lord of *Winchester*, should desire him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the Supper of the Lord; in very deed I was sent (as your Lordship said) from the Council to my Lord of *Winchester*, to exhort him to receive also the true confession of Justification; and because he was very refractorious, I said to him, Why, my Lord, what make you so great a matter herein? You see many Anabaptists rise against the Sacrament of the Altar; I pray you, my Lord, be diligent in confounding of them: for at that time my Lord of *Winchester* and I had to do with two Anabaptists in *Kent*. In this sense I willed my Lord to be stiff in the defence of the Sacrament against the detestable errors of Anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal Opinion now maintained.

D. *Ridley* falsly charged to preach Transubstantiation at *Pauls-Cross*.

In like sort, as touching the Sermon which I made at *Pauls-Cross*, you shall understand that there were at *Pauls*, and divers other places, fixed railing Bills against the Sacrament, terming it *Jack* of the Box, the Sacrament of the Halter, Round *Robbin*, with such like unseemly terms; for the which causes, I to rebuke the unreverend behaviour of certain evil disposed persons, preached as reverendly of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the misthandling thereof, affirming in that Sacrament to be truly and verily the Body and Blood of Christ, effectually by grace and spirit: which words the unlearned understanding not, supposed that I had meant of the gross and carnal being which the *Romish* Decrees set forth, that a Body having life and motion, should be indeed under the shapes of Bread and Wine.

Dr. *Ridley* mistaken in his Sermon.

With that the Bishop of *Lincoln* somewhat interrupting him, said:

Linc. Well, Mr. *Ridley*, thus you wrest places to your own pleasure; for whereas S. *Augustine* saith, that the whole Christian world is subject to the See of *Rome* without any limitation, and useth these words, *In transmarinis, & longe remotis terris*, only to express the latitude of the Dominion of the See of *Rome*, willing thereby to declare that all the world, yea Countries far distant from *Rome*, yet nevertheless are subject to that See, yet you would wrest it, and leave it only to *Europe*. I am sure ye will not deny, but that *Totus mundus* is more than *Europe*.

Lincoln again replieth.

Rid. Indeed, my Lord, if St. *Austin* had said *simpliciter totus mundus*, and not added *in transmarinis*, it had been without limitation; but in that he said, *Totus mundus in transmarinis partibus*, all the Countries beyond the Seas, he himself doth limit the universal proposition, declaring how far he meant by *totus mundus*.

D. *Ridley* again answereth to the words of *Austin*.

The Bishop not staying for his answer, did proceed, saying:

Linc. Well, if I should stay upon this place, I could bring many more places of the Fathers for the confirmation thereof; but we have certain instructions, according to the which we must proceed, and came not hither to dispute the matter with you, but only to take your answers to certain Articles, and used this in the way of disputation, in the which you interrupted me; wherefore I will return thither again.

Lincoln returneth again to his Oration.

Ye must consider that the Church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a City on the Mountain, and a Candle on the Candlestick. Ponder with your self, that the Church of Christ is *Catholica*, Catholick, which is deduced of κατὰ ὅλον, that is, *per omnia*: so that Christs Church is universally spread throughout the world, not contained in the * alligation of places, not comprehended in the circuit of *England*, not contained in the compass of *Germany* and *Saxony*, as your Church is.

* And why then do you alligate it to the City of *Rome*?

Wherefore (Mr. *Ridley*) for Gods love be ye not singular; acknowledge with all the Realm the Truth, it shall not be (as you alledge) prejudicial to the Crown; for the King and Queen their Majesties have renounced that usurped Power taken of their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you know that there are two Powers, the one declared by the Sword, the other by the Keys. The Sword is given to Kings and Rulers of Countries; the Keys were delivered by Christ to *Peter*, and of him left to all the Successors. As touching our goods, possession and lives, we with you acknowledge us subjects to the King and Queen, who hath the temporal Sword; but as concerning matters of Religion, as touching Gods quarrel and his Word, we acknowledge another Head: and as the King and the Queen their Highness do in all the worldly affairs justly challenge the Prerogative and Primacy, so in Spiritual and Ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge themselves not to be Heads and Rulers, but members of Christs Body. Why therefore should ye stick at that matter, the which their Majesties have forsaken and yielded.

Two Powers, of the Keys, and of the Sword.

England, how subject to the King, and how to the Pope.

Where-

Anno 1555.

B. *Ridley* exhorted to ſubmit himſelf the Pope.

Wherefore (Mr. *Ridley*) you ſhall not onely not do injury to the Crown, and be prejudicial to their Majeſties honour, in acknowledging with all Chriſtendom the Popes Holineſs to be ſupreme Head of Chriſts Church here militant in earth, but do a thing moſt dilectable in their ſight, and moſt deſired of his Holineſs. Thus if you will do, revoking together all your errours, acknowledging with the reſidue of the Realm the common and the publick fault, you ſhall do that all men moſt heartily deſire; you ſhall bring quietneſs to your Conſcience, and health to your Soul; then ſhall we with great joy, by the Authority committed to us from the Cardinals Grace, receive you into the Church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten, but a lively member of the ſame: but if you ſhall ſtill be ſingular, if you ſhall ſtill and obſtinately perſevere in your errours, ſtubbornly maintaining your former Hereſies, then we muſt againſt our will, according to our Commiſſion, ſeparate you from us, and cut you off from the Church, leſt the rottenneſs of one part in proceſs of time putrifie and corrupt the whole body, then muſt we confeſs and publiſh you to be none of ours; then muſt we yield you up to the temporal Judges, of whom, except it otherwiſe pleaſe the King and Queens Highneſs, you muſt receive puniſhment by the Laws of this Realm, due for Hereticks.

Fear of puniſhment for before him.

Wherefore, Mr. *Ridley*, conſider your ſtate, remember your former degrees, ſpare your body, eſpecially conſider your Soul, which Chriſt ſo dearly bought with his precious Blood, do not you raſhly caſt away that which was precious in Gods ſight; *enforce not us to do all* that we may do, which is not onely to publiſh you to be none of us, to cut you off from the Church: we do not, nor cannot condemn you to die (as moſt untruely hath been reported of us) but that is the temporal Judges * Office; we onely declare you to be none of the Church, and then muſt you, according to the tenour of them, and pleaſure of the Rulers, abide their determination, ſo that we, after that we have given you up to the temporal Rulers, have no further to do with you.

* But that office you your ſelves have aſſigned unto them.

But I truſt (Maſter *Ridley*) we ſhall not have occaſion to do that we may. I truſt you will ſuffer us to reſt in that point of our Commiſſion, which we moſt heartily deſire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and again to adjoyn you to the Unity of the Church.

Then Maſter *Ridley*, with often interruption, at length ſpake.

Anſwer of D. *Ridley* to *Lincoln.*

Ridley. My Lord, I acknowledge an unſpotted Church of Chriſt, in the which * no man can err, without the which no man can be ſaved, the which is ſpread thorowout all the World, that is, the Congregation of the faithful; neither do I alligate or bind the ſame to any one place, as you ſaid, but confeſs the ſame to be ſpread thorowout all the World; and where Chriſts Sacraments are duely miniſtred, his Goſpel truely preached and followed, there doth Chriſts Church ſhine as a City upon an hill, and as a candle in the candleſtick: but rather it is ſuch as you that would have the Church of Chriſt bound to a place, which appoint the ſame to *Rome*, that there and no where elſe is the foundation of Chriſts Church. But I am fully perſwaded that Chriſts Church is every where founded, in every place where his Goſpel is truely received, and effectually followed. And in that the Church of God is in doubt, I uſe herein the wiſe Counſel of *Vincentius Lyrinenſis*, whom I am ſure you will allow, who giving precepts how the Catholick Church may be in all Schiſms and Hereſies known, writeth in this manner: When (ſaith he) one part is corrupted with Hereſies, then preferr the whole World before that one part; but if the greateſt part be infected, then preferr antiquity.

* He meaneth, in which general errour can be finally.

The Church tyed to no place.

The Catholicks do bind the Church to a certain place, and that onely to *Rome.*

The Proteſtants bind the Church to no one certain place but follow the confeſſion of the Word.

The counſel of *Lyrinenſis*, what Church to follow.

The greateſt part of chriſtianity infected with the Church of *Rome*, and in what points.

In like ſort now, when I perceive the greateſt part of Chriſtianity to be infected with the poyſon of the *See* of *Rome*, I repair to the uſage of the Primitive Church, which I find clean contrary to the Popes decrees; as in that the Prieſt receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the Laity to receive in both kinds, and ſuch like: Wherefore it requireth, that I preferr the Antiquity of the Primitive Church, before the Novelty of the *Romiſh Church.*

Lincoln. Maſter *Ridley*, theſe faults which you charge the See of *Rome* withal, are indeed no faults. For firſt, it was never forbid the Laity, but that they might, if * they demanded, receive under both kinds. You know alſo, that Chriſt after his reſurrection, at what time he went with his Apoſtles to *Galilee*, opened himſelf by breaking of Bread. You know that Saint *Paul* after his long ſayling towards *Rome* brake Bread, and that the Apoſtles came together in breaking of Bread, which declareth that it is not unlawful to miniſter the Sacrament under the form of Bread onely: and yet the Church had juſt occaſion to decree, that the Laity ſhould receive in one kind onely, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Chriſt was not wholly both Fleſh and Blood under the form of Bread. Therefore to take away their opinion, and to eſtabliſh better the Peoples Faith, the Holy Ghoſt in the Church thought fit to decree, that the Laity ſhould receive onely in one kind; and it is no news for the Church upon juſt conſideration to alter Rites and Ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apoſtles, that Saint *Paul* writing to certain of the Gentiles, which had received the Goſpel, biddeth them to abſtain *à ſuffocato & ſanguine*, from things ſtifled, and from Blood, ſo that this ſeemeth to be an expreſs commandment; yet who will ſay but that it is lawful to eat bloodings? how is it lawful, but by the permiſſion of the Church,

* the Behemian. required that and were ſhent for their labour.

Great reaſons of the Catholicks to prove the Communion under one kind.

Argument. The Church did abrogate the precept of the Apoſtles of ſtrangled and bloodings: *Ergo*, the Church likewiſe hath Authority touching the miniſtration under both kinds.

Anſwer. The precept of the Apoſtles was but for a time, and for a purpoſe, by little and little to win the Jews.

Ridley. My Lord, ſuch things as St. *Paul* enjoyned to the Gentiles for a ſufferance, by a little and little to win the Jews to Chriſt, were onely commandments of time, and reſpected not the ſucceſſors: but Chriſts Commandment, Do this (that is, that which he did in remembrance, which was not to miniſter in one kind onely) was not a commandment for a time, but to perſevere to the Worlds end.

But the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, not attending to this anſwer, without any ſtay proceeded in this Oration.

So that the Church ſeemeth to have Authority by the Holy Ghoſt, whom Chriſt ſaid he would ſend after his aſcenſion, which ſhould teach the Apoſtles all truth, to have power and juriſdiction to alter ſuch points of the Scripture, ever reſerving the foundation: but we came not, as I ſaid before, in this ſort to reaſon the matter with you, but have certain inſtructions miniſtred unto us, according to the tenour of the which we muſt proceed, propoſing certain Articles, unto the which we require your anſwer directly, either affirmatively, or negatively to every of them, either denying them or granting them without farther diſputations or reaſoning; for we have already ſtretcht our inſtructions, in that we ſuffered you to debate and reaſon the matter, in ſuch ſort as we have done: the which Articles you ſhall hear now, and to morrow at eight of the clock in Saint *Maries Church* we will require and take your anſwers; and then according to the ſame proceed: and if you require a copy of them, you ſhall have it, pen, ink, and paper, alſo ſuch books as you ſhall demand, if they be to be gotten in the Univerſity.

The Articles.

IN *Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Iohannes Lincoln, Iacobus Gloceſt. & Iohannes Briſtol, Epiſcopi. per reverendiſſ. Dominum Reginaldum miſeratione divina S. Mariæ in Coſmedin, &c.*

Articles jointly and ſeverally miniſtred to D. *Ridley* and M. *Latimer* by the Popes deputie.

1. We do object to thee *Nicholas Ridley*, and to thee *Hugh Latimer*, jointly and ſeverally, firſt, that thou *Nicholas Ridley* in this high Univerſity of *Oxford*, *Anno* 1554. in the months of *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, or in ſome one or more of them haſt affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places beſides, that the true and natural Body of Chriſt, after the Conſecration of the Prieſt, is not really preſent in the Sacrament of the Altar.

2. *Item*, that in the year and months aforeſaid thou haſt publickly affirmed and defended, that in the Sacrament of the Altar remaineth ſtill the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine.

3. *Item*, that in the ſaid year and months thou haſt openly affirmed, and obſtinately maintained, that in the Maſs is no propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4. *Item*,

4. *Item*, that in the year, place, and months aforeſaid, theſe the foreſaid aſſertions ſolemnly had been condemned, by the ſcholaſtical cenſure of this ſchool, as Hereticall and contrary to the Catholick Faith, by the worſhipful Mr. Doctor *Weſton*, Prolocutor then of the Convocation Houſe, as alſo by other learned men of both the Univerſities.

5 *Item*, that all and ſingular the premiſſes be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by publick fame, as well to them neer hand, and alſo to them in diſtant places far off.

Examination upon the ſaid Articles.

ALl theſe Articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearſall ſhall be of any of them, the Reader may have recourſe hither, and peruſe the ſame, and not to trouble the ſtory with ſeveral repetitions thereof.

B. *Ridley* examined upon the Articles aforeſaid.

Lincoln. After theſe Articles were read, the Biſhops took Counſel together. At the laſt the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſaid; Theſe are the very ſame Articles which you in open diſputation here in the Univerſity did maintain and defend. What ſay you unto the firſt? I pray you anſwer affirmatively, or negatively.

Ridley. Why, my Lord, I ſuppoſed your gentleneſs had been ſuch, that you would have given me ſpace untill to morrow, that upon good adviſement I might bring a determinate anſwer.

Linc. Yea, Mr. *Ridley*, I mean not that your anſwers now ſhall be prejudicial to your anſwers to morrow. I will take your anſwers at this time, and yet notwithſtanding it ſhall be lawful to you to add, diminiſh, alter, and change of theſe anſwers to morrow what you will.

The Catholicks promiſe fair, but they perform nothing.

Rid. Indeed, in like manner at our laſt diſputations I had many things promiſed, and few performed. It was ſaid, that after diſputations I ſhould have a copy thereof, and licenſe to change mine anſwers, as I ſhould think good. It was meet alſo that I ſhould have ſeen what was written by the Notaries at that time. So your Lordſhip pretended great gentleneſs in giving me a time; but this gentleneſs is the ſame that Chriſt had of the high Prieſt. For you, as your Lordſhip ſaith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death: ſo in like ſort the high Prieſts ſaid, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Chriſt to *Pilate*, neither would ſuffer him to abſolve Chriſt, although he ſought all the means therefore that he might. Then ſpake Doctor *Weſton*, one of the audience.

The high prieſts had not power to put Chriſt to death but they had power to commit him to *Pilate*, neither would they ſuffer him to abſolve Chriſt.

Weſt. What? do you make the King *Pilate*?

D. *Weſton* ſhooteth his bolt.

Rid. No, Mr. Doctor; I do but compare your deeds with *Caiaphas* his deeds and the high Prieſts, which would condemn no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not ſuffer *Pilate* to abſolve and deliver Chriſt.

Linc. Mr. *Ridley*, we mind not but that you ſhall enjoy the benefit of anſwering to morrow, and will take your anſwers now as now, to morrow you ſhall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the mean ſeaſon we require you to anſwer directly to every Article, either affirmatively or negatively.

The proteſtation of D. *Ridley*.

Rid. Seeing you appoint me a time to anſwer to morrow, and yet will take mine anſwers out of hand: firſt, I require the Notaries, to take and write my proteſtation, that in no point I acknowledge your Authority, or admit you to be my Judges, in that point you are authorized from the Pope. Therefore whatſoever I ſhall ſay or do, I proteſt, I neither ſay it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the Authority of the Pope; and if your Lordſhip will give me leave, I will ſhew the cauſes, which move me thereunto.

Linc. No, Mr. *Ridly*, we have inſtructions to the contrary. We may not ſuffer you.

D. *Ridley* cannot be ſuffered to ſpeak.

Rid. I will be ſhort; I pray your Lordſhips ſuffer me to ſpeak in few words.

Linc. No, Maſter *Ridley*, we may not abuſe the hearers ears.

Rid. Why, my Lord, ſuffer me to ſpeak three words.

Linc. Well, Mr. *Ridley*, to morrow you ſhall ſpeak forty. The time is far paſt; therefore we require your anſwer determinately. What ſay you to the firſt Article? and thereupon rehearſed the ſame. Anno 1555.

Rid. My proteſtation alwayes ſaved, that by this mine anſwer I do not condeſcend to your Authority, in that you are Legate to the Pope, I anſwer thus: In a ſenſe the firſt Article is true, and in a ſenſe it is falſe; for if you take really for *verè*, for ſpiritually by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural Body and Blood of Chriſt is in the Sacrament *vere & realiter*, indeed and really; but if you take theſe tearms ſo groſly, that you would conclude thereby a natural Body having motion, to be contained under the forms of Bread and Wine, *verè & realiter*, then really is not the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament, no more then the Holy Ghoſt is in the element of water in our Baptiſm. Becauſe this anſwer was not underſtood. The Notaries wiſt not how to note it; wherefore the Biſhop of *Lincoln* willed him to anſwer either affirmatively, or negatively, either to grant the Article, or to deny it.

The reall preſence in the Sacrament may have a double ſenſe. Equivocation in the word really. How the Body of Chriſt may be ſaid to be really, and how not really in the Sacrament.

Ridley. My Lord, you know that where any *equivocation* (which is a word having two ſignifications) is, except diſtinction be given, no direct anſwer can be made; for it is one of *Ariſtotles* fallacies, containing two queſtions under one the which cannot be ſatisfied with one anſwer. For both you and I agree herein, that in the Sacrament is the very true and natural Body and Blood of Chriſt, even that which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, which aſcended into Heaven, which ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which ſhall come from thence to judge the quick and the Dead, onely we differ *in modo*, in the way and manner of being: we confeſs all one thing to be in the Sacrament, and diſſent in the manner of being there. I being fully by Gods Word thereunto perſwaded, confeſs Chriſts natural Body to be in the Sacrament indeed by Spirit and grace, becauſe that whoſoever receiveth worthily that Bread and Wine, receiveth effectuouſly Chriſts Body, and drinketh his Blood, that is, he is made effectually partaker of his paſſion; and you make a groſſer kind of being, incloſing a natural, a lively, and a moving Body, under the ſhape or form of Bread and Wine.

2 Queſtions under.

The Papiſts & Proteſtants in granting the preſence do agree only in the manner of being they differ. How Chriſts Body is effectuouſly received in the Sacrament.

Now, this difference conſidered, to the queſtion thus I anſwer, that in the Sacrament of the Altar is the natural Body and Blood of Chriſt *verè & realiter*, indeed and really for ſpiritually by grace and efficacy; for ſo every worthy receiver receiveth the very true Body of Chriſt: but if you mean really and indeed, ſo that thereby you would include a lively and a movable Body under the forms of Bread and wine, then in that ſenſe is not Chriſts Body in the Sacrament really and indeed.

How Chriſt may be granted to be really in the Sacrament, and how not.

This anſwer taken and penned of the Notaries, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* propoſed the ſecond queſtion or Article. To whom he anſwered:

Rid. Alwayes my proteſtation referred, I anſwer thus: that in the Sacrament is a certain change, in that that Bread, which was before common Bread, is now made a lively preſentation of Chriſts Body, and not onely a figure, but effectuouſly repreſenteth his Body, that even as the mortal Body was nouriſhed by that viſible Bread, ſo is the internal Soul fed with the heavenly food of Chriſts Body, which the eyes of faith ſeeth, as the bodily eyes ſeeth onely Bread. Such a Sacramental mutation I grant to be in the Bread and Wine, which truely is no ſmall change, but ſuch a change as no mortal man can make, but onely that Omnipotency of Chriſts Word.

Whatchange is in the Sacramental Bread. Sacramental mutation. The ſubſtance of Bread and Wine in the Sacrament not changed.

Then the Biſhop of *Lincoln* willed him to anſwer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he anſwered:

Rid. That notwithſtanding the Sacramental mutation of the which he ſpake, and all the *Doctors* confeſſed, the true ſubſtance and nature of Bread and wine remaineth: with the which the Body is in like ſort nouriſhed, as the Soul is by grace and Spirit with the Body of Chriſt. Even ſo in Baptiſm the Body is waſhed with the viſible water, & the Soul is cleanſed from all filth by the inviſible Holy Ghoſt, and yet the water ceaſeth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water ſtill: In like ſort in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper the Bread ceaſeth not to be Bread.

Comparison between the Sacrament of the Communion and of Baptiſm.

Then

Anno 1555.

Then the Notaries penned, that he anſwered affirmatively to the ſecond Article. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* declared a difference between the Sacrament of the Altar and Baptiſm, becauſe that Chriſt ſaid not by the Water, this is the holy Ghoſt, as he did by the Bread; *This is my Body.*

What difference the Catholicks put between the Sacrament of the Communion and Baptiſm.

Then Mr. *Ridley* recited St. *Auſtin* which conferred both the Sacraments the one with the other: but the B. of *Lincoln* notwithſtanding thereupon recited the third Article, and required a direct anſwer. To whom *Ridley* ſaid?

Anſwer to the third Article.

Rid. Chriſt, as Saint *Paul* writeth, made one perfect ſacirifice for the ſins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that Sacrifice of his, and yet is the Communion an acceptable Sacrifice to God of praiſe and thankſgiving; but to ſay that thereby ſins are taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by Chriſts paſſion, of the which the Communion is only a memory) that is a great derogation of the merits of Chriſts paſſion: for the Sacrament was inſtituted, that we receiving it, and thereby recogniſing and remembring his paſſion, ſhould be partakers of the merits of the ſame. For otherwiſe doth this Sacrament take upon it the office of Chriſts paſſion, whereby it might follow, that Chriſt died in vain.

Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Maſs is the derogation to Chriſts Paſſion.

The Notaries penned this his anſwer to be affirmatively. Then ſaid the Biſhop of *Lincoln*:

Unbloody ſacrifice.

Lin. Indeed as you alleadge out of Saint *Paul*, Chriſt made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloody ſacrifice upon the Croſs: yet nevertheleſs he hath left this ſacrifice, but not bloody, in the remembrance of that by the which ſins are forgiven; the which is no derogation of Chriſts paſſion.

Then recited the Biſhop of *Lincoln* the fourth Article. to the which Mr. *Ridley* anſwered:

Anſwer to the fourth Article.

Rid. That in ſome part the fourth was true, and in ſome part falſe; true, in that thoſe his aſſertions were condemned as Hereſies, although unjuſtly; falſe, in that it was ſaid they were condemned *Scientia Scholaſtica*, in that the diſputations were in ſuch ſort ordered, that it was far from any School Act.

This anſwer penned of the Notaries, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* rehearſed the fifth Article. To the which he anſwered:

Rid. That the premiſſes were in ſuch ſort true, as in theſe his anſwers he had declared. Whether that all men ſpake evil of them, he knew not, in that he came not ſo much abroad to hear what every man reported.

This anſwer alſo written of the Notaries, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſaid:

Dr. *Ridley* aſſigned to appear again the next day.

Linc. To morrow at eight of the Clock you ſhall appear before us in S. *Maries* Church, and then becauſe we cannot well agree upon your anſwer to the firſt Article (for it was long before he was underſtood) if it will pleaſe you to write your Anſwer, you ſhall have pen, ink, and paper, and Books, ſuch as you ſhall require; but if you write any thing ſaving your anſwers to theſe Articles, we will not receive it: ſo he charging the Mayor with him, declaring alſo to the Mayor that he ſhould ſuffer him to have a pen and ink, diſmiſſed Mr. *Ridley*, and ſent for Mr. *Latimer*, who being brought to the Divinity School, there tarried till they called for him.

Mr. Latimer *appeareth before the Commiſſioners.*

Mr. *Latimer* appeareth before the Deputies.

NOw after Mr. *Ridley* was committed to the Mayor, then the Biſhop of *Lincoln* commanded the Bayliffs to bring in the other Priſoner, who eftſoons as he was placed, ſaid to the Lords.

Lat. My Lords, if I appear again I pray you not to ſend for me until you be ready. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarry ſo long gazing upon the cold walls. Then the Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

Lin. Mr *Latimer*, I am ſorry you are brought ſo ſoon, although it is the Bayliffs fault, and not mine; but it ſhall be amended.

The order of Mr. *Latimers* apparel.

Then Mr. *Latimer* bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a Kerchief on his head and upon it a night-Cap or two, and a great Cap (ſuch as Townſmen uſe, with two broad flaps to butten under the Chin) wearing an old thred-bare *Briſtow* Frize gown girded to his Body with a penny leather Girdle, at the which hanged by a long ſtring of leather his Teſtament, and his ſpectacles without caſe, depending about his neck upon his breſt. After this the Biſhop of *Lincoln* began on this manner.

The Oration of *Lincoln* to M. *Latimer.*

Linc. Mr. *Latimer*, you ſhall underſtand, that I and my Lords here have a Commiſſion from my Lord *Cardinal Pools* Grace, Legate *a latere* to this Realm of *England*, from our moſt reverend Father in God, the Popes Holineſs, to examine you upon certain Opinions and Aſſertions of yours, which you as well here openly in diſputations in the year of our Lord 1554, as at ſundry, and at divers other times did affirm, maintain, and obſtinately defend. In the which Commiſſion be ſpecially two points; the one which we muſt deſire you is, that if you ſhall now recant, revoke, and diſannul theſe your Errors, and together with all this Realm, yea all the world confeſs the Truth, we upon due repentance of you part ſhall receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a ſtrayed ſheep, but adjoyn you again to the unity of Chriſt Church, from the which you in the time of Schiſm fell. So that it is no new place to the which I exhort you; I deſire you to return thither from whence you went.

But this Church then ſtandeth upon the Truth of Gods Word, and not upon the fantaſie of man.

Conſider, Mr. *Latimer*, that without the unity of the Church is no ſalvation; and in the Church can be no Errors. Therefore what ſhould ſtay you to confeſs that which all the Realm confeſſeth, to forſake that which the King and Queen their Majeſties have renounced, and all the Realm recanted: it was a common Error, and it is now of all confeſſed, It ſhall be no more ſhame to you, than it was to us all. Conſider, Mr. *Latimer*, that within theſe twenty years this Realm alſo with all the world confeſſed one Church, acknowledged in Chriſts Church an Head, and by what means and for what occaſion it cut off it ſelf from the reſt of Chriſtianity, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confeſſed, it is well known, and might be now declared upon what good foundation the See of *Rome* was forſaken, ſave that we muſt ſpare them that are dead, to whom the rehearſal would be opprobious: it is no uſurped Power, as it hath been termed, but founded upon *Peter* by Chriſt, a ſure foundation, a perfect builder, as by divers places, as well of the ancient Fathers, as by the expreſs Word of God may be proved.

How you ſpared the dead, your own acts can bear witneſs. The Popes Authority.

With that Mr. *Latimer*, which before leaned his head to his hand, began ſomewhat to remove his Cap and Kerchief from his ears.

The Biſhop proceeded, ſaying, For Chriſt ſpake expreſſly to *Peter* ſaying, *Paſce oves meas; & rege oves meas*, the which word doth not only declare a certain ruling of Chriſts Flock, but includeth alſo a certain preheminence and government; and therefore is the King called, *Rex à regendo*: ſo that in ſaying *rege*, Chriſt declared a power which he gave to *Peter*, which juriſdiction and power *Peter* by hand delivered to *Clement*, and ſo in all Ages hath it remained in the See of *Rome*. This, if you ſhall confeſs with us, and acknowledge with all the Realm your Errors and falſe Aſſertions, then ſhall you do that which we moſt deſire, then ſhall we reſt upon the firſt part of our Commiſſion, then ſhall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the Church, and according to the Authority given unto us, miniſter unto you, upon due repentance, the benefit of abſolution, to the which the King and Queen their Majeſties were not aſhamed to ſubmit themſelves, although they of themſelves were unſpotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation: yet leſt the putrifaction and rottenneſs of all the Body might be noyſom, and do damage to the head alſo, they (as I ſaid) moſt humbly ſubmitted themſelves to my Lord Cardinal his Grace, by him, as a Legate to the Popes Holineſs, to be partakers of the reconciliation. But if you ſhall ſtubbornly perſevere in your blindneſs, if you will not acknowledge your Errors, if you, as you now ſtand alone, will be ſingular in your Opinions, if by Schiſm and Hereſie you will divide your ſelf from your Church, then muſt we proceed to the ſecond part of the Commiſſion, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemn you, for that we cannot do (that the temporal Sword of the Realm, and * not we, will do) but to ſeparate you

ποιμαίνειν, ſignifieth to feed, or to rule.

* *Qui tradiderunt me tibi majus peccatum habent*, ſaith Chriſt.

from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the Church, to declare that you are *filius perditionis*, a loſt Child, and as you are a rotten member of the Church, ſo to cut you off from the Church, and ſo to commit you to the temporal Judges, permitting them to proceed againſt you, according to the tenor of their Laws.

Perſwaſions uſed to Mr. *Latimer* to return to the unity of the Popes Church. Reaſons to perſwade the fleſh, but not to ſatiſfie Conſcience.

Therefore M. *Latimer*, for Gods love conſider your eſtate, remember you are a Learned man, you have taken degrees in the School, born the office of a Biſhop; remember you are an old man, ſpare your body, accelerate not your death, and ſpecially remember your Souls health, quiet of your Conſcience; conſider that if you ſhould die in this ſtate, you ſhall be a ſtinking ſacrifice to God; for it is the cauſe that maketh the Martyr, and not the death: conſider that if you die in this ſtate, you die without grace, for without the Church can be no ſalvation. Let not vain-glory have the upper hand, humiliate your ſelf, captivate your underſtanding, ſubdue your reaſon, ſubmit your ſelf to the determination of the Church, do not force us to do all that we may do, let us reſt in that part which we moſt heartily deſire, and I, for my part (then the Biſhop put of his Cap) again with all my heart exhort you.

After the Biſhop had ſomewhat pauſed, then M. *Latimer* lift up his head (for before he leaned on his elbow) and asked whether his Lordſhip had ſaid; and the Biſhop anſwered, Yea.

Lat. Then will your Lordſhip give me leave to ſpeak a word or two?

Linc. Yea, Mr. *Latimer*, ſo that you uſe a modeſt kind of talk, without railing or taunts.

M. *Latimer* hath leave to ſit down.

Lat. I beſeech your Lordſhip, licence me to ſit down.

Linc. At your pleaſure, Mr. *Latimer*, take as much eaſe as you will.

Anſwer of M. *Latimer* to the B. of *Lincoln.*

Lat. Your Lordſhip gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the Church. I confeſs (my Lord) a Catholick Church, ſpread throwout all the world, in the which no man may err, without the which unity of the Church no man can be ſaved: but I know perfectly by Gods Word, that this Church is in all the world, and hath not his foundation in *Rome* only, as you ſay; and me thought your Lordſhip brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirm the ſame, that there was a Juriſdiction given to *Peter*, in that Chriſt bade him *regere*, govern his People. Indeed, my Lord, St. *Peter* did well and truly his office, in that he was bid *regere*: but ſince the Biſhops of *Rome* have taken a new kind of *regere*. Indeed they ought *regere*, but how my Lord? not as they will themſelves: but this *regere* muſt be hedged in and ditched in. They muſt *regere*, but *ſecundum Verbum Dei*; they muſt rule, but according to the Word of God.

The univerſal Church hath not his foundation only in *Rome.* Argument. Chriſt bade *Peter, regere*, govern his People: *Ergo*, the Pope muſt play the Rex, to reign over Kings and Emperors.

Regere ſecundum verbum, turned to *regere ſecundum voluntatem.*

But the Biſhops of *Rome* have turned *regere ſecundum Verbum Dei*, into *regere ſecundum voluntatem ſuam*: they have turned the Rule according to the Word of God, into the Rule according to their own pleaſures, and as it pleaſeth them beſt: as there is a Book ſet forth which hath divers points in it, and amongſt other, this point is one, which your Lordſhip went about to prove by this word *Regere*, and the Argument which he bringeth forth for the proof of that matter, is taken out of *Deuteronomy*, where it is ſaid, If there ariſeth any controverſie among the People, the Prieſts, *Levitici generis*, of the order of *Levi*, ſhall decide the matter *ſecundum Legem Dei*, according to the Law of God; ſo it muſt be taken. This Book perceiving this Authority to be given to the Prieſts of the old Law, taketh occaſion to prove the ſame to be given to the Biſhops and other the Clergy of the new Law: but in proving this matter, whereas it was ſaid there, as the Prieſts of the order of *Levi* ſhould determine the matter according to Gods Law, that (according to Gods Law) is left out, and only is recited, as the Prieſts of the order of *Levi* ſhall decide the matter, ſo it ought to be taken of the People; a large Authority I enſure you. What gelding of Scripture *is this?* what clipping of Gods Coin? With the which terms the Audience ſmiled. This is much like the *Regere* which your Lordſhip talked of. Nay, nay, my Lords, we may not give ſuch Authority to the Clergy, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themſelves within their Commiſſion. Now I truſt, my Lord, I do not rail yet.

Deut. 17. Clipping of Gods Scriptures by the Catholicks.

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Lincoln. No, Mr. *Latimer*, your talk is more like taunts than railing: but in that I have not read the Book which you blame ſo much, nor know not of any ſuch, I can ſay nothing therein.

The Author of this Book was D. *Brookes*, which there was in the Commiſſion.

Lat. Yes, my Lord, the Book is open to be read, and is intituled to one which is Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, whom I never knew, neither did at any time ſee him to my knowledge. With that the People laughed, becauſe the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* ſate there in Commiſſion.

Then the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* ſtood up, and ſaid, it was his Book.

Lat. Was it yours, my Lord? indeed I knew not your Lordſhip, neither ever did I ſee you before, neither yet ſee you now, through the brightneſs of the Sun ſhining betwixt you and me. Then the Audience laughed again; and Mr. *Latimer* ſpake unto them, ſaying; Why, my Maſters, this is no laughing matter. I anſwer upon life and death, *Væ vobis qui ridetis nunc, quoniam flebitis.*

The B. of *Lincoln* commanded ſilence, and then ſaid:

Linc. Mr. *Latimer*, if you had kept your ſelf within your bounds, if you had not uſed ſuch ſcoffs and [illegible] this had not been done.

After this the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* ſaid in excuſing of his Book.

Brookes Biſhop of *Glouceſter* ſpeaketh.

Glouceſter. Mr. *Latimer*, hereby every man may ſee what learning you have.

Then M. *Latimer* interrupted him, ſaying:

Lat. Lo you look for learning at my hands which have gone ſo long to the Scool of oblivion, making the bare walls my Library, keeping me, ſo long in Priſon without Book, or pen and ink? and now you let me looſe to come and anſwer to Articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over night the one through friends and favour, is cheriſhed, and hath good counſel given him how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is ſet in the Stocks. In the morning when they ſhall meet, the one is in ſtrength and luſty; the other is ſtark of his limbs, and almoſt dead for feebleneſs. Think you, that to run thorow this man with a Spear is not a goodly victory?

The Catholicks how unreaſonable they are in uſing of men.

But the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* interrupting his anſwer, proceeded, ſaying:

Gloc. I went not about to recite any places of Scripture in that place of my Book; for then if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had juſt occaſion of reprehenſion: but I only in that place formed an Argument *à majore*, in this ſenſe; that if in the old Law the Prieſts had power to decide matters of Controverſie, much more then ought the Authority to be given to the Clergy in the new Law: and I pray you in this point what availeth their rehearſal, *ſecundum legem Dei?*

The Catholicks alledge the Scriptures, but take not all.

Lat. Yes, my Lord, very much. For I acknowledge Authority to be given to the Spiritualty to decide matter of Religion, and as my Lord ſaid even now, *regere:* but they muſt do it *ſecundum Verbum Dei*, and not *ſecundum voluntatem ſuam*, according to the Word and Law of God, and not after their own will, after their own imaginations and fantaſies.

The Biſhop of *Glouceſter* would have ſpoken more, ſaving that the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſaid, that they came not to diſpute with Mr. *Latimer*, but to take his determinate anſwers to their Articles, and ſo began to propoſe the ſame Articles which were propoſed to Mr. *Ridley*. But Mr. *Latimer* interrupted him, ſpeaking to the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*; Well, my Lord, I could wiſh more faithful dealing with Gods Word, and not to leave out a part, and ſnatch a part here, and another there, but to rehearſe the whole faithfully.

The proteſtation of M. *Latimer.*

But the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, not attending to this ſaying of Mr. *Latimer*, proceeded in the rehearſing the Articles in form and ſenſe as I declared before in the examination of the Articles, propoſed to Mr. *Ridley*, and required Mr. *Latimers* anſwer to the firſt. Then Maſter *Latimer* making his proteſtation, that notwithſtanding theſe his anſwers it ſhould not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſaying, that he was the King and Queen their Majeſties Subject, and not the Popes, neither could

ſerve

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ſerve two Maſters at one time, except he ſhould now renounce one of them; required the Notaries ſo to take his proteſtation, that whatſoever he ſhould ſay or do, it ſhould not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any Authority that came from the Biſhop of *Rome*.

1. Article.

Linc. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſaid, that his Proteſtation ſhould be ſo taken; but he required him to anſwer briefly, affirmatively, or negatively to the firſt Article, and ſo recited the ſame again: and Mr. *Latimer* anſwered as followeth.

The Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament received by the Spirit and grace Mr. *Latimer* againſt the groſs and carnal being of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

Lati. I do not deny (my Lord) that in the Sacrament by ſpirit and grace is the very Body and Blood of Chriſt, becauſe that every man, by receiving bodily that Bread and Wine, ſpiritually receiveth the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Chriſts Paſſion: but I deny that the Body and Blood of Chriſt is in ſuch ſort in the Sacrament, as you would have it.

Linc. Then Maſter *Latimer*, you anſwer affirmatively.

Lati. Yea, if you mean of that groſs and carnal being, which you do take.

The Notaries took his anſwer to be affirmatively.

2. Article.

Linc. What ſay you M. *Latimer* to the ſecond Article? and recited the ſame.

What [illegible] is in the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, not [illegible] the nature but in the Dignity of repreſenting.

Lati. There is, my Lord, a change in the Bread and Wine, and ſuch a change as no power, but the Omnipotency of God can make, in that that which before was Bread, ſhould now have the dignity to exhibit Chriſts Body, and yet the Bread is ſtill Bread, and the Wine ſtill Wine: for the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity, becauſe now that which was common Bread hath the dignity to exhibit Chriſts Body: for whereas it was common Bread, it is now no more common Bread, neither ought it to be ſo taken, but as holy Bread ſanctified by Gods Word.

With that the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſmiled, ſaying:

Linc. Lo Maſter *Latimer*, ſee what ſtedfaſtneſs is in your Doctrine. That which you abhorred and deſpiſed moſt, you now moſt eſtabliſh: for whereas you moſt failed at holy Bread, you now make your Communion holy Bread.

Lati. Tuſh, a ruſh for holy Bread. I ſay the Bread in the Communion is an holy Bread indeed.

But the Biſhop of *Lincoln* interrupted him, and ſaid:

Subſtance of Bread and Wine in the Sacrament unchanged.

Linc. O, ye make a difference between holy Bread and holy Bread, (with that the Audience laughed.) Well, Mr. *Latimer*, is not this your anſwer, that the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine remaineth after the words of Conſecration?

Difference between Chriſts holy Bread, and the Popes holy Bread.

Lati. Yes verily, it muſt needs be ſo. For Chriſt himſelf calleth it Bread, St. *Paul* calleth it Bread, the Doctors confeſs the ſame, the nature of a Sacrament confirmeth the ſame, and I call it holy Bread, not in that I make no difference betwixt your holy Bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Chriſts Body, and not only a bare figure, but effectually to repreſent the ſame.

So the Notaries penned his anſwer to be affirmatively.

3. Article.

Linc. What ſay you to the third queſtion? and recited the ſame.

Lati. No, no, my Lord, Chriſt made one perfect ſacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him again, neither can the Prieſt offer up Chriſt again for the ſins of man, which he took away by offering himſelf once for all (as St. *Paul* ſaith) upon the Croſs, neither is there any propitiation for our ſins, ſaving his Croſs only.

So the Notaries penned his anſwer to this Article alſo to be affirmatively.

4. Article.

Linc. What ſay you to the fourth, Mr. *Latimer*? and recited it. After the recital whereof, when Mr. *Latimer* anſwered not, the Biſhop asked him whether he heard him or no?

Lati. Yes, but I do not underſtand what you mean thereby.

Linc. Marry only this, that theſe your Aſſertions were condemned by Maſter Dr. *Weſton* as Hereſies; is it not ſo Mr. *Latimer*?

Lati. Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjuſtly, he that ſhall be judge of all, knoweth.

So the Notaries took his anſwer to this Article alſo to be affirmatively.

5. Article.

Linc. What ſay you Mr. *Latimer* to the fifth Article? and recited it.

Lati. I know not what you mean by theſe terms. I am no Lawyer, I would you would propoſe the matter plainly.

Linc. In that we proceed according to the Law, we muſt uſe their terms alſo. The meaning only is this, that theſe your Aſſertions are notorious, evil ſpoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouths of the People.

Lati. I cannot tell how much, nor what men talk of them. I come not ſo much among them, in that I have been ſecluded a long time. What men report of them I know not, nor care not.

This anſwer taken, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſaid:

Mr. *Latimer* aſſigned to appear the next day again.

Linc. Mr. *Latimer*, we mean not that theſe your Anſwers ſhall be prejudicial to you. To morrow you ſhall appear before us again, and then it ſhall be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you reſpit till to morrow, truſting that after you have pondered well all things againſt to morrow, you will not be aſhamed to confeſs the truth.

Lati. Now, my Lord, I pray you give me licence in three words, to declare the cauſes why I have refuſed the Authority of the Pope.

Linc. Nay, Mr. *Latimer*, to morrow you ſhall have licence to ſpeak 40. words.

Lati. Nay, my Lords, I beſeech you to do with me now as it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhips: I pray you let not me be troubled to morrow again.

Linc. Yes, Mr. *Latimer*, you muſt needs appear again to morrow.

Lati. Truly, my Lord, as for my part I require no reſpit, for I am at a point; you ſhall give me reſpit in vain: therefore I pray you let me not toruble you to morrow.

Linc. Yes, for we truſt, God will work with you againſt to morrow. There is no remedy, you muſt needs appear again to morrow at eight of the Clock in Saint *Maries* Church. And forthwith the Biſhop charged the Mayor with Mr. *Latimer*, and diſmiſſed him, and then brake up their Seſſion for that day, about one of the Clock at Afternoon.

Here followeth the ſecond Seſſion.

The next days Seſſion.

THe next day following (which was the firſt day of *October*) ſomewhat after eight of the Clock, the ſaid Lords repaired to St. *Maries Church*, and after they were ſet in a high Throne well trimmed with cloth of Tiſſue and Silk, then appeared Mr. *Ridley*, who was ſet at a framed Table a good ſpace from the Biſhops feet, which Table had a Silk-cloth caſt over it, the which place was compaſſed about with framed Seats in quadrate form, partly for Gentlemen which repaired thither (for this was the Seſſion-day alſo of Gaol-delivery) and Heads of the Univerſity to ſit, and partly to keep off the preſs of the Audience: for the whole Body, as well of the Univerſity as of the Town, came hither to ſee the end of theſe two Perſons. After Mr. *Ridley*'s appearance, and the ſilence of the Audience, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſpake in manner following:

Dr. *Ridley*'s appearance before the Deputies.

The words of M. White B. of *Lincoln*, to B. *Ridley* about his Cap.

Linc. Mr. *Ridley*, yeſterday when that we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excuſed your ſelf of that whereof no man accuſed you, in ſaying you did not put on your Cap for any obſtinacy towards us, which as touching our own perſons deſired no ſuch obedience of you, but only in reſpect of them whoſe perſons we bear; neither (you ſaid) for any contempt that you bear to this worſhipful Audience, which although juſtly may, yet in this caſe require no ſuch humility of you; neither for any derogation of honor to my Lord Cardinals grace, in that he is deſcended from the Regal Blood, in that he is a man moſt Noble, both for his excellent qualities and ſingular Learning: for as touching thoſe points, you ſaid, you with all humilty would honor, reverence, and worſhip his Grace; but in that he is Legate to the

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Capping again at the name of the Pope.

moſt reverend Father in God the Popes Holineſs (with that the Biſhop with all then preſent, put off their Caps, but *M. Ridley* moved not his) you ſaid you neither could, nor would by any means be induced to give him honor: but foraſmuch as this is the point as we told you yeſterdy, why we require honor and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the pains to move your Bonet, we will take the pains to cauſe your Bonet to be taken from you, except you pretend ſickneſs, as yeſterday you did not.

B. *Ridley* refuſeth to put off his Cap to the Pope, or to them which come from the Pope.

Rid. I pretend now none other cauſe, than I did yeſterday, that is, only that hereby it may appear that not only in word and confeſſion, but alſo by all my geſture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit any authority or power that ſhall come from the Pope, and not for any pride of mind (as God is my judge) neither for contempt of your Lordſhips, or of this worſhipful Audience, neither for derogation of honor due to my Lord *Cardinals* grace as concerning thoſe points which your Lordſhip ſpake of, that is, his noble Parentage and ſingular graces in learning. And as for taking my Cap away, your Lordſhip may do as it ſhall pleaſe you; it ſhall not offend me, but I ſhall be content with your ordinance in that behalf.

Linc. Foraſmuch as you do anſwer now as you did yeſterday, we muſt do alſo as we did then, and forthwith one of his Beadles very haſtily ſnatched his Cap from his head.

After this the Biſhop of *Lincoln* began the Examination in ſenſe following.

The laſt examination of B. *Ridley.*

Linc. Maſter *Ridley*, yeſterday we took your anſwer to certain Articles, which we then propoſed unto you: but becauſe we could not be throughly ſatisfied with your anſwer then to the firſt Article, neither could the Notaries take any determinate anſwer of you, we (you requiring the ſame) granted you licence to bring your anſwer in writing, and thereupon commnded the Major that you ſhould have pen, paper and ink, yea any Books alſo that you would require, if they were to be gotten: we licenced you then alſo to alter your former anſwers this day at your pleaſure: Therefore we are come now hither, to ſee whether you are in the ſame mind now that you were in yeſterday, (which we would not wiſh) or contrary, contented to revoke all your former aſſertions, and in all points conſent to ſubmit your ſelf to the determination of the univerſal Church, and I for my part moſt earneſtly exhort you (and therewith he put of his Cap) not becauſe my Conſcience pricketh me, as you ſaid yeſterday, but becauſe I ſee you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition.

The words of the B. of *Lincoln.*

Yeſterday I brought forth amongſt other St. *Auſtin*, to prove that authority hath always been given to the See of *Rome*, and you wreſted the words far contrary to St. *Auſtins* meaning, in that you would have *totus mundus* to be applied only to *Europe*, which is but the third part of all the world, whereas indeed the proceſs of St. *Auguſtines* words will not admit that your interpretation. For he ſaith not *totus mundus Chriſtianus in tranſmarinis, &c.* but firſt *totus mundus Chriſtianus Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſubjectus eſt*: all the Chriſtian world is ſubject to the Church of *Rome*, and afterward addeth, *in tranſmarinis partibus*, beyond the Sea, but only to augment the dominion of the See of *Rome.*

The place of S. *Auſtin* again repeated, *Totus mundus.*

Rid. But Mr, *Ridley* ſtill perſevered in his former anſwer, ſaying; I am ſure my Lord, you have ſome skill in Coſmography, in the which you ſhall underſtand that there is a Sea callled *Mare mediterraneum*, caſt between *Europe*, and *Africa*, in the which he meant *Europe* beyond the Sea, even as I ſhould ſay the whole world beyond the Sea, excepting *England* in the which I ſtand: and here many words were ſpent upon the interpretation of the ſame place of St. *Auſtin.*

Anſwer of D. *Ridley* to the place of S. *Auſtin*, as before.

Linc. After long diſceptation, the B. of *Lincoln* ſaid, that the meaning of St. *Auguſtine* might be known by the conſent of other the Doctors, and rehearſed divers.

How the Catholicks uſe to alledge the Doctors.

Rid. But M. *Ridley* required the rehearſal of the places, and to read the very words of the Doctors, ſaying, that perhaps thoſe which the Biſhop rehearſed, being proponed in other terms in the Doctors, would admit a contrary meaning and interpretation: but in that Book, out of the which the Biſhop rehearſed them, was none of the Doctors, but only the ſentences drawn out of the Doctors by ſome ſtudious man: he could not recite the very words of the Doctors.

A place of *Cyrillus* alleadged by *Melanthon*, Scripture Books burned at *Oxford.*

Linc. Then after, he came to *Cyrillus*, which (as he ſaid) made againſt M. *Ridley* in the Sacrament, even by *Philip Melanthon* his own alleadging in his common places, and forthwith called for *Melanthon*, but in vain, becauſe all ſuch Books were burned a little before, wherefore he paſſed it over.

Argumentum a contrario ſenſu ex Cyrillo contra Judæos.

Cyrillus alſo in another place, proving to the *Jews* that chriſt was come, uſeth this reaſon, Altars are erected in Chriſts name in *Britain*, and in far Countries: *Ergo*, Chriſt is come. But we may uſe the contrary, of that reaſon; Altars are plucked down in *Britain*: *Ergo*, Chriſt is not come. A good argument *a contrariis*. I will ſtand to it in the Scools by and by with any man. Ye ſee what a good argument this your Doctrine maketh for the *Jews*, to prove that Chriſt is not come.

Altars be erected in Chriſts remembrance in *Britain.* *Ergo*, Chriſt is come. Altars be now plucked down in *Britain.* *Ergo*, Chriſt is not come. Anſwer. This argument is not *a ſenſu contrario* of erecting of Altars in the Antecedent, and plucking down Altars in the conſequent, be not contrary. In the Antecedent, *Cyril* meaneth the the Table, or elſe the celebration of the Lords Supper in his remembrance. In the conſequent by plucking down of Altars, is meant the taking away of places and monuments ſerving not to the Lords Supper, but to Idolatry, whereby the true Table of the Lords Supper, in his remembrance may be erected again.

Dr. *Ridley* ſmiling, anſwered; your Lordſhip is not ignorant that this word *Altare* in the Scripture ſignifieth as well the Altar whereupon the *Jews* were wont to make their burnt Sacrifices, as the Table of the Lords Supper. *Cyrillus* meaneth there by this word *Altare*, not that the *Jewiſh* Altar, but the Table of the Lord, and by that ſaying (Altars are erected in Chriſts name, *Ergo* Chriſt is come) he meaneth that the communion is miniſtred in his remembrance, *Ergo* Chriſt is come: for the ſtrength of his argument is, becauſe the remembrance of a thing cannot be, except it ſelf be paſt: then could not all Countries celebrate the Communion in remembrance of Chriſts Paſſion, except Chriſt had been come and ſuffered. As for the taking down of the Altars, it was done upon juſt conſiderations, for that they ſeemed to come too nigh to the *Jews* uſage. Neither was the Supper of the Lord at any time better miniſtred, more duly received, than in thoſe latter days when all things were brought to the rites and uſage of the Primitive Church.

Linc. A goodly receiving I promiſe you, to ſet an Oyſter Table inſtead of an Altar, and to come from puddings at *Weſtminſter* to receive: and yet when your Table was conſtituted, you could never be content, in placing the ſame now Eaſt, now North, now one way, now another, until it pleaſed God of his goodneſs to place it clean out of the Church.

B. *White* blaſphemouſly calleth the Boord of the Lords Supper, an Oyſter-Table. The Articles read again to M. *Ridley.* B. *Ridley* not ſuffered to read his own anſwer.

Rid. Your Lordſhips unreverent terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps ſome men came more devoutly from Puddings, than other men now do from other things.

Linc. As for that, M. *Ridley*, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this your reaſoning you cauſe us to ſtretch and inlarge our inſtructions. We came not to reaſon, but to take your determinate anſwers to our Articles, and eſtſoons he read the firſt Article in manner above ſpecified.

Now Mr. *Ridley*, what ſay you to the firſt Article? if you have brought your anſwer in writing, we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it.

Rid. Then Mr. *Ridley* took a ſheet of Paper out of his boſom, and began to read that which he had written: but the Biſhop of *Lincoln* commanded the Beadle to take it from him. But he deſired licence to read it, ſaying that it was nothing but his anſwers, but the Biſhop would in no wiſe ſuffer him.

Rid. Why my Lord, will you require my anſwer, and not ſuffer me to publiſh it? I beſeech you my Lord, let the Audience bear witneſs in this matter. Your Lordſhips may handle it at your pleaſure: therefore let the Audience be witneſs to your doings.

Linc. Well, M. *Ridley*, we will firſt ſee what you have written, and then if we ſhall think it good to be read, you ſhall have it publiſhed; but except you will deliver it firſt, we will take none at all of you.

With that M. *Ridley*, ſeeing no remedy, delivered it to an Officer, which immediately delivered it to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who after he had ſecretly communicated it to the other two Biſhops, declared the ſenſe, but would not read it as it was written, ſaying, that it contained words of blaſphemy: therefore he would not fill the ears of the Audience therewithall, and ſo abuſe their patience:

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patience, notwithſtanding Mr. *Ridley* deſired very inſtantly to have it publiſhed, ſaying, that except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient Doctors ſaying for the confirmation of his aſſertions.

After the ſaid Biſhops had ſecretly viewed the whole, then the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſaid: In the firſt part, Mr. *Ridley*, is nothing contained but your proteſtation, that you would not have theſe your Anſwers ſo to be taken, as though you ſeemed thereby to conſent to the Authority or juriſdiction of the Popes Holineſs.

Rid. No, my Lord, I pray you read it out that the audience may hear it: but the Biſhop of *Lincoln* would in no wiſe, becauſe (he ſaid) there were contained words of blaſphemy.

1. Article. Then the Biſhop of *Lincoln* recited the firſt Article, and required Mr. *Ridleys* Anſwer to it. Then Mr. *Ridley* ſaid, that his Anſwer was there in writing, and deſired that it might be publiſhed: but the Biſhop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it So the Notaries took his Anſwer, that he referred him to his Anſwer in writing exhibited now, and alſo before at the time of diſputation, Mr. Doctor *Weſton* being Prolocutor.

2. Article. In like wiſe the Biſhop of *Lincoln* recited the ſecond Article, and required an anſwer, and Mr *Ridley* referred him to his anſwer in writing, exhibited now, and alſo before at the time of diſputation: and like Anſwers were taken to all the reſidue of the Articles.

Theſe anſwers in this manner rehearſed, taken and penned of the Notaries, the Biſhop of *Gloceſter* began an exhortation to move Mr. *Ridley* to turn.

The words of exhortation of Brooks B. of Gloucester to M. Ridley.

Glo. If yould once empty your ſtomach, captivate your ſenſes, ſubdue your reaſon, and together with us conſider what a feeble ground of your Religion you have, I do not doubt but you might eaſily be perduced to acknowledge one Church with us, to confeſs one Faith with us, and to believe one Religion with us. For what a weak and feeble ſtay in Religion is this I pray you? *Latimer* leaneth to *Cranmer*, *Cranmer* to *Ridley*, and *Ridley* to the ſingularity of his own wit: ſo that if you overthrow the ſingularity of *Ridleys* wit, then muſt needs the Religion of *Cranmer* and *Latimer* fall alſo. You remember well, Mr. *Ridley*, that the Prophet ſpeaketh moſt truly, ſaying; *Væ, væ*, Wo be to them which are ſingular and wiſe in their own conceits.

But you will ſay here, it is true that the Prophet ſaith: but how know you that I am wiſe in mine own conceit? Yes, Mr. *Ridley*, you refuſe the determination of the Catholick Church; you muſt needs be ſingular and wiſe in your own conceit, for you bring Scripture for the probation of your aſſertions, and we alſo bring Scriptures; you underſtand them in one ſenſe, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you ſtand to your own interpretation, then you are ſingular in your own conceit: but if you ſay you will follow the minds of the Doctors and ancient Fathers, ſemblably you underſtand them in one meaning, and we take them in another; how will ye know the truth herein? If you ſtand to your own judgment, then are you ſingular in your own conceit, then can you not avoid the *væ* and wo which the Prophet ſpeaketh of.

Wherefore if you have no ſtay but the Catholick Church in matters of controverſie, except you will reſt upon the ſingularity and wiſdom of your own brain, if the Prophet moſt truly ſaith, *væ, væ* wo, wo be to them that are wiſe in their own conceit: then for Gods love, M. *Ridley*, ſtand not ſingular, be not you wiſe in your own conceit, pleaſe not your ſelf over much. How were the *Arrians*, the *Manichees*, *Eutychians*, with other divers Hereticks which have been in the Church, how I pray you were they ſuppreſſed and convinced? By reaſoning in diſputations? No truly, the *Arrians* had no more places of Scripture for the confirmation of their Hereſie, than the Catholicks for the defence of the Truth. How then were they convinced? only by the determination of the Church. And indeed except we do conſtitute the Church our foundation, ſtay, and judge, we can have no end of controverſies, no end of diſputations. For in that we all bring Scriptures and Doctors for the probation of our aſſertions, who ſhould be judge of this our controverſie? If we our ſelves, then be ſingular and wiſe in your own conceits, then cannot we avoid the wo that the Prophet ſpeaketh of.

The determination of the Church is only that, whereupon our Catholick men do ground their Faith.

It remaineth therefore that we ſubmit our ſelves to the determination and arbitrement of the Church, with whom God promiſed to remain to the worlds end, to whom he promiſed to ſend the Holy Ghoſt which ſhould teach it the Truth. Wherefore, M. *Ridley*, if you will avoid the wo that the Prophet ſpeaketh of, be not you wiſe in your judgment: if you will not be wiſe and ſingular in your own judgment, captivate your own underſtanding, ſubdue your reaſon, and ſubmit your ſelf to the determination of the Church.

This is briefly the ſum of the Oration of the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, by the which he endeavoured in many more words, amplifying and inlarging the matter eloquently with ſundry points of Rhetorick to move affections, to perſwade Mr. *Ridley* to recant and forſake his Religion.

A brief anſwer of B. Ridley to B. Brooks tale.

To whom Mr. *Ridley* anſwered in few words, that he ſaid moſt truly with the Prophet, wo be to him that is wiſe in his own conceit, but that he acknowledgeth no ſuch ſingularity in him, nor knew any cauſe why he ſhould attribute ſo much to himſelf. And whereas he ſaid Mr. *Cranmer* leaned to him, that was moſt untrue, in that he was but a young Scholar in compariſon of Mr. *Cranmer*: for at what time he was a young Scholar, then was Mr. *Cranmer* a Doctor, ſo that he confeſſed that Mr. *Cranmer* might have been his School-Maſter theſe many years. It ſeemed that he would have ſpoken more, but the B. of *Glouceſter* interrupted him ſaying:

Glo. Why Mr. *Ridley*, it is your own confeſſion, for Mr. *Latimer* at that time of his diſputation, confeſſed his learning to lie in Mr. *Cranmers* Books, and Mr. *Cranmer* alſo ſaid, that it was your doing.

B. Ridley could not for his Conſcience yield to the Popes Doctrine.

Linc. Likewiſe the B. of *Lincoln* with many words, and gently holding his Cap in his hand, deſired him to turn. But Mr. *Ridley* made an abſolute anſwer, that he was fully perſwaded, the Religion which he defended to be grounded upon Gods Word, and therfore without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his Soul, he could not forſake his Maſter and Lord God, but deſired the Biſhop to perform his grant, in that his Lordſhip ſaid the day before, that he ſhould have licence to ſhew his cauſe why he could not with a ſafe Conſcience admit the Authority of the Pope: But the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſaid, that whereas then he had demanded licence to ſpeak three words, he was contented then that he ſhould ſpeak forty and that grant he would perform.

D. Weſton ſhooteth his bolt.

Then ſtepped forth Doctor *Weſton*, which ſate by, and ſaid, why my Lord, he hath ſpoken four hundred already.

B. Ridley limitted no more but forty words to ſpeak.

Mr. *Ridley* confeſſed he had, but they were not of his perſcribed number, neither of that matter. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* bade him take his licence: but he ſhould ſpeak but forty, and he would tell them upon his fingers, and eftſoons Mr. *Ridley* began to ſpeak: but before he had ended half a ſentence, the Doctors ſitting by cried and ſaid, that his number was out, and with that he was put to ſilence.

Note, Reader, the extream dealing of the Papiſts.

After this the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, which ſate in the midſt, began to ſpeak as followeth.

Linc. Now I perceive, Mr. *Ridley*, you will not permit nor ſuffer us to ſtay in that point of our Commiſſion which we moſt deſired: for I enſure you, there is never a word in our Commiſſion more true than, *dolentes & gementes*. For indeed I for my part, I take God to witneſs, am ſory for you. Whereupon Mr. *Ridley* anſwered.

Rid. I believe it well my Lord, foraſmuch as one day it will be burdenous to your Soul.

Linc. Nay, not ſo Mr. *Ridley*, but becauſe I am ſory to ſee ſuch ſtubbornneſs in you, that by no means you may be perſwaded to acknowledg your Errors, and receive the Truth: but ſeeing it is ſo, becauſe you will not ſuffer us to perſiſt in the firſt, we muſt of neceſſity proceed to the other part of our Commiſſion. Therefore I pray you hearken what I ſhall ſay, and forthwith he did read the ſentence of Condemnation, which was written in a long proceſs: the tenor of which, becauſe it is ſufficiently already expreſſed before we thought meet in this place to omit, foraſmuch as they are rather words of

Sentence of condemnation, read againſt B. Ridley.

The effect of the Condemnation, whereof read before.

courſe, than things deviſed upon deliberation. Howbeit indeed the effect was, that foraſmuch as the ſaid *Nicholas Ridley* did affirm, maintain, and ſtubbornly defend certain Opinions, Aſſertions and Hereſies, contrary to the Word of God, and the received Faith of the Church, as in denying the true and natural Body of Chriſt, and his natural Blood to be in the Sacrament of the Altar: Secondarily, in affirming the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine to remain after the words of the Conſecration: Thirdly, in denying the Maſs to be a lively ſacrifice of the Church for the quick and the dead, and by no means would be perduced and brought from theſe his Hereſies: they therefore the ſaid I. of *Lincoln*, *James* of *Glouceſter*, *John* of *Briſtow*,, did judge and condemn the ſaid *Nicholas Ridley*, as an Heretick, and ſo adjudged him preſently both by word, and alſo in deed to be degraded from the degree of a Biſhop, from Prieſthood and all Eccleſiaſtical Order; declaring moreover the ſaid *Nicholas Ridley* to be no member of the Church and therefore committed him to the Secular Powers, of them to receive due puniſhment according to the tenor of the temporal Laws: and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication.

The laſt Appearance and Examination of Mr. Latimer *before the Commiſſioners.*

The laſt appearance and examination of *M. Latimer* before the Commiſſioners.

THis ſentence being publiſhed by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Mr. *Ridley* was committed as a Priſoner to the Mayor, and immediately Mr. *Latimer* was ſent for: but in the mean ſeaſon the carpet or Cloth which lay upon the Table whereat Mr. *Ridley* ſtood, was removed, becauſe (as men reported) Mr. *Latimer* had never the degree of a Doctor, as Mr *Ridley* had. But eſtſoons as Mr *Latimer* appeared, as he did the day before, perceivin no Cloth upon the Table, he laid his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbows, and immediately ſpake to the Commiſſioners, ſaying.

Lati. My Lords, I beſeech your Lordſhips to ſet a better order here at your entrance: for I am an Old man, and have a very evil Back, ſo that the preſs of the multitude doth me much harm.

Linc. I am ſorry, Mr. *Latimer*, for your hurt. At your departure we will ſee to better order.

With that Mr. *Latimer* thanked his Lordſhip, making a very low courteſie. After this the Biſhop of *Lincoln* began on this manner.

The Biſhop of *Lincolns* words to M. *Latimer*.

Linc. Mr. *Latimer*, although yeſterday after we had taken your anſwers to thoſe Articles which we propoſed, we might have juſtly proceeded to Judgment againſt you, eſpecially in that you required the ſame, yet we having a good hope of your returning, deſiring not your deſtruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your Errors, and turn to the Catholick Church, deferred farther proceſs till this day, and now according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your Heretical aſſertions and ſubmit your ſelf to the determination of the Church, as we moſt heartily deſire, and I for my part, as I did yeſterday, moſt earneſtly do exhort you, or to know whether you perſevere ſtill the man that you were, for the which we would be ſorry.

It ſeemed that the Biſhop would have further proceeded, ſaving that Mr. *Latimer* interrupted him, ſaying.

M. Latimer ſhort with the Commiſſioners.

Lati. Your Lordſhip often doth repeat the Catholick Church, as though I ſhould deny the ſame. No, my Lord, I confeſs there is a Catholick Church, to the determination of which I will ſtand, but not the Church which you call Catholick, which ſooner might be termed Diabolick. And whereas you joyn together the *Romiſh* and Catholick Church, ſtay there I pray you. For it is one thing to ſay *Romiſh* Church, and another thing to ſay Catholick Church: I muſt uſe here in this mine Anſwer, the counſel of *Cyprian*, who at what time he was aſcited before certain Biſhops that gave him leave to take deliberation and counſel, to try and examine his Opinion, he anſwereth them thus: In ſticking and perſevering in the Truth, there muſt no counſel nor deliberation be taken. And again, being demanded of them ſitting in judgment, which was moſt like to be of the Church of Chriſt, whether he which was perſecuted, or they which did perſecute? Chriſt, ſaid he, hath foreſhewed, that he that doth follow him, muſt take up his Croſs, and follow him. Chriſt gave knowledge that the Diſciples ſhould have perſecution and trouble. How think you then my Lords, is it like that the See of *Rome*, which hath been a continual perſecutor, is rather the Church, or that ſmall flock which hath continually been perſecuted of it, even to death? Alſo the flock of Chriſt hath been but few in compariſon to the reſidue, and ever in ſubjection: which he proved beginning at *Noahs* time even to the Apoſtles.

The Catholick Church and the Romiſh Church be two things. *Cyprians* counſel, in truth no deliberation to be taken. *M. Latimers* queſtion to the Biſhops.

Linc. Your cauſe and St. *Cyprians* is not one, but clean contrary: for he ſuffered perſecution for Chriſts ſake and the Goſpel; but you are in trouble for your errors and falſe aſſertions, contrary to the Word of God, and the received Truth of the Church

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Whether is more like, the See of *Rome* which perſecuteth, or the little Flock which is perſecuted, to be the true Church.

Lat. Mr. *Latimer* interrupting him, ſaid; Yes verily, my cauſe is as good as St. *Cyprians*: for his was for the Word of God, and ſo is mine.

The cauſe of the Martyrs of the Primitive time, and of the latter time all one.

But *Lincoln* goeth forth in his talk.

Alſo at the beginning and foundation of the Church, it could not be but that the Apoſtles ſhould ſuffer great perſecution. Further, before Chriſts coming, continually there were very few which truly ſerved God: but after his coming began the time of Grace, then began the Church to increaſe, and was cotinually augmented, until it came unto this perfection, and now hath juſtly that Juriſdiction which the unchriſtian Princes before by tyranny did reſiſt: there is a divers conſideration of the eſtate of the Church now in the time of Grace, and before Chriſts coming. But, Mr. *Latimer*, although we had inſtructions given us determinately to take your anſwer to ſuch Articles as we ſhould propoſe, without any reaſoning or diſputations, yet we hoping by talk ſomewhat to prevail with you, appointed you to appear before us yeſterday in the Divinity School, a place for diſputations. And whereas then notwithſtanding you had licence to ſay your mind, and were anſwered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your Errors; We thinking that from that time ye would with good adviſement conſider your eſtate, gave you reſpit from that time yeſterday when we diſmiſſed you, until this time, and now have called you again here in this place, by your anſwers to learn whether you are the ſame man you were then or no? Therefore we will propoſe unto you the ſame Articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate anſwer, without further reaſoning, and eſtſoons recited the firſt Article.

The Church before Chriſts coming compared with it after his coming.

The Articles propounded again to *M. Latimer*.

Lat. Always my proteſtation ſaved, that by theſe mine Anſwers it ſhould not be thought that I did condeſcend and agree to your Lordſhips Authority, in that you are legaced by Authority of the Pope, ſo that thereby I might ſeem to conſent to his Juriſdiction: To the firſt Article I anſwer now as I did yeſterday, that in the Sacrament the worthy receiver receiveth the very Body of Chriſt, and drinketh his Blood by the Spirit and Grace. But after a corporal being, which the *Romiſh* Church preſcribeth, Chriſts Body and Blood is not in the Sacrament under the forms of Bread and Wine.

M. Latimer again anſwereth with proteſtation, as before.

The very Body of Chriſt received in the Sacrament by the ſpirit and grace.

The Notaries took his anſwer to be affirmatively. For the ſecond Article he referred himſelf to his anſwers made before.

Linc. After this the Biſhop of *Lincoln* recited the third Article, and required a determinate Anſwer.

Anſwer to the ſecond and third Articles.

Lati. Chriſt made one oblation and ſacrifice for the ſins of the whole world, and that a perfect ſacrifice; neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other porpitiatorie ſacrifice.

The Notaries took his anſwer to be affirmatively.

In like manner did he anſwer to the other Articles, not varying form his anſwers made the day before.

After his Anſwers were penned of the Notaries, and the Biſhop of *Lincoln* had exhorted him in like ſort to recant as he did Mr. *Ridley*, and revoke his Errors and falſe Aſſertions, and Mr. *Latimer* had anſwered that he neither could, nor would deny his Maſter Chriſt, and his verity, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* deſired Mr. *Latimer* to hearken to him: and then, Mr. *Latimer* hearkning for ſome new matter and other talk, the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, read his condemnation, after the publication of the which the ſaid three Biſhops brake up their Seſſions, and diſmiſſed the Audience.

M. Latimer will not deny his Maſter Chriſt.

Condemnation read againſt *M. Latimer*.

But

Anno 1555.

The Papiſts falſe in their promiſes.

But *M. Lat.* required the Biſhop to perform his promiſe in ſaying the day before, that he ſhould have licence briefly to declare the cauſe why he refuſed the Popes Authority.

Linc. But the Biſhop ſaid that now he could not hear him, neither ought to talk with him.

M. Latimer appealeth to the next General Council truly called in the Lords name; but that Counſil is long a coming.

Then Mr. *Latimer* asked him, whether it were not lawful for him to appeal from this his judgment. And the Biſhop asked him again to whom he would appeal. To the next general Councel (quoth Mr. *Latimer*) which ſhall be truly called in Gods name. With that appellation the Biſhop was content: but he ſaid it would be a long ſeaſon before ſuch a convocation as he meant would be called.

Then the Biſhop committed Mr. *Latimer* to the Mayor, ſaying; now he is your Priſoner, Mr. *Mayor*. Becauſe the preſs of the People was not diminiſhed, each man looking for farther proceſs, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* commanded avoidance, and willed Mr. *Latimer* to tarry till the preſs were diminiſhed, leſt he ſhould take hurt at his egreſſion, as he did at his entrance. And ſo continued Biſhop *Ridley*, and Mr. *Latimer*, in durance till the 16. day of the ſaid month of *October*.

A Communication between Dr. Brooks, *and Dr.* Ridley, *in Mr. Iriſh his Houſe, the 15. day of* October, *at which time he was degraded.*

The talk between Dr. *Brooks* B. of *Glouceſter*, and D. *Ridley*, upon his Degradation.

IN the mean ſeaſon upon the 15. day in the morning, and the ſame year aboveſaid, the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, Dr. *Brooks*, and the Vicechancellor of *Oxford* Dr. *Marſhal*, with divers other of the chief, and Heads of the ſame Univerſity, and many other more accompanying them, came unto Mr. *Iriſh* his Houſe then Mayor of *Oxford*, where Dr. *Ridley* late Biſhop of *London* was cloſe Priſoner. And when the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* came into the Chamber where the ſaid Dr. *Ridley* did lie, he told him for what purpoſe their coming was unto him, ſaying; that yet once again the Queens Majeſty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receive the ſame, and come home again to the Faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his Erroneous Doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the deſtruction of many. And further ſaid, that if he would not recant and become one of the Catholick Church with them, then they muſt needs (againſt their wills) proceed according to the Law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwiſe. But ſaith he, we have been oftentimes with you, and have requeſted that you would recant this your fantaſtical and deviliſh Opinion, which hitherto you have not, although you might in ſo doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good Mr. *Ridley*, conſider with your ſelf the danger that ſhall enſue both of Body and Soul, if that you ſhall ſo wilfully caſt your ſelf away in refuſing mercy offered unto you at this time.

No mercy to be had without conſenting to iniquity.

Anſwer of B. *Ridley* to B. *Brook*.

My Lord, quoth Dr. *Ridley*, you know my mind fully herein; and as for the Doctrine which I have taught, my Conſcience aſſureth me that it was ſound, and according to Gods Word (to his glory be it ſpoken) the which Doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain ſo long as my Tongue ſhall wag, and breath is within my Body, and in confirmation thereof Seal the ſame with my Blood.

O worthy Champion of Chriſts Church.

With that their Caps went off, but D. *Ridley* held on his Cap.

Brook. Well, you were beſt, Mr. *Ridley*, not to do ſo but to become one of the Church with us. For you know this well enough, that whoſoever is out of the Catholick Church, cannot be ſaved: Therefore I ſay once again, that whiles you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confeſs with us the Popes Holineſs to be the chief Head of the ſame Church.

B. *Ridley* commanded to ſilence, when otherwiſe he could not be convinced.

Rid. I marvel that you will trouble me with any ſuch vain and fooliſh talk. You know my mind concerning the uſurped Authority of that *Romiſh* Antichriſt. As I confeſſed openly in the Schools, ſo do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk, I do no obedience at all unto the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor to his uſurped Authority, and that for divers good and godly conſiderations. And here Dr. *Ridley* would have reaſoned with the ſaid *Brooks* B. of *Glouceſter*, of the Biſhop of *Romes* Authority, but could not be ſuffered, and yet he ſpake ſo earneſtly againſt the Pope therein, that the Biſhop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he ſhould be compelled againſt his will. And ſeeing, ſaith he, that you will not receive the Queens mercy now offered unto you, but ſtubbornly refuſe the ſame, we muſt, againſt our wills, proceed according to our Commiſſion to degrading, taking from you the dignity of Prieſthood. For we take you for no Biſhop, and therefore we will the ſooner have done with you: ſo committing you to the Secular Power, you know what doth follow.

Rid. Do with me as it ſhall pleaſe God to ſuffer you, I am well content to abide the ſame with all my heart.

D. *Ridley* refuſeth to put on the Surpleſs.

Brook. put off your Cap, Mr. *Ridley*, and put upon you this Surpleſs.

Rid. Not I truly.

Brook. But you muſt.

Rid. I will not.

Brook. You muſt, therefore make no more ado but put this Surpleſs upon you.

Rid. Truly if it come upon me, it ſhall be againſt my will.

Brook. Will you not do it upon you?

Rid. No, that I will not.

Brook. It ſhall be put upon you by one or other.

Rid. Do therein as it ſhall pleaſe you, I am well contented with that, and more than that; the ſervant is not above his Maſter. If they dealt ſo cruelly with our Saviour Chriſt, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he ſuffered the ſame patiently, how much more doth it become us his Servants? and in ſaying of theſe words, they put upon the ſaid Dr. *Ridley* the Surpleſs, with all the Trinkets appertaining to the Maſs. And as they were putting on the ſame, Dr. *Ridley* did vehemently inveigh againſt the *Romiſh* Biſhop, and all that fooliſh apparel, calling him Antichriſt, and the apparel fooliſh and abominable, yea too fond for a vice in a play, inſomuch that *Brooks* was exceeding angry with him, and bade him hold his peace, for he did but rail. Dr. *Ridley* anſwered him again, and ſaid; So long as his Tongue and Breath would ſuffer him, he would ſpeak againſt their abominable doings, whatſoever happened unto him for ſo doing.

B. *Ridley* inveigheth againſt the B. of *Rome* and his fooliſh apparel. The Surpleſs here is called a fooliſh apparel.

Brook. Well, you were beſt to hold your peace, leſt your mouth be ſtopped. At which words one *Edrige*, the Reader then of the Greek lecture ſtanding by ſaid to Dr. *Brooks*: Sir, the Law is he ſhould be gagged, therefore let him be gagged. At which words Dr. *Ridley* looking earneſtly upon him that ſo ſaid, wagged his head at him, and made no anſwer again, but with a ſigh ſaid: Oh well, well, well.

M. Edridge giveth counſel, that B. *Ridley* ſhould be gagged.

So they proceeded in their doings, yet nevertheleſs Dr. *Ridley* was ever talking things not pleaſant to their ears, although one or other bade him hold his peace, leſt he ſhould be cauſed againſt his will.

Degrading of B. *Ridley*.

When as they came to that place whereas Dr *Ridley* ſhould hold the Chalice and the Wafer-cake (called the Singing-bread) they bade him hold the ſame in his hands. And Dr. *Ridley* ſaid, they ſhall not come in my hands: for if they do, they ſhall fall to the ground for all me. Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while Biſhop *Brooks* read a certain thing in Latine, touching the degradation of Spiritual perſons according to the Popes Law.

Ridley would not let come in his hand the Chalice and Wafer-cake.

Afterward they put a Book in his hand, and withal read (as is before ſaid) a certain thing in Latin, the effect whereof was: *We do take from you the office of preaching the Goſpel, &c.* At which words Dr. *Ridley* gave a great ſigh, looking up towards Heaven, ſaying; O Lord God forgive them this their wickedneſs.

D. *Ridley* degraded from preaching.

And as they put upon him the Maſs-gear, ſo they began with the uppermoſt garment, in taking it away again, reading a thing in Latin, according to the order contained in the ſaid Book of the Popes Law. Now when all was taken from him, ſaving only the Surpleſs left on his back as they were reading and taking it away, Dr. *Ridley* ſaid unto them, Lord God, what Power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never ſinger in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had.

So

All the glittering of Antichrists Kingdom consisteth in apish Toys.

So when all this their abominable and ridiculous degradation was ended very solemnly. Dr. *Ridley* said unto Doctor *Brook*, Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters. *Brooks* answered and said; Mr. *Ridley*, we may not talk with you, you be out of the Church, and our Law is that we may not talk with any that be out of the Church. Then Mr. *Ridley* said; Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him.

A praise of *Bertram* Book upon the Sacrament.

At which words they would have been gone, but Mr. *Ridley* said; My Lord, I would wish that your Lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little Book of *Bertrams* doings, concerning the Sacrament. I promise you, you shall find much good learning therin, if you will read the same with an indifferent judgment. Doctor *Brooks* made no answer to this, but would have been gone away. Then Mr. *Ridley*, said, Oh, I perceive that you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well, it boots not, I will say no more, I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore my Lord hear me, and be a mean to the Queens Majesty, in the behalf of a great many of poor men, and especially for my poor Sister and her Husband which standeth there. They had a poor Living granted unto them by me, whiles I was in the See of *London*, and the same is taken away from them, by him that now occupieth the same room, without all Law or Conscience.

Note the charity of the Papists.

Here I have a supplication to the Queens Majesty in their behalfs. You shall hear the same read, so shall you perceive the matter the better. Then he read the same, and when he came to the place in the supplication, that touched his Sister by name, then he wept, so that for a little space he could not speak for weeping. After that he had left off weeping, said; This is nature that moveth me. But I have now done, and with that read out the rest, and delivered the same to his Brother, commanding him to put it up to the Queens Majesty, and to sue, not only for himself, but also for such as had any Leases or Grants by him, and were put from the same by Dr. *Boner*, then Bishop of *London*. Whereunto *Brooks* said, indeed Mr. *Ridley*, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in Conscience speak to the Queens Majesty for them.

B. *Ridleys* Sister put from her Lease by B. *Boner*.

Rid. I pray you for Gods sake do so.

Brooks. I think your request will be granted, except one thing let it, and that is (I fear) because you do not allow the Queens proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same, that it will hardly be granted.

Rid. What remedy? I can do no more but speak and write. I trust I have discharged my Conscience therein, and Gods will be done.

Brook. I will do what lieth in me.

The Copy of this supplication written to the Queen here followeth.

Master Ridley *to the Queens Majesty.*

A Supplication of B. *Ridley* to Q. *Mary* in the behalf of certain poor mens Leases.

IT may please your Majesty for Christ our Saviours sake in a matter of Conscience (and now not for my self, but for other poor men) to vouchsafe to hear and understand this humble supplication. It is so (honourable Princes) that in the time whiles I was in the Ministry of the See of London, *divers poor men, Tenants thereof, have taken new Leases of their Tenantries and holdings, and some have renewed and changed their old, and therefore have payed fines and sums of money, both to me, and also to the Chapter of* Pauls, *for the confirmation of the same.*

This Bishop was D. Boner.

Now I say, that the Bishop which occupieth the same room now, will not allow the foresaid Leases, which must redound to many poor mens utter ruine and decay. Wherefore this is mine humble supplication unto your honourable Grace, that it may please the same for Christs sake to be unto the foresaid poor men their gracious Patroness and Defender, either that they may enjoy their foresaid Leases and years renewed, as I suppose when their matter shall be heard with Conscience, both justice, Conscience, and Equity shall require, for that their Leases shall be found (I trust) made without fraud or cunning, either of their part, or of mine, and always also the old Rents reserved to the See without any kind of damage thereof: or if this will not be granted, then that it may please your gracious Highness, to command that the poor men may be restored to their former Leases and years and to have rendred to them again such sums of money as they paid to me and to the Chapter-house for their Leases and years, so now taken from them. Which thing concerning the Fines paid to me, may be easily done, if it shall please your Majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house when I fled in hope of pardon for my Trespass towards your Grace, which goods (as I have heard) be yet reserved in the same house. I suppose that half of the value of my Plate that I left in mine offices, and specially in an Iron-Chest in my bed-Chamber, will go nigh to restore all such Fines received, the true sums and parcels whereof are not set in their Leases: and therefore if that way shall please your Highness, they must be known by such ways and means, as your Majesty by the advice of men of wisdom and Conscience shall appoint: but yet for Christs sake I crave and most humbly beseech your Majesty of your most gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

If to succour the Widow and Fatherless, is pure and undefiled Religion, as S. James saith, then is Bo. and his Religion filthy and abominable, which doth such wrong to the Widow and Fatherless.

I have also a poor Sister that came to me out of the North, with three fatherless Children, for her relief, whom I married after to a Servant of mine own house: she is put out of that I did provide for them. I beseech your Honorable Grace, that her case may be mercifully considered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, which suffered indurance at my entrance into the See of London, *not one penny of his movable goods, for it was almost half a year after his deposition, afore I entered into that place: yea, and also if any were left, known to be his, he had licence to carry it away, or there for his use it did lie safe, as his Officers do know. I paid for the Lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the Church, or of the house. And moreover, I had not only no part of his movable goods, but also (as his old Receiver, and then mine, called Mr.* Stanton, *can testifie) I paid for them towards his Servants common liveries and wages, after his deposition, 53 or 55 pounds, I cannot tell whether. In all these matters I beseech your Honorable Majesty to hear the advice of men of Conscience, and in especial the Archbishop of* York. *which for that he was continually in my house a year and more, before mine imprisonment, I suppose he is not altogether ignorant of some part of these things, and also his Grace doth know my Sister, for whose succour, and some relief, now unto your Highness I make most humble sute.*

Notwithstanding these goodly and just requests, no justice could be had, until that now of late some of these shameful Injuries, by order of Law have been redressed.

The 16. of October, *Anno* 1555. N. R.

Anno 1555.

The life of M. Ridley such, as could not with any notorious crime be charged.

This Degradation being past, and all things finished, Doctor *Brooks* called the Bayliffs, delivering to them Mr. *Ridley* with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of Execution when they were commanded. Then Mr. *Ridley* in praising God, burst out with these words, and said; God I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious Crime: for if you could, it should surely be laid in my lap, I see very well. Whereunto *Brooks* said, he played the part of a proud *Pharisee*, exalting and praising himself.

But Master *Ridley* said No, no, no, as I have said before, to Gods glory be it spoken. I confess my self to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of Gods help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same: therefore I pray you have no such Opinion of me. Then they departed, and in going away, a certain Warden of a Colledge, of whose name I am not very sure, bade Dr. *Ridley* repent him, and forsake that erroneous Opinion. Whereunto M. *Ridley* said; Sir, repent you, for you are out of the Truth: and I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his Word. Then the Warden being in a chafe thereat, said; I trust that I shall never be of your erroneous and devilish Opinion, either yet to be in that place whither you shall go. He is, saith he, the most obstinate and wilful man that ever I heard talk since I was born.

The words of a certain Warden, or Head of a Colledge.

The

Anno 1555.

The behaviour of Dr. Ridley *at his Supper, the Night before his ſuffering.*

Dr. *Ridley* biddeth Gueſts to his marriage.

THe Night before he ſuffered, his Beard was waſhed and his Legs, and as he ſate at Supper, the ſame Night at Mr. *Iriſhes* (who was his Keeper) he bade his Hoſteſs, and the reſt at the Boord to his marriage: for, ſaith he, to morrow I muſt be married, and ſo ſhewed himſelf to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And wiſhing his Siſter at his marriage, he asked his Brother ſitting at the Table, whether ſhe could find in her heart to be there or no: and he anſwered, Yea, I dare ſay, with all her heart: at which word he ſaid, He was glad to hear of her ſo much therein. So at this talk Miſtreſs *Iriſh* wept.

Mrs. *Iriſh* a great Papiſt before, weepeth for D. *Ridley*.

But Mr. *Ridley* comforted her, and ſaid, O Mrs. *Iriſh*, you love me not now, I ſee well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not ſo much my Friend, as I thought you had been. But quiet your ſelf, though my Breakfaſt ſhall be ſomewhat ſharp and painful, yet I am ſure my Supper ſhall be more pleaſant and ſweet, &c.

When they aroſe from the Table, his Brother offered him to watch all Night with him. But he ſaid, No, no, that you ſhall not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to ſleep as quietly to Night, as ever I did in my life. So his Brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his Croſs quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

B. *Ridley* careleſs at his death.

The behaviour of Dr. Ridley *and Mr.* Latimer, *at the time of their death, which was the* 16. *of* October, 1555.

The order and manner of B. *Ridley* and M. *Latimer* going to the Stake.

UPon the North-ſide of the Town, in the Ditch over againſt *Baily-College*, the place of Execution was appointed: and for fear of any Tumult that might ariſe, to let the burning of them, the Lord *Williams* was commanded by the Queens Letters, and the houſholders of the City to be there aſſiſtant, ſufficiently appointed; and when every thing was in a readineſs, the Priſoners were brought forth by the Mayor and the Bayliffs.

Mr. *Ridley* had a fair black Gown furred, and faced with Foins, ſuch as he was wont to wear being Biſhop, and a Tippet of Velvet furred likewiſe about his neck, a Velvet Night-cap upon his head, and a Corner-cap upon the ſame, going in a pair of Slippers to the Stake, and going between the Mayor and an Alderman, &c.

After him came Mr. *Latimer* in a poor *Briſtow* freez Frock all worn, with his buttoned Cap, and a Kerchief on his head, all ready to the Fire, a new long Shroud hanging over his Hoſe down to the feet: which at the firſt ſight ſtirred mens hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one ſide, the honour they ſometime had, and on the other, the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

D. *Ridley* and M. *Latimer* brought together to the Stake.

Mr. Doctor *Ridley*, as he paſſed toward *Bocardo*, looked up where Mr. *Cranmer* did lye, hoping belike to have ſeen him at the Glaſs-window, and to have ſpoken unto him. But then Mr. *Cranmer* was buſie with Frier *Soto* and his Fellows diſputing together, ſo that he could not ſee him through that occaſion. Then Mr. *Ridley*, looking back, eſpied Mr. *Latimer* coming after. Unto whom he ſaid, Oh, be ye there? Yea, ſaid Mr. *Latimer*, have after as faſt as I can follow. So he following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the Stake, the one after the other, where firſt Dr. *Ridley* entring the place, marvellouſly and earneſtly holding up both his hands, looked towards Heaven: then ſhortly after eſpying Mr. *Latimer*, with a wondrous chearful look he ran to him, imbraced and kiſſed him, and as they that ſtood near reported, comforted him, ſaying, Be of good heart, Brother, for God will either aſſwage the fury of the flame, or elſe ſtrengthen us to abide it.

The behaviour of D. *Ridley* and M. *Latimer* at the Stake.

With that went he to the Stake, kneeled down by it, kiſſed it, and effectually prayed, and behind him Mr. *Latimer* kneeled, as earneſtly calling upon God as he. After they aroſe the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to ſee the Execution removed themſelves out of the Sun. What they ſaid I can learn of no man.

Dr. *Smith* preaching at the burning of Biſh. *Ridley* and M. *Latimer*.

Then Dr. *Smith*, of whoſe Recantation in King *Edwards* time ye heard before, began his Sermon to them upon this Text of St. *Paul*, in the 13*th* Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*; *Si corpus meum tradam igni, charitatem autem non habeam, nihil inde utilitatis capio*; this is, *If I yield my Body to the fire to be burnt, and have not Charity, I ſhall gain nothing thereby.* Wherein he alledged that the goodneſs of the cauſe, and not the order of death, maketh the holineſs of the perſon; which he confirmed by the examples of *Judas*, and

and of a woman in *Oxford* that of late hanged her ſelf, for that they and ſuch like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which deſperately ſundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that thoſe men that ſtood before him would do. But he cried ſtill to the People to beware of them, for they were Hereticks, and died out of the Church. And on the other ſide, he declared their diverſities in opinions, as *Lutherans*, *Oecolampadians* *Zuinglians*, of which ſect they were he ſaid, and that was the worſt: but the old Church of Chriſt, and the Catholick faith believed farr otherwiſe. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witneſs of the truth. The which countenance they made in many other places of his Sermon, whereas they thought he ſpake amiſs. He ended with a very ſhort exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the Church, and ſave their lives and Souls, which elſe were condemned. His Sermon was ſcant in all a quarter of an hour.

D. *Smith* raileth againſt the Martyrs.

Chriſts Congregation burdened with diverſity of opinions.

Doctor *Ridley* ſaid to Maſter *Latimer*, will you begin to anſwer the Sermon, or ſhall I? Maſter *Latimer* ſaid, begin you firſt I pray you. I will, ſaid Maſter *Ridley*.

D. *Ridley* ready to anſwer D. *Smiths* Sermon, but could not be ſuffered.

Then the wicked Sermon being ended, Doctor *Ridley*, and Mr. *Latimer* kneeled down upon their knees towards my Lord *Williams* of *Tame*, the Vice-chancellor of *Oxford*, and divers other Commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, which ſate upon a form thereby. Unto whom Mr. *Ridley* ſaid; I beſeech you my Lord, even for Chriſts ſake, that I may ſpeak but two or three words: and whileſt my Lord bent his head to the Mayor and Vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to ſpeak, the Bayliffs and Doctor *Marſhall* Vice-chancellor, ran haſtily unto him, and with their hands ſtopped his mouth, and ſaid, Maſter *Ridley*, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the ſame, you ſhall not onely have liberty ſo to do, but alſo the benefit of a ſubject, that is, have your life. Not otherwiſe, ſaid Maſter *Ridley*? No, quoth Doctor *Marſhal*: therefore if you will not ſo do, then there is no remedy but you muſt ſuffer for your deſerts. Well (quoth Mr. *Ridley*) ſo long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Chriſt, and his known truth: Gods will be done in me. And with that he roſe up, and ſaid with a lowd voice, Well, then I commit our cauſe to Almighty God, which ſhall indifferently judge all.

D: *Marſhal.* Vice chancellor of *Oxford*, podpeth D. *Ridleys* mouth

B. *Ridley* committeth his cauſe to God.

To whoſe ſaying, Mr. *Latimer* added his old Poſie, Well, there is nothing hid but it ſhall be opened: and he ſaid, he could anſwer *Smith* well enough, if he might be ſuffered. Incontinently they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekneſs obeyed. Mr. *Ridley* took his gown and his * tippet, and gave it to his Brother in Law Mr. *Shipſide*, who all his time of impriſonment, although he might not be ſuffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him neceſſaries, which from time to time he ſent him by the Serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, he gave away, other the Bayliffs took.

Mr. *Latimers* words when he could not be ſuffered to anſwer D. *Smith*.

* This was no Popiſh tippet, but made onely to keep his neck warm.

He gave away beſides, divers other ſmall things to Gentlemen ſtanding by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to Sir *Henry Lea* he gave a new groat, and to divers of my Lord *Williams* Gentlemen, ſome napkins, ſome nutmegs, and races of Ginger, his Dial, and ſuch other things as he had about him, to every one that ſtood next him. Some plucked the points off his hoſe. Happy was he that might get any ragg of him.

B. *Ridley* giveth away his apparel and other gifts to the People about him.

Maſter *Latimer* gave nothing, but very quietly ſuffered his Keeper to pull off his hoſe, and his other array, which to look unto was very ſimple: and being ſtripped into his ſhrowd, he ſeemed as comely a perſon to them that were there preſent, as one ſhould lightly ſee; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked ſilly old man, he now ſtood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

Mr. *Latimer* ſtanding at the ſtake in his ſhirt.

Then Maſter *Ridley*, ſtanding as yet in his truſs, ſaid to his Brother, It were beſt for me to go in my truſs ſtill. No, quoth his Brother, it will put you to more pain: and the truſs will do a poor man good. Whereunto Maſter *Ridley* ſaid: Be it, in the Name of God, and ſo unlaced himſelf. Then being in his ſhirt, he ſtood upon the foreſaid ſtone, and held up his hand and ſaid:

Oh heavenly Father, I give unto thee moſt hearty thanks, for that thou haſt called me to be a profeſſor of thee, even unto death, I beſeech thee Lord God take mercy upon this Realm of England, and deliver the ſame from all her enemies.

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B. *Ridley* thanketh God for his Martyrdom and prayeth for *England*.

Then the Smith took a chain of Iron, and brought the ſame about both Doctor *Ridleys*, and Mr. *Latimers* middles: and as he was knocking in a ſtaple, Doctor *Ridley* took the chain in his hand, and ſhaked the ſame, for it did gird in his belly, and looking aſide to the Smith, ſaid; Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the fleſh will have his courſe. Then his Brother did bring him Gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the ſame about his neck, Maſter *Ridley* asked what it was. His Brother ſaid, Gun-powder. Then ſaid he, I will take it to be ſent of God, therefore I will receive it as ſent of him. And have you any ſaid he, for my Brother, meaning Maſter *Latimer*? Yea Sir, that I have (quoth his Brother:) Then give it unto him (ſaid he) betime, leſt ye come too late. So his Brother went, and carried of the ſame Gun-powder unto Maſter *Latimer*.

Gun-powder given to the Martyrs.

In the mean time Doctor *Ridley* ſpake unto my Lord *Williams*, and ſaid; My Lord, I muſt be a ſuter unto your Lordſhip in the behalf of divers poor men, and ſpecially in the cauſe of my poor Siſter: I have made a ſupplication to the Queens Majeſty in their behalfs. I beſeech your Lordſhip for Chriſts ſake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My Brother here hath the ſupplication, and will reſort to your Lordſhip to certifie you hereof. There is nothing in all the World that troubleth my Conſcience (I praiſe God) this onely excepted. Whileſt I was in the See of *London*, divers poor men took leaſes of me, and agreed with me for the ſame. Now I hear ſay the Biſhop that now occupieth the ſame room, will not allow my grants unto them made, but contrary unto all law and Conſcience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not ſuffer them to injoy the ſame. I beſeech you my Lord, be a mean for them: you ſhall do a good deed, and God will reward you.

B. *Ridleys* ſute to the Lord of *Tame*, for leaſes of poor men.

B. *Bonner* taketh away the leaſes from poor men confirmed before by B. *Ridley*.

Then they brought a Faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the ſame down at D. *Ridleys* feet. To whom Mr. *Latimer* ſpake in this manner; Be of good comfort, Mr. *Ridley*, and play the man, we ſhall this day light ſuch a candle by Gods grace in *England*, as I truſt ſhall never be put out.

The Church lightned by the Martyrdom of Saints.

And ſo the fire being given unto them, when Doctor *Ridley* ſaw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful lowd voyce; *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo ſpiritum meum: Domine recipe ſpiritum meum*, and after repeated this later part often in Engliſh, Lord, Lord, receive my Spirit: Maſter *Latimer* crying as vehemently on the other ſide, O Father of Heaven receive my Soul: who received the flame as it were imbracing of it. After that he had ſtroaked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he ſoon died (as it appeareth) with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and bleſſed Servant of God, Maſter *Latimer*, for whoſe laborious travels, fruitful life, and conſtant death, the whole Realm hath cauſe to give great thanks to Almighty God.

Mr. *Latimers* prayer and Martyrdom.

But Maſter *Ridley* by reaſon of the evil making of the fire unto him, becauſe the wooden faggots were laid about the goſs, and over high built, the fire burned firſt beneath, being kept down by the wood. Which when he felt, he deſired them for Chriſts ſake to let the fire come unto him, Which when his Brother in law heard, but not well underſtood, intending to rid him out of his pain (for the which cauſe he gave attendance) as one in ſuch ſorrow, not well adviſed what he did, heaped faggots upon him, ſo that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his neather parts, before it once touched the upper, and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often deſire them to let the fire come unto him, ſaying; I cannot burn. Which indeed appeared well: for after his legs were conſumed by reaſon of his ſtruggling through the pain (whereof he had no releaſe, but onely his contentation in God) he ſhewed that ſide toward us clean, ſhirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God ſtill, having in his mouth, Lord have mercy upon me, intermingling his cry,

The order of B. *Ridleys* burning.

D. *Ridley* long in burning.

let

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The death and Martyrdom of D. Ridley.

let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn. In which pains he laboured till one of the ſtanders-by with his bill pulled off the Faggots above, and where he ſaw the fire flame up, he wreſted himſelf unto that ſide. And when the flame touched the Gun-powder, he was ſeen ſtirr no more, but burned on the other ſide, falling down at Maſter *Latimers* feet. Which ſome ſaid, happened by reaſon that the chain looſed, other ſaid, that he fell over the chain by reaſon of the poiſe of his body, and the weakneſs of the neather limbs.

Some ſaid that before he was like to fall from the ſtake, he deſired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, ſurely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible ſight. For I think there was none, that had not clean exiled all humanity and mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire ſo to rage upon their bodies. Signs there were of ſorrow on every ſide. Some took it grievouſly to ſee their deaths, whoſe lives they held full dear. Some pitied their perſons, that thought their Souls and no need thereof. His Brother moved many men, ſeeing his miſerable caſe, ſeeing (I ſay) him compelled to ſuch infelicity, that he thought then to do him beſt ſervice when he haſtened his end. Some cried out of the luck, to ſee his endeavour, who moſt dearly loved him, and ſought his releaſe, turn to his greater vexation, and increaſe of pain. But whoſo conſidered their preferments in time paſt, the places of honour that they ſometime occupied in this Common wealth, the favour they were in with their Princes, and the opinion of learning they had, could not chooſe but ſorrow with tears, to ſee ſo great dignity, honour and eſtimation, ſo neceſſary members ſometime accounted, ſo many godly vertues, the ſtudy of ſo many years, ſuch excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and conſumed in one moment. Well, dead they are, and the reward of this World they have already. What reward remaineth for them in Heaven, the day of the Lords Glory, when he cometh with his Saints, ſhall ſhortly I truſt, declare.

The lamenting hearts of the People at the Martyrdom of theſe two Saints.

Albeit I have deferred and put over many treatiſes, letters, and Exhortations, belonging to the ſtory of the Martyrs, unto the later appendix in the end of this volum; thinking alſo to have done the like with theſe Fare-wels and Exhortations following of B. *Ridley*, yet for certain purpoſes moving me thereunto, and eſpecially conſidering the fruitful admonitions, wholſome doctrine, and neceſſary exhortations contained in the ſame, I thought beſt here to beſtow, and conſequently to adjoyn the ſaid tractations of that learned Paſtor, with the life and Story of the Author. Whereof the two firſt be in a manner his farewels, the one to his kinſfolks, and generally to all the faithful of the number of Chriſts Congregation: the other more ſpecial to the priſoners, and baniſhed Chriſtians in the Goſpels cauſe: the third containeth a fruitful and a general admonition to the City of *London*, and to all other, with neceſſary precepts of Chriſtian office, as by the tenor of them here followeth in order to be ſeen.

A Treatiſe or Letter written by D. Ridley, *inſtead of his laſt fare-well, to all his true and Faithful Friends in God, with a ſharp admonition withal unto the Papiſts.*

The firſt fare-well of B. *Ridley* to his Friends.

AT the Name of Jeſus, let every knee bow, both of things in Heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and let every tongue confeſs, that Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father, *Amen*.

As a man minding to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar Friends commonly and naturally hath a deſire to bid his Friends farewell before his departure: ſo likewiſe now I looking daily, when I ſhould be called to depart hence from you (O all ye my dearly beloved Brethren and Siſters in our Saviour Chriſt, that dwell here in this World) having alike mind towards you all (and bleſſed be God for ſuch time and leiſure, whereof I right heartily thank his heavenly goodneſs) to bid you all my dear Brethren and Siſters (I ſay in Chriſt) that dwell upon the earth, after ſuch manner as I can, Farewell.

Commendation of *George Shipſide* his Brother in law.

Farewel my dear Brother, *Gorge Shipſide*, whom I have ever found faithful, truſty, and loving in all ſtates and conditions, and now in the time of my Croſs, over all other to me moſt friendly & ſtedfaſt, and that which liked me beſt over all other things, in Gods cauſe ever hearty.

Farewel my dear Siſter *Alice* his Wife. I am glad to hear of thee, that thou doſt take Chriſts Croſs wich is laid now (bleſſed be God) both on thy back and mine, in good part. Thank thou God that hath given thee a godly and loving husband: ſee thou honour him and obey him, according to Gods Law. Honour thy Mother in Law his Mother, and love all thoſe that pertain unto him, being ready to do them good, as it ſhall lie in thy power. As for thy Children, I doubt not of thy husband, but that he which hath given him an heart to love and fear God, and in God them that pertain unto him, ſhall alſo make him friendly and beneficial unto thy Children, even as if they had been gotten of his own body.

To his Brother *John Ridley*.

Farewel my dearly beloved Brother *John Ridley* of the *Waltoun*, and you my gentle and loving Siſter *Eliazbeth*: whom beſides the natural league of amity, your tender love, which you were ſaid ever to bear towards me above the reſt of your Brethren, doth bind me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged this your loving affection, and to have acquitted with deeds, and not with words alone. Your Daughter *Elizabeth* I bid farewel, whom I love for the meek and gentle Spirit that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the ſight of God.

To his Siſter in law of *Unthank* wife to *Hugh* his Brother.

Farewel my beloved Siſter of *Unthank*, with all your Children, Nephews and Nieces; Since the departing of my Brother *Hugh*, my mind was to have been unto them inſtead of their Father, but the Lord God muſt and will be their Father, if they would love and fear him, and live in the trade of his Law.

To his couſin M. *Nicholas Ridley*.

Farewel my welbeloved and worſhipful Couſins, Mr. *Nich. Ridley* of *Willimountſwike*, and your Wife, and I thank you for all your kindneſs ſhewed both to me, and alſo to all your own kinſfolk and mine. Good Couſin, as God hath ſet you in our ſtock, and kindred (not for any reſpect of your perſon, but of his abundant grace and goodneſs) to be as it were the Bell-weather to order and conduct the reſt, and hath alſo indued you with his manifold gifts of grace both Heavenly and Worldly above others: ſo I pray you good Couſin (as my truſt and hope is in you) continue and increaſe in the maintenance of the truth, honeſty, righteouſneſs, and all true godlineſs, and to the uttermoſt of your power, to withſtand falſhood, untruth, unrighteouſneſs, and all ungodlineſs which is forbidden and condemned by the Word and Laws of God.

To his couſin *Ralph Whitfield*.

Farewel my young Couſin *Ralph Whitfield*. Oh! your time was very ſhort with me. My mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught in that little time a loſs, but I truſt it ſhall be recompenced, as it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God.

To all his kindred.

Farewel all my whole Kindred and countreymen, farewel in Chriſt all together. The Lord, which is the ſearcher of ſecrets, knoweth that according to my hearts deſire, my hope was of late that I ſhould have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Chriſts bleſſed Goſpel, according to the duty of that office and miniſtery, whereunto among you I was choſen, named and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerleſs Prince, King *Edward*, and ſo alſo denounced openly in his Court, by his privy Council.

B. Ridley appointed to be B. of *Durham*.

Martyrdom, Gods ſingular and rare promotion.

I warn you all my welbeloved Kinſfolk and Countrymen, that ye be not amazed or aſtonied at the kind of my departure and diſſolution: for I enſure you, I think it the moſt honour that ever I was called unto in all my life: and therefore I thank my Lord God heartily for it, that it hath pleaſed him to call me of his great mercy unto this high honour, to ſuffer death willingly for his ſake, and his cauſe; unto the which honour he hath called the Holy Prophets, and dearly beloved Apoſtles, and his bleſſed choſen Martyrs. For know ye that I doubt no more, but that the cauſes wherefore I am put to death, are Gods cauſes, and the cauſes of the Truth, then I doubt that the Goſpel which *John* Wrote is the Goſpel of Chriſt, or that *Pauls* Epiſtles are the very Word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide, and ſtand in Gods cauſe, and

and in Christs quarrel even unto death, I ensure thee (O man) it is an inestimable and an honourable gift of God, given onely to the true Elect, and dearly beloved Children of God and Inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven. For the Holy Apostle and also Martyr in Christs cause, Saint *Peter*, saith, If ye suffer rebuke in the Name of Christ, that is, in Christs cause, and for his truths sake, then are ye happy and blessed, for the glory of the Spirit of God resteth upon you. If for rebukes sake suffered in Christs Name, a man is pronounced, by the mouth of that Holy Apostle, blessed and happy: how much more happy and blessed is he that hath the grace to suffer death also? Wherefore, all ye that be my true lovers and Friends, rejoyce, and rejoyce with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Sons sake my Saviour and Redeemer Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call me, being else without his gracious goodness, in my self but a sinful and vile wretch, to call me (I say) unto this high dignity of his true Prophets, of his faithful Apostles, and of his holy elect and chosen Martyrs, that is, to die and to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his eternal and everlasting truth.

1 Pet. 4.

A blessed thing to suffer death for Christ.

Ye know that be my country-men dwelling upon the borders, where (alas) the true man suffereth oftentimes much wrong at the theeves hand, if it chance a man to be slain of a thief (as it often doth there) which went out with his neighbour to help him to reserve his goods again; that the more cruelly he be slain, and the more stedfastly he stuck by his neighbour in the fight against the faith of the thief, the more favour and friendship shall all his posterity have for the slain mans sake, of all them that be true, as long as the memory of this fact, and his posterity doth endure: Even so ye that be my kinsfolk and country-men, know ye (howsoever the blind, ignorant, and wicked World hereafter shall rail upon my death, which thing they cannot do worse than their Fathers did, of the death of Christ our Saviour, of his Holy Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs:) know ye (I say) that both before God, and all them that be godly, and that truely know, and follow the Laws of God, ye have, and shall have by Gods Grace, ever cause to rejoyce, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God rejoyce of me your Flesh and Blood, whom God of his goodness hath vouchsafed to associate unto the blessed company of his Holy Martyrs in Heaven: and I doubt not in the infinite goodness of my Lord God, nor in the faithful fellowship of his elect and chosen People, but at both their hands in my cause, ye shall rather find the more favour and grace: for the Lord saith, that he will be both to them and theirs that love him, the more loving again in a thousand generations: the Lord *is so full of mercy* to them (I say) and theirs which do love him indeed. And Christ saith again, that no man can shew more love than to give his life for his Friend.

If it be a point of a faithful Friend to die with his Friend upon theeves for wordly goods, how much more then to die in Christs quarrel upon the enemies of his Church?

Deut. 7.

John 15.

Now also know ye, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and country-men, that the cause wherefore I am put to death, is even after the same sort and condition, but touching more neer Gods cause, and in more weighty matters, but in the general kind all one: For both is Gods cause, both is in the maintenance of right, and both for the Common-wealth, and both for the weal also of the Christian Brother, although yet there is in these two no small difference, both concerning the enemies, the goods stoln, and the manner of the fight. For know ye all, that like as there when the poor man is robbed by the thief of his goods truely gotten (whereupon he and his houshold should live) he is greatly wronged, and the thief in stealing and robbing with violence the poor mans goods, doth offend God, doth transgress his Law, and is injurious both to the poor man, and to the Common-wealth: so I say, know ye that even here in the cause of my death, it is with the Church of *England*, I mean the Congregation of the true chosen Children of God in this Realm of *England*, which I knowledge not onely to be my neighbours, but rather the Congregation of my Spiritual Brethren and Sisters in Christ, yea, members of one body, wherein by Gods Grace, I am and have been grafted in Christ. This Church of *England* hath of late of the infinite goodness, and abundant grace of Almighty God, great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of Gods true sincere Word, the true and wholesome administration of Christs Holy Sacraments, the whole profession of Christs Religion, truely and plainly set forth in Baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same, taught in the Holy Catechism, to have been learned of all true Christians.

To die in any right whatsoever it be is to die in Gods cause.

To die in the truth against theeves, and to die for the truth against Christs enemies, compared.

Truth taught in the Church of *England*.

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• The Church had also a true and sincere form and manner of the Lords Supper, wherein according to Jesus Christs own ordinance, and Holy Institution, Christs Commandments were executed and done. For upon the Bread and Wine set upon the Lords Table, thanks were given, the commemoration of the Lords death was had; the Bread, in the remembrance of Christs Body torn upon the Cross, was broken, and the cup in the remembrance of Christs Blood shed, was distributed, and both communicated unto all that were present and would receive them, and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do.

True ministration of the Lords Supper.

All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that every thing might be most easily heard, and plainly understood of all the People, to Gods high glory, and the edification of the whole Church. This Church had of late the whole divine services, all common and publick prayers ordained to be said and heard in the common Congregation, not onely framed and fashioned to the true vein of Holy Scripture, but also set forth according to the commandment of the Lord, and St. *Pauls* Doctrin for the Peoples edification, in their vulgar tongue.

Service in the vulgar tongue.

It had also holy and wholsome *Homilies* in commendation of the principal vertues, which are commended in Scripture: and likewise other Homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices that use (alas) to raign in this Realm of *England*. This Church had in matters of controversie, Articles so penned and framed after the Holy Scriptures, and grounded upon the true understanding of Gods Word, that in short time if they had been universally received, they should have been able to have set in Christs true Religion, and to have expelled many false errours and Heresies, wherewith this Church, alas, was almost overgon.

Homilies in the Church of *England*.

Articles set forth for matters of controversies.

But alas, of late into this spiritual possession of the Heavenly treasure of these godly riches, are entred in theeves, that have robbed and spoyled all this treasure away. I may well complain on these things, and cry out upon them with the Prophet saying, *Deus, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam, &c. Psal.* 72. O Lord God, the Gentiles, Heathen Nations, are come into thy heritage: They have defiled thy Holy Temple, and made *Jerusalem* an heap of stones, that is, They have broken and beaten down to the ground thy Holy City. This Heathenish generation, these thieves be of *Samaria*, these *Sabæi* and *Chaldæi*, these robbers have rushed out of their dens, and have robbed the Church of *England* of all the foresaid Holy Treasure of God; they have carried it away, and overthrown it, and instead of Gods Holy Word, the true and right administration of Christs Holy Sacraments, as of Baptism, and others, they mixt their Ministery with mans fooliish fantasies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions withal.

Theeves of *Samaria* in Christs Church, *Sabæi, Chaldæi.*

Robbing of Christs Church.

Baptism mixt with mans fantasies.

In stead of the Lords Holy Table, they give the People with much solemn disguising a thing which they call their Mass, but indeed and in truth, it is a very masking and mockery of the true Supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a crafty jugling, whereby these false thieves and juglers have bewitched the minds of the simple People, that they have brought them from the true worship of God, unto pernicious Idolatry, and make them to believe that to be Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor, hath any life in it self, but in substances is the creature of Bread and Wine, and in use of the Lords Table is the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood: and for this holy use, for the which the Lord hath ordained them in his Table, to represent unto us his blessed Body torn upon the Cross for us, and his Blood there shed, it pleased him to call them his Body and Blood: which understanding Christ declareth to be his true meaning, when he saith, Do this in remembrance of me. And again, Saint *Paul*.

The Lords Supper tuned to the Mass.

likewise

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likewiſe doth ſet out the ſame more plainly, ſpeaking of the ſame Sacrament, after the words of Conſecration, ſaying, As often as ye ſhall eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, ye ſhall ſet forth (he meaneth with the ſame) the Lords Death until his coming again. And here again theſe Thieves have robbed alſo the People of the Lords Cup, contrary to the plain words of Chriſt, written in his Goſpel.

Luke 22. 1 Cor. 11.

The Lords Cup robbed.

Now for the common Publick Prayers which were in the Vulgar Tongue, theſe Thieves have brought in again a ſtrange Tongue, whereof the People underſtand not one word. Wherein what do they elſe, but rob the People of their Divine Service, wherein they ought to pray together with the Miniſter? And to pray in a ſtrange Tongue, what is it, but (as S. *Paul* calleth it) barbarouſneſs, childiſhneſs, unprofitable folly, yea, and plain madneſs.

Prayers turned into an unknown Tongue.

For the godly Articles of Unity in Religion, and for the wholeſom Homilies, what do theſe Thieves place in the ſtead of them, but the Popes Laws and Decrees, lying Legends, feigned Fables, and Miracles to delude and abuſe the ſimplicity of the rude People? Thus this robbery and theft is not only committed, nay, ſacriledge and wicked ſpoil of heavenly things, but alſo in the ſtead of the ſame, is brought in and placed the abominable deſolation of the Tyrant *Antiochus*, of proud *Senacherib*, of the ſhameleſs faced King, and of the Babylonical Beaſt. Unto this Robbery, this Theft and Sacriledge, for that I cannot conſent, nor (God willing) ever ſhall ſo long as the breath is in my Body, becauſe it is Blaſphemy againſt God, high Treaſon unto Chriſt our heavenly King, Lord, Maſter, and our only Saviour and Redeemer, it is plainly contrary to Gods Word, and to Chriſts Goſpel, it is the ſubverſion of all true Godlineſs, and againſt the everlaſting ſalvation of mine own Soul, and of all my Brethren and Siſters, whom Chriſt my Saviour hath ſo dearly bought, with no leſs price than with the effuſion and ſhedding forth of his moſt precious Blood: Therefore all ye my true lovers in God, my Kinſfolks and Country-men, for this cauſe (I ſay) know ye that I am put to death, which by Gods grace I ſhall willingly take, with hearty thanks to God therefore, in certain hope without any doubting, to receive at Gods hand again, of his free mercy and grace, everlaſting life.

Inſtead of Homilies the Popes Decrees ſet up.

The Popes Doctrine containeth Blaſphemy to God. Treaſon to Chriſt, is contrary to Gods Word, is a ſubverſion of true godlineſs, and deſtruction of mans ſoul.

Although the cauſe of the true man ſlain of the Thief, helping his Neighbour to recover his Goods again, and the cauſe wherefore I am to be put to death, in a generality is both one (as I ſaid before;) yet know ye that there is no ſmall difference. Theſe Thieves againſt whom I do ſtand, are much worſe than the Robbers and Thieves of the Borders. The Goods which they ſteal are much more precious, and their kinds of fight are far divers. Theſe Thieves are worſe (I ſay) for they are more cruel, more wicked, more falſe, more deceitful and crafty: for thoſe will but kill the Body, but theſe will not ſtick to kill both Body and Soul. Thoſe, for the general Theft and Robbery, be called, and are indeed Thieves and Robbers; but theſe, for their ſpiritual kind of robbery, are called *Sacrilegi*, as ye would ſay, Church-robbers. They are more wicked: for thoſe go about to ſpoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and ſilver, and worldly ſubſtance; theſe go about in the ways of the Devil their Ghoſtly Father, to ſteal from the Univerſal Church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly Treaſure, true Faith, true Charity, and hope of Salvation in the Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, yea, to ſpoil us of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, of his Goſpel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the Kingdom of Heaven, ſo dearly purchaſed unto us, with the death of our Maſter and Saviour Chriſt. Theſe be the Goods and godly Subſtance whereupon the Chriſtian before God muſt live, and without the which he cannot live: Theſe Goods (I ſay) theſe Thieves, theſe Church-robbers go about to ſpoil us of. The which Goods, as to the Man of God, they excel and far paſs all worldly Treaſure; ſo to withſtand even unto the death ſuch Thieves as go about to ſpoil both us and the whole Church of ſuch Goods, is moſt high and honourable Service done unto God.

Comparison between Popiſh Perſecutors and ſtrong Thieves.

Popiſh Perſecutors when they are falſe Thieves, yet will they be called true Catholicks.

Theſe Church-robbers be alſo much more falſe, crafty, and deceitful than the Thieves upon the borders; for theſe have not the craft ſo to commend their Theft, that they dare avouch it; and therefore as acknowledging themſelves to be evil, they ſteal commonly upon the night, they dare not appear at Judgments and Seſſions, where Juſtice is executed; and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they be oft times hanged for their faults. But theſe Church-robbers can ſo cloak and colour their ſpiritual Robbery; that they can make People to believe falſhood to be truth, and truth falſhood, good to be evil, and evil good, light to be darkneſs, and darkneſs light, Superſtition to be true Religion, and Idolatry to be the true Worſhip of God, and that which is in Subſtance the Creature of Bread and Wine, to be none other Subſtance but only the Subſtance of Chriſt the living Lord, both God and Man: And with this their falſhood and craft, they can ſo juggle and bewitch the Underſtanding of the Simple; that they dare avouch it openly in Court and in Town, and fear neither hanging nor heading, as the poor Thieves of the Borders do; but ſtout and ſtrong like *Nembroth*; dare condemn to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whoſoever will go about to bewray their falſhood.

The fight with ſpiritual Thieves is worſe than with temporal Thieves.

The kind of fight againſt theſe Church-robbers, is alſo of another ſort and kind, than is that which is againſt the Thieves of the Borders. For there the true men go forth againſt them with Spear and Launce, with Bow and Bill, and all ſuch kind of bodily Weapons as the true men have: but here, as the Enemies be of another nature, ſo the Watchmen of Chriſts Flock, the Warriors that fight in the Lords War, muſt be armed, and fight with another kind of Weapons and Armour. For here the Enemies of God, the Souldiers of Antichriſt, although the Battel is ſet forth againſt the Church by mortal men, being fleſh and blood, and nevertheleſs Members of their Father the Devil, yet for that their grand Maſter is the Power of Darkneſs, their Members are Spiritual Wickedneſs, wicked Spirits, Spirits of Errors, of Hereſies, of all Deceit and Ungodlineſs, Spirits of Idolatry, Superſtition and Hypocriſie, which are called of S. *Paul*, Principalities and Powers, Lords of the World, Rulers of the darkneſs of this World, and ſpiritual ſubtilties concerning heavenly things, therefore our Weapons muſt be fit and meet to fight againſt ſuch, not Carnal nor Bodily Weapons, as Spear and Launce, but Spiritual and Heavenly: we muſt fight againſt ſuch with the Armour of God, not intending to kill their Bodies, but their Errors, their falſe Craft and Hereſies, their Idolatry, Superſtition, and Hypocriſie, and to ſave (as much as lieth in us) both their Bodies and their Souls.

Epheſ.

And therefore as S. *Paul* teacheth us, *we fight not againſt fleſh and blood*, that is, we fight not with bodily Weapon to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked Errours and Vices, and to ſave both Body and Soul. Our Weapons therefore are Faith, Hope, Charity, Righteouſneſs, Truth, Patience, Prayer unto God, and our Sword wherewith we ſmite our Enemies, beat and batter and bear down all falſhood, is the Word of God. With theſe Weapons, under the Banner of the Croſs of Chriſt, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand Maſter, Duke and Captain, Chriſt; and then we reckon our ſelves to triumph and to win the Crown of everlaſting Bliſs, when induring in this Battel without any ſhrinking or yielding to the Enemies, after the example of our grand Captain Chriſt our Maſter, after the Example of his holy Prophets, Apoſtles, and Martyrs, when (I ſay) we are ſlain in our mortal bodies of our Enemies, and are moſt cruelly and without all mercy murthered down like a many of Sheep. And the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and ſpiteful is the kind of death whereunto we be put; the more glorious in God, the more bleſſed and happy we reckon (without all doubts) our Martyrdom to be.

Epheſ.

The Weapons of a Chriſtian Warriour.

And thus much, dear Lovers and Friends in God, my Country-men and Kinſfolk, I have ſpoken for your comfort, leſt of my death (of whoſe life you looked peradventure ſometimes to have had honeſty, pleaſures, and commodities) ye might be abaſhed or think any evil: whereas ye have rather cauſe to rejoyce (if ye love me indeed) for that it hath pleaſed God to call me to a greater honour and dignity, than ever I did enjoy before, either in *Rocheſter*, or in the See of *London*, or ever ſhould have had in the See of *Durham*, whereunto

Dr. Ridley named to the See of Durham

I was laſt of all elected and named: yea, I count it greater honour before God indeed to dye in his cauſe (whereof I nothing doubt) than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honour that can be given to a Man in this World. And who is he that knoweth the cauſe to be Gods, to be Chriſts quarrel, and of his Goſpel, to be the common weal of all the elect and choſen Children of God, of all the inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven; who is he (I ſay) that knoweth this aſſuredly by Gods Word, and the teſtimony of his own Conſcience (as I through the infinite goodneſs of God, not of my ſelf, but by his Grace acknowledge my ſelf to do) who is he (I ſay) that knoweth this and both loveth and feareth God indeed and in truth, loveth and believeth his Maſter Chriſt and his bleſſed Goſpel, loveth his brotherhood, the choſen Children of God, and alſo luſteth and longeth for everlaſting life, who is he (I ſay again) that would not or cannot find in his heart in this cauſe to be content to die? The Lord forbid that any ſuch ſhould be that ſhould forſake this Grace of God. I truſt in my Lord God, the God of mercies and the Father of all comfort through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, that he which hath put this mind, will, and *affection by his Holy Spirit in my heart, to ſtand againſt the face of the enemy in his cauſe*, and to chuſe rather the loſs of all my Worldly Subſtance, yea and of my Life too, than to deny his known truth; that he will comfort me, aid me, and ſtrengthen me evermore even unto the end, and to the yielding up of my Spirit and Soul into his holy hands, whereof I moſt heartily beſeech his moſt holy ſacred Majeſty of his infinite Goodneſs and Mercy, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

The cauſe of Martyrs is the common cauſe of Chriſt, and of all his elect Saints.

Let no Man ſhrink to die in ſuch a bleſſed and common quarrel.

Now that I have taken my leave of my Countrimen and Kinſfolk, and the Lord doth lend me Life, and giveth me leiſure, I will bid my other good friends in God of other places alſo, farewel. And whom firſt or before other, then the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty friends, received more benefits (the benefits of my natural Parents only excepted) than ever I did even in mine own native Country wherein I was born.

To his friends in Cambridge.

Farewel therefore (*Cambridge*) my loving Mother and tender Nurſe. If I ſhould not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I ſhould not for thy benefits at the leaſt love thee again, truly I were to be accounted too ungrate and unkind. What benefits hadſt thou ever, that thou uſeſt to give and beſtow upon thy beſt beloved Children, that thou thoughteſt too good for me? Thou didſt beſtow on me all thy School degrees, the common Offices, the Chaplainſhip of the Univerſity, the Office of the Proctorſhip, and of a common Reader; and of thy private commodities and emoluments in Colledges, what was it that thou madeſt me not partner of? Firſt to be Scholar, then to be Fellow, and after my departure from thee, thou calledſt me again to a Maſterſhip of a Right Worſhipful Colledge. I thank thee, my loving Mother, for all this thy kindneſs, and I pray God that his Laws, and the ſincere Goſpel of Chriſt may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

Benefits ſhewed to D. Ridley in Cambridge.

Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge. Commendation of Pembroke-Hall to be a ſetter forth ever of the Goſpel. D. Ridley learned the Epiſtles of Saint Paul and Peter without Book in Pembroke-Hall.

Farewel *Pembroke Hall*, of late mine own Colledge, my Cure and my charge: what caſe thou art in now God knoweth, I know not well. Thou waſt ever named ſince I knew thee, which is not thirty years ago, to be ſtudious, well learned, and a great ſetter forth of Chriſts Goſpel, and of Gods true Word; ſo I found thee, and, bleſſed be God, ſo I left thee indeed. Wo is me for thee mine own dear Colledge, if ever thou ſuffer thy ſelf by any *means* to be brought from that trade. In thy Orchard (the walls, buts, and trees, if they could ſpeak would bear me witneſs) I learned without Book almoſt all *Pauls* Epiſtles, yea, and I ween all the Canonical Epiſtles, ſave only the Apocalyps. Of which ſtudy, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the ſweet ſmell thereof I truſt I ſhall carry with me into Heaven: for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my Life time ever after, and I ween of late (whether they abide now or no, I cannot tell) there was that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love toward that part of Gods Word, which is a key and true commentary to all the Holy Scripture, may ever abide in that Colledge ſo long as the World ſhall endure.

From *Cambridge* I was called into Kent by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury Thomas Cranmer*, that moſt reverend Father and Man of God, and of him by and by ſent to be Vicar of *Herne* in *Eaſt-Kent*: Wherefore farewel *Herne*, thou worſhipful and wealthy pariſh, the firſt Cure whereunto I was called to Preach Gods Word. Thou haſt heard of my Mouth oft-times the Word of God Preached, not after the Popiſh trade, but after Chriſts Goſpel: Oh that the fruit had anſwered to the ſeed. And yet I muſt acknowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lords Supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me: but I bleſs God in all that Godly vertue and zeal of Gods Word, which the Lord by Preaching of his Word did kindle manifeſtly both in the heart and in the Life and works of that Godly Woman there, my Lady *Phines*; the Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many other more.

Anno 1555.

D. Ridley called into Kent by Archbiſhop Cranmer, to the Pariſh of Hern in Kent.

The Godly Lady Phines in Hern Pariſh.

Farewel thou Cathedal Church of *Canterbury*, the Metropolitick See, whereof once I was a member. To ſpeak things pleaſant unto thee I dare not for danger of Conſcience, and diſpleaſure of my Lord God, and to ſay what lieth in my heart were now too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheleſs, for the friendſhip I have found in ſome there, and for charity ſake I wiſh thee to be waſhed clean of all Worldlineſs and ungodlineſs, that thou maiſt be found of God after thy name *Chriſts-Church* in deed and in truth.

To the Metropolitick See of Canterbury.

Farewel *Rocheſter*, ſometime my Cathedral See, in whom (to ſay the truth) I did find much gentleneſs and obedience, and I truſt thou wilt not ſay the contrary, but I did uſe it to Gods Glory and into thine own profit in God. Oh that thou hadſt and mightſt have continued and gone forward in the trade of Gods Law wherein I did leave thee; then thy charge and burden ſhould not have been ſo terrible and dangerous, as I ſuppoſe verily it is like to be (alas) in the latter day.

To the See of Rocheſter.

To *Weſtminſter* other advertiſement in God I have not now to ſay, then I have ſaid before to the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, and ſo God give thee of his Grace, that thou maiſt learn in deed and in truth to pleaſe him after his own Laws; and thus fare you well.

To Weſtminſter.

Oh *London*, *London*, to whom now may I ſpeak in thee, or whom ſhall I bid farewel? Shall I ſpeak to the Prebendaries of *Pauls*? Alas, all that loved Gods Word, and were the true ſetters forth thereof, are now (as I hear ſay) ſome burnt and ſlain, ſome exiled and baniſhed, and ſome holden in hard Priſon, and appointed daily to be put to moſt cruel death for Chriſts Goſpel ſake. As for the reſt of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever delight in them.

To the See of London.

Shall I ſpeak to the See thereof, wherein of late I was placed almoſt, and not fully by the ſpace of three years? But what may I ſay to it, being (as I hear ſay I am) depoſed and expulſed by judgment as unjuſt uſurper of that room. O judgment, judgment. Can this be juſt judgment to condemn the chief Miniſter of Gods Word, the Paſtor and Biſhop of the Dioceſs, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor ever ſuffer him to have any place or time to anſwer for himſelf? Thinkeſt thou that hereafter when true Juſtice ſhall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed either of God or Man? Well, as for the cauſe or whole matter of my depoſition, and the ſpoil of my goods which thou poſſeſſeſt yet, I refer it unto God which is a juſt judge; and I beſeech God, if it be his pleaſure, that that which is but my perſonal wrong, be not laid to thy charge in the latter day, this only I can pray for.

Biſhop Ridley depoſed from the See of London without right or judgment.

O thou now wicked and Bloody See, why doeſt thou ſet up again many Altars of Idolatry, which by the Word of God were juſtly taken away? Why haſt thou overthrown the Lords Table? Why doſt thou daily delude thy people, maſking in thy Maſſes *in* ſtead of the Lords Holy Supper, which ought to be common as well (ſaith *Chryſoſtom*, yea the Lord himſelf) to the People as to the Prieſt? How dareſt thou deny to the People of Chriſt, contrary to his expreſs Commandment in the Goſpel, his Holy Cup? Why bableſt thou to the People the Common-Prayer in a ſtrange Tongue, wherein

The See of London worthily rebuked.

Saint

Anno 1555.

S. *Paul* commandeth in the Lords Name, that no man ſhould ſpeak before the Congregation, except it ſhould be by and by declared in their Common Tongue, that all might be edified? Nay, hearken thou whoriſh Bawd of *Babylon*, thou wicked Limb of Antichriſt, thou bloody Wolf, why ſlayeſt thou down, and makeſt havock of the Prophets of God? Why murthereſt thou ſo cruelly Chriſt's poor ſilly Sheep, which will not hear thy voice, becauſe thou art a Stranger, and will follow none other but their own Paſtor Chriſt his voice? Thinkeſt thou to eſcape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of his Saints at thy hands? Thy God, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou ſayeſt thou haſt Power to make, that thy deaf and dumb God (I ſay) will not indeed, nor can (although thou art not aſhamed to call him thy Maker) make thee to eſcape the revenging hand of the High and Almighty God. But be thou aſſured, that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, which ſitteth on the right hand of his Father in glory, he ſeeth all thy wicked ways and cruelty done to his dear Members, and he will not forget his holy Ones, and his hands (O thou whoriſh Drab) ſhalt thou never eſcape. Inſtead of my farewel to thee, now I ſay fye upon thee, fye upon thee filthy Drab, and all thy falſe Prophets.

The bloody See of London.

Bp. Ridleys propheſie upon the Epiſcopal See of *London*.

To the City of *London*.

Yet thou (O *London*) I may not leave thee thus. Although thy Epiſcopal See, now being joyned in league with the Seat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the Saints of God, yet I do not doubt, but in that great City there be many privy Mourners, which do daily mourn for that miſchief, the which never did nor ſhall conſent to that wickedneſs, but do deteſt and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But theſe privy Mourners here I will paſs by, and bid them farewel with their Fellows hereafter, when the place and occaſion ſhall more conveniently require. Among the worſhipful of the City, and ſpecially which were in Office of Majoralty, yea, and in other Cities alſo (whom to name now it ſhall not be neceſſary) in the time of my Miniſtery, which was from the latter part of Sir *Rowland Hills*'s year, unto Sir *George Barnes*'s year, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no ſmall humanity and gentleneſs as me thought: but (to ſay the truth) that I do eſteem above all other for true Chriſtian kindneſs, which is ſhewed in Gods cauſe, and done for his ſake. Wherefore, O *Dobs*, *Dobs*, Alderman and Knight, thou in thy year *didſt win my heart for evermore*, for that honourable act, that moſt bleſſed work of God, of the erection and ſetting up of Chriſts holy Hoſpitals, and truly religious Houſes, which by thee, and through thee were begun. For thou like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Chriſts poor ſilly Members to be holpen from extream miſery, hunger, and famine, thy heart, I ſay, was moved with pity, and as Chriſts high honourable Officer in that cauſe, thou calledſt together thy Brethren the Aldermen of the City, before whom thou brakeſt the matter for the Poor; thou didſt plead their cauſe, yea, and not only in thine own perſon thou didſt ſet forth Chriſts cauſe, but to further the matter, thou broughteſt me into the Councel Chamber of the City before the Aldermen alone, whom thou hadſt aſſembled there together to hear me ſpeak what I could ſay, as an Advocate by office and duty, in the poor mens cauſe. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the conſent of thy Brethren; whereby the matter was brought to the Common Council, and ſo to the whole Body of the City; by whom, with an uniform conſent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and deviſed by a certain number of the moſt wity Citizens and Politick, endued alſo with godlineſs, and with ready hearts to ſet forward ſuch a noble act, as could be choſen in all the whole City: and they like true and faithful Miniſters both to their City and their Maſter Chriſt, ſo ordered, deviſed, and brought forth the matter, that thouſands of ſilly poor Members of Chriſt, which elſe for extream hunger and miſery ſhould have famiſhed and periſhed, ſhall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and ſhall have cauſe to bleſs the Aldermen of that time, the Common Council, and the whole Body of the City, but ſpecially thee, O *Dobs*, and thoſe choſen men, by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought, and that ſo long throughout all Ages, as that godly work ſhall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever unto the worlds end, Amen.

Commendation of Sir *Rich. Dobs* Alderman and Knight.

The erecting of the Hoſpital by Bp. *Ridley* and Sir *Richard Dobs*, Maior of *London*.

And thou, O Sir *George Barnes*, the truth is to be confeſſed to Gods glory, and to the good example of other, thou waſt in thy year not only a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy Predeceſſor was well begun; but alſo didſt labour ſo to have perfected the work, that it ſhould have been an abſolute thing and perfect ſpectacle of true Charity and Godlineſs unto all Chriſtendom. Thine endeavour was to have ſet up an houſe of Occupations, both that all kind of Poverty, being able to work, ſhould not have lacked, whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief and to the profit and commodity of the Commonwealth of the City, and alſo to have retired thither the poor Babes brought up in the Hoſpitals, when they had come to a certain age and ſtrength, and alſo all thoſe which in the Hoſpitals aforeſaid had been cured of their Diſeaſes. And to have brought this to paſs, thou obtainedſt, not without great diligence and labour both of thee, and of thy Brethren, and of that godly King *Edward*, that Chriſtian and peerleſs Prince's hand, his Princely place of *Bridewel*, and what other things to the performance of the ſame, and under what condition it is not unknown. That this thine endeavour hath not had like ſucceſs, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and ſtate of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchſafe to amend when it ſhall be his gracious will and pleaſure.

Commendations of Sir *George Barnes*, Maior of *London*.

Bridewell obtained of K. *Edward* by Sir *George Barnes* to ſet poor people on work.

Farewel now all ye Citizens that be of God, of what ſtate and condition ſoever ye be. Undoubtedly in *London* ye have heard Gods Word truly preached. My hearts deſire and daily prayer ſhall be for you, as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God I am countable, that ye never ſwerve, neither for loſs of life nor worldly goods, from Gods holy Word, and yield unto Antichriſt: whereupon muſt needs follow the extream diſpleaſure of God, and the loſs both of your bodies and ſouls into perpetual damnation for evermore.

To the Citizens of *London*.

Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt any ſpace in the time of my Pilgrimage here upon Earth, remembring that for the ſpace of King *Edward's* Reign, which was for the time of mine Office in the Sees of *London* and *Rocheſter*, I was a Member of the higher Houſe of the Parliament; therefore (ſeeing my God hath given me leiſure, and the remembrance thereof) I will bid my Lords of the Temporalty farewel. They ſhall have no juſt cauſe (by Gods grace) to take it that I intend to ſay in ill part. As for the Spiritual Prelacy that now is, I have nothing to ſay to them, except I ſhould repeat again a great part of that I have ſaid before now already to the See of *London*. To you therefore my Lords of the Temporalty will I ſpeak, and this would I have you firſt to underſtand, that when I wrote this, I looked daily when I ſhould be called to the change of this life, and thought that this my writing ſhould not come to your knowledge, before the time of the diſſolution of my body and ſoul ſhould be expired; and therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes only the fear of God, and Chriſtian Charity toward you, which moved me to write; for of you hereafter I *look* not in this world, either for pleaſure or diſpleaſure. If my talk ſhall do you never ſo much pleaſure or profit, you cannot promote me, nor if I diſpleaſe you, can ye hurt me of harm me, for I ſhall be out of your reach. Now therefore if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of him that ſeeketh nothing at your hands, but to ſerve God, and to do you good: hearken what I ſay. I ſay unto you as S. *Paul* ſaith to the *Galathians*; I wonder my Lords what hath bewitched you, that ye ſo ſuddenly are fallen from Chriſt unto Antichriſt, from Chriſts Goſpel unto mans Traditions, from the Lord that bought you, unto the Biſhop now of *Rome*. I warn you of your peril; be not deceived, except you will be found willingly conſenters unto your own death. For if you think thus; We are Lay-men, this is a matter of Religion, we follow as we are taught and led; if our Teachers and Governours teach us and lead us amiſs, the fault is in them, they ſhall

To the higher Houſe and temporal Lords of the Parliament.

A good warning or leſſon to the temporal Lords.

bear the blame: My Lords, this is true (I grant you) that both the falſe Teachers, and the corrupt Governour, ſhall be puniſhed for the death of their Subject, whom they have faiſly taught and corruptly led, yea, and his blood ſhall be required at their hands: but yet nevertheleſs ſhall the Subject dye the death himſelf alſo, that is, he ſhall alſo be damned for his own ſin; for if the blind lead the blind, Chriſt ſaith, not the leader only, but he ſaith, both ſhall fall into the Ditch. Shall the Synagogue and the Senate of the Jews (trow ye) which forſook Chriſt, and conſented to his death, therefore be excuſed, becauſe *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, with the Scribes and Phariſees and their Clergy, did teach them amiſs? yea, and alſo Pilate their Governour and the Emperours Lieutenant by his tyranny, did without cauſe put him to death: Forſooth no my Lords, no. For notwithſtanding that corrupt Doctrine, or *Pilates* waſhing of his hands, neither of both ſhall excuſe either that Synagogue or Seigniory, or *Pilate*; but at the Lords hand, for the effuſion of that innocent blood, on the later day all ſhall drink of the deadly whip. Ye are witty, and underſtand what I mean; therefore I will paſs over this, and return to tell you how ye are fallen from Chriſt to his Adverſary the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Ezek. 3.

Luke 6. Ignorance will not excuſe the temporalty being ſeduced in Religion.

The Lords of the Parliament be fallen from Chriſt to Chriſts enemy.

And leſt (my Lords) ye may peradventure think, thus barely to call the Biſhop of *Rome* Chriſts Adverſary, or (to ſpeak in plain tearms) to call him Antichriſt, that it is done in mine Anguiſh, and that I do but rage, and as a deſperate man, do not care what I ſay, or upon whom I do rail; therefore that your Lordſhips may perceive my mind, and thereby underſtand that I ſpeak the words of truth and ſobriety (as S. *Paul* ſaid unto *Feſtus*) be it known unto your Lordſhips all, that as concerning the Biſhop of Rome, I neither hate the Perſon nor the Place. For I enſure your Lordſhips (the living Lord beareth me witneſs, before whom I ſpeak) I do think many a good holy man, many Martyrs and Saints of God have ſit and taught in that place Chriſts Goſpel truly, which therefore juſtly may be called *Apoſtolici*, that is, true Diſciples of the Apoſtles, and alſo that Church and Congregation of Chriſtians to be a right Apoſtolick Church: yea, and that certain hundred years after the ſame was firſt erected and builded upon Chriſt, by the true Apoſtolical Doctrine taught by the mouths of the Apoſtles themſelves. If ye will know how long that was, and how many hundred years, to be curious in pointing the preciſe number of the years, I will not be too bold, but thus I ſay; So long and ſo many hundred years as that See did truly teach and preach that Goſpel, that Religion, exerciſed that Power, and ordered every thing by thoſe Laws and Rules which that See received of the Apoſtles, and (as *Tertullian* ſaith) the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and Chriſt of God, ſo long (I ſay) that See might well have been called *Peter* and *Pauls* Chair and See, or rather Chriſts Chair, and the Biſhop thereof *Apoſtolicus*, or true Diſciple and Succeſſour of the Apoſtles, and a Miniſter of Chriſt.

Acts 26.

Many good men in the See of *Rome*.

So long as the See of *Rome* followed the rules of the Apoſtles, it might be called *Peters* or *Pauls* Chair.

The Church received of the Apoſtles, the Apoſtles of Chriſt, Chriſt of God. *Tertul.*

But ſince the time that that See hath degenerated from the Trade of Truth and true Religion, the which it received of the Apoſtles at the beginning, and hath preached another Goſpel, hath ſet up another Religion, hath exerciſed another Power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the Church of Chriſt by other ſtrange Laws, Canons, and Rules than ever it received of the Apoſtles, or the Apoſtles of Chriſt, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued ſo doing (alas, alas) of too too long a time; ſince the time (I ſay) that the ſtate and condition of that See hath thus been changed, in truth it ought of duty and of right to have the names changed both of the See and of the ſitter therein. For underſtand, my Lords, it was neither for the priviledge of the place or perſon thereof, that that See and Biſhops thereof were called Apoſtolick; but for the true trade of Chriſts Religion which was taught and maintained in that See at the firſt, and of thoſe godly men. And therefore as truly and juſtly as that See then, for that true trade of Religion, and conſanguinity of Doctrine with the Religion and Doctrine of Chriſts Apoſtles, was called Apoſtolick; ſo as truly and as juſtly for the contrariety of Religion, and diverſity of Doctrine from Chriſt and his Apoſtles, that See and Biſhop thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed Antichriſtian.

The See of *Rome* hath degenerated from the Apoſtles rules, and hath ſet up another Religion.

That is, hath exerciſed another power.

Hath ordained ſtrange laws.

If true doctrine make the See Apoſtolick, then contrary doctrine maketh the See to be Antichriſtian.

The See is the See of Satan, and the Biſhop of the ſame, that maintaineth the Abominations thereof, is Antichriſt himſelf indeed. And for the ſame cauſes this See at this day is the ſame which S. *John* calleth in his *Revelation*, *Babylon*, or the Whore of *Babylon*, and ſpiritual *Sodoma* and *Egyptus*, the Mother of Fornication, and of the Abominations upon the Earth. And with this Whore doth ſpiritually meddle, and lyeth with her, and committeth moſt ſtinking and abominable Adultery before God, all thoſe Kings and Princes, yea and all Nations of the Earth which do conſent to her Abominations, and uſe or practiſe the ſame; that is (of the innumerable *multitude* of them to rehearſe ſome for examples ſake) her Diſpenſations, her Pardons and Pilgrimages, her Invocation of Saints, her worſhipping of Images, her falſe counterfeit Religion in her Monkery and Prierage, and her Traditions, whereby Gods Laws are defiled; as her maſſing and falſe miniſtring of Gods Word and the Sacraments of Chriſt, clean contrary to Chriſts Word and the Apoſtles Doctrine, whereof in particular I have touched ſomething before in my talk had with the See of *London*, and in other Treatiſes more at large: wherein (if it ſhall pleaſe God to bring the ſame to light) it ſhall appear, I truſt by Gods grace, plainly to the man of God, and to him whoſe rule in judgment of Religion is Gods Word, that that Religion, that Rule and Order, that Doctrine and Faith which this Whore of *Babylon*, and the Beaſt whereupon ſhe doth ſit, maintaineth at this day with all violence of Fire and Sword, with Spoil and Baniſhment (according to *Daniels* Propheſie) and finally with all falſhood, deceit, hypocriſie, and all kind of ungodlineſs, are as clean contrary to Gods Word, as darkneſs is unto light, or light unto darkneſs, white to black, or black to white, or as *Belial* unto Chriſt, or Chriſt unto Antichriſt himſelf.

Anno 1556.

Apoc. 17. Apoc. 11.

Kings committing adultery with the whore of *Babylon*, what it meaneth.

Apoc. 18. Daniel 7.

I know my Lords, and foreſaw when I wrote this, that ſo many of you as ſhould ſee this my writing, not being before endued with the Spirit of Grace and the Light of Gods Word, ſo many (I ſay) would at theſe my words Lord-like ſtamp and ſpurn, and ſpit thereat. But ſober your ſelves with patience, and be ſtill, and know ye that in my writing of this, my mind was none other, but in God (as the living God doth bear me witneſs) both to do you profit and pleaſure. And otherwiſe, as for your diſpleaſure, by that time this ſhall come to your knowledge, I truſt by Gods grace to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father and the living Lord, which is, (as S. *John* ſaith) the greateſt of all, and then I ſhall not need (I trow) to fear what any Lord, no nor what King or Prince can do unto me.

He ſpeaketh to the Lords temporal.

My Lords, if in times paſt ye have been contented to hear me ſometimes in matters of Religion before the Prince in the Pulpit, and in the Parliament Houſe, and have not ſeemed to have deſpiſed what I have ſaid (when as elſe if ye had perceived juſt occaſion, ye might then have ſuſpected me in my talk, though it had been reaſonable, either deſire of worldly gain, or fear of diſpleaſure) how hath then your Lordſhips more cauſe to hearken to my word, and to hear me patiently, ſeeing now ye cannot juſtly think of me, being in this caſe appointed to dye, and looking daily when I ſhall be called to come before the eternal Judge, otherwiſe but that I only ſtudy to ſerve my Lord God, and to ſay that thing which I am perſwaded aſſuredly by Gods Word ſhall and doth pleaſe him, and profit all them to whom God ſhall give grace to hear and believe what I do ſay? And I do ſay even that I have ſaid heretofore both of the See of *Rome* and of the Biſhop thereof, I mean after this their preſent ſtate at this day, wherein if ye will not belive the Miniſters of God, and true Preachers of his Word, verily I denounce unto you in *Verbo Domini*, except ye do repent betime, it ſhall turn to your confuſion, and to your ſmart on the later day. Forget not what I ſay my Lords, for Gods ſake forget not, but remember it upon your bed. For I tell you moreover, as I know I muſt be countable of this my talk, and of my ſpeaking thus, to the eternal Judge (who will judge nothing amiſs) ſo ſhall you be countable of your duty in hearing, and you ſhall be charged, if ye will not hearken to Gods Word, for not obeying to the truth. Alas my Lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now anew again to be perſwaded unto you? Who would have

Pſal. 4.

thought

Anno 1555.

thought of late, but your Lordships had been perswaded indeed sufficiently, or that ye could ever have agreed so uniformly with one consent to the abolishment of the usurpation of the Bishop of *Rome*? If that matter were then but a matter of policy wherein the Prince must be obeyed; how it is now made a matter wherein (as your Clergy saith now, and so saith the Popes Laws indeed) standeth the unity of the Catholick Church, and a matter of necessity of our salvation? Hath the time, being so short since the death of the two last Kings, *Henry* the Eighth, and *Edward* his Son, altered the nature of the matter? If it have not, but was of the same nature and danger before God then as it is now, and be now (as it is said by the Popes Laws, and the instructions set forth in English to the Curats of the Diocess of *York*) indeed a matter of necessity to salvation: how then chanced it, that ye were all (O my Lords) so light, and so little passed upon the Catholick Faith, and the unity thereof (without the which no man can be saved) as for your Princes pleasures, which were but mortal men, to forsake the unity of your Catholick Faith, that is, to forsake Christ and his Gospel? And furthermore, if it were both then, and now is so necessary to salvation, how chanced it also that ye, all the whole body of the Parliament agreeing with you, did not only abolish and expel the Bishop of *Rome*, but also did abjure him in your own persons, and did decree in your Acts great Oaths to be taken of both the Spiritualty and Temporalty, whosoever should enter into any weighty and chargeable Office in the Commonwealth? But on the other side, if the Law and Decree which maketh the Supremacy of the See and Bishop of *Rome* over the Universal Church of Christ, be a thing of necessity required unto Salvation by an Antichristian Law (as it is indeed) and such Instructions as are given to the Diocess of *York*, be indeed a setting forth of the Power of the Beast of *Babylon*, by the craft and fallhood of his false Prophets (as of truth, compared to Gods Word, and truly judged by the same; it shall plainly appear that they be) then my Lords never think other, but the day shall come when ye shall be charged with this your undoing of that, that once ye had well done, and with this your Perjury and Breach of your Oath, which Oath was done in judgment, justice, and truth agreeable to Gods Law. The Whore of *Babylon* may well for a time dally with you, and make you so drunken with the wine of her filthy Stews and Whoredom (as with her Dispensations and Promises of Pardon *a pœna & culpa*) that for drunkenness and blindness ye may think your selves safe. But be ye assured, when the living Lord shall try the matter by the fire, and judge it according to his Word, when all her Abominations shall appear what they be, then ye my Lords, (I give your Lordships warning in time) repent if ye will be happy, and love your own souls health, repent, I say, or else without all doubt, ye shall never escape the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your Perjury, and Breach of your Oath. As ye have banquetted and lain by the Whore in the Fornication of her whorish Dispensations, Pardons, Idolatry, and such like Abominations; so shall ye drink with her (except ye repent betime) of the Cup of the Lords Indignation and everlasting Wrath, which is prepared for the Beast, his false Prophets, and all their Partakers. For he that is partner with them in their Whoredom and Abominations, must also be partner with them of their Plagues, and in the latter day shall be thrown with them into the Lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire. Thus fare ye well, my Lords all. I pray God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to believe and embrace the Truth, Amen.

If the unity of the Popes Church standeth upon necessity of Salvation, why did the Lords of this Realm abjure this unity in K. *Henry* and K. *Edward* days? If it be otherwise, why then do they perjure themselves, turning to it again.

Jerem. 6.

Another farewel to the Prisoners in Christ's Gospels cause, and to all them which for the same cause are exiled and banished out from their own Country, choosing rather to leave all worldly Commodity, than their Master Christ.

Another farewel of Bp. *Ridley* to the Prisoners, &c.

FArewel my dearly beloved Brethren in Christ, both ye my Fellow-prisoners, and ye also that be exiled and banished out of your Countries, because ye will rather forsake all worldly Commodity, than the Gospel of Christ.

Farewel all ye together in Christ; farewel and be merry, for ye know that the trial of your Faith bringeth forth patience, and patience shall make us perfect, whole and sound on every side, and such, after trial, (ye know) shall receive the Crown of Life, according to the Promise of the Lord made to his dear Beloved; let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the Husbandman abideth patiently the former and later rain for the encrease of his Crop, so let us be patient, and pluck up our hearts, for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us (my dear Brethren) take example of patience in tribulation of the Prophets, which spake likewise Gods Word truly in his Name. Let *Job* be to us an example of Patience, and the end which the Lord suffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We know, my Brethren, by Gods Word, that our Faith is much more precious than any corruptible Gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even so our Faith is therefore tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord shall appear, laudable, glorious, and honourable. For if we for Christs cause do suffer, that is grateful before God; for thereunto are we called, that is our state and vocation, wherewith let us be content. Christ we know suffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we should follow his footsteps; for he committed no sin, nor was there any guile found in his mouth: when he was railed upon, and all to be reviled, he railed not again: when he was evil intreated, he did not threaten, but committed the punishment thereof to him that judgeth aright.

James 5.

1 Pet. 1.
1 Pet. 2.

Let us ever have in fresh remembrance those wonderful comfortable Sentences spoken by the mouth of our Saviour Christ; Blessed are they which suffer Persecution for Righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. Blessed are ye when men revile you, persecute you, and speak all evil against you for my sake: rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven; for so did they persecute the Prophets which were before you. Therefore let us alway bear this in our minds, that if any incommodity do chance unto us for righteousness sake, happy are we whatsoever the world doth think of us. Christ our Master hath told us before hand, that the Brother should put the Brother to death, and the Father the Son, and the Children should rise against their Parents and kill them, and that Christs true Apostles should be hated of all men for his Names sake; but he that shall abide patiently unto the end, shall be saved.

Matth. 5.

Luke 21.

Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our Master Christ, and be contented therewith, for he suffered being our Master and Lord: how doth it not then become us to suffer? For the Disciple is not above his Master, nor the Servant above his Lord. It may suffice the Disciple to be as his Master, and the Servant to be as his Lord. If they have called the Father of the Family, the Master of the Houshold, *Beelzebub*, how much more shall they call so them of his Houshold? Fear them not then (saith our Saviour) for all privities shall be made plain; there is now nothing secret, but it shall be shewed in light. Of Christs words let us neither be ashamed nor afraid to speak them; for so Christ our Master commandeth us, saying, That I tell you privily, speak openly abroad, and that I tell you in your ear, preach it upon the house top. And fear not them which kill the body, for the soul they cannot kill; but fear him which can cast both body and soul into hell fire.

Luke. 6.
Matth. 10.

Matth. 10.

Know ye that the heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and respect toward you, and a Fatherly providence for you, so that without his knowledge and permission nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore cast all our care upon him, and he shall provide that which shall be best for us. For if of two small Sparrows, which both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our head are numbred, fear not them (saith our Master Christ) for ye are more worth than many small Sparrows. And let us not stick to confess our Master Christ for fear of danger, whatsoever it shall be, remembring the promise that Christ maketh, saying, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I confess before my Father which is in Heaven: but whosoever shall deny me, him shall I likewise deny before my Father which is in Heaven. Christ came not to give unto us here a carnal amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in ease and peace,

Matth. 10.

To Confess Christ, and not to fear danger.

but rather to separate and divide from the World, and to joyn them unto himself: in whose cause we must, if we will be his, forsake Father and Mother, and stick unto him. If we forsake him or shrink from him for trouble or deaths sake, which he calleth his Cross; he will none of us, we cannot be his. If for his cause we shall lose our temporal lives here, we shall find them again, and enjoy them for evermore: but if in his cause we will not be contented to leave nor lose them here, then shall we lose them so, that we shall never find them again, but in everlasting death. What though our troubles here
2 Cor. 4. be painful for the time, and the sting of death bitter and unpleasant? yet we know that they shall not last, in comparison of Eternity, no not the twinkling of an eye, and that they patiently taken in Christs cause, shall procure and get us unmeasurable heaps of heavenly Glory, unto the which these temporal pains of death and troubles compared, are not to be esteemed, but to be rejoyced upon.
1 Pet. 3. Wonder not, saith S. *Peter*, as though it were any strange matter that ye are tried by the fire, he meaneth of tribulation, which thing, saith he, is done to prove you; nay, rather in that ye are Partners of Christs afflictions, rejoyce that in his glorious Revelation ye may rejoyce with merry hearts. If ye suffer rebukes in Christs Name, happy are ye, for the Glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and dishonoured, but of you he is glorified.

Let no man be ashamed of that he suffereth as a Christian, and in Christs cause; for now is the time that judgment and correction must begin at the House of God: and if it begin first at us, what shall be the end of those, think ye, which believe not the Gospel? And if the righteous shall be hardly saved, the wicked and the sinner, where shall he appear? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their souls to him by well doing, as to a trusty and faithful Maker. This, as I said, may not seem strange to us, for we know that all the whole Fraternity of Christs Congregation in this World is served with the like, and by the same is made perfect. For the fervent love
The causes why the Apostles so rejoyced in their Afflictions. that the Apostles had unto their Master Christ, and for the great commodities and increase of all godliness which they felt by their faith to insue of Afflictions in Christs cause, and thirdly for the heaps of heavenly joys which the same do get unto the godly, which shall endure in Heaven for evermore; for these causes (I say) the Apostles of their Afflictions did joy, and rejoyced in that they were had and accounted worthy to suffer contumelies and
1 Cor. 2. rebukes for Christs Name. And *Paul*, as he glorieth in the grace and favour of God, whereunto he was brought and stood in by faith; so he rejoyced in his Afflictions for the heavenly and spiritual profits which he numbred to rise upon them: yea, he was so far in love with that that the carnal man loatheth so much, that is, with Christs Cross, that he judged himself to know nothing else but Christ crucified; he will glory (he saith) in nothing else but in Christs Cross, yea, and he blesseth all those, as the only true Israelites and elect People of God with peace and mercy, which walk after that rule and after none other.

O Lord, what a wonderful Spirit was that that made
2 Cor. 11. *Paul*, in setting forth of himself against the vanity of Satans Pseudo-Apostles, and in his claim there, that he in Christs cause did excel and pass them all? What wonderful Spirit was that (I say) that made him to reckon up all his troubles, his labours, his beatings, his whippings and scourgings, his shipwracks, his dangers and perils by water and by land, his famine, hunger, nakedness, and cold, with many more, and the daily care of all the Congregations of Christ, among whom every mans pain
2 Tim. 2. The glory of *Paul* wherein it consisteth. did pierce his heart, and every mans grief was grievous unto him? O Lord, is this *Paul's* Primacy; whereof he thought so much good that he did excel other? Is not this *Paul's* saying unto *Timothy* his own Scholar? and doth it not pertain to whosoever will be Christs true
2 Tim. 2. Souldiers? Bear thou (saith he) affliction like a good Souldier of Jesus Christ. This is true: If we dye with him (he meaneth Christ) we shall live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; if we deny him, he shall deny us; if we be faithless, he remaineth faithful, he cannot deny himself. This, *Paul* would have known to every body; for there is none other way to Heaven but Christ and his way: and all that will live godly in Christ, shall (saith S. *Paul*) suffer Persecution. By this way went to Heaven the Patriarchs, the Prophets, Christ our Master, his Apostles, his Martyrs, and all the godly since the beginning. And as it hath been of old, that he which was born after the flesh, persecuted him which was born after the spirit, for so it was in *Isaac's* time: so said S. *Paul*, it was in his time also. And whether it be so or no now, let the spiritual man, the self same man I mean, that is indued with the Spirit of Almighty God, let him be judge. Of the cross of the Patriarchs, as ye may read in their Stories, if ye read the Book of *Genesis*, ye shall perceive. Of others, S. *Paul* in few words comprehendeth much matter, speaking in a generality of the wonderful afflictions, death, and torments which the men of God in Gods cause, and for the Truths sake willingly and gladly did suffer. After much particular rehearsal of many, he saith, Other were racked and despised and would not be delivered, that they might obtain a better Resurrection. Other again were tried with mockings and scourgings, and moreover with Bonds and Imprisonment; they were stoned, hewn asunder, tempted, fell, and were slain upon the edge of the Sword, some wandred to and fro in Sheeps Pilches, in Goats Pilches, forsaken, oppressed, afflicted, such godly men as the world was unworthy of, wandring in Wildernesses, in Mountains, in Caves, and in Dens, and all these were commended for their faith. And yet they abide for us the servants of God, and for those their Brethren which are to be slain as they were for the Word of Gods sake, that none be shut out, but that we may all go together to meet our Master Christ in the air at his coming, and so to be in bliss with him in body and soul for evermore.

Anno 1555.

2 Tim. 3.

Gal. 4.

The way to Heaven is by Afflictions.

Heb. 11.

Therefore seeing we have so much occasion to suffer and to take afflictions for Christ's Names sake patiently, so many commodities thereby, so weighty causes, so many good examples, so great necessity, so pure promises
Heb. 12. of eternal life and heavenly joys of him that cannot lye: Let us throw away whatsoever might let us, all burden
Reasons to move us to patience under the Cross. of sin, and all kind of carnality, and patiently and constantly let us run for the best game in this race that is set before us, ever having our eyes upon Jesus Christ the Ring-leader, Captain, and Perfecter of our Faith, which for the joy that was set before him endured the Cross, not passing upon the Ignominy and shame thereof, and is set now at the right hand of the Throne of God. Consider this, that he suffered such strife of sinners against himself, that ye should not give over, nor faint in your minds. As yet Brethren we have not withstood unto death, fighting against sin. Let us never forget (dear Brethren) for Christs sake, that fatherly Exhortation of the wise man that speaketh unto us, as unto his Children, the godly wisdom of God, saying thus; My Son, despise
Prov. 3. not the Correction of the Lord, nor fall from him when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct, and scourgeth every Child whom
Heb. 12. he receiveth. What Child is he whom the Father doth not chasten? If ye be free from Chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye Bastards and no Children. Seeing then, when as we have had carnal Parents which chastened us, we reverenced them, shall not we much more be subject unto our spiritual Father that we might live? And they for a little time have taught us after their own mind; but this Father teacheth us to our commodity, to give unto us his holiness. All chastisement for the present time appeareth not pleasant but painful; but afterward it rendreth the fruit of righteousness on them which are exercised in it. Wherefore let us be of good cheer (good Brethren) and let us pluck up our feeble Members that were fallen or began to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the rest, and let us walk upright and streight, that no limping nor halting bring us out of the way. Let us look, not upon the things that be present, but with the eyes of our faith let us stedfastly behold the things that be everlasting in Heaven, and so choose rather in respect of that which is to come, with the chosen Members of Christ to bear Christs Cross, than for his short life time to enjoy all the riches, honours, and pleasures of the broad world. Why should we Christians fear death? Can death deprive us of Christ, which is all our comfort, our joy, and our life? Nay forsooth. But contrary, death shall deliver us from this mortal
2 Cor. 5. Body,

Anno 1555.

Body, which loadeth and beareth down the Spirit, that it cannot so well perceive heavenly things; in the which so long as we dwell, we are absent from God.

2 Cor. 5. 2 Cor. 5.

Wherefore understanding our state in that we be Christians; that if our mortal Body, which is our earthly house, were destroyed, we have a building, a house not made with hands; but everlasting in Heaven, &c. therefore we are of good cheer, and know that when we are in the Body, we are absent from God; for we walk by faith, and not by cleer sight. Nevertheless we are bold, and had rather be absent from the Body, and present with God. Wherefore we strive, whether we be present at home, and absent abroad, that we may always please him. And who that hath true faith in our Saviour Christ, whereby he knoweth somewhat truly what Christ our Saviour is, that he is the eternal Son of God, life, light, the wisdom of the Father, all goodness, all righteousness and whatsoever is good that heart can desire, yea infinite plenty of all these, above that that Mans heart can either conceive or think (for in him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead corporally) and also that he is given us of the Father, and made of God to be our wisdom, our righteousness, our holiness, and our redemption: who (I say) is he that believeth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his Master Christ? *Paul* for this knowledge coveted to have been loosed from the Body, and to have been with Christ, for that he counted it much better for himself, and had rather to be loosed than to live. Therefore these words of Christ to the thief on the Cross, that asked of him mercy, were full of comfort and solace: This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise. To die in the defence of Christs Gospel it is our bounden duty to Christ, and also to our neighbour. To Christ, for he died for us, and rose again that he might be Lord over all. And seeing he died for us, we also (saith Saint *John*) should jeopard, yea give our Life for our Brethren. And this kind of giving and losing, is getting and winning indeed: for he that giveth or loseth his Life thus, getteth and winneth it for evermore. Blessed are they therefore that die in the Lord, and if they die in the Lords cause, they are most happy of all. Let us not then fear death, which can do us no harm, otherwise than for a moment to make the Flesh to smart: but that our faith, which is surely fastned and fixed unto the Word of God, telleth us that we shall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, in joy, in solace, and that from death we shall go straight unto Life. For Saint *John* saith, He that liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die. And in another place, He shall depart from death unto Life. And therefore this death of the Christian is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entrance into everlasting life. Therefore *Paul* calleth it but a dissolution and resolution, and both *Peter* and *Paul*, a putting off this Tabernacle or dwelling house: meaning thereby the mortal Body, as wherein the Soul or Spirit doth dwell here in this World for a small time. Yea this my death may be called to the Christian, an end of all miseries. For so long as we live here, we must pass thorow many tribulations before we can enter in the Kingdom of Heaven. And now, after that death hath shot his bolt, all the Christian Mans enemies have done what they can; after that, they have no more to do. What could hurt or harm poor *Lazarus* that lay at the Rich Mans gate? His former penury and poverty? his misery, beggary, and horrible sores and sickness? For so soon as death had striken him with his dart, so soon came the Angels, and carried him straight up into *Abrahams* bosom. What lost he by death, who from misery and pain is let by the Ministery of Angels, into a place both of joy and solace.

1 Cor. 1. Phil. 1.

Luke 24. Rom. 9. 1 John 3.

Apoc. 14.

To covet to be with Christ, and not to fear death.

John 11. John 5.

2 Pet. 1. 2 Cor. 5.

Acts 14.

Luke 17.

Farewel (dear brethren) farewel, and let us comfort our hearts in all troubles, and in death, with the Word of God, for Heaven and Earth shall perish, but the Word of the Lord endureth for ever.

Farewel Christs dearly beloved Spouse here wandering in this World in a strange Land, far from thine own Country, and compassed about on every hand with deadly enemies, which cease not to assault thee, ever seeking thy destruction,

Farewel, farewel, O ye the whole and Universal Congregation of the chosen of God here living upon Earth, the true Church militant of Christ, the true mystical Body of Christ, the very household and family of God, and the Sacred Temple of the Holy Ghost Farewel.

Farewel, O thou little Flock of the high Heavenly Pastors of Christ; for to thee it hath pleased the Heavenly Father to give an Everlasting and Eternal Kingdom. Farewel.

Luke 12.

Farewel thou Spiritual House of God, thou Holy and Royal Priesthood; thou chosen generation, thou holy nation, thou won Spouse. Farewel, Farewel.

Another Treatise of Bishop Ridley; *wherein is contained first a lamentation for the change of Religion in* England: *then a comparison between the Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Romish Religion; with wholsom instructions in the end to all Christians, how to behave themselves in time of trial.*

The state of the Church of *England* described and lamented.

ALas what misery is thy Church brought unto (O Lord) at this day? Where of late the Word of the Lord was truly Preached, was read and heard in every Town, in every Church, in every Village, yea and almost in every Honest Mans House, Alas now it is exiled and banished out of the whole Realm. Of late who was not taken for a lover of Gods Word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the same? And now (alas) who dare bear any open countenance toward it, but such as are content in Christs cause, and for his words sake to stand to the danger and loss of all they have?

Of late there was to be found, of every age of every degree and kind of people, that gave their diligence to learn (as they could) out of Gods Word, the Articles of the Christian Faith, the Commandments of God, and the Lords Prayer: The Babes and young Children were taught these things of their parents, of their Masters, and weekly of their Curates in every Church: and the aged folk, which had been brought up in blindness, and in ignorance of those things, which every Christian is bound to know, when otherwise they could not, yet they learned the same by often hearing their Children, and servants repeating the same: but now (alas, and alas again) the false Prophets of Antichrist which are past all shame, do openly Preach in Pulpits unto the people of God, that the Catechism is to be counted heresie; whereby their old blindness is brought home again: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth is abashed and ashamed, even of that which they have learned, though it be Gods Word, and dare no more meddle.

Of late in every Congregation throwout all *England* was made Prayer and Petition unto God, to be delivered from the tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*, and all his detestable enormities; from all false Doctrine and Heresie; and now alas, Sathan hath perswaded *England* by his falshood and craft, to revoke her old Godly Prayer, to recant the same, and provoke the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own pate.

The lamentable change of Religion in the Church.

Of late by straight Laws and Ordinances, with the consent of the Nobles and Commonalty, and full agreement and Counsel of the Prelates and Clergy, was banished hence the Beast of *Babylon*, with Laws (I say) and with oaths and all means that then could be devised for so godly a purpose: but now (alas) all these Laws are trodden under foot; the Nobles, the Commonalty, the Prelates and Clergy are quite changed, and all those Oaths, though they were made in Judgment, Justice and Truth, and the matter never so good, doth no more hold than a bond of rushes or of a barley straw, not publick perjury no more feareth them, than a shadow upon the wall.

Jerem. 4.

Of late it was agreed in *England* of all hands, according to *Pauls* Doctrine, and Christs Commandment (as *Paul* saith plainly) that nothing ought to be done in the Church, in the publick Congregation, but in that Tongue which the congregation could understand, that all might be edified thereby, whether it were Common Prayer, administration of the Sacraments, or any other thing belonging to publick ministry of Gods holy and wholesom Word: but (alas) all is turned upside down, *Pauls* Doctrine is put apart, Christs Commandment is not regarded: For nothing is heard commonly in the Church, but a strange Tongue, that the people doth nothing understand.

1 Cor. 14.

Ignorance in Prayer.

Of late all Men and Women were taught after Christs

Doctrine

Ignorance in Prayer.

doctrine, to pray in that Tongue which they could underſtand, that they might pray with Heart that which they ſhould ſpeak with their Tongue: Now (alas) the unlearned people is brought into that blindneſs again, to think that they pray, when they ſpeak with their Tongue they cannot tell what, nor whereof their hearts is nothing mindful at all, for that it can underſtand never awhit thereof.

Abuſe in the Lords Supper.

Of late the Lords Supper was duly Miniſtred and taught to be made common to all that are true Chriſtians with thankſgiving and ſetting forth of the Lords Death and Paſſion until his returning again, to judge both quick and dead: but now (alas) the Lords Table is quite overthrown, and that which ought to be common to all Godly, is made private to a few Ungodly, without any kind of thankſgiving, or any ſetting forth of the Lords Death at all, that the people is able to underſtand.

The Sacrament turned out of its right uſe and kind.

Of late all that were endued with the light and Grace of underſtanding of Gods holy Myſteries, did bleſs God which had brought them out of that horrible blindneſs and ignorance, whereby in times paſt being ſeduced by Sathans ſubtilties, they believed that the Sacrament was not the Sacrament, but the thing it ſelf whereof it is a Sacrament, that the Creature was the Creator, and that the thing which hath neither Life nor Senſe (alas ſuch was the horrible blindneſs) was the Lord himſelf, which made the Eye to ſee, and hath given all Senſes and Underſtanding unto Man: but now, alas, *England* is returned again like a Dogg to her own vomit and ſpuing, and is in worſe caſe than ever ſhe was: For it had been better never to have known the truth, than to forſake the truth once received and known: and now, not only that light is turned into darkneſs, and Gods Grace is received in vain, but alſo Laws of Death are made by high Court of Parliament, maſterfully to maintain by Sword, Fire, and all kind of violence that haynous Idolatry, wherein that adoration is given unto the liveleſs and dumb Creature, which is only due unto the everliving God: yea, they ſay they can, and do make of Bread both Man and God, by their Tranſubſtantiation. O wicked Men, and Sathans own Brood!

Idolatry in worſhipping the Creature for the Creator.

The Cup debarred from the miniſtration of the Lords Supper.

Of late was the Lords Cup at his Table diſtributed according to his own Commandment, by his expreſs words in the Goſpel, as well to the Laity as to the Clergy, which order Chriſts Church obſerved ſo many hundred years after, as all the Ancient Eccleſiaſtical Writers do teſtifie, without contradiction of any one of them, that can be ſhewed unto this day: but now (alas) not only the Lords Commandment is broken, his Cup is denied to his Servants, to whom he commandeth it ſhould be diſtributed, but alſo with the ſame is ſet up a new Blaſphemous kind of Sacrifice to ſatisfie and pay the price of Sins both of the dead and the quick, to the great and intolerable contumely of Chriſt our Saviour his Death and Paſſion, which was and is the one only ſufficient and everlaſting available ſacrifice ſatisfactory for all the elect of God, from *Adam* the firſt, to the laſt that ſhall be born in the end of the World.

Blaſphemous Sacrifice for Sin.

Deut. 5.

Of late the Commandment of God, *Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf any graven Image, nor any ſimilitude or likeneſs of any thing in Heaven above, or in Earth beneath, or in the Water under the Earth, thou ſhalt not bow down to them nor worſhip them*: This Commandment of God, I ſay, was graven almoſt every where in Churches, was learned of every Body both young and old; whereupon Images that provoked the ſimple and ignorant people unto Idolatry, as the wiſe Man ſaith, were taken out of the Churches, and ſtraightly forbidden that none ſhould any where either bow down to them or worſhip them: but now (alas) Gods Holy Word is blotted and razed out of Churches, and ſtocks and ſtones are ſet up in the place thereof. God commanded his Word ſo to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all *times*, and in every place: and on the other ſide he forbade Images and Idols ſo to be either made or ſet in any place, where any ſhould bow or worſhip them: but now (alas) that which God commanded is not paſſed upon, and that which he forbiddeth, is maſterfully maintained by fullhood and craft, and wickedly upholden.

Idolatry to ſtocks and ſtones.

Of late all Miniſters that were admitted to the publick Office and Miniſtry of Gods Holy Word, in their admiſſion made a ſolemn profeſſion before the Congregation, that they ſhould teach the people nothing, as doctrine neceſſary to attain eternal Salvation, but that which is Gods own Holy Word, or may be thereon grounded without any doubt; whereby vaniſhed and melted away of themſelves many vain, yea wicked traditions of Man, as wax before the fire: but now at one brunt they are revived, and are in full hope alſo to return again in as great ſtrength as ever they have been. And how can any Man look for any other thing, but when you have received the head, you muſt alſo receive the whole Body withal, or elſe how can the head abide? The head, under Sathan, of all miſchief is Antichriſt and his Brood, the ſame is he which is the Babylonical Beaſt. The Beaſt is he, whereupon the Whore ſitteth. The Whore is that City, ſaith *John* in plain words, which hath empire over the Kings of the Earth. This Whore hath a Golden Cup of abominations in her hand, whereof ſhe maketh to drink the Kings of the Earth, and of the Wine of this Harlot have of all nations drunk, yea and Kings of the Earth have lyen by this Whore, and Merchants of the Earth by vertue of her pleaſant Merchandiſe have been made rich.

Anno 1555.

The Whore of Babylon, with her Cup of abominations expounded. Apoc. 17.

Now what City is there in all the whole World, that when *John* wrote, ruled over the Kings of the Earth; or what City can be read of in any time, that of the City it ſelf challenged the Empire over the Kings of the Earth, but only the City of *Rome*, and that ſince the uſurpation of that See hath grown to her full ſtrength? And is it not read, that the Old and Ancient Writers underſtand *Peters* former Epiſtle to be written at *Rome*, and it to be called of him in the ſame Epiſtle in plain terms *Babylon*? By the Abominations thereof I underſtand all the whole trade of the Romiſh Religion, under the name and Title of Chriſt, which is contrary to the only Rule of all true Religion, that is, Gods Word. What Word of God hath that diveliſh Drabb for the maintenance of her manifold abominations, and to ſet to Sale ſuch Merchandiſe, wherewith (alas! the madneſs of Man) the wicked Harlot hath bewitched almoſt the whole World? Did not *Peter* the very true Apoſtle of Chriſt (of whom this ſtinking ſtrumpet beareth her ſelf ſo high, but falſely and without all juſt cauſe) did not he, I ſay, give all the World warning of her pelf and traſh, of her falſe Doctors and Apoſtles (for this Whore and Beaſt will be called *Dominus Apoſtolicus*, whoſoever ſay nay) after this manner in his latter Epiſtle? *There was among the people in times paſt falſe Prophets, as there ſhall be among you in time to come falſe Teachers, which ſhall privily bring in peſtilent ſects, even denying the Lord which hath bought them and redeemed them, procuring to themſelves ſwift Damnation, and many ſhall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth ſhall be railed upon, and through covetouſneſs by counterfeit tales or ſermons, they ſhall* (ſaith *Peter*) *make merchandiſe upon you, &c.* And doth not *John* likewiſe in his *Revelation*, after he hath reckoned up a great rabblement of this Whores myſtical Merchandiſe, at the laſt (as though he would knit up all in plain words, without any miſt at all, ſetting out the Whores Merchandiſe) reckon up amongſt the reſt, and concludeth, ſaying; *Et animas hominum*, that is to ſay, *and the Souls of Men too?* Whereupon I pray you elſe roſe this true Proverb in Latin, *Omnia Romæ venalia*, All things for Mony are ſet to ſale at *Rome*? Was not that a worthy commendation of Chriſts Vicar in Earth, that was written of our Holy Father, one of the *Alexanders*, a Biſhop of *Rome*, thus I ween in Latin?

2 Pet. 2.

The myſtical Merchandiſe of the Babylonical Strumpet.

All things at *Rome* for Mony.

Vendit Alexander cruces, altaria, Chriſtum:
Vendere jure poteſt; emerat ille prius.

These two Verſes in Latine I have read thus of one tranſlated into Engliſh rime.

Alexander *our Holy Father the Pope of* Rome,
Selleth for Money both right and doom:
And all kind of holineſs the Holy Father doth not ſtick.
To ſet to ſale, ready money for to get.
And eke Chriſt himſelf he dare be bold,
To chop and change for Silver and Gold.
And why ſhould any think this to be ſore?
For what doth he ſell but that he bought before?

Verſes againſt Pope Alexander.

Anno 1555.

I grant these Verses to be light gear, and the Verse is but rude; but (alas) such Conditions were more wicked and lewd than any wit could express. If these had been but the faults of one or a few in number, they had been less pernicious, and might have been taken for personal crimes, and not to be imputed unto that See: but now (alas) the matter is more than evident to all that have godly understanding, that these Crimes be grounded upon Laws, be established by Custom, and set forth by all kind of wicked doctrine, falshood, and craft; and therefore now are not to be esteemed for any one mans, or a few mens personal crimes, but are now by laws, custom, and doctrine incorporated into that wicked See, and maketh indeed the body of the Beast whereupon the abominable Whore doth sit.

But you would know which be those Merchandises which I said this Whore setteth for to sell, for the which all her false Prophets, with all their juglings and crafty glosses cannot bring one jot of Gods Word. Surely, surely, they be not only all these abominations which are come into the Church of *England* already (whereof I have spoken somewhat before) but also an innumerable rabblement of abominations and wicked abuses, which now must needs follow; as Popish Pardons, Pilgrimages, Romish Purgatory, Romish Masses, *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with Trentals and *Scala Cœli*, Dispensations and Immunities from all godly Discipline, Laws and good Order, Pluralities, Unions, and *Tot quots*, with a thousand more. Now shall come in the flattering Friers and the false Pardoners, and play their old pranks and knavery as they were wont to do. Now shall you have (but of the See of *Rome* only, and that for money) canonizing of such *Saints* as have stood stout in the Popes cause, shrining of Reliques; and from any kind of wickedness (if you will pay well for it) clear Absolution *a pœna & culpa*, for thousands of years, yea, and at every poor Bishops hand and Suffragan, ye shall have hallowing of Churches, Chappels, Altars, Super-altars, Chalices, and of all the whole Houshold-stuff and Adornment which shall be used in the Church after the Romish guise, for all these things they must be esteemed of such high price, that they may not be done but by a consecrate Bishop only. O Lord, all these things are such as thy Apostles never knew. As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) of water and salt, of christning of Bells, and such like things, what need I to speak? for every Priest that can but read, hath power (they say) not only to do that, but also hath such power over Christs Body, as to make both God and Man once at the least every day of a Wafer Cake.

Abominations and wicked abuses of the See of *Rome* declared.

After the rehearsal of the said Abominations, and remembrance of a number of many more, which (the Lord knoweth) irketh me to think upon, and were too long to describe; when I consider on the other side the eternal Word of God that abideth for ever, and the undefiled Law of the Lord which turneth the soul from all wickedness, and giveth wisdom unto the innocent Babes, I mean that milk that is without all guile, as *Peter* doth call it, that good Word of God, that Word of Truth which must be graven within the heart; and then is able to save mens souls; that wholsom Seed, not mortal, but immortal, of the eternal and everlasting God, whereby the man is born anew, and made the child of God, that Seed of God, whereby the man of God so being born, cannot sin, as *John* saith (he meaneth so long as that Seed doth abide in him) that holy Scripture which hath not been devised by the wit of man, but taught from Heaven by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct, and to give order in all righteousness, that the man of God may be whole and sound, ready to perform every good work: when (I say) I consider this holy and wholesom true Word that teacheth us truly our bounden duty towards our Lord God in every point, what his blessed will and pleasure is, what his infinite great goodness and mercy is, what he hath done for us, how he hath given us his own only dearly beloved Son to death for our Salvation, and by him hath sent us the revelation of his blessed will and pleasure, what his eternal Word willeth us both to believe, and also to do, and hath for the same purpose inspired the holy Apostles with the Holy Ghost, and sent them abroad into all the world, and also made them and other Disciples of Christ inspired by the same Spirit, to write and leave behind them the same things that they taught (which as they did proceed of the Spirit of Truth, so by the confession of all them that ever were endued with the Spirit of God, were sufficient to the obtaining of eternal Salvation:) and likewise when I consider that all that man doth profess in his regeneration when he is received into the holy Catholick Church of Christ, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively Members of Christs own Body, all that is grounded upon Gods holy Word; and standeth in the profession of that Faith, and obedience of those Commandments which are all contained and comprised in Gods holy Word: And furthermore, when I consider whom our Saviour Christ pronounceth in his Gospel to be blessed, and to whom *Moses* giveth his Benedictions in the Law, what ways the Law, the Prophets, the Psalms, and all holy Scriptures, both new and old, do declare to be the ways of the Lord, what is good for man to obtain and abide in Gods favour, which is that Faith that justifieth before God, and what is that Charity that doth pass and excel all, which be the properties of heavenly wisdom, and which is that undefiled Religion which is allowed of God, which things Christ himself calleth the weighty matters of the Law, what thing is that which is only available in Christ, and what knowledge is that that *Paul* esteemed so much, that he counted himself only to know, what shall be the manner of the extream judgment of the latter day, who shall judge, and by what he shall judge, and what shall be required at our hands at that fearful day, how all things must be tried by the fire, and that that only shall stand for ever which Christs words shall allow, which shall be the Judge of all flesh to give sentence upon all flesh, and every living soul, either of eternal damnation, or of everlasting salvation, from which sentence there shall be no place to appeal, no wit shall serve to delude, nor any power to withstand or revoke: When (I say) I consider all these things, and confer to the same again and again all those ways wherein standeth the substance of the Romish Religion (whereof I spake before) it may be evident and easie to perceive, that these two wayes, these two Religions, the one of Christ, the other of the Romish See, in these latter days be as far distant the one from the other, as light and darkness, good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness, Christ and *Belial*. He that is hard of belief, let him note and weigh well with himself the places of holy Scriptures which be appointed in the Margent, whereupon this talk is grounded, and by Gods grace he may receive some light. And unto the Contemner I have nothing now to say, but to rehearse the saying of the Prophet *Esay*, which *Paul* spake to the Jews in the end of the *Acts of the Apostles*. After he had expounded to them the truth of Gods Word, and declared unto them Christ out of the Law of *Moses* and the Prophets, from morning to night all the day long, he said unto them that would not believe: *Well* (said he) *spake the Holy Ghost unto our Fathers, saying, Go unto this people and tell them, ye shall hear with your ears, and not understand, and seeing you shall behold, and not see the thing: for the heart of this people is waxed gross and dull, and with their ears they are hard of hearing, and they have shut together their eyes, that they should not see, nor hear with their ears, nor understand with their hearts, that they might return, and I should heal them, saith the Lord God.*

Note here that these Scriptures were written by Mr. *Ridley* in the Margent, but were not in the copy which we followed.

Acts 28.

The true word of God, and the office of the same declared.

Alas, *England*, alas, that this heavy Plague of God should fall upon thee. Alas my dearly beloved Country, what thing is it now that may do thee good? Undoubtedly thy plague is so great, that it is utterly uncurable, but by the bottomless mercy and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas my dear Country, what hast thou done, that thou hast provoked the wrath of God, and caused him to pour out his vengeance upon thee for thine own deserts? Canst thou be content to hear thy faults told thee? Alas, thou hast heard oft, and wouldst never amend. *England*, thy faults of all degrees and sorts of men, of Magistrates, of the Ministers, and of the common People, were never more plainly told since thou beardst that name, than thou didst hear them of late, even before the Magistrates in King *Edwards* days, but thou heardest them only, and didst amend never a whit.

For

For even of thy greatest Magistrates, some (the Kings Highness then, that innocent, that godly-hearted and peerless young Christian Prince excepted) evermore unkindly and ungently, against those that went about most busily, and most wholsomly to cure their sore backs, spurned privily, and would not spare to speak evil of them, even unto the Prince himself, and yet would they towards the same Preachers outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face.

Cranmer and *Ridley* standing in the Duke of *Somersets* cause; *Cranmer* repugning against the spoil of the Church goods. *Latimer*, *Bradford*, *Lever*, *Knox*.

I have heard that *Cranmer*, and another whom I will not name, were both in high displeasure, the one for shewing his Conscience secretly, but plainly and fully in the Duke of *Somersets* cause, and both of late, but especially *Cranmer* for repugning, as they might, against the late spoyl of the Church goods, taken away only by commandment of the higher powers, without any Law or order of Justice, and without any request or consent of them to which they did belong. As for *Latimer*, *Lever*, *Bradford*, and *Knox*, their Tongues were so sharp, they ripped in so deep in their galled backs, to have purged them (no doubt) of that filthy matter that was festered in their hearts, of insatiable covetousness, of filthy carnality and voluptuousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathsomness to hear poor Mens Causes, and to hear Gods Word, that these Men, of all other, these Magistrates then could never abide. Other there were very godly Men, and well learned, that went about by the wholesom Plaisters of Gods Word, howbeit after a more soft manner of handling the matter; but (alas) all sped alike. For all that could be done of all hands, their disease did not minish, but daily did increase, which (no doubt) is no small occasion in that state of the heavy plague of God that is poured upon *England* at this day. As for the common sort of other inferiour Magistrates, as Judges of the Laws, Justices of Peace, Sergeants, Common Lawyers, it may be truly said of them, as of the most part of the Clergy of Curates, Vicars, Parsons, Prebendaries, Doctors of the Law, Archdeacons, Deans, yea, and I may say, of Bishops also, I fear me, for the most part, (although I doubt not but God had, and hath ever, whom he in every state knew and knoweth to be his) but for the most part, I say, they were never perswaded in their hearts, but from the teeth forward, and for the Kings sake, in the truth of Gods Word, and yet all these did dissemble, and bear a Copy of a countenance, as if they had been found within.

The corrupt Life of Gospellers in K. *Edwards* time.

And this dissimulation Sathan knew well enough, and therefore desired; and hath ever gone about, that the high Magistrates by any manner of means might be deceived in matters of Religion; for then he being of Counsel with the dissimulation in the Worldly, knew well enough that he should bring to pass, and rule all even after his own will.

Hypocrisie a double evil.

Hypocrisie and Dissimulation S. *Hierom* doth call well a double wickedness; for neither it loveth the truth (which is one great evil) and also falsly it pretendeth to deceive the simple for another thing. This Hypocrisie and Dissimulation with God, in matters of Religion, no doubt, hath wholly also provoked the anger of God. And as for the common people, although there were many good; where they were well and diligently taught: yet (God knoweth) a great number received Gods true Word and high benefits with unthankful hearts. For it was great pity, and a lamentable thing to have seen in many places the people so loathsomly and unreligiously to come to the Holy Communion, and to receive it accordingly, and to the Common Prayers, and other divine Service, which were according to the true vein of Gods Holy Word, and in all points so godly and wholsomly set forth, in comparison of that blind zeal, and undiscreet devotion which they had aforetimes to those things, whereof they understood never one whit, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

The slackness that was in that time to good works.

And again, as for our almsdeeds, which are taught in Gods Word, whereby we are certain that God is pleased with them and doth and will require such at our hands, which are a part of true Religion, as St. *James* saith, and such as he saith himself he setteth more by than by Sacrifice; as to provide for the Fatherless, Infants and Orphans, for the lame, aged and impotent poor needy folk, and to make publick provision that the poor that might labour, should have wherewith to labour upon, and so be kept from shameful beggary and stealing in these works: I say how way-ward were many, in comparison (I mean) of that great prodigality whereby in times past they spared not to spend upon flattering Friers, false pardoners, painting and guilding of stocks and stones, to be set up, and honoured in Churches, plainly against Gods Word? And yet because no place is to be defrauded of their just commendation, *London*, I must confess, for such godly works in Sir *Richard Dobs*, Knight, then Lord Major, his year began marvellous well: The Lord grant the same may so likewise persevere, continue, yea and increase, to the comfort and relief of the needy and helpless, that was so godly begun, Amen. Anno 1555.

Gods plague upon *England* justly deserved.

All these things do minister more matter of mourning and bewailing the miserable state that now is: for by this it may be perceived, how *England* hath deserved this just plague of God. And also it is greatly to be feared that those good things, whatsoever they were that had their beginning in the time when Gods word was so freely Preached, now with the exile and banishment of the same, will depart again.

But to return again to the consideration of this miserable state of Christs Church in *England*, and to leave farther and more exquisite searching of the causes thereof unto Gods secret and unsearchable judgments, let us see what is best now to be done for Christs little Flock. This is one maxim and principle in Christs Law; He that denieth Christ before Men, him shall Christ deny afore his Father and all his Angels in Heaven. And therefore every one that looketh to have by Christ our Saviour Everlasting Life, let him prepare himself so, that he deny not his Master Christ, or else he is but a cast-away, and a wretch, howsoever he be counted or taken here in the World.

He exhorteth to constant confession of Christ.

Now then seeing the Doctrine of Antichrist is returned again into this Realm, and the higher powers (alas) are so deceived and bewitched, that they are perswaded it to be truth, and Christs true Doctrine to be errour and heresie, and the Old Laws of Antichrist are allowed to return with the power of their Father again: what can be hereafter looked for, by reason, to the Man of God, and true Christian, abiding in this Realm but extream violence of death, or else to deny his Master? I grant the Hearts of Princes are in Gods hands, and whithersoever he will he can make them bow: and also that Christian Princes in Old Time use a more gentle kind of punishment, even to them which were Hereticks indeed, as degradation, and deposition out of their rooms and Offices, Exile and Banishment out of their Dominions and Countries; and also (as it is read) the true Bishops of Christs Church were sometime intercessors for the Hereticks unto Princes, that they would not kill them, as is read of Saint *Augustine*. But as yet Antichrists kingdom was not so erected at that time, nor is now accustomed so to order them that will not fall down and worship the Beast and his Image (but even as all the World knoweth) after the same manner that both *John* and *Daniel* hath prophesied before, that is, by violence of death; and *Daniel* declareth farther, that the kind of death accustomably should be by Sword, Fire, and Imprisonment.

Punishment of Hereticks more gentle in the Old Time how it was used.

Therefore if thou, O Man of God, dost purpose to abide in this Realm, prepare and arm thy self to die: for both by Antichrists accustomable Laws, and these prophesies, there is no appearance or likelihood of any other thing, except thou wilt deny thy Master Christ, which is the loss at the last both of Body and Soul unto everlasting death. Therefore my good Brother or Sister in Christ, whatsoever thou be, to thee that canst and maist so do, that counsel that I think is the best safeguard for thee, both for thy Body, and most surety for thy Souls health, is that which I shall shew thee hereafter. But first I warn thee to understand me to him or her, which be not in captivity, or called already to confess Christ, but are at liberty abroad.

Counsel given in these days of persecution on what to do.

My Counsel, I say, therefore is this, to fly from the plague, and get thee hence. I consider not only the subtilties of Sathan; and how he is able to deceive by his false perswasions (if it were possible) even the chosen of God, and also the great frailty, which is oftentimes more in a Man, than he doth know in himself, which

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in the time of temptation then will utter it ſelf: I do not only conſider theſe things, I ſay, but that our Maſter Chriſt, whoſe Life was and is a perfect rule of the Chriſtian Mans Life, that he himſelf avoided oftentimes the fury and madneſs of the Jews, by departing from the Country or place.

Paul likewiſe when he was ſaught in *Damaſco*, and the gates of the City were laid in wait for him, was conveighed by night, being let down in a basket out at a Window over the wall: and *Helias* the Prophet fled the perſecution of wicked *Jeſabel*: And Chriſt our Saviour ſaith in the Goſpel; *When they perſecute you in one City, fly unto another*: and ſo did many good, great, learned, and vertuous Men of God, which were great and ſtout Champions nevertheleſs, and ſtout confeſſors and maintainers of Chriſt and his truth, in due time and place. Of ſuch was the great Clerk *Athanaſius*. But this is ſo plain to be lawful by Gods Word, and Examples of holy Men, that I need not to ſtand in it.

Such as remained out of captivity Counſelled to void the Realm.

Having this for my ground, I ſay to thee, O Man of GOD, this ſeemeth to me to be the moſt ſure way for thy ſafeguard, to depart and flie far from the plague, and that ſwiftly alſo: for truly before GOD, I think, that the abomination that *Daniel* propheſied of ſo long before, is now ſet up in the holy place. For all the Doctrine of Antichriſt, his Laws, Rites, and Religion contrary to Chriſt, and ſo to the true ſerving and worſhipping of God, I underſtand to be that abomination: Therefore now is the time in *England* for thoſe words of Chriſt, *Tunc inquit qui in Judæa ſunt, fugiant ad montes. Then* (ſaith he) (mark this Chriſts (then) for truly I am perſwaded, and I truſt by the Spirit of God, that this (*then*) is commanded; *Then* (ſaith Chriſt) *they that be in* Jewry, *let them flie into the Mountains, and he that is on the houſe top, let him not come down to take away any thing out of his houſe, and he that is abroad in the field, let him not return to take his cloaths. Wo be to the great-bellied Women, and to them that give ſuck*; *but pray* (ſaith Chriſt) *that your flight be not in winter, or on the Sabbath day.*

The abomination of deſolation ſet up in *England*.

Theſe words of Chriſt are myſtical, and therefore had need of Interpretation. I underſtand all thoſe to be in *Jewry* ſpiritually, which truly confeſs one true living God, and the whole truth of his Word, after the doctrine of the Goſpel of Chriſt: Such as they whom Chriſt here biddeth, in the time of the Reign of Antichriſts abominations *to flie unto the Mountains*; which ſignifieth places of ſafeguard, and all ſuch things which are able to defend from the plague. That he biddeth him that is on the houſe top, *not to come down*, and him that is in the field, *not to return to take with him his cloaths*; he meaneth that they ſhould ſpeed them to get them away betime, leſt in their tarrying and trifling about working proviſion, they be trapped in the ſnare ere ever they be aware, and caught by the back, and for gain of ſmall worldly things, endanger and caſt themſelves into great perils of more weighty matters. And where he ſaith, *Wo be to the great-bellied Women, and to them that give ſuck*; Women great with Child and nigh to their lying down, and to be brought to bed, and not able to travel; and alſo thoſe Women, which are brought to bed, and now give their babes ſuck: By theſe therefore Chriſt ſpiritually underſtandeth all ſuch to be in extream danger, which this word (*wo*) ſignifieth: all ſuch, I ſay, as are ſo letted by any manner of means, that they no ways be able to flie from the plague. And where Chriſt ſaith, *Pray you that your flight be not in the Winter, nor on the Sabbath day*: In Winter, the common courſe of the year teacheth us, that the ways be foul, and therefore it is a hard thing then to take a far journey, for many incommodities, and dangers of the waies in that time of the year; and on the Sabbath day it was not lawful to journey, but a little way. Now Chriſt therefore meaning that we ſhould have need, both to ſpeed our journey quickly, which cannot be done in winter, for the incommodities of the waies, and alſo to go far, which cannot be done on the Sabbath day: he biddeth us therefore pray that our flight be not in the Winter, nor on the Sabbath day; that is, to pray that we may flie in time and alſo far enough from the danger of the plague. Now, the cauſes why we ſhould flie, follow in the ſame place of Saint *Matthews* Goſpel, which I now paſs over; thou maiſt read them there.

Chriſt commandeth to flie to the mountains.

And in the eighteenth Chapter of the *Revelation*, the Angel is ſaid to have cried mightily with a lowd voice; *Fly my people out of Babylon, leſt you be infected with her faults, and ſo be made partners of her plagues: for her offences and ſins are grown ſo great, that they ſwell & are come unto the heavens*: certainly the time doth approach, and the Lords day is at hand. Hear, I beſeech you, alſo holy *Paul*, that bleſſed Apoſtle, he plainly forbiddeth us, *Ducere jugum cum incredulis*, that is, *To joyn or couple our ſelves with the unfaithful: for what followſhip can there be*, ſaith he, *of righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs, what company hath light with darkneſs, or what agreement hath Chriſt with* Belial? *or what part can the faithful have with the unfaithful? or how doth the Temple of God agree with Images or Idols? for you are the Temple of the living God: as God hath ſayd, I will walk and dwell in them; I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people: wherefore depart from amongſt them, and get you from them*, ſaith the Lord, *and touch no unclean thing: and I will receive you, and be to you in the ſtead of your Father, and you ſhall be unto me as my Sons and Daughters*, ſaith the Almighty God. 2 Cor. 6.

This Counſel to depart the Realm, I do not marvel it doth ſeem to divers (even of them I mean that bear favour to God-ward) diverſly. Many (I truſt) that be learned ſhall think the counſel good. Others there be peradventure, that will think it rather a thing to be more tolerable, and that it may be indeed by Gods Word lawfully done, rather than to be Counſelled to be done, for they will peradventure ſay, we ſhould Counſel a Man alwaies to do that, which is beſt of all, and of moſt perfection: but boldly in Chriſts cauſe to ſpend a Mans Life, is beſt of all, and of moſt perfection, and to flie it may ſeem to ſmell of cowardlineſs. In many things, that which is beſt for one at ſometimes, is not beſt for all at all times, and it is not moſt perfection, nor meet for a Child to covet to run, before he can go. I will not make here a diſcourſe in this matter, what might here be objected, and what might be anſwered again; I leave that to the witty and eloquent Men of the World.

Counſel to depart the Realm.

Doubts whether to flie or to tarry debated.

This is my mind, which I would thou ſhouldſt know, O Man of God, as I would wiſh, and I do pray to Almighty GOD it may be, that every true Chriſtian, either Brother or Siſter (after they be called, and brought into the wreſtling place, to ſtrive in Chriſts cauſe for the beſt game, that is, to confeſs the truth of the Goſpel, and of the Chriſtian Faith, in hope of Everlaſting Life) ſhould not ſhrink, nor relent one inch, nor give back, whatſoever ſhall befall, but to ſtand to their tackle, and ſtick by it even unto death, as they will Chriſt ſhall ſtick by them at the latter day: ſo likewiſe I dare not wiſh nor counſel any, either Brother or Siſter, of their own ſwinge, to ſtart up into the ſtage, or to caſt themſelves either before, or farther in danger than time and need ſhall require: for undoubtedly when God ſeeth his time, and his pleaſure is, that his Glory ſhall be ſet forth, and his Church edified by thy death and confeſſion, means ſhall be found by his fatherly univerſal providence, that thou without thine own preſumptious provocation ſhalt be lawfully called, to do thy feat, and to play thy part. The miſerable end that one *Quintus* came unto, may be a warning, and a fearful example for all Men to beware of preſumption, and raſhneſs in ſuch things (as *Euſebius* writeth in *Eccleſiaſt. Hiſtoria*) for evermore.

Preſumptuous provocation and raſh running in danger forbidden. Euſeb. Eccle. Hiſt. lib. 4. c. 15.

But a third ſort of Men there be, which alſo will be counted favorers of Gods Word, and are (I fear) in number far more, and worſe to be perſwaded to that which is the Godly mean. I mean of ſuch as will peradventure ſay or think, that my former Counſel, which was to flie the infection of the Antichriſtian doctrine by departing out of the Realm, is more than needeth, and other waies and means may be found, both to abide, and alſo to be clear out of danger of the foreſaid plague. If that could be found, both to abide, and alſo to be clear out of danger of the foreſaid plague, truly agreeable to Gods Word, I would be as glad to hear it, God is my witneſs, as who is the other. Yes, peradventure will ſome

ſay,

ſay, thus it may be: Thou mayſt keep thy ſelf, thy faith, and thy Religion cloſe to thy ſelf, and inwardly and privily worſhip God in Spirit and Truth, and outwardly ſee thou be no open medler, nor talker, nor tranſgreſſor of common order: ſo maiſt thou be ſuffered in the Common Wealth, and yet uſe thy Religion without offence of thy Conſcience. In other Countries ſomewhere this peradventure might be uſed, but in *England* what ſhall be, God wot: but it was never yet, ſo far as ever I have known or heard. And alſo how can it be, but either thou muſt tranſgreſs the common order, and the Romiſh Laws and Cuſtoms, which have been uſed in *England*, in the times paſt of Popery, and now (it is certain) they return again: I ſay, thou muſt either be a breaker of theſe Rites, Laws, and Cuſtoms, and ſo bewray thy ſelf, or elſe if thou be indeed a Man of GOD, thou ſhalt offend thy Conſcience: for in obſerving of them, thou ſhalt be compelled to break Gods Law, which is the rule of conſcience to the Man of God. For how canſt thou reſort every holy-day to the Church, and bare a face to worſhip the Creature for the Creator, as thou muſt do, and peradventure confeſs it too with thy Mouth, and to ſprinkle thy ſelf with the conjured Water.

Conſcience in Religion would not be diſſembled.

Thou muſt be contributor alſo to the charges of all their Popery, as of Books of Antichriſts ſervice, of lights of the Rood loft, of the Sepulchre for ſetting up and painting of Images (*nay* indeed of Idols) and thou muſt bear a face to worſhip them alſo, or elſe thou muſt be had by the back. Thou muſt ſerve the turn, to give the holy loaves as they call it, which is nothing elſe but a very mockery of the Lords Holy Table. Thou muſt be a contributor to the charges of all the diſguiſed apparel, that the Popiſh Sacrificing Prieſt, like unto *Aaron* muſt play his part in. Yea, when the pardoner goeth about, or the flattering Frier to beg for the maintenance of ſuperſtition, except thou do as thy neighbours do, look not long to live in reſt. If any of thy houſhold dye, if thou wilt not pay Money for ringing, and ſinging, for *Requiem*, Maſſes, *Dirige*, and commendations, and ſuch like trumpery of the Antichriſtian Religion, thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt be reckoned for a Catholick Man, or for *amicus Cæſaris*? A hundred things more may be reckoned, and many of more weight, and of more evident ſuperſtition and idolatry, than ſome of theſe which I have now rehearſed, which God knoweth be ill enough: but theſe are enow to declare, and to ſet before thine eyes, the thing that I intend, that is, if thou abide and wilt dwell in *England*, thou muſt either do theſe, and many other more contrary to Gods Word, which forbiddeth not only the thing which is evil, but alſo ſaith, *Ab omni ſpecie mali abſtinete vos*, Abſtain from all things that have any appearance of evil; or elſe if thou wilt not do them, how thou canſt live in *England* in reſt ſafe from the ſtake, truly I cannot tell.

A hard dwelling in *England* for a good Man either without danger of Conſcience, or peril of Life.

But peradventure (as a Man is ready to find, and invent ſome colour to cloak his Conſcience, to do that thing that his heart deſireth) thou wilt ſay, though at anytime I ſhall be forced to do any of theſe things and ſuchlike, yet will I have no confidence in them, but outwardly with my body; I will keep mine heart unto God, and will not do that of mine own mind willingly neither, but to avoid another inconvenience: I truſt therefore God will hold me excuſed, for he ſhall have my heart: what can I do more?

O my friend, beware for Gods ſake, and know that the ſubtilties of Sathan are deep. He that is not able by Gods Word to perceive them, is heavily laden. Pray therefore with *David*; Lord let me not have a mind to invent excuſes to cloak my Sin: examine, my dear friend, theſe thy wily waies with the Word of GOD, and if they do agree, thou maiſt uſe them: if not, know, though they may ſeem never ſo fine and goodly, yet indeed they be of Sathans Brood. Gods Word is certain, that forbiddeth to worſhip the Creature for the Creator, for that is hainous Idolatry, and againſt the firſt Commandment of God, and it is alſo againſt the ſecond Commandment of the firſt table to bow down, or to worſhip unto any Images of God, or of any other thing: And Gods Word requireth not only the belief of the heart, but alſo the confeſſion of the Mouth: and to bear part of the charges, to the maintenance of things ungodly, what is that, but in thy ſo doing, a conſent to the thing done? Now conſenters and the doers Gods Word accounteth to be guilty both:

Invent not excuſes to cloak *Sin*.

Confeſſion of Mouth muſt go with belief of Heart.

And it is not lawful, by St. *Pauls* Doctrine, which was inſpired him by the Spirit of GOD, to do ill, that thereof the thing which is good may come. Anno 1555.

Thy heart, thou ſaiſt, God ſhall have, and yet wilt ſuffer thy Body to do the thing that God doth abhor. Beware O Man, take heed what thou ſaiſt; Man may be deceived, but no Man may deceive God, for he is called and is truly καρδιογνώστης, that is to ſay, the ſearcher of the Heart. Now, to give God thy Heart, is to give him thy whole Heart, to love him, to dread him, and to truſt in him above all other things. *He that hath my Commandments*, ſaith Chriſt, *and obſerveth and keepeth them, it is he that loveth me*: and to dread God above all other, is rather willingly to incur the danger and peril of all fearful things, than wittingly to do that thing which is contrary to his bleſſed will and Commandment; and to truſt in him above all things, is aſſuredly to truſt to his promiſe of his reward, and of his tuition, and of his goodneſs and mercy, and to preferr that above all things in the World, ſeem they never ſo ſtrong, ſo wiſe, or ſo good. Now, how canſt thou ſay truly, that GOD hath thy heart after this manner of ſort (which is to have thy heart indeed) when thy deeds do declare far another thing? Thy Body, O Man, is Gods, and all the parts thereof, even as thy Soul is: he made them both, and Chriſt with his Blood redeemed them both and is Lord of both, for he hath bought them both dearly; and dareſt thou ſuffer any part of either of them to do ſervice to Sathan? Surely in ſo doing, thou committeſt Sacrileadge and doſt rob God, thou defileſt the living Temple of the living God, if thou ſuffer thy Body to do Sathan ſervice. *Do you not know* (ſaith St. Paul) *that your Body is a lively Temple of God?* And may a Man then take and uſe any part thereof but in the Service of God? No ſurely, it is not lawful ſo to do for the Man of God, neither with Hand, Tongue, nor Feet, nor any part of the whole Body:

To truſt in God, what it is.

1 Cor. 3.

1 Cor. 6.

Doth not *Paul* command that to the Romans, which pertaineth to every Chriſtian Soul? *As you have in times paſt*, ſayth he, *given your members to do ſervice unto uncleanneſs and wickedneſs, from one wickedneſs to another; ſo now give your members to do ſervice unto righteouſneſs, that you may be ſanctified.* And I pray thee, good Brother, what doſt thou think it is to bear the mark of the Beaſt in the forehead, and in the hand that Saint *John* ſpeaketh of? I know we ought warily to ſpeak of Gods myſteries, which he ſhewed by the Spirit of prophecying to his ſervant *John*, yet to read them with reverence, and to pray for the ſame ſo much as God knoweth is neceſſary for our time to know, I think it neceſſary and good. Wherefore what I ſuppoſe is to bear the beaſts mark, I will tell thee, and commit the judgment of mine interpretation, as in all other things, to the Spiritual Man. I ſuppoſe he beareth the beaſt of *Babylons* mark in his forehead, which is not aſhamed of the beaſts waies, but will profeſs them openly to ſet forth his Maſter the beaſt of *Abaddon*. And likewiſe he beareth his mark in his head, that will and doth practiſe the works of the beaſt with his power and hand. And likewiſe I will not let to tell thee, what I think to be ſigned in the forehead for the ſervant of God is, whereof *John* alſo ſpeaketh, reckoning up many thouſands ſo to have been ſigned of every Tribe. I ſuppoſe he is ſigned in the forehead for the Servant of God, whom God hath appointed of his infinite goodneſs, and hath given him Grace and ſtrength ſtoutly to confeſs him, and his truth before the World. And to have Grace and Strength to confeſs Chriſt, and the Doctrine of the Croſs, and to lament and mourn for the abominations of Antichriſt, I ſuppoſe is to be ſigned with *Tau*, whereof *Ezekiel* the Prophet doth ſpeak. Thus I ſuppoſe theſe prophecies are ſpiritually to be underſtood: and to look for other corporal marks, to be ſeen in Mens foreheads, or in their hands, is nothing elſe but to look that there ſhould come ſome brute beaſt out of *Babylon*, or ſome Elephant, Leopard, Lyon, or Camel, or ſome other ſuch monſtrous beaſt with ten horns, that ſhould do all the wonderful things ſpoken in *John*; and yet of a beaſt ſpeaketh *John*, but I underſtand him ſo to be called, not for that he ſhall be any ſuch brute beaſt, but for that he is and ſhall be the Child of perdition, which for his cruelty and beaſtly manners, is well called a beaſt.

Rom. 6.

To bear the beaſts mark, what it is. Apoc. 13. 1300.

The

Anno 1555.

The literal taking of the Scripture made the Jews Infidels.

The carnal Jews knew there was a Promiſe made, that *Helias* ſhould come before Chriſt the Meſſias, the anointed of God, to prepare his ways; they knew alſo there was a Promiſe of Meſſias, that he ſhould come, and be a King, and Reign in the Houſe of *David* for evermore: but they underſtood all ſo groſly, and ſo carnally, that they neither knew *Helias*, nor Meſſias, when they came: for they looked for *Helias* to come down from Heaven in his own Perſon, and for Meſſias to come and reign in worldly pomp, power, riches, and glory, when as the propheſies of both were ſpiritually to have been underſtood: Of *Helias*, that he ſhould come not in Perſon, but in Spirit, that is, one that ſhould be indued with the ſpirit and gifts of grace of *Helias*, which was indeed *John Baptiſt*, as Chriſt himſelf did declare to his Apoſtles: And of Meſſias reign, all the Prophets were to be underſtood of the reign of his ſpiritual Kingdom over the Houſe of *Jacob*, and the true Iſraelites for evermore. And ſo by that their groſs and carnal underſtanding, they miſtook both *Helias*, and the true Meſſias, and when they came, knew neither of them both. So likewiſe, I fear me, nay it is certain, the world that wanteth the light of the Spirit of God (for the world is not able to receive him, ſaith *John*) neither doth, nor ſhall know the Beaſt, nor his Marks, though he rage cruelly, and live never ſo beaſtly, and though his marked men be in number like the Sand of the Sea. The Lord therefore vouchſafe to open the eyes of the blind with the light of grace, that they may ſee and perceive, and underſtand the words of God, after the mind of his Spirit. Amen.

The Popes marked men.

Here remain two Objections, which may ſeem weighty, and the which may peradventure move many not to follow the former counſel. The former reaſon is, A man will ſay, O Sir, it is no ſmall matter ye ſpeak of, to depart from a mans own Native Country into a ſtrange Realm. Many men have ſo great lets, as how is it poſſible that they can, or may do ſo? Some have Lands and Poſſeſſions, which they cannot carry with them: Some have Father, Mother, Wife, Children, and Kinſfolk, from whom to depart is as hard a thing (and all one almoſt) as to ſuffer death, and to go to a ſtrange Country that thou knoweſt not, neither the manner of the People, nor how thou maiſt away either with the People, or with the Country: or what a hard thing it is to live among a ſtrange People, whoſe tongue thou doſt not underſtand, &c.

Carnal Objections anſwered.

I grant here thou maiſt heap a number of worldly incommodities, which are ſurely very like to enſue the departure out of a mans own Native Country, I mean out of the whole Realm into a ſtrange Land: but what of all theſe, and a thouſand more of the like ſort? I will ſet unto them one ſaying of our Saviour Chriſt, which unto the faithful Child of God, and to the true Chriſtian, is able to countervail all theſe, yea, and to weigh them down. Chriſt our Saviour ſaith in *Luke*, *If any come to me, and do not hate his Father and Mother*, (he meaneth, and will not in his cauſe forſake his Father and Mother) *his Wife, Children, and Brethren, yea and his life too, he cannot be my Diſciple: and whoſoever doth not bear my Croſs and come after me, he cannot be my Diſciple.* And in the ſame place he declareth by the two Parables, one of a Builder, and the other of a King that is a Warriour, that every man that will not in Chriſts cauſe forſake all that ever he hath, he cannot be his Diſciple. Look the places who will; the matter is ſo plainly ſet forth, that no gloſſes, nor cloaking of Conſcience to the man of God, can ſerve to the contrary. Many places there be for the ſame purpoſe, for the imbracing of Chriſts Croſs, when Chriſt and his Cauſe layeth it upon our back; but this is ſo plain, that I need here to rehearſe no more.

Another worldly Objection anſwered.

This later Reaſon and Objection, whereof I ſpake before, is of more force, and includeth a neceſſity, which after the common ſaying, hath no Law, and therefore it is more hard to ſhape for it a good Anſwer. This may be objected of ſome, Alas Sir, I grant all theſe things do grieve me, and becauſe I underſtand they do not agree with Gods Word, which is the rule of my Conſcience, I loath either to look on them, or to hear them. But, Sir, alas I am an impotent man, an aged man, a ſick man, a lame man, or I have ſo many ſmall Infants, and a lame Wife, which all live by my labour, and by my proviſion: if I leave them they ſhall ſtarve, and I am not able to carry them with me, ſuch is my ſtate. Alas, Sir, what ſhall I do? And theſe cauſes may chance to ſome men of God, whereby either it ſhall be for them utterly impoſſible to depart the Country, or elſe in departing they ſhall be inforced to forſake ſuch in extream neceſſities, of whom both God and Nature hath committed unto them the care.

Alas, what counſel is here to be given? O lamentable ſtate! O ſorrowful heart! that neither can depart, and without extream danger and peril is not able to tarry ſtill. And theſe are they whom our Saviour Chriſt ſaw before ſhould be, and called them in his Propheſie of the later time, great-bellied or travelling Women, and Women that give, after they be brought to Bed, their ſmall Babes ſuck. Of the ſtate of ſuch as are not able to fly the infection of the peſtiferous plague of Antichriſts Abominations, Chriſt lamenting, and not curſing, ſaith, *Wo be to the great bellied and travelling Women, and Women that give ſuck in thoſe days.* For theſe, alas, my heart mourneth the more, the leſs I am able to give any comfortable counſel, but this; that always, as they look for everlaſting life, they abide ſtill in the confeſſion of his truth, whatſoever ſhall befall, and for the reſt, to put their truſt now wholly in God, which is able to ſave them againſt all appearance: And commonly in extremities, when all worldly comfort faileth, and the danger is at higheſt, then unto his he is wont, after his accuſtomed mercy, to be moſt ready to put his helping hand. *Daniel* God ſuffered to be caſt into the Den of Lyons, and the three Children into the hot burning Furnace, and yet he ſaved them all. *Paul* was plucked out of the mouth of the Lion (as he ſaith of himſelf) and in *Aſia* he was brought into ſuch trouble, that he looked for no other thing but for preſent death, and yet he that raiſed the dead to life again, did bring him out of all his troubles, & taught him and all other that be in troubles for Chriſts cauſe, not to truſt to themſelves, but in Almighty God.

A leſſon to truſt to the Lord, who is always a help in extremity of need.

Of Gods gracious aid in extream perils toward them that put their truſt in him, all Scripture is full both of old and new. What dangers were the Patriarchs oftentimes brought into, as *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, but of all other *Joſeph*, and how mercifully were they delivered again? In what perils was *Moſes* when he was fain to fly for the ſafeguard of his life? And when was he ſent again to deliver the Iſraelites from the ſervile bondage? Not before they were brought into extream miſery. And when did the Lord mightily deliver his People from *Pharaoh* his Sword? Not before they were brought into ſuch ſtreights, that they were ſo compaſſed on every ſide (the main Sea on the one ſide, and the main Hoſt on the other) that they could look for none other (yea, what did they indeed elſe look for?) but either to have been drowned in the Sea, or elſe to have fallen on the edge of *Pharaoh* his Sword. Thoſe Judges, which wrought moſt wonderful things in the delivery of the people, were ever given when the people was brought to moſt miſery before, as *Othoniel*, *Ehud*, *Samgar*, *Gedeon*, *Jephthe*, *Sampſon*. And ſo was *Saul* endued with ſtrength and boldneſs from above, againſt the *Ammonites*, *Philiſtines*, and *Amalekites*, for the defence of the People of God. *David* likewiſe felt Gods help moſt ſenſibly ever in his extream Perſecutions. What ſhall I ſpeak of the Prophets of God, whom God ſuffered ſo oft to be brought into extream perils, and ſo mightily delivered them again; as *Helias*, *Jeremy*, *Daniel*, *Micheas*, and *Jonas*, and many other, whom it were but too long to rehearſe and ſet out at large? And did the Lord uſe his Servants otherwiſe in the New Law after Chriſts Incarnation? Read the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and you ſhall ſee no. Were not the Apoſtles caſt into Priſon, and brought out by the mighty hand of God? Did not the Angel deliver *Peter* out of the ſtrong Priſon, and bring him out by the Iron Gates of the City, and ſet him free? And when I pray you? Even the ſame night before *Herod* appointed to have brought him to Judgment to have ſlain him, as he had a little before killed *James* the brother of *John*. *Paul* and *Silas*, when after they had been ſore ſcourged, and were put into the inner Priſon, and there were laid faſt in the Stocks, I pray you what appearance was there that the Magiſtrates ſhould [illegible] come the next day themſelves to the [illegible] be content, and to depart in peace? [illegible] *Paul*, that he ſhould be ſafely conducted out of [illegible]

Examples of Gods ready help in extream perils.

Examples of Gods deliverance.

and brought to *Felix* the Emperours Deputy, when as both the High Prieſt, the Phariſees, and Rulers of the Jews had conſpired to enquire Judgment of Death againſt him, he being faſt in Priſon, and alſo more than forty men had ſworn each one to another, that they would neither eat nor drink, until they had ſlain *Paul*? A thing wonderful, that no reaſon could have invented, or man could have looked for: God provided *Paul* his own Siſters Son, a young man, that diſappointed that Conſpiracy, and all their former Conjuration. The manner how the thing came to paſs, thou maiſt read in the Three and twentieth of the *Acts*. I will not be tedious unto thee with the rehearſal thereof.

Now to deſcend from the Apoſtles to the Martyrs that followed next in Chriſts Church, and in them likewiſe to declare how gracious our good God ever hath been to work wonderfully with them which in his cauſe have been in extream perils, it were matter enough to write a long Book. I will here name but one man and one woman, that is, *Athanaſius* the great Clerk and godly man ſtoutly ſtanding in Chriſts Cauſe againſt the Arrians, and that holy woman *Blandina*, ſtanding ſo conſtantly in all extream pains, in the ſimple Confeſſion of Chriſt. If thou wilt have examples of more, look and thou ſhalt have both theſe, and an hundred more, *in Eccl. Hiſtoria* of *Euſebius*, and *in Tripartita Hiſtoria*.

But for all theſe Examples, both of holy Scripture, and of other Hiſtories, I fear me the weak man of God, incumbred with the frailty and infirmity of the fleſh, will have now and then ſuch thoughts and quaumes (as they call them) to run over his heart, and to think thus: All theſe things which are rehearſed out of the Scripture I believe to be true, and of the reſt truly I do think well, and can believe them alſo to be true; but all theſe we muſt needs grant were ſpecial miracles of God, which now in our days are ceaſed, we ſee; and to require them at Gods hands, were it not to tempt God?

God worketh great miracles in our time, although every man doth not ſee them.

Welbeloved Brother, I grant ſuch were great wonderful works of God, and we have not ſeen many of ſuch miracles in our time, either for that our ſight is not clear (for truly God worketh with his, his part in all times) or elſe becauſe we have not the like faith of them for whoſe cauſe God wrought ſuch things, or becauſe, after that he had ſet forth the truth of his Doctrine by ſuch miracles then ſufficiently, the time of ſo many miracles to be done was expired withal. Which of theſe is the moſt ſpecial cauſe of all other, or whether there be any other, God knoweth; I leave that to God. But know thou this, my welbeloved in God, that Gods hand is as ſtrong as ever it was, he may do what his gracious pleaſure is, and he is as good and gracious as ever he was. Man changeth as the Garment doth: But God our heavenly Father is even the ſame now that he was, and ſhall be for evermore.

The world without doubt (this I do believe, and therefore I ſay) draweth towards an end, and in all Ages God hath had his own manner, after his ſecret and unſearchable wiſdom, to uſe his Elect, ſometimes to deliver them, and to keep them ſafe, and ſometimes to ſuffer them to drink of Chriſts cup, that is, to feel the ſmart, and to feel of the whip. And though the fleſh ſmarteth at the one, and feeleth eaſe in the other, is glad of the one, and ſore vexed in the other: yet the Lord is all one towards them in both, and loveth them no leſs when he ſuffereth them to be beaten, yea, and to be put to bodily death, than when he worketh wonders for their marvellous delivery. Nay, rather he doth more for them, when in anguiſh of the torments he ſtandeth by them, and ſtrengthneth them in their faith, to ſuffer in the confeſſion of the truth and his faith, the bitter pangs of death, than when he openeth the Priſon door and letteth them go looſe: for here he doth but reſpite them to another time, and leaveth them in danger to fall in like peril again; and there he maketh them perfect, to be without danger, pain, or peril, after that for evermore. But this his love towards them, howſoever the world doth judge of it, is all one, both when he delivereth, and when he ſuffereth them to be put to death. He loved as well *Peter*, and *Paul*, when (after they had, according to his bleſſed will, pleaſure and providence, finiſhed their courſes, and done their ſervices appointed them by him here in preaching of his Goſpel) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified of the cruel Tyrant *Nero*, as the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* ſaith, as when he ſent the Angel to bring *Peter* out of Priſon, and for *Pauls* delivery he made all the doors of the Priſon to fly wide open, and the foundation of the ſame, like an Earth-quake, to tremble and ſhake. Anno 1555.

The Lords favour no leſs in adverſity than in proſperity.

Thinkeſt thou, O thou man of God, that Chriſt our Saviour had leſs affection to the firſt Martyr *Stephen*, becauſe he ſuffered his Enemies even at the firſt conflict to ſtone him to death? No ſurely, nor *James John's* brother, which was one of the three that *Paul* calleth Primates or Principals amongſt the Apoſtles of Chriſt. He loved him never a whit the worſe than he did the other, although he ſuffered *Herod* the Tyrants ſword to cut off his head. Nay, doth not *Daniel* ſay, ſpeaking of the cruelty of Antichriſts time, *Et docti in populo docebunt plurimos, & ruent in gladio & in flamma, & in captivitate, & rapina dierum, &c. Et de eruditis ruent ut conflentur & eligantur, & dealbentur, &c.* That is, and the Learned (he meaneth truly learned in Gods Law) ſhall teach many, and ſhall fall upon the ſword, and in the flame (that is, ſhall be burned in the flaming fire) and in captivity (that is, ſhall be in priſon, and be ſpoiled and robbed of their goods for a long ſeaſon.) And after a little in the ſame place of *Daniel* it followeth; and of the learned there be, which ſhall fall or be overthrown, that they may be known, tried, choſen, and made white; he meaneth, be bourniſhed and ſcoured anew, picked and choſen, and made freſh and luſty. If that then was foreſeen to be done to the godly learned, and for ſo gracious cauſes, let every one to whom any ſuch thing by the will of God doth chance, be merry in God and rejoyce, for it is to Gods glory, and to his own everlaſting wealth. Wherefore well is he that ever he was born, for whom thus graciouſly God hath provided, having grace of God, and ſtrength of the Holy Ghoſt to ſtand ſtedfaſtly in the height of the ſtorm. Happy is he that ever he was born, whom God his heavenly Father hath vouchſafed to appoint to glorifie him, and to edifie his Church by the effuſion of his blood. Dan. 11. Dan. ibid.

Martyrdom an high honour.

To dye in Chriſts cauſe is an high honour, to the which no man certainly ſhall or can aſpire, but to whom God vouchſafeth that dignity: for no man is allowed to preſume to take unto himſelf any office of honour, but he which is thereunto called of God. Therefore *John* ſaith well, ſpeaking of them which have obtained the victory by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his Teſtimony, that they loved not their lives, even unto death. Apoc. 12.

And our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, *He that ſhall loſe his life for my cauſe ſhall find it.* And this manner of ſpeech pertaineth not to one kind of Chriſtians (as the worldly doth wickedly dream) but to all that do truly pertain unto Chriſt. For when Chriſt had called unto him the Multitude together with his Diſciples, he ſaid unto them (mark that he ſaid not this to the Diſciples and Apoſtles only, but he ſaid it to all) whoſoever will follow me, let him forſake or deny himſelf, and take up his Croſs and follow me: for whoſoever will ſave his life, ſhall loſe it) he meaneth whoſoever will, to ſave his life, forſake or leave him and his truth) and whoſoever ſhall loſe his life for my cauſe and the Goſpels ſake, ſhall ſave it. For what ſhall it profit a man if he ſhall win the whole world, and loſe his own ſoul, his own life? or what ſhall a man give to recompence that loſs of his own life, and of his own ſoul? Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me and my words (that is, to confeſs me and my Goſpel) before this adulterous and ſinful Generation, of him ſhall the Son of Man be aſhamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy Angels. Know thou, O man of God, that all things are ordained for thy behoof, and to the furtherance of thee, towards thy ſalvation. All things, ſaith *Paul*, worketh with the good to goodneſs, even the Enemies of God, and ſuch kind of puniſhments whereby they go about to deſtroy them, ſhall be forced by Gods power, might, and fatherly providence, to do them ſervice. Matth. 16. Mark 8.

It is not as the wicked thinketh, that Poverty, Adverſity, Sickneſs, Tribulation, yea painful Death of the godly be tokens that God doth not love them; but even clean the contrary, as all the whole courſe of Scripture doth evidently declare: for then he would never have ſuffered his moſt dearly beloved the Patriarchs to have had ſuch troubles, his Prophets, his Apoſtles, his Martyrs, and

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and chief Champions and Maintainers of his Truth and Goſpel, ſo cruelly of the wicked to have been murdered and ſlain. Of the which ſome were racked (as the Apoſtle ſaith) and would not be delivered, that they might receive a better Reſurrection. Some were tried by mockings and ſcourgings, yea, moreover by bonds and impriſonment: they were ſtoned, they were hewen and cut aſunder, they were tempted, they were ſlain with the ſword, they wandred up and down in Sheeps skins and Goats skins, being forſaken, afflicted, and tormented, ſuch men as the world was not worthy to have, wandering in Wilderneſſes, in Mountains, in Dens and Caves of the Earth. All theſe were approved by the teſtimony of Faith, and received not the Promiſe, becauſe God did provide better for us, that without us they ſhould not be conſummated. They tarry for us now undoubtedly, longing for the day: but they are commanded to have patience yet (ſaith the Lord) a little while, until the number of their Fellowſervants be fulfilled, and of their Brethren which are yet to be ſlain, as they were.

Hebr. 11.

Now (thou O man of God) for our Lords ſake, let us not for the love of this life, tarry then too long, and be occaſion of delay of that glorious conſummation, in hope and expectation whereof they departed in the Lord, and the which alſo the living indued with Gods Spirit, ought ſo earneſtly to deſire and to groan for with all the Creatures of God. Let us all, with *John* the Servant of God, cry in our hearts unto our Saviour Chriſt, *Veni Domine Ieſu*, Come Lord Jeſus, come. For then when Chriſt, which is our life, ſhall be made manifeſt, and appear in glory, then ſhall the children of God appear what they be, even like unto Chriſt: for this our weak body ſhall be transfigured and made like unto Chriſts glorious body, and that by the power whereby he is able to ſubdue unto himſelf all things. Then, that which is now corruptible, ſhall then be made incorruptible: that which now is vile, ſhall be made glorious; that which is now weak, ſhall riſe then mighty and ſtrong; that which is groſs and carnal, ſhall be made fine and ſpiritual: for then we ſhall ſee and have the unſpeakable joy and fruition of the glorious Majeſty of our Lord even as he is.

Apoc. 22.

Who, or what then ſhall let us to jeopard, yea, to ſpend this life which we have here in Chriſt's cauſe? in our Lord God his cauſe? O thou therefore man of God, thou that art loaden, and ſo letted like unto a great-bellied Woman, that thou canſt not fly the plague, yet if thou luſt after ſuch things as I have ſpoken of, ſtand faſt whatſoever ſhall befal, in my Maſters cauſe: and take this thy letting to fly, for a calling of God to fight in thy Maſter Chriſt his cauſe. Of this be thou certain, they can do nothing unto thee, which thy Father is not aware of, or hath not foreſeen before: they can do no more than it ſhall pleaſe him to ſuffer them to do for the furtherance of his glory, edifying of his Church, and thine own ſalvation. Let them then do what they ſhall, ſeeing to thee (O man of God) all things ſhall be forced to ſerve, and to work with thee unto the beſt before God. O be not afraid, and remember the end.

Nothing happened without Gods foreſight.

All this which I have ſpoken for the comfort of the lamentable caſe of the man whom Chriſt called great-bellied Woman, I mean to be ſpoken likewiſe to the captive and priſoner in Gods cauſe: for ſuch I count to be as it were already ſummoned and preſſed to fight under the Banner of the Croſs of Chriſt, and as it were Souldiers allowed and taken up for the Lords Wars, to do their Lord and Maſter good and honourable ſervice, and to ſtick to him, as men of truſty ſervice in his cauſe, even unto death, and to think their life loſt in his cauſe, is to win it in eternal glory for evermore.

Therefore, now to conclude and make an end of this Treatiſe, I ſay unto all that love God our heavenly Father, that love Chriſt Jeſus our Redeemer and Saviour; that love to follow the ways of the Holy Ghoſt which is our Comforter and Sanctifier of all; unto all that love Chriſts Spouſe and Body, the true Catholick Church of Chriſt, yea, that love life and their own ſouls health; I ſay unto all theſe, hearken my dear Brethren and Siſters, all you that be of God, of all ſorts, ages, dignities, or degrees; hearken to the word of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt ſpoken to his Apoſtles, and meant to all his, in S. *Matthews Goſpel*, Fear not them which kill the body, for they cannot kill the ſoul; but fear him more which may deſtroy and caſt both body and ſoul into Hell fire. Are not two ſmall Sparrows ſold for a mite, and one of them ſhall not fall or light upon the ground without your Father? All the hairs of your head be numbred. Fear them not, you are much more worth than are the little Sparrows. Every one that confeſſeth me before men, him ſhall I likewiſe confeſs before my Father which is in Heaven. But whoſoever ſhall deny me before men, I ſhall deny him likewiſe before my Father which is in Heaven.

Matth. 10.

The Lord grant us therefore of his heavenly grace and ſtrength, that here we may ſo confeſs him in this world amongſt this adulterous and ſinful Generation, that he may confeſs us again at the latter day before his Father which is in Heaven, to our glory and everlaſting comfort, joy, and ſalvation.

To our heavenly Father, to our Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, and to the Holy Ghoſt, be all glory and honour now and for ever, Amen.

Thus with the death and martyrdom of theſe two learned Paſtors and conſtant Souldiers of Chriſt, Mr. *Latimer* and Biſhop *Ridley*, you have divers of their Letters and other Writings of theirs expreſſed, with the Farewels alſo of Biſhop *Ridley*, wherein he took his leave of the world, taking his Journey to the Kingdom of Heaven. Divers and ſundry other Treatiſes of his remain alſo in my hand both in Latin and Engliſh, to be remembred by the leave of the Lord in time and place convenient.

The death and end of Stephen Gardiner *Biſhop of* Winchester.

The death of *Step. Gardiner*, enemy to Gods Word.

THe next Month after the burning of Dr. *Ridley*, and Mr. *Latimer*, which was the Month of *November*, *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop and Chancellor, a man hated of God and all good men, ended his wretched life. Concerning the qualities, nature, and diſpoſition of which man, forſomuch as ſomewhat hath been declared before in the ſtory of King *Edwards* Reign, I ſhall need therefore the leſs now to ſtand greatly upon the ſame. Firſt, This Vipers Bird crept out of the Town of *Bury* in *Suffolk*, was brought up moſt part of his youth in *Cambridge*; his Wit, Capacity, Memory, and other Indowments of Nature were not to be complained of, if he had well uſed and rightly applyed the ſame; wherein there was no great want of Gods part in him, if he had not rather himſelf wanted to the goodneſs of his Gifts. Through this promptneſs, activity, and towardneſs of his, he profited not a little in ſuch Studies as he gave his head unto, as firſt in the Civil Law, then in Languages and ſuch other like, eſpecially in thoſe Arts and Faculties which had any proſpect to Dignity and Preferment to be hoped for. Beſides other ornaments or helps of Nature, Memory chiefly ſeemed in him very beneficial, rather than diligence of Study.

The vices of Winchester deſcribed.

To theſe gifts and qualities were joyned again his great or greater vices, which not ſo much followed him, as overtook him, not ſo much burdened him, as made him burdenous to the whole Realm. He was of a proud ſtomach, and high-minded, in his own opinion and conceit flattering himſelf too much; in wit, crafty and ſubtile, toward his Superiours flattering and fair ſpoken, to his Inferiors fierce, againſt his Equal ſtout and envious; namely, if in judgment and ſentence he any thing withſtood him, as appeared between the good L. *Cromwel* and him in the Reign of King *Henry*, being of like haughtineſs of ſtomach as the Poets write of *Pelides*, *Cedere neſcius*. Who, although he would give no place to men, yet notwithſtanding I wiſh he would have given place to truth, according as he ſeemed not altogether ignorant of that truth. What his knowledge was therein, it is evident, partly to underſtand as well by his Book *De vera Obedientia*, as alſo by his Sermon before King *Edward*; alſo by his Anſwers to the Council the ſame time, and moreover by his own words it may be gathered in ſundry places, as more plainly may appear by that which hereafter followeth.

Upon his Eſtimation and Fame he ſtood too too much, more than was meet for a man of his Coat and Calling, whoſe Profeſſion was to be crucified unto the world, which thing made him ſo ſtiff in maintaining that he had once begun to take upon him. I will not here ſpeak of that which hath been conſtantly reported to me touch-

ing the monſtrous making and miſhaped faſhion of his feet and toes, the nails whereof were ſaid not to be like to other mens, but to crook downward, and to be ſharp like the Claws of ravening Beaſts. What his Learning was in the Civil and Canon Law I have not to ſay: What it was in other Liberal Sciences and Arts, this I ſuppoſe, that neither his continuance in ſtudy, nor diligence of reading was ſuch (by reaſon of his too much intermedling in Princes matters) as could truly well merit unto him the title of a deep learned man. But what learning or cunning ſoever it was he had, ſo it fared in him, as it doth in Butchers, which uſe to blow up their fleſh: even ſo he with boldneſs and ſtoutneſs, and ſpecially with authority, made thoſe gifts that he had to appear much greater than they were in very deed. Whereunto, uſe, peradventure, alſo and experience abroad, brought no little helps, rather than either quickneſs of wit, or happineſs of education.

Winchester not worthy the title of a learned man

And as touching Divinity, he was ſo variable, wavering with time, that no conſtant cenſure can be given what to make of him. If his doings and writings were according to his Conſcience, no man can rightly ſay whether he was a right Proteſtant or Papiſt. If he wrote otherwiſe than he thought, for fear, or to bear with time, then was he a double deep diſſembler before God and man, to ſay, and unſay, to write and unwrite, to ſwear and forſwear ſo as he did. For firſt in the beginning of Queen *Annes* time, who was ſo forward or ſo buſie in the matter of the Kings Divorce as *Stephen Gardiner*, who was firſt ſent to *Rome*, and then to the Emperor with *Edward Foxe*, as chief Agent in the behalf of the Lady *Anne*? By whom alſo he was preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Winchester*, and *Edward Boner* was preferred to the Biſhoprick of *London*. Again, at the aboliſhing of the Pope, who ſo ready to ſwear, or ſo vehement to write againſt the Pope as he, as not only by his Sermons, but alſo by his Book *De Obedientia* may appear? In which Book *De Obedientia*, leſt any ſhould think him drawn thereunto otherwiſe than by his own conſent, he plainly declareth, how not raſhly nor upon a ſudden, but upon a long deliberation and advertiſement in himſelf about the matter, he at length uttered his judgment: Whereof read before. And moreover, ſo he uttered his judgment in writing againſt the uſurped Supremacy of the Pope, that coming to *Louane* afterward, he was there accounted for a perſon excommunicate and a Schiſmatick, inſomuch that he was not permitted in their Church to ſay Maſs; and moreover, in their publick Sermons they openly cried out againſt him. Whereof read hereafter following.

The mutability of *Ste. Gardiner* in Religion.

Touching the doings of *Winchester* at *Louane*, read the Letter of *Driander* to *Criſpine*.

And thus long continued he firm and forward, ſo that who but *Winchester* during all that time and reign of Queen *Anne*? After her deceaſe that time by little and little carried him away, till at length the emulation of *Cromwel*'s eſtate, and eſpecially (as it ſeemeth) for his ſo much favouring of *Boner* (whom *Winchester* at that time in no caſe could abide) made him an utter Enemy both againſt him, and alſo his Religion: till again in King *Edwards* days, he began a little to rebate from certain points of Popery, and ſomewhat to ſmell of the Goſpel, as both by his Sermon before King *Edward*, as alſo by his ſubſcribing to certain Articles, may appear: and this was an half turn of *Stephen Gardiner* from Popery again to the Goſpel, and (no doubt) he would have further turned, had not the unluckey decay of the Duke of *Somerſet* clean turned him away from true Divinity, to plain Popery; wherein he continued a cruel Perſecutor to his dying day.

The firſt turning of *Winchester* from the Goſpel, and why?

Another half turn from Popery to the Goſpel. *Winchester* turned to a full Papiſt.

And thus much concerning the Trade and Profeſſion of *Stephen Gardiners* Popiſh Divinity. In which his Popiſh Trade, whether he followed more true judgment, or elſe time, or rather the ſpirit of Ambition and Vain-glory, it is doubtful to ſay, and ſo much the more doubtful, becauſe in his doings and writings a man may ſee him not only contrary to himſelf, but alſo in ſome points contrary to other Papiſts. And furthermore, where he agreeth with them, he ſeemeth therein not ſo much to follow his own ſenſe, as the mind and meaning of *Pereſius*; out of whoſe Book the greateſt part of *Winchester*'s Divinity ſeemeth to be borrowed.

Winchester never conſtant in himſelf, nor agreeing with other Papiſts.

A great part of *Winchesters* Divinity is to be found in *Pereſius*.

And therefore as in the true knowledge of Gods holy Word and Scripture he appeareth no body; ſo in his pen and ſtyle of writing no leſs far is he from commendation, than he is from all plainneſs and perſpicuity. In whoſe obſcure and perplex kind of writing, although peradventure ſome ſenſe may be found with ſome ſearching, yet ſhall no Reader find any ſweetneſs in his reading. Anno 1555.

Winchesters ſtile unpleaſant.

What moved him to be ſo ſturdy againſt Mr. *Cheek*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, for the Greek pronunciation, others may think what they pleaſe: I ſpeak but what I think, that ſo he did, for that he ſaw it a thing rather newly begun, than truly impugned. Such was the diſpoſition of that man (as it ſeemeth) that of purpoſe he ever affected to ſeem to be a Patron of old Cuſtoms, though they were never ſo rotten with age. Amongſt other matters, this one thing I cannot but marvel at in my mind, when I ſee how proudly he braggeth, and vainly vaunteth himſelf (as well in his Letters to the Lord Protector, and others of King *Edwards* Council, as alſo in his long matter articulated and exhibited by him unto the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and other the Kings Commiſſioners) of the high favour he had of the noble King of famous memory, King *Henry* the Eighth, when indeed nothing was leſs true; neither did the King leſs favour any of his Council, than him, affirming very often, that he greatly ſuſpected the ſaid Biſhop to be a ſecret maintainer of the Biſhop of *Romes* uſurped Authority, and a ſtout diſturber and hinderer of his proceedings in reformation of Religion. And therefore he did ſo much diſlike him, that he did not only mind (if the Lord had ſent his Highneſs longer life) to have uſed the extremity of Law againſt him, upon very ſore and juſt matter of old, committed by him (and yet not taken away by any pardon) commanding thereupon often the Lord *Paget*, then his Secretary, to keep ſafe certain writings which he had againſt him; but alſo commanded that he ſhould be put clean out of his laſt Will and Teſtament, not ſuffering him either to be any of his Executors, or elſe in any caſe of his Sons Council, no, although he were earneſtly intreated to the contrary by ſundry of the Lords, and others of his Highneſſes Council, ſaying, he was a wilful, troubleſom, and headſtrong man, and not meet to be about his Son, or to have any thing to do by his will. Now amongſt other cauſes that moved the King thus to ſuſpect his fidelity towards his godly proceedings in Religion, I find this to be one. It pleaſed his Majeſty after his aboliſhing of the Biſhop of *Romes* uſurped Authority (amongſt other Embaſſages to forreign Princes) to ſend the ſaid Biſhop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Henry Knevet* Knight, as joynt Ambaſſadours to the Emperour, being then at a Diet or Council at *Ratiſbone*, appointing alſo Sir *John Barkley*, Sir *William Blunt*, Knights, and Mr. *Andrew Bainton* Eſquire (his Highneſs's Servants) to give their attendance upon the ſaid Sir *Henry Knevet*, for the more honouring of his Embaſſage. It happened alſo at that time, that Sir *Henry Knevet* entertained into his ſervice (as Steward of his Houſhold) one *William Wolfe*, who had in the ſame place and room before ſerved Sir *Thomas Wyat* Knight, the Kings former Ambaſſadour there, and by that means had good acquaintance in thoſe parts, as well in the Emperours Court, as elſewhere. This *Wolfe*, towards the latter end of the Diet or Council, happened to walk (as often he did) towards the Emperours Palace to hear ſome news, where he met with one *Lodovico*, an Italian Merchant of *Banker*, one of his old Acquaintance. Who, ſuppoſing the ſaid *Wolfe* to have attended upon the Biſhop of *Winchester*, (not knowing of any other joynt Ambaſſadour) required *Wolfe* for old acquaintance, to do him a pleaſure; whereunto he willingly granted. Whereupon *Ludovico* ſhewed him, that the Popes Legate, or Ambaſſadour to the Emperour (which was Cardinal *Contarene*) departing the day before towards *Rome*, and having no leiſure to end his buſineſs himſelf, had put the ſaid *Ludovico* in truſt for the accompliſhing of them: and amongſt all other things he had eſpecially charged him that he ſhould repair to the Ambaſſadour of *England*, and require of him an anſwer of the Popes Letters, which the Legate did of late ſend unto him, addreſſed to him from *Rome*, and that upon the receipt thereof he ſhould ſend them after with

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Anno 1555.

all ſpeed; and therefore if his Lord Ambaſſadour would write by that Currior, he prayed *Wolfe* to tell him that it was time to write, for the Currior went away within a day or two. At this tale *Wolfe* being abaſhed, and yet partly gheſſing which Ambaſſadour he meant, thought it not meet to tell him whoſe Servant he was, but by other ſoothing talk perceived that he meant the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. And to the end that *Ludovico* ſhould ſuſpect nothing, he anſwered him, that he being not the Ambaſſadours Secretary, could ſay little therein; howbeit he would not miſs to put his Secretary in remembrance of it: which thing *Ludovick* alſo deſired him to do, for that he had no other acquaintance with the Ambaſſadour, and ſo for that time they departed. This matter ſeeming to *Wolfe* of ſome importance, did ſtreightways reveal it to Sir *Henry Knevet* his Maſter: Who weighing alſo the greatneſs of the caſe, and what diſadvantage it were upon one mans ſo bare a report to attempt ought, in a place and time, whereby ſuch a perſon was to be touched, charged *Wolfe* well to adviſe himſelf, that no affect of hate, diſpleaſure, or other paſſion, did move him to diſcloſe this, but truth only. *Wolfe* replied, That he weighed well the weightineſs of the cauſe, meet, as to his own reſpect, to be paſſed over in ſilence, for avoiding of his private diſpleaſure, if duty of Allegiance bound him not otherwiſe. But Sir (quoth he) if you think not my hearing thereof, one to one, to be ſufficient, I warrant you to deviſe means, that ſome others of your Servants ſhall hear the like words at *Ludovicks* own mouth as well as I. Upon which talk Sir *Henry Knevet* deviſed which of his Servants he might uſe to that purpoſe, and at laſt reſted upon Mr. *Thomas Chalenor* his Secretary, becauſe he had the Italian Tongue. Not yet making him privy of any matter, but willed *Wolfe* to take him abroad with him as of his own private motion, for they were very familiar friends. Whereupon the next morning, being *Sunday*, *Wolfe* came to *Chalenor*'s Chamber, and prayed him familiarly to go walk with him abroad to the *Piazza*, or Market-ſtead, which he gladly granting, ſo did, not knowing of any ſpecial cauſe why. When they came to the *Piazza*, over againſt the Emperors Palace, (near whereunto alſo the Popes Legate had lodged) and had there walked a while together, there came thither the ſaid *Ludovico*, and eſpying *Wolfe*, ſaluted him very friendly, and entred into talk about the *Exchange*, and ſundry other matters, *Chalenor* being ſtill with them. At laſt upon occaſion, they entred into like talk about the former Letters that the Ambaſſadour of *England* had received from *Rome* by the Popes Legate, of which *Ludovico* had in charge to receive an anſwer, affirming, that the Poſt did depart the next day, and therefore prayed *Wolfe* to put the Ambaſſadours Secretary in remembrance of them. Whereunto *Wolfe* anſwered, That he would willingly do it; but he did not well know which Ambaſſadour he meant, for that there were two: one, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the other, a Gentleman of the Kings Privy Chamber. To whom *Ludovick* replied, that he meant not the Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, but the Biſhop. By which talk, and much ſuch like (as upon the former day) Mr. *Chaloner* being moved (and not knowing yet of his Maſters and *Wolfes* purpoſe) after the departure of *Ludovico* from them, ſaid unto *Wolfe*, that *Ludovick* had had but homely talk with him, not to be paſſed over lightly, and therefore he would tell his Maſter of it. To whom *Wolf* anſwered, Do as you will, if you think any matter therein. And therefore at his return home, he told Sir *Henry Knevet* what ſpeech he had heard at *Ludovicks* mouth. Sir *Henry Knevet* being thus further aſcertained of the matter, opened the whole to Sir *John Barkeley*, Sir *William Blunt*, and to Mr. *Bainton*; who all agreed yet to make a farther trial thereof. And therefore deviſed that *Wolfe* ſhould procure *Lodovick* to bring certain Velvet, and other Silks, unto Sir *Henry Knevets* Lodging, as well for himſelf, as for the other Gentlemen; which that Afternoon he did accompliſh, and brought *Ludovick* unto Sir *Henry*, where alſo were the other Gentlemen: After they had a while viewed the Silks, and had had ſome talk about the prices, *Wolf* took occaſion again to ask *Ludovick* if Sir *Henry* were the Ambaſſadour of whom he was to demand an Anſwer of the Letters ſent by the Popes Legate? To whom the Merchant anſwered, No, it was not his Seigniory, but it was a Biſhop, tearming him *Reverendiſſimo*, whereby they eaſily perceived whom he meant. Sir *Henry Knevet* hereupon ſomewhat diſſembling the matter, entred into further talk thereabouts, whereby *Ludovick* opened as much in effect to them, as he had done before to *Wolfe*: but yet at laſt perceiving that as well Sir *Henry*, as alſo the other Gentlemen, did behold him ſomewhat firedly, he brake off his talk. Wherewith Sir *Henry Knevet*, making as though he had noted nothing, did lovingly diſmiſs him, praying him, that when he had received the Biſhops Letters, he would alſo repair to him for a Packet to an Engliſh Gentleman of his acquaintance at *Millan*; which he promiſed to do, and ſo departed again. When Sir *Henry* had thus made ſufficient trial of this matter, he forthwith wrote his Letters unto the Kings Majeſty, ſignifying unto him the whole at large, as he had learned. In the mean while *Ludovick* the next morning repaired unto the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* Lodging, to demand an anſwer of thoſe Letters the Legate had ſent unto him: but how he uſed himſelf, or whether he uttered the talk he had with Sir *Henry Knevet* and with *Wolfe*, whom he ſuppoſed at the firſt to be the Biſhops man, it is not certainly known. But the Biſhop perceiving that by miſtaking one for another (and in ſuppoſing *Wolfe* to be the Biſhops Servant) *Ludovick* had uttered all his Meſſage from the Legate unto *Wolfe*, and that thereby his practiſes would come to light; in great haſty rage, cauſed *Ludovick* to be ſtayed in his own houſe, while in the mean time himſelf went to *Gravela*, one of the Emperours Council, and ſo practiſed with him, that *Ludovick* was ſecretly committed unto Priſon, in the cuſtody of one of the Emperours Marſhals, ſo as he could be no more talked withal, all the time of their abode there. And then ſending in great haſte to Sir *Henry Knevet* to come and ſpeak with him (which he did) he fell into very hot ſpeech with him, ſaying, that he had poiſon in his diſh, and that a Knave was ſubborned to be his deſtruction; with many ſuch like words. Sir *Henry* told him again, how he underſtood it; and prayed him that *Ludovick* might be brought face to face, to be examined in both their Preſences. Which the Biſhop would in no caſe agree unto, affirming, that he had ſo declared the caſe to *Gravela*, being indifferent (as he thought) to them both, that he would not meddle with *Ludovick*, nor ſpeak with him: but that the Emperours Council ſhould examine him, and try what he was, for him. To whom Sir *Henry Knevet* again very earneſtly objected, That he marvelled that the Biſhop, in matter touching the Kings Majeſty, their Maſter, would uſe the aid or means of *Gravela*, a forreign Princes Miniſter, to make him privy of their queſtion. But ſay and do what he could, he would never come to the ſpeech of *Ludovick* any more ever after. Whereupon there roſe great and long controverſies between them (both writing Letters unto the King about that matter) until at laſt the Kings Majeſty perceiving his Affairs otherwiſe to ſlack thereby, wrote unto them both that they ſhould lay all thoſe things under foot, and joyn together in his Service as before; which they did accordingly. But howſoever this matter was afterward ſalved here with the Kings Majeſty, as either by the death of Sir *Henry Knevet* (which I think was not long after) or by other friends the Biſhop had here at home, I know not: yet *Wolfe*, who within two months after died of a long cough of the Longues, upon his Death-bed did again affirm the Premiſſes to be moſt true; and therefore in the preſence of Sir *Henry Knevet*, and divers other of his Servants, he proteſted, that he had not invented, ſought, or procured this at *Ludovicks* hands, for any malice or diſpleaſure born to the Biſhop, but only for diſcharge of his faith and duty unto the Kings Majeſty, deſiring that the ſame his Proteſtation might be inſerted in the end of his laſt Will and Teſtament, which was then preſently done, and thereunto he ſet his hand.

Now, whether this was the matter that the King moved ſo often Mr. Secretary *Paget* (being after Lord Keeper) to keep ſafe as ſore matter againſt the Biſhop, I know not; but yet it appears by ſome Depoſitions of the Nobility, and others, in the Proceſs againſt him had in King *Edwards* days, that the Kings Majeſty, *Henry* 8. had this matter ever in his mind: for in every general

pardon that he granted by Parliament after this practice, he did ſtill except all Treaſons committed beyond the Seas; meaning thereby, as it was ſuppoſed, that the Biſhop ſhould not take any beneſit by any general pardon, if at any time his Majeſty would call him to accompt: and therefore all things well weighed, he had ſmall cauſe to vaunt of his great favour he had with King *Henry* his Maſter. Howbeit, it ſeemeth he was brought into this fools Paradiſe by the Lord *Paget*; who (as he himſelf reporteth in his Depoſitions) in his Meſſages from the King to the ſaid Biſhop, deluded him, telling him much otherwiſe than the King had ſpoken, and concealing always the Kings hard ſpeeches againſt him, which thing puffed up this vain glorious *Thraſo* not a little. All which premiſſes appear more at large by the Depoſitions of the Nobles and others, examined in the long Proceſs againſt him in King *Edwards* reign, as appears in our firſt Edition of *Acts and Monuments*, from *page* 804. unto the end of that Proceſs, in that Book at large mentioned.

But whoſoever he was, ſeeing he is now gone, I refer him to his judge, to whom he ſhall ſtand or fall. As concerning his death, and manner thereof, I would they which were preſent thereat would teſtifie to us what they ſaw. This we have all to think, that his death happened ſo opportunely, that *England* hath a mighty cauſe to give thanks to the Lord therefore: not ſo much for the great hurt he had done in times paſt in perverting his Princes, in bringing in the ſix Articles, in murdering Gods Saints, in defacing Chriſts ſincere Religion, &c. but alſo and eſpecially for that he had thought to have brought to paſs in murdering alſo our noble Queen that now is. For whatſoever danger it was of death, that ſhe was in, it did (no doubt) proceed from the bloody Biſhop, who was the cauſe thereof. And if it be certain which we have heard, that her Highneſs being in the *Tower*, a Writ came down from certain of the Council, for her Execution, it is out of controverſie, that wily *Wincheſter* was the only *Dædalus* and framer of that Engine, who (no doubt) in that one day had brought this whole Realm into woful ruin, had not the Lords moſt gracious Counſel, through Mr. *Bridges*, then the Lieutenant, coming in haſte to the Queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented *Achitophel*'s bloody deviſes. For the which, thanks be to the ſame our Lord and Saviour, in the Congregation of all Engliſh Churches, Amen.

Ste. Gardiner eſpecially hunted for the life of the Lady *Elizabeth*.

Q. Elizabeth preſerved.

Mr. *Bridges*, Lieutenant, the Lords Organ in ſaving the Lady *Elizabeths* life.

Of things uncertain, I muſt ſpeak uncertainly, for lack of fuller information, or elſe peradventure they be in the Realm that can ſay more than here I have expreſſed. For as *Boner*, *Story*, *Thornton*, *Harpsfield*, *Dunning*, with other, were occupied in putting the poor Branches of Gods Saints to death: ſo this Biſhop for his part bent all his deviſes, and had ſpent all his powder in aſſailing the Root, and in caſting ſuch a Platform (as he himſelf in words at his death is ſaid to confeſs) to build his Popery upon, as he thought ſhould have ſtood for ever and a day. But (as I ſaid before) of things uncertain I can ſpeak but uncertainly. Wherefore as touching the manner and order of his death, *how rich* he died, what words he ſpake, what little repentance he ſhewed, whether he died with his tongue ſwoln and out of his mouth, as did *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or whether he ſtunk before he died, as Cardinal *Wolſey* did, or whether he died in deſpair, as *Latomus* and others did, &c. All this I refer either to their reports of whom I heard it, or leave it to the knowledge of them which know it better.

Tho. *Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*

Notwithſtanding, here by the way, touching the death of this foreſaid Biſhop, I thought not to over-paſs a certain hear-ſay, which not long ſince came to me by information of a certain worthy and credible Gentlewoman, and another Gentleman of the ſame name and kindred, which Mrs. *Munday*, being the Wife of one Mr. *Munday*, Secretary ſometime to the old Lord *Thomas*, Duke of *Northfolk*, a preſent witneſs of this that is teſtified, thus openly reported in the houſe of a worſhipful Citizen, bearing yet office in this City, in words and effect as followeth. The ſame day, when as Biſhop *Ridley* and Mr. *Latimer* ſuffered at *Oxford*, being about the 19. day of *October*, there came into the Houſe of *Stephen Gardiner*, the old Duke of *Norfolk*, with the foreſaid Mr. *Munday* his Secretary above named, reporter hereof. The old aged Duke there waiting and tarrying for his Dinner; the Biſhop being not yet diſpoſed to dine, deferred the time to 3 or 4. of the Clock at Afternoon. At length, about 4. of the Clock cometh his Servant poſting in all poſſible ſpeed from *Oxford*, bringing intelligence to the Bp. what he had heard and ſeen: of whom the ſaid Biſhop diligently inquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man, that fire moſt certainly was ſet unto them, cometh out rejoycing to the Duke; Now, ſaith he, let us go to dinner. Whereupon, they being ſet down, meat immediately was brought, and the Biſhop began merrily to eat. But what followed? The bloody Tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the ſudden ſtroke of Gods terrible hand fell upon him in ſuch ſort, as immediately he was taken from the Table, and ſo brought to his Bed, where he continued the ſpace of 15 days in ſuch intolerable anguiſh and torments, that all that mean while, during the 15 days, he could not avoid by Urine, or otherwiſe, any thing that he received: whereby his body being miſerably inflamed within (who had inflamed ſo many good Martyrs before) was brought to a wretched end. And thereof, no doubt, as moſt like it is, came the thruſting out of his tongue from his mouth ſo ſwoln and black, with the inflamation of his body. A ſpectacle worthy to be noted and beholden of all ſuch bloody burning Perſecutors.

Anno 1555.

But to proceed farther in the ſequel of our ſtory: I could name the man (but I abſtain from names) who being then preſent, and a great doer about the ſaid *Wincheſter*, reported to us concerning the ſaid Biſhop, that when Dr. *Day*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, came to him, and began to comfort him with words of Gods promiſe, and with the free Juſtification in the Blood of Chriſt our Saviour, repeating the Scriptures to him; *Wincheſter* hearing that, What my Lord (quoth he) will you open that Gap now? then farewel altogether. To me, and ſuch other in my caſe, you may ſpeak it, but open this Window to the People, then farewel altogether.

Moreover, what Dr. *Boner* then ſaw in him, or what he heard of him, and what words paſſed between them about the time of this extremity, betwixt him and him be it. If *Boner* did there behold any thing which might turn to his good example, I exhort him to take it, and to beware in time, as I pray God he may. Here I could bring in the frivolous Epitaph which was made of his death, deviſed of a Papiſt for a Popiſh Biſhop: but I pretermit it, and inſtead thereof I have here inferred certain gatherings out of his Sermons, Words, and Writings, wherein may appear firſt, what an earneſt and vehement Enemy he was to the Pope, if he would have been conſtant in himſelf; then how inconſtantly he varied from himſelf; and thirdly, how, he ſtanding upon a ſingularity of his own wit, varied alſo from other Papiſts in certain points. In the gathering whereof although there be ſome pains, and tedioufneſs alſo in reading; yet I thought not to pretermit the ſame, upon certain Conſiderations, namely, for that ſo many yet to this day there be, which ſtick ſo much to *Gardiners* wit, learning, and religion, taking him for ſuch a doughty Pillar of the Popes Church. To the intent therefore, that ſuch as hitherto have been deceived by him, may not longer be abuſed therein, if they will either credit his own Works, Words, Sermons, Writings, Diſputations; or elſe will be judged by his own witneſſes of his own party produced, we have here collected ſuch manifeſt Probations, which may notoriouſly declare how effectually firſt he withſtood the Popes Supremacy: and likewiſe afterward may declare manifeſt contrariety and repugnancy of the ſaid *Gardiner*, firſt with other Writers, and laſtly with himſelf: firſt beginning with his Sermon preached before K. *Edward*. The ſum and effect of which Sermon briefly collected by Mr. *Udal*, hereunder followeth to be ſeen.

The ſum and effect of the Sermon which Gardiner *Biſhop of* Wincheſter *preached before King* Edward, Anno 1550.

MOſt honourable Audience, I purpoſe, by the grace of God, to declare ſome part of the Goſpel that is accuſtomably uſed to be read in the Church at this day. And becauſe that without the ſpecial grace of God, neither

The effect of *Ste. Gardiner* Bp. of *Wincheſter's* Sermon.

can

Anno 1555.

can I ſpeak any thing to your edifying, nor ye receive the ſame accordingly, I ſhall deſire you all, that we may joyntly pray all together for the aſſiſtance of his Grace. In which Prayer I commend to Almighty God, your moſt excellent Majeſty, our Soveraign Lord, King of *England France* and *Ireland*, and of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*, next and immediately under God here on earth, the ſupream Head, Queen *Katharine Dowager*, my Lady *Maries* Grace, my Lady *Elizabeths* Grace, your Majeſties moſt dear Siſters, my Lord Protectors Grace, with all others of your moſt Honourable Council, the ſpiritualty and temporalty, and I ſhall deſire you to commend unto God with your Prayer, the Souls departed unto God in Chriſts faith, and amongſt theſe, moſt eſpecially our late Soveraign Lord, King *Henry* the Eighth, your Majeſties moſt Noble Father. For theſe and for Grace neceſſary, I ſhall deſire you to ſay a *Pater noſter*, and ſo forth.

Supream Head.

Matth. 16. Divers judgments of Chriſt.

The Goſpel beginneth, *Cum veniſſet Jeſus in partes Cæſareæ Philippi, &c.* When Jeſus was come into the parts of *Ceſarea* a City that *Phillippus* builded, he asked his Diſciples, and ſaid; Whom do Men ſay that the Son of Man is? They ſaid, Some ſay that thou art *John* the Baptiſt, ſome that thou art *Ely*, ſome that thou art *Jeremy*, or ſome one of the Prophets. He ſaid to them, But whom ſay ye that I am? Then anſwered *Simon Peter*, and ſaid, Thou art Chriſt, the Son of the living God, &c. I cannot have time, I think, to ſpeak of the Goſpel thorowly, for other matters that I have here now to ſay, but I ſhall note unto you ſuch things as I may, and firſt of the diverſity of opinions concerning Chriſt, which were among the People variable: but among this, that is, the Diſciples of Chriſts School, there was no variety, they agreed all together in one truth, and among them there was no variety. For when *Peter* had for all the reſt, and in the name of all the reſt made his anſwer, that Chriſt was the Son of God, they all confeſſed with one conſent, that he had ſpoken the truth. Yet theſe opinions of Chriſt that the people had of him, though they were ſundry, yet were they honorable and not ſlanderous: for to ſay that Chriſt was *Ely*, and *John* the Baptiſt, was honorable. For ſome thought him ſo to be, becauſe he did frankly, ſharply, and openly rebuke vice. They that called him *Jeremy*, had alſo an honourable opinion of him, and thought him ſo to be, becauſe of his great learning which they perceived in him, and marvelled where he had it. And they that ſaid he was ſome of the Prophets, had an honourable opinion of him, and favoured him, and thought well of him.

But there was another ſort of people that ſpake evil of him, and ſlandered him, and railed on him, ſaying that he was a glutton, and a drinker of Wine, that he had a devil in him, that he was a deciever of the people, that he was a Carpenters Son, as though he were the worſe for his Fathers craft. But of theſe he asked no queſtion: for among theſe none agreed with the other. Wherein ye ſhall note that Man of his own power and ſtrength can nothing do: no, nothing that good is he can do of his own invention or device, but erreth and faileth; when he is left to his own invention, he erreth in his imagination. So proud is Man, and ſo ſtout of his own courage, that he deviſeth nothing well, whenſoever he is left to himſelf without God; and then never do any ſuch agree in any truth, and wander and err in all that they do. As Men of Law if they be asked their opinion in any point touching the Law, ye ſhall not have two of them agree in opinion: in any point touching the Law, ye ſhall not have two of them agree in opinion, one with the other. If there be two or three of them asked their opinion in any matter, if they ſhould anſwer all one thing, they fear leſt they ſhould be ſuppoſed and thought to have no learning. Therefore be they never ſo many of them, they will not agree in their anſwers, but deviſe each Man a ſundry anſwer in any thing that they are asked.

Man can nothing of himſelf.

Diſagreement amongſt Men of Law.

The Philoſophers that were not of Chriſts School erred every one in their vain opinions, and no one of them agreeth with the other.

Diſagreement among Philoſophers.

Yea, Men of ſimplicity, though they mean well, yet being out of Chriſts School, they agree not, but vary in their opinions. As theſe ſimple people here ſpoken of, becauſe they were not perfect Diſciples of Chriſts School, they varied and agreed not in their opinions of Chriſt, though they thought well of him. Some ſaid he was *John*, ſome *Ely*, ſome *Jeremy*, but none made the right anſwer. He that anſwered here, was *Simon* the Son of *Jonas*, and he ſaid; Thou art Chriſt, the Son of the living God.

Diſagreement among ſimple people.

Where ye ſhall note the properties that were in *Peter*. He was called *Simon*, which is obedience, and *Jonas* is a Dove; ſo that in him that is of Chriſts School, muſt be theſe two properties, obedience and ſimplicity. He muſt be humble and innocent as a Dove, that will be of Chriſts School. Pride is a let of Chriſts School: for as the wiſeman ſaith, God reſiſteth the proud, and giveth Grace to the humble and meek. And according to the ſame doth Chriſt in the Goſpel ſay, Oh Father, I confeſs unto thee, that is, I laud and magnifie thee; for that thou haſt hidden theſe things from the wiſe, and haſt opened them unto the little ones. Whereupon ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, that the gifts of learning and knowledge of Sciences are no let to Chriſts School, but a furtherance thereunto, if they be well applied and uſed as they ought to be: but he that is proud, and feedeth himſelf with his own conceit and opinion of himſelf, and abuſeth the gifts of God, applying his learning and knowledge to the ſatisfying and following of his own fantaſie, is no right Diſciple of Chriſt, but falleth into error. *Dicentes ſe ſapientes eſſe, ſtulti facti ſunt*: When they ſaid, and affirmed themſelves to be wiſe, they were made fools.

Simon ſignifieth obedience. *Jonas* ſignifieth a Dove.

Obedience. Simplicity.

Learning without humility, never findeth Chriſts School.

The Philoſophers had every one a ſect of his own, and had many gay ſentences for the commendation of their opinions, and every Man thought his own opinion to be beſt: but becauſe they applied all to their own pride and glory, and not to the honour of God, nor humbled themſelves as they ought to have done, but followed their own fantaſie, they erred, and fell out of the way, and were not of Chriſts School: and all that have gone out of Chriſts School, pride hath brought them out of it; and ſuch as have not entred, have kept themſelves out of it with pride likewiſe: therefore all ſuch as will be Scholars of Chriſts School and Diſcipline, muſt be humble and meek; otherwiſe, *Dicentes ſe ſapientes eſſe, ſtulti facti ſunt.*

Humility the Porter of Chriſts School.

He that cannot learn this leſſon of *Peter*, and humbly confeſs with *Peter*, that Chriſt is the Son, of the living God, is no Scholar of Chriſts School, be he otherwiſe never ſo well learned, never ſo well ſeen in other ſciences. But now concerning the anſwer of *Peter*, *Matthew* here in this place ſaith he anſwered, *Tu es Chriſtus filius Dei vivi*. Saint *Luke* ſaith he anſwered *Tu es Chriſtus Dei*. And Saint *Mark* ſaith he anſwered, *Tu es Chriſtus*. But in all that is no variety: for to ſay *Chriſtus filius Dei vivi*, and to ſay *Chriſtus Dei*, and to ſay *Chriſtus*, is in effect all one, and no diverſity in it, for *Chriſtus* alone is the whole, and he that confeſſeth thorowly Chriſt, is thorowly a Chriſtian Man, and doth therein confeſs him to be the Lord and Saviour of the World. But now we muſt conſider what Chriſt is. Chriſt was ſent to be our Meſſias, our Saviour: he was ſent to be our Biſhop and alſo our Sacrifice: he was ſent from the Trinity to be our Mediator between God and us, and to reconcile us to the favour of God the Father, he was the Biſhop that offered for our Sins, and the Sacrifice that was offered: and, as he is our Biſhop, ſo is he our mean to paciſie God for us, for that was the office of a Biſhop, to Sacrifice for the Sins of the people, and to make interceſſion for the people; and as he was our Sacrifice, ſo was he our reconciliation to God again.

The office of Chriſt declared.

But we muſt confeſs and believe him thorowly I ſay: for as he was our Biſhop then, ſo is it he that ſtill keepeth us in favour with God: and like as his Sacrifice then made was ſufficient as to deliver us from our Sins, and to bring us in favour with God; ſo to continue us in the ſame favour of God, he ordained a perpetual remembrance of himſelf, he ordained himſelf for a memory of himſelf at his laſt Supper, when he inſtituted the Sacrament of the Altar, not for another redemption, as though the World needed a new redemption from Sin, but that we might thorowly remember his moſt holy paſſion, he inſtituted the Sacrament by his moſt holy Word, ſaying: This is my Body, which word is ſufficient to prove the Sacrament, and maketh ſufficiently for the ſubſtance thereof. And this daily Sacrifice he inſtituted to be continued among Chriſtian Men, not for need of another redemption or ſatisfaction for the Sins of the World, for that was ſufficiently performed by the Sacrifice of his Body and Blood done upon the Croſs; neither that

To beſieve Chriſt thorowly. Note here *Wincheſter.* The Sacrament was ordained to keep us in the perpetual favour of God.

Wincheſters daily Sacrifice.

that he is now our Biſhop for need of any further Sacrifice to be made for ſin, but to (*a*) continue us in the remembrance of his paſſion ſuffered for us, to make us ſtrong in believing the fruit of his paſſion, to make us diligent in thankſ-giving for the benefit of his paſſion, to eſtabliſh our Faith, and to make it ſtrong in acknowledging the efficacy of his Death and Paſſion ſuffered for us. And this is the true underſtanding of the Maſs, not for another redemption, but that we may be ſtrong in believing the benefits of Chriſts Death and Blood-ſhedding for us upon the Croſs. And this it is that we muſt believe of Chriſt, and believe it thorowly: and therefore by your patience, as *Peter* made his confeſſion, ſo will I make confeſſion, wherein by your Majeſties leave and ſufferance, I will plainly declare what I think of the ſtate of the Church of *England* at this day, how I like it, and what I think of it.

(*a*) Note here *Winchester* contrary to himſelf: for before he ſaid the Sacrament was ordained to keep us in the favour of God, and now he ſaith it is to keep us in remembrance of his paſſion.

What *Winchester* thinketh of the Church of *England*.

What *Winchester* thinketh of the Maſs.

Where I ſaid of the Maſs, that it was a Sacrifice ordained to make us the more ſtrong in the faith and remembrance of Chriſts paſſion, and for commending unto God the Souls of ſuch as be dead in Chriſt (for theſe two things are the ſpecial cauſes why the Maſs was inſtituted) the Parliament very well ordained Maſs to be kept; and becauſe we ſhould be the more ſtrong in the Faith and Devotion towards God, it was well done of the Parliament, for moving the people more and more to devotion, to ordain that the Sacrament ſhould be received in both kinds: Therefore I ſay that the Act of Parliament for receiving of the Sacrament of the Altar in both kinds, was well made.

Winchester allowed the Sacrament in both kinds.

I ſay alſo, that the Proclamation which was made, That no Man ſhould unreverently ſpeak of the Sacrament, or otherwiſe ſpeak of it than Scripture teacheth them, was well made. For this Proclamation ſtoppeth the Mouths of all ſuch as will unreverently ſpeak of the Sacrament: for in Scripture there is nothing to be found that maketh any thing againſt the Sacrament, but all maketh with it. Wherefore if they were the Children of obedience, they would not uſe any unreverend talk againſt the Sacrament, nor Blaſpheme the Holy Sacrament. For no word of the Scripture maketh any thing againſt it.

The opinion of *Winchester* of Chauntry Maſſes.

But here it may be ſaid unto me, Why Sir: is this your opinion? It is good you ſpeak plainly in this matter, and halt nothing, but declare your mind plainly, without any colouring or covert ſpeaking. The Act for the diſſolving and ſuppreſſing of the Chaunteries ſeemeth to make againſt the Maſs, how like you that Act? What ſay you of it? or what would you ſay of it, if you were alone? I will ſpeak what I think of it, I will uſe no colourable or covert words, I will not uſe a deviſed ſpeech for a time, and afterward (*b*) go from it again. If Chaunteries were abuſed by applying the Maſs for the ſatisfaction of ſin, or to bring Men to Heaven, or to take away ſin, or to make Men of wicked juſt, I like the Act well, and they might well be diſſolved, for the Maſs was not inſtituted for any ſuch purpoſe: yet nevertheleſs for them that were in them (I ſpeak now, as in the cauſe of the poor) it were well done that they were provided of livings. The Act doth graciouſly provide for them during their lives, and I doubt not but that your Majeſty, and the Lords of your moſt Honorable Council have willed and taken order, that they ſhould be well looked unto; but yet how they ſhall be uſed at the hands of under officers, God knoweth; full hardly, I fear. But as for the Chaunteries themſelves, if there were any ſuch (*c*) abuſe in them concerning the Maſs, it is no matter if they be taken away.

(*b*) Whether ye did or not, let *Maries* time judge. Note *Winchester* doth not allow Maſs for ſatisfaction to bring Men to Heaven to take away Sin, or to make Men juſt, &c.

(*c*) As there was indeed Maſſes of *Scala Cœli*. *Winchester* craftily ſpeaketh againſt the abuſe of the Maſs not againſt the Maſs.

King *Henry* the Eighth, a Noble and Wiſe Prince, not without great pain maintained the Maſs, and yet in his Doctrine it was confeſſed that Maſſes of *Scala Cœli* were not to be uſed, ne allowed, becauſe they did pervert the right uſe and inſtitution of the Maſs. For when Men add unto the Maſs an opinion of Satisfaction, or of a new redemption, then do they put it to another uſe than it was ordained for. I that allow Maſs ſo well, and I that allow praying for the dead (as indeed the dead are of Chriſtian Charity to be prayed for) yet can agree with the Realm in that matter of putting down Chaunteries.

Winchester againſt Chaunteries.

But yet ye would ſay unto me, There be fewer Maſſes by putting away the Chaunteries. So were there when Abbeys were diſſolved: So be there when ye unite many Churches in one. But this is no injury nor prejudice to the Maſs; it conſiſteth not in the number nor in the multitude, but in the thing it ſelf: ſo that the decay of the Maſs by taking away the Chaunteries, is anſwered by the Abbeys. But yet I would have it conſidered for the perſons that are in them. I ſpeak of the poor Mens livings.

Anno 1555.

I have now declared what I think of the Act of Parliament made for the receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in both kinds. Ye have my mind and opinion concerning a Proclamation that came forth for the ſame Act, and I have ſhewed my mind therein even plainly as I think, and I have ever been agreeable to this point, I have oftentimes reaſoned in it, I have ſpoken and alſo written in it, both beyond the Seas, and on this ſide the Seas; my Books be abroad, which I cannot unwrite again. I was ever of this opinion, that it might be received in both kinds, and it was a conſtitution Provincial, ſcarce two hundred years agone, made by *Peckam*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that it ſhould be received in both kinds, or at leaſtwiſe *in Eccleſiis majoribus*, that is, in the great Churches, for in the ſmaller Churches it was not thought to be ſo expedient. Thus have I ever thought of this matter, I have never been of other mind, nor have I changed my Conſcience, but I have obeyed and followed the order of the Realm, and I pray you to obey orders as I have obeyed, that we may all be the Children of obedience.

Winchester alloweth the Proclamation ſet forth for receiving *in* both kinds.

It was a conſtitution provincial of *Peckam* to receive in both kinds, *in Eccleſiis majoribus*: in ſmaller Churches it was thought not ſo expedient.

Now I will return to the Text. When *Simon* had anſwered, *Tu es Chriſtus, filius Dei vivi*; Thou art Chriſt, the Son of the living God: Then Chriſt ſaid unto him, Bleſſed art thou *Simon Barjona*, for Fleſh and Blood have not opened that unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven; and I ſay unto thee, that thou art *Peter*, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it. Bleſſed art thou (ſaith he) for Fleſh and Blood have not opened that unto thee. For otherwiſe in *John, Andrew* told of Chriſt, and ſaid, I have found the Meſſias, which is Chriſt. But that is not enough. He that ſhall confeſs Chriſt, muſt have an inward teaching, and muſt be ſpiritually taught by the Father of Heaven, for *Andrews* Confeſſion was nothing but a carnal Confeſſion, and ſuch a one as any other might have made by Natural Reaſon: but the Confeſſion of *Peter* was above reaſon of Man: for Chriſt was there a very Man, and *Peters* Eyes told him that he was a Man, and nothing elſe; but he was inwardly taught by the Father of Heaven, and had a ſecret knowledge given him from Heaven, not by Fleſh and Blood, that is to ſay, by Mans reaſon, but inwardly by the Father of Heaven: and ſeeing this was above reaſon, it is a marvellous thing that reaſon ſhould be uſed to impugn faith, which is not within the precinct of carnal Men, and ſuch as uſe groſs reaſon.

Matth. 16.

John 1. Outward confeſſing without inward teachings is not enough.

But *Peter* had another reaſon inwardly taught him, and becauſe he could his leſſon, Chriſt gave him a new name: for *Petra* is a ſtone, a new name of a Chriſtian Man, for upon this Confeſſion of thy Faith, here I will build my Church, that is, I will ſtabliſh all thoſe which I intend to gather unto thee; *Et Dæmones non prævalebunt adverſus eam*, that is, and the Devils ſhall not prevail againſt it: for he that with a good Heart, and ſure Faith confeſſeth this, he is ſure from all evil: this World nor Sathan can do him no harm.

Petrus what it ſignifieth. Note what *Winchest.* here ſaith, That upon the Confeſſion of *Peter* the Church is builded.

But now for a farther Declaration, it is a marvellous thing, that upon theſe words the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſhould found his Supremacy: for whether it be *ſuper Petram*, or *Petrum*, all is one matter, it maketh nothing at all for the purpoſe to make a foundation of any ſuch Supremacy. For otherwiſe (when *Peter* ſpake carnally to Chriſt as in the ſame Chapter a little following) Sathan was his name, where Chriſt ſaid, go after me Sathan: ſo that the name of *Peter* is no Foundation for the Supremacy, but as it is ſaid in Scripture *Fundati eſt is ſuper fundamentum Apoſtolorum & Prophetarum*, that is, by participation (for Godly participation giveth names of things) he might be called the Head of the Church, as the Head of the River is called the Head, becauſe he was the firſt that made this Confeſſion of Chriſt, which is not an Argument for dignity, but for the quality that was in the Man. For the firſt Man is not ever-

S. *Gardiner* againſt the Popes Supremacy. *Peter* called Sathan. *Peters* name no Foundation for Supremacy. How *Peter* might be called the Head of the Church as is the Head of a River.

Anno 1555.

A heae-man is not always of dignity a-ther of quality.

evermore the beſt. The Head-man of a Queſt is not always the beſt Man in the Queſt, but is choſen to be the Head-Man for ſome other quality that is in him. Vertue may allure Men, ſo that the inferiour perſon in dignity may be the better in place, as the King ſometime chooſeth a meaner Man to be of his Council, of whom he hath a good opinion, yet is the King the King ſtill. And in ſome caſe the King of *England* might ſend to *Rome*, and if the Biſhop of *Rome* were a Man of ſuch Wiſdom, Vertue and Learning, that he were able in matter of controverſie concerning Religion, to ſet an unity in the Church of *England*, the King might well enough ſend to him for his Counſel and help, and yet ſhould not in ſo doing give the Biſhop of *Rome* any ſuperiority over the King. For if a King be ſick, he will have the beſt Phyſitian; if he have war, he will have the beſt Captain, and yet are not theſe the ſuperiors, but the inferiors.

Tu es Petrus maketh nothing for the B. of *Rome.*

A Schoolmaſter is a Subject, a Phyſitian is a Subject, a Captain is a Subject, Counſellors are Subjects, yet do theſe order and direct the King. Wherefore leaving the Biſhop of *Rome*, this I ſay to declare of what opinion I am of. I do not now ſpeak what I could ſay. I have ſpoken beyond the Seas, I have written, my Books be abroad. But this is not the place here, I ſay that this place maketh nothing for the Biſhop of *Rome*, but for Chriſt only, for none can put *Aliud fundamentum niſi id quod poſitum eſt, qui eſt Chriſtus Jeſus.*

Winchester againſt the pope, againſt abbeys and Images. Maſter of Ceremonies. *Winchesters* opinion of Ceremonies.

But now to go forth declaring my mind, in my time had come many alterations. Firſt a great alteration it was to renounce the Biſhop of *Romes* authority, and I was one that ſtood in it. A great alteration it was that Abbeys were diſſolved. A great alteration it was that Images were pulled down: and to all theſe I condeſcended, and yet have I been counted a maintainer of ſuperſtition, and have been called a Maſter of Ceremonies and of outward things, and I have bin noted to take that Religion which conſiſteth in outward things, as though he were a right Chriſtian that fulfilled the outward Ceremonies, whereof I promiſed to declare my Conſcience, and ſo will I, and how I have eſteemed Ceremonies, and that I have never been of other opinion than I am concerning Ceremonies, and mine opinion I have gathered of *Auguſtine*, and *Jerome*, ancient fathers and Doctors of the Church.

Ceremonies, how, and when they are abuſed. Ceremonies ſervant to Men, not Men to Ceremonies.

Ceremonies ſerve to move Men to ſerve God, and as long as they be uſed for that purpoſe, they may be well uſed in the Church: but when Man maketh himſelf ſervant to them, and not them to ſerve him, then be our Ceremonies brought to an abuſe. If by over much familiarity of them Men abuſe them, they do evil. For we muſt not ſerve Creatures, but *Deo*. We had Monkery, Nunnery, Friery, of a wonderous number, much variety of garments, variety of devices in dwelling, many ſundry orders and faſhions in moving of the Body. Theſe things were firſt ordained to admoniſh them of their duty to God, to labour for the neceſſity of the poor, and to ſpare from their own bellies to the poor; and therefore was their fare ordained and prepared. And becauſe they abuſed theſe things, and ſet them in an higher place than they ought to do, not taking monition thereby the better to ſerve God, but eſteeming perfection to conſiſt in them, they were diſſolved, their Houſes and Garments were taken away:

Vow of chaſtity.

But one thing King *Henry* would not take away, that was the vow of Chaſtity. The vow of Obedience he converted to himſelf; the vow of Chaſtity he willeth ſtill to remain with them.

Winchester never againſt the taking down of Images, being abuſed with Idolatry.

We had many Images whereto Pilgrimages were done, and many Tombs that Men uſed to viſit, by reaſon whereof they fell in a fancy of Idolatry and ſuperſtition, above the things that they might have been taken for; and becauſe they had not the uſe that they were ordained for, they were left. When Men put the Images in a higher place that they ſerved for, then were they taken clean away: as give a Child a gay Book to learn upon, and then if he gaze upon the gorgeouſneſs of his Book, and learn not his leſſon, according to the intent that that Book was given for, the Book is taken away from him again: So the Images, when Men deviſed and fell to have them in higher place and eſtimation than they were firſt ſet up in the Church for, then they might be taken away: and I was never of other mind, nor ever had other opinion of them. Divers things there be in the Church which be in the liberty of the Ruler to order as he ſeeth cauſe; and he that is Ruler, may either let them ſtand, or elſe may cauſe them to be taken away.

Two manner of reformations, one where the things cannot be taken away, but the abuſe: the other where both the things and the abuſe may be taken away. To take away all Images lyeth in the liberty of the Rulers. If abuſing of Images by Idolatry be cauſe ſufficient to take away Images why did *Winchester* hold with them before? If it be not cauſe ſufficient, why doth he now grant to the taking of them away, being no more wantonly abuſed, than they were before time?

There be two manner of reformations. We have had of both ſorts. There be things in the Church, the which if they be abuſed, may not be taken away. As for Baptiſm, if it be abuſed, there may not another thing be put in the place of it, but the thing muſt be reformed, and brought to the right uſe again. Alſo Preaching, if it be abuſed, may not be taken away, but muſt be reformed, and brought to the right uſe: but there be other things uſed in the Church, in which the Rulers have liberty either to reform them or to take them away. And becauſe it was an eaſier way to take them away, than to bring them to the right uſe that they were ordained for, they were all clean taken away, and ſo they might be. Yea ſir, will ye ſay, but ye have maintained and defended them, and have Preached againſt ſuch perſons as deſpiſed them. It is truth I have Preached againſt the deſpiſers of them, and have ſaid, that Images might be ſuffered and uſed in the Church as Lay-Mens Books, yet I never otherwiſe defended them, but to be uſed for ſuch purpoſe as they were firſt ſet up in the Church for, but now that men be waxed wanton, they are clean taken away, wherein our Religion is no more touched, that when Books were taken away for abuſing of them.

There was an order taken for Books not to be uſed, wherein ſome might have ſaid, the Books are good, and I know how to uſe them, I may therefore uſe them well enough. I will therefore uſe them though they be forbidden: But if thou have any charity, thou oughteſt to be contented rather to have them clean taken away, than to declare thy ſelf to have another opinion then thou oughteſt to have.

As touching Ceremonies, I eſteem them all as *Paul* eſteemeth them, things indifferent, where he ſaith, *Regnum Dei non eſca & potus.* So of Ceremonies. Nevertheleſs we have time, place, and number, as a certain number of Pſalms to be ſaid at times, which may be done without ſuperſtition; but theſe things muſt ſerve us, and not we ſerve them. Yet if an order be ſet in them by ſuch as have power, we muſt follow it, and we muſt obey the rulers that appoint ſuch time, place, and number to be kept. Ye may not ſay, if the time will ſerve me, then I will come an hour after. No ſir, ye muſt keep this time, and this hour, becauſe it is ſo appointed by the Rulers, not for the things, but for the order that is ſet. I have been ever of this opinion.

Taking away of Palms and Candles.

We had Palms and Candles taken away, which things may indifferently have either of the two Reformations above ſaid. When they were in place, they ſhould have put Men in remembrance of their duty and devotion towards God, but becauſe they were abuſed, they were and might be taken away. But the Religion of Chriſt is not in theſe exerciſes, and therefore in taking away of them the Religion of Chriſt is nothing touched nor hindered. But Men muſt in ſuch things be comformable, not for the Ceremony, but for obedience ſake. Saint *Paul* ſaith, that we ſhould rebuke every Brother that walketh inordinately. I have told you mine Opinion; and my Conſcience telleth me that I have ſpoken plainly, that ye may know what I am, and that ye may not be deceived in me, nor be ſlandered in me, nor make any further ſearch to know my heart.

B. Gardiner ſpeaketh according to his unconſtant Conſcience.

Winchester liketh well the Communion. *B. Gardiner* liketh well King *Edwards* proceedings. *B. Gardiner* miſliketh the Preachers in K. *Edwards* time, and why: *B. Gardiner* compareth Preachers to Poſts carrying truth in their Letters, and lies in their Mouths.

I like well the Communion, becauſe it provoketh Men more and more to devotion. I like well the Proclamation, becauſe it ſtoppeth the Mouths of all ſuch as unreverently ſpeak or rail againſt the Sacrament. I like well the reſt of the Kings Majeſties proceedings concerning the Sacrament. I have now told you what I like. But ſhall I ſpeak nothing of that I miſlike? ye will then ſay I ſpeak not plainly. I will therefore ſhew you my Conſcience plainly.

I miſlike thoſe Preachers which Preach by the Kings Licence, and thoſe Readers which by the Kings Permiſſion and ſufferance do read open Lectures, do openly and blaſphemouſly talk againſt the Maſs, and againſt the Sacrament. And to whom may I liken ſuch Readers and Preachers? I may liken them unto Poſts, for the Proverb ſaith, that Poſts do bear truth in their

Letters

Letters, and lies in their mouths: and ſo do they, and to ſpeak ſo againſt the Sacrament, it is the moſt marvellous matter that ever I ſaw or heard of. I would wiſh therefore that there were a ſtay and an order in this behalf, and that there might be but one order or rule; for as the Poet ſaith, (I may uſe the Verſe of a Poet well enough, for ſo doth *Paul* of the great Poet)

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω.

And let no man of his own head begin matters, nor go before the King. They call it going before the King, and ſuch make themſelves Kings. Well, what miſliketh me elſe?

Bp. *Gardiner* miſliketh the breaking of a vow of Chaſtity.

It miſliketh me that Prieſts, and men that vowed chaſtity, ſhould openly marry, and avow it openly: which is a thing that ſince the beginning of the Church hath not been ſeen at any time, that men that have been admitted to any Eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtration ſhould marry. We read of married Prieſts, that is to ſay, of married men choſen to be Prieſts and Miniſters in the Church. And in *Epiphanius* we read, that ſome ſuch for neceſſity were winked at. But that men being Prieſts already ſhould marry, was never yet ſeen in Chriſts Church from the beginning of the Apoſtles time. I have written in it, and ſtudied for it; and the very ſame places that are therein

Bp. *Gardiner* againſt marriage of Prieſts.

alledged to maintain the marriage of Prieſts, being diligently read, ſhall plainly confound them that maintain your Prieſts to marry, or at the fartheſt within two lines after.

Thus have I ſhewed my opinion in order, proceeding from the Inferiours, and in order proceeding from the higher Powers. And thus I have (as I truſt) plainly declared my ſelf, without any covering or counterfeiting. And I beſeech your moſt excellent Majeſty to eſteem and take me as I am, and not to be ſlandered in me; for I have told you the plain truth as it is, and I have opened my Conſcience unto you. I have not played the Poſt with you, to carry truth in my Letters, and lies in my Mouth: for I would not for all the world make a lye in this place; but I have diſcloſed the plain truth as it lieth in my mind. And thus I commit your moſt excellent Majeſty, and all your moſt honourable Counſellors, with the reſt of the devout audience here preſent, unto God. To whom be all honour, laud, and glory, world without end.

Thus having compriſed the ſum and chief purpoſe of his Sermon, with other ſuch matter above ſtoried, wherein may appear the double-fac'd doings of this Biſhop in

Bp. *Gardiner* agreeing to reformation of Religion, how far, and wherein.

matters of Religion: now for the more fortification of that which hath been ſaid, if any ſhall deny this foreſaid Sermon, or any part thereof to be true, to confirm therefore the ſame, we will here adjoyn certain brief notes and ſpecialties in manner of a ſummary Table, collected as well out of the Teſtimonies and Depoſitions of his own Friends and Servants, and other which were ſworn truly to declare their knowledge in this behalf, as alſo out of his own Writings and Works agreeing with the ſame. In all which foreſaid Allegations it may remain notorious and famous to all men, how, in what points, and how far the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter* agreed with the Reformation of Religion received, not only in King *Henries*, but alſo in King *Edwards* days.

And becauſe it would be long, and a double labour to repeat all the words and teſtimonial ſayings of every witneſs particularly, the ſame being expreſſed ſufficiently in our firſt impreſſion before; it ſhall therefore ſuffice by quotations briefly to aſſign the place to the Reader, where he may find all thoſe Points of Reformation, whereunto the ſaid Biſhop *Gardiner* fully agreed with the Doctrine now received, and firſt in withſtanding the Popes Supremacy, as is hereunder noted.

The Popes Supremacy impugned by Biſhop Gardiner.

Places by B. *Gardiners* Books and Sermons expreſſed, where he impugneth the Popes Supremacy.

FIrſt, as touching the Confeſſion and Judgment of *Stephen Gardiner* againſt the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, read in his Book *De vera Obedientia, fol.* 6.

Item, Concerning the Diſputations and Defenſions of Biſhop *Gardiner* at *Lovane*, againſt the Popes Supremacy, read in our firſt Impreſſion, *page* 802. alſo in this preſent Volume. Anno 1555.

Item, How the ſaid Biſhop *Gardiner* in his Sermons and Preachings, as where he expoundeth the place *(Tu es Petrus)* nothing at all to make for the Authority of the Romiſh Biſhop, marvelling how the Pope could uſurp ſo much to take up that place to build upon, when Chriſt had taken it up before to build his Church, read in the old Book, *pag.* 845. *col.* 1. *p.* 647. *col.* 1. *p.* 846. *col.* 1. and the Depoſitions of Dr. *Redman*, *p.* 853. *col.* 1.

Read in the firſt Impreſſion of Acts and Monuments.

Item, How the Confeſſion of *Peter* was the Confeſſion of all the Apoſtles, like as the Bleſſing given to *Peter* pertained as well to all the Apoſtles as to *Peter*, read *ibid. page* 847. *col.* 1.

Item, That the place, *Paſce oves meas*, was not ſpecial to *Peter* alone, but general to all the Apoſtles. Alſo that the Greek Church did never receive the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome* for their Univerſal Head, read in the ſame Book, *p.* 847. *col.* 1. *p.* 836. *col.* 2.

Item, That the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome* was not received of the moſt part of Chriſtian Princes, read the Depoſitions of Sir *Thomas Smith*, *page* 827. *col.* 2.

Item, How the ſaid Biſhop *Gardiner* would not grant that the ſaid Authority was received generally. *Ibid. p.* 827 *col* 2.

Item, That the Church was builded upon Chriſts Faith, and not upon *Peter*, read the Depoſitions of *Robert Willanton*, *p.* 836. *col.* 2.

The Headman of Enqueſt.

And though *Peter* was called *Princeps Apoſtolorum*, that was nothing elſe, but like as it is in an Enqueſt, where the Fore-man, or Head-man is not ſo called, becauſe he is beſt or chiefeſt of that Company, but becauſe he ſpeaketh firſt, read in the Depoſition of Mr. *Baſſet*, *p.* 850. *col.* 2. *p.* 836. *col.* 2.

Item, That when the Keys were given, they were given generally to all the Apoſtles, read the Depoſitions of *Robert Willanton*, *p.* 836. *col.* 2.

Item, How the ſaid Biſhop taketh away all ſuch Scriptures which are thought to ſerve for the Popes Supremacy, as *Super hanc Petram*, *Paſce oves meas*, *Princeps Apoſtolorum*, *&c.* proving that they ſerve nothing for his Authority, read likewiſe in the ſame Book in the Depoſitions of Mr. *Baſſet*, his own Servant, *p.* 850. *col.* 2.

Item, How the ſaid Biſhop in his Book *De vera Obedientia*, did not only write againſt the Popes Supremacy, but alſo did defend the ſame at *Lovane*, *p.* 802. And moreover, in his Sermons did alledge and preach the ſame, *p.* 474. *col.* 2. and that alſo *Vehemently*, *p.* 850. *col.* 2. *l.* 50. *Pithily*, *p.* 846. *col.* 1. *l.* 31.

Wincheſters Vehement, Pithy, Earneſt, forward againſt the Pope.

Earneſtly, *p.* 843. *col.* 1. *l.* 75.
Very earneſtly, *p.* 843. *col.* 1. *l.* 44.
Very forwardly, *p.* 827. *col.* 2. *l.* 82.

And not only did ſo vehemently, pithily, earneſtly, and forwardly preach himſelf againſt the Popes Supremacy, but alſo did cauſe Mr. *White*, then Schoolmaſter, after Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to make certain Verſes extolling the Kings Supremacy againſt the uſurped Power of the Pope, incouraging alſo his Scholars to do the like, read the Depoſitions of *John White*, Schoolmaſter of *Wincheſter*, *p.* 845. *col.* 2.

Wincheſter caused Verſes to be written againſt the Pope.

Item, How he for the ſpace of fourteen years together preached againſt the Popes Supremacy in divers Sermons, and eſpecially in one Sermon before King *Henry*, read the Depoſitions of *John Potinger*, *p.* 844. *col.* 1. *l.* 1.

Wincheſter 14 years preached againſt the Popes Authority.

Places noted wherein Biſhop Gardiner *impugned Ceremonies, Monkery, Images, Chaunteries, &c.*

Item, For Ceremonies and Images which were abuſed, to be taken away by Publick Authority, he did well allow it, as a Child to have his Book taken from him, when he abuſeth it, or delighteth only in the golden Cover. Read in the foreſaid old Book the Depoſitions of *Chriſtopher Malton*, *p.* 846. *col.* 2. *p.* 849. *col.* 2. *p.* 841. *col.* 1.

Wincheſter againſt Ceremonies.

Item, The Diſſolving of Monaſteries and Religious Houſes, he alloweth and granteth that they were juſtly ſuppreſſed. Read the Depoſitions of Dr. *Weſton*, *p.* 845. *col.* 1. *p.* 837. *col.* 1. *p.* 851. *col.* 1.

Con-

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Concerning Images being by King *Edwards* injunctions abolished, how the said Bishop exhorted the people in his Sermons to be contented therewith, read the depositions of *W. Lorking page* 840. *col.* 1.

Winchester against Images abused.

Monks and Friers he calleth flattering knaves read the depositions of Sir *Thomas Smith, page* 827. *col.* 2.

Winch. against Monks and Friers.

Friers he never liked in all his life, *page* 827. *col.* 2. Monks he counted but belly-gods. *Ibid. page* 827. *col.* 2.

Winch. against the going about to St. *Nicholas, &c.*

The going about of S. *Nicholas*, S. *Katherine*, and St. *Clement*, he affirmeth to be Childrens toys. *Ibid page* 827. *col.* 2.

Winch. against *Chauntery Obits.*

The taking away or transposing of *Chauntry Obits*, he referreth to the arbitrement of the politick Rulers, granting that if they did dissolve them, it might well be done. Read the depositions of Master *Basset*, his own servant, *page* 850. *col.* 2.

Item, He wisheth them to be committed to a better use, and that Monasteries were justly taken away. Read the depositions of *George Bullock, page* 847. *col.* 1.

Winch. would not that a Man should be addicted to days, hours, number, time, and place, &c.

The observing of days, hours, number, time, and place, if they be orderly and publickly commanded by the Rulers, it is but to set the Church in an outward and publick order; but if a Man inwardly and privately be addicted to the same, thinking his prayer otherwise not available, but by observing thereof, it is an errour. Read the depositions of Doctor *Redman, page* 853. *col.* 2. *page* 854.

Winch. liketh the Communion.

The Communion set out by King *Edward* he liketh well, *Ibid. page* 833. *col.* 2 *p.* 854.

Winch. liketh the Book of common service.

The Book of Common Service he was content both to keep himself, and cause it to be kept of others. Read the depositions of the Duke of *Somerset, page* 818. *col.* 2.

Winch. exhorteth to come and hear the Homilies read.

For the Homilies, he exhorted the people in his Preaching to come to the Church to hear them. Read the depositions of M. *Potinger* his own servant, *page* 843. *col.* 1.

In sum, to all Injunctions, Statutes, and Proclamations set forth by the King and Superiour powers, he yielded and granted. Read in the depositions of *George Bullock, page* 847. *col.* 2.

Winch. caused Cardinal *Pool* to be expelled *France.*

Item, Cardinal *Pool* coming to the French King, to stir him up against *England, Winchester* caused him to be expelled out of *France*. Witness *Cuthbert* B. of *Duresme, p.* 828. *col.* 2.

Winch. sworn and forsworn.

Item, The said *Winchester* sworn against the Pope by express clauses in his proxy. Read in the depositions of *John Cook*, Regist. *pag.* 160. *col.* 1. *lin.* 13.

Now (gentle Reader) lay these writings, preachings, and doings of this Bishop in the days of King *Henry* and King *Edward*, with his doings in Queen *Maries* time, and thou shalt see how variable he was, how inconstant and contrary to himself, how perjured and false, and far differing from that which he was reported to be in a certain English Book set out in Queen *Maries* time, which

The Book of Jo. *Elder*, sent into *Scotland.*

saith that there were three only in *England*, whose conscience had been never distained in Religion: of whom he falsly saith, the foresaid Bishop of *Winchester* was one.

Although Bishop *Gardiner* in granting to these points of Religion (as ye have heard) and other some again denying, could not therefore deserve the name and fame of a perfect Christian: yet notwithstanding, if he had continued in his judgment still, and been constant in himself, he might have won more commendation both with God and Men. But as soon as the time began to alter, he likewise altering with the time, was so far changed from that he seemed, that neither he agreed with other Papists, nor yet with himself, as Doctor *Ridley* in certain Treatises

Winch. neither agreeth with the Protestants in the Gospel, neither in Popery with the Papists, neither with himself.

hath noted well of him: wherein as in a glass may be seen the manifest contrariety and repugnance in him, not only from the truth of Gods Blessed Word, but also how the said Bishop standing so much in singularity by himself, neither agreeth with other his fellow writers of his own faction, nor yet fully accordeth with himself in certain cases of the Sacrament, as the foresaid Doctor *Ridley* in examining his words and works, hath well set out in this table hereunder ensuing.

Certain matters wherein Step. Gardiner, *Bishop of* Wint. *varieth from other of the Papists, touching the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.*

OTher Catholicks say, that the Body of Christ is made of Bread. *Thomas vult, ex pane, non de pane, parte tertia, q.* 75. *art.* 4. *Winchest.* saith, that the Body of Christ is not made of the matter of Bread, nor ever was so taught, but is made present of Bread, *page* 89. *lin.* 8. *p.* 228. *l.* 44.

Ex pane, non de pane.

Confutation of *Winch.* against *Cranmer.*

This Confutation, with leaf and line here assigned, is in *Cranmers* Book against *Winchester.*

2. *Winchest.* saith, that Christ called Bread his Body, when he said, This is my Body, *p.* 292. *l.* 19. And in the Devils Sophistry, *fol.* 27. Other say contrary. And *Smith, fol.* 53. *Marc. Anton. object.* 13, 14, 20.

Winchester saith, that Bread is my Body, is as much to say, as Bread is made my Body. And so he taketh (*est*) for (*fit*) *pag.* 333. *l.* 25. *p.* 120. *l.* 23. 28. 30. Confutation. Other say that (*est*) is taken there substantively, that is to say, only for *is*, and not for *is made. Marc. Anton. fol.* 171. *fac.* 2.

Winchester saith, that Christ is present in the Sacrament carnally and corporally, after the same signification that he is in Heaven, *page* 161. *l.* 6. *Confutation.*

Simplicitatem sermonis sequentur, &c. vid. fol. 171.

3. *Winchester* saith also, that when we speak of Christs Body, we must understand a true Body which hath both form and quantity, *page* 81. *l.* 5. *Marc. Ant.* object 77. *Smith* saith, that Christs Body in the Sacrament hath not his proper form and quantity, *fol.* 106 And the contrary he saith, *fol.* 105. *Chedsey in disputatione cum Petro Mart. fol.* 41. *fac.* 2.

4. *Winch.* saith, we believe simply that Christ is naturally and corporally in the Sacrament without drawing away his accidents, or adding, *page* 367. *l.* 41. *Smith* saith, we say that Christs Body is in the Sacrament against nature, with all his qualities and accidents *fol.* 105.

5. *Winchester* saith, that Gods works he all seemliness without confusion, although he cannot locally distinguish Christs Head from his Feet, nor his Legs from his Arms, *page* 70. *line* 5. 13, 14. *page* 69. *line* 34. Confutation. Other say, that Christs Head and Feet and other parts be not indeed locally distinct in the Sacrament, but be so confounded, that whersoever one is, there be all the rest, *tert. parte sum q.* 76. *art.* 3. *Innoc. ter. lib.* 48.

Winch. saith, that Christs Body is in the Sacrament sensibly, naturally, carnally, and corporally, *page* 181. *l.* 13. 22, *&c.* Confutation. Other say contrary, *Smith fol.* 39.

7. Other say that Christs Feet in the Sacrament be there where his head is. *Winchester* saith, that whosoever saith so, may be called mad, *p.* 70. *l.* 13, 14. Confutation.

8. Other say, that corporal Christ goeth into the Mouth or Stomach, and no farther, *Bonaventura, Huga, Innoc.* 13. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 15. *Glos. de consecrat. dist.* 2. *cap. tribus, & in glos. non iste Thom. parte* 3. *quæst.* 80. *art.* 3. *Tamdiu manet cum est in digestione. Smith, fol.* 64. He saith contrary, *p.* 59. *l.* 30. and *p.* 60. *l.* 3. 8, 12. Confutation.

9. *Winchester.* saith, that Christ dwelleth corporally in him that receiveth the Sacrament worthily, so long as he remaineth a member of Christ, *p.* 64. *l.* 22. Confutation. Other say contrary, *Smith, fol.* 64. *&c.* as before in the seventh line above.

10. *Winch.* saith that no Creature can eat the Body of Christ, but only Man, *page* 75. *l.* 24. Confutation. Other say clean contrary, *Thomas part.* 3. *q.* 8. *art.* 3. *hoc derogat (inquit) veritati corporis Christi. Perin.* in his Sermon of the Sacrament. What inconvenience is it though the impassible Body lie in the Mouth or Maw of the Beast, &c. *M. Sententiarum, Qui dicit corpus Christi non posse à mure manducari aut à bruto* is condemned.

A Mouse may eat Christs Body, saith the Master of sentences. A Mouse cannot eat it, saith *Winchester.* Within him, that is, within his Soul.

11. *Winch.* saith, that an unrepentant sinner receiving the Sacrament, hath not Christs Body nor Spirit within him, P. 256. *l.* 18, 25, 26. *Smith* saith, that he hath Christs Body and Spirit within him, *fol* 136.

12. *Winch.* saith, that of the figure it may not be said, Adore it, worship it; and that it is not to be adored which the Bodily Eye seeth, *p.* 202, *l.* 38. *p.* 272. *l.* 6. *Marc. Anton. fol.* 175. *fac.* 2. *Docetur populus non adorare quod vident oculis corporis. Smith* saith contrary, *fol.* 145. *fac.* 2.

13. *Winch.*

13. *Winch.* saith, that reason will agree with the Doctrine of Transubstantiation well enough. *pag.* 30. *l.* 12. Confutation. *Smith* saith, that Transubstantiation is against reason, and natural operation, *fol.* 60.

14. Othe say, that worms in the Sacrament be gendred of accidents. *Ex speciebus Sacramentalibus generantur vermes. Thom. par. q.* 67. *art.* 5. *Winch.* saith, that they be wrong born in hand to say so *p.* 400. *l.* 1, Confutation.

15. *Winchester*, saith, that the accidents of Bread and Wine do mould, sowre, and wax vinegar, *p.* 300. *l.* 24. and *p.* 400. *l.* 6. Confutation, *&* *Marc. Ant. object.* 73. But he answered so confusedly, that the Reader cannot understand him, be he never so attentive. *Smith* saith; Thus I say, that the Consecrated Wine turneth not into Vinegar, nor the Consecrated Bread Mouldeth, nor ingendreth worms, nor is burned, nor receiveth into it any poyson, as long as Christs Body and Blood are under the forms of them, which do abide there so long as the natural qualities and properties of Bread and Wine tarry there in their natural disposition and condition, and the Bread and Wine might be naturally there, if they had not been changed into Christs Body and Blood, and also as long as the host and Consecrated Wine are apt to be received of Man, and no longer, but go and depart thence by Gods power as it pleaseth him; and then a new substance is made of God, which turneth into Vinegar, ingendereth Worms, Mouldeth, is burned, feedeth Rats and Mice, receiveth poyson, &c. *fol.* 64. and *fol.* 105.

16. *Winchester* saith, every yea containeth a nay in it naturally: So as whosoever saith, this is Bread, saith it is no Wine. For in the rule of Common Reason, the grant of one substance is the denial of another. And therefore reason hath these conclusions thorowly; whatsoever is Bread is no Wine; whatsoever is Wine, is no Milk, and so forth. So Christ saying; This is my Body, saith it is no Bread, *p.* 291. *lin.* 22. and *page* 300. *lin.* 17. *Smith* saith, that a Boy which hath only Learned Sophistry, will not dispute so fondly *fol.* 77.

The Mass taketh his satisfaction by the devotion of the Priest and people, and not of the things offered.

17. Other say, that the Mass is a Sacrifice Satisfactory by the devotion of the Priest, and of them for whom it is offered, and not by the thing that is offered, *Tho par.* 3. 9. 79. *art.* 5. *Winchester* saith otherwise, *p.* 92. *l.* 5 Confutation.

18. *Winch.* saith, that the only immolation of Christ in himself upon the Altar of the Cross, is the very satisfaction Sacrifice for the Reconciliation of Mankind unto the Favour of God, *p.* 437. *l.* 31. *Smith* saith, what is it to offer Christs Body and Blood at Mass, to purchase thereby Everlasting Life, if the Mass be not a Sacrifice to pacifie Gods Wrath from Sin, and to obtain his Mercy? *fol.* 24. 148. 164. where he saith further, Priests do offer for our Salvation, to get Heaven, and to avoid Hell.

Matters wherein the Bishop of Winchester *varieth from himself.*

1 Proposition.

THe Body of Christ in the Sacrament is not made of Bread, but is made present of Bread *pag.* 89. *l.* 9, &c. and *pag.* 228. *lin.* 44. Confutation against *Cranmer.*

Contradiction.

Of Bread is made the Body of Christ, *pag.* 388. *lin.* 42.

The Catholick Faith hath from the beginning confessed truly Christs intent, to make Bread his Body, *pag.* 29. *l.* 2. Confutation.

And of many Breads is made one Body of Christ, *pag.* 167. *l.* 2. Confutation.

And Faith sheweth me, that Bread is the Body of Christ, that is to say, made the Body of Christ, *pag.* 333. *l.* 23. 25. Confutation.

2 Proposition.

Christ gave that he made of Bread, *page* 292. *lin.* 34. Christ spake plainly; This is my Body, making demonstration of the Bread, when he said, This is my Body. In the Devils Sophistry, 27.

Contradiction.

The Demonstration (*this*) may be referred to the invisible substance, *p.* 120. *l.* 41. Confutation.

The Verb (*is*) was of the Body and of his Blood, and not of the Bread and Wine, *page* 284. *line* 43.

Illis verbis (Hoc est corpus meum) substantia corporis significatur, nec de pane quicquam intelligitur, quando corpus de substantia sua non aliena prædicitur. *Mar. Anton. fol.* 24. *fac.* 2. When Christ said; This is my Body, the truth of the literal sense hath an absurdity in carnal reason, *pag.* 157. *l.* 34. Confutation. Ann. 1555.

3 Proposition. What can be more evidently spoken of the presence of Christs Natural Body and Blood in the most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, than is in these words; This is my Body? In the Devils Sophistry, *fol.* 51. Contradiction.

4 Proposition. Where the Body of Christ is, there is whole Christ, God and Man, and when we speak of Christs Body, we must understand a true Body, which hath both form and quantity, *p.* 81. *l.* 5. *Mar. Ant. object.* 77. *Smith, fol.* 105.

And he is present in the Sacrament, as he is in Heaven, *p.* 161. *l.* 4. *&c.* Confutation.

We believe simply the substance of Christs Body to be in the Sacrament, without drawing away of the accidents, or adding, *p.* 397. *l.* 41. Confutation.

Contradiction. Christ is not present in the Sacrament after the manner of quantity, but under the form and quantities of Bread and Wine, *p.* 81. *l.* 89. and *pag.* 101. *l.* 22.

5 Proposition. In such as receive the Sacrament worthily, Christ dwelleth corporally, and naturally, and carnally, *page* 190. *line* 7. *pag.* 197. *line* 27. *pag.* 217. *line* 10.

Contradiction. The manner of Christs being in the Sacrament is not corporal, not carnal, not natural, not sensible, not perceptible, but only spiritual, *page* 181. *line* 18. *&c.* and *line* 25. *page* 223. *line* 21. Confutation.

6 Proposition. We receive Christ in the Sacrament of his Flesh and Blood, if we receive him worthily, *page* 190. *line* 7. *pag.* 197. *line* 27. Confutation.

When an unrepentant Sinner receiveth the Sacrament, he hath not Christs Body within him, *pag.* 256 *l.* 18. Confutation.

He that eateth verily the Flesh of Christ, is by nature in Christ, and Christ is naturally in him, *page* 18. *l.* 51. Confutation.

Contradiction. An evil Man in the Sacrament receiveth indeed Christs very Body, *page* 18. *l.* 24, 25.

Evil Men eat verily the Flesh of Christ, *p.* 261. *l.* 24, 25, *&c.* Confutation.

7 Proposition. Christ giveth us to be eaten the same Flesh that he took of the Virgin *Mary*, *page* 274. *l.* 25.

Contradiction. We receive not in the Sacrament Christs Flesh that was Crucified, *page* 276. *line* 1. Confutation.

8 Proposition. Saint *Augustines* rule in his Book *De Doctrina Christiana*, pertaineth not to Christs Supper, *page* 132. *l.* 40.

Contradiction. S. *Augustine* meaneth of the Sacrament, *ibid* and *page* 10. *l.* 44. Confutation.

9 Proposition. Reason in the place of service (as being inferiour to Faith) will agree with the Faith of Transubstantiation well enough, *page* 300. *l.* 12. Confutation.

And as reason received into Faiths service doth not strive with Transubstantiation, but agreeth well with it; so Mens Senses be not such direct adversaries to Transubstantiation, as a matter whereof they cannot skill; for the senses cannot skill of substances, *page* 307. *l.* 11. &c.

Contradiction. Thine eyes say there is but Bread and Wine, thy taste saith the same, thy feeling and smelling agree fully with them. Hereunto is added the carnal Mans understanding, which because it taketh the beginning of the Senses, proceedeth in reasoning sensually. In the Devils Sophistry, *fol.* 6.

The Church hath not forborn to Preach the truth, to the Confusion of Mans Senses and understanding, *fol.* 15.

10 Proposition. It is called Bread, because of the outward visible matter, *page* 327. *line.*

Contradiction. When it is called Bread, it is meant Christ the spiritual Bread, *page* 320. *line* 41.

11 Proposition. And the Catholick Faith teacheth, that the fraction is in the outward sign, and not in the Body of Christ, *p.* 165. *l.* 1. and *p.* 392. *l.* 47. and in the Devils Sophistry, *fol.* 17.

Contradiction. That which is broken is the Body of Christ, *page* 392. *l.* 49.

12 Proposition. The inward nature of the Bread is the substance, *page* 323. *l.* 14.

Contradiction. Substance signifieth in *Theodoret* (he saith) the outward nature, *page* 404. *l.* 40.

13 Proposition. The Substances of Bread and Wine be visible Creatures, *p.* 322. *l.* 30. and 323. *l.* 32.

Acci-

Anno 1555.

Accidents be the viſible natures, and viſible elements, page 406.l.16. and 25,&c.

Contradiction.

Chriſt is our Satisfaction wholly and fully, and hath paid our whole debt to God the Father for the appeaſing of his wrath againſt us, p.92.l.6,7.

14. Propoſition. Contradiction.

The act of the Prieſt, done according to Gods Commandment, muſt needs be propitiatory, and ought to be truſted on, to have a propitiatory effect, page 437 l.13.

15. Propoſition.

The Sacrifice of our Saviour Chriſt was never reiterate, p.416.l.8.

Contradiction.

Prieſts do facrifice Chriſt, p.431.l.16.

And the Catholick Doctrine teacheth the daily Sacrifice to be the ſame in Eſſence, that was offered on the Croſs, p.439.l.11.

The *Neſtorians* granted both the Godhead and Manhood always to be in Chriſt continually, page 348. l.11,12.

The *Neſtorians* denied Chriſt; conceived God, or born God, but that he was afterward God, as a man that is not born a Biſhop, is after made a Biſhop. So the *Neſtorians* ſaid, that the Godhead was an acceſſion after by merit, and that he was conceived only Man, p. 347. l.47,50,51. and p.148.l.47.

16. Propoſition.

Chriſt uſeth us as familiarly as he did his Apoſtles, page 93.l.21.

Contradiction.

Chriſt is not to be ſaid converſant in Earth, p.114. l.11,&c.

Certain things that Wincheſter *granted unto.*

Notes declaring wherein *Wincheſter* granted to ſpiritual uſe of the Sacrament.

CHriſt declared eating of himſelf to ſignifie believing, p.29. *l.antepenult.* Confutation.

Chriſt muſt be ſpiritually in man, before he receive the Sacrament, or elſe he cannot receive the Sacrament worthily, p.54.l.44. p.160.l. *ultima*, p.169.l.3. p.105 l.32.

How Chriſt is preſent, p.69.l.29,&c. p.81.l.12. p.181. l.26. p.65.l.15.

By Faith we know only the being preſent of Chriſts moſt precious Body, not the manner thereof, page 70. l.15.

When we ſpeak of Chriſts Body, we muſt underſtand a true Body, which hath both form and quantity, p. 81. l.5.l.35.

Although Chriſts Body have all thoſe truths of form and quantity, yet it is not preſent after the manner of quantity, *ibidem*, l.8,9.

The demonſtrative *(this)* may be referred to the inviſible ſubſtance, p.120.l.42.

All the old Prayers and Ceremonies ſound, as though the people did communicate with the Prieſt, p. 165. l.46.

The manner of Chriſts being in the Sacrament is not corporal nor carnal, not natural, not ſenſible, not perceptible, but only ſpiritual, page 181. l. 19, &c. l. 25. p.223.l.21.

When the unrepentant ſinner receiveth the Sacrament, he hath not Chriſts Body within him, page 256. l.18.

We eat not Chriſt as he ſitteth in Heaven raigning, p.276.l.18.

Tranſubſtanciation firſt ſpoken of.

The word *(Tranſubſtantiation)* was firſt ſpoken of in a General Council, where the Biſhop of *Rome* was preſent, p.284.l.11.

In the Sacrifice of the Church, Chriſts death is not iterated, but a memory daily renewed of his death; ſo as Chriſts offering on the Croſs once done and conſummate, is now only remembred, p.440.l.40,&c.

To theſe notes and places of Dr. *Ridley*, let us alſo adjoyn other twelve places or Articles of the like affinity, taken out of this Book called the examination of the proud Hunter, noted in the latter end of Dr. *Turners* ſecond courſe. By theſe Articles it may appear how the Biſhop ſwerveth no leſs from the ſound Truth of Chriſts Goſpel than he did in the other, both from himſelf and alſo from other his fellow Brethren of his own Catholick Mother Church of *Rome*. The Articles in ſum are theſe:

Twelve new found Articles of Stephen Gardiners *Creed; taught in his Book called the Examination of the Hunter.*

Alleadged out of the Book of D. *Turner*, intituled, The reſcuer of the Romiſh Fox.

1. THe Ceremonies and Traditions which the Biſhop of *Rome* hath ordained, and are now allowed in *England*, are the Pale of the Church of *England*, fol.7.

2. The Popes Ceremonies and Traditions are good and politick Laws, whereby God hath encloſed the Kings Subjects under his Majeſty alone, *ibid.*

One Uſurper well compared with another.

3. As King *Richard*, an evil man, made a good politick Law for the Body and Commonwealth of *England*; ſo can the Pope, an evil man, make good Laws and wholſom Doctrine for mans Soul, and Chriſts Church, fol.23.

Note here blaſphemous *Wincheſter*, preferring the words ſpoken by man, before Chriſts Doctrine.

4. Whatſoever is good, ſpoken and uſed by man, is much more of God, than Chriſts Doctrine is his Fathers Doctrine, fol.33.

5. He that ſaith, that the Law of the Goſpel ought only to be holden in Chriſts Church, and is ſufficient alone for it, ſpeaketh ſo far out of reaſon, that he is not worthy to be reaſoned withal, fol.37.

6. They that hold, that the Croſs of ſilver or gold ought not to be worſhipped with kiſſing of it, and bowing and kneeling to it, are Enemies to Chriſts true Croſs, and take away the means that might ſet out the glory of Chriſts Croſs, fol.49.

7. Neither Paul nor the Croſs can be worſhipped with godly honour, fol.61.

Chriſt never made Clay to be an inſtrument for ſalvation of mans Soul.

8. As Chriſt uſed Clay for an inſtrument to heal the blind mans eyes withal, and hath ſaved divers by Faith, and made it an inſtrument of ſalvation; and as God hath ordained *Timothy* to be an inſtrument of ſalvation both to himſelf, and for others; ſo may the Pope ordain holy Water to be an inſtrument of ſalvation, both of Body and Soul, to all them that are ſprinkled with it, fol.64.

9. No man can commit Idolatry with his Body alone, and in only kiſſing of an Image or Idol; and in only kneeling to it can no Idolatry be committed, fol.52.

Even both alike.

10. Foraſmuch as God underſtandeth them that ſing in Latin, though they underſtand not themſelves, their Prayer is acceptable before God, fol.76.

11. As a Father may forbid certain of his Children to marry; ſo may a King in his Kingdom forbid certain of his Subjects to marry; that is to ſay, all the Prieſts of this Realm, fol.83.

The B. of *Wincheſters* manner of Ceremonies.

12. He that would take away the Popes Ceremonies out of the Church, ſhould drive away all godlineſs and ſeemlineſs, all religious and devout behaviour out of the Church, fol.94.

Here haſt thou (good Reader) this ſtout Prelate of *Wincheſter*, with all his proſperities, doings, and qualities, as in a certain Anatomy proportioned out unto thee, whereby thou maiſt boldly judge (and nothing err in thy Judgment) what is to be eſteemed of him by his fruits, as who neither was true Proteſtant, nor right Papiſt; neither conſtant in his Errour, nor yet ſtedfaſt in the Truth; neither friend to the Pope, and yet a perfect enemy to Chriſt: falſe in King *Henries* time, a diſſembler in King *Edwards* time, double perjured, and a murtherer in Queen *Maries* time, mutable and inconſtant in all times. And finally, where in his Letter to the Lord Protector and others, uſually he vaunteth ſo much of his late Soveraign Lord King *Henry* the Eighth, and of the great reputation that he was in with him, read, I beſeech thee, and behold in the depoſitions of the Lord *Paget*, in the old Book, pag.806. fol.1. and alſo in the depoſitions of the Earl of *Bedford*, pag.824. and there you ſhall ſee the King before his death, both excepting him out of his Pardons, and quite ſtriking him out of his laſt Will and Teſtament, ſo deteſted and abhorred him, as he did no Engliſh man more. And whereas the L. *Paget* being ſent in meſſage from the King to the Biſhop, by other words than the Kings mind and will was, of his own dexterity gave to him good and gracious words, which indeed the King neither knew, nor yet were ſent by him: the Biſhop perſwading himſelf otherwiſe of

The Biſhop of *Winch.* falſly pretendeth the favour of K. *Henry* towards him.

the Kings favour towards him, than it was indeed, was therein far deceived, and brought into a fools paradiſe; whereof read both in the old book before, and alſo in this preſent volume.

Wincheſter unſtable in Religion.

To deſcribe and paint out the unſtable mutability of this Biſhop aforeſaid, albeit here need no more to be added beſides that which is already declared: yet notwithſtanding, ſeeing the matter is not long, it ſhall not be out of the way to annex withal unto the premiſſes, a piece of *Drianders* Letter written to one *Criſpine* Phyſitian, in *Oxford*, ſent from *Antwerp*, concerning the doings and behaviour of this Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, whoſe ſtory we have now in hand. The Copy of which *Drianders* Letter, written to the ſaid *Criſpine* his Friend, beginneth thus.

Read in the firſt edition, pag. 802.

Doctiſſimo viro Edmundo Criſpino, amico integerrimo Oxoniæ.

ANte meam ex Lutetia profectionem, dedi literas ad te per Anglum illum communem amicum noſtrum, &c.

The Engliſh whereof, as much as to the preſent purpoſe pertaineth, here followeth tranſlated.

A letter of Driander to one Chriſpine reporting the doings of the Biſhop of Wincheſter at Louane.

BEfore my departure from the City of *Paris*, I wrote unto you by our Friend the Engliſh-man, &c.

Now you ſhall be contented onely with the narration of your Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who (as appertained to the Ambaſſadour of ſo noble a Prince) came to *Louaine* with a great bravery, and was there received at one *Jeremies* houſe, and moſt honourably entertained, where the Faculty of Divines, for honours ſake, preſented him Wine in the name of the whole Univerſity. But our famous Doctors, and learned Maſters, for that they would more deeply ſearch and underſtand the learning and excellency of the Prelate, peruſed and ſcanned a certain Oration made by him, and now extant, intituled *de vera Obedientia*, in the which his Oration he did impugn the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and preferred his Lords and Kings Authority before the Holy Apoſtolick See (as they term it) which being read and conſidered by them, they did not onely repent them for giving him ſuch honour, but alſo recanted that which they had done: and did not ſo much honour him afore, but now they were as earneſt and as ſpiteful againſt him. *Richard Lothomus*, Interpreter of terms, with the favourers of that fraternity, and other Champions of the falling Church, diſputed with him concerning the Popes Supremacy. This Biſhop ſtoutly defended his ſaid Oration. The Divines contrary ſtiffly maintained their opinion, and divers times openly with exclamations, called the ſaid Biſhop an excommunicate perſon, and a Schiſmatick, to no little reproach and infamy of the *Engliſh* Nation. The Biſhop not long after minding to ſay Maſs in Saint *Peters* Church, they did deny unto him, as to an Excommunicate Perſon, the Ornaments and Veſtments meet for the ſame; wherewith he being highly offended, ſuddenly haſted his Journey from thence. The Dean the next day after made an eloquent Oration, wherein he openly diſgraced and defamed him. You have heard now a true ſtory, for our Doctor was a beholder of the whole Tragedy, &c.

B. Gardiner defendeth his book de vera obedientia, at Louane. Wincheſter counted for an excommunicate perſon and a Schiſmatick at Louane.

And this now being ſufficient for *Gardiners* ſtory, to leave him to his Judge, and to let him go, we ſhall return and proceed (by the grace and leave of the Lord) as the courſe of theſe doleful days ſhall lead us, to proſecute the reſidue of Chriſts Martyrs, as now in order followeth.

The burning of John Webbe *Gentleman*, George Roper *and* Gregory Parke *at* Canterbury, *as followeth.*

NExt after the Death and conſtant Martyrdom of the two moſt worthy Champions and ſtandard-bearers of Chriſts Army, Doctor *Nicholas Ridley*, and Maſter *Hugh Latimer*, (of whom ye have heard at large) followed three other ſtout and bold Souldiers, that is to ſay, *John Webbe* Gentleman, *George Roper*, and *Gregory Parke*.

November 30 Mr. Webbe, G. Roper, G. Park, Martyrs.

This *John Webbe* was brought before the Biſhop of *Dover*, and *Nicholas Harpsfield*, or ſome other deputed in their room, long before the other two, *videlicet*, the 16 day of *September*, and there had propounded unto him ſuch Ordinary Articles as (it ſeemeth) were commonly miniſtred by *Boner* to thoſe of his Juriſdiction and being willed for that preſent to depart, and to deliberate with himſelf upon the matter, againſt the next time of his appearance, he made anſwer that he would no otherwiſe ſay (by Gods grace) than he had already ſaid, which was this: As touching the Sacrament of Chriſts Body, I do believe (quoth he) it to be left unto his Church (with thankſgiving) in commemoration of his death and paſſion, until his coming again. So that it is left in remembrance of his Body, and not by the words of Conſecration to be made his body, really, ſubſtantially, and the ſame body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*: I utterly deny that.

Anno 1555.

The appearance of Mr. Webbe before Dover.

Anſwer of Mr. Webbe to the Biſhops Articles.

After this (beſides ſundry other times) the third day of *October*, the ſaid *John Webbe*, and *George Roper*, and *Gregory Parke*, were brought all three together before the ſaid Judges: who there and then agreeing, and ſtedfaſtly allowing the former anſwer made before by Maſter *Webbe*, were by the Bloody Prelates adjudged Hereticks, and therefore about the end of the ſame month of *October*, or elſe as I otherwiſe find, in the latter end of *November*, they together were taken and brought out of priſon to the place of Martyrdom. Who by the way going towards the ſtake, ſaid certain *Pſalms* mournfully.

Roper was a younger man of a freſh colour, courage, and complexion, the other two were ſomewhat more elderly, all going in white linen, with their gowns upon. *Roper*, at his coming to the ſtake putting off his gown, fet a great leap. So ſoon as the flame was about him, the ſaid *Roper* put out both his arms from his body like a Rood, and ſo ſtood ſtedfaſt, continuing in that manner, not plucking his arms in, till the fire had conſumed them, and burnt them off.

George Roper leapeth at the ſtake.

George Roper ſtood in the fire like a Rood.

And thus theſe aforeſaid Martyrs of Chriſt being brought (as I ſaid) to the ſtake, and there compaſſed about with a chain, were burnt and conſumed all three together in one fire at *Canterbury*, abiding moſt patiently their torments, and counting themſelves happy and bleſſed of the Lord, that they were made worthy to ſuffer for Chriſts Goſpel ſake.

The Martyrdom of Web Roper, and Park at Canterbury.

William Wiſeman.

THe 13. of *December* in the *Lollards Tower*, died *William Wiſeman*, a Clothworker of *London*, where he was in priſon and bonds for the Goſpel and Word of God: How, and whereupon he deceaſed, it is not fully certain. Some thought that either through famine, or ill handling of ſome murthering Papiſts, he was made away. By reaſon whereof the *Coroner*, named *John Gibbes*, Gentleman, with an Inqueſt of twelve men, were ſam to ſit upon him, who although to the outward appearance were ſaid to find nothing in him elſe but onely Gods viſitation, yet what other privie cauſes there might be of his death, the Lord knoweth, I have not to ſay.

December 13

After the ſaid *William* was departed (as is ſaid) in the *Lollards Tower*, the Holy Catholick Church men caſt him out into the fields, commanding that no man ſhould bury him, according as their devout manner is to do with all ſuch as die in like ſort, whom they account as prophane, and worthy of no burial, but to be caſt to Doggs and Birds, ἅλαστα κυνῶσιν, as the Pope ſaith. And yet all this their mercileſs commandment notwithſtanding, ſome good *Tobies* there were, which buried him in the evening, as commonly they did all the reſt, thrown out in like ſort, whom they were wont privily by night to cover, and many times the Archers in the Fields ſtanding by, and ſinging together *Pſalms* at their burial.

W. Wiſeman dead in Lolls Tower, and caſt into the fields.

James Gore.

IN the ſame month, about the 7. day of *December*, deceaſed alſo *James Gore* in the priſon at *Colcheſter* laid there in bonds for the right and Truth of Gods Word.

James Gore, Martyr, died in Colcheſter priſon.

The

Anno 1555.

The order and manner of burying in the fields ſuch as died in priſon, and namely, Will. Wiſeman.

The Proceſs and Hiſtory of Maſter John Philpot, *examined condemned, and martyred for the maintenance and defence of the Goſpels Cauſe, againſt the Antichriſtian See of* Rome.

The Hiſtory of M. John Philpot, Martyr. J. Philpot a Knights Son, ſtudent of Law in New Colledge in Oxford.

NExt followeth the conſtant Martyrdom of Maſter *John Philpot*, of whom partly ye heard before in the beginning of Queen *Maries* time, in proſecuting the diſputation of the convocation-houſe. He was of a worſhipful houſe, a Knights Son, born in *Hampſhire*, brought up in the New Colledge in *Oxford*, where he ſtudied the Civil Law the ſpace of 6. or 7. years, beſides the ſtudy of other liberal Arts, eſpecially of the Tongues, wherein very forwardly he profited, namely, in the knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue, &c. In wit he was pregnant and happy, of a ſingular courage, in ſpirit fervent, in Religion zealous, and alſo well practiſed and exerciſed in the ſame (which is no ſmall matter in a true Divine) of nature and condition plain and apert, far from all flattery, farther from all hypocriſie and deceitful diſſimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations penned of his own hand can declare.

John Philpot went over to *Italy*. J. Philpot in danger by an *Italian* Frier. The return of J. Philpot into *England*.

From *Oxford*, deſirous to ſee other Countries as occaſion ſerved thereunto, he went over into *Italy*, and places thereabouts, where he coming upon a time from *Venice* to *Padua*, was in danger through a certain *Franciſcan* Frier, accompanying him in his journey, who coming to *Padua*, ſought to accuſe him of Hereſie. At length returning into *England* his Country again, as the time miniſtred more boldneſs to him in the days of King *Edward*, he had divers conflicts with *Gardiner* the Biſhop in the City of *Wincheſter*, as appeareth by divers of *Wincheſters* Letters, and his Examinations. Whereof read before.

John Philpot Archdeacon of Wincheſter. This Dr. *Poinet*, Biſh. of Wincheſter, fled afterward into *Germany*, and there deceaſed, An. 1557.

After that, having an advowſon by the ſaid Biſhop, he was made there Archdeacon of *Wincheſter*, under Dr. *Poinet*, who then ſucceeded *Gardiner* in that Biſhoprick. Thus during the time of King *Edward*, he continued to no ſmall profit of thoſe parts thereabout. When that bleſſed King was taken away and *Mary* his Siſter came in place, whoſe ſtudy was wholy bent to alter the ſtate of Religion in the woful Realm of *England*, firſt ſhe cauſed a Convocation of the Prelats and learned men to be congregate to the accompliſhment of her deſire.

In the which Convocation, Mr. *Philpot* being preſent according to his room and degree, with a few other ſuſtained the cauſe of the Goſpel manfully againſt the adverſary part (as is above recited) for the which cauſe notwithſtanding the liberty of the houſe promiſed before, he was called to account before Biſhop *Gardiner* the Chancellor, then being his Ordinary, by whom he was firſt examined, although that Examination came not yet to our hands. From thence again he was removed to *Boner* and other Commiſſioners, with whom he had divers and ſundry conflicts, as in his Examinations here following may appear.

John Philpot ſent from *Gardiner* to *Boner*.

The firſt Examination of Maſter John Philpot *before the Queens Commiſſioners, Maſter* Cholmley, *Mr.* Roper *and Dr.* Story, *and one of the Scribes of the* Arches, *at* Newgate Seſſions-Hall, *Octob.* 2. 1555.

DOctor *Story*, before I was called into an inner Parlour where they ſate, came out into the Hall where I was, to view me among other that there were, and paſſing by me ſaid; Ha, Mr. *Philpot*, and in returning immediately again, ſtaied againſt me, beholding me, and ſaying that I was well fed indeed.

The firſt examination of M. *Philpot* before the Commiſſioners. Dr. *Stories* words to M. *Philpot*.

Phil. If I be fat, and in good liking (Mr. Doctor) it is no marvel, ſince I have been ſtalled up in Priſon this twelve months and a half, in a cloſe corner. I am come to know your pleaſure wherefore you have ſent for me.

Story. We hear that thou art a ſuſpect perſon, and of heretical Opinions, and therefore we have ſent for thee.

Phil. I have been in Priſon thus long, only upon the occaſion of diſputation made in the Convocation-houſe, and upon ſuſpicion of ſetting forth the report thereof.

John Philpot impriſoned for the diſputation in the Convocation-houſe.

Story. If thou wilt revoke the ſame, and become an honeſt man, thou ſhalt be ſet at liberty, and do right well; or elſe thou ſhalt be committed to the Biſhop of *London*. How ſaiſt thou, wilt thou revoke it or no?

Phil. I have already anſwered in this behalf to mine Ordinary.

Story. If thou anſwereſt thus when thou comeſt before us anon, thou ſhalt hear more of our minds, and with that he went into the Parlour, and I within a little while after was called in.

The Scribe. Sir, what is your name?

Phil. My name is *John Philpot*. And ſo he intituled my name.

Story. This Man was Archdeacon of *Winchester*, of D. *Poinets* presentment.

Philpot. I was Archdeacon indeed, but none of his presentment, but by vertue of a former Advowson, given by my Lord Chancellor that now is.

Story. Ye may be sure that my Lord Chancellor would not make any such as he is Archdeacon.

Roper. Come hither to me Mr. *Philpot.* We hear say that you are out of the Catholick Church, and have been a disturber of the same; out of the which whoso is, he cannot be the Child of salvation. Wherefore, if you will come into the same, you shall be received, and find favour.

Phil. I am come before your worshipful Masterships at your appointment, understanding that you are Magistrates authorized by the Queens Majesty, whom I own and will do my due obedience to the uttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, wherefore I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the Laws of this Realm, I desire your Masterships that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my long wrongful imprisonment, where I have lien this Twelve month and this half, without any calling to answer before now, and my living taken from me without all Law.

John Philpot lying in Prison a year and a half before he was called to his answer.

Roper. Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may by our Commission and by the Law drive you to answer to the suspition of a slander going on you: and besides this, we have Statutes to charge you herein withal.

No particular matter against M. Philpot, but only suspicion.

Phil. If I have offended any Statute, charge me therewithal, and if I have incurred the penalty thereof punish me accordingly. And because you are Magistrates and Executors of the Queens Majesties Laws, by force whereof you do now sit, I desire that if I be found no notorious Transgressor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I have done.

Cholmley. If the Justice do suspect a Felon, he may examine him upon suspition thereof, and commit him to prison though there be no fault done.

Story I perceive whereabout this man goeth. He is plain in *Cardmakers* case, for he made the selfe same allegations. But they will not serve thee; for thou art an Heretick, and holdest against the blessed Mass: how saiest thou to that?

Phil. I am no Heretick.

The Major is not universally true, for in the time of K. Edw. he that spake against the Mass, as M. Philpot did, by those Laws, was no Heretick, but a perfect Christian.

Story. I will prove thee an Heretick. Whosoever hath holden against the blessed Mass, is an Heretick: but thou hast holden against the same, therefore thou art an Heretick.

Phil. That which I spake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the Convocation, where by the Queens Majesties will and her whole Council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his Conscience, and to say his mind freely of such questions in Religion, as there were propounded by the Prolocutor, for the which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now be compelled of you to answer to the same.

Story. Thou shalt go to the *Lollards Tower*, and be handled there like an Heretick as thou art, and answer to the same that thou there didst speak, and be judged by the Bishop of *London*.

Phil. I have already been convented of this matter before my Lord Chancellour mine Ordinary, who this long time hath kept me in Prison: therefore if his Lordship will take my life away, as he hath done my liberty and *living*, he may; the which I think he cannot do of his Conscience, and therefore hath let me lie thus long in Prison: wherefore I am content to abide the end of him herein that is mine Ordinary, and do refuse the auditory of the Bishop of *London*, because he is an uncompetent Judge for me, and not mine Ordinary.

J. Philpot appealeth to his Ordinary.

M. Philpot having publick leave, spake in the Convocation. Ergo, he must be committed to Lollards Tower by D. Stories Logick.

Story. But Sir, thou spakest words in the Convocation-house, which is of the Bishop of *London's* Dioces, and therefore thou shalt be carried to the *Lollards Tower* to be judged by him for the words thou spakest in his Dioces against the blessed Mass.

Phil. Sir, you know by the Law, that I may have *Exceptionem fori*: and it is against all equity, that I should be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such as by the Law have nothing to do with me. Anno 1555

Roper. You cannot deny, but that you spake against the Mass in the Convocation-house.

Story. Dost thou deny that which thou spakest there, or no?

Phil. I cannot deny that I have spoken there, and if by the Law you may put me to death therefore, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be judged unto.

The Scribe. This man is fed of vain-glory.

Cholm. Play the wise Gentleman and be conformable, and be not stubborn in your Opinions, neither cast your self away. I would be glad to do you good.

Philpot. I desire you, Sir, with the rest here that I be not charged further at your hands, than the Law chargeth me, for that I have done, since there was no Law directly against that wherewith I am now charged. And you Master Doctor (of old acquaintance in *Oxford*) I trust will shew me some friendship, and not extremity.

John Philpot charged further by the Commissioners than the Law would bear.

Story. I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good Catholick man, I would be thy Friend, and spend my Gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to an Heretick, as thou art, but will spend both my Gown and my Coat, but I will burn thee. How sayst thou to the Sacrament of the Altar?

Now cometh in the Butchers Ax.

Phil. Sir, I am not come now to dispute with your Mastership, and the time now serveth not thereto, but to answer to that I may be lawfully charged withal.

Story. Well, since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had into the *Lollards Tower*.

Phil. Sir, since you will needs shew me this extremity, and charge me with my Conscience, I do desire to see your Commission, whether you have this authority so to do, and after the view thereof I shall (according to my duty) make you further answer, if you may by the vertue thereof burthen me with my Conscience.

M. Philpot requireth to see their Commission

Roper. Let him see the Commission: is it here?

Story. Shall we let every vile person see our Commission?

Cholm. Let him go from whence he came, and on Thursday he shall see our Commission.

Story. No, let him lie in the mean while in the *Lollards Tower*; for I will sweep the *Kings-Bench* and all other Prisons also of these Hereticks, they shall not have that resort as they have had, to scatter their Heresies.

Philpot. You have Power to transfer my Body from place to place at your pleasure; but you have no Power over my Soul. And I pass not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse intreated than I am, kept all day in a close Chamber: wherefore it is no marvel that my flesh is puft up, wherewithal Master Doctor is offended.

Story. Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday, and then we shall rid your fingers of him and afterward of your other Hereticks.

Phil. God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in the which he will judge us with righteousness, howsoever you judge of us now.

Roper. Be content to be ruled by M. Doctor, and shew your self a Catholick man.

Phil. Sir, if I should speak otherwise than my Conscience is, I should but dissemble with you: and why be you so earnest to have me shew my self a dissembler both to God and you, which I cannot do?

Philpot will not dissemble against his Conscience.

Roper. We do not require you to dissemble with us to be a Catholick man.

Phil. If I do stand in any thing against that, wherein any man is able to burthen me with one jot of the Scripture, I shall be content to be counted no Catholick man, or an Heretick, as you please.

Story. Have we Scripture, Scripture? and with that he rose up, saying; Who shall be judge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow *Woodman*, which the other day would have nothing else but Scripture. And this is the beginning of this Tragedy.

The

Anno 155[illegible].

The second Examination of Mr. Philpot before the Queens Commissioners, Mr. Cholmley, Roper, D. Story, Dr. Cooke, and the Scribe, the 24. of October, 1555. at Newgate Sessions-Hall.

The second examination of M. *Philpot* before the Commissioners.

AT my coming, a Man of *Aldgate* of mine acquaintance said unto me, God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for D. *Story* said, that my Lord Chancellor had commanded to do you away. After a little consultation had between them, M. *Cholmley* called me unto him, saying:

Cholm. Mr. *Philpot* shew your self a wise man, and be not stubborn in your own opinion, but be conformable to the Queens proceedings; and live, and you shall be well assured of great favour and reputation.

Phil. I shall do as it becometh a Christian man to do.

Story. This man is the rankest Heretick that hath been in all my Lord Chancellors Diocess, and hath done more hurt than any man else there: and therefore his pleasure is, that he should have the Law to proceed against him, and I have spoken with my Lord herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the Bishop of *London*, and there to recant, or else burn. He howled and wept in the Convocation-house, and made such ado as never man did, as all the Hereticks do when they lack Learning to answer. He shall go after his fellows. How sayst thou, wilt thou recant?

Phil. I know nothing I have done that I ought to recant.

Story. Well, then I pray you, let us commit him to the *Lollards-Tower*, there to remain until he be further examined before the Bishop of *London*: for he is too fine fed in the *Kings-Bench*, and he hath too much favour there: For his Keeper said at the door yesterday, that he was the finest Fellow, and one of the best Learned in *England*; and with this he rose up and went his way.

Cook. This man hath most stoutly maintained Heresies since the Queens coming in, above any that I have heard of; therefore it is most meet he should be adjudged by the Bishop of *London*, for the Heresies he hath maintained.

Phil. I have maintained no Heresies.

Cook. No, have you not? Did you not openly speak against the Sacrament of the Altar in the Convocation-house? Call you that no Heresie? wilt thou recant that, or not?

Phil. It was the Queens Majesties pleasure that we should reason thereof, not by my seeking, but by other mens procuring, in the hearing of the Council.

Cook. Did the Queen give you leave to be an Heretick? you may be sure her Grace will not so do. Well, we will not dispute the matter with you; my Lord of *London* shall proceed by inquisition upon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou shalt be burned.

Phil. My Lord of *London* is not mine Ordinary in this behalf, and I have already answered unto mine Ordinary in this matter: and therefore (as I have said before) you shall do me great wrong, to vex me twice for one matter, since I have sustained this long Imprisonment, besides the loss of my living.

Roper. You were a very unmeet man to be an Archdeacon.

Phil. I know I was as meet a man as he that hath it now.

Cook. A meet man, quoth he? He troubled Mr. *Rope* and the whole Country.

Phil. There was never poor Archdeacon so handled at your hands as I am, and that without any just cause ye be able to lay unto me.

John Philpot deprived of his Archdeaconry without any Law.

Cook. Thou art no Archdeacon.

Phil. I am Archdeacon still, although another be in possession of my Living; for I was never deprived by any Law.

Cook. No Sir, that needeth not: for a notorious Heretick should have no ordinary proceeding about his deprivation; but the Bishop may upon knowledge thereof proceed to deprivation.

Phil. Master Doctor, you know that the Common Law is otherwise: and besides this, the Statutes of this Realm be otherwise, which give this benefit to every person, though he be an Heretick, to enjoy his Living until he be put to death for the same.

Whether an Heretick suspected may without ordinary process be deprived of his Living by his Ordinary before his death, and by what Law.

Cholm. No, there thou art deceived.

Philpot. Upon the living I pass not. But the unjust dealing grieveth me, that I should be thus troubled for my Conscience, contrary to all Law.

Cholmley. Why, will not you agree that the Queens Majesty may cause you to be examined of your Faith?

Phil. Ask you Master D. *Cook*, and he will tell you that the temporal Magistrates have nothing to do with matters of Faith, for determination thereof. And S. *Ambrose* saith *Divina Imperatoriæ Majestati non sunt subjecta*; That the things of God are not subject to the Power and Authority of Princes.

Cook. No? may not the temporal Power commit you to be examined of your Faith to the Bishop?

Phil. Yea Sir. I deny not that; but you will not grant that the same may examine any of their own Authority.

Cook. Let him be had away.

John Philpot again requireth to see their Commission, and yet it could not be seen, and that also against the Law.

Phil. Your Mastership promised me the last time I was before you, I should see your Commission by what Authority you do call me, and whether I by the same be bound to answer to so much as you demand?

Roper. Let him see the Commission.

The Scribe. Then he exhibited it to Mr. *Roper*, and was about to open the same.

Cook. No, what will ye do? he shall not see it.

Phil. Then do you me wrong, to call me and vex me, not shewing your Authority in this behalf.

Cook. If we do you wrong, complain on us; and in the mean while thou shalt lie in the *Lollards Tower*.

Phil. Sir, I am a poor Gentleman; therefore I trust of your gentleness you will not commit me to so vile and straight a place, being found no haynous Trespasser.

Cook. Thou art no Gentleman.

Phil. Yes, that I am.

Cook. An Heretick is no Gentleman: for he is a Gentleman that hath gentle conditions.

Phil. The offence cannot take away the state of a Gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a Traytor: but I mean not to boast of my Gentlemanship, but will put it under my foot, since you do no more esteem it.

Story. What, will you suffer this Heretick to prate with you all this day?

Cook. He saith he is a Gentleman.

Story. A Gentleman, quoth he? he is a vile Heretick knave: for an Heretick is no Gentleman. Let the keeper of the *Lollards Tower* come in, and have him away.

The keeper. Here Sir.

John Philpot commanded to *Lollards Tower* by D. *Story*.

Story. Take this man with you to the *Lollards Tower*, or else to the Bishops Cole-house.

Phil. Sir, if I were a Dog you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place: but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you Master *Cholmley*, shew me some friendship, that I be not carried to so vile a place. And he called me aside, and said:

Cholmley talketh with M. *Philpot* apart.

Cholm. I am not skilful of their doings, neither of their Laws; I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good.

Phil. I am content to go whither you will have me. There was never man more cruelly handled than I am at your hands, that without just cause known should thus be entreated.

Story. Shall we suffer this Heretick thus to reprove us? have him hence.

Phil. God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and shew you more mercy in the time of need; *Et quod facis, fac citius, Do quickley that you have in hand.*

Story. Do you not hear how he maketh us *Judasses*?

Phil. That is after your own understanding.

After this, I with four other more were brought to the Keepers House in *Paternoster-Row*, where we supped, and after supper I was called up to a Chamber by the Archdeacon of *Londons* Servant, and that in his Masters name,

who offered me a Bed for that night. To whom I gave thanks, ſaying, That it ſhould be a grief to me to lye well one night, and the next worſe: wherefore I will begin (ſaid I) as I am like to continue, to take ſuch part as my fellows do. And with that we were brought through *Paternoſter-Row* to my Lord of *Londons* Cole-houſe; unto the which is joyned a little blind Houſe, with a great pair of Stocks, appointed both for hand and foot: but thanks be to God we have not played of thoſe Organs yet, although ſome before us have tried them, and there we found a Miniſter of *Eſſex*, a married Prieſt, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor Man. And this

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This godly man was *Tho. Whittle* whoſe ſtory followeth.

M. *Philpot* laid in B. *Boners* Cole-houſe.

Maſter Philpots being in the Cole-houſe, where he found Thomas Whittle Prieſt ſitting in the Stocks.

Miniſter (at my coming) deſired to ſpeak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for that through extremity of Impriſonment he was conſtrained by writing to yield to the Biſhop of *London*: whereupon he was once ſet at liberty, and afterward felt ſuch a Hell in his Conſcience, that he could ſcarce refrain from deſtroying himſelf, and never could be at quiet until he had gone unto the Biſhops Regiſter, deſiring to ſee his Bill again, the which as ſoon as he had received, he tore it in pieces; and after he was as joyful as any man might be. Of the which when my Lord of *London* had underſtanding, he ſent for him, and fell upon him like a Lion, and like a manly Biſhop buffeted him well, ſo that he made his Face black and blew, and pluckt away a great piece of his Beard: but now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the Croſs as any of us, and very ſorry of his former infirmity. I write this, becauſe I would all men to take heed how they do contrary to their Conſcience; which is, to fall into the pains of Hell. And here an end.

Examples what an unquiet Conſcience doth. *Tho. Whittle* after his recantation repenteth, and tare his Subſcription.

B. *Boner* pluckt away a great part of *Whittles* Beard, and made his face black and blew.

The manner of my calling firſt before the Biſhop of London, *the ſecond Night of mine Impriſonment in his Cole-houſe.*

THe Biſhop ſent unto me Mr. *Johnſon* his Regiſter, with a meſs of Meat, and a good Pot of Drink, and Bread, ſaying, That my Lord had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was ſorry: therefore he had ſent me and my Fellows that Meat, knowing whether I would receive the ſame.

The firſt appearing of J. *Philpot* before Biſhop *Boner.*

B. *Boners* charity ſent to J. *Philpot.*

I thanked God for my Lords Charity, that it pleaſed him to remember poor Priſoners, deſiring Almighty God to increaſe the ſame in him and in all others; and therefore I would not refuſe his Beneficence, and therewith took the ſame unto my Brethren, praiſing God for his Providence towards his afflicted Flock, that he ſtirred our Adverſaries up to help the ſame in their neceſſity.

Johnſon. My Lord would know the cauſe of your ſending hither (for he knoweth nothing thereof) and wondreth that he ſhould be troubled with Priſoners of other Dioceſs than his own.

Philpot. I declared unto him the whole cauſe. After the which he ſaid, My Lords will was, that I ſhould have any friendſhip I would deſire, and ſo departed.

Within a while after, one of my Lords Gentlemen cometh for me. And I was brought into his preſence, where he ſate at a Table alone, with three or four of his Chaplains waiting upon him, and his Regiſter.

Boner. Mr. *Philpot*, you are welcome; give me your hand.

B. *Boner* entertaining M. *Philpot.*

Phil. With that, becauſe he ſo gently put forth his hand, I to render courteſie for courteſie, kiſſed my hand and gave him the ſame.

Boner. I am right ſorry for your trouble, and I promiſe you before it was within theſe two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cauſe of your ſending hither; for I promiſe you I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would I you ſhould think, that I was the cauſe thereof: and I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters; but I muſt be obedient to my Betters, and I fear men ſpeak otherwiſe of me than I deſerve.

Biſh. *Boner* made the common Inquiſitor againſt his will.

Phil. I ſhewed him the ſum of the matter; that it was for the diſputation in the Convocation-houſe, for the which I was againſt all right moleſted.

Boner. I marvel that you ſhould be troubled therefore, if there was none other cauſe but this. But peradventure you have maintained the ſame ſince, and ſome of your Friends of late have asked whether you do ſtand to the ſame, and you have ſaid, Yea; and for this you might be committed to Priſon.

Phil. If it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhip, I am burthened none otherwiſe than I have told you, by the Commiſſioners, who ſent me hither, becauſe I would not recant the ſame.

Boner. A man may ſpeak in the Parliament-houſe, though it be a place of free ſpeech, ſo as he may be impriſoned for it, as in caſe he ſpeak words of High-Treaſon againſt the King or Queen; and ſo it might be that you ſpake otherwiſe than it became you of the Church of Chriſt.

Phil.

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Phil. I ſpake nothing which was out of the Articles which were called in queſtion, and agreed upon to be diſputed by the whole Houſe, and by the Queens permiſſion and the Council.

Boner, Why, may we diſpute of our Faith?

Or elſe why were the Articles there propounded?

Phil. Yea that we may.

Boner. Nay, I trow not, by the Law.

Phil. Indeed by the Civil Law I know it is not lawful, but by Gods Law we may reaſon thereof. For St. *Peter* ſaith, *Be ye ready to render account unto all men of that hope which is in you, that demand you of the ſame.*

1 Pet. 3.

Bon. Indeed S. *Peter* ſaith ſo. Why, then I ask of you what your judgement is of the Sacrament of the Altar;

No man is bound to render account of his Faith privately, unleſs it be to edifie.

Phil. My Lord, S. *Ambroſe* ſaith, that the diſputation of Faith ought to be in the Congregation, in the hearing of the People, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unleſs it be to edifie. But now I cannot ſhew you my mind, but I muſt run upon the pikes in danger of my life therefore. Wherefore as the ſaid Doctor ſaid unto *Valentinian* the Emperour, ſo ſay I to your Lordſhip; *tolle legem & fiet certamen*; *Take away the Law, and I ſhall reaſon with you.* And yet if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the Law to anſwer, I truſt I ſhall utter my Conſcience as freely as any that hath come before you.

Ambroſ ad Valentinianum.

Bon. I perceive you are learned, I would have ſuch as you be about me. But you muſt come and be of the Church; for there is but one Church.

Phil. God forbid I ſhould be out of the Church, I am ſure I am within the ſame: for I know as I am taught by the Scripture, that there is but one Catholick Church, *Una Columba, una Sponſa, una Dilecta*; *one Dove, one Spouſe, one beloved Congregation*, out of the which there is no ſalvation.

One Church.

Bon. How chanceth it then, that you go out of the ſame, and walk not with us?

Phil. My Lord, I am ſure I am within the bounds of the Church whereupon ſhe is builded, which is the Word of God.

Bon. What age are ye of?

Phil. I am four and forty.

The Faith promiſed by his God-fathers was the Faith of Chriſt, after his Creed only.

Bon. You are not now of the ſame Faith your God-fathers and God-mothers promiſed for you, in the which you were baptized.

Phil. Yes, I thank God I am: for I was baptized into the Faith of Chriſt which I now hold.

Bon. How can that be? there is but one Faith.

Phil. I am aſſured of that by S. *Paul*, ſaying; *That there is but one God, one Faith, and one Baptiſm*, of the which I am.

Bon. You were twenty years ago of another Faith than you be now.

Phil. Indeed my Lord, to tell you plain I was then *nullius fidei, of no Faith*, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold.

Bon. Why, do you not think that we have now the true Faith:

Phil. I deſire your Lordſhip to hold me excuſed for anſwering at this time. I am ſure that Gods Word throughly with the Primitive Church, and all the ancient Writers do agree with this Faith I am of.

And why then began you ſo haſtily with him in the Sacrament of your Altars. Biſhop *Boner* offended with *John Philpots* ſinging in Priſon.

Boner. Well, I promiſe you I mean you no more hurt, than to mine own perſon: I will not therefore burthen you with your Conſcience as now; I marvel that you are ſo merry in Priſon as you be, ſinging and rejoycing, as the Prophet ſaith, *Exultantes in rebus peſſimis*, Rejoycing in your naughtineſs. Me thinketh you do not well herein; you ſhould rather lament and be ſorry.

Phil. my Lord, the mirth that we make is but in ſinging certain Pſalms, according as we are commanded by S. *Paul*, willing us to be *merry in the Lord, ſinging together, in Hymns and pſalms:* And I truſt your Lordſhip cannot be diſpleaſed with that.

Boner. We may ſay unto you as Chriſt ſaid in the Goſpel, *Tibiis cecinimus vobis, & non planxiſtis.*

Phil. Here my Lord ſtumbled, and could not bring forth the Text, and required his Chaplains to help, and to put him in remembrance of the Text better; but they were mum: and I recited out the Text unto him, which made nothing to his purpoſe, unleſs he would have us to mourn, becauſe they, if they laugh, ſing ſtill ſorrowful things unto us, threatinng fagots and fire.

We are my Lord, in a dark comfortleſs place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, leſt, as *Solomon* ſaith, ſorrowfulneſs eat up our heart. Therefore I truſt your Lordſhip will not be angry for our ſinging of *Pſalms*, ſince St. *Paul* ſaith; *If any man be of an upright mind, let him ſing.* And we therefore, to teſtifie that we are of an upright mind to God, (though we be in miſery) do ſing.

Bon. I will trouble you no further as now. If I can do you any good, I will be glad to do it for you. God be with you, good Mr. *Philpot*, and give you good night. Have him to the Cellar and let him drink a Cup of Wine.

The end of his firſt talk with B. *Boner.*

Thus I departed, and by my Lords Regiſter I was brought to his Cellar door, where I drank a good Cup of Wine. and my Lords Chaplain M. *Couſin* followed me, taking acquaintance, ſaying, that I was welcom, and wiſhed that I would not be ſingular.

Phil. I am well taught the contrary by *Solomon*, ſaying, *Væ ſoli*, Wo be to him that is alone. After that I was carried to my Lords Cole-houſe again, where I with my ſix fellows do rouſe together in ſtraw as cheerfully (we thank God) as others do in their beds of Down.

Thus for the third Fit.

The fourth Examination of Mr. Philpot *in the Archdeacons houſe of* London, *the ſaid month of* October, *before the Biſhops of* London, *Bathe*, Worceſter, *and* Glouceſter.

Another Examination of J. *Philpot*, before the Biſhops.

Boner. Mr. *Philpot*, it hath pleaſed my Lords to take pains here to day, to dine with my poor Archdeacon, and in the dinner time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here of many that knew you in the New *Colledge* in *Oxford*: and I alſo do pity your caſe, becauſe yeu ſeem unto me by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned: and therefore now I have ſent for you to come before them, that it might not be ſaid hereafter, that I had ſo many learned Biſhops at my houſe, and yet would not vouchſafe them to talk with you, and at my requeſt (I thank them) they are content ſo to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you ſhall with all favour be ſatisfied. I am ſorry to ſee you lie in ſo evil a caſe as you do, and would fain you ſhould do better, as you may if you liſt.

Bathe. My Lords here have not ſent for you to fawn upon you, but for Charities ſake to exhort you to come into the right Catholick way of the Church.

And why do not you Biſhops your ſelves pray alſo for them that are out of the way?

Worc. Before he beginneth to ſpeak, it is beſt that he call to God for grace, and to pray that *it might pleaſe* God to open his heart, that he may conceive the Truth.

Phil. With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my Prayer on this manner:

The Prayer of J. *Philpot* before the Biſhops.

Almighty God, which art the giver of all wiſdom and underſtanding, I beſeech thee of thine infinite goodneſs and mercy in Jeſus Chriſt, to give me (moſt vile ſinner in thy ſight,) the Spirit of wiſdom to ſpeak and make anſwer in thy cauſe, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers, before whom I ſtand, and alſo to my better underſtanding, if I be deceived in any thing.

Biſhop *Boner* againſt Prayer.

Bon. Nay, my Lord of *Worceſter*, you did not well to exhort him to make any Prayer. For this is the thing they have a ſingular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in the which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant Hereticks, of whom *Pliny* maketh mention, that did daily ſing *Antelucanos Hymnos, Praiſe unto God before dawning of the day.*

Biſhop *Boner* here ſeemeth more skilful in his Law, than in Church ſtories.

Phil. My Lord, God make me and all you here preſent ſuch hereticks as thoſe were that ſung thoſe morning hymns: for they were right Chriſtians, with whom the Tyrants of the World were offended for their well doing.

Bathe. Proceed to that he hath to ſay. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what.

Bon.

Bon. Say on Mr. *Philpot*; my Lords will gladly hear you.

Phil. I have, my Lords, been this twelve month and a half in prison without any just cause that I know, and my living taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from mine own Territory and Ordinary, into another mans jurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your Lordships can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be released of this wrongful trouble.

Boner. There is none here goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promise you, ye were sent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore speak your Conscience without any fear.

Mr. Philpot complaineth of his wrongful imprisonment.

Phil. My Lord, I have learned to answer in matters of Religion, *In Ecclesia legitime vocatus*, in the Congregation being thereto lawfully called: but now I am not lawfully called, neither is here a just Congregation where I ought to answer.

Boner. Indeed this man told me the last time I spake with him, that he was a Lawyer, and would not utter his Conscience in matters of Faith, unless it were in the hearing of the People, where he might speak to vainglory.

Mr. Philpot called in no sufficient assembly, and therefore not bound to answer, whereby to put himself in danger.

Phil. My Lord, I said not I was a Lawyer, neither do I arrogate to my self that name, although I was once a novice in the same; where I learned something for mine owne defence, when I am called in judgement to answer to any cause, and whereby I have been taught, not to put my self further in danger than I need, and so far am I Lawyer, and no further.

* Wilful, because he will not put himself wilfully into the Wolves mouth.

Bathe. If you will not answer to my Lords request, you seem to be a wilful man in your opinion.

Phil. My Lord of *London* is not mine Ordinary before whom I am bound to answer in this behalf, as Mr. *D. Cole* (which is a Lawyer) can well tell you by the Law. And I have not offended my Lord of *London* wherefore he should call me.

This offence was for speaking in the Convocation house with publick liberty in the Parliament.

Bon. Yes, I have to lay to your charge, that you have offended in my Dioceſs by speaking against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar: and therefore I may call you, and proceed against you to punish you by the law.

Phil. I have not offended in your Dioceſs. For that which I spake of the Sacrament was in *Pauls Church* in the *Convocation House*, which (as I understand) is a peculiar Jurisdiction belonging to the Dean of *Pauls*, and therfore is counted of your Lordships Dioceſs, but not in your Dioceſs.

Boner. Is not *Pauls Church* in my Dioceſs? Well I wot, it costeth me a good deal of money by the year, the leading thereof.

Philp. That may be, and yet be exempted from your Lordships Jurisdiction. And albeit I had so offended in your Dioceſs, yet I ought by the law to be sent to my Ordinary, if I require it, and not to be punished by you that are not mine Ordinary. And already (as I have told you) I have been convented of mine Ordinary for this cause, which you goe about to enquire of me.

B. *Boner* not lawful Ordinary to J. *Philpot.*

Boner. How say you Mr. *D. Cole*, may not I proceed against him by the law, for that he hath done in my Dioceſs?

Cole. Me thinketh Mr. *Philpot* needeth not to stand so much with your Lordship in that point as he doth, sithence yo i seek not to hinder him, but to further him: therefore I think it best that he go to the matter that is laid against him of the Convocation, and make no longer delay.

Phil. I would willingly shew my mind of the matter, but I am sure it will be laid against me to my prejudice when I come to judgement.

Cole. Why then you may speak by protestation.

Note how these men hunt for innocent Blood.

Phil. But what shall my protestation avail in a cause of Heresie (as you call it) if I (speak otherwise than you will have me; since that which I spake in the Convocation House, being a place priviledged, cannot now help me?

Boner. But Master *D. Cole*, may not I proceed against him for that offence he hath done in my Dioceſs?

Cole. You may call him before you, my Lord, if he be found in your Dioceſs.

Phil. But I have by force been brought out of mine owne Dioceſs to my Lords, and required to be judged of mine own Ordinary: and therefore I know Master Doctor will not say of his knowledge, that your Lordship ought to proceed against me. And here Master Dr. would say nothing.

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Mr. Philpot again appealeth from B. Boner to his Ordinary.

Worc. Do you not think to find before my Lord here as good equity in your cause, as before your own Ordinary?

Phil. I cannot blame my Lord of *Londons* equity, with whom (I thank his Lordship) I have found more gentleness since I came, than of mine own Ordinary (I speak it for no flattery) this twelve month and this half before, who never would call me to answer, as his Lordship hath done now twice. *Sed nemo prohibetur uti jure suo* No man is forbid to use his own right due unto him; but I ought not to be forestalled of my right, and therefore I challenge the same for divers other considerations.

Bon. Now you cannot say hereafter but that you have been gently communed with al of my Lords here, and yet you will be wilful and obstinate in your errour, and in your own opinions, and will not shew any cause why you will not come into the Unity of the Church with us.

Phil. My Lords, in that I do not declare my mind according to your expectation, is (as I have said) because I cannot speak without present danger of my life. But rather then you should report me, by this, either obstinate or selfwilled without any just ground, whereupon I stand; I will open unto you somewhat of my mind, or rather the whole, desiring your Lordships which seem to be pillars of the Church of *England* to satisfie me in the same: and I will refer all other causes in the which I dissent from you, unto one or two Articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both; in the which if I can by the Scriptures be satisfied at your mouths, I shall as willingly agree to you as any other in all points.

Nay rather these Catholick prelates will be satisfied with no reasonable offer.

Bon. These Hereticks come always with their ifs, as this man doth now, saying, If he can be satisfied by the Scriptures: so that he will always have this exception, I am not satisfied, although the matter be never so plainly proved against him. But will you promise to be satisfied, if my Lords take some pains about you?

Phil. I say (my Lord) I will be satisfied by the Scriptures in that wherein I stand. And I protest here before God and his eternal Son Jesus Christ my Saviour, and the Holy Ghost, and his Angels, and you here present that be judges of that I speak, that I do not stand in any opinion, of wilfulness, or singularity, but onely upon my Conscience, certainly informed by Gods Word, from the which I dare not go for fear of damnation: and this is the cause of mine earnestness in this Behalf.

Bon. I will trouble my Lords no longer, seeing that you will not declare your mind.

Phil. I am about so to do, if it please your Lordship to hear me speak.

Bathe. Give him leave (my Lord) to speak that he hath to say.

The chiefest controversie in the Church of Christ now, is to know which is the true Church of Christ.

Phil. My Lords, it is not unknown to you that the chief cause why you do count me, and such as I am, for Hereticks, is because we be not at Unity with your Church. You say you are of the True Church: and we say, we are of the true Church. You say, that whosoever is out of your Church, is damned: and we think verily on the other side, that if we depart from the True Church, whereon we are grafted in Gods Word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore if your Lordship can bring any better Authority for your Church than we can do for ours, and prove by the Scriptures that the Church of *Rome* now (of the which you are) is the True Catholick Church, as in all your Sermons, writings, and arguments you do uphold, and that all Christian persons ought to be ruled by the same under pain of damnation (as you say) and that the same Church (as you pretend) hath Authority to interpret the Scriptures as it seemeth her good, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations onely; I shall be as conformable to the same Church as you may desire me, the which otherwise I dare not: therfore I require you for Gods sake to satisfie me in this.

Cole. If you stand upon this point onely, you may soon be satisfied if you list.

Phil.

Anno 1555.

Phil. It is the thing that I require, and to this I have ſaid, I will ſtand, and referr all other controverſies wherein I ſtand now againſt you, and will put my hand thereto, if you miſtruſt my word.

S. Paul 20. years before his converſion and S. Peter before his calling, was of another faith than they were afterward and yet in following not that they would have every year a new faith.

Boner. I pray you Mr. *Philpot*, what faith were you of twenty years ago: This man will have every year a new faith.

Phil. My Lord to tell you plain, I think I was of no faith: for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then, as I ought to do, God forgive me.

Boner. No Faith? that is not ſo. I am ſure you were of ſome faith.

Phil. My Lord, I have declared to you on my Conſcience what I then was, and judge of my ſelf. And what is that to the purpoſe of the thing I deſire to be ſatisfied of you?

Boner. Maſter D. *Cole*, I pray you ſay your mind to him.

The determination of the Primitive Church, and of the Church of *Rome* as it is now, is not all one. *Athanaſius* miſ-alled. &c.

Cole. What will you ſay, if I can prove that it was decreed by an Univerſal Council in *Athanaſius* his time, that all the Chriſtian Church ſhould follow the determination of the Church of *Rome*? but I do not now remember where.

Phil. If you Maſter Doctor can ſhew me the ſame granted to the See of *Rome* by the Authority of the Scripture, I will gladly hearken thereto. But I think you be not able to ſhew any ſuch thing: for *Athanaſius* was Preſident of *Nicene* Council, and there was no ſuch thing decreed I am ſure.

Cole. Though it were not then, it might be at another time.

Phil. I deſire to ſee the proof thereof. And upon this Mr. *Harpsfield*, Chancellor to the Biſhop of *London*, brought in a book of *Ireneus*, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the Biſhops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be: the which after the Biſhops of *Bathe* and *Gloceſter* had read together, the Biſhop of *Gloceſter* gave me the book.

Gloceſt. Take the Book, Maſter *Philpot*, and look upon that place, and there may you ſee how the Church of *Rome* is to be followed of all men.

A place of *Ireneus* alledged.

Phil. I took the Book, and read the place, the which after I had read, I ſaid it made nothing againſt me, but againſt the *Arrians* and other Hereticks, againſt whom *Ireneus* wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, becauſe they did teach and follow after ſtrange Doctrine in *Europa*, and that the chief Church of the ſame was founded by *Peter* and *Paul*, and had to this time continued by faithful ſucceſſion of the faithful Biſhops in preaching the true Goſpel, as they had received of the Apoſtles, and nothing like to theſe late ſprung Hereticks, &c. Whereby he concludeth againſt them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited, the which thing if you my Lords be able to prove now of the Church of *Rome*, then had you as good Authority againſt me in my cauſe now, as *Ireneus* had againſt thoſe Hereticks.

The Church of *Rome* not now as it was then.

But the Church of *Rome* hath ſwerved from the truth and ſimplicity of the Goſpel, which it maintained in *Ireneus* time, and was uncorrupted from that which it is now, wherefore your Lordſhip cannot juſtly apply the Authority of *Ireneus* to the Church of *Rome* now, which is ſo manifeſtly corrupted from the Primitive Church.

Boner. So will you ſay ſtill, it maketh nothing for the purpoſe, whatſoever Authority we bring, and will never be ſatisfied,

Phil. My Lord, when I do by juſt reaſon prove that the Authorities which be brought againſt me do not make to the purpoſe (as I have already proved) I truſt you will receive mine anſwer.

The Church of *Rome* never deceived.

Worc. It is to be proved moſt manifeſtly by all ancient Writers, that the See of *Rome* hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain Hereticks had defaced the ſame.

Phil. Let that be proved, and I have done.

Worc. Nay, you are of ſuch arrogancy, ſingularity, and vain-glory, that you will not ſee it, be it never ſo well proved.

Phil. Ha, my Lords, is it now time (think you) for me to follow ſingularity or vain-glory, ſince it is now upon danger of my life and death, not onely preſently, but alſo before God to come? and I know, if I die not in the true faith, I ſhall die everlaſtingly: and again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me and many thouſands more: yet had I rather periſh at your hands, than to periſh eternally. And at this time I have loſt all my commodities of this World, and lie in a colehouſe, where a man would not lay a Dogg, with the which I am well contented.

I find not in *Euſebius* that *Peter* ſhould be B. of *Rome* 25 years, but this is in *Linus*. *Hierom, lib. de viris illuſt.* and in Abd. in *lib.* 1. *de vit. Patr.*

Cole. Where are you able to prove that the Church of *Rome* hath erred at any time? and by what Hiſtorie? certain it is by *Euſebius*, that the Church was eſtabliſhed at *Rome* by *Peter* and *Paul*, and that *Peter* was Biſhop 25 years at *Rome*.

Phil. I know well that *Euſebius* ſo writeth: but if we compare that which Saint *Paul* writeth to the *Galathians*, chap. 1. the contrary will manifeſtly appear, that he was not half ſo long there. He lived not paſt 35 years after he was called to be an Apoſtle: and *Paul* maketh mention of his abiding at *Jeruſalem* after Chriſts death more than 13 years.

Cole. What, did *Peter* write to the *Galathians*?

Phil. No, I ſay *Paul* maketh mention of *Peter*, writing to the *Galathians*, and of his abiding at *Jeruſalem*: And further, I am able to prove, both by *Euſebius* and other Hiſtoriographers, that the Church of *Rome* hath manifeſtly erred, and at this preſent doth err, becauſe ſhe agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive Church did uſe according to the Goſpel, and there needeth none other proof but compare the one with the other.

Harke my Lords wife parable.

Boner. I may compare this man to a certain man I read of which fell into a deſperation, and went into a wood to hang himſelf, and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on the which he might vouchſafe to hang himſelf. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you (Maſter Doctor) go forth with him.

Neither you nor they are able in this caſe.

Cole. My Lord, there be on every ſide on me that be better able to anſwer him, and I love not to fall into diſputation: for that now adays a man ſhall but ſuſtain ſhame and obloquie thereby of the People. I had rather ſhew my mind in writing.

Phil. And I had rather that you ſhould do ſo than otherwiſe, for than a man may better judge of your words, than by argument, and I beſeech you ſo to do. But if I were a rich man, I durſt wager an hundred pounds, that you ſhall not be able to ſhew that you have ſaid, to be decreed by a general Council in *Athanaſius* time. For this I am ſure of, that it was concluded by a general Council in *Africa* many years after, that none of *Africa* (under pain of Excommunication) ſhould appeal to *Rome*; the which decree I am ſure they would not have made, if by the Scriptures and by an Univerſal Council it had been decreed, that all men ſhould abide and follow the determination of the Church of *Rome*.

Reaſon why it is not like that in *Athanaſius* time all men were bound to abide the determination of *Rome*.

Cole. But I can ſhew that they revoked that error again.

Phil. So you ſay, Maſter Doctor, but I pray you ſhew me where. I have hitherto heard nothing of you for my contentation, but bare words without any Authority.

Bon. What I pray you ought we to diſpute with you of our faith? *Juſtinian* in the law hath a title, *De fide Catholica*, to the contrary.

Not the law but the Goſpel gathered the Church together.

Phil. I am certain the Civil law hath ſuch a conſtitution: but our faith muſt not depend upon the Civil law. For as Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Non lex, ſed fides congregavit Eccleſiam, Not the law, but the Goſpel* (ſaith he) *hath gathered the Church together.*

Worc. Mr. *Philpot*, you have the Spirit of pride wherewith ye be led, which will not let you to yield to the truth: leave it for ſhame.

Phil. Sir, I am ſure I have the ſpirit of Faith, by the which I ſpeak at this preſent; neither am I aſhamed to ſtand to my Faith.

Gloceſt. What? do you think your ſelf better learned than ſo many notable learned men as be here?

400 Prieſts againſt one *Helias*.

Phil. Elias alone had the Truth, when there were four hundred Prieſts againſt him.

Worceſt.

Worceſt. Oh, you would be counted now for *Elias*. And yet I tell thee he was deceived: for he thought there had been none good but himſelf, and yet he was deceived, for there were ſeven thouſand beſide him.

Phil. Yea, but he was not deceived in Doctrine, as the other four hundred were.

Worc. By my faith you are greatly to blame, that you cannot be content to be of the Church which ever hath been of that Faithful Antiquity.

Phil. My Lord, I know *Rome*, and have been there, where I ſaw your Lordſhip.

A good commendation for Rome by a Romaniſt.

Worc. Indeed I did flie from hence thither, and I remember not that I ſaw you there. But I am ſorry that you have been there: for the wickedneſs which you have ſeen there, peradventure cauſeth you to do as you do.

Phil. No, my Lord, I do not as I do for that cauſe: for I am taught otherwiſe by the Goſpel, not altogether to refuſe the Miniſter for his evil living, ſo that he bring ſound Doctrine out of Gods Book.

whether the Univerſal Church may be deceived? 2 Theſ. 3. A deſection prophecied of the Church.

Worc. Do you think the Univerſal Church may be deceived?

Phil. St. *Paul* to the *Theſſalonians* propheſieth that there ſhould come an Univerſal departing from the Faith in the later days before the coming of Chriſt, ſaying, *Non veniet Chriſtus, niſi venerit defectio prius*, that is, *Chriſt ſhall not come, till there come a departing firſt.*

Cole. Yea I pray you, how take you the departing there in S. *Paul*? it is not meant of Faith, but of the departing from the Empire: for it is in Greek, ἀποστασία.

Phil. Marry indeed you, Mr. Doctor, put me in good remembrance of the meaning of S. *Paul* in that place, for *Apoſtaſia* is properly a departing from the Faith, and thereof cometh *Apoſtata*, which properly ſignifieth one that departeth from his Faith: and S. *Paul* in the ſame place after ſpeaketh of the decay of the Empire.

Cole. Apoſtaſia doth not only ſignifie a departing from the Faith, but alſo from the Empire, as I am able to ſhew.

Phil, I never read it ſo taken, and when you ſhall be able to ſhew it (as you ſay in words) I will believe it, and not before.

Worc. I am ſory that you ſhould be againſt the Chriſtian World.

Phil. The World commonly, and ſuch as be called Chriſtians (for the multitude) hath hated the truth, and been enemies to the ſame.

Gloc. Why, Mr. *Philpot*, do you think that the Univerſal Church hath erred, and you onely to be in the Truth?

The Popes Church which now is, was never Univerſal. Of this *Florentine* Councel which was about the year 1432. read before. The word or the Church judge in controverſies.

Phil. The Church that you are of was never Univerſal, for two parts of the World, which is *Aſia* and *Africa* never conſented to the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, as at this day they do not, neither do follow his decrees.

Gloceſt. Yes in the *Florentine* Councel they did agree.

Phil. It was ſaid ſo by falſe report, after they of *Aſia* and *Africa* were gone home: but it was not ſo indeed, as the ſequel of them all hitherto doth prove the contrary.

Gloc. I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of Controverſie which happen daily?

Phil. By the Word of God. For Chriſt ſaith in S. *John*, *The word that he ſpake, ſhall be judge in the laſt day.*

Glo. What if you take the word one way, and I another way: who ſhall be judge then?

Phil. The Primitive Church.

Gloc. I know you mean the Doctors that wrote thereof.

Phil I mean verily ſo.

Gloc. What if you take the Doctors in one ſenſe, and I in another: who ſhall be judge then?

Phil. Then let that be taken which is moſt agreeable to Gods Word.

Cole. My Lords, why do you trouble your ſelves to anſwer him in this matter? It is not the thing which is laid to his charge, but his error of the Sacrament, and he to ſhift himſelf of that, brought in another matter.

Phil. This is the matter, Mr. *Cole*, to the which I have referred all other queſtions, and deſire to be ſatisfied.

Worc. It is wonder to ſee how he ſtandeth with a few againſt a great multitude. Anno 1555.

Phil. We have almoſt as many as you. For we have *Aſia*, *Africa*, *Germany*, *Denmark*, and a great part of *France*, and daily the number of the Goſpel doth increaſe: ſo that I am credibly informed, that for this Religion in the which I ſtand, and for the which I am like to die, a great multitude doth daily come out of *France* through perſecution, that the Cities of *Germany* be ſcarce able to receive them: and therefore your Lordſhip may be ſure, the Word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary. John Philpots propheſie of the increaſe of the Goſpel.

Worc. They were well occupied to bring you ſuch news, and you have been well kept to have ſuch reſort unto you. Thou art the arroganteſt fellow, and ſtouteſt fond fellow that ever I knew.

Phil. I pray your Lordſhip to bear with my haſty ſpeech: for it is part of my corrupt nature to ſpeak ſomewhat haſtily: but for all that, I mean with humility, to do my duty to your Lordſhip. John Philpots put off to another day.

Bon. Mr. *Philpot*, my Lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you ſhall go from whence you came, and have ſuch favour as in the mean while I can ſhew you: and upon Wedneſday next you ſhall be called again to be heard what you can ſay for maintenance of your Error.

Phil. My Lord, my deſire is to be ſatisfied of you in that I have required; and your Lordſhip ſhall find me, as I have ſaid.

Worc. We wiſh you as well as our ſelves.

Phil. I think the ſame (my Lords) but I fear you are deceived, and have a zeal of your ſelves, not according to knowledge.

Worc. God ſend you more grace.

Phil, And alſo God increaſe the ſame in you, and open your eyes that you may ſee to maintain his Truth, and his true Church.

Then the Biſhops roſe up and conſulted together, and cauſed a writing to be made, in the which I think my Blood by them was bought and ſold, and thereto they put their hands, and after this I was carried to my Cole-houſe again.

¶ *Thus endeth the fourth part of this tragedy. God haſten the end thereof to his glory* Amen.

John Philpot to certain that required him to write his examinations. The inordinate and unlearned proceedings of the Catholicks againſt the poor flock of Chriſt.

BEcauſe I have begun to write unto you of mine examinations before the Biſhop and other, more to ſatisfie your deſire than that it is any thing worthy to be written; I have thought it good to write unto you alſo that which had been done of late, that the ſame might come to light which they do in darkneſs and in privie corners, and that the World now and the poſterity hereafter might know how unorderly, unjuſtly, and unlearnedly theſe ravening Wolves do proceed againſt the ſilly and faithful Flock of Chriſt, and condemn and perſecute the ſincere Doctrine of Chriſt in us, which they are not able by honeſt means to reſiſt, but onely by Tyranny and Violence.

The fifth Examination of John Philpot, *had before the Biſhops of* London, Rocheſter, Coventry, *S.* Aſaph (*I trow*) *and one other, whoſe Sees I know not*, *Doctor* Story, Curtop, *Doctor* Saverſon, *Doctor* Pendleton, *with divers other Chaplains and Gentlemen of the Queens Chamber, and divers other Gentlemen, in the Gallery of my Lord of* Londons *palace.*

The fifth examination of Mr. Philpot.

Boner. Mr. *Philpot* come you hither, I have deſired my Lords here, and other learned men to take ſome pains once again, and to do you good and becauſe I do mind to ſit in judgment on you to morrow (as I am commanded) yet I would you ſhould have as much favour as I can ſhew you, if you will be any thing conformable. Therefore play the wiſe man, and be not ſingular in your own opinion, but be ruled by theſe learned men.

Phil. My Lord, in that you ſay you will ſit on mein judgment to morrow, I am glad thereof, For I was promiſed by them which ſent me unto you, that I ſhould have been judged the next day after: but promiſe hath not been kept with me, to my farther grief. I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready, to

John Philpot ready to yield his life in Chriſts cauſe.

Anno 1555.

to yield my life in Chriſts cauſe, as you be to require it.

Bon. Lo what a wilful man is this? By my Faith it is but folly to reaſon with him, neither with any of theſe Hereticks. I am ſorry that you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to ſhew extremity againſt you.

Phil. My Lord, you need not to ſhew extremity againſt me unleſs you liſt: neither by the Law (as I have ſaid) have you any thing to do with me, for that you are not mine Ordinary, albeit I am (contrary to all right) in your Priſon.

Bon. Why the Queens Commiſſioners ſent you hither unto me upon your Examination had before them. I know not well the cauſe; but I am ſure they would not have ſent you hither to me, unleſs you had made ſome talk to them, otherwiſe than it becometh a Chriſtian man.

Phil. My Lord, indeed they ſent me hither without any occaſion then miniſtred by me. Only they laid unto me the Diſputation I made in the Convocation-houſe, requiring me to anſwer the ſame, and to recant it. The which becauſe I would not do, they ſent me hither to your Lordſhip.

Bon. Why did you not anſwer them thereto?

Phil. For that they were temporal men, and ought not to be Judges in Spiritual cauſes whereof they demanded me, without ſhewing any authority whereby I was bound to anſwer them, and hereupon they committed me to your Priſon.

Biſhop *Boner* ſeeketh cauſe againſt him, and yet pretendeth to be ſorry of his trouble.

Bon. Indeed I remember now, you maintained open Hereſie in my Dioceſs: wherefore the Commiſſioners ſent you unto me that I ſhould proceed againſt you, for this you have ſpoken in my Dioceſs.

Phil. My Lord, I ſtand ſtill upon my lawful plea in this behalf; that though it were a great hereſie, as you ſuppoſe it, yet I ought not to be troubled therefore, in reſpect of the priviledge of the Parliament-houſe, whereof the Convocation-houſe is a member, where all men in matters propounded may frankly ſpeak their minds, and here is preſent a Gentleman of the Queens Majeſties that was preſent at the Diſputation, and can teſtifie the queſtions which were then in controverſie, were not ſet forth by me, but by the Prolocutor, who required in the Queens Majeſties name, all men to diſpute their minds freely in the ſame, that were of the Houſe.

M. Philpots juſt defence for ſpeaking in the Parliament.

The Queens Gentleman. Though the Parliament-houſe be a place of priviledge for men of the houſe to ſpeak, yet may none ſpeak any Treaſon againſt the Queen, or maintain Treaſon againſt the Crown.

It were the part of a charitable Biſhop to make a matter better and not worſe.

Phil. But if there be any matter which otherwiſe it were Treaſon to ſpeak of, were it Treaſon for any perſon to ſpeak therein, ſpecially the thing being propoſed by the Speaker? I think not.

The Queens Gentleman. You may make the matter eaſie enough to you yet, as I perceive, if you will revoke the ſame which you did there ſo ſtubbornly maintain.

S. Aſ. This man did not ſpeak under Reformation, as many as there did but ἀγωνιστικῶς and κατηρεικῶς, which is, earneſtly and perſwaſibly, as ever I heard any.

John Philpot appealeth to the whole Parliament-houſe.

Phil. My Lords, ſince you will not ceaſe to trouble me for that I have lawfully done, neither will admit my juſt defence for that was ſpoken in the Convocation-houſe by me, contrary to the Laws and Cuſtom of the Realm; I appeal to the whole Parliament-houſe, to be judged by the ſame, whether I ought thus to be moleſted for that I have there ſpoken.

Rocheſter. But have you ſpoken and maintained the ſame ſince that time, or no?

Phil. If any man can charge me juſtly therewith, here I ſtand to make anſwer.

Rocheſter. How ſay you to it now? will you ſtand to that you have ſpoken in the Convocation-houſe, and do you think you ſaid then well, or no?

Phil. My Lord, you are not mine Ordinary to proceed *Ex officio* againſt me, and therefore I am not bound to tell you my Conſcience of your demands.

This Biſhop belike would fain have blood.

S. Aſ. What ſay you now? Is there not in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar (and with that they put off all their Caps for reverence of the Idol) the preſence of our Saviour Chriſt, really and ſubſtantially after the words of Conſecration?

Phil. I do believe in the Sacrament of Chriſts Body, duly miniſtred, to be ſuch manner of preſence, as the Word teacheth me to believe.

S. Aſ. I pray you, how is that?

Phil. As for that I will declare another time, when I ſhall be lawfully called to diſpute my mind of this matter, but I am not yet driven to that point. And the Scripture ſaith, *All things ought to be done after an order.*

Another Biſh. This is a froward and vain-glorious man.

Boner. It is not lawful for a man by the Civil Laws to diſpute of his Faith openly, as it appeareth in the title, *De ſumma Trinitate & fide Catholica.*

Phil. My Lord, I have anſwered you to this queſtion before.

Boner. Why, I never asked thee of this before now.

Phil. Yes, that you did at my laſt examination, by that token I anſwered your Lordſhip by St. *Ambroſe*, that the Church is congregated by the Word, and not by mans Law. Wherefore I add now further of this ſaying, *Quod ſi fidem repudiat, & legem objicit, injuſtus eſt, quia juſtus ex fide vivet. i. That he which refuſeth the Word, and objecteth the Law, is an unjuſt man, becauſe the Juſt ſhall live by Faith.* And moreover, (my Lord) the title which your Lordſhip alledgeth out of the Law, maketh it not unlawful to diſpute of all the Articles of the Faith, but of the Trinity.

Amb. l. 5. Epiſt. 30. Rodens cont. Auxentium.

Boner. Thou lyeſt, it is not ſo: and I will ſhew you by the Book how ignorant he is. And with that he went with all haſt to his Study, and fetcht his Book and openly read the Text, and the title of the Law, and charged me with ſuch words as ſeemed to make for his purpoſe, ſaying, How ſayeſt thou to this?

Philpot. My Lord, I ſay as I ſaid before, that the Law meaneth of the Catholick Faith, determined in the Council of *Chalcedonia*, where the Articles of the Creed were only concluded upon.

Bon. Thou art the verieſt Beaſt that ever I heard, I muſt needs ſpeak it, thou compelleſt me thereunto.

Our Faith not grounded upon the Civil Law.

Phil. Your Lordſhip may ſpeak your pleaſure of me. But what is this to the purpoſe, which your Lordſhip is ſo earneſt in? You know that our Faith is not grounded upon the Civil Law: therefore it is not material to me whatſoever the Law ſaith.

Bon. By what Law wilt thou be judged? Wilt thou be judged by the Common Law?

Phil. No, my Lord, our Faith dependeth not upon the Laws of man.

S. Aſ. He will be judged by no Law, but as he liſt himſelf.

Worc. The Common Laws are but abſtracts of the Scriptures and Doctors.

Phil. Whatſoever you do make them, they are no ground of my Faith, by the which I ought to be judged.

Bon. I muſt needs proceed againſt thee to morrow.

J. Philpot ſtandeth to his defence of the Law, in refuſing the Judge not to be competent.

Phil. If your Lordſhip ſo do, I will have *Exceptionem fori*: for you are not my competent Judge.

Bon. By what Law canſt thou refuſe me to be thy Judge?

Phil. By the Civil Law, *De competente judice.*

Boner. There is no ſuch title in the Law. In what Book is it, as cunning a Lawyer as you be?

De officio Ordinarii, is a title in the firſt Book of the Decretals.

Phil. My Lord, I take upon me no great cunning in the Law: but you drive me to my ſhifts for my defence, and I am ſure, if I had the Books of the Law, I were able to ſhew what I ſay.

Defora competente, is a title in the ſecond Book of the Decretals.

Boner. What? *De competente judice?* I will go fetch thee my Books. There is a title indeed, *De officiis judicis Ordinarii.*

Phil. Verily that is the ſame *De competente judice*, which I have alledged. With that he ran to his Study, and brought the whole courſe of the Law between his hands, which (as it might appear) he had well occupied, by the duſt they were imbrued withal.

Boner. There be the Books: find it now (if thou canſt) and I will promiſe to releaſe thee out of Priſon.

Phil.

Phil, My Lord I ſtand not here to reaſon matters of the Civil Law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the ſame; for that I have been a Student in the Law ſix or ſeven years: but to anſwer to the Articles of Faith, with the which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the Law in my defence,

Boner. Why, thou wilt anſwer directly to nothing thou art charged withal: therefore ſay not hereafter but you might have been ſatisfied here by Learned men, if you would have declared your mind.

M. *Philpot* returneth again to his queſtion of the Church.

Philpot. My Lord, I have declared my mind unto you and to other of the Biſhops at my laſt being with you deſiring you to be ſatisfied but of one thing, whereunto I have referred all other Controverſies: the which if your Lordſhips now, or other Learned men can ſimply reſolve me of, I am as contented to be reformable in all things, as you ſhall require; the which is to prove that the Church of *Rome* (whereof you are) is the Catholick Church.

That *Peter* did build the Church of *Rome* it is falſe, for both the Scripture ſaith, that *Peter* was ſet over the the circumciſed, and not over the *Gentiles*, and alſo it is to be proved by *Grotius*, *Suetonius*, *Tertullianus*, and other ſtories, that the Faith of Chriſt was in *Rome* in *Tiberius* time before *Peter* ever ſaw Rome.

Coven. Why, do you not believe your Creed, *Credo Eccleſiam Catholicam*?

Phil. Yes that I do: but I cannot underſtand *Rome* (wherewithal you burden us) to be the ſame, neither like to it.

S. Aſ. It is moſt evident that St. *Peter* did build the Catholick Church at *Rome*. And Chriſt ſaid, *Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam.*

Moreover, the ſucceſſion of Biſhops in the See of *Rome* can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place ſo well, which is a manifeſt probation of the Catholick Church, as divers Doctors do write.

Phil. That you would have to be undoubted, is moſt uncertain, and that by the Authority which you alledge of Chriſt, ſaying unto *Peter*, *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock I will build my Church*, unleſs you can prove the Rock to ſignifie *Rome*, as you would make me falſly believe. And although you can prove the ſucceſſion of Biſhops from *Peter*, yet this is not ſufficient to prove *Rome* the Catholick Church unleſs you can prove the profeſſion of *Peters* Faith, whereupon the Catholick Church is builded, to have continued in his Succeſſors at *Rome*, and at this preſent to remain.

Bon. Is there any more Churches than one Catholick Church? And I pray tell me into what Faith were you baptized?

Phil. I acknowledge one holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, whereof I am a member (I praiſe God) and am of that Catholick Faith of Chriſt whereinto I was baptized.

Coven. I pray you, can you tell what this word *Catholick* doth ſignifie? ſhew if you can.

Phil. Yes that I can, I thank God. The Catholick Faith, or the Catholick Church, is not as now adays the People be taught, to be that which is moſt Univerſal, or of moſt part of men received, whereby you do infer our Faith to hang upon the Multitude, which is not ſo: but I eſteem the Catholick Church to be as S. *Auſtin* defineth the ſame. *Æſtimamus fidem Catholicam à rebus præteritis, præſentibus & futuris. i. We judge, ſaith he, the Catholick Faith, of that which hath been, is, and ſhall be.* So that if you can be able to prove that your Faith and Church hath been from the beginning taught, and is, and ſhall be: then may you count your ſelves Catholick, otherwiſe not. And Catholick is a Greek word compounded of κατὰ, which ſignifieth *after* or *according*, and ὅλον, a *ſum*, or *principal* or *whole*. So that Catholick Church, or Catholick Faith, is as much to ſay, as the firſt, whole, ſound, or chiefeſt Faith.

The Popes Faith hangeth upon the multitude. *Fides Catholica ſecundum Aug.*

Bon. Doth St. *Auſtin* ſay ſo as he alleadgeth it? or doth he mean as he taketh the ſame? how ſay you Mr. *Curtop*?

Curtop. Indeed, my Lord, St. *Auguſtine* hath ſuch a ſaying, ſpeaking againſt the Donatiſts, that the Catholick Faith ought to be eſteemed of things in time paſt, and as they are practiced according to the ſame, and ought to be through all Ages, and not after a new manner, as the Donatiſts began to profeſs.

Philpot. You have ſaid well, Mr. *Curtop*, and after the meaning of S. *Auſtin*, and to confirm that which I have ſaid for the ſignification of Catholick.

Coven. Let the Book be ſeen my Lord.

Anno 1555.

Bon. I pray you, my Lord, be content, or in good Faith I will break even off and let all alone. Do you think the Catholick Church (until it was within theſe few years, in the which a few upon ſingularity have ſwerved from the ſame) have erred?

Phil. I do not think that the Catholick Church can err in Doctrine; but I require you to prove this Church of *Rome* to be the Catholick Church.

Curtop. I can prove that *Ireneus* (which was within an hundred years after Chriſt) came to *Victor*, then Biſhop of *Rome*, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain Hereticks, the which he would not have done (by all likelyhood) if he had not taken him to be ſupream Head.

Where Mr. *Curtop* finds this I cannot ſay; but this I find that *Euſebius* doth report that *Ireneus* did reprove *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*, for his raſh ſentence in excommunicating the Churches of *Greece* concerning the obſervation of the Feaſt of Eaſter. Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 16.

Covent. Mark well this Argument. How are you able to anſwer the ſame? Anſwer, if you can?

Phil. It is ſoon anſwered, my Lord, for that it is of no force; neither this fact of *Ireneus* maketh no more for the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, than mine hath done, which have been at *Rome* as well as he, and might have ſpoken with the Pope, if I had liſt: and yet I would none in *England* did favour his Supremacy more than I.

S. Aſ. You are the more to blame (by the Faith of my Body) for that you favour the ſame no better, ſince all the Catholick Church (until theſe few years) have taken him to be the Supream head of the Church, beſides this good man *Ireneus*.

Phil. That is not likely, that *Ireneus* ſo took him, or the Primitive Church: for I am able to ſhew ſeven General Councils after *Ireneus* time, wherein he was never ſo taken, which may be a ſufficient proof, that the Catholick Primitive Church never took him for Supream Head.

The other Biſhop. This man will never be ſatisfied, ſay what we can. It is but folly to reaſon any more with him.

Phil. O, my Lords, would you have me ſatisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who of us hath better Authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to *Rome*, or I that by theſe many General Councils am able to prove, that he was never ſo taken in many hundred years after Chriſt, as by *Nicene*, *Epheſine*, the firſt and ſecond *Chalcedon*, *Conſtantinopolitan*, *Carthaginenſe*, *Aquilenſe*.

Socr. lib. 5. cap. 22. Seven General Councils in which the Biſhop of *Rome* was never taken for Supream Head.

Coven. Why will you not admit the Church of *Rome* to be the Catholick Church?

Phil. Becauſe it followeth not the Primitive Catholick Church, neither agreeth with the ſame, no more than an Apple is like a Nut.

The Church of *Rome* diſſenteth from the Primitive Church.

Covent. Wherein doth it diſſent?

Phil. It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, the Supremacy and Tranſubſtantiation.

Cur. As for Tranſubſtantiation, albeit it was ſet forth and decreed for an Article of Faith not much above 300 years, yet it was always believed in the Church.

Bon. Yea, that it was. Very well ſaid of you Mr. *Curtop*.

Tranſubſtantiation is but a late plantation.

Phil. Ye have ſaid right, that Tranſubſtantiation is but a late plantation of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and you are not able to ſhew any ancient Writer, that the Primitive Church did believe any ſuch thing; and with this *Curtop* ſhrank away. And immediately after the Ambaſſador of *Spain* came in, to whom my Lord of *London* went, leaving the other with me. To whom I ſaid, My Lords, if you can ſhew me that this Church of *Rome* (whereof you are Members) is the true Catholick Church, I ſhall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the ſame as you can require me in all things; for I know there is no ſalvation but within the Church.

John Philpot returneth again to the iſſue.

Coven. Can you diſprove that the Church of *Rome* is not the Catholick Church?

Rome is not the Catholick Church, and why.

Phil. Yea, that I am able, but I deſire rather to hear of you for the proof thereof. And ſeeing I cannot have my requeſt at your hands, neither be ſatisfied with any probable Authority. I will ſhew you good proof why it is not. For if the Primitive Church were Catholick, as it was indeed, and ought to be the form and School-miſtreſs of the Church to the worlds end; then is not the Church of *Rome* now the Catholick Church, which diſſenteth ſo far from the ſame both in Doctrine and uſe of the Sacraments.

Covent.

Anno 1555.

Covent. How prove you that the Church of *Rome* now diſſenteth in Doctrine and uſe of the Sacraments from the Primitive Church?

Phil. Compare the one with the other, and it ſhall ſoon appear; as you may ſee both in *Euſebius* and other Eccleſiaſtical and ancient writers.

Comparison between the Primitive Church and the Popes Catholick Church.

Covent. What have you to ſay more, why it is not the Catholick Church?

The faith of the Popes Catholick Church now was never Univerſal.

Phil. Becauſe it is not (by your interpretation of Catholick) Univerſal, neither ever was, albeit you falſely perſwade the People that it is ſo. For the World being divided into three parts, *Aſia*, *Affrica*, and *Europa*; two parts thereof, *Aſia*, and *Affrica* profeſſing Chriſt as well as we did never conſent to the Church of *Rome*, which is of *Europa*; which is a ſufficient teſtimony that your faith was never Univerſal.

Covent. How prove you that?

Phil. All the Hiſtoriographers, which write of the proceedings of the Church, do teſtifie the ſame. Beſides that, this preſent time doth declare that to be true which I ſay. For at this preſent the Church of *Aſia* and *Affrica* do not conſent to the Church of *Rome*. Yea and beſides all this, moſt part of *Europa* doth not agree, neither allow the Church of *Rome*; as *Germany*, the Kingdom of *Denmark*, the Kingdom of *Pole*, a great part of *France*, *England*, and *Zeland*, which is a manifeſt probation that your Church is not Univerſal. And after this, the Biſhop of *London* called away the other Biſhops, and left with me divers gentlemen, with certain of his Chaplains, as Doctor *Saverſon* an Engliſhman, which had proceeded Doctor in *Bononie*, who after began with me in this matter.

Doctor Saver. Mr. *Philpot*, I remember you beyond-Sea ſince the time you reaſoned with a Frier (a notable learned man) coming from *Venice* to *Padua* in a barge.

Phil. I cannot forget that; for the Frier threatned me to accuſe me of Hereſie as ſoon as he came to *Padua*, for that I talked with him ſo boldly of the truth. He was no ſuch learned man as you name him to be, but onely in his School points a good Purgatorie Frier.

Doctor Saver. Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am ſory to hear that you this day having communed with ſo many notable learned men, are no more conformable to them than you be.

Philpot. I will be conformable to all them that be conformable to Chriſt in his word. And I pray you good Mr. Doctor, be not ſo conformable to pleaſe men more then God, contrary to your learning for worldly eſtimations ſake.

D. *Saver.* No that I am not. Upon what occaſion ſhould you think thus of me?

Phil. Upon no evil that I do know of you Mr. Doctor; but I ſpeak as one wiſhing that you ſhould not be led away from the truth for promotions ſake, as many Doctors be now adays.

For the further debating of this matter that *Cyprian* doth allow no ſuch thing, read the anſwer of Mr. *Newel* to M. *Dorman*.

D. *Saver.* I have heard your arguments hitherto, and me thinketh that a great many of the old ancient writers be againſt you in that you do not allow the Church of *Rome*, neither the ſupremacy; for Saint *Cyprian* (which is an old ancient writer) doth allow the B. of *Rome* to be ſupreme head of the Church.

Phil That I am ſure of he doth not. For he, writing unto *Cornelius* then Biſhop of *Rome*, calleth him but his companion and his fellow Biſhop, neither attributed to him the name either of Pope, or elſe of any uſurped terms which now be aſcribed to the Biſhop of *Rome* to the ſetting forth of his dignity.

Saver. You cannot be able to ſhew that Saint *Cyprian* calleth *Cornelius* his fellow Biſhop.

* *Cyp. lib.* 1 *epi.* 3. D. *Saverſon* hath left his book to Mr. *Philpot*. *Cyp.* 11, 4. *epi.* 2 *cap* 16. *Nic. conc.* 3. Patriarchs only be named, to whom afterward the Patriarch of Conſtantinople was alſo joyned.

Philpot. I will wager with you what I am able to make, that I can ſhew it you in *Cyprian*, as I have ſaid.

* D. *Saver.* I will lay none other wager with you, but book for book that it is not ſo.

Philpot. I agree thereto, and I pray you one of my Lords Chaplains to fet us *Cyprian* hither for the trial hereof. And with that one of them went to my Lords ſtudy and brought forth *Cyprian*, and by and by he turned to the firſt book of his Epiſtles, the third Epiſtle, and there would have ſeemed to have gathered a ſtrong argument for the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, becauſe he ſaith; *It goeth not well with the Church when the high Prieſt is not obeyed, which ſupplieth the ſteed of Chriſt, after Gods Word, and the conſent of his fellow Biſhops and the agreement of the People.*

Cyprian hath alſo theſe words following in the ſame Epiſtle: it was declared amongſt us, and it is according to juſtice and equitie that every mans cauſe ſhould be heard where the fault was committed, and to every ſeveral Paſtor there is a portion of the flock appointed to rule and govern, for the which he muſt make an account before God. *Cypri. lib.* 4. *Epiſt.* 2.

D. *Saver.* How can you avoid this place which maketh ſo plainly for the Biſhop of *Romes* Supremacy?

Phil. It maketh not ſo plain, Mr. Doctor, on your ſide, as you gather, as by and by I will give you to underſtand. But firſt I challenge the wager which we made, that your book is mine. For here you may ſee that he calleth *Cornelius* his fellow B. as he doth alſo in other places. And now for the underſtanding of that place, you do miſconſtrue it, to take the high Prieſt onely for the Biſhop of *Rome*, and otherwiſe then it was in his time. For there were by the *Nicene* Council four Patriarchs appointed, the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and the Patriarch of *Rome*, of which four, the Patriarch of *Rome* was placed loweſt in the Council, and ſo continued many years, for the time of ſeven or eight general Councils, as I am able to ſhew.

Therefore Saint *Cyprian* writing to *Cornelius* Patriarch of *Rome* (whom he calleth his fellow Biſhop) findeth himſelf offended, that certain Hereticks being juſtly excommunicated by him (as the *Novatians* were) did flee from his Dioceſs, which was their chief Biſhop (refuſing to be obedient to him and to be reformed) to the B. of *Rome* and to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and there were received in communion of the congregation, in derogation of good order and diſcipline in the Church, and to the maintaining of Hereſies and Schiſms: and that Hereſies did ſpring up and Schiſms daily riſe hereof, that obedience was not given to the Prieſt of God, nor was it once conſidered him to be in the Church for the time the Prieſt, and for the time the judge in Chriſts ſtead (as in the decree of *Nicene* Council was appointed) not the Biſhop of *Rome* onely, but every Patriarch in his precinct: who had every one of them a Colledge or Cathedral Church of learned Prieſts, in hearing of whom by a convocation of his fellow Biſhops, with the conſent of the People, all Hereſies were determined by the Word of God; and this is the meaning of Saint *Cyprian*.

D. *Saver.* You take it ſo, but it ſeemeth to me otherwiſe.

Phil. Upon what ground it ſhould ſeem otherwiſe unto you I know not, but this meaning which I have declared, the general Councils, ſeven or eight one after another confirmed it ſo to be, which did not allow one ſupreme head onely.

Pend. There were not ſo many general Councils, but four onely allowed.

Phil. That is not ſo, Mr. *Pendleton*, although there be four ſpecially allowed for the confirmation of the Trinity: but beſides theſe four there were many other general Councils, as you may learn by many writers.

How S. *Cyprian* meaneth Chriſt to build his Church upon *Peter*. *Cyp. De ſimplicitate Prælatorum. Tract.* 10. *in Ioan.*

A Chaplain. Did not Chriſt build his Church upon Peter? Saint *Cyprian* ſaith ſo.

Phil. S. *Cyprian De ſimplicitate Prælatorum* declareth in what reſpect he ſo ſaid; *In perſona unius dedit Dominus omnibus claves, ut omnium unitatem denunciaret. i. God gave in perſon of one man the keyes to all, that he might ſignifie the unity of all men.* And alſo S. *Auguſtine* ſaith in the tenth treatiſe of S. *John*, *Si in* Petro *non eſſet eccleſiæ myſterium, non ei diceret Dominus, tibi dabo claves. Si autem hoc Petro dictum eſt, non habet Eccleſia; ſi autem Eccleſia habet, quando claves accepit, eccleſiam totam deſignavit: i. If in* Peter *had not been the myſtery of the Church the Lord had not ſaid unto him, I will give unto thee the keyes. For if that were ſaid to* Peter, *the Church hath them not; if the Church have them when* Peter *received them, he ſignified the whole Church.* And alſo S. *Hier.* a Prieſt of *Rome*, writing to *Nepotian*, ſaith, *That all Churches do lean to their own paſtors, where he ſpeaketh of the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy or Regiment*, where he maketh no mention of the Biſhop of *Rome*. And *Ad Evagrium*, he ſaith, *That whereſoever a Biſhop be, whether it be at* Rome, *or at* Evagie, *or at* Rhegium, *he is of one power and of one juriſdiction.*

Hieronym. ad Nepotianum.

Hieronym. ad Evagrium.

D. *Saver.* S. *Hierome De cœleſti Hierarchia?* It was *Dionyſius* you mean.

Phil. I ſay not that *Hierome* wrote any book ſo intituled. But I ſay, that in the Epiſtle by me alledged, he maketh mention of the Eccleſiaſtical regiment.

D. *Saver.* I wonder you will ſtand ſo ſtedfaſt in your error to your own deſtruction.

Phil. I am ſure we are in no error, by the promiſe of Chriſt made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to his true Church ſuch a Spirit of Wiſdom, that the Adverſaries thereof ſhould never be able to reſiſt. And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by reaſoning, neither by writing, your Synagogue of *Rome* is able to anſwer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to anſwer any of the godly learned Miniſters of *Germany*, who have diſcloſed your Counterfeit Religion? Which of you all (at this day) is able to anſwer *Calvins* Inſtitutions, which is Miniſter of *Geneva*.

False ſlander

D. *Saver.* A godly Miniſter indeed of receipt of cutpurſes, and Runagate Traytors. And of late I can tell you, there is ſuch contention fallen between him and his own ſects, that he was fain to flee the Town, about predeſtination. I tell you truth, for I came by *Geneva* hither.

Philpot. I am ſure you Blaſpheme that godly man, and that godly Church where he is Miniſter; as it is your Churches condition, when you cannot anſwer men by learning, to oppreſs them with Blaſphemies and falſe reports. For in the matter of predeſtination he is in none other opinion then all the Doctors of the Church be, a-greeing to the Scriptures.

December. *Saver.* Men be able to anſwer him if they liſt. And I pray you which of you have anſwered Biſhop *Fiſhers* book.

Phil. Yes (Maſter Doctor) that book is anſwered and anſwered again, if you liſt to ſeek what hath been written againſt him.

D *Story* cometh in. And after this Doctor *Story* came in. To whom I ſaid, M. *Doctor*, you have done me great injurie, and without law have ſtraitly impriſoned me, more like a dog then a man. And beſides this you have not kept promiſe with me, for you promiſed that I ſhould be judged the next day after.

Happy are you when they revile you, and ſay all evil againſt you for my names ſake *Matth 5.* *Story.* I am come now to keep promiſe with thee. Was there ever ſuch a phantaſtical man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beaſt, yea, theſe Hereticks be worſe then brute beaſts: for they will upon a vain ſingularitie take upon them to be wiſer then all men, being indeed very fools and aſſe heads, not able to maintain that which of an arrogant obſtinancie they do ſtand in.

Phil. Maſter Doctor, I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be troden on as you liſt. God forgive it you; yet I am no Heretick. Neither you nor any other ſhall be able to prove that I hold any jot againſt the Word of God otherwiſe then a Chriſtian man ought.

The Papiſts will not be ruled by the Scriptures without their own judge. *Story.* The Word of God? Forſooth the Word of God? It is but a folly to reaſon with theſe Hereticks, for they are incurable and deſperate. But yet I may reaſon with thee, not that I have any hope to win thee; whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou ſtandeſt?

Phil. Verily the word it ſelf.

Story. Do you not ſee the Ignorance of this beaſtly Heretick? He willeth the word to be judged of the word. Can the word ſpeak?

Phil. If I cannot prove that which I have ſaid by good Authority, I will be content to be counted an Heretick and an Ignorant perſon, and further what you pleaſe.

Story. Let us hear what wiſe Authority thou canſt bring in.

John 12. What ſay you now M. Doctor? *Phil.* It is the ſaying of Chriſt in S. *John*, *Verbum quod locutus ſum judicabit in noviſſimo die*, *The word which I have ſpoken*, ſaith Chriſt, *ſhall judge in the laſt day.* If the word ſhall judge in the laſt day, much more it ought to judge our doings now: And I am ſure I have my judge on my ſide, who ſhall abſolve and juſtifie me in another World. Howſoever now it ſhall pleaſe you by Authority unrighteouſly to judge of me and others, ſure I am in another World to judge you.

Mr. Doctor having not to anſwer falleth to railing. *Story.* What? you purpoſe to be a ſtinking Martyr, and to ſit in judgment with Chriſt at the laſt day to judge the twelve tribes of *Iſrael*?

Phil. Yea Sir, I doubt not thereof, having the promiſe of Chriſt, if I die for righteouſneſs ſake, which you have begun to perſecute in me. Anno 1555.

Story. I told you it was but vain to argue with this Heretick; he is drowned in his Hereſies without all learning.

Phil. Sir I have brought you, for that I have ſaid, good Authority out of Gods Book, to the which you anſwer nothing, but go about ſtill to give railing judgment againſt me without any cauſe.

Story. I will come to you by and by. When as the judge in *Weſtminſter* Hall giveth Sentence, doth the word give Sentence, or the judge? tell me.

Gods judgment and Civil judgment not alike. *Phil.* Civil matters be ſubject to Civil men, and they have Authority by the word, to be judges of them. But the Word of God is not ſubject to mans judgment, but ought to judge all the Wiſdom, thoughts and doings of men, and therefore your compariſon diſproveth nothing that I have ſaid, neither anſwereth any whit thereto.

Story. Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the Church upon the Scriptures?

The judgment of the Church how far it ſaveth. *Philpot.* Yes, if it be according to the Word of the True Church: and this I ſay to you, as I have ſaid heretofore, that if ye can prove the Church of *Rome* (whereof ye are) to be the True Catholick Church which I ought to follow, I will be as ready to yield thereto (as long as it can be ſo proved) as you may deſire me.

Story. What a fellow is this? he will believe nothing but what he liſt himſelf. Are we not in poſſeſſion of the Church? have not our forefathers theſe many hundred years taken this Church for the Catholick Church whereof we are now? And if we had none other proof but this, it were ſufficient; for the preſcription of time maketh a good title in the Law. Preſcription of time.

Preſcription of time maketh no title in Gods matters. *Phil.* You do well, Mr. Doctor, to alledge preſcription of many years, for it is all that you have to ſhew for your ſelves. But you muſt underſtand, *In divinis nulla occurrit præſcriptio*, that preſcription hath no place in matters belonging unto God, as I am able to ſhew by the teſtimony of many Doctors.

Story. Well Sir, you are like to go after your Father *Latimer* the Sophiſter, and *Ridley*, who had nothing to alledge for himſelf, but that he had learned his Hereſie of *Cranmer*. When I came to him with a poor Batchelor of Art, he trembled as though he had had the palſie, as theſe Hereticks have always ſome token of fear whereby a man may know them, as you may ſee this mans eies do tremble in his head. But I diſpatched them; and I tell thee that there hath been yet never an one burnt, but I have ſpoken with him, and have been a cauſe of his diſpatch.

D. *Story* confeſſeth himſelf to be the chief diſpatcher of all Gods Saints that ſuffered in Queen *Maries* time.

Phil. You have the more to anſwer for, Mr. Doctor, as you ſhall feel in another World, how much ſoever you do now Triumph of your proceedings.

Story. I tell thee I will never be confeſſed thereof. And becauſe I cannot now tarry to ſpeak with my Lord, I pray one of you tell my Lord, that my coming was to ſignifie to his Lordſhip, That he muſt out of hand rid this Heretick out of the way. And going away he ſaid to me, I certifie thee, that thou maiſt thank none other man but me.

Phil. I thank you therefore with all mine heart, and God forgive it you.

Stories cruelty. *Story.* What? doeſt thou thank me? If I had thee in my ſtudy half an hour, I think I ſhould make you ſing another ſong.

Phil. No, Mr. Doctor, I ſtand upon too ſure a ground to be overthrown by you now. And thus they departed all away from me one after another, until I was left all alone. And afterwards with my Keeper going to my Cole-houſe, as I went, I met with my Lord of *London*, who ſpake unto me gently, as he hath hitherto in words ſaying;

John Philpot left alone. *London.* *Philpot*, if there be any pleaſure I may ſhew you in my houſe, I pray you require it, and you ſhall have it.

Phil. My Lord, The pleaſure that I will require of your L. is to haſten my judgment which is committed unto you, and to diſpatch me forth of this miſerable World, unto my eternal reſt. And for all this fair ſpeech I cannot attain hitherto this fortnights ſpace, neither fire nor candle, neither yet good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this World, and to be coun-

The ſtrait handling of *John Philpot* in priſon, for all the B. fair words.

ted

Anno 1555.

ted amongſt the vileſt, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore praiſed be God, that hath humbled me, and given me grace with gladneſs to be content therewithal. Let all that love the truth ſay *Amen*,

Thus endeth the fifth Tragedy.

The ſixth Examination of John Philpot *had before the right honourable Lords, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queens Majeſtie, the Vicount* Hereford, *commonly called Lord* Ferras, *the Lord* Rich, *the Lord S.* Johns, *the Lord* Windſore, *the Lord* Shandois, *Sir* John Bridges, *Lieutenant of the* Tower, *and two other more whoſe names I know not, with the Biſhop of* London *and Doctor* Chedſey, *the ſixth day of* November. *Anno* 1555.

The ſixth examination of Mr. *Philpot* before certain Lords, and the B. of *London*.

Philpot. Before that I was called afore the Lords, and whiles they were in ſitting down, the Biſhop of *London* came aſide to me and whiſpered in mine ear, willing me to uſe my ſelf before the Lords of the Queens Majeſties Council prudently, and to take heed what I ſaid; and thus he pretended to give me Counſel becauſe he wiſhed me to do well, as I might now do if I liſt. And after the Lords and other worſhipful Gentlemen of the Queens Majeſties Servants were ſet, my Lord of *London* placed himſelf at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the Lords I was placed at the upper end againſt him; where I kneeling down, the Lords commanded me to ſtand up, and after in this manner the Biſhop began to ſpeak.

The words of B: Boner to Mr. *Philpot*.

London. Mr. *Philpot*, I have heretofore both privately my ſelf, and openly before the Lords of the Clergy, more times then once cauſed you to be talked withal to reform you of your errors, but I have not found you yet ſo tractable as I would wiſh: Wherefore now I have deſired theſe honourable Lords of the temporalty and of the Q. Majeſties Council, who have taken pains with me this day, I thank them therefore, to hear you what you can ſay, that they may be judges whether I have ſought all means to do you good or no: and I dare be bold to ſay in their behalf, that if you ſhew your ſelf conformable to the Q. Majeſties proceedings, you ſhall find as much favour for your deliverance, as you can wiſh. I ſpeak not this to fawn upon you, but to bring you home into the Church. Now let them hear what you can ſay.

Mr. *Philpots* anſwer to the Biſhop.

Phil. My Lord, I thank God of this day, that I have ſuch an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend your Lordſhips equity in this behalf, which agreeth with the order of the primitive Church, which was, if any body had been ſuſpected of Hereſie, as I am now, he ſhould be called firſt before the Archbiſhop or B. of the Dioceſs where he was ſuſpected; ſecondly in the preſence of others his fellow Biſhops and learned elders; and thirdly in hearing of the laitie: where after the judgment of Gods Word declared, and with the aſſent of our Biſhops and conſent of the People, he was condemned for an Heretick, or abſolved. And the ſecond point of that good order I have found at your Lordſhips hands already in being called before you and your fellow Biſhops, and now have the third ſort of men, at whoſe hands I truſt to find more righteouſneſs in my cauſe then I have found with my Lords of the Clergie; God grant I may have at laſt the judgment of Gods Word concerning the ſame.

Hereticks in the primitive Church onely condemned to exile

London. Mr. *Philpot*, I pray you ere you go any further, tell my Lords here plainly whether you were by me or by my procurement committed to priſon or not, and whether I have ſhewed you any cruelty ſithen ye have been committed to my priſon.

Philpot. If it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhip to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward.

B. *Boner* not the cauſe of Mr. *Philpots* impriſonment.

Rich. Anſwer firſt of all to my Lords two queſtions, and then proceed forth to the matter. How ſay you? were you impriſoned by my Lord or no? can you find any fault ſince with his cruel uſing of you?

Phil. I cannot lay to my Lords charge the cauſe of my impriſonment, neither may I ſay that he hath uſed me cruelly, but rather for my part I may ſay that I have found more gentleneſs at his Lordſhips hands, then I did at mine own Ordinaries, for the time I have been within his priſon, for that he hath called me three or four times to mine anſwer, to the which I was not called in a twelvemonth and a half before.

Rich. Well, now go to your matter.

Phil. The matter is, that I am impriſoned for the diſputations had by me in the Convocation houſe againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the conſent of the Queens Majeſtie and of the whole houſe, and that houſe, being a member of the Parliament houſe, ought to be a place of free ſpeech for all men of the houſe, by the ancient and laudable cuſtom of this Realm. Wherefore I think my ſelf to have ſuſtained hitherto great injurie for ſpeaking my Conſcience freely in ſuch a place as I might lawfully do it: and I deſire your honourable Lordſhips judgment which be of the Parliament Houſe, whether of right I ought to be impeached therefore, and ſuſtain the loſs of my living, (as I have done) and moreover of my life, as it is ſought.

The Convocation no part of the Parliament Houſe, ſaith the Lord Rich.

Rich. You are deceived herein; for the Convocation Houſe is no part of the Parliament Houſe.

Phil. My Lord, I have always underſtood the contrarie by ſuch as are more expert men in things of this Realm then I: and again, the title of every Act leadeth me to think otherwiſe, which alledgeth the agreement of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie aſſembled together.

Rich. Yea, that is meant of the ſpiritual Lords of the upper houſe.

Whether the Convocation be part of the Parliament Houſe or no yet free liberty was given by the Queen every man to ſpeak his Conſcience.

Windſor. Indeed the Convocation Houſe is called together by one writ of the Summons of the Parliament of an old cuſtom; notwithſtanding that houſe is no part of the Parliament Houſe.

Phil. My Lords, I muſt be contented to abide your judgments in this behalf.

Rich. We have told you the truth: Mary yet we would not that you ſhould be troubled for any thing that there was ſpoken, ſo that you having ſpoken amiſs do declare now that you are ſorry therefore.

Lond. My Lords, he hath ſpoken there manifeſt Hereſie, yea, and there ſtoutly maintained the ſame againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar (and with that he put off his cap, that all the Lords might reverence and vail their bonnets at that idol as he did) and would not allow the real preſence of the body and Blood of Chriſt in the ſame: yet my Lords, God forbid that I ſhould go about to ſhew him extremitie for ſo doing, in caſe he will repent and revoke his wicked ſayings; and if in faith he will ſo do, with your Lordſhips conſent he ſhall be releaſed by and by; if he will not he ſhall have the extremitie of the law, & that ſhortly.

Chamb. My Lord of *London* ſpeaketh reaſonably unto you: take it whiles it is offered you.

Rich. How ſay you? Will you acknowledge the real preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, as all the learned men of this Realm do, in the Maſs, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do proteſt it?

Phil. My Lord, I do acknowledge in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt ſuch a preſence, as the Word of God doth allow and teach me.

How Boner taketh in the Sacrament, to be both the ſign and the thing ſignified.

Rich. That ſhall be no otherwiſe then you liſt.

Lond. A Sacrament is the ſign of a holy thing; So that there is both the ſign which is the accident (as the whiteneſs, roundneſs, and ſhape of Bread) and there is alſo the thing it ſelf, as very Chriſt both God and Man. But theſe Hereticks will have the Sacrament to be but bare ſigns. How ſay you? declare unto my Lords here whether you do allow the thing it ſelf in the Sacrament or no.

Both the ſign and the thing ſignified in due reſpects be in the Sacrament.

Phil. I do confeſs that in the Lords Supper there is in due reſpects both the ſign and the thing ſignified, when it is duly Miniſtred after the inſtitution of Chriſt.

London. You may ſee how he goeth about the buſh (as he hath done before) with my Lords of the Clergie, and dare not utter his mind plainly.

Rich. Shew us what manner of preſence you allow in the Sacrament.

Phil. If it pleaſe you, my Lord of *London*, to give me leave to proceed orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my mind without interruption, I will throughly open my mind therein.

L. Shand. I pray you my Lord, let him ſpeak his mind.

Ye ſay ye ſeek not his life, and yet ye know to anſwer to that ye ask will be his death.

Phil. My Lords, that at the firſt I have not plainly declared my judgment unto you the reaſon is this, becauſe I cannot ſpeak hereof without the danger of my life.

Rich. There is none of us here that ſeeketh thy life, or means to take any advantage of that thou ſhalt ſpeak.

Phil. Although I miſtruſt not your honourable Lordſhips that be here of the Temporalty; yet here is one that ſitteth againſt me (pointing to my Lord of *London*) that will lay it to my charge even to the death. Notwithſtanding, ſeeing your Honours do require me to declare my mind of the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, that ye may perceive that I am not aſhamed of the Goſpel of Chriſt, neither do maintain any opinion without probable and ſufficient authority of the Scripture, I will ſhew you frankly my mind without all colour, whatſoever ſhall enſue unto me therefore, ſo that my Lord of *London* will not let me to utter my mind.

Rich. My Lord, permit him to ſay what he can, ſeeing he is willing to ſhew his mind.

Lond. I am content, my Lords, let him ſay what he can, I will hear him.

The proteſtation of *John Philpot* before the Lords.

Phil. That which I do intend to ſpeak unto you (right honourable Lords) I do proteſt here, firſt before God and his Angels, that I ſpeak it not of vain-glory, neither of ſingularity, neither of wilful ſtubbornneſs, but truly upon a good Conſcience, grounded on Gods Word, againſt the which I dare not do for fear of damnation which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge. Neither do I diſagree to the proceedings of this Realm in the Religion, for that I love not the Queen, (whom I love from the bottom of my heart,) but becauſe I ought to love and fear God in his Word more than man in his Laws, though I ſtand, as I ſeem, to do, in this conſideration, and for none other, as God I call to witneſs.

Two things wherein the Clergy deceiveth the whole Realm.

There be two things principally, by the which the Clergy at this day doth deceive the whole Realm; that is, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and the name of the Catholick Church: the which both they do uſurp, having indeed none of them both. And as touching their Sacrament, which they term of the Altar, I ſay now

The Papiſts have neither the Sacrament of the Lords Body nor the true Church.

as I ſaid in the Convocation-houſe, that it is not the Sacrament of Chriſt, neither in the ſame is there any manner of Chriſts preſence. Wherefore they deceive the Queens Majeſty, and you of the Nobility of this Realm, in making you to believe that to be a Sacrament which is none, and cauſe you to commit manifeſt Idolatry in worſhipping that for God, which is no God. And in teſtimony of this to be true, beſides manifeſt proof, which I am able to make to the Queens Majeſty, and to all you of her Nobility, I will yield my life. The which to do, if it were not upon a ſure ground, it were to my utter damnation.

Papiſts untruly uſurp the name of the Church.

And where they take on them the name of the Catholick Church (whereby they blind many folks eyes) they are nothing ſo, calling you from the true Religion which was revealed and taught in King *Edwards* time, unto vain ſuperſtition. And this I will ſay for the trial hereof, that if they can prove themſelves to be the Catholick Church (as they ſhall never be able to do) I will never be againſt their doings, but revoke all that I have ſaid. And I ſhall deſire you, my Lords, to be a mean for me to the Queens Majeſty, that I may be brought to the juſt trial hereof. Yea, I will not refuſe to ſtand againſt ten of the beſt of them in this Realm. And if they be able to prove otherwiſe than I have ſaid, either by writing or by reaſoning, with good and lawful Authority, I will here promiſe to recant whatſoever I have ſaid, and to conſent to them in all points. And in the declaration of theſe things more at large, which now I write in ſum, the Biſhop of *London* eftſoons would have interrupted me, but the Lords procured me liberty to make out my tale, to the great grief of the Lord Biſhop of *London*, as it appeared by the dumps he was in.

Mr. Philpot offereth himſelf to ſtand againſt ten of the beſt Learned in the Realm, in the proof of his cauſe.

Lond. It hath been told me before, that you love to make a long tale.

Rich. All Hereticks do boaſt of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a Church by himſelf; as *Joan* of *Kent* and the Anabaptiſts. I had my ſelf *Joan* of *Kent* a ſevennight in my houſe after the Writ was out for her to be burnt, where my Lord of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop *Ridley* reſorted almoſt daily unto her: but ſhe was ſo high in the Spirit, that they could do nothing with her for all their Learning. But ſhe went wilfully unto the fire, was burnt, and ſo do you now.

Phil. As for *Joan* of *Kent*, ſhe was a vain Woman (I knew her well) and an Heretick indeed, well worthy to be burnt, becauſe ſhe ſtood againſt one of the manifeſt Articles of our Faith, contrary to the Scriptures: and ſuch vain ſpirits be ſoon known from the true Spirit of God and his Church, for that the ſame abideth within the limits of Gods Word and will not go out of the ſame, neither ſtubbornly maintain any thing contrary to the Word, as I have Gods Word throughly on my ſide to ſhew for that I ſtand in. Anno 1555.

The Popes Catholicks, when they have no reaſon wherewith to perſwade, they fall to railing, and to charge men with ſtubbornneſs.

Lond. I pray you, how will you joyn me theſe two Scriptures together; *Pater major me eſt; & pater & ego unum ſumus.* I muſt interpret the ſame, becauſe my Lords here underſtand not the Latin, that is to ſay, *The Father is greater than I; and I and the Father are one:* But I cry you mercy, my Lords, I have miſpoken, in ſaying you underſtand no Latin; for the moſt part of you underſtand Latin as well as I. But I ſpeak in conſideration of my Lord *Shandois* and Mr. *Bridges* his Brother, whom I take to be no great Latin men. Now ſhew your cunning, and joyn theſe two Scriptures by the Word if you can.

Phil. Yes that I can right well. For we muſt underſtand that in Chriſt there be two natures, the Divinity and Humanity, and in reſpect of his Humanity it is ſpoken of Chriſt, *The Father is greater than I.* But in reſpect of his Deity he ſaid again, *The Father and I be one.* Pſalm 8.

Lond. But what Scripture have you?

Phil. Yes I have ſufficient Scripture for the proof of that I have ſaid. For the firſt, it is written of Chriſt in the Pſalms, *Diminuiſti eum paulo minus ab Angelis; Thou haſt made him a little leſſer than Angels.* It is the 15. *Pſalm*, beginning *Cœli enarrant.* And there I miſreckoned, wherewithal my Lord took me.

Lond. It is in *Domine Dominus noſter.* Ye may ſee, my Lords, how well this man is uſed to ſay his Mattins.

Phil. Though I ſay not Mattins in ſuch order as your Lordſhip meaneth; yet I remember of old, that *Domine Dominus noſter*, and *Cœli enarrant*, be not far aſunder: and albeit I miſnamed the Pſalm, it is no prejudice to the Truth that I have proved.

Lond. What ſay you then to the ſecond Scripture? how couple you that by the Word to the other?

Scripture alleadged.

Phil. The Text it ſelf declareth, that notwithſtanding Chriſt did abaſe himſelf in our human nature, yet he is ſtill one in Deity with the Father. And this St. *Paul* to the *Hebrews* doth more at large ſet forth. And as I have by the Scriptures joyned theſe two Scriptures together, ſo am I able to do in all other Articles of Faith which we ought to believe, and by the manifeſt Word of God to expound them.

Lon. How can that be, ſeeing S. *Paul* ſaith, *That the letter killeth, but it is the ſpirit that giveth life.*

How the Letter killeth, and whom.

Phil. St. *Paul* meaneth not the Word of God written, in it ſelf killeth, which is the Word of life, and faithful teſtimony of the Lord; but that the Word is unprofitable and killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wiſeſt man of the world, and therefore S. *Paul* ſaid, *That the Goſpel to ſome was a ſavour of life unto life, and to ſome other a ſavour of death unto death.* 2 Cor. 3.

Alſo an example hereof we have in the ſixth of *John*, of them who hearing the Word of God without the Spirit were offended thereby; wherefore Chriſt ſaid, *The fleſh profiteth nothing, it is the ſpirit that quickneth.* John 6.

Lond. What? do you underſtand that of St. *Paul* and of St. *John* ſo?

Phil. It is not mine own interpretation, it is agreeable to the Word in other places; and I have learned the ſame of ancient Fathers interpreting it likewiſe. And to the *Corinthians* it is written, *Animalis homo non percipit ea quæ ſunt Spiritus Dei; ſpiritualis dijudicat omnia.* *The natural man perceiveth not the things that be of the Spirit of God, but the ſpiritual man which is indued with the ſpirit judgeth all things.* 1 Cor. 6. 1 Cor. 2.

Lond. You ſee, my Lords, that this man will have his own mind, and will wilfully caſt away himſelf. I am ſorry for him.

Phil. The words that I have ſpoken be none of mine but the Goſpel, whereon I ought to ſtand. And if you my Lord of *London* can bring better Authority for the Faith you will draw me unto, than that which I ſtand upon, I will gladly hear the ſame by you or by any other in this Realm.

Where-

Anno 1555.

M. *Philpot* requeſt to the Lords.

Wherefore I kneeling down beſought the Lords to be good unto me a poor Gentleman, that would fain live in the world if I might, and teſtifie as you have heard me to ſay this day, that if any man can prove that I ought to be of any other manner of Faith then that of which I now am, and can prove the ſame ſufficiently, I will be neither wilful, neither deſperate, as my Lord of *London* would make you believe me to be.

Rich. What Country man be you? are you of the *Philpots* of *Hampſhire*.

Phil. Yea, my Lord, I was Sir *P. Philpots* Son of *Hampſhire*.

Rich. He is my neer kinſman? wherefore I am the more ſorry for him.

Phil. I thank your Lordſhip that it pleaſeth you to challenge kindred of a poor Priſoner.

Rich. In Faith I would go an hundred miles on my bare feet to do you good.

Chamb. He may do well enough if he liſt.

St. John. Mr. *Philpot*, you are my Countryman, and I would be glad you ſhould do well.

Rich. You ſaid even now, that you would deſire to maintain your belief before ten of the beſt in the Realm. You did not well to compare with the Nobility of the Realm. But what if you have ten of the beſt in the Realm to hear you, will you be tried by them?

Phil. My Lord your Lordſhip miſtaketh me to think that I challenge ten of the beſt of the Nobility in this Realm. It was no part of my mind, but I meant of the beſt Learned on the contrary ſide.

Rich. Well, I take your meaning: what if means be made to the Queens Majeſty, that you ſhall have your requeſt, will you be judged by them?

John Philpot will not be judged by his Adverſaries, but by the hearers, ſo far as they ſhall judge by Gods Word.

Phil. My Lord, it is not meet that a man ſhould be judged by his Adverſaries.

Rich. By whom then would you be judged?

Phil. I will make your Honors judges, that ſhall be hearers of us.

Rich. I dare be bold to procure for you of the Queens Majeſty that you ſhall have ten Learned men to reaſon with you, and twenty or forty of the Nobility to hear, ſo you will promiſe to abide their judgement. How ſay you, will you promiſe here afore my Lords ſo to do?

Phil. I will be contented to be judged by them.

Ri. Yea, but will you promiſe to agree to their judgment?

Phil. There be cauſes why I may not ſo do, unleſs I were ſure they would judg according to the Word of God.

Rich. O, I perceive you will have no man judge but your ſelf, and think your ſelf wiſer then all the Learned men in this Realm.

The true order of judgment uſed in the primitive Church.

Phil My Lord, I ſeek not to be mine own judge, but am content to be judged by other, ſo that the order of judgment in matters of Religion be kept that was in the primitive Church, which is, firſt that Gods will by his Word was ſought, and thereunto both the Spiritualty and Temporalty was gathered together, and gave their conſents and judgment, and ſuch kind of judgment I will ſtand to.

B. *Boner* bewrayeth his own ignorance.

Lond. My Lords he would make you believe that he were profoundly ſeen in ancient writers of the judgments of the Primitive Church, and there was never any ſuch manner of judgment uſed as he now talketh of.

Phil. In the Epiſtles of St. *Cyprian* I am able to ſhew it you.

B. *Boners* dares not reach out his Book.

Lond. Ah, I tell you there is no ſuch thing; fetch me *Cypriau* hither.

Phil. You ſhall find it otherwiſe when the Book cometh. And Doctor *Chedſey* his Chaplain (whom he appointed to fetch his Book) whiſpered the Biſhop in his ear, and fetcht not the Book, by likelyhood that he ſhould have ſuſtained the reproach thereof if the Book had been fetcht. Well my Lord, quoth I, Mr. Doctor knoweth it is ſo, or elſe he would have fetcht the Book ere this.

Rich You would have none other judge, I ſee, but the Word.

Phil. Yes my Lord: I will be tried by the Word, and by ſuch as will judge according to the Word. As for an example, if there were a controverſie between your Lordſhip and another upon the words of a Statute, muſt not the words of the Statute judge and determine the controverſie?

Rich. No marry, the Judges of the Law may determine of the meaning thereof.

Lond. He hath brought as good an example againſt himſelf as can be.

B. *Boner* triumphs before the victory.

And here the Biſhop thought he had good handfaſt againſt me, and therefore enlarged it with many words to the judgment of the Church.

As a Judge of the Law may not diſcern the meaning of a Statute otherwiſe then agreeable to the words, ſo hath the Church no Power to judge the meaning of Gods Word contrary to it ſelf.

The Lords. He hath overthrown himſelf by his own argument.

Phil. My Lords, it ſeemeth to your Honors that you have great advantage of me by the example I brought in, to expreſs my cauſe, but if it be pondered throughly, it maketh wholly with me, and nothing againſt me, as my Lord of *London* hath pretended. For I will ask of my Lord *Rich* here whom I know to have good knowledge in the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, albeit a Judge may diſcern the meaning of a Statute agreeable to the words, whether the ſame may judge a meaning contrary to the expreſs words or no?

Rich. He cannot ſo do:

Phil. Even ſo ſay I, that no man ought to judge the Word of God to have a meaning contrary to the expreſs words thereof, as this falſe Church of *Rome* doth in many things; and with this the Lords ſeemed to be ſatisfied, and made no further replication herein.

objection of the Lord *Rich* why the words of the Scripture are not to be taken, this is my Body.

Rich. I marvel then why you do deny the expreſs words of Chriſt in the Sacrament, ſaying, *This is my Body*, and yet you will not ſtick to ſay it is not his Body: Is not God Omnipotent? and is not he able as well by his Omnipotency to make it his Body, as he was to make man fleſh of a piece of Clay? Did not he ſay; *This is my Body which ſhall be betraied for you*? and was not his very Body betrayed for us? therefore it muſt needs be his Body.

Lond. My Lord *Rich*, you have ſaid wonderful well and learnedly. But you might have begun with him before alſo in the 6. of *John*, where Chriſt promiſed to give his Body in the Sacrament of the Altar, ſaying, *Panis quem ego dabo caro mea eſt; The Bread which I will give is my fleſh*. How can you anſwer to that?

Phil. If it pleaſe you to give me leave to anſwer firſt my Lord *Rich*. I will alſo anſwer this Objection.

Rich. Anſwer my L. of *London* firſt, and after come to me.

Anſwer to B. *Boners* Objection.

Phil. My Lord of *London* may be ſoon anſwered, that the ſaying of S. *John* is, that the humanity of Chriſt, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the Bread of Life, whereby our Bodies and Souls be ſuſtained to eternal Life, of the which the Sacramental Bread is a lively repreſentation and an effectual coaptation, to all ſuch as believe on his paſſion. And as Chriſt ſaith in the ſame ſixth of *John*, *I am the Bread that came down from Heaven*; but yet he is not material neither natural Bread: Likewiſe the Bread is his fleſh, not natural or ſubſtantial, but by ſignification; and by grace in the Sacrament.

The place *John.* 6. expounded, (The Bread that I will give is my fleſh, &c.)

Anſwer to the Lord *Riches* Objection.

Papiſts Cater-couſins to the *Capernaites*.

Tranſubſtantiation hath neither ground of Scripture, nor antiquity.

And now to my Lord *Riches* Argument. I do not deny the expreſs words of Chriſt in the Sacrament, *This is my Body*, but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken: they muſt be taken ſacramentally and ſpiritually, according to the expreſs declaration of Chriſt, ſaying that the words of the Sacrament which the *Capernaites* took carnally, as the Papiſts now do, ought to be taken ſpiritually and not carnally, as they falſly imagine, not weighing what interpretation Chriſt hath made in this behalf, neither following the inſtitution of Chriſt, neither the uſe of the Apoſtles and of the primitive Church, who never taught, neither declared any ſuch carnal manner of preſence as is now exacted of us violently without any ground of Scripture or antiquity, who uſed to put out of the Church all ſuch as did not receive the Sacrament with the reſt, and alſo to burn that which was left after the receiving, as by the Canon of the Apoſtles, and by the decree of the Council of *Antioch* may appear.

Lond. No, that is not ſo; they were only *Catechumeni* which went out of the Church at the celebration of the Communion, and none other.

Phil. It was not only of ſuch as were Novices in Faith but all others that did not receive.

Lond. What ſay you to the Omnipotency of God? is not he able to perform that which he ſpake, as my Lord *Rich*, hath very well ſaid? I tell thee, that God by his Omnipotency may make himſelf to be this Carpet if he will.

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Phil. As concerning the Omnipotencie of God, I ſay that God is able to do (as the Prophet *David* ſaith) whatſoever he willeth; but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to his Word; as that is blaſphemy which my Lord of *London* hath ſpoken, that God may become a Carpet. For as I have learned of ancient Writers? *Non poteſt Deus facere quæ ſunt naturæ ſuæ contraria.* That is, *God cannot do that which is contrary to his nature*, as it is contrary to the nature of God to be a Carpet. A Carpet is a Creature; and God is the Creator; and the Creator cannot be the Creature: wherefore unleſs you can declare by the word, that Chriſt is otherwiſe preſent with us then ſpiritually and Sacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the Omnipotency of God in vain.

B. *Bonners* unreverent and blaſphemous ſpeaking of God.

The Omnipotency pretended in vain.

Lond. Why? Wilt thou not ſay that Chriſt is really preſent in the Sacrament? Or do you deny it.

Chriſt in the Sacrament really preſent to the Receiver. What he calleth really.

Phil. I deny not that Chriſt is really in the Sacrament to the receiver thereof according to Chriſts inſtitution.

Lond. What mean you by really preſent?

Phil. I mean by really preſent, preſent indeed.

Lond. Is God really preſent every where?

Phil. He is ſo.

Lond. How prove you that.?

Phil. The Prophet *Eſay* ſaith, *That God filleth all places*: and whereſoever there be two or three gathered together in Chriſts name, there is he in the midſt of them.

Lond. What? his humanity?

Phil. No my Lord, I mean the Deity, according to that you demanded.

B. *Boner* too weak for *John Philpot.*

Rich. My Lord of *London*, I pray you let Mr. Doctor *Chedſey* reaſon with him, and let us ſee how he can anſwer him, for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whoſe Doctrine the Queens Majeſty and the whole Realm doth well allow, therefore hear him.

The Lords fall to drinking.

Lond. My Lords I pray you, will it pleaſe you to drink? you have talked a great while, and much talk is thirſty. I will leave Mr. Doctor and him reaſoning together a while, with your leave, and will come to you by and by again. He went (as I ſuppoſe) to make room for more drink, after the Lords had drunken.

L. *Rich* biddeth M. *Philpot drink.*

Rich. My Lord *Rich* ſaid to the Lords, I pray you let the poor man drink, for he is thirſty, and with that he called for a Cup of drink, and gave it me, and I drank before them all: God requite it him, for I was a thirſt indeed. Afterwards Dr. *Chedſey* began in this wiſe, making a great proceſs, of the which this is the effect.

Chedſey beginneth to diſpute with M. *Philpot.*

Ched. Mr. *Philpot* findeth fault with the Convocation houſe before your Lordſhips, that he hath lain thus long in Priſon, and that he had there a doſen Arguments, whereof he could not be ſuffered to proſecute one throughly, which is not ſo; for he had * leave to ſay what he could, and was anſwered to as much as he was able to bring and when he had nothing elſe to ſay, he fell to weeping. I was there preſent and can teſtifie thereof; albeit there is a Book abroad of the report of the diſputation to the contrary, in the which there is * never a true word. And whereas you require to be ſatisfied of the Sacrament, I will ſhew you the † Truth thereof, both by the Scriptures, and by the Doctors.

Four Untruths of *Chedſey* at one clap.
* 1. Untruth.
† 2. Untruth.
* 3. Untruth.
† 4. Untruth.

Mr. *Philpot* anſwered D. *Chedſey.*

Phil. It is a ſhrewd likelyhood that you will not conclude with any Truth, ſince you have begun with ſo many untruths, as to ſay that I was anſwered whiles I had any thing to ſay, and that I wept for lack of matter to ſay, and that the Book of the report of the diſputation is nothing true. God be praiſed, there were a good many of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and worſhipful men that heard and ſaw the doings thereof, which can teſtifie that you here have made an unjuſt report before theſe honorable Lords. And that I wept, was not for lack of matter, as you ſlander me; for I thank God, I have more matter then the beſt of you all ſhall ever be able to anſwer, as little learning as I have: but my weeping was, as Chriſts was upon *Jeruſalem*, ſeeing the deſtruction that ſhould fall upon her? and I foreſeeing then the deſtruction which you (through violence and unrighteouſneſs which you there declared) would work againſt the true Church of Chriſt and her faithful Members, as this day beareth witneſs, was compelled to weep in remembrance of that which I with infinity more have felt and ſhall feel.

John Philpot interrupted in his Anſwers.

All theſe words I did then ſpeak out, being interrupted by my Lord *Rich*, ſaying that I ſhould ſuffer him to proceed out in this matter, and afterwards I ſhould have leaſure to anſwer him in every Article. But he promiſed more then he could perform, as the end did well declare, for he had not the conſent of the Spiritualty to his promiſe, which now Rule the roſt. God ſhorten their cruel days, for his Elects ſake. And therefore I add this, which I had purpoſed to have ſpoken, if then I might have been ſuffered, leſt any that perfectly know not the things done in the Convocation-houſe and now laid to my charge if they ſhould not be anſwered by me, might reckon Dr. *Chedſeys* ſayings to be true. And as concerning the Book of the report of the diſputations, I wrote the ſame, and it is true in every Argument, as Mr. Dean of *Rocheſter*, and Mr. *Cheyney* Archdeacon of *Hertford* (yet being alive, and within the Realm) can teſtifie.

Praiſe be to the Lord, for ſo he hath.

Ched. You have of Scriptures the four Evangeliſts for the probation of Chriſts real preſence to be in the Sacrament after the words of Conſecration, with St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*; which all ſay, *Hoc eſt corpus meum, This is my Body*. They ſay not as you would have me to believe, this is not the Body. But ſpecially the 6. of *John* proveth the ſame moſt manifeſtly, where Chriſt promiſed to give his Body, which he performed in his laſt Supper, as it appeareth by theſe words, *Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea eſt, quam ego dabo pro mundi vita, The Bread which I will give is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the World.*

Chedſey proveth the Sacrament by the ſixth of *John.*

Phil. My Lord *Rich*, with your leave, I muſt needs interrupt him a little, becauſe he ſpeaketh open blaſphemy againſt the death of Chriſt: for if that promiſe brought in by St. *John*, was performed by Chriſt in his laſt Supper, then needed he not to have died after he had given the Sacrament.

Rich. Let Mr. Doctor make an end of his Arguments, and afterward object to him what you can.

* So is there twice *Ego* too, and yet but one natural Body.

Ched. You muſt note that there is twice *Dabo* in this ſaying of St *John*, and the firſt is referred to the Sacrament of the Altar; and the ſecond to the Sacrifice upon the Croſs: and beſides theſe manifeſt Scriptures, there be many ancient Doctors proving the ſame, as *Ignatius*, *Ireneus*, and S. *Cyprian* (whoſe Authority he recited at large) which I do omit becauſe I was not permitted to anſwer the ſame.

Rich. Now anſwer, and object to him what you can, and you ſhall be heard.

John Philpot anſwereth proteſtation.

Phil. My Lord, the chiefeſt ground whereon he with the reſt of his ſide do ground themſelves againſt us, be theſe words, *This is my Body*, with a falſe pretence of the Omnipotencie of God. And before I will come to the particular anſwers of all that he hath alledged, for that your Lordſhips may the better underſtand me, what I mean, and whereupon I ſtand, I will firſt require M. Doctor to anſwer me one queſtion. But firſt of all I do proteſt to your Honors that I think as reverently of the Sacrament, as a Chriſtian man ought to do, and that I acknowledge the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, miniſtred after Chriſts inſtitution, to be one of the greateſt treaſures and comforts that he left us on the Earth: and contrarywiſe it is moſt diſcomfort and abominable, not being miniſtred as it ought to be, as it is uſed now adays. And now to my queſtion, which is this: whether theſe words only *Hoc eſt corpus meum, This is my Body*, ſpoken by a Prieſt over the Bread and Wine, may make the Body and Blood of Chriſt, as you ſuppoſe or no?

A queſtion of *J. Philpots.*

Ched. Staggering what he might ſay, at laſt he ſaid, that theſe words alone, pronounced by the Prieſt, be ſufficient to make the Bread and the Wine the very Body and Blood of Chriſt really.

Phil That is blaſphemie to ſay, and againſt all the Scriptures and Doctors, who affirm that the form and ſubſtance in Conſecration muſt be obſerved which Chriſt uſed and did inſtitute, as S. *Cyprian* ſaith, *In ſacrificio quod Chriſtus eſt, non niſi Chriſtus ſequendus: In the ſacrifice which is Chriſt, only Chriſt is to be followed.* And by the Law it is forbidden to add or take away from Gods Word. And Saint *Peter* ſaith, *If any man ſpeak let him ſpeak as the Word of God.* Wherefore whoſoever ſaith that theſe words only, *This is my Body*, do make a preſence of Chriſt, without *Bleſs, Take, and Eat*, which

Blaſphemy to ſay that theſe words only (This is my Body) make a real preſence. *Cypr. lib. 2. Epiſt. 3.*

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be three as ſubſtantial points of the Sacrament, as, *This is my Body*, he is highly deceived.

Theſe words (Bleſs, Take and Eat) be as ſubſtantial points of the Sacrament as (This is my Body.) Hereof read more in the Examinations of M. *Bradford.*

Therefore St. *Auſtine* ſaith, *Accedat verbum ad elementum & fit Sacramentum*; *Let the word be joyned to the element, and it becometh a Sacrament:* So that if the entire words of Chriſts Inſtitutions be not obſerved in the miniſtration of a Sacrament, it is no Sacrament; as the ſacrifices which the Ten tribes did offer at *Bethel* to God, were not acceptable, becauſe they were not in all points done according to Gods Word. Wherefore except bleſſing be made after the Word (which is a due thanke-giving for our redemption in Chriſt) and alſo a ſhewing forth of the Lords death in ſuch wiſe as the Congregation may be edified? and moreover a taking and eating after Chriſts Commandment? except (I ſay) theſe three parts be firſt performed (which is not done in the Maſs) theſe words *This is my Body*, which are laſt placed in the inſtitution of the Lords Supper, cannot be verified. For Chriſt commanded as well. *Take ye, Eat ye,* as *This is my Body.*

Chriſt ſaid, *Take, Eat, this is my Body*, and not, take ye, Eat ye.

Mr. Doctor taken with the manner.

Philpot. No did, Maſter Doctor? Be not theſe the words of Chriſt *Accipite, manducate?* and do not theſe words in the plural number ſignifie, *Take ye, Eat ye*, and not take thou, Eat thou, as you would ſuppoſe?

Ched. I grant it is as you ſay.

Phil. Likewiſe of conſequency, you (M. Doctor) muſt needs deny, which you have ſaid, that theſe words, *This is my Body*, being only ſpoken, be ſufficient to make the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament, as you have untruly ſaid.

Lond. Then came in the Biſhop again and ſaid, what is it that you would have M. Doctor deny?

Phil. My Lord, M. Doctor hath affirmed that theſe words, *This is my Body*, ſpoken by the Prieſt, only do make the Sacrament.

The words of Chriſt (This is my Body) except a Prieſt ſpeak them make no body.

Lond. Indeed if M. *Bridges* ſhould ſpeak theſe words over the Bread and Wine, they would be of none effect: but if a Prieſt ſpeak them after a due manner, they are effectual, and make a real Body.

Phil. M. Doctor hath ſaid otherwiſe.

Lond. I think you miſtake him; for he meaneth of the words duely pronounced.

Phil. Let him revoke that he hath granted, and then will I begin again with that which before was ſaid; that, *This is my Body*, hath no place, except, *bleſs, take, and Eat*, duely go before. And therefore becauſe the ſame words do not go before, *This is my Body*, but prepoſterouſly follow in your Sacrament of the Maſs, it is not the Sacrament of Chriſt, neither hath Chriſt in it preſent.

Ched. If, *This is my Body* only do not make the Sacrament, no more do, *bleſs, take, and Eat.*

Phil. I grant that the one without the other cannot make the Sacrament. And it can be no Sacrament unleſs the whole action of Chriſt doth concur together according to the firſt Inſtitution.

Ched. Why, then you would not have it to be the Body of Chriſt, unleſs it be received?

Sacraments without their uſe be no Sacraments.

Phil. No verily, it is not the very Body of Chriſt to any other, but ſuch as condignly receive the ſame after his Inſtitution.

Lond. Is not a Loaf a Loaf, being ſet on the Table though no Body eat thereof?

Phil. It is not like my Lord; for a Loaf is a Loaf before it be ſet on the Table: but ſo is not the Sacrament a perfect Sacrament before it be duly miniſtred at the Table of the Lord.

Lond. I pray you, what is it in the mean while, before it is received?

Phil. It is, my Lord, the ſign begun of a holy thing, and yet no perfect Sacrament until it be received. For in the Sacrament there be two things to be conſidered, the ſign, and the thing it ſelf, which is Chriſt and his whole paſſion; and it is that to none but to ſuch as worthily receive the holy ſigns of Bread and Wine, according to Chriſts Inſtitution.

The Sacrament of the Lords Body without receiving, is no Sacrament.

Wind. There were never any that denied the words of Chriſt as you do. Did not he ſay, *This is my Body?*

Phil. My Lord, I pray you be not deceived. We do not deny the words of Chriſt: but we ſay, theſe words be of none effect, being ſpoken otherwiſe than Chriſt did inſtitute them in his laſt Supper. For an example; Chriſt biddeth the Church *to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt*: if a Prieſt ſay theſe words over the water, and there be no Child to be baptized, theſe words only pronounced do not make Baptiſm. And again, Baptiſm is only Baptiſm to ſuch as be baptized, and to none other ſtanding by.

As Baptiſm is no Baptiſm, but to the Child that is baptized, and not to the ſtanders by: ſo the Sacrament of the Body is no Sacrament but to them that worthily receive.

L. Chamb. I pray you, my Lord, let me ask him one queſtion. What kind of preſence in the Sacrament (duly miniſtred according to Chriſts Ordinance) do you allow?

Phil. If any come worthily to receive, then do I confeſs the preſence of Chriſt wholly to be with all the fruits of his Paſſion, unto the ſaid worthy Receiver, by the Spirit of God, and that Chriſt is thereby joyned to him and he to Chriſt.

L. Chamb. I am anſwered:

My Lord is better ſkilled in a fat Capon, than in Chriſts Sacrament.

Lond. My Lords, take no heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His ſimilitude that he bringeth in of Baptiſm, is nothing like to the Sacrament of the Altar. For if I ſhould ſay to Sir *John Bridges* being with me at Supper, and having a fat Capon, Take, eat, this is of a Capon, although he eat not thereof, is it not a Capon ſtill? And likewiſe of a piece of Beef, or of a Cup of Wine; if I ſay, Drink, this is a Cup of Wine, is it not ſo, becauſe he drinketh not thereof?

Phil. My Lord, your ſimilitudes be too groſs for ſo high myſteries as we have in hand, as if I were your equal I could more plainly declare, and there is much more diſſimilitude between common meats and drinks, than there is between Baptiſm and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. Like muſt be compared to like, and ſpiritual things with ſpiritual, and not ſpiritual things with corporal things. And meats and drinks be of their own natures good or evil, and your words, commending or diſcommending, do but declare what they are. But the Sacraments be to be conſidered according to the word which Chriſt ſpake of them, of the which, *Take ye, and eat ye*, be ſome of the chief, concurrent to the making of the ſame, without the which there can be no Sacraments: and therefore in Greek, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt is called κοινωνία, *i. Communion*, and likewiſe in the Goſpel Chriſt commanded, ſaying, *Dividite inter vos, i. Divide it among you:*

Ched. St. *Paul* calleth it a *Communication.*

Phil. That doth more expreſly ſhew, that there muſt be a participation of the Sacrament together.

Lond. My Lords, I am ſorry I have troubled you ſo long with this obſtinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now: and with that the Lords roſe up, none of them ſaying any evil word unto me, half amazed, in my judgment, God work it to good. Thus endeth the ſixth part of this Tragedy: The ſeventh look for with joy.

You are too weak, my Lord, you may riſe when ye will.

The ſeventh Examination of John Philpot, *had the nineteenth of* November, *before the Biſhops of* London *and* Rocheſter, *the Chancellor of* Lichfield, *and D.* Chedſey.

London. Sirrah, come hither. How chance you come no ſooner? Is it well done of you to make Mr. Chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the Faith of my body, half an hour before Maſs, and half an hour even at Maſs, looking for your coming.

Another calling of J. *Philpot* before the Biſhop.

Philpot. My Lord, it is not unknown to you that I am a Priſoner, and that the doors be ſhut upon me, and I cannot come when I liſt; but as ſoon as the doors of my Priſon were open, I came immediately.

Lond. We ſent for thee to the intent thou ſhouldſt have come to Maſs. How ſay you, would you have come to Maſs or no, if the doors had ſooner been opened?

Phil. My Lord, that is another manner of queſtion.

Lond. Lo, Mr. *Chancellor*, I told you we ſhould have a froward Fellow of him; he will anſwer directly to nothing. I have had him before both the Spiritual Lords and Temporal, and thus he fareth ſtill; yet he reckoneth himſelf better learned than all the Realm. Yea, before the Temporal Lords, the other day, he was ſo fooliſh to challenge the beſt: he would make himſelf learned, and is a very ignorant fool indeed.

You ſaid before he was learned.

Phil. I reckon, I anſwered your Lordſhip before the Lords plain enough.

Lond.

Lond. Why anſwereſt thou not directly, whether thou wouldſt have gone to Maſs or no, if thou hadſt come in time?

Phil. Mine anſwer ſhall be thus, that, if your Lordſhip can prove your Maſs, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true ſervice of God, whereunto a Chriſtian ought to come, I will afterward come with a good will.

Note how ſubſtantially B. *Boner* proveth the Maſs.

Lond. Look I pray you: the King and the Queen, and all the Nobility of the Realm do come to Maſs, and yet he will not. By my Faith thou art to well handled: thou ſhalt be worſe handled hereafter, I warrant thee.

Phil. If to lie in a blind Cole-houſe, may be counted good handling, both without fire and candle, then may it be ſaid, I am well handled. Your Lordſhip hath Power to intreat my Body as you liſt.

Lond. Thou art a Fool, and a very ignorant Fool. Maſter Chancellor, in good Faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleneſs as they can deſire. I let their Friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? the other day they had gotten themſelves up into the top of the Leads with a many of Prentiſes, gazing abroad as though they had been at liberty; but I will cut off your reſort: and as for the Prentiſes, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them:

The Priſoners charged with that they neither did nor knew of. He meaneth *Stephen Gardiner*, which in this month died a little before.

Phil. My Lord, we have no ſuch reſort to us as your Lp. imagineth, and there cometh very few unto us. And of Prentiſes I know not one, neither have we any Leads to walk on over our Cole-houſe, that I wot of: wherefore your Lordſhip hath miſtaken your mark.

Lond. Nay: now you think (becauſe my Lord Chancellor is gone) that we will burn no more: yes I warrant thee, I will diſpatch you ſhortly, unleſs you do recant.

Phil. My Lord, I had not thought that I ſhould have been alive now, neither ſo raw as I am, but well roſted to aſhes.

Chanc. Caſt not your ſelf wilfully away Mr. *Philpot*. Be content to be ruled by my Lord here, and by other Learned men of this Realm, & you may do well enough.

M. *Philpot* ſtandeth upon his Conſcience and the fear of God.

Phil. My Conſcience beareth me record that I ſeek to pleaſe God, and that the love and fear of God cauſeth me to do as I do: and I were of all other Creatures moſt miſerable, if for mine own will only I do loſe all the commodities I might have in this life, and afterward be caſt to damnation. But I am ſure, it is not my will whereon I ſtand, but Gods will, which will not ſuffer me to be caſt away, I am ſure.

Chanc. You are not ſo ſure, but you may be deceived.

Bish. *Boner* proceedeth *Ex officio* with Mr. *Philpot*.

Lond. Well, ſince thou wilt not be conformable by fair means I will proceed againſt thee *Ex officio*, and therefore hearken here to ſuch Articles as I have here written, and I charge thee to make anſwer to them. And with that he read a Libel which he had in his hand of divers Articles, and when he had done, he bad me anſwer.

Two Untruths in the Biſhops Articles.

Phil. Your libel, my Lord, containeth in ſum two ſpecial points: The firſt pretendeth, that I ſhould be of your Dioceſs, and therefore your Lordſhip, upon divers ſuſpects and infamies of Hereſie going upon me, is moved to proceed againſt me by your Ordinary office; the which firſt is not true, for that I am not of your Lordſhips Dioceſs, as the Libel doth pretend. And the ſecond is, that I being Baptized in the Catholick Church, and in the Catholick Faith, am gone from them, the which is not ſo, for I am of that Catholick Faith and Church as I was baptized unto.

Lond. What? art thou not of my Dioceſs? where are ye now I pray you?

Phil. My Lord, I cannot deny but I am in your Cole-houſe, which is your Dioceſs: yet I am not of your Dioceſs.

Lond. You were ſent hither unto me by the Queens Majeſties Commiſſioners, and thou art now in my Dioceſs: wherefore I will proceed againſt thee as thy Ordinary.

John Philpot challengeth the priviledge of his Ordinaries right.

Phil. I was brought hither through violence, and therefore my preſent being now in your Dioceſs is not enough to abridge me of mine own Ordnary's Juriſdiction neither maketh it me willingly ſubject to your Juriſdiction ſince it cometh by force, and by ſuch men as had no juſt Authority ſo to do; no more then a Sanctuary man, being by force brought forth of his place of priviledge, doth thereby loſe his priviledge, but always may challenge the ſame whereſoever he be brought.

Ched. Hath not the Queens Majeſty authority, by her Commiſſioners, to remove your Body whither ſhe will? and ought you not to obey herein? Anno 1555.

Phil. I grant that the Queens Majeſty (of her juſt Power) may tranſpoſe my Body, whither it ſhall pleaſe her Grace to command the ſame. But yet by your Laws *Spiritualia non ſunt ſubjecta Imperatoris poteſtati. i. Spiritual cauſes be not ſubject to the Temporal Power.* As for example; You Mr. Doctor, if the Queens Majeſty would appoint two temporal men to be judges over you in certain ſpiritual matters, might not you alledge the priviledge of a Clerk, and demand competent Spiritual judges in your cauſes?

Spiritual things are not ſubject to temporal Powers, and therefore the temporal Commiſſioners had no power to remove him into another mans Dioceſs.

Lond. Doth not a man (I pray you) *ſortiri forum ratione delicti?*

Phil. My Lord, your rule is true in Temporal matters, but in Spiritual cauſes it is not ſo: which be otherwiſe priviledged.

Lond. What ſaiſt thou then to the ſecond Article, and to the other?

Phil. My Lord, I ſay that I am not bound to anſwer the ſecond, neither the reſt, unleſs the firſt be proved.

Lond. Well, ſuppoſe the firſt may be proved, as it will be, what will you ſay then to the ſecond, that you are not of the ſame Catholick Faith, neither of the ſame Church now, as you were baptized in?

Phil. I am of the ſame Catholick Faith, and of the ſame Catholick Church which is of Chriſt, the Pillar and ſtabliſhment of Truth.

Lond. Nay that you are not.

Phil. Yes that I am.

Lond. Your Godfathers and Godmothers were of another Faith then you be now.

Phil. I was not baptized either into my Godfathers Faith or my Godmothers, but into the Faith and into the Church of Chriſt.

A man is not baptized into his Godfathers Faith, nor his Godmothers Faith; but into the Faith of Chriſts Church.

Lond. How know you that?

Phil. By the Word of God, which is the Touchſtone of Faith, and the limits of the Church.

Lond. How long hath your Church ſtood I pray you?

Phil. Even from the beginning, from Chriſt and from his Apoſtles, and from their immediate Succeſſors.

Chan. He will prove his Church to be before Chriſt.

John Philpot proveth his Church to be from Chriſt.

Phil. If I did ſo I go not amiſs: for there was a Church before the coming of Chriſt, which maketh one Catholick Church.

Chanc. It is ſo indeed.

No rule better than Antiquity, Univerſality, and Unity, to prove the true Faith and Church of the Proteſtants.

Phil. I will deſire no better rule then the ſame which is oftentimes brought in of your ſide, to prove both my Faith and the Catholick Church; that is, Antiquity, Univerſality, and Unity.

Lond. Do you not ſee what a bragging fooliſh fellow this is? He would ſeem to be very well ſeen in the Doctors, and he is but a Fool. By what Doctor art thou able to prove thy Church? Name him, and thou ſhalt have him.

Phil. My Lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and ink, and paper, and I will prove both my Faith and my Church out of every one of them.

Lond. No that thou ſhalt not have. You ſhall ſee how he lieth. S. *Cyprian* ſaith, *There muſt be one High Prieſt, to the which the reſidue muſt obey*, and they will allow no Head, neither Vicar general.

Becauſe you dare not.

Phil. S. *Cyprian* ſaith not, that there ſhould be a Vicar general over all. For in his Book *De ſimplicitate Prælatorum*, I am ſure he ſaith the contrary. *Unus Epiſcopatus eſt, cujus pars in ſolidum a ſingulis tenetur. i. There is but one Biſhoprick, which is wholly poſſeſſed of every Biſhop in part.*

S. *Cyprian* meaneth every Church to have his own Governour, and all Churches to be under one.

Lond. Fet hither the Book, thou ſhalt ſee the manifeſt place againſt thee.

Doctor *Chedſey* brought the Book, and turned to the place in an Epiſtle written unto *Cornelius*, then Biſhop of *Rome*, and recited theſe words in ſum *That it went not well with the Church, where the high Prieſt was not obeyed*, and ſo would have concluded for the confirmation of the Biſhops ſaying.

Cypr. lib. 1. Epiſt 3.

Phil. Mr. Doctor you miſconſtrue the place of S. *Cyprian*: for he meaneth not there, by the high Prieſt, the Biſhop of *Rome*, but every Patriarch in his precinct, of whom there were four appointed in his time. And in writing

The place of S. *Cyprian* explained.

unto

Anno 1555.

uhto *Cornelius* he meaneth by the high Prieſt, himſelf, which was then chief Biſhop of *Africa*, whoſe Authority the Hereticks began to deſpiſe. Whereof he complaineth to *Cornelius*, and ſaith, the Church cannot be well ordered, where the chief Miniſter by order after the judgment of the Scriptures, after the agreement of the People and the conſent of his fellow Biſhops, is not obeyed.

December. *London.* Hath not the Biſhop of *Rome* always been ſupreme head of the Church, and Chriſts vicar in earth even from *Peter*?

The Biſhop of *Rome* no more head of the Church, then the B. of *London*.

Philpot. No, that he was not. For by the word of God he hath no more Authority, then the Biſhop of *London* hath.

Lond. Was not *Peter* head of the Church, and hath not the Biſhop of *Rome*, which is his ſucceſſor, the ſame Authority?

Peter had no more Authority over the Church then every one of the Apoſtles.

Philpot. I grant that the Biſhop of *Rome*, as he is the ſucceſſor of *Peter*, hath the ſame Authority as *Peter* had: but *Peter* had no more Authority then every one of the Apoſtles had.

Chanc. Yes that S. *Peter* had; for Chriſt ſaid ſpecially unto him, *Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum*; *I will give thee the keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven*; the which he ſpake to none other of his diſciples ſingularly, but to him.

Peter beareth but a figure of the Church.

Phil. S. *Auguſtine* anſwereth otherwiſe to the objection, and ſaith, *That if in* Peter *there had not been the figure of the Church, the Lord had not ſaid to him, To thee I will give the keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven. The which if* Peter *received not, the Church hath them not. If the Church hath them, then* Peter *hath them not.*

B. *Bonners* diviuitie lieth much in the Civil Law.

London What if I can prove and ſhew you out of the Civil Law, that all Chriſtendom ought to follow the Holy Catholick Church of *Rome*, as there is a ſpecial title thereof, *De catholica fide & ſancta Romana Eccleſia*?

Phil. That is nothing material, ſeeing the things of God be not ſubject to mans laws; and the divine matters muſt be ordered by the Word of God, and not of man.

Cyprian. A *Doctor.* What will you ſay, if I can prove that Chriſt builded his Church upon *Peter*, and that out of S. *Cyprian*? Will you then believe that the B. of *Rome* ought to be ſupreme head of the Church?

Phil. I know what S. *Cyprian* writeth in that behalf; but he meaneth nothing as you take it.

A Doctor. S. *Cyprian* hath theſe words, *Quod ſuper Petrum fundata fuit Eccleſia, tanquam ſuper originem unitatis, That upon* Peter *was builded the Church, as upon the firſt beginning of Unity.*

The place of *Cyprian*, expounded.

Philpot. He declareth that in an example, that Unitie muſt be in the Church; he grounded on *Peter* his Church alone, and not upon men. The which he doth more manifeſtly declare in the book *De ſimplicitate Prælatorum*, ſaying, *In perſona unius Chriſtus dedit omnibus claves, ut omnium unitatem denotaret. In the perſon of one man God gave the keyes to all, that he in ſignification thereby might declare the unitie of all men.*

A Doctor. What will you underſtand S. *Cyprian* ſo? That were good indeed.

Philpot. I think you cannot underſtand S. *Cyprian* better, then he doth declare himſelf.

B. *Bonner* goeth to the Parliament.

London. I will deſire you (Mr. Chancellor) to take ſome pains with Mr. D. *Chadſey*, about his examination, for I muſt go to the Parliament houſe. And I will deſire you to dine with me.

Philp. Then the Doctor took again his former Authority in hand for want of another, and would have made a further circumſtance, digreſſing from his purpoſe. To whom I ſaid, he knew not whereabout he went, and therewith he laughed. And I ſaid his divinitie was nothing but ſcoffing.

Mr. Doctor ſlippeth away.

Mr. Doctor. Yea, then I have done with you, and ſo went away.

Phil. You are too young in Divinitie to teach me in the matters of my Faith. Though you be learned in other things more then I, yet in Divinitie I have been longer practiſed then you, for any thing I can hear of you; therefore be not too haſty to judge that you do not perfectly know.

Chanc. *Peter* and his ſucceſſours from the beginning have been allowed for the ſupreme head of the Church, and that by the Scriptures, for that Chriſt ſaid unto him in S. *John* thrice, *Feed my ſheep, Paſce oves meas.*

Philpot. That is no otherwiſe to be taken, then, *Ite, prædicate, Go ye and preach*, which was ſpoken to all the Apoſtles, as well as unto *Peter*. And that Chriſt ſaid thrice, *Paſce oves meas, Feed my ſheep*, it ſignifieth nothing elſe but the earneſt ſtudy that the Miniſters of God ought to have in preaching the Word. God grant that you of the Clergy would weigh your dutie in this behalf more then you do. Is this a juſt interpretation of the Scripture, to take *Paſce oves meas*, for to be Lord of the whole World? In this mean while came in the Bachelor of Divinitie, which is a Reader of Greek in *Oxford*, belonging to the Biſhop, and he took upon him to help Mr. Chancellor.

The word of Chriſt to *Peter*, feed my ſheep *Paſce oves meas*, expounded by *Ite, prædicate.*

Scholar. What will you ſay if I can ſhew you a Greek Author called *Theophylact*, to interpret it ſo? Will you believe his interpretation?

Theophylact of no great Authority.

Phil. Theophyl. is a late Writer, and one that was a favourer of the B. of *Rome*; and therefore not to be credited, ſince his interpretation is contrarie to the manifeſt words of the Scripture, and contrary to the determination of many general Councils.

Schol. In what general Council was it otherwiſe, that the B. of *Rome* was not ſupreme head over all?

In *Nice* Councell the B. of *Rome* was no ſupreme head nor preſident there.

Phil. In *Nice* Council I am ſure it was otherwiſe; for *Athanaſius* was there the chiefe Biſhop and preſident of the Council, and not the B. of *Rome*.

Scholar. Nay that is not ſo.

Phil. Then I preceive you are better ſeen in words then in knowledge of things: and I will gage with you what you will, it is ſo, as you may ſee in the Epitome of the Councils.

The ſcholar of *Oxford* ſhrinketh away.

Schol. I will fetch *Euſebius* and ſhew the contrary, and the book of general Councils. He went into my *Lords* cloſet, and brought *Euſebius*; but the general Councils he brought not, ſaying (for ſaving of his honeſty) that he could not come by them, and there he would have defended that it was otherwiſe in *Euſebius*, but was not able to ſhew the ſame, and ſo ſhrank away confounded.

Chanc. The Church of *Rome* hath been always taken for the Catholick Church; therefore I would adviſe you to come into the ſame with us. You ſee all the men of this Realm do condemn you. And why will you be ſo ſingular?

The Popes ſide not able to prove their Church to be the holy Catholick Church.

Phil. I have ſaid, and ſtill do ſay, that if you can be able to prove it unto me, that I will be of the ſame. But I am ſure that the Church, which you make ſo much of, is a falſe Church, and a Synagogue of Satan. And you with the learned men of the Realm do perſecute the true Church, and condemn ſuch as be more righteous then you.

Chanc. Do you hear (Mr. Doctor) what he ſaith, that the Church of *Rome* is the Devil?

Chad. I wiſh you did think more reverently of the Church of *Rome*. What will you ſay if I can ſhew you out of *S. Auſtin* in his Epiſtle written unto Pope *Innocentius*, that the whole general Council of *Carthage* did allow the Church of *Rome* to be chiefeſt over all other?

Three blind conjectures out of the Epiſtle of *Auguſtin* to *Innocentius* proving the See of *Rome* to be ſupreme head: The ſucceſſion of B. from *Peter* to S. *Auſtins* time.

Phil. I am ſure you can ſhew no ſuch thing. And with that he ſet the book of S. *Auſtin*, and turned to the Epiſtle but he could not prove his allegation manifeſtly, but by conjectures in this wiſe.

The conjectures of D. *Chadſey* anſwered.

Chad. Here you may ſee, that the Council of *Carthage* writing to *Innocent*, the Biſhop, calleth the See of *Rome* the Apoſtolick See. And beſides this they write to him certifying him of things done in the Council for the condemnation of the Donatiſts, requiring his approbations in the ſame, which they would not have done, if they had not taken the Church of *Rome* for the ſupreme head of others. And moreover you may ſee how S. *Auſtin* doth prove the Church of *Rome* to be the Catholick Church by continual ſucceſſion of the Biſhop until his time, which ſucceſſion we can prove until our daies: therefore by the ſame reaſon of S. *Auſtin* we ſay now, that the Church of *Rome* is the Catholick Church.

How the See of *Rome* may be called Apoſtolical, and how not Apoſtolical.

Phil. Mr. Doctor, I have conſidered how you do weigh S. *Auguſtine*; and contrary to his meaning and words, you would infer your falſe concluſion. As concerning that it was called by him the Apoſtolical See, that is not material to prove the Church of *Rome* now to be the Catholick Church. I will grant it now that it is the Apoſtolique See, in reſpect that *Paul* and *Peter* did once there preach the Goſpel, and abode there for a certain ſeaſon. I would you could prove it to be the Apoſtolical See of the true religion

The being of *Peter* at *Rome* giveth no perpetuity to *Rome* to be the head of the whole Church.

and

and ſincerity as the Apoſtle left it, and did teach the ſame; the which if ye could do, you might boaſt of *Rome* as of the Apoſtolical See; otherwiſe it is now of no more force, than if the *Turk* at *Antioch* and at *Jeruſalem* ſhould boaſt of the Apoſtolick Sees, becauſe the Apoſtles once did there abide, and founded the Church of Chriſt.

The Council of *Carthage* wrote to *Innocentius* B. of *Rome*, to confirm their acts with his ſubſcription; *Ergo*, the B. of *Rome* is above all Biſhops. Argument, *a cauſa non ſufficiente.*

And whereas the whole Council of *Carthage* did write unto Pope *Innocentius*, certifying him of that was done in the General Council, and willing him to ſet his helping hand to the ſuppreſſing of the *Donatiſts*, as they had done; that fact of the Council proveth nothing the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, no more than if the whole Convocation-houſe now gathered together, and agreeing upon certain Articles, might ſend the ſame to ſome Biſhop, that upon certain impediments is not preſent, willing him to agree thereto, and to ſet them forth in his Dioceſs. The which fact doth not make any ſuch Biſhop of greater Authority than the reſt, becauſe his conſent is Brotherly required.

And touching the Succeſſion of the Biſhops of *Rome*, brought in by S. *Auguſtine*, it maketh nothing now thereby to prove the ſame Catholick Church, unleſs you can conclude with the ſame reaſon as S. *Auguſtine* doth. And the rehearſal of the ſucceſſion of the Biſhops doth tend to this only, to prove the *Donatiſts* to be Hereticks, becauſe they began as well at *Rome* as in *Affrica*, to found another Church of their own ſetting up, than was grounded by *Peter* and *Paul*, and by their Succeſſors, whom he reciteth until his time, which all taught no ſuch Doctrine, neither ſuch Church as the *Donatiſts*. And if preſently you be able to prove by the Biſhops of *Rome* (whereof you do glory) that ſuch Doctrine hath not been taught by any of the Succeſſors of *Peters* See, as is now taught and believed of us, you have good reaſon againſt us: otherwiſe it is of no force, as I am able to declare.

The ſcope of S. *Auguſtines* Argument is not to prove the Church of *Rome* therefore to be found in the Doctrine, becauſe it hath ſucceſſion of Biſhops from the Apoſtles, but to prove the *Donatiſts* to be Schiſmaticks, for that the Church of *Rome* continuing both found in the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and alſo in retaining ſtill ſucceſſion of Biſhops from the Apoſtles time, yet they would forſake the unity of that Church, and ſet up another Church of their own.

The Argument is this.

To diſſever from that Church which by continual ſucceſſion of Biſhops deſcendeth from the Apoſtles, and keepeth the ſame Inſtitution ſtill in Faith and Doctrine, is to break the unity of the Church, and to be Schiſmaticks.

The *Donatiſts* do ſo from the Church of *Rome*, having no juſt cauſe of Doctrine ſo to do. *Ergo*, the *Donatiſts* be Schiſmaticks.

Chanc. Well M. Doctor, you ſee we can do no good in perſwading of him: let us miniſter the Articles which my Lord hath left us, unto him. How ſay you M. *Philpot* to theſe Articles? M. *Johnſon* I pray you write his Anſwers.

The Chancellor about to miniſter Articles againſt J. *Philpot*.

Phil. M. Chancellor, you have no authority to enquire of me my Belief in ſuch Articles as you go about, for that I am not of my Lord of *Londons* Dioceſs; and to be brief with you, I will make no further anſwer herein than I have already to the Biſhop.

John Philpot refuſeth the Chancellor to be his Ordinary.

Chanc. Why then let us go our ways, and let his Keeper take him away.

Thus endeth the ſeventh part of this Tragedy.

The ſum of a private Conference or Talk between Mr. Philpot, *and the Biſhop*

Private talk between M. *Philpot* and Biſhop *Bonet.*

Philpot. The next day in the morning betime, the Biſhop ſent one of his men unto me, to call me up into his Chappel to hear Maſs.

Biſhops Man. M. *Philpot*, where be you?

Phil. Who is it that calleth me?

Biſhops Man. My Lords will is, you ſhould riſe and come to hear Maſs: Will you come or no?

A marvel how the Prieſts eating up a whole man, fleſh, blood, and bone, to breakfaſt, can have ſuch an hungry Stomach to their dinner afterward, as they have, as if they had eaten never a bit of meat before.

Phil. My Stomach is not very good this morning: you may tell my Lord I am ſick. After this the Keeper was ſent to bring me to my Lord.

The Keeper. Mr. *Philpot*, you muſt riſe and come to my Lord.

Phil. I am at your commandment (M. Keeper) as ſoon as I can; and going out of the Priſon, he asked me, ſaying:

The Keeper. Will ye go to Maſs?

Phil. My Stomach is too raw to digeſt ſuch raw meats of fleſh, blood, and bone, this morning. After this my Keeper preſented me to the Biſhop in his Hall.

Lond. Mr. *Philpot*, I charge you to anſwer unto ſuch Articles as my Chaplain and my Regiſter have from me to object againſt you; go and anſwer them.

Phil. My Lord, *Omnia judicia debent eſſe publica*; All Judgments ought to be publick. Therefore if your Lordſhip have any thing to charge me lawfully withal, let me be in Judgment lawfully and openly called, and I will anſwer according to my duty; otherwiſe in corners I will not.

Anno 1555.

J. *Philpot* refuſeth to anſwer but in open Judgment.

Lond. Thou art a fooliſh Knave I ſee well enough, thou ſhalt anſwer whether thou wilt or no; Go thy ways with them, I ſay.

Phil. I will go with them at your Lordſhips pleaſure; but I will make them no further Anſwers than I have ſaid already.

Lond. No, wilt thou not Knave? Have him away, and ſet him in the Stocks: What, fooliſh Knave?

John Philpot commanded to be ſet in the Stocks of the Coleſhouſe.

Phil. Indeed (my Lord) you handle me, with others, like Fools: and we muſt be content to be made fools at your hands, Stocks and Violence be your Biſhop-like Alms. You go about by force in corners to oppreſs, and be aſhamed that your doings ſhould come to light; God ſhorten your cruel Kingdom for his Mercies ſake. And I was put by and by into the Stocks, in an houſe alone, ſeparate from my Fellows, God be praiſed that he hath thought me worthy to ſuffer any thing for his Names ſake. Better it is to ſit in the Stocks of this world, than to ſit in the Stocks of a damnable Conſcience.

Another Conference between the Biſhop and Mr. Philpot, *and other Priſoners.*

Another days talk of the Biſhop with J. *Philpot*, and other Priſoners.

Philpot. The next day after, an hour before day, the Biſhop ſent for me again by the Keeper.

The Keeper. Mr. *Philpot* ariſe, you muſt come to my Lord.

Phil. I wonder what my Lord meaneth, that he ſendeth for me thus early, I fear he will uſe ſome violence towards me, wherefore I pray you make him this anſwer, That if he did ſend for me by an order of Law, I will come and anſwer; otherwiſe, ſince I am not of his Dioceſs, neither is he mine Ordinary, I will not (without I be violently conſtrained) come unto him.

Keeper. I will go tell my Lord what anſwer you make: and ſo he went away to the Biſhop, and immediately returned with two of the Biſhops Men, ſaying, that I muſt come whether I would or no.

John Philpot brought to the Biſhop by violence.

Phil. If by violence any of you will enforce me to go, then I muſt go, otherwiſe I will not; and therewith one of them took me with force by the arm, and led me up into the Biſhops Gallery.

Lond. What, Thou art a fooliſh Knave indeed; thou wilt not come without thou be fetcht.

Phil. I am brought indeed (my Lord) by violence unto you, and your cruelty is ſuch, that I am afraid to come before you, I would your Lordſhip would gently proceed againſt me by the Law.

Note here the juſt dealings of theſe Biſhops.

Lond. I am blamed of the Lords the Biſhops, for that I have not diſpatched thee ere this. And in Faith I made ſute to my Lord Cardinal, and to all the Convocation-houſe, that they would hear thee. And my Lord of *Lincoln* ſtood up, and ſaid, that thou wert a frantick Fellow, and a man that will have the laſt word. And they all have much blamed me, becauſe I have brought thee ſo often before the Lords openly: and they ſay, it is meat and drink to you to ſpeak in an open audience, you glory ſo of your ſelf. Wherefore I am commanded to take a further order with thee, and in good Faith if you will not relent, I will make no further delay. Marry, if thou wilt be conformable, I will yet forgive thee all that is paſt, and thou ſhalt have none hurt for any thing that is already ſpoken or done.

This Biſhop of *Lincoln* was Dr. *White.*

Phil. My Lord, I have anſwered you already in this behalf, what I will do. And as for the report of Maſter *White*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, I paſs not: who is known to be mine enemy, for that I being Archdeacon did excommunicate him for preaching naughty Doctrine. If Chriſt my Maſter were called a mad man, it is no marvel though ye count me frantick.

John Philpot being Archdeacon excommunicated Biſhop *White* for preaching falſe Doctrine.

Lond. Hadſt thou not a Pig brought thee the other day with a Knife in it? Wherefore was it (I pray thee) but to kill thy ſelf? or, as it is told me (marry I am counſelled to take heed of thee) to kill me? but I fear thee not. I trow I am able to tread thee under my feet; do the beſt thou canſt.

Philpot.

Anno 1555.

Matter made of a Knife ſeat to John Philpot in a Pigs belly.

Philpot. My Lord I cannot deny, but that there was a knife in the Piggs belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpoſe I know not, unleſs it were becauſe he that ſent the meat, thought I was without a Knife, and ſo put it in. But other things your Lordſhip needeth not to fear: for I was never without a Knife ſince I came to Priſon. And touching your own perſon, you ſhould live long if you ſhould live until I go about to kill you; and I confeſs by violence your Lordſhip is able to overcome me.

Articles again but to John Philpot.

London. I charge thee to anſwer to mine Articles. Hold him a Book. Thou ſhall ſwear to anſwer truly to all ſuch Articles, as I ſhall demand of thee.

Phil. I will firſt know your Lordſhip to be mine Ordinary, before I ſwear herein.

Lond. What, we ſhall have an Anabaptiſt of thee, which thinketh it not lawful to ſwear before a judge?

Phil. My Lord, I am no Anabaptiſt, I think it lawful to ſwear before a competent judge, being lawfully required. But I refuſe to ſwear in theſe cauſes before your Lordſhip, becauſe you are not mine Ordinary.

B. Boner of meer Power & Authority pronounceth himſelf to be Philpots Ordinary.

Lond. I am thine Ordinary, and here do pronounce by ſentence peremptory. that I am thine Ordinary, and that thou art of my Dioceſs: and here he bad call in more to bear him witneſs. And I make thee (taking one of his Servants by the arm) to be my notary. And now hearken to my Articles, to the which (when he had read them) he moniſhed me to make anſwer, and ſaid to the Keeper, Fet me his fellows, and I ſhall make them to be witneſſes againſt him.

In the mean while came in one of the Sheriffs of *London*, whom the Biſhop (calling for two Chairs) placed by him, ſaying, Maſter Sheriff I would you ſhould underſtand how I do proceed againſt this man. Maſter Sheriff, you ſhall hear what Articles this man doth maintain; and ſo read a rabblement of feigned Articles: That I ſhould deny Baptiſm to be neceſſary to them that were born of Chriſtian parents, that I denied Faſting and Prayer, and all other good deeds, and I maintained only bare Faith to be ſufficient to ſalvation whatſoever a man did beſides, and I maintained God to be the Author of all ſin and wickedneſs.

Falſe Articles feigned againſt John Philpot.

Phil. Ha, my Lord, have ye nothing of Truth to charge me withal, but ye muſt be fain to imagine theſe blaſphemous lies againſt me? You might as well have ſaid I had killed your Father. The ſcriptures ſay, *That God will deſtroy all men that ſpeak lies.* And is not your Lordſhip aſhamed to ſay before this worſhipful Gentleman (who is unknown to me) that I maintain theſe abominable blaſphemies which you have rehearſed? which if I did maintain, I were well worthy to be counted an Heretick, and to be burned an hundred times if it were poſſible.

Lond. I do object them unto thee, to hear what thou wilt ſay in them, and how thou canſt purge thy ſelf of them.

B. Boner taken with an untruth.

Phil. Then it was not juſtly ſaid of your Lordſhip in the beginning, that I did maintain them, ſince almoſt I hold none of theſe Articles you have read, in form as they are written.

Lond. How ſaiſt thou? Wilt thou anſwer to them or no?

Phil. I will firſt know you to be mine Ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with ſuch things, and then afterward being lawfully called in judgment, I will ſhew my mind fully therof, and not otherwiſe.

Other Priſoners called in to bear witneſs againſt John Philpot.

London. Well, then I will make thy Fellows to be witneſſes herein againſt thee? where are they? come.

Keep. They be here my Lord.

Lond. Come hither Srs, hold them a Book, you ſhall ſwear by the contents of that Book, that you ſhall (all manner of affections laid apart) ſay the Truth of all ſuch Articles as you ſhall be demanded of concerning this man here preſent, which is a very naughty man, and take you heed of him that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth you much hurt, and ſtrengtheneth you in your Errors.

The Priſoners refuſed to be ſworn againſt Mr. Philpot.

Priſoners. My Lord, we will not ſwear, except we know whereto: we can accuſe him of no evil, we have been but a while acquainted with him.

Phil. I wonder your Lordſhip knowing the Law will go about, contrary to the ſame, to have infamous perſons to be witneſſes, for your Lordſhip doth take them to be Hereticks, and by the Law an Heretick cannot be a witneſs.

B. Boner againſt the Law.

Lond. Yes, one Heretick againſt another may be well enough. And Mr. Sheriff, I will make one of them to be a witneſs againſt another.

Phil. You have the Law in your hand, and you will do what you liſt.

Priſoners. No, my Lord.

Note how the Biſhops make Anabaptiſts.

Lond. No, will you not? I will make you ſwear, whether you will or no. I ween they be Anabaptiſts, Maſter Sheriff, they think it not lawful to ſwear before a judge.

Philpot. We think it lawful to ſwear for a man judicially called as we are not now, but in a blind corner.

London. Why then, ſeeing you will not ſwear againſt your fellow, you ſhall ſwear for your ſelves, and I do here in the preſence of Mr. Sheriff object the ſame Articles unto you as I have done unto him, and do require you under the pain of Excommunication, to anſwer particularly unto every one of them when ye ſhall be examined, as ye ſhall be by and by examined by my Regiſter and ſome of my Chaplains.

Priſoners. My Lord, we will not accuſe our ſelves. If any man can lay any thing againſt us, we are here ready to anſwer thereto: otherwiſe we pray your Lordſhip not to burthen us; for ſome of us are here before you, we know no juſt cauſe why.

Lond. Mr. Sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with theſe froward men. And ſo he roſe up and was going away, talking with Mr. Sheriff.

B. Boner ſeeketh Corners.

Phil. Mr. Sheriff, I pray you record how my Lord proceedeth againſt us in Corners, without all order of Law, having no juſt cauſe to lay againſt us. And after this were all commanded to be put in the Stocks, where I ſate from morning untill night, and the Keeper at Night upon favour let me out.

Another Private conference between the Biſhop and Mr. Philpot *in the Cole-houſe*

Another private talk or conference betwixt him and the Biſhop.

Phil. The Sunday after, the Biſhop came into the Cole-houſe at night with the Keeper, and viewed the houſe, ſaying that he was never here afore: whereby a man may gueſs how he hath kept Gods Commandment in viſiting the Priſoners, ſeeing he was never with them that have been ſo nigh his noſe: and he came not then for any good zeal but to view the place, and thought it too good for me, and therefore after Supper, between eight and nine, he ſent for me, ſaying.

B. Boner viewing his Cole-houſe.

Lond. Sir, I have great diſpleaſure of the Queen and the Council for keeping you ſo long, and letting you have ſo much liberty; and beſides that, you be yonder and ſtrengthen the other Priſoners in their Errors, as I have laid wait for your doings, and am certified of you well enough: I will ſequeſter you therefore from them, and you ſhall hurt no more as you have done, and I will out of hand diſpatch you, as I am commanded, unleſs you will be a comformable man.

Phil. My Lord, you have my Body in your cuſtody; you may tranſport it whither you pleaſe: I am content. And I would you would make as quick expedition in my judgment, as, you ſay, I long therefore; and as for Conformity, I am ready to yield to all Truth, if any can bring better then I.

Lond. Why, will you believe no man but your ſelf, whatſoever they ſay?

Phil. My belief muſt not hang upon mens ſayings, without ſure Authority of Gods Word, the which if any can ſhew me, I will be pliant to the ſame; otherwiſe, I cannot go from my certain Faith to that which is uncertain.

Lond. Have you then the Truth only?

Phil. My Lord, I will ſpeak my mind freely unto you, and upon no malice I bear to you, before God. You have not the Truth, neither are you of the Church of God; but you perſecute both the Truth and the true Church of God, for the which cauſe you cannot proſper long. You ſee God doth not proſper your doings according to your expectations: He hath of late ſhewed his juſt judgment againſt one of your greateſt doers, who by report died miſerably, I envy not your Authority

He meaneth S. Gardiner B. of Winch.

you

Good counsel given to B. *Boner.*

you are in. You that have Learning ſhould know beſt how to rule. And ſeeing God hath reſtored you to your dignity and living again, uſe the ſame to Gods glory, and to the ſetting forth of his true Religion; otherwiſe it will not continue, do what you can. With this ſaying he was apauſed, and ſaid at length:

Lond. That good man was puniſhed for ſuch as thou art. Where is the Keeper? Come let him have him to the place that is provided for him. Go your way before.

Ibid. And he followed me, calling the Keeper aſide, commanding to keep all men from me, and narrowly to ſearch me (as the ſequel did declare,) and brought me to his privy door that goeth into the Church, and commanded two of his men to accompany the Keeper, and to ſee me placed.

J. Philpot conveyed into a cloſe Tower joyning to *Pauls* Church.

And afterwards I paſſed through *Pauls* up to *Lollards Tower*, and after that turned along all the Weſt-ſide of *Pauls* through the Wall, and paſſing through ſix or ſeven Doors, came to my lodging through many ſtraits; where I called to remembrance, that ſtrait is the way to Heaven. and it is in a Tower right on the other ſide of *Lollards Tower*, as high almoſt as the Battlements of *Pauls*, 8. foot of breadth and 13. of length, and almoſt over the Priſon where I was before, having a window opening toward the Eaſt, by the which I may look over the tops of a great many houſes, but ſee no man paſſing into them: and whoſo walketh in the Biſhops utter Gallery going to his Chappel, may ſee my Window and me ſtanding in the ſame.

Mr. *Philpot* ſearched for Writings.

And as I was come to my place, the Keeper pluckt off my Gown, and ſearched me very narrowly, and took away Penner, Inkhorn, Girdle and Knife, but (as God would) I had an inkling a little before I was called, of my removing, and thereupon made an errand to the Stool, where full ſore againſt my will I caſt away many a ſweet Letter and friendly: but that I had written of my laſt Examination before, I thruſt into my Hoſe, thinking the next day to have made an end thereof, and with going it was fallen down to my Leg, the which he by feeling did ſoon eſpy, and asked what that was. I ſaid, they were certain Letters: and with that he was very buſie to have them out. Let me alone (ſaid I) I will pluck them out; with that I put in my hand, having two other Letters therein, and brought up the ſame writing to my Codpiece, and there left it, giving him the other two Letters that were not of any great importance; the which to make a ſhew that they had been weighty, I began to tear as well as I could, till they ſnatched them from me, and ſo deluded him (I thank God) of his purpoſe.

The Copy of his Examinations by Gods great working preſerved.

After this he went his way, and as he was going, one of them that came with him, ſaid, that I did not deliver the Writings I had in my Hoſe, but two other Letters I had in my hand before. No did, quoth he? I will go ſearch him better: the which I hearing, conveyed my Examination I had written, into another place beſides my Bed, and took all my Letters I had in my purſe, and was tearing of them when he came again, and as he came I threw the ſame out of my Window, ſaying, That I heard what he ſaid; wherefore I did prevent his ſearching again, wherefore I was right glad. God be praiſed that gave me that preſent ſhift to blind their eyes from the knowledge of my writings, the which if they had known, it would have been a great occaſion of more ſtraiter keeping and looking unto, although they look as narrowly as they may.

The eighth Examination of John Philpot, *before the Biſhop of* London, *the Biſhop of St.*Davids, *Mr.*Mordant, *and others, in the Biſhops Chappel.*

The eighth Examination of Mr. *Philpot.*

THe next day after, my Keeper came before day in the morning to call me down, and ſo was I brought down into his Wardrobe, where with a Keeper I was left and there continued all the day. But after dinner I was called down into the Chappel, before the Biſhop of *London*, the Biſhop of St. *Davids*, Mr. *Mordant* one of the Queens Council, Mr. Archdeacon of *London*, and before a great many more *Baalamites*, and the Biſhop ſpake unto me in this wiſe.

Lond. Sir, here I object and lay unto you in the preſence of my Lord of St. *Davids*, and of Mr. *Mordant*, and of theſe worſhipful men, theſe Articles here in this Libel contained, and openly he read them.

Anno 1555.

Articles objected and read to *J. Philpot.*

To whom when I would particularly have anſwered to ſome of his Blaſphemies, he would not permit me, but ſaid, I ſhould have leiſure enough to ſay what I would, when he had ſaid: And unto theſe here I add another Schedule. Alſo I require thee to anſwer to the Catechiſm ſet forth in the Schiſmatical time of K. *Edward*. Alſo I will thee to anſwer to certain Concluſions agreed upon both in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. And I here do bring forth theſe Witneſſes againſt thee in thine own preſence, namely my Lord of St. *Davids*, Mr. *Mordant*, and Mr. *Harpſfield*, with as many of you as were preſent in the Diſputation he made in the Convocation-houſe; willing you to teſtifie, of your Oaths taken upon a Book, his ſtubborn and unreverent behaviour he did there uſe againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar. Give me a Book, and receiving one, he opened the ſame, ſaying, I will teach him here one trick in our Law which he knoweth not; that is, my Lord of St. *Davids*, becauſe you are a Biſhop, you have this priviledge, that you may ſwear, *Inſpectis Evangeliis, & non tactis*; *By looking on the Goſpel Book, without touching of the ſame.* And ſo he opened the Book in his ſight, and ſhut it again, and cauſed the other to put their hands on the Book, and took their Oath, and willed them to reſort to his Regiſter to make their Depoſitions when they might be beſt at leiſure; and afterwards he turned to me and ſaid, Now Sir, you ſhall anſwer but two words, whether you will anſwer to theſe Articles which I have laid unto you, directly, yea or nay?

Witneſſes ſworn againſt Mr. *Philpot.*

Phil. My Lord, you have told a long Tale againſt me, containing many lying Blaſphemies, which cannot be anſwered in two words: beſides this, you promiſed me at the beginning, that I ſhould ſay what I could for my defence, and now will you not give me leave to ſpeak? What Law is this?

Papiſts keep no promiſe.

Lond. Speak, yea or nay, for you ſhall ſay no more at this time.

The cauſe was, as I gueſs, that he ſaw ſo many there gathered to hear.

Phil. Then my two words you would have me ſpeak ſhall be, that I have appealed from you, and take you not for my ſufficient judge.

John Philpot appealeth from B. *Boner.*

Lond. Indeed, Mr. *Mordant*, he hath appealed to the King and to the Queen; but I will be ſo bold with her Majeſty, to ſtay that appeal in mine own hands.

Phil. You will do what you liſt, my Lord, you have the Law in your hands.

Lond. Wilt thou anſwer, or no?

Philpot. I will not anſwer otherwiſe then I have ſaid.

Lond. Regiſter, note his anſwer that he maketh.

Phil. Knock me on the head with an hatchet, or ſet up a ſtake and burn me out of hand, without further Law; as well you may do ſo, as do that you do, for all is without order of Law: ſuch tyranny was never ſeen as you uſe now adays; God of his mercy deſtroy your cruel Kingdom. And whilſt I ſpake this, the Biſhop went away in haſt.

B. *Boner* doth without order of Law.

St. *Davids.* Mr. *Philpot*, I pray you be quiet, and have patience with you.

Phil. My Lord, I thank God I have patience to hear and abide all your cruel intents againſt me: notwithſtanding I ſpeak this earneſtly, being moved thereto juſtly, to notifie your unjuſt and cruel dealing with men in Corners, without all due order of Law.

After this, at night I was conducted again by three or four into the Cole-houſe.

The ninth Examination of Mr. Philpot *before Biſhop* Boner *and his Chaplains*

The ninth Examination of Mr. *John Philpot* before the Biſhop and his Chaplains.

IN the morning the next day I was called down betimes by my keeper, and brought again into the Wardrope, where I remained until the Biſhop had heard his Maſs, and afterward he ſent up for me into his inward Parlour, and there he called for a Chair to ſit down, and brought his infamous Libel of his forged Articles in his hand, and ſate down, willing me to draw near unto him, and ſaid:

Lond.

Anno 1555.

Lond. I am this day appointed to tarry at home from the Parliament Houſe, to examin you and your Fellows upon theſe Articles, and you ſtand dallying with me, and will neither anſwer to nor fro. I wis all your Exceptions will not ſerve you. Will it not be a fair honeſty for you, think ye, that when thou comeſt before my Lord Maior and the Sheriffs, and other worſhipful Audience, when I ſhall ſay before them all, that I have had thee theſe many times before me, and before ſo many learned men, and then thou couldſt ſay nothing for that thou ſtandeſt in, for all thy brags of learning, neither wouldſt anſwer directly to any thing?

John Philpot ſtill ſtandeth to his former Plea to anſwer before his own Ordinary.

Phil. My Lord, I have told you my mind plain enough; but yet I do not intend to loſe that priviledge the Law giveth me, the which is free choice to anſwer where I am not bound, and this priviledge will I cleave unto, until I be compelled otherwiſe.

Lond. Well, I perceive you will play the obſtinate fool. Lay thine Appellation when thou comeſt in Judgment, and anſwer in the mean while to theſe Articles.

Phil. No, my Lord, by your leave I will not anſwer to them, until my lawful Appeal be tried.

Lond. Well, thou ſhalt hear them, and with that he began to read them.

John Philpot will not hear his Articles read.

Phil. I ſhrank back into the window, and looked on a Book, and after he had read them over he ſaid unto me;

Lond. I have read them over, although it hath not pleaſed you to hear me. I marvel, in good faith, what thou meaneſt to be ſo wilful and ſtubborn, ſeeing thou maiſt do well enough if thou liſt. It is but a ſingularity; doſt thou not ſee all the Realm againſt thee?

Phil. My Lord, I ſpeak unto you in the witneſs of God, before whom I ſtand, that I am neither wedded to mine own will, neither ſtand upon mine own ſtubbornneſs or ſingularity, but upon my Conſcience inſtructed by Gods Word: and if your Lordſhip can ſhew better evidence than I have for a good Faith, I will follow the ſame.

Lond. What thou wilt not, lo, for all that. Well, all that is paſt ſhall be forgotten; and be thou conformable unto us. I wis thou mighteſt find as much favour as thou wouldeſt deſire.

Phil. Then I perceiving that he fawned ſo much upon me, thought it good to give him ſome comfort of my relenting, to the intent I might give him and his hypocritical Generation openly a further foil, perceiving that they dare reaſon openly with none, but with ſuch as be unlearned, and for lack of knowledge not able to anſwer, or elſe with ſuch as they have a hope, that for fear or love of the world, will recant: I ſaid, my Lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly, in the audience of a great number, ſtood to the maintenance of theſe Opinions I am in, and by learning did offer to defend them; therefore, my Lord, I would it might openly appear to the world that I am won by learning, or elſe what will they ſay, but that either for fear, or love of the world, I am without any ground turned from the Truth? and if I hear any kind of learning openly ſhewed, I ſhall be as conformable as you may require me.

Lond. Yea marry, now ye ſpeak ſomewhat like a reaſonable man. I wis you might have had a great deal more favour in my houſe, and liberty, then you have had; and you ſhall lack nothing that is within my houſe; call for it, and you ſhall have it. And what is it that you would openly by learning ſomewhat be ſatisfied in? tell me.

Phil. My Lord, I have openly ſaid, and do believe it alſo, that your Sacrifice of the Maſs is no Sacrament.

Lond. What, do you deny the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament?

Talke of the Sacrament.

Phil. No, my Lord, I deny not the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, but I have denied the Sacrament of the Altar, as it is uſed in your Maſs, to be the true Sacrament of Chriſts inſtitution; and firſt it muſt be proved a Sacrament before there can be any Preſence granted.

Lond. Why, do you deny the Maſs to be a Sacrament? I pray you what is a Sacrament? Is it not a ſign of a holy thing, as S. *Auſtin* doth define it?

This Argument in the ſecond figure concludingaffirmatively, doth not hold by Logick.

Phil. Yes verily that it is.

Lond. Then I make this Argument unto you, a Sacrament is the ſign of a holy thing: but the Maſs is the ſign of a holy thing, *ergo*, it is a Sacrament.

Phil. You muſt add this to your *Major*, or firſt Propoſition, as S. *Auguſtine* doth mean, that a Sacrament is the ſign of a holy thing inſtituted of God, and commanded; for otherwiſe it can be no Sacrament, for all men cannot make a Sacrament.

Lond. I grant that; and ſuch a ſign of a holy thing is the Maſs of Chriſts inſtitution.

Phil. I deny that, my Lord.

Lond. I will prove this by S. *Auguſtine* by and by. I will go ſhew you the Book, and you ſhall have any Book I have that you will demand. Ho, who is without there. Call me Mr. Doctor *Chedſey*, Mr. Archdeacon, Mr. *Coſins*, and other Chaplains hither.

The Biſhop being brought to a narrow ſtreight, is fain to call for more help.

Here my Lord, Mr. Doctor *Chedſey* is gone to *Weſtminſter*, and Mr. Archdeacon was here even now.

Lond. Mr. *Coſins*, I pray you examine him upon theſe Articles, and write his anſwer he maketh to every one of them. I will go examine his Fellows, and ſend you S. *Auguſtine* by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before.

Coſins. I truſt, my Lord, you ſhall find him at length a good Catholick man. Marry, here be a ſight of Hereſies; I dare ſay you will hold none of them, nor ſtand in any of them. How ſay you to the firſt?

Phil. Mr. *Coſins*, I have told my Lord already, that I will anſwer to none of theſe Articles he hath objected againſt me; but if you will with learning anſwer to that which is in queſtion between my Lord and me, I will gladly hear and commune with you.

Coſins. No, will you? Why what is that then that is in queſtion between my Lord and you?

Whether the Maſs be a Sacrament.

Phil. Whether your Maſs be a Sacrament, or no.

Coſins. What, the Maſs to be a Sacrament? Who ever doubted thereof?

Phil. If it be an undoubted truth, you may the ſooner prove it; for I doubt much thereof.

Coſins. Why, I will prove it. It is the ſign of a holy thing; *Ergo*, it is a Sacrament.

Phil. I deny your Antecedent.

Coſins. What, will you ſo? then there is no reaſoning with you.

Mr. Coſins giveth over in the plain field.

Thus Mr. *Coſins* gave over in the plain field for want of further proof. And then the morrow Maſs Chaplain began to ſpeak for his Occupation; and with that Mr. *Harpsfield* came out from my Lord with S. *Auguſtines* Epiſtles, ſaying:

Harpſ. My Lord hath ſent you here S. *Auguſtine* to look upon, and I pray you look what he ſaith in a certain Epiſtle which he writeth; I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the Maſs, and how it reproveth them that went a hawking and hunting before the celebration of the ſame, on the Sabbath and Holidays.

Phil. I perceive the Contents of this Epiſtle, and I ſee nothing herein againſt me, neither any thing that maketh for the proof of your Sacrament of the Maſs.

Harpſ. No, doth he not make mention of the Maſs, and the celebration thereof? what can be ſpoken more plain?

The Epiſtle of S. Auguſtine alledged for confirmation of the Maſs, anſwered how it is derived.

Phil. S. *Auſtin* meaneth of the celebration of the Communion, and of the true uſe of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and not of your private Maſs, which you of late years have erected in the ſtead thereof; for this word *Maſs* hath been an old tearm attributed to the Communion even from the Primitive Church. And I pray you tell me what *Miſſa* doth ſignifie. I think not many that ſay Maſs can well tell.

Coſins. No, cannot? that is marvel.

Phil. Then tell me if you can. But Mr. *Coſins* and my morrow Maſs Chaplain were both dumb, looking upon Mr. *Harpsfield* for help, and at length he ſpake.

The Word Miſſa.

Harpſ. You think it cometh of the Hebrew word *Maſſah*, as though none were ſeen in the Hebrew but you.

Phil. I have not gone ſo long to School, to derive the ſignification of *Miſſa*, which is a Latin word, out of Hebrew: but I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew by Hebrew; I take the Communion to be called *Miſſa*, *à mittendo*, of ſuch things as at the celebration of the Communion were ſent by ſuch as were of ability, to the relief of the Poor, where the Rich brought after their Devotion and Ability, and required the Miniſter in the Celebration of the

Communion to pray unto God for them, and to accept their common Alms, which they at ſuch times did ſend for the help of their poor Brethren and Siſters; and for this cauſe was it called *Miſſa*, as learned men do witneſs. At the which Celebration of the Maſs, all that were preſent did communicate under both kinds, according to Chriſts inſtitution, as they did in S. *Auguſtines* time. But unleſs you can ſhew that your Maſs is uſed as then it was, ye ſhall never by the name of Maſs (which S. *Auguſtine* attributed to the true uſe of the Communion) prove your private Maſs to be a Sacrament, unleſs ye can prove the ſame now to be in your Maſſes as was then, which is clean contrary.

Harpſ. What, deny you the Maſs to be a Sacrament? for ſhame ſpeak it not.

Phil. I will not be aſhamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it.

The Maſs is a Sacrifice, quoth *Harpſfield.*

Harpſ. Why, it is a Sacrifice, which is more than a Sacrament.

Phil. You may make of it as much as you liſt: but you ſhall never make it a Sacrifice, as you may imagin thereof, but firſt it muſt be a Sacrament, for of the Sacrament you deduce your Sacrifice.

Harpſ. Why? doth not Chriſt ſay, *This is my Body?* and doth not the Prieſt pronounce the ſame that Chriſt did?

Phil. The pronunciation only is not enough, unleſs the words be therewithal applied to the uſe, as Chriſt ſpake them to. For though ye ſpeak the words of Baptiſm over water never ſo many times, yet there is no Baptiſm unleſs there be a Chriſtian perſon to be baptized:

A Sacrament is no Sacrament without his uſe.

Harpſ. Nay, that is not like; for, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, is an Indicative propoſition, ſhewing a working of God in the Subſtance of Bread and Wine.

Phil. It is not only an Indicative propoſition, but alſo Imperative or commanding. For he that ſaid, *Hoc eſt corpus meum, i.* This is my Body; ſaid alſo, *Accipite, manducate, i.* Take ye, eat ye. And except the former part of the inſtitution of Chriſts Sacrament be accompliſhed according to the Communion; the later, *This is my Body*, can have no verification, take it which way you will, and how you will.

Morrow-Maſs Chap. Why then you will make the Sacrament to ſtand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a Sacrament.

Receiving maketh not the Sacrament, yet the Sacrament of the Lords Supper without it be received, is no Sacrament.

Phil. I do not ſay, that the receiving only maketh it a Sacrament, but I ſay, that a common receiving muſt needs be concurrent with the true Sacrament, as a neceſſary Member, without the which it cannot be a Sacrament, becauſe Chriſt hath made this a principal part of the Sacrament, *Take ye, eat ye*, which you do not in your Maſs according to Chriſts inſtitution; wherefore, it can be no Sacrament, for that it wanteth of Chriſts inſtitution.

Coſins. We do forbid none to come to it, but as many as liſt may be partakers with us at the Maſs, if they require it.

Phil. Nay, that they ſhall not, though they require it, you will miniſter but one kind unto them, which is not after Chriſts inſtitution. Beſides that, you ought before you go to Maſs, to exhort all that be preſent, to make a Sacrifice of Thankſgiving, for Chriſts Paſſion with you, and exhort them to be partakers with you, according to Chriſts Commandment, ſaying unto all that be preſent, *Take ye, eat ye*: And likewiſe by preaching ſhew forth the Lords death, which you do not.

What the Prieſts ought to do at their Maſs.

Coſins. What, if all things be done, even as you would have it, and whilſt the Miniſter is about to miniſter the Sacrament, before any have received it, there riſe a ſudden hurly burly, that the Communicants be compelled to go away; is it not a Sacrament for all that none hath communicated beſide the Prieſt.

Phil. In this caſe, where all things are appointed to be done according to Gods word, if incident neceſſity had not let, I cannot ſay but it is a Sacrament, and that he which hath received, hath received the true Sacrament. After this, the Morrow-maſs Prieſt made this apiſh reaſon.

The Morrow-maſs Prieſt. If the Sacrament of the Maſs be no Sacrament, unleſs all do receive it, becauſe Chriſt ſaid, *Take ye, eat ye*; then the Sacrament of Baptiſm is no Sacrament where there is but one baptized, becauſe Chriſt ſaid to his Apoſtles, *Go preach the Goſpel to all Creatures, baptizing all Nations in the Name of the Father, &c.* Anno 1555.

Phil. In that ſaying of Chriſt, *baptizing all Nations*, is a commandment to the Apoſtles, to baptize all ſorts of men, and to exclude none that believe; be he Gentile or Jew, not meaning all at once, for that were impoſſible. And there are many examples that Baptiſm may be ſingularly miniſtred to one perſon, as we have example in Chriſt baptized of *John*, and in the *Eunuch* baptized of *Philip*, with many more ſuch like: but ſo have you not of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, but contrariwiſe by the expreſs words of S. *Paul*, you are commanded to uſe it in a communion and participation of many together; *Cor.* 11. *Quoties convenitis ad manducandum, alius alium expectate*; as oft as ye come together to eat (meaning the Lords Supper) tarry one for another. And alſo the Miniſter in the celebration of the Sacrament ſpeaketh unto all that be preſent in Chriſts behalf, to communicate with him, ſaying, *Take ye, and eat ye.* Wherefore, as many as be preſent and do not communicate, break Gods commandment in not receiving the ſame, and the Miniſter is no juſt Miniſter that doth not diſtribute the Sacrament, as Chriſt did, to all that are preſent; and where Gods word is tranſgreſſed, there is not Chriſt preſent, and conſequently it is no Sacrament.

The Sacrament of Baptiſm may be miniſtred unto any ſingular perſon.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper requireth a Communion.

At the miniſtration of the Supper all that be preſent ought to communicate.

Harpſ. What, would you have it no Sacrament without it be a Communion?

Phil. I make it not ſo, but Gods expreſs word teacheth me ſo, yea, alſo all the ancient Writers; as S. *Chryſoſtom* writing upon the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, ſaith, *That the oblation is in vain, whereas none doth communicate with the Prieſt.* If by his judgment the action of the Prieſt alone is in vain, where is no Communion, how can that be a Sacrament, which he calleth a vain Oblation, and a vain ſtanding at the Altar?

Chryſoſt. in Ep. ad Eph.

It is no Sacrament without it be a Communion.

Coſins. You are ſuch another Fellow as I have not heard, that will not have the Maſs to be a Sacrament; you are no man for me to reaſon withal. Come, let us go, pointing to the Morrow-maſs Chaplain: we will leave you (Mr. Archdeacon) and him together; and ſo they went away. Afterward the Archdeacon fell into earneſt perſwaſions with me, ſaying:

Coſins and the Chaplain give over their part.

Harpſ. Mr. *Philpot*, you and I have been of old acquaintance a long time; we were School-fellows both in *Wincheſter*, and in *Oxford* many years. Wherefore I muſt wiſh you as well to do as my ſelf, and I pray you ſo think of me.

Phil. I thank you for your good will towards me. But if you be deceived, (as I am ſure you are) I ſhall deſire you not to wiſh me deceived with you. For afore God I tell you plainly, you are highly deceived, and maintain falſe Religion, and be not thoſe men you take you ſelves for: and if you do not repent, and leave off your perſecuting of Chriſts Truth, you will go to the Devil for it. Therefore conſider it in time, I give you warning, for elſe in the Day of Judgment I ſhall be a witneſs againſt you, that I told you this here talking together.

Talk between Mr. *Philpot* and Mr. *Harpſfield* Archdeacon.

Harpſ. Fie, that is but your own vain ſingular opinion; I perceive you are now ſtill that man you were in *Oxford.*

Phil. I truſt you can report no notorious evil that ever you knew by me there.

Harpſ. I can ſay no evil of your Converſation, but I knew you to be a ſtudious man. Marry, if you remember when we met in diſputation in *parvis*, you would not lightly give over, and for that cauſe I ſpeak what I have ſaid.

Phil. Mr. *Harpsfield*, you know in the Schools of *Oxford*, when we were young men, we did ſtrive much upon vain glory, and upon contention, more than for the truth; but now our years and our riper learning teach us to fall to a truth, which muſt be our portion for ever. And if I was then, in my time of ignorance, earneſt in my own cauſe, I ought now to be earneſt in my Maſter Chriſts cauſe, and his truth. I know now that nothing done upon vain glory and ſingularity can pleaſe God, have it never ſo godly a ſhew: wherefore I pray you judge not ſo of me now.

Harpſ. What, will you think your ſelf better learned, then all the learned men in this Realm?

Phil.

Anno 1555.

Phil. My Faith hangeth not upon the learned of the world, but upon the learned of Gods Word.

Harpſ. Well, I will talk with you no more as now, but pray to God to open your heart.

Phil. I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will, than we have done in times paſt.

Harpſ. Ho Keeper, take him away with you.

What this Pronoun *Hoc* doth demonſtrate.

Phil. I pray you Mr. *Harpsfield*, tell me what this Pronoun (*Hoc*) doth demonſtrate and ſhew, in this Indicative Propoſition, as you call it, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, This is my Body?

Harpſ. It doth demonſtrate the Subſtance of Bread, which by the words ſpoken by the Prieſt, and by the Omnipotency of God, is turned into the Subſtance of Chriſts very Body.

That is againſt the opinion of *Wincheſter*. Read before in the Tractation of *Wincheſters* Sermon.

Phil. Is the Subſtance of the Bread, as you ſay, turned into Chriſts Body?

Harpſ. Yea, that it is.

Phil. Why, then Chriſts Body receiveth daily a great increaſe of many thouſand pieces of Bread into his Body, and that is his Body become now, which was not before, and by this you would ſeem to make, that there is an alteration in Chriſts glorified Body, which is a wicked thing to think.

M. *Harpsfield* in a double tale.

Harpſ. Then he ſet about again, and remembring better himſelf, and ſeeing the inconvenience of his firſt aſſertion, of the Tranſubſtantiation of Bread into Chriſts Body, he ſaid, That the Subſtance of Bread, after the words ſpoken by the Prieſt, was evacuated or vaniſhed away by the Omnipotency of God.

Contrariety in Popiſh doctrine.

Phil. This is another Song than you ſang firſt: and here you may ſee how contrary you are to your ſelves. For indeed your Schoolmen do hold, That the very Subſtance of Bread is really turned into the Subſtance of Chriſts Body. And now you perceiving of late the inconvenience which is objected againſt you in that Opinion, you are driven to imagin a new ſhift, and ſay, the Subſtance of Bread is evacuated, contrary to that your Church hath firſt believed and taught. O what contrariety is there among you, and all to deface the ſincere Truth?

Preſence of Gods Omnipotence.

Harpſ. Is not God omnipotent? and cannot he do as he hath ſaid?

Phil. But his omnipotence will not do as you ſay, contrary to his word and to his honour. It is not Gods honour to include him bodily into a piece of Bread, and of neceſſity to tye him thereto. It is not Gods honour for you to make a piece of Bread God and Man, which you ſee before your face doth putrifie after a certain time. Is not Gods Omnipotency as able to give his Body with the Sacramental Bread, as to make ſo many turnings away of the Bread, as you do, and that directly againſt the Scripture, which calleth it Bread many times after the Conſecration? Are you not aſhamed to make ſo many alterations of the Lords holy Inſtitution as you do, and to take away the ſubſtantial parts of the Sacrament, as, *Take ye, eat ye, drink ye all of this*; *do ye this in remembrance of me*: and to place in their ſteads, Hear ye, gaze ye, knock ye, worſhip ye, offer ye, ſacrifice ye for the quick and the dead? If this be not blaſphemy to God and his Sacraments, to add and to pluck away in this ſort, and that contrary to the mind of all ancient Writers, and contrary to the example of Chriſt and all his Apoſtles, tell me.

The ſubſtantial parts of the Sacrament taken away by the Papiſts.

Harpſ. I know you have gathered the ſayings of the Doctors together, which make for your purpoſe; I will talk no longer with you.

Phil. I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will than we have done in times paſt.

M. *Harpsfield* giveth over for lack of good matter

Harpſ. Ho Keeper, take him away with you.

The tenth Examination of John Philpot *before Biſhop* Boner, *his Regiſter, and others.*

His tenth Examination before the Biſhop and others.

THE next day after Dinner I was brought into my Lords upper Hall, and there he called me before him and his Regiſter, and before Dr. *Chedſey*, in the preſence of two homely Gentlemen, and a Prieſt which I knew not: At what time the Biſhop ſaid,

Lond. I do here lay unto this man in your preſence (requiring you to be a witneſs againſt him, as much as you know in any of them) theſe Articles, this Book of the Catechiſm made in King *Edwards* days, alſo theſe Concluſions agreed upon both in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*; alſo I lay unto him, that he hath deſpiſed the Cenſures of the Church, and hath ſtood accurſed more than this twelve-month, and never required Abſolution thereof. How ſay you, waſt thou not accurſed by my L. Chancellor?

Phil. I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without any juſt cauſe, and without order of Law, being never perſonally cited.

Lond. Didſt thou not tell me the other day, when I required thee to come to the Maſs, that thou waſt excommunicated, and therefore by the Law couldſt not hear Maſs? How long haſt thou been thus excommunicated?

Phil. More than a twelve-month and a half.

Lond. Lo, you may hear what he ſaith: write it.

John Philpot required abſolution of *Wincheſter*, and was denied.

Phil. But as you would have written that I have ſaid, I have been thus long excommunicated; ſo alſo let him write, that I did require of my Lord Chancellor that did excommunicate me, my Abſolution, but he would not give it me, ſaying, That I was *excommunicatus ipſo jure*, becauſe I was an Heretick, as it pleaſed him to call me, therefore accurſed by your Law, and ſo commanded me to Priſon, where I remain.

Gentleman. Why do you not require Abſolution at my Lords hands here now?

Phil. Becauſe he is not mine Ordinary, neither hath by the Law any thing to do with me of right.

Bp. *Boner* will needs be his Ordinary.

Lond. What an obſtinate Fool is this? I tell thee I will be thine Ordinary whether thou wilt or no.

Mr. *Philpot* appealeth from the B. of *London* again.

Phil. And becauſe of this your unrighteous force towards me, I have appealed from you, and require you, Mr. Regiſter, that my Appeal may be entred in writing.

Lond. Have you heard ſuch a froward Fellow as this? he ſeemed yeſterday to be very tractable, and I had a good hope of him; I tell thee thou art of my Dioceſs.

Phil. I am of *Wincheſter* Dioceſs, and not of *London* Dioceſs.

Lond. I pray you may not a man be of two Dioceſſes at once?

Phil. No, that he cannot.

How one may be of Dioceſſes at once.

Lond. Lo, will you ſee what an ignorant Fool this is in the Law, in the which he would ſeem to be ſeen? I tell thee a man may be of three Dioceſſes at once: as if thou wert born in *London*, by reaſon thereof thou ſhouldſt be of my Dioceſs; or elſe if thou wert not born, but hadſt a Dignity here, alſo thou art to be counted of my Dioceſs, or elſe by reaſon of thy habitation in my Dioceſs.

Phil. In none of theſe reſpects I am of your Lordſhips Dioceſs. But for all that, this will not follow, that I, dwelling at *Wincheſter*, am at that preſent of *London* Dioceſs.

Lond. What wilt thou lay thereof? Wilt thou recant if I prove it?

Phil. But what ſhall I win if you do not?

Lond. I will give thee my Biſhoprick if I prove it not.

Phil. Yea, but who ſhall deliver it me if I win?

Lond. Thou art an arrogant Fool, enter their Oaths, and take theſe Witneſſes Depoſitions. I muſt be gone to the Parliament Houſe.

After this ſpake unto me a Prieſt ſtanding by, asking me whether I was kin to my Lord *Rich*, or no.

Phil. I ſaid, he ſaid ſo himſelf to me the other day, but how I know not.

Ched. I heard him ſay he was his nigh Kinſman.

His Baſtarmite Kinſman.

Baalamite. Why, then you and I muſt be of kin, for he is my nigh Kinſman. How chance it that you and I be of contrary Judgments?

Phil. It is no marvel, for Chriſt propheſied, *That the Father ſhall be divided againſt the Son, and the Son againſt the Father for my Truths ſake:*

Baal. You do hold (as I underſtand) againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and againſt the holy Maſs.

Phil. If you can prove it a Sacrament, I will not hold againſt you.

Scripture handſomly applied.

Baal. What, prove it a Sacrament, quoth he? doth not S. *Paul* ſay, *Quæ oculus non vidit, & auris non audivit, ea præparavit Deus diligentibus ſe*; That ſuch things as the eye hath not ſeen, neither ear heard, hath God prepared for them that love him?

Phil. That ſaying of S. *Paul* concerneth nothing your Sacrament, but is meant of the heavenly joyes that be prepared for all faithful Believers.

Baal. Why, then I perceive you understand not S. *Paul*. By God, you are deceived.

Phil. You ought not to swear Kinsman, if you will that I shall so call you: and without dis-worship of our Kindred, I understand S. *Paul* as well as you, and know what I say, and with that shewed him a Greek Testament with *Erasmus*'s translation, and with the old also, demanding him which Text he was best acquainted withal.

Baal. I knew Greek too once, as well as you, I care not which you read.

Phil. You know them then all alike; you understand the one as well as the other. With this my *Baalamite* Kinsman departed in a fury.

The next days talk with the Bishops.

The next day after I was brought down again after dinner to the Chappel, and there my *Baalamite* Kinsman (to verifie the Scriptures, that a mans own Kinsfolks shall be his enemies) came in with the Bishop as a Witness against me: and there the Bishop caused another that came to him about other matters, to swear also to be a witness against me, which was a Priest also, saying,

Witness again sworn against John Philpot.

Lond. You shall swear to depose all the truth of certain Articles you shall be inquired of concerning this man; and here I (according to the Law) do bring them forth in thy presence.

John Philpot appealeth again from the Bishop.

Phil. My Lord, I do not agree to the production of them, but do appeal from all these and other your proceedings against me: and require you Mr. Register, that my Appeal may be entred, and I will give you for your labour.

Reg. Your Appeal shall be entred at leisure. Whom do you appeal unto? tell me.

Phil. I appeal to a higher Judge, as to the Lieutenant of the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*; for I know not who is Bishop thereof at this present. With that the Bishop went away, and my *Baalamite* Kinsman looking big upon me, but said never a word.

Thus have I in haste scribled out all mine Examinations hitherto, that the same which hath been done unto me in dark, might come to light, and that the Papists unjust proceedings, and nakedness in their false Religion, might be known to their confusion. Jesus is *Emanuel*, that is, God with us, *Amen.* 1555.

The eleventh Examination of John Philpot, *had on S.* Andrews *day, before the Bishop of* Duresm, *the B. of* Chichester, *the B. of* Bathe, *the B. of* London, *the Prolocutor, Mr.* Christopherson, *and Dr.* Chedsey, *Mr.* Morgan *of* Oxford, *Mr.* Hussey *of the Arches, Dr. Weston, Dr.* Harpsfield *Archdeacon, Mr.* Cosins, *and Mr.* Johnson *Register to the B. of* London, *in his Palace.*

Yet another Examination of John Philpot before Bishops and Doctors.

I Was coming, being sent for with my Keeper, and the Bishop of *London* met me in his Hall-door, and full mannerly he played the Gentleman-Usher, to bring me before the Lords, saying,

Lond. My Lords, I shall desire you to take some pains with this man, he is a Gentleman, and I would he should do well, but he will wilfully cast away himself.

Dures. Come hither Sir, what is your name?

Phil. My name is *Philpot*.

Dures. I have heard of that name to be a worshipful stock, and since you be a Gentleman, do as you may live worshipfully among other Gentlemen. What is the cause of your trouble now?

Phil. I told him the cause, as in my former Examinations is expressed.

Dures. Well, all causes set apart, will you now be a conformable man to the Catholick Faith, and leave all new fangled Opinions and Heresies? I wis I was in *Germany* with *Luther* at the beginning of these Opinions, and can tell how they began. Leave them, and follow the Catholick Church throughout the whole world, as the whole Realm now doth.

Setling of a mans conscience in Religion requireth good advisement.

Phil. My Lord, I am in the Catholick Faith, and desire to live and dye in the same: but it is not unknown to your Lordship, that I with others these twenty years have been taught another manner of Faith then you now go about to compel us unto; wherefore it is requisite that we have a time to weigh the same, and to hear how it agreeth with Gods word. For Faith is at a sudden neither won, neither removed, but as S. *Paul* saith, *Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word*; *Fides ex auditu, auditus per verbum.* Anno 1555.

Papists will have Faith to be compelled.

Chich. And if you will give me leave, my Lord, I will shew him how he taketh the saying of S. *Paul* amiss, as many other now adays alledging the same do, that they ought not to be compelled to believe, whereas S. *Paul* meaneth of Infidels, and not of the Faithful; and so S. *Austin*, writing against the Donatists, saith, That the Faithful may be compelled to believe.

Bernard. in Cant. Ser. 66. Faith ought not to be compelled.

Phil. S. *Bernard* (if it please your Lordship) doth take that sense of S. *Paul* as I do, saying, that *Fides est suadenda, & non imponenda*; Faith must be perswaded to a man, and not injoyned. And S. *Augustine* speaketh of such as were first throughly perswaded by manifest Scriptures, and yet would resist of stubborn wilfulness.

Chich. So *Bernard* meaneth of Infidels also.

Phil. No, my Lord, that he both not, for he writeth not of the Infidels, but he writeth of such as were deceived by Errors.

Chich. My Lord of *Durham*, I have been so bold to interrupt your Lordship of your tale, I pray you now proceed on.

Dur. Mr. *Philpot*, will you be of the same Catholick Faith and Church with us you were baptized in, and your Godfathers promised for you, and hold as we do, and then may you be rid out of trouble? I perceive you are learned, and it is pity but you should do well.

John Philpot is of the same Faith and Church still as he was baptized.

Phil. I am of the same Catholick Faith and Catholick Church I was baptized unto, and in that will I live and dye.

Dur. That is well said; if you hold there you cannot do but well.

No man bound to be of the Faith of his Godfathers in every respect

Chich. Yea, my Lord, but he meaneth otherwise then you do; Are you of the same Faith your Godfathers and Godmothers were, or no?

Phil. I cannot tell what Faith they were of certainly, but I am of the Faith I was baptized unto, which is, the Faith of Christ: for I was not baptized in the Faith of my Godfathers, but in the Faith of Christ.

The place of S. *Augustine* in fide susceptorum, expounded.

Chich. S. *Austin* saith, That Infants are baptized *in fide susceptorum*, in the Faith of their Godfathers.

Phil. S. *Augustine* in so saying, meaneth of the Faith of Christ, which the Godfathers do or ought to believe, and not otherwise.

Dures. How say you, will you believe as we do, and all the Learned of the Realm, or no? and be of one Church with us?

Phil. My Lords, It is not unknown to you, that there hath been always two Churches.

Chich. Nay, that is not so: there is but one Catholick Church.

The true Church and the false Church ever joyned together. Aug. de Civ. Dei l. 15. c. 15.

Phil. I shall desire your Lordships to hear out my tale, and to take my meaning. For I know there is but one true Church; but always from the beginning there hath been joyned to the same true Church a false Church, Adversary to the true: and that was declared at the first in *Abel* and *Cain*, who persecuted and slew his Brother, in whom (as S. *Augustine* witnesseth) is represented the false and true Church. And after that, as soon as God had chosen his peculiar people, and shewed unto them his Sanctuary, holy Statutes, and Will, anon after rose the false Church, and ten of the twelve Tribes of *Israel* divided themselves from the true Church of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, and made to themselves at *Bethel*, and set up golden Calves, and yet pretended therewith to serve God, and so abused his word. Notwithstanding, God was displeased with them, and ceased not his wrath, until he had utterly destroyed them.

The true and false Church declared first in *Abel* and *Cain*.

Chich. I will grant you before the coming of Christ, there were two Churches in the old Law; but in the new Law since Christs coming, you cannot shew it to be so by the Scripture.

The Bp. of *Chichester D. Day*, driven to a streight.

Phil. Yes, my Lord, that I can, if you will give me leave. After Christ had chosen his twelve Apostles was there not a *Judas* in the new Law, and a *Simon Magus*? and were not they of the false Church?

Chich. Yea, but I mean after the Gospel was written, where can you find me two Churches after Christ had ascended, and sent the Holy Ghost?

Phil. The Gospel was written eight years after the Ascension written by S. *Matthew*, and the writing there-

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of is not material to the Declaration of these two Churches to have been always from time to time; as by example it may be shewed: and yet as evil as my memory is, I remember in the New Testament is mention made of two Churches, as it appeareth in the *Apocalyps*, and also S. *Paul* to the *Thessalonians* maketh mention that Antichrist, with his false Generation, shall sit in the Temple of God. To the which *Chichester* replied not.

Duresme. The Church in the Scripture is likened to a great Fishers net, which containeth in it both good fishes and bad fishes. I trust you will be of the better sort, and lean to the truth.

Phil. My Lord, it is my whole desire now to follow that which is good, whatsoever I have done in times past, and to cleave to Gods Truth.

Duresme. Do you so, and then shall you do well: it is almost night, my Lord of *London*, I must needs be gone.

The Bishops begin to be weary of their part.

Lond. Nay, my Lord of *Duresme*, I must desire your Lordships, and my L. of *Chichester*, to tarry a little while. And before he had so said, the Bishop of *Bathe* went his way without saying any word. What, my L. of *Bathe*, will you be gone? I pray you tarry. My Lords, I have earnest matters to charge this man withal, whereof I would your Lordships to be made privy, and I have them here written in a Libel, I pray you sit down again, or else I will.

Bishop Bonner would fain pick out matter if he could tell how.

First, I lay to him here, that he hath written in a Bible, which I took from him, this erroneous saying, *Quod Spiritus est Vicarius Christi in terra*; *i.* The Holy Ghost is Christs Vicar in earth, Wilt thou abide by this saying of thine; that the Spirit is Christs Vicar on earth?

Phil. My Lord, it is not my saying, it is a better learned mans than mine: For I use not to write mine own sayings, but the notable sayings of other ancient Writers, as all others be where ye find the same written. And as I remember, it is even the saying of S. *Bernard*, and a saying that I need not to be ashamed of, neither you to be offended at, as my Lord of *Duresme*, and my Lord of *Chichester*, by their learning can discern, and will not reckon it evil said:

Lond. No will? why, take away the first syllable, and it soundeth *Arius*.

Phil. That is far fetched indeed; if your Lordship will scan mens sayings in such wise, you may find out what you list.

Another matter picked against John Philpot.

Lond. But to help this, I find moreover written with his own hand in another Book; *In me Johanne Philpotto ubi abundavit peccatum, superabundavit & gratia*; that is, in me *John Philpot*, where sin did abound, grace hath superabounded. I pray you what superabundant grace have you more then other men? So said *Arius*, That he had the abundance of grace above all other.

Rom. 5. 2 Tim. 1.

Phil. My Lord, you need not be offended with that saying more than the other, for it is the saying of S. *Paul* himself, and I did apply it to my self for my comfort, knowing that though my sins be huge and great in the sight of God, yet is his mercy and grace above them all. And concerning *Arius* and his Adherents, I defie them, as it is well known I have written against them.

Lond. Also I lay to thy charge that thou killedst thy Father, and was accursed of thy Mother in her Deathbed, as I can bring witness thereof.

John Philpot falsly charged with untruth, which no truth can be found against him.

Phil. O Lord, what Blasphemy is this? Hath your Lordship nothing of truth to charge me withal, but (as I may speak it with your Honour) such forged blasphemous lies? If any of these can be proved, I will promise here to recant at *Pauls Cross*, what you will have me: I am so sure they are as great blasphemies as may be objected against any man. Ha, my Lords, I pray you consider how my Lord of *London* hath hitherto proceeded against me: For indeed he hath none other but such pretensed slanderous lies.

Chic. They be *Parerga*; that is, matters beside the purpose.

Duresme. My Lord, I must needs bid you farewel.

Mr. Philpot charged with a Letter written to Mr. *Green*.

Lond. Nay my Lord, here is a Letter which I shall desire your Lordship to hear e're you go. This man (being in my keeping) hath taken upon him to write Letters out of Prison, and to pervert a young Gentleman, called Mr. *Green*, in my House, (call him hither) and hath made a false report of his examination, as you shall hear, not being content to be evil himself, but to make others as bad as himself. He all to tare the Letter when he saw my man went about to search him, but yet I have pieced it again together, and caused a Copy to be written thereof, and he read the torn Letter, bidding Mr. *Christoferson* and *Morgan* to mark the Copy thereof.

This Letter torn in the blind Tower, read before.

The Contents of the Letter was the Examination of Mr. *Green* before the Bp. of *London* in the presence of Mr. *Fecknam* Dean of *Pauls*, and of divers others, whose ready answers in the Scriptures and in the Doctors were wondred at of the Dean himself, and of many others, as *Fecknam* did report: and that he was committed to Dr. *Chedsey*, and to have his meat from the Bishops own Table. How say you, my Lords, was this well done of him, being my Prisoner, to write this? And yet he hath written a shameful lye, that he was in Dr. *Chedsey's* keeping. How say you Mr. Doctor *Chedsey*, is it not a shameful lye?

The contents of Mr. Philpots Letter to Mr. *Green*.

Ched. Yes, my Lord, he was never in my keeping.

Lond. Art not thou ashamed to write such shameful Letters?

Come hither Mr. *Green*, did not I shew you this Letter?

Mr. *Green* called.

Green. Yea forsooth, my Lord, you shewed it me.

Lond. How think you, my Lords, is not this an honest man to belye me?

Phil. Your Lordship doth mistake all things. This Letter (as your Lordship may perceive) and all other that have heard the same) was not written by me, but by a Friend of mine, certifying me at my request, how Mr. *Green* sped at the Bp. of *Londons* hands: And there is nothing in the Letter that either I, or he that wrote it, need to fear, but that might be written as my report.

Mr. Philpot again charged with an untruth.

Lond. Then tell me who wrote it, if you dare.

Phil. No, my Lord, it is not my duty to accuse my Friend: and specially seeing you will take all things at the worst: Neither shall you ever know of me who wrote it. Your Lordship may see in the end of the Letter, that my Friend did write unto me upon the occasion of my Appeal, which I have made to the whole Parliament House about such matters as I am wrongfully troubled for.

Lond. I would see any so hardy to put up thine Appeal.

Phil. My Lord, I cannot tell what God will work, I have written it, speed it as it may.

Note what great gentleness this Bp. shewed to Philpot, and compare the same with the handling now of him in his imprisonment.

Lond. My Lords, I have used him with much gentleness since he came to me. How saist thou, have I not?

Phil. If to lye in the vilest Prison in this Town (being a Gentleman, and an Archdeacon) and in a Cole-house, by the space of five or six weeks already, without fire or candle, be to be counted gentleness at your hands, I must needs say I have found gentleness. But there were never men so cruelly handled as we are at these days.

Black powder sent to John Philpot to make ink

Lond. Lo, what a Varlet is this? Besides this (my Lords) even yesterday he procured his man to bring a bladder of black powder, I cannot tell for what purpose, I.

Phil. Your Lordship needeth not to mistrust the matter: it is nothing but to make ink withal, for lack of ink, as I had it before in the *Kings Bench*, when my Keeper took away my Inkhorn.

Lond. And why shouldst thou go about any such thing unknowing unto me, being thy Keeper? for I am thy Keeper in this House, I tell thee.

Phil. My Lord, because you have caused my pennar and inkhorn to be taken from me, I would yet fain that my Friends might understand what I lack, not that I intend to write any thing that I would be afraid should come to your sight.

Lond. More than this, my Lords, he caused a Pig to be roasted, and made a Knife be put between the skin and the flesh, for what purpose judge you. How saist thou, didst thou not so?

False surmises against John Philpot.

Phil. I cannot deny but there was half a Pig sent me, and under the same a Knife lying in the Sauce, but for no ill purpose that I know; your Lordship may judge what you will. It was not to kill my self nor any other, as you would have men to believe; for I was never yet without a Knife since I came to Prison. Therefore all these be but false surmises, and not worth rehearsal.

Lond. I have here to lay to his charge (chiefest of all) his Book of the Report of the Disputation had in the Convocation-house, which is the rankest Heresie that may be, against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar. How say you Mr. Doctor *Weston*? did he maintain the same there stubbornly, or no?

Weſt. Yea, my Lord, that he did, and would never be anſwered. And it is pity that the ſame worſhipful Congregation ſhould be ſlandered with ſuch untrue reports.

Phil. You anſwered me indeed, Mr. Doctor (being then Prolocutor) goodly, with, hold thy peace, and have him to Priſon, and put him out of the Houſe. I have read the Book, and I find the report of every mans Argument to be true in all points. And if there be any fault, it is, becauſe he ſetteth forth your doings too favourably, and nothing like to that you did uſe me, being an Archdeacon, and not of the worſt of the Houſe.

Dr. Weſtons chief Arguments in the Convocation Houſe.

Weſt. Thou art no Archdeacon.

Phil. Indeed, Mr. Doctor, ye have amongſt you unArchdeaconed me as now, (I thank God of it) and that without all order of Law.

Lond. I pray you my Lords hearken what he writeth of himſelf, I read it over this morning, and made a note of it. He ſaith, that Dr. *Weſton* called him frantick and madman, and ſaid, he ſhould go to *Bethlehem*.

Phil. Indeed my Lord, ſo it pleaſed Dr. *Weſton* to taunt at me, and ſay his ſhameful pleaſure, but yet I was no whit the more for all his ſayings, than Chriſt was when the Scribes and the Phariſees ſaid likewiſe he was mad, and that he was poſſeſſed of a Devil, moſt blaſphemouſly.

B. Tonſtall and Mr. Weſton give over the matter.

Dureſ. My Lord of *London*, I can tarry no longer, I muſt needs bid you farewel. Mr. *Philpot*, me thinketh you have ſaid well that you will abide in the Catholick Faith, and in the Catholick Church: I pray you ſo do, and you ſhall do right well. And ſo departed with Mr. *Weſton* and Mr. *Huſſey*.

Phil. I have purpoſed ſo to do, howſoever I ſpeed, by Gods grace.

Lond. I pray you my Lord of *Chicheſter*, and Mr. Prolocutor, and Mr. Doctor *Morgan*, to commune with him whiles I bring my Lord of *Dureſm* going.

Chriſt. Mr. *Philpot* I was acquainted with you at *Rome*, if you be remembred, but you have forgotten me, and talked ſomewhat with you of theſe matters, and I find you now the ſame man that you were then, I wiſh it were otherwiſe. For Gods ſake be conformable to men that be better learned than you, and ſtand not in your own conceit.

Phil. Whereas you call me in remembrance of acquaintance had at *Rome*, indeed it was ſo, though it were but very ſtrange on your part, to me-ward, being driven to neceſſity.

Chriſt. You know the world was dangerous at that time.

Wiſdom in Gods matters conſiſteth not in mans learning.

Phil. Nothing ſo dangerous as it is now; but let that paſs. Whereas you ſay, you find me to be the ſame man I was then, I praiſe God for that you ſee me not like a Reed wavering with every wind. And whereas you would have me follow better learned men than my ſelf: indeed I acknowledge that you, with a great many other, are far better learned than I, whoſe Books, in reſpect of learning, I am not worthy to carry after you: but faith and the wiſdom of God conſiſteth not in learning only, and therefore S. *Paul* willeth that our faith be not grounded upon the wiſdom of man. If you can ſhew by learning out of Gods Book, that I ought to be of another faith than I am, I will hear you, and any other man whatſoever he be.

Chriſt. I marvel why you ſhould diſſent from the Catholick Church, ſince it hath thus long univerſally been received, except within this five or ſix years here in *England*.

Phil. I do not diſſent from the true Catholick Church, I do only diſſent from the Biſhop of *Rome*, which if you can prove to be the Catholick Church of Chriſt, I will be of the ſame alſo with you.

Chriſt. Will you believe S. *Cyprian*, if I can ſhew out of him, *Quod Eccleſia Romana eſt talis ad quam perfidia accedere non poteſt*, That the Church of *Rome* is ſuch a one, unto the which misbelief cannot approach?

Phil. I am ſure you cannot ſhew any ſuch ſaying out of S. *Cyprian*.

Chriſt. What will you lay thereon?

Phil. I will lay as much as I am able to make.

Morgan. Will you promiſe to recant, if I ſhew his ſaying to be true.

Phil. My faith ſhall not hang upon any Doctors ſaying, further then he ſhall be able to prove the ſame by Gods Word.

Chriſt. I will go fetch the Book, and ſhew it him by and by, and therewithal he went into the Biſhops Study, and fetcht *Cyprian*, and appointed out theſe words in one of his Epiſtles, *Ad Romanos autem, quorum fides Apoſtolo prædicante laudata eſt, non poteſt accedere perfidia*; But unto the *Romans*, whoſe faith by the teſtimony of the Apoſtle is praiſed, misbelief can have no acceſs.

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Cyprian. ad Cornel. lib. 1. Epiſt. 3.

Phil. Theſe words of *Cyprian* do nothing prove your pretenſed Aſſertion, which is, that to the Church of *Rome* there could come no misbelief.

Chriſt. Good Lord, no doth? What can be ſaid more plainly?

Phil. He ſpeaketh not of the Church of *Rome* abſolutely.

Chriſt. By God, a Child that can but his Grammar will not deny that you do, the words be ſo plain.

Phil. Swear not, Mr. Doctor, but weigh *Cyprians* words with me, and I ſhall make you to ſay as I have ſaid.

Chriſt. I am no Doctor, but I perceive it is but labour loſt to reaſon with you.

Dr. Day, B. of Chicheſter ſhrinketh alſo away.

Boner. And with that the Biſhop of *London* came in blowing again, and ſaid, What, is my Lord of *Chicheſter* gone away alſo? (for he even a little before departed alſo without any other word ſaying, but he muſt needs be gone.) What is the matter you now ſtand upon?

Morg. Mr. *Chriſtoferſon* hath ſhewed Mr. *Philpot* a notable place of the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, and he maketh nothing of it.

Boner. Where is the place? let me ſee. By my faith here is a place alone. Come hither, Sir, what ſay you to this? Nay, tarry a while, I will help this place with S. *Pauls* own teſtimony, the firſt to the *Romans*, where he ſaith, That their faith is preached throughout the world; how can you be able to anſwer to this?

The place of *Cyprian* expounded. Ad Romanos quorum fides Apoſtolo prædicante laudata eſt, non poteſt.

Phil. Yes, my Lord, it is ſoon anſwered, if you will conſider all the words of *Cyprian*: for he ſpeaketh of ſuch as in his time were faithful at *Rome*, and followed the Doctrine of S. *Paul*, as he had taught them, and as it was notified throughout the world, by an Epiſtle which he had written in the commendation of their faith. With ſuch as are praiſed of S. *Paul* at *Rome*, for following the true faith, misbelief can have no place. And if you can ſhew, that the faith which the Church of *Rome* holdeth now, is that faith which the Apoſtle praiſed and allowed in the *Romans* in his time, then will I ſay that S. *Cyprian* then ſaid, and with you, That infidelity can have no place there; but otherwiſe it maketh not abſolutely for the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, as you do miſtake it.

Chriſt. You underſtand *Cyprian* well indeed; I think you never read him in your life.

Phil. Yes, Mr. Doctor, that I have, I can ſhew you a Book noted with mine own hand: though I have not read ſo much as you, yet I have read ſomewhat. It is a ſhame for you to wreſt and wreath the Doctors as you do, to maintain a falſe Religion, which be altogether againſt you, if you take them aright; and indeed your falſe packing of Doctors together hath given me and others occaſion to look upon them, whereby we find you ſhameful liars, and miſreporters of the ancient Doctors.

Papiſts wreſters and miſreporters of the Doctors.

Morg. What, will you be in hand to allow Doctors now? they of your Sect do not ſo. I marvel therefore you will allow them.

Phil. I do allow them in as much as they do agree with the Scriptures, and ſo do all they which be of the Truth, howſoever you tearm us, and I praiſe God for that good underſtanding I have received by them.

Chriſt. What, you underſtand not the Doctors, you may be aſhamed to ſay it.

Phil. I thank God I underſtand them better then you: for you have *Excæcationem cordis*, the blindneſs of heart; ſo that you underſtand not truly what you read, no more than the wall here, as the taking of *Cyprian* doth well declare. And afore God you are but deceivers of the people, for all your brag you make of learning; neither have ye Scripture or ancient Doctor on your ſide, being truly taken.

Doctors make againſt the Papiſts if they be rightly taken.

Morg. Why, all the Doctors be on our ſide, and againſt you altogether.

Phil. Yea, ſo you ſay when you be in your Pulpits alone, and none to anſwer you. But if you will come to caſt accounts with me thereof, I will venture with you a recantation,

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tation, that I (as little ſight as I have in the Doctors) will bring more authorities of Ancient Doctors on my ſide then you ſhall be able for yours, and he that can bring moſt, to him let the other ſide yield. Are ye ſo content herewith?

Chriſto. It is but folly to reaſon with you, you will believe no Man but your ſelf.

Phil. I will believe you or any other Learned Man if you can bring any thing worthy to be believed. You cannot win me with vain words from my faith. Before God there is no truth in you.

Morgan. What, no truth? no truth? ha, ha, ha.

Phil. Except the Articles of the Trinity, you are corrupt in all other things, and ſound in nothing.

Morgan. What ſay you, do we not believe well on the Sacrament?

Philpot. It is the thing which (among all other) you do moſt abuſe.

Morgan. Wherein I pray you? tell us.

Morgan here beginneth to play the ſiphr.

Phil. I have told you before M. Doctor, in the Convocation Houſe.

* *Morgan.* Yes marry: indeed you told us there very well. For there you fell down upon your knees, and fell to weeping, ha ha, ha.

Phil. I did weep indeed, and ſo did Chriſt upon *Jeruſalem*, and am not to be blamed therefore, if you conſider the cauſe of my weeping.

Morg. What, make you your ſelf Chriſt? ha, ha, ha.

Phil. No ſir, I make not my ſelf Chriſt: but I am not aſhamed to do as my Maſter and Saviour did, to bewail and lament your Infidelity and Idolatry, which I there foreſaw through tyranny you would bring again to this Realm, as this day doth declare.

Morgan. That is your Argument.

The Sacrament abuſed by the Papiſts, how and wherein.

Chriſto. Wherein do we abuſe the Sacrament? tell us.

Phil. As I may touch but one of the leaſt abuſes, you miniſter it not in both kinds as you ought to do, but keep the one half from the people, contrary to Chriſts inſtitution.

Sacrament in one kind.

Chriſto. Why, is not there as much contained in one kind, as in both? And what need is it then to miniſter in both kinds?

Phil. I believe not ſo: for if it had, Chriſt would have given but one kind only; for he inſtituted nothing ſuperfluous, and therefore you cannot ſay that the whole effect of the Sacrament is as well in one kind, as in both, ſince the Scripture teacheth otherwiſe.

* *Synecdoche* is a figure when by one thing or by part, the whole is underſtood. *Euſeb.* hath theſe words, December. Parum Euchariſtiæ puero dedit.

Chriſto. What if I can prove it by Scripture, that we may miniſter it in one kind? The Apoſtles did ſo, as it may appear in the Acts of the Apoſtles in one or two places, where it is written that the Apoſtles continued *In orationibus & fractione panis, In Prayers and in breaking of Bread*, which is meant of the Sacrament.

† He gave a little of the Sacrament to the Boy: which words may very well comprehend both parts: and it ſeemeth by the words that follow, that part of it was liquor, for it is written in the ſame place, Juſſit ut id intingeret, & in os ſeni inſtillaret. 1. He commanded that he ſhould poor it and drop it into the Mans mouth, and ſo he did. *Euſeb. in Eccleſ. hiſt. l. 6. c. 44.*

* *Phil.* Why, M. Doctor, do you not know that S. *Luke* by making mention of Breaking of Bread, meaneth the whole uſe of the Sacrament, according to Chriſts inſtitution, by a figure which you have learned in Grammar, *Synecdoche*, where part is mentioned, and the whole underſtood to be done, as Chriſt commanded it?

Chriſto. Nay, that is not ſo. For I can ſhew you out of *Euſeb. in Eccl. hiſt.* that there was a Man of God (whom he named) that ſent the Sacrament in one kind by a boy, to one that was ſick.

Phil. I have read indeed that they did uſe to give that was left of the Communion Bread, to Children, to marriners, and to women, and ſo peradventure the † Boy might carry a piece of that was left to the ſick Man.

* *Chriſto.* Nay, as a Sacrament it was purpoſely ſent unto him.

Phil. If it were ſo, yet can you not preciſely ſay, that he had not the Cup miniſtred unto him alſo by ſome other ſent unto him: but though one Man did uſe it thus, doth it follow that all Men may do the like? S. *Cyprian* noteth many abuſes of the Sacrament in his time, which roſe upon ſingular Mens Examples, as uſing of Water in ſtead of Wine: therefore he ſaith, *Non reſpiciendum quid aliquis ante nos fecerint, ſed quid Chriſtus qui omnium primus ante nos feverit & mandavit*, that is, we muſt not look what any Man hath done before us, but what Chriſt firſt of all Men did and commanded.

Chriſto. Hath not the Church taught us ſo to uſe the Sacrament? and how do we know that Chriſt is *Homouſios*, that is, of one ſubſtance with the Father, but by the Determination of the Church? How can you prove that otherwiſe by expreſs words of Scripture, and where find you *Homouſios* in all the Scripture?

Phil. Yes that I do, in the firſt of the *Hebrews*, where it is written that Chriſt is the expreſs Image of Gods own ſubſtance, *ejuſdem ſubſtantiæ.*

Chriſto. Nay, that is not ſo. That is, There is no more but *expreſſa imago ſubſtantiæ*, The expreſs Image of Gods Subſtance, and Image is accident.

Phil. It is in the text, Of his ſubſtance, *Subſtantiæ illius*, or of his own ſubſtance, as it may be right well interpreted. Beſides this, that which Chriſt ſpake of himſelf in S. *John* manifeſteth the ſame, ſaying, I and the Father be one thing, *Ego & pater unum ſumus.* And whereas you ſay, *Imago* here is accidence, the ancient Fathers uſe this for a ſtrong Argument, to prove Chriſt to be God, becauſe he is the very Image of God.

Chriſto. Yea do? is this a good Argument, becauſe we are the Image of God, *Ergo*, we are God?

The Image of God, is not like in Chriſt, and in us.

Phil. We are not called the expreſs Image of God, as it is written of Chriſt, and we are but the Image of God by participation; and as it is written in *Geneſis*, we are made to the likeneſs and ſimilitude of God. But you ought to know (*M. Chriſto perſon*) that there is no accident in God, and therefore Chriſt cannot be the Image of God, but he muſt be of the ſame ſubſtance with God.

Chriſto. Tuſh.

Preſence of the Sacrament.

Morgan. How ſay you to the Preſence of the Sacrament? will you ſtand to the judgment here of your Book, or no? or will you recant?

Phil. I know you go about to catch me in words. if you can prove that Book to be of my ſetting forth lay it to my charge when I come to judgment.

Morgan. Speak, be you of the ſame mind as this Book is of, or no? Sure I am you were once, unleſs you are become another manner of Man then you were.

The Sacrament of the Maſs as it is uſed, is no Sacrament.

Phil. What I was, you know; what I am, I will not tell you now: but this I will ſay to you by the way, that if you can prove the Sacrament of the Maſs (as you now uſe it) to be a Sacrament, I will then grant you a preſence, but firſt you muſt prove the ſame a Sacrament and afterward intreat of the preſence.

Morg. Ho, do you doubt that it is a Sacrament?

Philpot. I am paſt doubting, for I believe you can never be able to prove it a Sacrament.

Chriſto. Yea do? good Lord, doth not S. *Auguſtine* call it the Sacrament of the Altar? How ſay you to that?

Phil. That maketh nothing for the probation of your Sacrament. For ſo he with other ancient writers do call the Holy Communion or the Supper of the Lord, in reſpect that it is the Sacrament of the Sacrifice which Chriſt offered upon the Altar of the Croſs, the which Sacrifice all the Altars and Sacrifices done upon the Altars in the Old Law did prefigure and ſhadow, the which pertaineth nothing to your Sacrament hanging upon your Altars of Lime and Stone.

Chriſto. No doth? I pray you what ſignifieth Altar?

Altar what it ſignifieth.

Phil. Not as you falſely take it, materially, but for the Sacrifice of the Altar of the Croſs.

Chriſto. Where find you it ever ſo taken?

Phil. Yes that I do in Saint *Paul* to the *Hebrews* the thirteenth, where he ſaith, *Habemus Altare de quo non eſt fas edere his qui tabernaculo deſerviunt, We have an Altar, of the which it is not lawful for them to eat that ſerve the Tabernacle.* Is not Altar in this place taken for the Sacrifice of the Altar, and not for the Altar of Lime and Stone?

Chriſto for lack of better proof falleth to exclaiming.

Chriſto. Well, God bleſs me out of your company. You are ſuch an obſtinate Heretick, as I have not heard the like.

Phil. I pray God keep me from ſuch blind Doctors, which when they are not able to prove what they ſay, then they fall to Blaſpheming (as you now do) for lack of better proof. In the mean while the Biſhop of *London* was talking with ſome other by, and at length came in to ſupply his part, and ſaid.

Boner. I pray you Maſters, harken what I ſhall ſay to this Man: come hither Maſter *Green*. And now Sir (pointing to me) you cannot think it ſufficient to be naught

your

your self, but muſt go about to procure this young Gentleman by your Letters to do the like.

Wrangling matter againſt *M. Harpſfield.*

Phil. My Lord, he cannot ſay, that I ever hitherto wrote unto him concerning any ſuch matter, as he here can teſtifie.

Green. No you never wrote unto me.

Boner. Why, is not this your Letter which you did write concerning him.

Phil. I have ſhewed your Lordſhip my mind concerning that Letter already: it was not written to Maſter *Green*, neither was he privy to the writing thereof.

Lond. How ſay you then, If a Man be in an error, and you know thereof, what are you bound to do in ſuch a caſe?

Phil. I am bound to do the beſt I can to bring him out of it.

Lond. If M. *Green* here be in the like, are you not bound to reform him thereof if you can?

Phil. Yes that I am, and will do to the uttermoſt of my power therein. The Biſhop remembring himſelf, thinking that he would but ſhrewdly after his expectation be holpen at my Mouth, but rather confirmed in that which he called an errour, ceaſed to go any further in his demand, and called M. *Green* aſide, and before his Regiſter read him a Letter, I know not the contents thereof: and therewithal he gave M. *Green* the Book of my diſputation in the Convocation-Houſe, and afterward went aſide, communing with Maſter *Chriſtoferſon*, leaving M. *Morgan*, M. *Harpsfield*, and M. *Coſins*, to reaſon with me in the hearing of Maſter *Green*.

Morgan. M. *Philpot*, I would ask you how old your Religion is?

Jo. *Philpots* Religion elder then popery by a 1000. years. This Religion was not ſeen openly a 100. ye ars ago: Erge, this Religion was not. The antecedent is true, and the conſequence falſe. December.

Phil. It is elder then yours by a thouſand years and more.

Morgan. I pray you where was it fifty years ago?

Phil. It was in *Germany* apparent by the teſtimony of *Huſs*, *Hierom* of *Prague* and *Wickliff*, whom your generation an hundred years ago and more, did burn for Preaching the Truth unto you; and before their time and ſince hath been, although under Perſecution it hath been put to ſilence.

Morgan. That is a marvellous ſtrange Religion, which no Man can tell certainly where to find it.

Philpot. It ought to be no marvel unto you to ſee Gods Truth thorow violence oppreſſed; for ſo it hath been from the beginning from time to time, as it appeareth by Stories, and as Chriſts true Religion is now to be found here in *England*, although Hypocriſie hath by violence the upper hand. And in the *Apocalyps* you may ſee it was Prophecied, that the true Church ſhould be driven into corners, and into the Wilderneſs, and ſuffer great Perſecutions.

Morg. Ah, are you ſeen in the *Apocalyps*? there are many ſtrange things.

Scoffing *Morgan.*

Phil. If I tell you the truth which you are not able to reſel, believe it, and dally not out ſo earneſt matters: Me think you are liker a ſcoffer in a play, then a reaſonable Doctor to inſtruct a Man, you are bare-arſed, and dance naked in a Net, and you ſee not your own nakedneſs.

Morg. What, I pray you, be not ſo quick with me, let us talke a little more coldly together.

Phil. I will talk with you as mildly as you can deſire, if you will ſpeak Learnedly and Charitably. But if you go about with tants to delude the truth, I will not hide it from you.

Morg. Why will not you ſubmit your judgment to the Learned Men of this Realm?

Phil. Becauſe I ſee they can bring no good ground whereupon I may with a good Conſcience ſettle my Faith more ſurely then on that which I am now grounded upon by Gods manifeſt Word.

Morgan. No do? that is marvel that ſo many Learned Men ſhould be deceived.

1 Cor. 2. *Phil.* It is no marvel by Saint *Paul*, for he ſaith, *That not many Wiſe, neither many Learned after the World be called to the knowledge of the Goſpel.*

Morg. Have you then alone the Spirit of God, and not we?

Philpot. I ſay not that I alone have the Spirit of God, but as many as abide in the True Faith of Chriſt, have the Spirit of God, as well as I.

Morg. How know you that you have the Spirit of God?

Phil. By the Faith of Chriſt which is in me.

Morg. Ah, by Faith do you ſo? I ween it be the Spirit of the Buttery, which your fellows have had that have been burned before you, who were drunk the night before they went to their death, and I ween went drunken unto it.

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Morgan railleth to ſcoffing and railing at the good Martyrs of God.

Phil. It appeareth by your Communication, that you are better acquainted with the Spirit of the Buttery, then with the Spirit of God; wherefore I muſt now tell thee, thou painted wall and Hypocrite, in the name of the living Lord, whoſe truth I have told thee, that God ſhall rain Fire and Brimſtone upon ſuch ſcorners of his Word and Blaſphemers of his people, as thou art.

Morg. What, you rage now.

Phil. Thy fooliſh Blaſphemies have compelled the Spirit of God, which is in me, to ſpeak that which I have ſaid to thee, thou enemy of all righteouſneſs.

Morg. Why do ye judge me ſo?

Phil. By thine own wicked words I judge of thee, thou Blind and Blaſphemous Doctor: for as it is written, *By thy words thou ſhalt be juſtified, and by thy words thou ſhalt be Condemned.* I have ſpoken on Gods behalf, and now I have done with thee.

Morg. Why then I tell thee *Philpot*, thou art an Heretick, and ſhalt be burned for thine Hereſie, and afterwards go to Hell-fire.

Jo. *Philpot* with great zeal denounceth Hell Fire to *Morgan* unleſs he repent.

Philpot. I tell thee, thou Hypocrite, that I paſs not this for thy Fire and Fagots, neither, I thank God my Lord, ſtand in fear of the ſame: my Faith in Chriſt ſhall overcome them. But the Hell Fire which thou threatneſt me is thy portion, and is prepared for thee (unleſs thou ſpeedily repent) and for ſuch Hypocrites as thou art.

Morg. What, thou ſpeakeſt upon Wine, thou haſt tipled well to day by likelihood?

Phil. So ſaid the curſed Generation, of the Apoſtles being repleniſhed with the Holy Ghoſt, and ſpeaking the Wondrous Works of God, they ſaid they were drunk, when they had nothing elſe to ſay, as thou doeſt now.

Morg. Why, I am able to anſwer thee, ywis, I trow.

Phil. So it ſeemeth, with Blaſphemies and lies.

Morg. Nay, even with Learning, ſay what thou canſt.

Morgan ſumbling and ſtammering in the Convocation Houſe.

Phil. That appeared well at my diſputation in the Convocation-Houſe, where thou tookeſt upon thee to anſwer thoſe few Arguments I was permitted to make, and yet waſt not able to anſwer one, but in thine anſwers didſt fumble and ſtammer, that the whole Houſe was aſhamed of thee: and the final concluſions of all thine anſwer was, that thou couldſt anſwer me if I were in the Schools at *Oxford*.

Morg. What, did I ſo? thou believeſt me.

Phil. I do not belie thee, the Book of the report of the diſputation beareth record thereto, and all that were preſent then can tell, if they liſt, thou ſaidſt ſo. And I tell thee plain, thou art not able to anſwer that Spirit of truth which ſpeaketh in me for the defence of Chriſts true Religion. I am able by the might thereof to drive thee round about this Gallery before me: and if it would pleaſe the Queens Majeſty and her Council to hear thee and me, I would make thee for ſhame ſhrink behind the door.

Morg. Yea, would you ſo?

Morgan taken up for halting.

Phil. Thou haſt the Spirit of Illuſion and Sophiſtry, which is not able to countervail the Spirit of Truth. Thou art but an aſs in the true underſtanding of things appertaining unto God. I call thee aſs, not in reſpect of malice, but in that thou kickeſt againſt the truth, and art void of all Godly underſtanding, not able to anſwer to that thou braggeſt in.

Morg. Why, have I not anſwered thee in all things thou haſt ſaid unto me? I take them to record.

Phil. Ask of my fellow whether I be a theef.

Coſins. Hark, he maketh us all theeves.

Phil. You know that phraſe of the proverb, that like will hold with like. And I am ſure you will not judge with me, againſt him, ſpeak I never ſo true; and in this ſenſe I ſpeak it. The ſtrongeſt anſwer that he hath made againſt me is, that you will burn me.

Morg. Why, we do not burn you, it is the Temporal Men that burn you, and not we:

Phil. Thus you would (as *Pilate* did) waſh your hands of all your wicked doings. But I pray you, *Invocate ſeculare brachium*; call upon the ſecular power to be Executioners of your unrighteous judgments. And have you not

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not a title in your Law, *De hæreticis comburendis*, to burn Hereticks?

Harpſ. I have heard you both a good while reaſon together, and I never heard ſo ſtout an Heretick as you are, M. *Philpot*.

Cofins. Neither I in all my Life.

Phil. You are not able to prove me an Heretick, by one jot of Gods Word.

Mr. Harpſfield and Cofins depart.

Harpsfield. You have the Spirit of Arrogancy, I will reaſon with you no more. And ſo he was departing, and Maſter *Cofins* alſo. And with that the Biſhop and *Chriſtoferſon* came in again, and ſaid.

Boner. Maſter Doctor, how doth this Man and you agree?

Morgan. My Lord, I do ask him where his Church was fifty years ago.

Boner. Are you not half agreed? as one Man ſaid once to two parties, in whom the one was equally diſagreeing from the other.

Chriſtof. My Lord, it is but folly to reaſon with him any further, your Lordſhip ſhall but loſe time, for he is incurable.

December. *Boner.* Well then, let his Keeper have him away. And with that Doctor *Chedſey* led me a way by the which we could not paſs, and therefore came back again through the Biſhops Chamber, where all theſe Doctors were cluſtered together; and as I was paſſing by, the Biſhop took me by the gown and ſaid, wote you what what Mr. *Chriſtoferſon* telleth me? I pray you Maſter *Chriſtoferſon* rehearſe the Sentence in Latin; and ſo he did. The contents whereof were, That an Heretick would not be won. *Chriſto.* S. *Paul* ſaith, *Hereticum hominem poſt unam atque alteram admonitionem devita*; *Fly an Heretick after once or twice warning.*

Chriſtian truth called Hereſie.

All the Doctors. Yea, my Lord, it is beſt you ſo do; and trouble your Lordſhip no more with him.

Phil. You muſt firſt prove me juſtly to be an Heretick, before you uſe the judgment of S. *Paul* againſt me: for he ſpeaketh of ſuch as hold opinion againſt the manifeſt Word, the which you cannot prove by me: and becauſe you want in your proof, and be able to prove nothing againſt me, therefore you go about falſly to ſuppoſe me to be an Heretick, for the ſafeguard of your own counterfeit honeſties; but afore God you are the Hereticks which ſo ſtoutly and ſtobbornly maintain ſo many things directly againſt Gods Word, as God in his time ſhall reveal. As I went out of his Chamber, the Biſhop called me aſide and ſaid:

The Holy Ghoſt is Chriſts vicar upon Earth and how.

Boner. I pray thee in good ſadneſs, what meaneſt thou by writing in the beginning of thy Bible, *Spiritus eſt Vicarius Chriſti in terris*; *The Spirit is the Vicar of Chriſt on the Earth?* I wis you have ſome ſpecial meaning thereof.

Phil. My Lord, I have none other meaning than as I have told you already, That Chriſt ſince his aſcenſion worketh all things in us by his Spirit, and by his Spirit doth dwell in us. I pray you my Lord let me have my Bible, with other lawful Books and Writings which you have of mine, whereof many of them be none of mine, but lent to me by my friends.

Boner. Your Bible you ſhall not have, but I will perhaps let you have another, and after I have peruſed the reſt, you ſhall have ſuch as I think good.

Phil. I pray your Lordſhip then, that you would let me have Candle-light.

Boner. To what purpoſe I pray you?

John Philpot denied to have Candle-light.

Phil. The Nights be long, and I would fain occupy my ſelf about ſomewhat, and not ſpend my time idlely.

Boner. You may then pray.

Phil. I cannot well ſay my Prayers without light.

Boner Can you not ſay your *Pater-noſter* without a Candle? I tell you Sir, you ſhall have ſome meat and drink of me, but candles you get none.

Phil. I had rather have a Candle than your meat and drink; but ſeeing I ſhall not have my requeſt, the Lord ſhall be my light.

Boner. Have him down.

Ched. I will bring him to his Keeper, my Lord. Maſter *Philpot*, I wonder all theſe learned Men whom you have talked withal this day can nothing at all perſwade you.

Phil. Why, Maſter Doctor, would you have me to be perſwaded with nothing? or would you have me build my Faith upon ſand? What do you all bring, whereby I ought by any ſufficient authority to be perſwaded to you?

Ched. I am ſorry you will ſo wilfully caſt away your ſelf, whereas you might live worſhipfully: do you not think other have Souls to ſave as well as you have?

Phil. Every Man ſhall receive according to his own doings. Sure I am you are deceived, and maintain a falſe Religion; and as for my caſting away, I would my burning day were to morrow, for this delay is every day to die, and yet not to be dead.

Ched. You are not like to die yet I can tell you.

Phil. I am the more ſorry thereof. But the Will of God be done of me to his Glory. Amen.

The twelfth Examination of John Philpot, *on* Wedneſday *the fourth of* December *before the Biſhop of* London, *the Biſhop of* Worceſter, *and the Biſhop of* Bangor.

The 12. Examination of *Mr. Philpot* before certain Biſhops.

IN the morning I was ſet down to the wardrobe adjoyning to the Chappel, and within a while after came three of the Biſhops Chaplains unto me ſaying:

John Philpot ſent for to Maſs refuſeth to come.

Chaplains. Maſter *Philpot*, my Lord hath ſent us unto you, to deſire you to come to Maſs, certifying you that there is a Doctor of Divinity, a Chaplain of my Lords, a notable learned Man, called Doctor *Chedſey*, going to Maſs: Therefore we alſo pray you good Maſter *Philpot*, be content to come; it is hard hereby.

Phil. I wonder my Lord would trouble you in ſending you about this matter, ſeeing he knoweth I am a Man (by your Law) that cannot hear Maſs, becauſe I ſtand Excommunicate.

Biſh. Chap. Your Excommunication is but upon a contumacy, and my Lord will diſpence with you, if you will come.

Phil. My Lord cannot, for he is not mine Ordinary, and I will not ſeek any ſuch thing at his hands. With this anſwer they went their way. And after Maſs the Biſhop called me before him into his Chappel, and there in the preſence of his Regiſter, (after he had ſaid his mind, becauſe I would not come to Maſs) recited the Articles, which he oftentimes before had done in that behalf, with the depoſitions of the witneſſes, of whom ſome were not examined.

The Biſhop layeth out his Articles again.

Bon. Sir, what can you now ſay, why I ſhould not proceed to give Sentence againſt thee as an Heretick?

The Biſhops doings againſt the Law.

Phil. Why my Lord, will you proceed to give Sentence againſt me before your witneſſes be examined? that is plain againſt your own Law, as all your doings have been hitherto.

Bon. See what a fool thou art in the Law. I need not to recite the depoſitions of the witneſſes, but if I liſt; for I know them well enough already.

Phil. It appeareth indeed you may do what you liſt.

Bon. Tell me, I ſay whether thou wilt anſwer, or no: and whether if thou wert abſolved of thine Excommunication, thou wouldſt come to Maſs, or no?

Phil. I have anſwered as much as I intended to do until I be called to lawful judgment: and as conceening my Conſcience I will not make you God to ſit there as yet; it is Gods part only to be ſearcher of my Heart.

Bon. Look how fooliſhly he ſpeaks. Art thou God? and yet doſt thou not ſit in thine own Conſcience?

Phil. I ſit not in mine own Conſcience; but I know it, and God there only ought to ſit, and no Man elſe.

John Philpot is rebuked for ſinging.

Bon. Thou art a naughty fellow, and haſt done much hurt, and haſt ſeduced other poor fellows here in priſon with thee, by thy comforting of them in their errours, and haſt made them rejoyce and ſing with thee.

Phil. Yea my Lord we ſhall ſing, when you and ſuch other as you are ſhall cry *Væ*, *Væ*, Wo, wo, except you repent.

Boner. What an arrogant fool is this? I will handle thee like an Heretick and that ſhortly.

Phil. I fear nothing (I thank God) you can do to me. But God ſhall deſtroy ſuch as thou art, and that ſhortly, as I truſt.

Boner. Have him away this is a knave indeed.

Phil. And I was had into the Wardrobe again by my keeper, and within an hour after was ſent for to come before

before him and the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Bangor*.

Sir, I have talked with you many times, and have cauſed you to be talked with of many Learned Men, yea and honourable both Temporal and Spiritual, and it availeth nothing with you. I am blamed that I have brought thee afore ſo many: for they ſay, thou glorieſt to have many to talk withal. Well, now it lyeth upon thee to look to thy ſelf; for thy time draweth near to an end, if thou do not become conformable. And at this preſent we are ſent from the *Synod* to offer you this Grace, that if you will come to the Unity of the Church of *Rome* with us, and acknowledge the Real Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar with us, all that is paſt ſhall be forgiven, and you received to favour.

Talk between John Philpot and the B. of Worceſter and Bangor.

Worc. M. *Philpot*, we are ſent (as you here have heard by my Lord of *London*) from the Synod, to offer you mercy, if you will receive it, and of good-will I bear you I wiſh you to take it, whilſt it is offered, and be not a ſingular Man againſt a whole Multitude of Learned Men, which now in faſting and Prayer are gathered together to deviſe things to do you good. There have many very Learned Men talked with you: why ſhould you think your ſelf better Learned than them all? Be not of ſuch arrogancy, but have humility, and remember there is no Salvation but in the Church.

Bangor. Me thinketh my Lord hath ſaid wonderfully well unto you, that you ſhould not think your ſelf ſo well Learned, but other Men are as well Learned as you, neither of ſo good wit, but other be as wiſe as you, neither of ſo good Memory, but other have as good Memories as you. Therefore miſtruſt your own judgment, and come home to us again. I wis I never liked your Religion, becauſe it was ſet forth by violence and tyranny, and that is no Token of True Religion. And I was the ſame manner of Man then that I am now, and a great many more. Marry, for fear we held our peace, and bear with that time. Wherefore M. *Philpot*, I would you did well, for I love you; and therefore be content to come home with us again into the Catholick Church of *Rome*.

If violence and tyranny be no token of true Religion: what may Men judge then of the Popes Religion I pray you?

Phil. Where, my Lord (as I may begin firſt to anſwer you) you ſay, that Religion is to be miſliked, which is ſet forth by tyranny, I pray God you give not Men occaſion to think the ſame by yours at this day, which had none other Argument to ſtand by, but violence. If you can ſhew me any good ſufficient ground, whereby to ground my Conſcience, that the Church of *Rome* is the true Catholick Church, whereunto you call me, I will gladly be of the ſame; otherwiſe I cannot ſo ſoon change the Religion I have learned theſe many years.

The Popes Religion hath no other ground to ſtand upon but violence.

Bangor. Where was your Religion to be found (I pray you) an hundred years ago, that any Man knew of it?

Where this Religion was one hundred years ago.

Phil. It was in *Germany*, and in divers other places apparent.

Worc. Jeſus! will you be ſtill ſo ſingular a Man? What is *Germany* to the whole World?

Bon. My Lords, I pray you give me leave to tell you; that I ſent for him to hear Maſs, this Morning. And wot you what excuſe he made unto me, forſooth that he was accurſed, alledging his own ſhame. He playeth as the varlet *Latimer* did at *Cambridge*: when the Vicechancellor ſent for him (who intended to have Excommunicated him for ſome of his Hereſies) and the Chancellor was coming to his Chamber, he hearing that the Chancellor was coming, made anſwer that he was ſick of the Plague, and ſo deluded the Chancellor; even ſo this Man ſaith, he was accurſed, becauſe he will not come to Maſs.

Boner raileth at Latimer.

Worc. My Lord (I am ſure) here doth behave himſelf like a Father unto you; therefore be admoniſhed by him, and by us, that come now friendly unto you, and follow your Fathers before you.

Phil. It is forbidden us of God by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, to follow our Fathers, or to walk in their Commandments.

Worc. It is written alſo in another place, *Interroga Patres, Ask of your Fathers.*

Fathers may be asked, but not followed further than they follow the Scriptures.

Phil. We ought to ask indeed our Fathers that have more experience and knowledge then we, of Gods will, but no more to allow them, then we perceive they agree with the Scripture.

Worc. You will be a contentious Man, I ſee well; and S. *Paul* ſaith, that neither we, nor the Church of God have any ſuch cuſtom.

Phil. I am not contentious but for the verity of my Faith, in the which I ought to contend with all ſuch as do impugn the ſame without any juſt objection. Anno 1555

Worc. Let us riſe, my Lord, for I ſee we ſhall do no good.

Boner. Nay, I pray you tarry and hear the Articles I lay to his charge. And after he had recited them, they aroſe, and after ſtanding, they reaſoned with me a while.

Wor. M. *Philpot*, I am very ſorry that you will be ſo ſingular. I never talked with any yet in my Dioceſs, but after once Communication had with me, they have been contented to revoke their errors, and to teach the people how they were deceived, and ſo do much good, as you may if you liſt. For as I underſtand you were Archdeacon of *Wincheſter* (which is the eye of the Biſhop and you may do much good in that Country if you would forſake your errors, and come to the Catholick Church.

Phil. Wherewithal you ſo ſoon perſwaded them to your will, I ſee not. Error, that I know, I hold none; of the Catholick Church I am ſure I am.

Wor. The Catholick Church doth acknowledge a real preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and ſo will not you.

Phil. That is not ſo: For I acknowledge a very eſſential preſence in the * duly uſing of the Sacrament.

* Note he faith not in the Sacrament, but in the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament.

Wor. What, a Real Preſence?

Phil. Yea a Real Preſence by the Spirit of God in the right Adminiſtration.

Worc. That is well ſaid: and do you agree with the Catholick Church alſo?

Phil. I do agree with the true Catholick Church.

Wor. My Lord of *London*, this Man ſpeaketh reaſonably now.

Bon. You do agree in generalities, but when it ſhall come to the particularities, you will far diſagree.

Wor. Well, keep your ſelf here, and you ſhall have other Learned Biſhops to commune further with you, as my Lord of *Dureſm*, and my Lord of *Chich.* whom I hear ſay you do like well.

Phil. I do like them as I do all other that ſpeak the truth. I have once already ſpoken with them, and they found no fault with me.

Wor. Pray in the mean ſeaſon for Grace to God.

Phil. Prayer is the comfortableſt Exerciſe I feel in my trouble, and my Conſcience is quiet, and I have the peace of mind, which cannot be the fruits of Hereſie.

Wor. We will bid you farewel for this time.

Phil. AFter Dinner they called for me again, and demanded of me whether I meant as I ſpake before dinner, and would not go from it. To whom I anſwered, that I would not go from that I had ſaid.

After Dinner *M. Philpot* called again.

Wor. You ſaid at my departing from you before Dinner, that if we did burn you, we ſhould burn a Catholick Man: will you be a Catholick Man? and ſtand to the Catholick Church.

Phil. I will ſtand to the true Catholick Church.

To ſtand to the Catholick Church, is not enough with theſe Men, except you be in the Church of *Rome*.

Wor. Will you ſtand to the Catholick Church of *Rome*?

Phil. If you can prove the ſame to be the Catholick Church, I will be one thereof.

Worc. Did not Chriſt ſay unto *Peter*, and to all his ſucceſſors of *Rome*; *Paſce oves meas, paſce agnos meos? Feed my Sheep, Feed my Lambs?* Which doth ſignifie that he gave him a more authority than the reſt.

December. The Words of Chriſt (*Feed my Sheep*) opened.

Phil. That ſaying pertaineth nothing to the Authority of *Peter*, above others, but declareth what Chriſt requireth of his beloved Apoſtles, that they ſhould with all diligence Preach to the Flock of Chriſt the way of Salvation, and that doth the iteration of feeding, ſpoken to *Peter*, only ſignifie. But the Biſhop of *Rome* little regardeth the ſpiritual feeding, and therefore he hath imagined an eaſier way to make himſelf Lord of the whole World, yea and of Gods Word too, and doth not feed Chriſts Flock as *Peter* did.

The Pope is no feeder.

Worc. How can you tell that?

Phil. Yes I have been there, and I could not learn of all his Countrimen, that ever he Preacheth.

Worc. Though he Preacheth not one way, he Preacheth another, by procuring good order for the Church to be kept in.

Phil. I am ſure that it will be his Damnation before God, that

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that he leaveth that he is commanded of Chriſt, and ſetteth forth his own Decrees to deface the Goſpel.

Worc. It is the evil living that you have ſeen at *Rome*, that cauſeth you to have this ill judgment of the Church of *Rome*. I cannot now tarry with you to reaſon further of the matter.

How ſay you to the real preſence of the Sacrament, will you ſtand to that?

By really he meaneth truly.

Phil. I do acknowledge (as I have ſaid) a real preſence of the Sacrament, in the due Adminiſtration thereof, to the worthy receivers by the Spirit of God.

Worc. You add now a great many more words than you did before: and yet you ſay more of the Sacrament, then a great many will do.

Talk with D. *Chedſey*, and D. *Wright* and others.

Thus they departed, and after them came into me D. *Chedſey*, and D. *Wright* Archdeacon of *Oxford* with a great many more.

Ched. M. *Philpot*, here is M. Archdeacon of *Oxford* come to you, to give you good Counſel, I pray hear him.

Phil. I will refuſe to hear none that will Counſel me any good; and if any can bring any matter better than I have, I will ſtick thereunto.

Wright. I would wiſh you M. *Philpot* to agree with the Catholick Church and not to ſtand in your own conceit: you ſee a great many of learned Men againſt you.

Phil. I am (M. Doctor) of the unfeigned Catholick Church, and will live and die therein: and if you can prove your Church to be the true Catholick Church, I will be one of the ſame.

Wright. I came not to diſpute with you, but to exhort you. Here be better learned than I that can inform you better than I.

You promiſe more, *Chedſey*, then you can prove.

Ched. What proof would you have? I will prove unto you, our Church to have his being and Foundation by the Scriptures, by the Apoſtles, and by the Primitive Church, confirmed with the Blood of Martyrs, and with the Teſtimony of all Confeſſors.

Phil. Give me your hand, M. Doctor, prove that, and have with you.

D. *Chedſey* fetcheth his book of Annotations.

Ched. If I had my Books here, I could ſoon prove it, I will go fetch ſome; and with that he went and fet his Book of Annotations, ſaying, I cannot bring my Books well, therefore I have brought my Book of Annotations, and turned there to a common place of the Sacrament, aſking me whether the Catholick Church did allow the preſence of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, or no? I hear ſay you do confeſs a real preſence: but I will be hanged if you will abide by it: You will deny it by and by.

Philpot. That I have ſaid, I cannot deny; neither intend, whatſoever you ſay.

Ched. If there be a real preſence in the Sacrament, then evil Men receive Chriſt, which thing you will not grant, I am ſure.

Phil. I deny the Argument, for I do not grant in the Sacrament, by Tranſubſtantiation, any real preſence, as you falſly imagine, but in the due Adminiſtration to the worthy receivers.

Whether evil Men receive the Body of Chriſt.

Ched. I will prove that the Evil and Wicked Men eat the Body of Chriſt, as well as the good Men, by S. *Auſtin* here.

Quodammodo.

Phil. And in the beginning of his Text Saint *Auſtin* ſeemeth to approve his aſſertion; but I bad him read out to the end, and there Saint *Auſtin* declareth moſt evidently that it was *quodammodo*, after a certain manner the evil Men received the Body of Chriſt, which is ſacramentally only in the outer ſign, and not really, or indeed, as the good doth. And thus all the Doctors that you ſeem to bring in for your purpoſe, be quite againſt you, if ye did rightly weigh them.

Ched. By God you are a ſubtil fello See how he would writhe S. *Auguſtines* words.

Phil. See who of us writheth Saint *Auſtin* more, you or I, which take his meaning by his own expreſs words. And ſeeing you charge me of ſubtilty, what ſubtilty is this of you, to ſay, that you will prove your matter of the Church, even from the beginning, promiſing to ſhew your Books therein, and when it cometh to the ſhewing, you are able to ſhew none, and for want of proof ſlip into a by matter, and yet faint in the proof thereof? Afore God you are bare arſt in your Religion.

D. *Chedſey* fainteth in his proof.

Ched. You ſhall be conſtrained to come to us at length, whether you will or no.

Phil. Hold that Argument faſt; for it is the beſt you have, for you have nothing but violence.

The thirteenth Examination of M. Philpot, *before the Archbiſhop of* York, *and divers other Biſhops.*

The 13. Examination of M. *Philpot* before the Archbiſhop of *York* and other Biſhops.

THe *Thurſday* after, I was called in the morning before the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the Biſhop of *Bathe*, and the Biſhop of *London*. The Biſhop of *Chicheſter* being firſt come began to talk with me.

Chich. I am come of good will to talk with you, to inſtruct you what I can, to come to the Catholick Church, and to will you to inſtruct your own judgment, and to learn firſt to have humility, and by the ſame to learn of others that be better learned then you, as they did learn of ſuch as were their betters before them.

Philpot. We muſt all be taught of God, and I will with all humility learn of them that will inform me by Gods Word, what I have to do. I confeſs I have but little learning in reſpect of you, that both of your years and great exerciſe do excel therein: but Faith conſiſteth not only in learning, but in ſimplicity of believing that which Gods Word teacheth. Therefore I will be glad to hear both of your Lordſhip, and of any other (that God hath revealed unto by his word) the true Doctrine thereof, and to thank you, that it doth pleaſe you to take pains herein.

Faith conſiſts not in learning, but in believing.

Chich. You take the firſt alledged amiſs, as though all Men ſhould be taught by inſpiration, and not by learning. How do we believe the Goſpel, but by the authority of the Church, and becauſe the ſame hath allowed it?

The authority of the Church.

Phil. S. *Paul* ſaith, *He learned not the Goſpel by Men, neither of Men, but by the Revelation of Jeſus Chriſt.* Which is a plain and ſufficient proof that the Goſpel taketh not his Authority of Man, but of God only.

Chich. Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh but of his own knowledge how he came thereto.

Phil. Nay he ſpeaketh of the Goſpel generally, *Which cometh not from Man but from God*; and that the Church muſt only teach that which cometh from God, and not Mans precepts.

The place of S. *Auſtin*, I would not believe the Word if the Church did not move me, &c.

Chich. Doth not S. *Auguſtine* ſay, *I would not believe the Goſpel if the Authority of the Church did not move me thereto.*

The Word hath his Authority only from God, and not of Men.

Phil. I grant, that the Authority of the Church doth move the unbelievers to believe; but yet the Church giveth not the Word his Authority; for the Word hath his Authority only from God, and not of Men, Men be but the diſpoſers thereof. For firſt, the Word hath his being before the Church, and the Word is the Foundation of the Church, and firſt is the Foundation ſure, before the building thereon can be ſtedfaſt.

The Word is the Foundation of the Church, and not the Church of the Word.

Chich. I perceive you miſtake me, I ſpeak of the knowledge of the Goſpel, and not of the Authority; for by the Church we have all knowledge of the Goſpel.

Phil. I confeſs that; for Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word. And I acknowledge that God appointeth an ordinary means for Men to come unto the knowledge now, and not miraculouſly, as he hath done in times paſt; yet we that be taught by Men, muſt take heed that we learn nothing elſe but that which was taught in the primitive Church by Revelation. Here came in the Biſhop of *York* and the Biſhop of *Bathe*, and after they had ſaluted one another, and communed a while together, the Archbiſhop of *York* called me unto them, ſaying.

Talk between the Archbiſhop of *York*, and *John Philpot*.

York. Sir, we hearing that you are out of the way, are come of charity to inform you, and to bring you into the true Faith, and to the Catholick Church again; willing you firſt to have humility, and to be humble and willing to learn of your betters, for elſe we can do no good with you. And God ſaith by his Prophet; *On whom ſhall I reſt, but on the humble and meek, and ſuch as tremble at my Word?* Now if you will ſo be, we will be glad to travel with you.

Phil. I know that humility is the door whereby we enter unto Chriſt; and I thank his goodneſs I have entred in at the ſame unto him, and with all humility will hear whatſoever truth you ſhall ſpeak unto me.

York. What be the matters you ſtand on, and require to be ſatisfied in?

Phil

Phil. My Lord, if it ſhall pleaſe your Grace, we were entred into a good matter before you came, of the Church, and how we ſhould know the truth but by the Church.

York. Indeed that is the head we need to begin at, for the Church being truly known we ſhall ſooner agree in the particular things.

Phil. If your Lordſhips can prove the Church of *Rome* to be the true Catholick Church, it ſhall do much to perſwade me toward that you would have me incline unto.

York. Why, let us go to the definition of the Church. What is it?

The Church defined.

Phil. It is a Congregation of people diſperſed thorow the World, agreeing together in the Word of God, uſing the Sacraments and all other things according to the ſame.

York. Your definition is of many words to no purpoſe.

Phil. I do not preciſely define the Church, but declare unto you what I think the Church is.

York. Is the Church viſible or inviſible?

The Church both viſible and inviſible.

Phil. It is both viſible and inviſible. The inviſible Church is of the Elect of God only; the viſible conſiſts both of Good and Bad, uſing all things in Faith, according to Gods Word.

York. The Church is an univerſal Congregation of Faithful people in Chriſt thorow the World; which this word Catholick doth well expreſs; for what is Catholick elſe? doth it not ſignifie univerſal?

Phil. The Church is defined by S. *Auſtin* to be called Catholick in this wiſe, *Eccleſia ideo dicitur Catholica, quia univerſaliter perfecta eſt & in nullo claudicat. The Church is called therefore Catholick, becauſe it is throughly perfect, and halteth in nothing.*

December. Catholick defined by Saint *Auguſtine.* Catholick defined by the Papiſts.

York. Nay, it is called Catholick, becauſe it is univerſally received of all Chriſtian Nations for the moſt part.

Phil. The Church was Catholick in the Apoſtles time, yet was it not univerſally received of the World; but becauſe their Doctrine which they had received of Chriſt was perfect, and appointed to be Preached and received of the whole World, therefore it is called the Catholick Faith, and all perſons receiving the ſame, to be counted the Catholick Church. And S. *Auſtin* in another place writeth, that the Catholick Church is that which believeth aright.

York. If you will learn, I will ſhew you S. *Auſtin*, writing againſt the Donatiſts, that he proveth the Catholick Church by two principal points, which is, univerſality and ſucceſſion of Biſhops in one Apoſtolical See from time to time. Now thus I will make mine Argument.

Univerſality and ſucceſſion.

This Conſequence being reduced into a ſyllogiſm of the firſt figure, will ground upon a falſe major.

Da- Univerſality and ſucceſſion make a true Church.
ri- The Church of *Rome* hath univerſal Succeſſion.
i. Ergo, The Church of *Rome* is the true Church.

The Church of *Rome* is univerſal and hath her ſucceſſion of Biſhops from time to time.

Ergo, It is the Catholick Church.

How anſwer you to this Argument?

Phil. I deny the antecedent, that the Catholick Church is only known by Univerſality and Succeſſion of Biſhops.

York. I will prove it, and with that he brought forth a Book which he had noted out of the Doctors, and turned to his common places therein of the Church, and recited one or two out of S. *Auſtin*, and ſpecially out of his Epiſtle written againſt the Donatiſts, where S. *Auſtin* manifeſtly proveth, that the Donatiſts were not the Catholick Church, becauſe they have no ſucceſſion of Biſhops in their opinion, neither univerſality; and the ſame force hath S. *Auſtins* Argument againſt you.

To this he ſufficiently anſwereth before, look in the latter end of the ſeventh examination.

Univerſality always to be joyned with verity.

Phil. My Lord, I have weighed the force of that Argument before now, and I perceive it maketh nothing againſt me, neither cometh it to your purpoſe; for I will ſtand to the Trial of S. *Auſtin* for the Approbation of the Catholick Church whereof I am. For S. *Auſtin* ſpeaketh of Univerſality joyned with verity, and of Faithful Succeſſors of *Peter* before corruption came into the Church. And ſo if you can deduce your Argument for the See of *Rome* now, as S. *Auſtin* might do in his time, I would ſay it might be of ſome force, otherwiſe not.

Not principally by your leave, my Lord.

York. S. *Auſtin* proveth the Catholick Church principally by Succeſſion of Biſhops, and therefore you underſtand not S. *Auſtin*. For what, I pray you, was the opinion of the Donatiſts, againſt whom he wrote, can you tell? What Country were they of?

Phil. They were a certain ſect of Men, affirming among other Hereſies, that the dignity of the Sacraments depended upon the worthineſs of the Miniſter; ſo that if the Miniſter were good, the Sacraments which he miniſtred were available, or elſe not.

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The error of the Donatiſts.

Chich. That was their error, and they had none other but that. And he read another authority of S. *Auſtin* out of a Book which he brought, even to the ſame purpoſe that the other was.

Phil. I challenge S. *Auſtin* to be with me thorowly in this point, and will ſtand to his judgment, taking one place with another.

Chich. If you will not have the Church to be certain, I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controverſie?

Phil. I do not deny the Church to be certain; but I deny that it is neceſſarily tied to any place, longer then it abideth in the word; and for all Controverſies the word ought to be judge.

The Church may be certain, and yet not tied to one place.

Chich. But what if I take it one way, and you another; how then?

Auguſt de doctrina Chriſt.

Phil. S. *Auſtin* ſheweth a remedy for that, and willeth, *Quod unus locus per plura intelligi debebat; That one place of the Scripture ought to be underſtood by the more.*

December Argument a cauſa non ſufficiente & non totali.

York. How anſwer you to this Argument?

Rome hath known Succeſſion of Biſhops; which your Church hath not.

Ergo, That is the Catholick Church, and yours is not, becauſe there is no ſuch Succeſſion can be proved in your Church.

The Argument denied.

Phil. I deny (my Lord) that Succeſſion of Biſhops is an infallible point to know the Church by: for there may be a Succeſſion of Biſhops known in a place, and yet there be no Church, as at *Antioch*, and *Hieruſalem*, and in other places, where the Apoſtles abode as well as at *Rome*. But if you put to the Succeſſion of Biſhops Succeſſion of Doctrine withal, (as S. *Auſtin* doth) I will grant it to be a good proof for the Catholick Church; but a local Succeſſion only is nothing available.

Local ſucceſſion without ſucceſſion of Doctrine nothing avails.

York. You will have no Church then I ſee well?

Phil. Yes my Lords I acknowledge the Catholick Church, as I am bound by my Creed; but I cannot acknowledge a falſe Church for the true.

Chich. Why is there two Catholick Churches then?

Phil. No. I know there is but one Catholick Church, but there have been, and be at this preſent, that take upon them the Name of Chriſt and of his Church, which be not ſo indeed, as it is written; *There be they that call themſelves Apoſtles, and be not ſo indeed, but the Synagogue of Satan and liars.* And now it is with us, as it was with the two Women in *Solomons* time, which lay together, and the one ſuppreſſed her Child, and afterward went about to Challenge the true Mothers Child:

Apoc. 2.

3 Reg. 3. The Mother Church of *Rome* compared to the woman in *Solomons* time, that falſly challenged the true Mothers Child from her.

Chich. What a babling is here with you now? I ſee you lack humility. You will go about to teach, and not to learn.

Phil. My Lords, I muſt deſire you to bear with my haſty Speech; it is my infirmity of nature. All that I ſpeak is to learn by, I would you did underſtand all my mind, that I might be ſatisfied by you through better Authority.

Chich. My Lord, if it pleaſe your Grace, turn the Argument upon him, which you have made, and let him ſhew the Succeſſion of the Biſhops of his Church, as we can do. How ſay you, can you ſhew the Succeſſion of Biſhops in your Church from time to time? I tell you, this Argument troubled Doctor * *Ridley* ſo ſore, that he could never anſwer it; yet he was a Man well learned, I dare ſay you will ſay ſo.

* So ye ſay now, when ye would give him no leave nor time when he was alive to make his anſwers.

Phil. He was a Man ſo learned, that I was not worthy to carry his Books for Learning.

Chich. I promiſe you he was never able to anſwer that. He was a Man that I loved well, and he me; for he came unto me divers times being in Priſon, and conferred with me.

Phil. I wonder, my Lord, you ſhould make this Argument which you would turn upon me, for the trial of my Church whereof I am, or that you would make B. *Ridley* ſo ignorant that he was not able to anſwer it, ſince it is of no force. For behold, firſt I denied you, that local ſucceſſion of Biſhops in one place is a neceſſary point alone to prove the Catholick Church by, and that which I have denied

Succeſſion of Biſhops alone is not ſufficient point to prove the Catholick Church.

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you cannot prove: and is it then reaſon that you ſhould put me to the trial of that, which by you is unproved, and of no force to conclude againſt me?

Chich. I ſee, my Lords, we do but looſe our labours to reaſon with him; he taketh himſelf better learned than we.

Phil. I take upon me the name of no learning. I boaſt of no knowledge, but of Faith and of Chriſt, and that I am bound undoubtedly to know, as I am ſure I do.

Leave your reviling tearms, my Lords, and go to the matter.

Chich. Theſe Hereticks take upon them to be ſure of all things they ſtand in. You ſhould ſay rather with humility, I truſt I know Chriſt, then that you be ſure thereof.

Note how theſe men ground their faith not upon Gods word, but upon the determination of their own known Church.

Phil. Let him doubt of his Faith that liſteth; God giveth me always grace to believe that I am ſure of true faith and favour in Chriſt.

Bathe. How will you be able to anſwer Hereticks, but by the determination of the known Catholick Church?

Phil. I am able to anſwer all Hereticks by the Word of God, and convince them by the ſame.

Chich. How arrogantly is that ſpoken? I dare not ſay ſo.

Phil. My Lord, I pray you bear with me; for I am bold on the Truths ſide, and I ſpeak ſomewhat by experience that I have had with Hereticks; and I know the Arians be the ſubtilleſt that ever were, and yet I have manifeſt Scriptures to beat them down withal.

Chich. I perceive now you are the ſame manner of man I have heard of, which will not be ſatisfied by learning.

Phil. Alas, my Lord, why do you ſay ſo? I do deſire moſt humbly to be taught, if there be any better way that I ſhould learn, and hitherto you have ſhewed me no better, therefore I pray your Lordſhip not to miſ-judge without a cauſe.

Bathe. If you be the true Catholick Church, then will you hold with the Real Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, which the true Church have ever maintained.

Phil. And I, my Lord, with the true Church do hold the ſame in the due miniſtration of the Sacrament: but I deſire you, my Lord, there may be made a better concluſion in our firſt matter, before we enter into any other; for if the Church be proved, we ſhall ſoon agree in the reſt.

My Lord of *York* driven to ſeek his Books. Aug. de ſimplicitate credend.

In the mean while my Lord of *York* was turning his Book for more places to help forth his cauſe.

York. I have found at length a very notable place, which I have looked for all this while, of S. *Auſtin, De ſimplicitate credendi.*

Chich. It is but folly, my Lord, that your Grace do read him any more places, for he eſteemeth them not.

Mr. *Philpot* falſly reported to deny Doctors.

Phil. I eſteem them, inaſmuch as they be of force, as your Lordſhip doth hear me deny no Doctors you bring, but only require the true application of them, according to the writers meaning, and as by his own words may be proved.

York. I will read him the place, and ſo make an end. After he had read the Sentence, he ſaid, that by four ſpecial points here S. *Auguſtine* proveth the Catholick Church. The firſt is, By the conſent of all Nations, the ſecond, by the Apoſtolick See, the third, by Univerſality, and the fourth, by this word Catholick.

Four points to prove the Catholick Church out of S. *Auguſtine.* 1. Conſent of all Nations. 2. See Apoſtolick. 3. Univerſality. 4. Catholick.

Chich. That is a notable place indeed, if it pleaſe your Grace.

Anſwer to the Archbiſhops four points.

Phil. I pray you my Lord, of what Church doth S. *Auguſtine* write the ſame, of *Rome*, or not?

York. Yea, he writeth it of the Church of *Rome.*

Phil. I will lay with your Lordſhip as much as I can make, it is not ſo; and let the Book be ſeen.

Bathe. What art thou able to lay, thou haſt nothing?

York. Doth he not make mention here of the Apoſtolick See, whereby he meaneth *Rome*?

Phil. That is very ſtreightly interpreted, my Lord, as though the Apoſtolick See had been no where elſe but at *Rome.* But let it be *Rome*, and yet you ſhall never verifie the ſame, unleſs all the other conditions do go therewith, as S. *Auguſtine* doth proceed withal, whereof none, except the Apoſtolick See can now be verified of the Church of *Rome.* For the Faith which that See now maintaineth hath not the conſent of all Nations, neither hath had. Beſides that, it cannot have the name of Catholick, becauſe it differeth from the Catholick Churches which the Apoſtles planted, almoſt in all things.

York. Nay, he goeth about here to prove the Catholick Church by Univerſality; and how can you ſhew your Church to be Univerſal fifty or an hundred years ago?

Chriſts Church ceaſeth not to be his Church, albeit in time of perſecution it be hid ſometime in corners.

Phil. That is not material, neither any thing againſt S. *Auguſtine*: for my Church (whereof I am) were to be accounted Univerſal, though it were but in ten perſons, becauſe it agreeth with the ſame that the Apoſtles did univerſally plant.

Firſt anſwer to his reaſon, and call him obſtinate afterward.

York. I perceive you are an obſtinate man in your Opinion, and will not be taught; wherefore it is but loſt labour to talk with you any longer, you are a Member to be cut off.

Chich. I have heard of you before, how you troubled the good Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and now I ſee in you that I have heard.

Phil. I truſt you ſee no evil in me by this; I deſire of you a ſure ground to build my Faith on, and if you ſhew me none, I pray you ſpeak not ill of him that meaneth well.

* Becauſe, my Lord, you be not able to anſwer him.

Chich. Thou art as * impudent a Fellow as I have communed withal.

Phil. That is ſpoken uncharitably, my Lord, to blaſpheme him whom you cannot juſtly reprove.

Chich. Why? thou art not God: Blaſphemy is counted a rebuke to Godward, and not to man.

Phil. Yes, it may be as well verified of an infamy laid to man, ſpeaking in Gods cauſe, as you now do lay unto me, for ſpeaking freely the Truth afore God, to maintain your vain Religion. You are void of all good ground. I perceive you are blind Guides, and leaders of the blind: and therefore (as I am bound to tell you) very Hypocrites, tyrannouſly perſecuting the Truth, which otherwiſe by juſt order you are by no means able to convince. Your own Doctors, and Teſtimonies which you bring, be evidently againſt you, and yet you will not ſee the Truth.

Chich. Have we this thank for our good will, coming to inſtruct thee?

Veritas odium parit. The free heart of *John Philpot* in telling truth

Phil. My Lords, you muſt bear with me, ſince I ſpeak in Chriſts cauſe; and becauſe his glory is defaced, and his people cruelly and wrongfully ſlain by you, becauſe they will not conſent to the diſhonor of God, and to hypocriſie with you; if I told you not your fault, it would be required at my hands in the day of Judgment. Therefore know you, ye Hypocrites indeed, that it is the Spirit of God that telleth you your ſin, and not I; I paſs not, I thank God, of all your cruelty. God forgive you, and give you grace to repent: and ſo they departed.

Another talk the ſame day.

Another calling of Mr. *Philpot* before the Biſhop.

THe ſame day at night before Supper, the Biſhop ſent for me into his Chappel, in the preſence of the Archdeacon *Harpsfield*, Dr. *Cheadſey*, and other his Chaplains, and his Servants; at what time he ſaid:

Lond. Mr. *Philpot*, I have by ſundry means gone about to do you good, and I marvel you do ſo little conſider it. By my truth, I cannot tell what to ſay to you: tell me directly whether you will be a conformable man, or no; and whereupon you chiefly ſtand.

Phil. I have told your Lordſhip often times plain enough, whereon I ſtand chiefly, requiring a ſure Probation of the Church whereunto you call me.

Concernin theſe four points anſwered ſufficiently before.

Harpſ. S. *Auſtin* writing againſt the Donatiſts, declareth four ſpecial notes to know the Church by; the conſent of many Nations, the Faith of the Sacraments confirmed by Antiquity, Succeſſion of Biſhops, and Univerſality.

Lond. I pray you Mr. Archdeacon, fetch the Book hither; it is a notable place, let him ſee it. And the Book was brought, and the Biſhop read it, demanding how I could anſwer the ſame.

Phil. My Lord, I like S. *Auguſtines* four points for the trial of the Catholick Church, whereof I am: for it can abide every point thereof together, which yours cannot do.

Harpſ. Have not we Succeſſion of Biſhops in the See and Church of *Rome*? Wherefore then do you deny our Church to be the Catholick Church?

Phil. S. *Auguſtine* doth not put Succeſſion of Biſhops only to be ſufficient, but he addeth the uſe of the Sacraments a cording to Antiquity and Doctrine univerſally taught & received of moſt Nations from the beginning of

the Primitive Church, the which your Church is far from. But my Church can avouch all these better than yours; therefore by S. *Augustines* judgment, which you here bring, mine is the Catholick Church, and not yours.

Harpsf. Ched. It is but folly (my Lord) for you to reason with him, for he is irrecuperable.

It is best for you to say so, when you have no other way to shift off his Arguments.

Phil. That is a good shift for you to run unto, when you be confounded in your own sayings, and have nothing else to say; you are evidently deceived, and yet will not see it when it is laid to your face.

THus have I at large set forth as many of the said *John Philpot* his Examinations and privy Conferences as are yet come to light, being faithfully written with his own hand. And although he was divers other times after this examined, both openly in the Consistory at *Pauls*, and also secretly in the Bishops House; yet what was there said is not yet sufficiently known, either because Mr. *Philpot* was not himself suffered to write, or else for that his writings are by some kept close, and not brought forth, otherwise then as the Bishops Register hath noted, whose handling of such matters because it is, (either for fear or favour of his Lord and Master) very slender, little light of any true meaning can be gathered, especially in the behalf of the Answerer; howbeit, such as it is, such thought I good to put forth; requiring the Reader to judge hereof according to his Answers in his former Examinations.

The last Examinations of Mr. Philpot *in open Judgment, with his final Condemnation by Bishop* Boner *in the Consistory at* Pauls.

The last Examinations of *Mr. Philpot* in open Judgment, with his final condemnation by B. *Boner* in the Consistory at *Pauls. Decemb.* 14.

THe Bishop having sufficiently taken his pleasure with Mr. *Philpot* in his private talks, and seeing his zealous, learned, and immutable constancy, thought it now high time to rid his hands of him, and therefore on the thirteenth and fourteenth days of *December*, sitting judicially in the Consistory at *Pauls*, he caused him to be brought thither before him and others, as it seemeth, more for orders sake, than for any good affection to justice and right judgment. The effect as well of which their two sundry proceedings, as also of one other had the eleventh day of the same Month in his Chappel, appear in a manner to be all one. The Bishop therefore first speaking to Mr. *Philpot*, said;

Mr. Philpot called into open Judgment.

Lond. Mr. *Philpot*, amongst other things that were laid and objected unto you, these three things ye were especially charged and burdened withal.

Three special Articles laid to *Mr. Philpot.*

The first is, That you being fallen from the unity of Christ's Catholick Church, do refuse and will not come to be reconciled thereunto.

The second is, That you have blasphemously spoken against the Sacrifice of the Mass, calling it Idolatry.

And the third is, That you have spoken against the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the Real Presence of Christs Body and Blood to be in the same.

And according to the will and pleasure of the Synod Legative, ye have been oft by me invited and required to go from your said Errors and Heresies, and to return to the unity of the Catholick Church, which if ye will now willingly do, ye shall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favour I can shew you. And now to tell you true, it is assigned and appointed me to give Sentence against you, if you stand herein, and will not return. Wherefore if ye so refuse, I do ask of you, whether you have any cause that you can shew, why I should not now give Sentence against you?

*Here either the Register believeth *Mr. Philpot*, or else he meant as not offending the Law, thereby to be accused, for otherwise all his former Examinations do declare that he spake against the Sacrament of the Altar.

Phil. Under Protestation, not to go from my Appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent Judge, I say, touching your first objection concerning the Catholick Church, I neither was nor am out of the same. And as touching the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the Sacrament of the * Altar, I never spake against the same. And as concerning the pleasure of the Synod, I say, that these twenty years I have been brought up in the Faith of the true Catholick Church, which is contrary to your Church, whereunto you would have me to come: and in that time I have been many times sworn (as well in the reign of King *Henry* 8. as in the reign of good K. *Edward* his Son) against the usurped Power of the B. of *Rome*, which Oath I think that I am bound in my Conscience to keep. *Quia teneor reddere Domino juramentum.* But if you, or any of the Synod, can by Gods word perswade me that my said Oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by Gods Law to come to your Church, Faith, and Religion, whereof you be now, I will gladly yield, agree, and be conformable unto you, otherwise not.

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B. *Boner* with all his Doctors not able to satisfie *Mr. Philpot.*

Boner then, not able with all his learned Doctors, to accomplish this his offered condition, fell to perswading of him, as well by his accustomed vain promises, as also by bloody threatnings, to return to their Church: to the which he answered,

Phil. You, and all other of your sort, are Hypocrites, and I would all the world did know your Hypocrisie, your Tyranny, Ignorance, and Idolatry.

Upon these words, the Bishop did for that time dismiss him, commanding that on *Monday* the 16 day of the same Month, between the hours of one and three in the Afternoon, he should again be brought thither, there to have the Definitive Sentence of Condemnation pronounced against him, if he remained then in his former constancy.

Decemb. 16.

The last Examination of Mr. John Philpot.

The last Examination of *John Philpot.*

AT which day and time, Mr. *Philpot* being there presented before the Bishops of *London, Bathe, Worcester*, and *Litchfield*, *Boner* Bishop of *London* began to talk in this manner.

Lond. My Lords, *Stokesley*, my Predecessor, when he went to give Sentence against an Heretick, used to make this Prayer.

B. *Stokesleys* prayer when he gave Sentence upon any.

Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam possint redire, justitiæ veritatisq; tuæ lumen ostendis, da cunctis qui Christiana professione censentur, & illa respuere quæ huic inimica sint nomini, & ea quæ sint apta sectari per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen. Which I will follow. And so he read it with a loud voice in Latin. To which Mr. *Philpot* said:

Phil. I would ye would speak in English, that all men might hear and understand you; for *Paul* willeth that all things, spoken in the Congregation to edifie, should be spoken in a Tongue that all men might understand.

Whereupon the Bishop did read it in English: and when he came to these words, *To refuse those things which are foes to his Name*; *Philpot* said,

Bp. *Boner* praieth against himself.

Phil. Then they all must turn away from you; for you are Enemies to that Name (meaning Christs Name) and God save us from such Hypocrites as would have things in a Tongue that men cannot understand.

Lond. Whom do you mean?

Phil. You, and all other that be of your Generation and Sect. And I am sorry to see you sit in the place that you now sit in, pretending to execute Justice, and to do nothing less but deceive all men in this Realm.

And then turning himself unto the People, he further said, Oh all you Gentlemen, beware of these men (meaning the Bishops) and all their doings, which be contrary unto the Primitive Church. And I would know of you, my Lord, by what Authority you proceed against me.

Bp. *Boner* hath no authority to proceed against *Mr. Philpot.*

Lond. Because I am Bishop of *London*.

Phil. Well, then ye are not my Bishop, nor have I offended in your Diocess: and moreover, I have appealed from you, and therefore by your own Law you ought not to proceed against me, especially being brought hither from another place by violence.

Lond. Why, who sent you hither to me?

Phil. That did Dr. *Story* and Dr. *Cook*, with other the King and Queens Commissioners; and, my Lord, is it not enough for you to wory your own Sheep, but ye must also meddle with other mens Sheep?

Then the Bishop delivered to *Philpot* two Books, one of the Civil Law, and the other of the Canon, out of the which he would have proved that he had Authority to proceed against him in such sort as he did. Mr. *Philpot* then perusing the same, and seeing the small and slender proof that was there alledged, said unto the Bishop:

Phil. I perceive your Law and Divinity is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I would ye did know your own ignorance: but ye dance in a Net, and think that no man doth see you. Hereupon they had much talk, but what it was, it is not yet known. At last *Boner* spake unto him, and said:

Lond. Philpot, as concerning your Objections against my

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my Jurisdiction, ye shall understand that both the Civil and Canon Laws make against you; and as for your Appeal, it is not allowed in this case: For it is written in the Law, *A judice dispositionem juris exequente non est appellandum.*

B. *Boner* noted to be ignorant in the Law.

Phil. My Lord, it appeareth by your Interpretation of the Law, that ye have no knowledge therein, and that ye do not understand the Law; for if ye did, ye would not bring in that Text.

The Law seemeth either badly compared of the Bishop, or else not rightly collected of his Register.

Hereupon the Bishop recited a Law of the Romans, That it was not lawful for a Jew to keep a Christian man in captivity, and to use him as a slave, laying then to the said *Philpots* charge, that he did not understand the Law, but did like a Jew. Whereunto *Philpot* answered:

Phil. No, I am no Jew, but you my Lord are a Jew. For you profess Christ, and maintain Antichrist; you profess the Gospel, and maintain Superstition, and ye be able to charge me with nothing,

Lond. and other Bish. With what can you charge us?

Phil. You are Enemies to all Truth, and all your doing be naught, full of Idolatry, saving the Article of the Trinity.

The L. Maior with the Sheriffs assistant to B. *Boner* against Mr. *Philpot.*

Whilst they were thus debating the matter, there came thither, Sir *William Garret* Knight, then Maior of *London*, Sir *Martin Bowes* Knight, and *Tho. Leigh* then Sheriff of the same City, and sate down with the said Bishops in the said Consistory, where and what time Bishop *Boner* spake these words in effect as followeth.

Lond. Philpot, before the coming of my Lord Maior, because I would not enter with you into the matter wherewith I have heretofore, and now intend to charge you withal, until his coming, I did rehearse unto you a Prayer both in English and in Latin, which Bp. *Stokesley*, my Predecessor, used when he intended to proceed to give Sentence against an Heretick.

And here he did again read the said Prayer both in English, and also in Latin: which being ended, he spake again unto him, and said:

Lond. Philpot, amongst other, I have to charge you specially with three things.

The three Articles against *John Philpot* again repeated.

1. First, Where you have fallen from the unity of Christs Catholick Church, you have thereupon been invited and required, not only by me, but also by many and divers other Catholick Bishops, and other learned men, to return and come again to the same: and also you have been offered by me, that if you would so return, and confess your errors and heresies, you should be mercifully received, & have so much favour as I could shew unto you.

2. The second is, That you have blasphemously spoken against the Sacrifice of the Mass, calling it Idolatry and Abomination.

3. And thirdly, That you have spoken and holden against the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the Real Presence of Christs Body and Blood to be in the same.

This being spoken, the Bishop recited unto him a certain Exhortation in English, the tenor and form whereof is this.

Bishop *Boners* Exhortation.

An exhortation of Bp. *Boner* to *John Philpot*. Decem. 16.

MR. Philpot, *this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconciled to the unity of the Catholick Church, from whence ye did fall in the time of the late Schism here in this Realm of* England, *against the See Apostolick of* Rome, *will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unity of the same Catholick Church, professing and promising to observe and keep to the best of your power the Faith and Christian Religion observed and kept of all faithful people of the same: and moreover, if ye which heretofore, especially in the year of our Lord* 1553. 1554. 1555. *or in one of them have offended and trespassed grievously against the Sacrifice of the Mass, calling it Idolatry and Abominable, and likewise have offended and trespassed against the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the Real Presence of Christs Body and Blood to be there in the Sacrament of the Altar, affirming also withal, material Bread and material Wine to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, and not the Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ; if ye, I say, will be reconciled as is aforesaid, and will forsake your heresies and errors before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will also allow the Sacrament of the Mass, ye shall be mercifully received, and charitably used with as much favour as may be; if not, ye shall be reputed, taken, and judged for an Heretick (as ye be indeed.) Now do you chuse what ye will do; you are counselled herein friendly and favourably*

Ita est quod Edm. Boner Episc. Lond.

The Bishops Exhortation thus ended, Mr. *Philpot* turned himself unto the Lord Maior, and said;

John Philpot answereth to the Bishops exhortation before the L. Maior.

Phil. To you my Lord Maior bearing the Sword, I am glad that it is my chance now to stand before that Authority that hath defended the Gospel and the Truth of Gods Word; but I am sorry to see, that that Authority, which representeth the King and Queens persons, should now be changed, and be at the commandment of Antichrist; and ye (speaking to the Bishops) pretend to be the followers of the Apostles of Christ, and yet be the very Antichrists and Deceivers of the People; and I am glad that God hath given me power to stand here this day, and to declare and defend my Faith, which is founded on Christ.

To the first Article. *John Philpot* is of the Catholick Church, but not of the Babylonical Church.

Therefore, as touching your first Objection, I say, that I am of the Catholick Church, whereof I was never out, and that your Church (which ye pretend to be the Catholick Church) is the Church of *Rome*, and so the Babylonical, and not the Catholick Church; of that Church I am not.

To the second Article. *John Philpot* speaketh not against the true Sacrifice, but against the Sacrifice set upon the Altar, used in private Masses.

As touching your second Objection, which is, that I should speak against the Sacrifice of the Mass, I do say, that I have not spoken against the true Sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private Masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true Sacrifice; for your Sacrifice daily reiterated is a blasphemy against Christs death, and it is a lye of your own invention: and that abominable Sacrifice which ye set upon the Altar, and use in your private Masses in stead of the living Sacrifice, is Idolatry, and ye shall never prove it by Gods Word; therefore ye have deceived the People with that your Sacrifice of the Mass, which ye make a Masquing.

Thirdly, where you lay to my charge, that I deny the Body and Blood of Christ to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, I cannot tell what Altar ye mean, whether it be the Altar of the Cross, or the Altar of Stone: and if ye call it the Sacrament of the Altar in respect of the Altar of Stone, then I defie your Christ, for it is a rotten Christ.

To the third Article. *Philpot* denieth not the Sacrament of the Altar of the Cross, but the Sacrament of Stone he denieth. *Philpot* chargeth the Clergy of Q. *Maries* time to be Idolaters to God, and Traitors to King *Henry* and K. *Edward.*

And as touching your Transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was brought up first by a Pope. Now as concerning your offer made from the Synod, which is gathered together in Antichrists name; prove me that to be of the Catholick Church (which ye shall never do) and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But ye are Idolaters, and daily do commit Idolatry. Ye be also Traitors; for in your Pulpits ye rail upon good Kings, as King *Henry*, and King *Edward* his Son, which have stood against the usurped Power of the Bishop of *Rome*; against whom also I have taken an Oath, which if ye can shew me by Gods Law that I have taken unjustly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the King and Queens heart from your Synagogue and Church, for you do abuse that good Queen.

Here the Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* began to shew where the true Church was, saying;

D. *Tanc* B. of *Coventry* speaketh: How can the Apostles be of that Church. where their Doctrine is against it?

Covent. The true Catholick Church is set upon an high hill.

Phil. Yea, at *Rome*, which is the Babylonical Church.

Cov. No, in our true Catholick Church are the Apostles, Evangelists, and Martyrs; but before *Martyn Luther* there was no Apostle, Evangelist, or Martyr of your Church.

Phil. Will ye know the cause why? Christ did prophecy that in the latter days there should come false Prophets and Hypocrites, as you be.

Cov. Your Church of *Geneva*, which ye call the Catholick Church, is that which Christ prophesied of.

Phil. I allow the Church of *Geneva*, and the Doctrine of the same, for it is *una, Catholica, & Apostolica*, and doth follow the Doctrine that the Apostles did preach; and the Doctrine taught and preached in K. *Edwards* days, was also according to the same. And are ye not ashamed to persecute me and others for your Churches sake, which is Babylonical, and contrary to the true Catholick Church?

The Church of *England* in King *Edwards* time.

And after this they had great conference together, as well out of the Scriptures, as alſo out of the Doctors. But when *Boner* ſaw that by learning they were not able to convince Mr. *Philpot*, he thought then by his defamations to bring him out of credit; and therefore turning himſelf unto the Lord Maior of *London*, he brought forth a Knife, and a Bladder full of Powder, and ſaid;

Lond. My Lord, this man had a roaſted Pig brought unto him, and this Knife was put ſecretly between the skin and the fleſh thereof, and ſo it was ſent him, being in Priſon. And alſo this Powder was ſent unto him, under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat or drink; which Powder was only to make Ink to write withal. For when his Keeper did perceive it, he took it and brought it unto me. Which when I did ſee, I thought it had been Gunpowder, and thereupon I put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for Poyſon, and ſo gave it to a Dog, but it was not ſo. Then I took a little water, and it made as fair Ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my Lord, you may underſtand what a naughty Fellow this is.

B. Boner chargeth him with falſe furmiſes, for want of true matter.

Phil. Ah my Lord, have you nothing elſe to charge me withal but theſe trifles, ſeeing I ſtand upon life and death? Doth the Knife in the Pig prove the Church of *Rome* to be a Catholick Church? *&c.*

Philpot had a knife brought him under a Pig: *Ergo*, the Church of *Rome* is a Catholick Church.

Then the Biſhop brought forth a certain Inſtrument, containing Articles and Queſtions, agreed upon both in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, whereof you have mention before. Alſo he did exhibit two Books in print; the one was the Catechiſm made in King *Edwards* days, *An.* 1552. the other concerning the true Report of the Diſputation in the Convocation Houſe, mention whereof is above expreſſed.

Articles concluded in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. The Catechiſm ſet forth in K. *Edwards* dys. The Book of Report of the Diſputation in the Convocation Houſe.

Moreover he did bring forth, and laid to Mr. *Philpots* charge two Letters; the one touching *Bartlet Green*, the other containing godly exhortations and comforts; which both were written unto him by ſome of his godly friends; the tenour whereof we thought here alſo to exhibit.

A Letter exhibited by Boner, *written by ſome Friend of Mr.* Philpots, *and ſent to him, concerning the handling of Mr.* Green *in* Boners *Houſe at London.*

A Letter written to Mr. *Philpot* touching the handling of Mr. *Green*, exhibited by B. *Boner*. *Boner* breaketh promiſe.

YOu ſhall underſtand that Mr. *Green* came unto the Biſhop of *London* on *Sunday* laſt, where he was courteouſly received; for what policy the ſequel declareth. His entertainment for one day or two, was to dine at my Lords own Table, or elſe to have his meat from thence. During thoſe days he lay in Dr. *Chedſeys* Chamber, and was examined. Albeit in very deed the Biſhop earneſtly and faithfully promiſed many right worſhipful men (who were Suters for him, but to him unknown) that he in no caſe ſhould be examined; before which, Mr. *Fecknam* would have had him in his friendlly cuſtody, if he would have deſired to have conferred with him, which he utterly refuſed. And in that the Biſhop objected againſt him ſingularity and obſtinacy; his Anſwer thereunto was thus, To avoid all ſuſpicion thereof, although I my ſelf am young and utterly unlearned in reſpect of the learned, (and yet I underſtand, I thank my Lord) yet let me have ſuch Books as I ſhall require; and if I, by Gods Spirit, do not thereby anſwer all your Books and Objections contrary thereto, I will aſſent to you. Whereunto the Biſhop and his aſſented, permitting him at the firſt to have ſuch Books. Who at ſundry times have reaſoned with him, and have found him ſo ſtrong and rife in the Scripture and godly Fathers, that ſithence they have not only taken from him ſuch liberty of Books, but all other Books, not leaving him ſo much as the New Teſtament. Since, they have baited and uſed him moſt cruelly. This Mr. *Fecknam* reported; ſaying farther, that he never heard the like young man, and ſo perfect. What ſhall become farther of him, God knoweth; but death I think, for he remaineth more and more willing to dye, as I underſtand. Concerning your Bill, I ſhall confer with others therein, knowing that the ſame Court is able to redreſs the ſame: And yet I think it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or will ſpeak therein, or prefer the ſame, becauſe it concerneth ſpiritual things. Notwithſtanding, I will aſcertain you thereof; committing you to the Holy Ghoſt, who keep you and us all, as his. *Your own, &c.*

Mr. Green ſtrong in Scriptures and Doctors.

Fecknams report of *Mr. Green.*

This Bill was a Supplication to be offered up in the Parliament.

The Copy of another Letter written by the Faithful and Chriſtian hearted Lady, the Lady *Vane*, to Mr. *Philpot*, exhibited likewiſe by Biſhop *Boner*. Anno 1555.

A Letter written to Mr. *Philpot* by the faithful and chriſtian Lady, the Lady *Vane*.

HEarty thanks rendred unto you my welbeloved in Chriſt, for the Book ye ſent me, wherein I find great conſolations, and according to the Doctrine thereof, do prepare my cheeks to the ſtrikers, and my womaniſh back to the burthens of reproof, and ſo in the ſtrength of my God I truſt to leap over the wall; for his ſweetneſs overcometh me daily, and maketh all theſe Apothecary drugs of the world, even medecinal-like in my mouth. For the continuance whereof, I beſeech thee (my dear Fellow-ſouldier) make thy faithful prayer for me, that I may with a ſtrong and gladſome Conſcience finiſh my courſe, and obtain the reward, though it be no whit due to my work. I am not content that you ſo often gratifie me with thanks for that which is none worthy, but duty on my part, and ſmall relief to you. But if you would love me ſo much, that I might ſupply your lacks, then would I think ye believed my offers to be ſuch, as agreed with my heart. And for the ſhort charges ye ſpeak of, the means are not ſo pleaſant, if God (whom my truſt is in) will otherwiſe prepare; but Solomon *ſaith*, All things have here their time; *You to day, and I to morrow, and ſo the end of* Adams *line is ſoon run out. The mighty God give us his grace, that during this time, his glory be not defaced through our weakneſs. Becauſe you deſire to ſhew your ſelf a worthy Souldier, if need ſo require, I will ſupply your requeſt for the Scarf ye wrote of, that ye may preſent my handy-work before your Captain, that I be not forgotten in the odours of Incenſe, which our beloved Chriſt offered for his own; to whom I bequeath both our Bodies and Souls.*

Your own in the Lord, *F. E.*

Over and beſides theſe Letters, the Biſhops did alſo bring forth a Supplication made by Mr. *Philpot* unto the high Court of Parliament, whereof mention is made in the firſt of the two Letters laſt mentioned; the Copy whereof doth here inſue, as followeth.

To the King and Queens Majeſties Highneſs, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this preſent Parliament aſſembled.

A Supplication of John *Philpot* to the King and Queen.

IN moſt humble wiſe complaineth unto this honourable Court of Parliament John Philpot *Clerk, that where there was by the Queens Highneſs a Parliament called in the firſt year of her gracious reign, and after the old cuſtom a Convocation of the Clergy, your Suppliant then being one of the ſaid Convocation Houſe, and matters there riſing upon the uſing of the Sacraments, did diſpute in the ſame, knowing that there all men had and have free ſpeech, and ought not to be after-troubled for any thing there ſpoken, and yet, that notwithſtanding, not long after the ſaid Parliament, your ſaid Suppliant (without any act or matter) was commanded to Priſon to the* Kings Bench *by the late Lord Chancellor, where he hath remained ever ſince, until now of late that my Lord the Biſhop of London hath ſent for your ſaid Suppliant to examine him (being none of his Dioceſs) upon certain matters, wherein they would have your Orator to declare his Conſcience, which the ſaid Biſhop ſaith he hath Authority to do, by reaſon of an Act of Parliament made in the firſt and ſecond years of the King and Queens Majeſties reigns, for the reviving of three Statutes made againſt them that hold any* Opinion *againſt the Catholick Faith: whereby he affirmeth, that every Ordinary may,* ex officio, *examine every mans Conſcience: and for that your ſaid Orator hath and doth refuſe, that the ſaid Biſhop of* London *hath any authority over your ſaid Orator, for that he is neither his Dioceſan, nor hath publiſhed, preached, nor held any opinion againſt the Catholick Faith (notwithſtanding the ſaid Biſhop of* London *detaineth him in the Cole-houſe in the Stocks, without either bed or any other thing to lye upon but ſtraw) and for that your ſaid Orator cannot appeal for his relief, from the ſaid Biſhop, to any other Judge, but the ſame Biſhop may refuſe the ſame by their Law, and therefore hath no ſuccour and help, but by this high Court*

The ſtraight handling of John *Philpot* in the Biſhops Cole-houſe.

Anno 1555.

Court of Parliament, for the explanation of the said Act; therefore it may please you, that it may be enacted by the King and Queens Majesties, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, that no Bishop nor Ordinary shall commit or detain in Prison any suspected person or persons for the Catholick Faith, except he or they have spoken, written, or done some manifest act against the Catholick Faith, and the same to be lawfully proved against every such person or persons, by the testimony of two lawful Witnesses, to be brought before the said person or persons so accused, before he or they shall either be committed to prison, or convict for any such offence or offences; the said former Statute, made in the said first and second year of our said Sovereign Lord and Lady notwithstanding: whereby your said Orator shall not only be set at liberty, and divers other more remaining in Prison; but also the blood of divers of the Queens Majesties true and faithful Subjects preserved.

The Condemnation of the worthy Martyr of God, John Philpot.

Of this Book of Disputation in the Convocation, read before.

THese Books, Letters, Supplications, and other Matters being thus read, the Bishop demanded of him, if the Book intituled, *The true Report of the Disputation, &c.* were of his penning, or not? Whereunto *Philpot* answered, That it was a good and true Book, and of his own penning and setting forth.

The Bishops waxing now weary, and being not able by any sufficient ground, either of Gods Word, or of the true ancient Catholick Fathers, to convince and overcome him, fell by fair and flattering speech to perswade with him; promising, that if he would revoke his Opinions, and come home again to their Romish and Babylonical Church, he should not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would with all favour and cheerfulness of heart, receive him again as a true Member thereof. Which words when *Boner* saw would take no place, he demanded of Mr. *Philpot* (and that with a charitable affection I warrant you) whether he had any just cause to alledge why he should not condemn him as an Heretick. Well, (quoth Mr. *Philpot*) your idolatrous Sacrament, which you have found out, ye would fain defend, but ye cannot, nor ever shall.

Ah, my Lord, what needed this question, when no reasonable answer could be allowed?

In the end the Bishop, seeing his unmoveable stedfastness in the Truth, did pronounce openly the Sentence of Condemnation against him. In the reading whereof, when he came to these words, *Teque etiam tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, pertinacem, & impœnitentem, &c.* Mr. *Philpot* said, I thank God that I am an Heretick out of your cursed Church; I am no Heretick before God. But God bless you, and give you once grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody Church.

Sentence of Condemnation read against Mr. *Philpot*.

Mr. *Philpots* words in reading the Sentence.

Moreover, whiles *Boner* was about the midst of the Sentence, the Bishop of *Bathe* pulled him by the sleeve, and said, My Lord, my Lord, know of him first, whether he will recant, or no. Then *Boner* said, (full like himself) O let him alone; and so read forth the Sentence.

Mr. *Philpot* delivered to the Sheriffs.

And when he had done, he delivered him to the Sheriffs; and so two Officers brought him thorow the Bishops House into *Pater-noster-Row*, and there his Servant met him, and when he saw him, he said, Ah dear Master.

Mr. *Philpot* to his Servant.

Then Mr. *Philpot* said to his man, Content thy self, I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again.

Mr. *Philpot* brought into *Newgate*, his man perswaded to enter with him.

And so the Officers thrust him away, and had his Master to *Newgate*; and as he went, he said to the People, Ah, good People, blessed be God for this day; and so the Officers delivered him to the Keeper. Then his man thrust to go in after his Master, and one of the Officers said unto him, Hence Fellow, what wouldst thou have? And he said, I would go speak with my Master. Mr. *Philpot* then turned him about, and said to him, To morrow thou shalt speak with me.

Then the under Keeper said to Mr. *Philpot*, Is this your man? and he said, Yea. So he did licence his man to go in with him; and Mr. *Philpot* and his man were turned into a little Chamber on the right hand, and there remained a little time, until *Alexander* the chief Keeper did come unto him; who at his entring greeted him with these words; Ah, said he, hast not thou done well to bring thy self hither? Well, said Mr. *Philpot*, I must be content; for it is Gods appointment; and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour; for you and I have been of old Acquaintance. Well, said *Alexander*, I will shew thee gentleness and favour, so thou wilt be ruled by me. Then said Mr. *Philpot*, I pray you shew me what you would have me to do.

Talk between Mr. *Philpot* and *Alexander* the Keeper.

He said, If you would recant, I will shew you any pleasure I can. Nay, said Mr. *Philpot*, I will never recant, whilst I have my life, that which I have spoken, for it is most certain truth, and in witness hereof I will seal it with my blood. Then *Alexander* said, This is the saying of the whole pack of you Hereticks. Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many Irons upon his legs as he could bear, for that he would not follow his wicked mind.

Good *Philpot* loaden with Irons because he would not recant at *Alexanders* bidding.

Then the Clerk told *Alexander* in his ear, that Mr. *Philpot* had given his man money. And *Alexander* said to his man, What money hath thy Master given thee? He answered, My Master hath given me none. No, said *Alexander*, hath he given thee none? That will I know, for I will search thee. Do with me what you list, and search me all that you can, quoth his Servant; he hath given me a Token or two to send to his Friends, as to his Brother and Sisters. Ah, said *Alexander* unto Mr. *Philpot*, thou art a maintainer of Hereticks; Thy man should have gone to some of thine Affinity, but he shall be known well enough. Nay, said Mr. *Philpot*, I do send it to my Friends; there he is, let him make answer to it. But good Mr. *Alexander*, be so much my Friend, that these Irons may be taken off. Well, said *Alexander*, give me my Fees, and I will take them off; if not, thou shalt wear them still.

Alexander taketh *Philpots* Tokens from his man.

Then said Mr. *Philpot*, Sir, what is your Fee? He said, Four pound was his Fees. Ah, said Mr. *Philpot*, I have not so much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in Prison. What wilt thou give me then, said *Alexander*? Sir (said he) I will give you twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for, or else I will lay my Gown to gage; for the time is not long (I am sure) that I shall be with you; for the Bp. said unto me that I should be soon dispatched.

Alexander the cruel Keeper requireth four pounds of Mr. *Philpot* for his Irons.

Then said *Alexander* unto him, what is that to me? and with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into Limbo, and so his commandment was fulfilled; but before he could be taken from the block, the Clerk would have a groat.

Mr. *Philpot* had into Limbo.

Then one *Witterence*, Steward of the House, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whether. Wherefore Mr. *Philpot* said to his man, go to Mr. Sheriff, and shew him how I am used, and desire Mr. Sheriff to be good unto me; and so his Servant went streight way, and took an honest man with him.

And when they came to Mr. Sheriff, (which was Mr. *Macham*) and shewed him how Mr. *Philpot* was handled in *Newgate*, the Sheriff hearing this, took his Ring off from his finger, and delivered it unto that honest man which came with Mr. *Philpots* man, and bad him go unto *Alexander* the Keeper, and commanded him to take off his Irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him. And when they came again to the said *Alexander*, and told their message from the Sheriff, *Alexander* took the Ring, and said, Ah, I perceive that Mr. Sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such Hereticks as he is, therefore to morrow I will shew it to his betters: Yet at ten of the Clock he went into Mr. *Philpot*, where he lay, and took off his Irons, and gave him such things as he had taken before from his Servant.

Mr. *MacHam* Sheriff, a good man, sendeth his Ring to take off Mr. *Philpots* Irons, and to restore the mans Tokens. Note the spitefulness of this Keeper.

Mr. *Philpot* with much ado released of his Irons. Decemb. 17.

Upon *Tuesday* at Supper, being the seventeenth day of *December*, there came a Messenger from the Sheriffs, and bade Mr. *Philpot* make him ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. Mr. *Philpot* answered and said, I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful Resurrection. And so he went into his Chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks that he of his mercy had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

Mr. *Philpot* warned by the Sheriffs to prepare him against the next day to the fire. Decemb. 18.

In the *morning* the Sheriffs came according to the order, about eight of the Clock, and called for him, and he most joyfully came down unto them. And there his man

did meet him, and ſaid, Ah dear Maſter, farewel: His Maſter ſaid unto him, Serve God, and he will help thee. And ſo he went with the Sheriffs to the place of Execution; and when he was entring into *Smithfield*, the way was foul, and two Officers took him up to bear him to the Stake. Then he ſaid merrily, What? will ye make me a Pope? I am content to go to my journeys end on foot. But firſt coming into *Smithfield*, he kneeled down there, ſaying theſe words, *I will pay my vows in thee*, O Smithfield.

Mr. *Philpots* brought to the place of martyrdom.

Mr. *Philpots* words going to the Stake.

And when he was come to the place of Suffering, he kiſſed the Stake, and ſaid, Shall I diſdain to ſuffer at this Stake, ſeeing my Redeemer did not refuſe to ſuffer moſt vile death upon the Croſs for me? And then with an obedient heart full meekly he ſaid the Cvj. Cvij. and Cviij. *Pſalms*: and when he had made an end of all his Prayers, he ſaid to the Officers; What have you done for me? and every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave to every of them money.

Ann. 1555.

Mr. *Philpots* prayers.

John Philpot giveth the Officers money.

The martyrdome of Master Iohn Philpot Archdeacon, with the manner of his kneeling and praying at the Stake.

Then they bound him to the Stake, and ſet fire unto that conſtant Martyr: Who the eighteenth day of *December*, in the midſt of the fiery flames, yielding his ſoul into the hands of Almighty God, and ſtill like a Lamb gave up his breath, his body being conſumed into aſhes.

Thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) the life and doings of this learned and worthy Souldier of the Lord, *John Philpot*; with all his Examinations that came to our hands: firſt penned and written with his own hand, being marvellouſly reſerved from the ſight and hand of his enemies; who by all manner of means ſought not only to ſtop him from all writing, but alſo to ſpoil and deprive him of that which he had written. For the which cauſe he was many times ſtripped and ſearched in the Priſon of his Keeper: but yet ſo happily theſe his writings were conveyed and hid in places about him, or elſe his Keepers eyes ſo blinded, that notwithſtanding all this malicious purpoſe of the Biſhops, they are yet remaining, and come to light.

The writings and examinations of Mr. *John Philpot*, by the Providence of Almighty God, preſerved.

A Prayer to be ſaid at the Stake, of all them that God ſhall account worthy to ſuffer for his ſake.

A godly prayer to be ſaid at the time of martyrdom.

MErciful God and Father, to whom our Savicur Chriſt approached in his fear and need by reaſon of death, and found comfort; Gracious God and moſt bounteous Chriſt, on whom Stephen *called in his extream need, and received ſtrength; moſt benign holy Spirit, which in the midſt of all croſſes of death didſt comfort the Apoſtle S.* Paul *with more conſolations in Chriſt, then he felt ſorrows and terrors, have mercy upon me miſerable, vile, and wretched ſinner, which now draw near the gates of death, deſerved both in ſoul and body eternally, by reaſon of manifold, horrible, old and new tranſgreſſions, which to thine eyes (O Lord) are open and known: Oh be merciful unto me, for the bitter death and blood-ſhedding of thine own only Son Jeſus Chriſt. And though thy juſtice doth require (in reſpect of my ſins) that now thou ſhouldſt not hear me, meaſuring me in the ſame meaſure I have meaſured thy Majeſty, contemning thy daily calls; yet let thy mercy which is above all thy works, and wherewith the earth is filled, let thy mercy (I ſay) prevail towards me, through and for the mediation of Chriſt our Saviour. And for whoſe ſake in that it hath pleaſed thee to bring me forth now as one of his witneſſes, and a record-bearer of thy verity and truth taught by him, to give my life therefore (to which dignity I do acknowledge, dear God, that there was never any ſo unworthy and ſo unmeet, no not the thief that hanged with him on the Croſs:) I moſt humbly therefore pray thee that thou wouldſt accordingly aid, help, and aſſiſt me with thy ſtrength and heavenly grace, that with Chriſt thy Son I may find comfort, with* Stephen *I may ſee thy preſence, and gracious power, with* Paul, *and all others, which for thy Names ſake have ſuffered affliction and death, I may find ſo preſent with me thy gracious conſolations, that I may by my death glorifie thy holy Name, propagate, and ratifie thy verity, comfort the hearts of the heavy, confirm thy Church in thy verity, convert ſome that are to be converted, and ſo depart forth of this miſerable world, where I do nothing but daily heap ſin upon ſin, and ſo enter into the fruition of thy bleſſed mercy; whereof now give and increaſe in me a lively truſt, ſenſe, and feeling, wherethrough the terrors of death, the torments of fire, the pangs of ſin, the darts of Satan, and the dolors of Hell may never depreſs me, but may be driven away through the working of that moſt gracious Spirit; which now plenteouſly endue me withal, that through the ſame Spirit I may offer (as I now deſire to do in Chriſt by him) my ſelf wholly, ſoul and body, to be a lively Sacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy ſight. Dear Father, whoſe I am, and always have been, even from my mothers womb, yea even before the world was made, to whom I commend my ſelf, ſoul and body, family and friends, Country and all the whole Church, yea even my very enemies, according to thy good pleaſure; beſeeching thee intirely to give once more to this Realm of* England *the bleſſing of thy Word again, with godly peace, to the teaching and ſetting forth of the ſame. O dear Father, now give me*

He prayeth for reſtoring of the Goſpel and Peace in *England.*

Anno 1555.

me grace to come unto thee: Purge and ſo purifie me by this fire in Chriſts death and paſſion through thy Spirit, that I may be a Burnt-offering of a ſweet ſmell in thy ſight which liveſt and reigneſt with the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, now and for evermore world without end, Amen.

Letters of Mr. *Philpot.*

A Letter which he ſent to the Chriſtian Congregation, exhorting them to refrain from the idolatrous Service of the Papiſts, and to ſerve God after his Word.

A Letter of Mr. *Philpot* to the Congregation.

IT is a lamentable thing to behold at this preſent in *England* the faithleſs departing both of men and women, from the true knowledge and uſe of Chriſts ſincere Religion, which ſo plentifully they have been taught, and do know, their own Conſciences bearing witneſs to the verity thereof. If that earth be curſed of God, which eſtſoons receiving moiſture and pleaſant dews from Heaven, doth not bring forth fruit accordingly; how much more grievous judgment ſhall ſuch perſons receive, which having received from the Father of Heaven the perfect knowledge of his word by the miniſtry thereof, do not ſhew forth Gods worſhip after the ſame? If the Lord will require in the day of Judgment a godly uſury of all manner of Talents which he lendeth unto men and women, how much more will he require the ſame of his pure Religion revealed unto us (which is of all other Talents the chiefeſt and moſt pertaining to our exerciſe in this life) if we hide the ſame in a Napkin, and ſet it not forth to the uſury of Gods glory, and edifying of his Church by true Confeſſion? God hath kindled the bright light of his Goſpel, which in times paſt was ſuppreſſed, and hid under the vile aſhes of mans Traditions, and hath cauſed the brightneſs thereof to ſhine in our hearts, to the end that the ſame might ſhine before men to the honour of his Name. It is not only given us to believe, but alſo to confeſs and declare what we believe in our outward converſation. For as S. *Paul* writeth to the *Romans*, *The belief of the heart juſtifieth, and to acknowledge with the mouth maketh a man ſafe.* It is all one before God, not to believe at all, and not to ſhew forth the lively works of our belief. For Chriſt ſaith, *Either make the tree good and his fruits good; or elſe make the tree evil and the fruits evil; becauſe a good tree bringeth forth good fruits, as an evil tree doth evil fruits.* So that the perſon which knoweth his Maſters will, and doth it not, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes. And not all they which ſay Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of God, but he that doth the will of the Father. And *whoſoever in the time of trial is aſhamed of me* (ſaith Chriſt) *and of my words, of him the Son of Man will be aſhamed before his Father.* After that we have built our ſelves into the true Church of God, it hath pleaſed him by giving us over into the hands of the wicked Synagogues to prove our building, and to have it known as well to the world as to our ſelves, that we have been wiſe builders into the true Church of God upon the Rock, and not on the Sand, and therefore now the Tempeſt is riſen, and the Storms do mightily blow againſt us, that we might notwithſtanding ſtand upright, and be firm in the Lord, to his honour and glory, and to our eternal felicity. There is no new thing happened unto us, for with ſuch Tempeſts and dangerous Weathers the Church of God hath continually been exerciſed. Now once again, as the Prophet *Aggeus* tells us, *The Lord ſhaketh the earth, that thoſe might abide for ever, which be not overcome.*

Hebr. 6.

Matth. 25.

Rom. 10.

Matth. 5.

Matth. 7.

Luke 12.

Matth. 7. Luke 9.

Matth. 7.

Aggeus 2.

Therefore, my dearly beloved, be ſtable and immovable in the word of God, and in the faithful obſervation thereof, and let no man deceive you with vain words, ſaying, that you may keep your Faith to your ſelves, and diſſemble with Antichriſt, and to live at reſt and quietneſs in the world, as moſt men do, yielding to neceſſity. This is the wiſdom of the fleſh; but the wiſdom of the fleſh is death and enmity to God, as our Saviour for enſample aptly did declare in *Peter*, who exhorteth Chriſt not to go to *Jeruſalem* to celebrate the Paſſover, and there to be ſlain, but counſelled him to look better to himſelf.

Wiſdom of the fleſh not to be hearkned unto.

Rom. 8. 1 Cor. 6. Matth. 16.

Likewiſe the world would not have us to forſake it, neither to aſſociate our ſelves to the true Church, which is the Body of Chriſt, whereof we are lively Members, and to uſe the Sacraments after Gods word with the danger of our lives. But we muſt learn to anſwer the world as Chriſt did *Peter*, and ſay, *Go behind me Satan, thou ſavoureſt not the things of God. Shall I not drink of the Cup which the Father giveth me?* For it is better to be afflicted and to be ſlain in the Church of God, then to be counted the Son of the King, in the Synagogue of falſe Religion. Death for rightcouſneſs is not to be abhorred, but rather to be deſired, which aſſuredly bringeth with it the Crown of everlaſting Glory. Theſe bloody Executioners do not proſecute Chriſts Martyrs, but crown them with everlaſting felicity; we were born into this world to be witneſſes unto the Truth, both learned and unlearned.

Hebr 11. Pſal. 116.

Death for righteouſneſs bringeth felicity.

Now ſince the time is come that we muſt ſhew our Faith, and declare whether we will be Gods Servants in righteouſneſs and holineſs, as we have been taught, and are bound to follow, or elſe with hypocriſie to ſerve unrighteouſneſs: let us take good heed that we be found faithful in the Lords Covenant, and true Members of his Church, in the which through knowledge we are ingraffed; from the which if we fall by tranſgreſſion with the common ſort of people, it will more ſtreightly be required of us, then many yet do make account thereof. We cannot ſerve two Maſters; we may not halt on both ſides, and think to pleaſe God; we muſt be fervent in Gods cauſe, or elſe he will caſt us out from him. For by the firſt Commandment we are commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our power and ſtrength: but they are manifeſt tranſgreſſors of this Commandment, which with their heart, mind, or bodily power, do communicate with a ſtrange Religion, contrary to the word of God, in the Papiſtical Synagogue, which calleth it ſelf the Church, and is not. As greatly do they offend God now which ſo do, as the Iſraelites did in times paſt by forſaking *Jeruſalem*, the true Church of God, and by going to *Bethel* to ſerve God in a Congregation of their own ſetting up, and after their own Imaginations and Traditions: for the which doing God utterly deſtroyed all *Iſrael*, as all the Prophets almoſt do teſtifie. This happened unto them for our enſample, that we might beware to have any fellowſhip with any like Congregation to our deſtruction.

Godly counſel. Luke 18. 3 Reg. 18.

Apoc. 3.

3 Reg. 31. God will not be ſerved after mans imagination, but as himſelf preſcribeth.

God hath one Catholick Church diſperſed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our Creed to believe one Catholick Church, and to have communion therewith: which Catholick Church is grounded upon the foundation of the Prophets, and of the Apoſtles, and upon none other, as S. *Paul* witneſſeth to the *Epheſians*. Therefore whereſoever we perceive any people to worſhip God truly after his word, there we may be certain the Church of Chriſt to be; unto the which we ought to aſſociate our ſelves, and to deſire with the Prophet *David*, to praiſe God in the midſt of his Church. But if we behold through the iniquity of the time, ſegregations to be made with counterfeit Religion, otherwiſe then the word of God doth teach, we ought then, if we be required to be companions thereof, to ſay again with *David, I have hated the Synagogue of the malignant, and will not ſit with the wicked.* In the *Apocalyps* the Church of *Epheſus* is highly commended, becauſe ſhe tried ſuch as ſaid they were Apoſtles, and were not indeed, and therefore would not abide the company of them. Further, God commanded his People that they ſhould not ſeek *Bethel*, neither enter into *Gilgal* where Idolatry was uſed, by the mouth of his Prophet *Amos*. Alſo we muſt conſider that our Bodies be the Temple of God, and whoſoever (as S. *Paul* teacheth) doth prophane the Temple of God, him the Lord will deſtroy. May we then take the Temple of Chriſt, and make it the Member of an Harlot? All ſtrange Religion and Idolatry is counted whoredom with the Prophets, and more deteſtable in the ſight of God, than the adventurous abuſe of the Body.

Epheſ. 5.

Pſal. 26.

Apoc. 2.

Amos 5.

2 Cor. 3.

Therefore the Princes of the earth, in the *Revelation* of S. *John*, be ſaid to go a whoring, when they are in love with falſe Religion, and follow the ſame. How then by any means may a Chriſtian man think it tolerable to be preſent at the Popiſh private Maſs (which is the very prophanation of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt) and at other idolatrous worſhippings and rites, which be not after the word of God, but rather to the derogation thereof, in ſetting mans Traditions above Gods Precepts, ſince God by his word judgeth all ſtrange Religion, which

Not lawful for a true Chriſtian to come to the Maſs.

which is not according to his inſtitution, for whoredom and advoutry?

Some fondly think that the preſence of the Body is not material, ſo that the heart do not conſent to their wicked doings. But ſuch perſons little conſider what S. *Paul* writeth to the *Corinthians*, commanding them to Glorifie God as well in Body as in Soul.

Not enough to confeſs God in heart, but in mouth alſo.

Moreover, we can do no greater injury to the true Church of Chriſt, then to ſeem to have forſaken her, and diſallow her by cleaving to her adverſary: whereby it appeareth to others which be weak, that we allow the ſame, and ſo contrary to the word, do give a great offence to the Church of God, and do outwardly ſlander, as much as Men may, the truth of Chriſt. But wo be unto him by whom any ſuch offence cometh. Better it were for him to have a Milſtone tied about his neck, and to be caſt into the bottom of the Sea. Such be traytors to the truth, like unto *Judas*, who with a kiſs betrayed Chriſt. Our God is a jealous God, and cannot be content that we ſhould be of any other then of that unſpotted Church, whereof he is the head only, and wherein he hath planted us by Baptiſm. This jealouſie which God hath towards us, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance, againſt all ſuch as now have ſo large Conſciences to do that which is contrary to Gods Glory, and the ſincerity of his word, except they do in time repent, and cleave unſeparably to the Goſpel of Chriſt, how much ſoever at this preſent both Men and Women otherwiſe in their own corrupt judgment, do flatter themſelves. God willeth us to judge uprightly, and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his ſight, and to abſtain from all manner of evil, and therefore Chriſt commandeth us in the Goſpel to beware of the leaven of the Phariſees, which is Hypocriſie.

A leſſon for large Conſciences.

Mark. 8.

Reaſons proving that true Chriſtians ought in no wiſe to participate with Papiſts.

St. *Paul* to the *Hebrews* ſaith, if any Man withdraw himſelf from the Faith, his Soul ſhall have no pleaſure in him: therefore he ſaith alſo, *That we are none ſuch as do withdraw our ſelves unto perdition, but we belong unto Faith, for the attainment of Life.* St. *John* in the *Apocalyps* telleth us plainly that none of thoſe, who are written in the Book of Life, do receive the mark of the Beaſt, which is of the Papiſtical Synagogue, either in their foreheads, or elſe in their hands, that is apparently or obediently.

Heb. 10.

Apoc. 13.

Epheſ. 5.

Phil. 2.

St. *Paul* to the *Philippians* affirmeth, that we may not have any fellowſhip with the works of darkneſs, but in the midſt of this wicked and froward Generation we ought to ſhine like lights upholding the word of truth. Further he ſaith, that we may not touch any unclean thing; which ſignifieth that our outward converſation in forreign things ought to be pure and undefiled as well as the inward, that with a clean Spirit and rectified Body we might ſerve God juſtly in Holineſs and Righteouſneſs all the days of our Life.

2 Cor. 6.

Finally in the 18 of the *Apocalyps*, God biddeth us plainly to depart from the Babyloniſh Synagogue, and not to be partakers of her treſpaſs. S. *Paul* to the *Theſſ.* commandeth us in the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to withdraw our ſelves from every Brother that walketh inordinately, and not according to the inſtitution which he hath received of him.

Apoc. 18.

2 Theſ. 3.

Ponder ye therefore well, good Brethren and Siſters, theſe Scriptures which be written for your erudition and reformation, whereof one jot is not written in vain: which be utterly againſt all counterfeit illuſion to be uſed of us with the Papiſts in their phantaſtical Religion, and be adverſaries to all them that have ſo light Conſciences in ſo doing: and if they do not agree with this adverſary (I mean the Word of God) which is contrary to their attempts, he will (as is ſignified in the Goſpel) deliver them to the judge, which is Chriſt, and the judge will deliver them to the Executioner, that is to the Devil, and the Devil ſhall commit them to the horrible priſon of Hel-Fire (where is the portion of all Hypocrites) with ſulphure and brimſtone; with wailing and gnaſhing of teeth World without end. But yet many will ſay for their vain excuſe; God is merciful, and his mercy is over all. But the Scripture teacheth us, That curſed is he that ſinneth upon hope of forgiveneſs: Truth it is, that the mercy of God is above all his works, and yet but upon ſuch as fear him: for it is written in the *Pſalms*, *The mercy of God is on them that fear him, and on ſuch as put their truſt in him.* Where we may learn, that they only put their truſt in God, that ſerve him; and to fear God, is to turn from evil and do that is good. So that ſuch as do look to be partakers in Gods mercy, may not abide in that which is known to be manifeſt evil and deteſtable in the ſight of God.

The place of Matth. 5. examined.

Matth. 24.

A curſed thing to Sin upon hope of forgiveneſs.

Pſal. 102. 146.

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Another ſort of perſons do make them a Cloak for the rain under the pretence of obedience to the magiſtrates, whom we ought to obey although they be wicked. But ſuch muſt learn of Chriſt to give to *Cæſar* that is *Cæſars* and to God that is due to God, and with S. *Peter* to obey the higher powers in the Lord, albeit they be evil if they command nothing contrary to Gods Word, otherwiſe we ought not to obey their commandments, although we ſhould ſuffer death therefore, as we have the Apoſtles for our example herein to follow, who anſwered the Magiſtrates as we ought to do in this caſe, not obeying their wicked precepts, ſaying, *Judge you whether it be more righteous that we ſhould obey Man rather then God.*

Luk 20. 1 Pet. 2.

Obedience to Magiſtrates what, and how far.

Alſo *Daniel* choſe rather to be caſt into the Den of Lions to be devoured, then to obey the Kings wicked Commandments. If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the Ditch. There is no excuſe for the tranſgreſſion of Gods Word, whether a Man doth it voluntarily or at Commandment, although great Damnation is to them, by whom the offence cometh. Some others there be that for an extream refuge in their evil doings, do run to Gods predeſtination and election, ſaying, that if I be elected of God to Salvation, I ſhall be ſaved, whatſoever I do. But ſuch be great tempters of God, and abominable blaſphemers of Gods Holy Election and caſt themſelves down from the Pinacle of the Temple in preſumption, that God may preſerve them by his Angels through predeſtination. Such verily may reckon themſelves to be none of Gods elect Children, that will do evil that good may enſue; whoſe damnation is juſt, as S. *Paul* ſaith. Gods predeſtination and election ought to be with a ſimple eye conſidered, to make us more warily to walk in good and Godly converſation according to Gods Word, and not ſet cock in the hoop, and put all on Gods back to do wickedly at large: for the Elect Children of God muſt walk in righteouſneſs and holineſs after that they be once called to the true knowledge. For ſo ſaith Saint *Paul* to the *Epheſ.* *That God hath choſen us before the Foundations of the World were laid, that we ſhould be holy and blameleſs in his ſight.*

Acts 4. Daniel. 6. Matth. 15.

Againſt ſinning as ſin willingly upon hope of election.

Rom. 3.

Epheſ. 1.

Therefore Saint *Peter* willeth us through good works to make our vocation and election certain to our ſelves, which we know not but by the good working of Gods Spirit in us, according to the rule of the Goſpel; and he that conformeth not himſelf to the ſame in Godly converſation, may juſtly tremble, and doubt that he is none of the elect Children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a Child of darkneſs. For the Children of light will walk in the works of light and not of darkneſs, though they fall, they do not lie ſtill.

2 Pet. 1.

Prov. 24.

Let all vain excuſations be ſet apart, and whiles ye have light, as Chriſt commandeth, believe the light and abide in the ſame, leſt eternal darkneſs overtake you unawares. The light is come into the World, but (alas) Men love darkneſs more then light. God give us his pure eye-ſalve to heal our blindneſs in this behalf. O that Men and women would be healed, and not ſeek to be wilfully blinded. The Lord open their eyes, that they may ſee how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their Conſcience.

John 12.

John 3.

Heb. 10.

But what ſaid I, Conſcience? many affirm their Conſcience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the Idolatrous Church to ſervice; whoſe Conſcience is very large to ſatisfie Man more then God. And although their Conſcience can bear them ſo to do, yet I am ſure that a good Conſcience will not permit them ſo to do; which cannot be good, unleſs it be directed after the knowledge of Gods Word: and therefore in Latin this feeling mind is called *Conſcientia*, which ſoundeth by interpretation, as much as with knowledge.

Large Conſcience.

And therefore if our Conſcience be led of her ſelf, and not after true knowledge, yet we are not ſo to be excuſed, as Saint *Paul* beareth witneſs ſaying, *Although my Conſcience accuſeth me not, yet in this I am not juſtified.* And he joyneth a good conſcience with theſe three Siſters, charity, a pure heart, and unfained Faith. Charity keepeth

Gods

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Gods Commandments, a pure heart loveth and feareth God above all, and unfained faith is never aſhamed of the profeſſion of the Goſpel; whatſoever damage he ſhall ſuffer in Body thereby. The Lord which hath revealed his holy will unto us by his word, grant us never to be aſhamed of it, and give us Grace ſo earneſtly to cleave to his holy word and the true Church, that for no manner of worldly reſpect we become partakers of the works of Hypocriſie, which God doth abhor; ſo that we may be found Faithful in the Lords Teſtament to the end, both in heart, word, and deed, to the Glory of God and our Everlaſting Salvation, Amen.

1 Tim. 1. Charity. Pure heart. Faith unfained. Good Conſcience.

John Philpot, *priſoner in the Kings Bench for the teſtimony of the truth.* 1555.

To his dear friend in the Lord, John Careleſs *priſoner in the* Kings Bench.

Another Letter of M. *Philpot* to Je. *Careleſs.*

MY dearly beloved Brother *Careleſs*, I have received your loving Letters full of love and compaſſion, inſomuch that they made my hard heart to weep, to ſee you ſo careful for one that hath been ſo unprofitable a member as I have been, and am in Chriſts Church. God make me worthy of that I am called unto, and I pray you ceaſe not to pray for me, but ceaſe to weep for him who hath not deſerved ſuch gentle tears: and praiſe God with me, for that I now approach the company of them, whoſe want you may worthily lament; God give your pittiful heart his inward conſolation. Indeed my dear *Careleſs*, I am in this World in Hell, and in the ſhadow of Death; but he that hath brought me for my deſerts down into Hell, ſhall ſhortly lift me up to Heaven, where I ſhall look continually for your coming and other my Faithful Brethren in the *Kings Bench*. And though I tell you that I am in Hell in the Judgment of this World, yet aſſuredly I feel in the ſame the conſolation of Heaven, I praiſe God; and this loathſom and horrible priſon is as pleaſant to me, as the walk in the Garden of the *Kings Bench*.

Experience of the Lords comfort in trouble.

You know, Brother *Careleſs*, that the way to Heaven out of this Life is very narrow, and we muſt ſtrive to enter in at a narrow gate. If God do mitigate the uglineſs of mine Impriſonment, what will he do in the rage of the fire whereunto I am appointed? And this hath hapned unto me, that I might be hereafter an enſample of comfort, if the like happen unto you, or to any other of my dear Brethren with you in theſe cruel days, in the which the devil ſo rageth at the Faithful Flock of Chriſt, but in vain (I truſt) againſt any of us, who be perſwaded that neither Life, neither death is able to ſeparate us from the love of Chriſts Goſpel, which is Gods high treaſure committed to our brittle veſſels to glorifie us by the ſame. God of his mercy make us Faithful Stewards to the end, and give us Grace to fear nothing whatſoever in his good pleaſure we ſhall ſuffer for the ſame. That I have not written unto you erſt, the cauſe is our ſtrait keeping and the want of light by night: for the day ſerveth us but a while in our dark cloſet. This is the firſt Letter that I have written ſince I came to priſon, beſides the report of mine Examinations; and I am fain to ſcribble it out in haſt.

Example of Chriſts comfort, to be taken by M. *Philpot.*

Commend me to all our Faithful Brethren, and bid them with a good courage look for their redemption, and frame themſelves to be hearty Souldiers in Chriſt. They have taken his preſt money a great while, and now let them ſhew themſelves ready to ſerve him faithfully, and not to flie out of the Lords Camp into the World, as many do. Let them remember that in the *Apocalyps* the fearful be excluded the Kingdom. Let us be of good cheer, for our Lord overcame the World, that we ſhould do the like. Bleſſed is the ſervant, whom when the Lord cometh, he findeth watching. O let us watch and pray earneſtly one for another that we be not led into temptation. Be joyful under the Croſs and praiſe the Lord continually, for this is the whole burnt Sacrifice which the Lord delighteth in. Commend me to my Father *Hunt*, and deſire him to love and continue in the unity of Chriſts true Church, which he hath begun, and then ſhall he make me more and more to joy under my Croſs with him. Tell my Brother *Clements* that he hath comforted me much by his loving token in ſignification of an unfained unity with us; let him increaſe my joy unto the end perfectly. The Lord of peace be with you all. Salute all my loving friends, M. *Mering*, M. *Crooch*, with the reſt, and ſpecially M. *Marſhal*, and his Wife, with great thanks for his kindneſs ſhewed unto me. Farewel my dear *Careleſs*. I have dallied with the Devil a while, but I am over the ſhoos: God ſend me well out.

Out of the Colehouſe, by your Brother, John Philpot.

Another Letter to John Careleſs, *profitable to be read of all them which mourn in repentance for their Sins.*

Another Letter of M. *Philpot* to the ſame party.

THE God of all Comfort, and the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſend unto thee, my dear Brother *Careleſs*, the inward conſolation of his Holy Spirit, in all the malicious aſſaults and troublous temptations of our common adverſary the Devil, Amen.

To this Letter *Careleſs* maketh a very Godly anſwer, which you ſhall ſee afterward in his Story. Pſal. 51.

That God giveth you ſo contrite a heart for your Sins I cannot but rejoice to behold the lively mark of the Children of God whoſe property is to think more lowly and vilely of themſelves then of any other, and oftentimes do ſet their Sins before them, that they might the more be ſtirred to bring forth the fruits of repentance, and learn to mourn in this World, that in another they might be glad and rejoice. Such a broken heart is a pleaſant Sacrifice unto God: O that I had the like contrite heart. God mollifie my ſtony heart, which lamenteth not in ſuch wiſe my former deteſtable iniquities. Praiſed be God that he hath given you this ſorrowful heart in reſpect of righteouſneſs, and I pray you let me be partaker of theſe Godly ſorrows for Sin, which be the teſtimony of the preſence of the Holy Ghoſt. Did not the ſword of ſorrow pierce the heart of the elect and Bleſſed Mother of our Lord? Did not *Peter* weep bitterly for his Sins, which was ſo beloved of Chriſt? Did not *Mary Magdalen* waſh the feet of our Saviour with her tears, and received therewithal remiſſion of her ſeven fold Sins?

Be of good comfort therefore mine own dear heart, in this thy ſorrow, for it is the earneſt peny of eternal conſolation. In thy ſorrow laugh, for the Spirit of God is with thee: *Bleſſed be they* (ſaith Chriſt) *that mourn, for they ſhall be comforted.* They went forth and wept, ſaith the Prophet, ſuch ſhall come again, having their gripes full of gladneſs. And although a ſorrowful heart, in conſideration of his Sins, be an acceptable Sacrifice before God, whereby we are ſtirred up to more thankfulneſs unto God, knowing that much is forgiven us that we might love the more, yet the Man of God muſt keep a meaſure in the ſame, leſt he be ſwallowed up by much ſorrow. Saint *Paul* would not the *Theſſalonians* to be ſorry as other Men which have no hope. ſuch a ſorrow is not commendable, but worketh Damnation, and is far from the Children of God, who are continually ſorrowful in God when they look upon their own unworthineſs, with hope of forgiveneſs. For God to this end by his ſpirit ſetteth the Sins of his elect ſtill before them, that where they perceive Sin to abound, there they might be aſſured that Grace ſhall ſuperabound; and bringeth them down unto Hell, that he might lift them up with greater joy unto Heaven. Wherefore mine own Bowels in Chriſt, as long as you are not void altogether of hope, be not daſmaied through your penſive heart for your Sins, how huge ſoever they have been, for God is able to forgive more then you are able to Sin: yea, and he will forgive him, which with hope is ſorry for his Sins.

Matth. 5. Pſal. 125. Pſal. 51. Luke 7.

Sorrow in a Chriſtian Man ought to be moderate. 1 Theſ. 4. 2 Cor. 7. Rom. 9.

But know Brother, that as oft as we do goe about, by the help of Gods Spirit, to do that is good, the evil Spirit Satan layeth hard wait to turn the good unto evil, and goeth about to mire the deteſtable darnel of deſperation with the godly ſorrow of a pure penitent heart. You be not ignorant of his malicious ſubtilty, and how that continually he aſſaulteth that good which the Grace of God planteth. I ſee the battel betwixt you and him, but the victory is yours, yea and that daily: For you have laid hold upon the Anchor of Salvation, which is hope in Chriſt, the which will not ſuffer you to be made aſhamed.

Satans practiſe to bring the Godly repentance of a Sinner to deſperation.

Be not diſcontented that you have this conflict: but be glad that God hath given you the ſame to try your Faith, and that you might appear daily worthy of the Kingdom of God, for the which you ſtrive. God beholdeth your ſtri-

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ving Faith againſt Satan, and is pleaſed with your mighty reſiſtance. The Spirit which is in you, is mightier then all the adverſaries power. Tempt he may, and lying await at your heels, give you a fall unawares; but overcome he ſhall not: yea he cannot, for you are ſealed up already with a lively Faith to be the Child of God for ever: and whom God hath once ſealed for his own, him he never utterly forſaketh. The juſt falleth ſeven times, but he riſeth again. It is Mans frailty to fall, but it is the property of the Devils Child to lie ſtill.

Gods Children fall. The Devils Children ly ſtill.

Strife againſt Sin is a token of Gods Child. Luke 11.

This ſtrife againſt Sin is a ſufficient teſtimony that you are the Child of God: for if you were not, you ſhould feel no ſuch malice as he now troubleth you withal. When this ſtrong *Goliah* hath the hold, all things are in peace which he poſſeſſeth: and becauſe he hath you not, he will not ſuffer you unaſſaulted. But ſtand faſt, and hold out the Buckler of Faith, and with the Sword of Gods promiſes ſmite him on the ſcalp: that he may receive a deadly wound, and never be able to ſtand againſt you any more. Saint *James* telleth you that he is but a coward, ſaying, *Reſiſt the Devil, and he will flye from thee.* It is the will of God that he ſhould thus long tempt you and not go away as yet, or elſe he had done with you long ere this. He knoweth already that he ſhall receive the foil at your hands, and increaſe the Crown of your glory: for he that overcometh ſhall be Crowned. Therefore glory in your temptations, ſince they ſhall turn to your felicity. Be not afraid of your continual aſſaults which be occaſions of your daily victory. The Word of God abideth for ever, In what hour ſoever a Sinner repenteth him of his Sins, they be forgiven. Who can lay any thing to the charge of Gods elect? Do you not perceive the manifeſt tokens of your election? Firſt, your vocation to the Goſpel, and after your vocation, the manifeſt gifts of the Spirit of God given unto you above many other of your condition, with Godlineſs which believeth and yieldeth to the authority of the Scriptures, and is zealous for the ſame? Seeing you are Gods own dearling, who can hurt you? Be not of a deject mind for theſe temptations, neither make your unfained friends to be more ſorrowful for you then need doth require.

James 4.

Since God hath willed you at your Baptiſm in Chriſt to be careleſs, why do you make your ſelf careful? Caſt all your care on him. Set the Lord before your eyes always, for he is on your right ſide, that you ſhould not be then moved. Behold the goodneſs of God toward me. I am careleſs, being faſt cloſed in a pair of ſtocks, which pinch me for very ſtraitneſs; and will you be careful? I would not have that unſeemly addition to your name. Be as your name pretendeth, for doubtleſs you have no other cauſe but ſo to be. Pray, I beſeech you, that I may be ſtill careleſs in my careful eſtate, as you have cauſe to be careleſs in your eaſier condition. Be thankful and put away all care, and then I ſhall be joyful in my ſtrait preſent care. Commend me to all our Brethren, and deſire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my temptations: for the Devil rageth againſt me: I am put in the ſtocks in a place alone, becauſe I would not anſwer to ſuch Articles, as they would charge me withal in a corner at the Biſhops appointment, and becauſe I did not come to Maſs when the Biſhop ſent for me. I will lye all the daies of my Life in the ſtocks by Gods Grace, rather then I will conſent to the wicked Generation. Praiſe God, and be joyful, that it hath pleaſed him to make us worthy to ſuffer ſomewhat for his name ſake. The Devil muſt rage for ten days. Commend me to Maſter *F.* and thank him for his Law Books: but neither Law nor Equity will take any place among theſe Blood-thirſty. I would for your ſake the unjuſt dealing were noted unto the Parliament-Houſe, if it might avail. God ſhorten theſe evil days. I have anſwered the Biſhop meetly plain already, and I ſaid to him, if he will call me in open judgment, I will anſwer him as plainly as he will require: otherwiſe I have refuſed, becauſe I fear they will condemn me in hugger mugger. The peace of God be with you my dear Brother. I can write no more for lack of light, and that I have written I cannot read my ſelf, and God knoweth it is written far uneaſily. I pray God you may pick out ſome underſtanding of my mind towards you. Written in a Cole-Houſe of darkneſs, out of a pair of painful ſtocks, by thine own in Chriſt,

John Philpot.

True Chriſtians how they ought to be careleſs in their careful eſtate.

Another Letter of Maſter Philpot, *to certain Godly Women, forſaking their own Country for the Goſpel, full of fruitful precepts and leſſons for all good Women.*

Another Letter of *M. Philpot* to certain Godly Women.

THe Spirit of truth, revealed unto you my dearly beloved by the Goſpel of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, be continually abiding with you, and augmented into a perfect building of you into the lively Temple of God, through the mighty operation of his holy power. Amen.

I read in the *Evangeliſts*, of certain Godly Women, that miniſtred unto Chriſt; following him in the days of his paſſion, and never forſook him, but being dead in his Grave, brought Oyl to anoint him, until that he had ſhewed himſelf unto them after his reſurrection, and bidden them ſhew unto his Diſciples, which at his paſſion were diſperſed, and tell them that he was riſen, and that they ſhould ſee him in *Galile*. To whom I may juſtly compare you (my loving Siſters in Chriſt) who of late have ſeen him ſuffer in his members, and have miniſtred to their neceſſity, anointing them with the comfortable Oyl of your charitable aſſiſtance, even to the death: and now ſince ye have ſeen Chriſt to live in the aſhes of them, whom the tyrants have ſlain, he willed you to go away upon juſt occaſion offered you, and to declare to our diſperſed Brethren and Siſters, that he is riſen, and liveth in his elect members in *England*, and by death doth overcome infidelity, and that they ſhall ſee him in *Galile*, which is by forſaking this World, and by a faithful deſire to paſs out of this World by thoſe ways, which he with his holy Martyrs hath gone on before.

Wholeſom and Godly precepts of Life.

God therefore (intire Siſters) direct your way, as he did *Abraham* and *Tobias* unto a ſtrange Land: God give you health both of Body and Soul, that ye may go from vertue to vertue, and grow from ſtrength to ſtrength, until ye may ſee face to face the God of *Sion* in his holy hill, with the innumerable company of his bleſſed Martyrs and Saints. Let there be continual aſcenſions unto Heaven in your hearts. Let there be no decreaſe of any vertue, which is already planted in you. Be as the light of the juſt, ſuch as *Solomon* ſaith, increaſeth to the perfect day, of the Lord. Let the ſtrength of God be commended in your weak Veſſels, as it is. Be examples of Faith and ſobriety, to all that ye ſhall come in company withal. Let your Godly converſation ſpeak where your Tongue may not, in the Congregation. Be ſwift to hear, and ſlow to ſpeak, after the Counſel of Saint *James*. Be not curious about other Mens doings, but be occupied in Prayer, and continual meditation, with reverent talking of the Word of God, without contentions among the Saints. Let your Faith ſhine in a ſtrange Countrey, as it hath done in your own, that your Father which is in Heaven, may be glorified by you to the end.

This farewel I ſend you, not as a thing needful (which know already what your duty is, and be deſirous to perform the ſame) but as one that would have you underſtand that he is mindful of your Godly Converſation, whereof he hath had good experience, and therefore writeth this to be a perpetual memorial betwixt you and him, until our meeting together before God, where we ſhall joy that we have here lovingly put one another in memory of our duty to perform it.

Farewel again mine own Bowels in Chriſt, and take me with you whereſoever you go, and leave your ſelves with me, that in Spirit we may be preſent one with another. Commend me to the whole Congregation of Chriſt, willing them not to leave their Country without witneſs of the Goſpel, after that we all be ſlain, which already be ſtalled up and appointed to the ſlaughter, and in the mean ſeaſon to pray earneſtly for our conſtancy, that Chriſt may be glorified in us and in them, both by Life and Death. Farewel in the Lord.

Yours for ever, John Philpot.

An Exhortation to his own Siſter, conſtantly to ſtick to the truth, which ſhe had fruitfully profeſſed.

Another Letter of *M. Philpot* to his own Siſter full of fruitful exhortations.

GOd the eternal Father, who hath juſtified you by the Blood of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and called you to hallow his name through a good converſation & profeſſion of

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of Life, he ſanctifie you with daily increaſe of Vertue and Faith by his Holy Spirit, that you may appear a veſſel of Sanctification, in the midſt of this wicked & perverſe Generation, to the laud and praiſe of the Goſpel. Amen.

I have occaſion (mine own dear Siſter) to praiſe God in you for two cauſes: the one, that to your ability you are ready to ſhew your ſelf a natural loving Siſter to me your poor afflicted Brother, as by your gentle tokens you have eſtſoons teſtified being abſent, and alſo preſently viſiting me; which well declareth that you be a very natural Siſter indeed, and to be praiſed in this behalf. But in the other, that you be alſo a Siſter to me in Faith after Chriſts Goſpel, I am occaſioned to thank God ſo much the more, how much the one excelleth the other, and the ſpiritual conſanguinity is more perdurable then that which is of Fleſh and Blood, and is a worker of that which is by nature: for commonly ſuch as be ungodly, be unnatural, and only lovers of themſelves, as daily experience teacheth us. The living Lord, which through the incorruptible ſeed of his word hath begotten you to be my leige Siſter, give you Grace ſo to grow in that Generation, that you may increaſe to a perfect Age in the Lord, to be my Siſter with Chriſt for ever.

Spiritual conſanguinity and natural compared.

Look therefore that you continue a Faithful Siſter as you are called and are Godly entered, not only to me, but to all the Church of Chriſt, yea to Chriſt himſelf, who voucheth you in this your unfained Faith, worthy to be his Siſter. Conſider this dignity to ſurmount all the vain dignities of the World, and let it accordingly prevail more with you then all Earthly delights: For thereby you are called to an equal proportion of the Everlaſting Inheritance of Chriſt, if now in no wiſe you do ſhew your ſelf an unnatural Siſter to him in forſaking him in trouble, which I truſt you will never for any kind of Worldly reſpect do. You are under dangerous temptations to be turned from that natural love you owe unto Chriſt, and you ſhall be tried with Gods people through a ſieve of great affliction: for ſo Satan deſireth us to be ſifted, that through fear of ſharp troubles we might fall from the ſtableneſs of our Faith, and ſo be deprived of that honour, joy, and reward, which is prepared for ſuch as continue Faithful Brothers and Siſters in the Lords Covenant to the end. Therefore the Wiſe Man in the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, biddeth them that come to the ſervice of the Lord, *To prepare themſelves to ſuffer temptations.*

The ſieve of afflictions. Luke 22.

Eccleſ. 2.

Since then that for the Glory of God and our Faith, we are called now to abide the brunt of them, and that when our adverſary hath done all that he can, yet we may be ſtable and ſtand; this Chriſt our *firſt* begotten Brother looketh for at our hands, and all our Brethren and Siſters in Heaven deſire to ſee our Faith through afflictions to be perfect, that we might fulfill their number: and the Univerſal Church here militant, rejoyceth at our conſtancy, all whom by the contrary we ſhould make ſorry, to the danger of the loſs both of Body and Soul. Fear not therefore, whatſoever be threatned of the wicked World; prepare your back, and ſee it be ready to carry Chriſts Croſs. And if you ſee any outwardneſs in you (as the Fleſh is continually repugnant to the Will of God) ask with Faithful Prayer, that the good Spirit of God may lead your Sinful Fleſh whither it would not: for if we will dwell in the Fleſh and follow the Counſel thereof, we ſhall never do the Will of God, neither work that tendeth to our Salvation.

Chriſt our firſt born Brother.

A Chriſtian Mans Back ſhould always bereadie to bear Chriſts Croſs.

You are at this preſent in the confines and Borders of *Babylon*, where you are in danger to drink of the Whores Cup, unleſs you be vigilant in Prayer. Take heed the Serpent ſeduce you not from the ſimplicity of your Faith, as he did our firſt Mother *Eve*. Let not Worldly fellowſhip make you partaker of iniquity. He that toucheth Tar, cannot but be defiled thereby. With ſuch as be perverſe, a Man ſhall ſoon be perverted; with the holy you ſhall be holy. Therefore ſay continually with the Prophet *David*, *Pſalm 35. Unto the Saints that be on the Earth, all my will is on them.* You have been ſanctified and made pure through the truth; take heed you be not unholied and defiled, leſt the laſt be worſe then the firſt. I write not this becauſe I ſtand in any doubt of your ſincere continuance, of the which I have had ſo good experience. But becauſe the days be evil, and in the ſame it is the duty of every of us to exhort and ſtir up one another; I am bold to put you (my good Siſter) in remembrance of that which doth not a little comfort me to remember; in my troubles and daily temptations. Wherefore I doubt not, you will take that in good part which cometh from your Brother both in Spirit and Body, who tendreth your Salvation as earneſtly as his own, that we might joy together eternally with ſuch joy as the world ſhall never be able to take from us. Thanks be unto God, you have begun to run a good and a great time well in the ways of the Lord: Run out the race to the end, which you have begun, and then ſhall you receive the Crown of Glory. None ſhall be Crowned, but ſuch as lawfully ſtrive. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good, and the Lord ſhall make you one of thoſe Faithful Virgins that ſhall follow the Lamb whereſoever he goeth; the which Chriſt grant both you & me, Amen.

Ungodly fellowſhip to be eſchewed.

2 Tim. 3.

Apoc. 14.

Commend me to all them that love me in the Lord unfainedly. God increaſe our Faith, and give us never to be aſhamed of his Goſpel. That ſame requeſt which I have made to my Brother *Thomas*, I make alſo to you, deſiring you by all means you can to accompliſh my requeſt, that my ſureties might be ſatisfied with that is mine own, to the contentation of my mind, which cannot be quiet until they be diſcharged: therefore I pray you help to purchaſe quietneſs, that I might depart out of this World in peace. My diſſolution I look for daily, but the Lord knoweth how unworthy I am of ſo high an honour, as to die for the teſtimony of his truth. Pray that God would vouchſafe to make me worthy, as he hath done, of long Impriſonment, for the which his name be praiſed for ever. Pray and look for the coming of the Lord, whoſe wrath is great over us, and I will pray for you as long as I live. The 9. of *July* in the *Kings Bench.*

This was for the firſt fruits of his Archdeaconry, whereof all the time of his impriſonment he had no commodity, and yet his ſureties were compelled to pay the ſame.

Your own loving Brother as well in Faith as in Body, John Philpot.

Another Letter of John Philpot *to certain Godly Brethren.*

Another Letter of *M. Philpot* containing Godly exhortations.

THe Grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt his eternal Son, and the conſolation of the Holy Ghoſt our comforter, ſtrengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds, that you may rejoyce, and live in the truth of Chriſts Goſpel to the end, Amen.

He commendeth their Faithful zeal to Gods Word.

I do much rejoyce, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your conſtant *Faith* in the Word of God, which you have ſo purely received; which do not with the worldlings decline from the purity thereof, albeit you ſuffer grief and trouble thereby; for the which I praiſe God moſt heartily: and the Lord of all ſtrength, who hath begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for the Faithful zeal ye have to his truth and to his afflicted Church. Therefore that ye may the better ſtand and bear the brunt of many temptations, which you are all like to be aſſaulted withal in theſe wicked and ſtormy days; I thought it good, as it is the duty of one Chriſtian Man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance thereof, and to will you with the Wiſe Man to prepare your ſelves to temptations; and to beware that ye, which yet do ſtand by the goodneſs of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an eaſie thing to begin to do well, but to continue out in well doing, is the only property of the Children of God, and ſuch as aſſuredly ſhall be ſaved. For ſo ſaith our Saviour in his Goſpel, Bleſſed are they that perſevere to the end.

He exhorteth them to continue and to ſtand faſt.

Let not therefore this certainty of your Salvation, which is continuance in the ſincerity of Faith, ſlide from you. Eſteem it more then all the riches and pleaſures of this World, for it is the moſt acceptable treaſure of eternal life. This is that precious ſtone, for the which the wiſe Merchant Man, after the Goſpel, doth ſell all that he hath, and buyeth the ſame. God in the 3. of the *Apocal.* doth ſignifie to the Church, that there ſhall come a time of temptation upon the whole World, to try the dwellers on the earth. From the danger of the which temptation all ſuch ſhall be delivered as obſerve his word: which word there is called the word of patience; to give us to underſtand that we muſt be ready to ſuffer all kind of injuries and ſlanders for the profeſſion thereof.

Matth. 10.

Apoc. 3.

The word of patience.

Therefore God commandeth us there to hold it faſt, that no Man might bereave us of our Crown of Glory, and

1 Pet. 1.

Saint

Saint *Peter* telleth us now we are afflicted with divers assays, as it is need it should so be, That the trial of our Faith being much more precious then Gold that perisheth, and yet is tried by fire, might redound to the laud, Glory, and honour of Jesus Christ. S. *Paul* to the *Hebrews* sheweth us, that Christ our Saviour was in his humanity made perfect by afflictions, that we being called to perfection in him, might more willingly sustain the troubles of the World, by the which God giveth all them that be exercised in the same for his sake, his holiness. And in the 12. Chapter of the said Epistle is written, My Son, refuse not the correction of the Lord, nor shrink when thou art rebuked of him: for the Lord doth chastise every Son whom he receiveth, &c. Christ in the Gospel of Saint *John* biddeth his Disciples to look after afflictions, saying, In the World ye shall have trouble, but in me ye shall have joy. And therefore in the midst of their trouble, in the 21. of Saint *Luke* he biddeth them look up and lift up their heads, for your redemption, saith he, is at hand. And in the 22. he saith to all such as be afflicted for him, you are those that have abidden with me in my temptations, and therefore I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed for me, to eat and drink upon my Table in my Kingdom.

Heb. 2.

John 16.

Luke 21.

Luke 22.

The fruit that cometh by bearing of the Cross.

Oh how glorious be the Crosses of Christ, which bring the bearers of them unto so blessed an end! Shall we not be glad to be partakers of such shame as may bring us to so high a dignity? God open our eyes to see all things as they be, and to judge uprightly. Then doubtless we would think with *Moses*, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, then to be counted the King of *Egypts* Son. Then should we joyfully say with *David* in all our adversities and troubles, It is good (O Lord) thou hast brought me low, to the end I might learn thy righteousness. Therefore S. *Paul* would not glory in any other thing of the World, but in the Cross of Christ, and in other his infirmities: We have the Commandment of Christ, daily to take up his Cross and follow him. We have the Godly ensambles of all his Apostles and Holy Martyrs, which with great joy and exultation have suffered the loss of all Lands, Goods, and Life, for the hope of a better reward: which is laid up for all those in Heaven, that unfainedly cleave to the Gospel, and never be ashamed thereof.

The delights of the World nothing comparable to them that are to come.

Great is the felicity of the World to the outward Man, and very pleasant are the transitory delights thereof: but the reward of the righteous after the Word of God, doth incomparably excel them all, insomuch that S. *Paul* to the *Romans* doth plainly affirm, that all the tribulations of this World cannot deserve that Glory which shall be shewed unto us.

Let us therefore (good Brethren and Sisters) be merry and glad in these troublesome days, the which be sent of God to declare our Faith, and to bring us to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lords Sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but desire the Lord to hast the day of our death, in the which we might set forth by true Confession his Glory. Neither should we be afraid to meet our adversaries, which so earnestly seek our spoil and death, as Christ did *Judas* and that wicked rout, which came to apprehend him, saying; I am he whom ye seek. It is commanded us by the Gospel, not to fear them that kill the Body, but to fear God, who can cast both Body and Soul into Hell-Fire. So much we are bound to observe this Commandment as any other which God hath given us. The Lord increase our Faith, that we fear God more than Man. The Lord give us such love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forsake all and follow him. Now will it appear what we love best; for to that we love, we will stick. There is none worthy to be counted a Christian, except he can find in his heart for Christs sake, if the confession of his truth doth require it, to renounce all which he hath and follow him; and in so doing he gaineth an hundred fold more in this Life (as our Saviour said to *Peter*) and hereafter is assured of eternal Life. Behold, I pray you, what he loseth which in this Life receiveth an hundred for one, with assurance of eternal Life. O happy Exchange! Perchance your outward Man will say; If I were sure of this great recompence here, I could be glad to forsake all; But where is this hundred fold in this Life to be found? yes truly; for in stead of the Worldly Riches which thou dost forsake, which be but temporal, thou hast found the everlasting Riches of Heaven, which be glory, honour, and praise, both before God, Angels, and Men; and for an Earthly habitation, hast an eternal mansion with Christ in Heaven; for even now thou art of the City and Household of the Saints with God, as it is verified in the fourth to the *Philippians*. For Worldly peace, which can last but a while, thou dost possess the peace of God, which passeth all understanding; and for the loss of a few friends, thou art made a fellow of the innumerable company of Heaven, and a perpetual friend of all those that have died in the Lord, from the beginning of the World. Is not this more then an hundred fold? Is not the peace of God which we in this World have through Faithful imitation of Christ (which the World cannot take from us) ten thousand fold more, then those things that most highly be esteemed in the World, without the peace of God? All the peace of the World is no peace, but a meer anguish and a gnawing fury of Hell: As of late God hath set example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evil it is to forsake the peace of Christs truth, which breedeth a worm in conscience that never shall rest.

Consideration of joys to come.

The note of a true Christian.

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How a Christian Man gaineth an hundred fold in this Life. Phil. 4.

A comparison between the loss and gain that cometh by following of Christ.

Peace with God a thing incomparable. The lack of Gods peace a thing most miserable.

Oh that we would weigh this with indifferent ballances. Then should we not be dismayed of this troublous time, neither sorrow after a Worldly manner, for the loss which we are now like to sustain, as the weak faithless persons do, which love their goods more then God, and the things visible above those which be invisible: but rather would heartily rejoyce and be thankful, that it pleased God to call us to be Souldiers in his cause against the works of Hypocrisie, and to make us like unto our Saviour Christ in suffering, whereby we may assure our selves of his Eternal Glory: For blessed are they, saith Christ, that suffer persecution for righteousness sake. And as S. *Paul* witnesseth to *Timothy*; If we die with Christ, we shall live with Christ; and if we deny him, he will deny us.

2 Tim. 2.

O that we would enter into the veil of Gods promises. Then should we with S. *Paul* to the *Philippians*, reject all, and count all things but for dross, so that we may gain Christ. God which is the lightner of all darkness, and putter away of all blindness, anoint our eyes with the true eyesalve, that we might behold his glory, and our eternal felicity, which is hidden with Christ, and prepared for us that do abide in his Testament: for blessed is that servant, whom the Master when he cometh (as Christ said) doth find faithful. Let us therefore watch and pray one for another, that we yield not in any point of our Religion to the Antichristian Synagogue, and that we be not overthrown of these temptations. Stand therefore, and be no cowards in the cause of your salvation; for his Spirit that is in us, is stronger then he which in the World doth now rage against us. Let us not put out the Spirit of God from us, by whose might we shall overcome our enemies, and then death shall be as great a gain to us as it was to the Blessed Apostle Saint *Paul*. Why then do ye mourn? Why do ye weep? why be ye so careful; as though God hath forsaken you? he is never more present with us, then when we be in trouble, if we do not forsake him. We are in his hands, and no Body can do us any injury or wrong without his good will and pleasure. He hath commanded his Angels to keep us, that we stumble not at a stone without his divine providence. The Devil cannot hurt any of us, and much less any of his Ministers, without the good will of our eternal Father.

Philip. 3.

He exhorteth to be joyful in afflictions.

Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks unto God for our estate, whatsoever it be; for if we murmure against the same, we murmure against God, who sendeth the same: which if we do, we kick but against the prick, and provoke more the wrath of God against us; which by patient suffering, otherwise would sooner be turned into our favour through Faithful Prayer.

To be patient, and not to murmure in affliction.

I beseech you with Saint *Paul*, to give your Bodies pure and holy Sacrifices unto God. He hath given us Bodies to bestow unto his glory, and not after our own concupiscence. If many years God hath suffered us to use our Bodies, which be his Temples, after the lust of the Flesh, in vain delights, not according to his glory; is it not our

duty

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duty in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yield unto Gods glory our bodies, with all that we have, in demonſtration of true repentance of that we have evil ſpent before? Cannot the example of the bleſſed man *Job* horribly afflicted, cauſe us to ſay? *The Lord hath given it, the Lord hath taken it: bleſſed be the name of the Lord. Even as it hath pleaſed the Lord, ſo is it come to paſs:* If we caſt our whole care likewiſe upon God, he will turn our miſery into felicity, as well as he did to *Job*. God tempteth us now as he did our Father *Abraham*, commanding him to ſlay his Son *Iſaac* in Sacrifice to him; which *Iſaac* by interpretation doth ſignifie mirth and joy. Who by his obedience preſerved *Iſaac* unto long life, and offered in his ſtead a Ram that was tied by the horns in the brambles. Semblably we are all commanded to Sacrifice unto God our *Iſaac*, which is our joy and conſolation: the which if we be ready to do, as *Abraham* was, our joy ſhall not periſh, but live, and be increaſed, although our Ram be ſacrificed for our *Iſaac*: which doth ſignifie that the pride and concupiſcence of our fleſh intangled through ſin, with the cares of this ſtinging world, muſt be mortified for the preſervation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is ſealed up for us in Chriſt.

Job 1.

Geneſ. 22.

How to ſacrifice our *Iſaac* to God.

And to withſtand theſe preſent temptations wherewithal we are now encombred, ye cannot have a better remedy then to ſet before your eyes how our Saviour Chriſt overcame them in the deſart, and to follow his enſample? that if the Devil himſelf or any other by him, willeth you to make ſtones Bread, that is, to take ſuch a worldly wiſe way, that you may have your fair houſes, Lands and Goods to live on ſtill; ye muſt ſay, that man liveth not only by Bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God,

Remedies againſt the temptations of the Devil and the world.

Again, if the Devil councelleth you to caſt your ſelves down to the earth, as to revoke your ſincere belief and godly converſation, and to be conformable to the Learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content therewith; ye muſt anſwer that it is written, that a man ſhall not tempt his Lord God.

Chriſts temptations myſtically applied.

Further, if the Devil offer you large promiſes of honour, dignity, and poſſeſſions, ſo that ye will worſhip Idols in his Synagogue, ye muſt ſay, Go behind me Satan, for it is otherwiſe written, that a man muſt worſhip his Lord God, and ſerve him only.

Finally, if your Mother, Brother, Siſter, Wife, Child, Kinſman, or Friend, do ſeek of you to do otherwiſe then the Word of God hath taught you, ye muſt ſay with Chriſt, that they are your Mothers, Brothers, Siſters, Wives, Children, Kinſmen, which do the will of God the Father. To the which will the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfainedly to the end, *Amen*,

Your loving and faithful Brother in Chriſt, in Captivity, John Philpot, *Anno* 1555.

To his Friend and faithful Brother in the Lord, Maſter Robert Harrington

Another Letter of Jo. *Philpot* to M. *Harrington*, his Friend.

GEntle Mr. *Harrington*, I cannot tell what condign thanks I may give unto God for you, in reſpect of the great gentleneſs and pain which you have taken for the relief of me and of other our afflicted Brethren in Chriſt. God be praiſed for his mercy, whoſe loving providence we have ſeen towards us by ſuch faithful ſtewards as you have been towards a great many Bleſſed be you of God for the loving care which you have taken for his poor flock. God hath reſerved your reward of thanks in Heaven, and therefore I go not about to render you any, leſt I might ſeem to judge that you looked for that here, which is reſerved to a better place. I thank God for that I have found by your faithful and diligent induſtry, and God forgive me my unworthineſs for ſo great benefits. God give me grace to ſerve him faithfully, and to run out my race with joy. Glorious is the courſe of the Martyrs of Chriſt at this day. Never had the elect of God a better time for their glory than this is. Now may they be aſſured under the Croſs, that they are Chriſts Diſciples for ever.

Me think I ſee you deſiring to be under the ſame. The fleſh draweth back, but the Spirit ſaith, it muſt be brought whither it would not. Here is the victory of the World: here is true faith and everlaſting glory. Who is he which deſireth not to be found faithful to his Maſter? And now is the time that every faithful Servant of Chriſt hath juſt opportunity to ſhew himſelf a glorious Souldier in the Lords fight. Now do the *Amalekites* invade the true *Iſraelites*, that the *Iſraelites* might with ſpeed be glorified, I need not for want of underſtanding to admoniſh you hereof, but as a willing Souldier in Chriſt, to exhort you ſo to run as you may get the victory, and that ſpeedily with us. A man that is bid to a glorious feaſt, wiſheth his Friend to go with him, and be partaker thereof. God doth call me moſt unworthy, among other, to drink of the Bride-Cup of his Son, whereby we ſhall be made worthy (as many of our Brethren have been before us) to ſit at the right hand and at the left hand of Chriſt. O what unſpeakable condition is that? May any worldly thing ſtay us from the deſire thereof? Since we ſeek the Kingdom of God, why do we not apprehend it, being ſo near offered unto us?

John 20.

Let us approach near unto God, and God will draw near unto us. God draw us after him, that we may all run after the ſavour of his ſweet ointments. Chriſt anoint us, that we may be ſuppled in theſe evil days to run lightly unto the glory of the Lord. Shame, impriſonment, loſs of goods, and ſhedding of our Blood, be the juſt price which we muſt willingly beſtow for the ſame. Wherefore (dearly Beloved in the Lord) let not the great charges keep you back from buying this glory: for the reward is ten thouſand fold greater then the price.

Reward greater than the price. Godly Matrimony how to be uſed.

That you have married a wife, whom God bleſs, I cannot excuſe you from this Mart, but you muſt bring your wife for an uſury to the Lord, whoſe pleaſure is in godly yoke-fellows. I wiſh you to be as I am, except theſe horrible bands, but yet moſt comfortable to the Spirit, aſſuring you that we are made worthy through Chriſt of the Kingdom for the which we ſuffer. Praiſed be the Lord for the affliction which we ſuffer, and he give us ſtrength to continue to the end.

Commend me to Mr. *Heath*, and tell him that I would wiſh him with me, to prove how apt he is to carry the Croſs of Chriſt. I pray for his continuance in Chriſt, as for mine own. commend me to his wife, and to Mrs. *Hall*, certifying them that I am brought to the gates of Hell, that I might never enter into the ſame, but be raiſed up from Hell to Heaven, through the word that ſanctifieth us. Commend me to Mr. *Elſing* and his wife, and thank them that they remembred to provide me ſome eaſe in Priſon, and tell them that though my Lords Cole-houſe be but very black, yet it is more to be deſired of the faithful, than the Queens Palace. God make her a joyful Mother, and preſerve them both to the comfort of Gods People. Thus for this time farewel dear Brother. Written in poſt-haſt becauſe of ſtrait keeping.

This day I look to be called before the Commiſſioners again. Pray (dear Brother) for the Spirit of wiſdom to remain with me. Commend me to your wife, and I thank you both for your tokens. Your token I have ſent to your wife; and my Token unto you, is my faithful heart with this Letter. Commend me to all my Friends, and tell them, I thank God I am cheerful in Chriſt, wiſhing them to fear God more then man, and to learn to deſpiſe earneſtly the vanities of this World; deſiring you all to pray for me, that I may end my journey with fidelity, *Amen*.

John Philpot.

Here followeth another Letter of Mr. Philpot *to the Lady* Vane: *which becauſe for the length I could not wholly inſert, I have excerpted certain ſpecialties thereout as followeth.*

THe principal Spirit of God the Father, given unto us by Chriſt our merciful Saviour, confirm, ſtrengthen, and ſtabliſh you in the true knowledge of the Goſpel, that your faithful heart (worſhipful and dear Siſter in the Lord) may attain and taſt with all the Saints what is the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth of the ſweet Croſs of Chriſt, *Amen*, &c.

Oh, happy are you amongſt all other women, that have found this precious Stone which is hidden in the Goſpel; for the which we ought to ſell all other things, and to purchaſe the ſame. Oh happy woman, whoſe heart God hath moved and inlarged to be in the profeſſion thereof. Others ſeek worldly goods, honours, and delights; but you ſeek with a good underſtanding to ſerve God in Spirit and verity. This is the gate that leadeth to Heaven, this is your portion for ever. By this you ſhall ſee God face to face (which ſight is unſpeakable joy) and by this ſhall ye ſee a full ſight of all the beautiful Heavenly Powers, and of all the celeſtial Paradiſe. By this ſhall you know them that you never knew, and be joyous and glad with thoſe which you have known here in God, world without end, &c.

He bewaileth the ſtate of *England*. Plagues propheſied to *England* though the Goſpel be reſtored again.

Ah, I lament the infidelity of *England*, that after ſo great light is ſtept into ſo huge darkneſs again. The Servant that knoweth his maſters will and doth it not, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes. Ah, great be the plagues that hang over *England*, yea though the Goſpel ſhould be reſtored again. Happy ſhall that perſon be whom the Lord ſhall take out of this world, not to ſee them. Ah the great perjury which men have run into ſo wilfully againſt God by receiving Antichriſt again and his wicked Laws? which do threaten a great ruine unto *England*. Oh that the Lord would turn his juſt judgments upon the Authors of the truce breaking between God and us, that they might be brought low (as *Nabuchadonoſor* was) that his People might be delivered, and his glory exalted. God grant that that good luck which you hope ſhortly to come upon the houſe of God, be a true propheſie, and not a well wiſhing only. Ah Lord, take away thy heavy hand from us, and ſtretch it out upon thine enemies thoſe hypocrites, as thou haſt begun, that they may be confounded. O let not the weak periſh for want of knowledge through our ſin. Although thou kill us, yet will we put our truſt in thee.

Good luck foreſhewed in reſtoring again the Goſpel.

Thus (dear heart) you teach me to pray with you in writing. God hear your prayers, and give us the Spirit of effectual Prayer, to pour out our hearts continually together before God, that we may find mercy both for our ſelves, and for our afflicted Brethren and Siſters. I cannot but praiſe God in you, for that pitiful heart that taketh other folks calamities to heart, as your own. Bleſſed be they that mourn, for ſuch ſhall be comforted. God wipe away all tears from your pitiful eyes, and ſorrow from your merciful heart, that you may (as doubtleſs you ſhall do ſhortly) rejoyce with his elect for ever. You have ſo armed me to the Lords battle both inwardly and outwardly, that except I be a very Coward, I cannot faint, but overcome by death. You have appointed me to ſo good and gracious a General of the field, to ſo victorious a Captain, and to ſo favourable a Marſhall, that if I ſhould not go on luſtily, there were no ſpectacle of heavenly manhood in me. I will preſent your Coat-armour before my Captain, and in the ſame I truſt by him to overcome. The Scarf I deſire as an outward ſign to ſhew our enemies, who ſee not our glorious end, neither what God worketh inwardly in us, through the blindneſs of their hearts, that they perſecute Chriſts Croſs in us, whereby he hath ſealed up the Truth of his Goſpel by his death unto us, that we by our death (if need be) might confirm the ſame, and never be aſhamed whatſoever torment we do ſuffer for his Names ſake; and our weak Brethren ſeeing the ſame might be more incouraged to take up Chriſts Croſs, and to follow him. God give us grace to do all things to his glory, *Amen*, &c.

Philpots Scarf.

The world wondreth how we can be merry in ſuch extreme miſery, but our God is Omnipotent, which turneth miſery into felicity. Believe me (dear Siſter) there is no ſuch joy in the world as the People of Chriſt have under the Croſs. I ſpeak by experience; therefore believe me, and fear nothing that the world can do unto you. For when they impriſon our bodies, they ſet our Souls at liberty with God. When they caſt us down, they lift us up; yea, when they kill us, then do they bring us to everlaſting life. And what greater glory can there be, then to be at conformity with Chriſt? which afflictions do work in us.

Experience of Gods comfort in the time of affliction. Perſecutors when they priſon mens Bodies, they ſet their Souls at liberty.

God open our eyes to ſee more and more the glory of God in the Croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, and make us worthy partakers of the ſame. Let us rejoyce in nothing with St *Paul* but in the Croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, by whom the world is crucified unto us, and we to the world. The Croſs of Chriſt be our ſtandard to fight under for ever. Anno 1556.

Whiles I am thus talking with you of our common conſolation, I forget how I trouble you with my rude and unordinate tediouſneſs: but you muſt impute it to love which cannot quickly depart from them whom he loveth, but deſireth to pour himſelf into their boſoms.

Therefore though your fleſh would be offended (as it might juſtly be) at ſuch rudeneſs, yet your Spirit will ſay nay, which taketh all things in good part that cometh of love. And now I am departing yet will I take my leave ere I go, and would fain ſpeak ſomewhat that might declare my ſincere love to you for ever: Farewel O elect veſſel of the Lord, to the comfort of his afflicted flock, farewel on earth, whom in Heaven I am ſure I ſhall not forget. Farewel under the Croſs moſt joyfully and until we meet, always remember what Chriſt ſaith; Be of good cheer, for I have overcome the world, &c.

God pour his Spirit abundantly upon you, mine own dear bowels in Chriſt, until you may come to ſee the God of all Gods with his elect in the everlaſting *Sion*. I ſend to you the kiſs of Peace, with the which I do moſt entirely take my leave of you at this preſent. It is neceſſary we depart hence, or elſe we could not be glorified. Your heart is heavy becauſe I ſay I muſt depart from you: It is the calling of the merciful Father, wherewithal you are content, and ſo am I. Be of good comfort, hold out your buckler of Faith: for by the ſtrength thereof we ſhall ſhortly meet in eternal glory; to the which Chriſt bring both us *Amen, Amen*. The 10. of *December*. 1555.

Death why ſhould I fear thee? ſince thou canſt not hurt me, but rid me from miſery unto eternal glory.

Dead to the world, and living to Chriſt, your own Brother, ſealed up in the verity of the Goſpel for ever.

John Philpot

Another Letter of Mr. Philpot *written to the ſame Lady, being a great ſupporter of him.*

Another Letter of Mr. Philpot to a certain godly Lady.

I Cannot but moſt heartily give God thanks for theſe his gifts in you, whoſe brightneſs many beholding that are weak, are much encouraged to ſeek God likewiſe, and to cleave to him, having the enſample of ſo faithful and conſtant a Gentlewoman before their eyes. If the Queen of the South ſhall riſe with the men of Chriſts generation, and condemn them, for that ſhe came from the end of the world to hear the wiſedom of *Solomon*? than ſhall your ſincere and godly converſation, thus ſhining in this dangerous time of the trial of Chriſts People (being a woman of worſhipful eſtate and wealthy condition) condemn in the latter day a great many of theſe faint-hearted Goſpellers, which ſo ſoon be gone back and turned from the truth, at the voice of a hand-maiden; ſeeing that neither the fear of impriſonment, neither the poſſeſſion of the world, (wherewithal you are ſufficiently indued above a great many) can ſeparate you from the love of the truth, which God hath revealed unto you. whereby it appeareth that the ſeed of Gods Word which was ſown in you, fell neither in the high way, neither among the thorns, neither upon the ſtones, but upon a good ground, which is bleſſed of God, and bringeth forth fruit with great affliction, an hundred fold to the glory of God, and the increaſe of his Church, &c.

Againſt faint hearted Goſpellers.

In conſideration whereof St. *James* biddeth us highly to rejoyce, whenſoever we fall into many temptations, knowing that it is but the trial of our Faith, that we might bring forth that excellent vertue Patience, by the which we are made like to our Redeemer Chriſt, with whom we here being like in ſuffering, aſſuredly ſhall hereafter be partakers of his eternal glory. Therefore St *Paul* ſaith; *God forbid that I ſhould glory in any thing but in the Croſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. I that am under the Croſs with you (thanks be given to God therefore) have felt in the ſame more true joy and conſolation, then ever I did by any benefit that God hath given me in my life before. For the more the world doth hate us, the nigher God is unto us, and there is

no

Anno 1556.

no perfect joy but in God. Wherefore Christ said; *In me ye shall have joy, but in the World affliction.* Blessed be God which sendeth us this affliction, that we might perfectly joy in him. For this cause in the ripest time of iniquity, and in the most fervent season of persecution of the True Church, which Christ in the 21. of *Luke* prophesied to come, he willeth us to be of good cheer, and to lift up our heads, for our redemption is at hand.

John 16.

Luke 21.

Oh that the Lord would come and deliver us from this World, which is a vale of misery, unto his own Kingdom, where floweth perpetual joy and Consolation. And verily that is the true and onely joy which is conceived, not of the Creature, but of the Creator, the which when we do possess, no body can take it away from us. To the which joy all other joys being compared, are but mournings, all delights sorrow, all sweetness sowre, all beauty filth, and finally all other things that be counted pleasant, are tediousness. Your own self is better witness of this then I: Ask your self, with whom you are best acquainted. Doth not the Holy Ghost speak the same in your heart? Have you not perswaded your self this to be true, before I wrote thereof? For how should you being a Woman, and a young Gentlewoman, beautiful, and at your own liberty, have overcome this your frail kind and age, and despised your excellent beauty and estate, unless all those things which be subject to the senses had been counted of you vile, and little to be esteemed in comparison of those things which inwardly do comfort you to overcome the Flesh, the World, and the Devil?

Perfect joy considered.

Comparison between the joy in God and the joy in this World.

God increase your joy in all spiritual things, and stablish your hope to the day of eternal rest. You have forsaken darkness, and are entred into light, God grant the same may shine still in you, until the perfect day come of the Lord, in the which is all our Consolation. Here we must be darkned, that there we may appear as bright as the Sun in the face of the whole World, and of all them that now condemn us for our well-doing; whose Judges then we shall be, to their horrible grief, though now wrongfully they judge us. Pray heartily, and that often, that God once again for his Christs sake would be merciful to his afflicted Church in *England*. Faithful prayer is the onely remedy that we have against the fiery darts of the Devil, that be kindled against us. By prayer the *Amalechites* shall be overcome, and the roarings of the Lion, which seeketh still to devour us, shall be stopped and put to silence. The Lord stop *Leviathans* mouth, that he swallow not up Gods silly People, according to his expectation.

Gods Saints shall be as Judges against their Adversaries.

Praise the Lord for the faithful Testimony and Sacrifice which two of our Brethren of late have through fire rendred to the Truth of the Gospel, which now triumpheth by the death of godly Martyrs. The Lord is at had hand, therefore watch and pray. The last of May. 1555. Captive in the *Kings Bench*.

The Gospel triumpheth by the death of Martyrs.

Yours with heart in Christ,
John Philpot.

Another Letter of Mr. Philpot *to the godly Lady* Vane.

Another letter of Jo. *Philpot* to the Lady *Vane.*

GOd the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ increase in your godly heart the faith of the Gospel, which is your eternal inheritance, and the Holy Ghost comfort your Spirit with all Spiritual Consolation, to the day of the Lord, *Amen.*

Lady *Vane* a liberal benefactor to Gods Saints.

I cannot but praise God most highly and earnestly (my dear and faithful Lady) for the great and unfained love which you bear unto me in Christ, declared oftentimes, as well now as of late, by manifest and liberal tokens. Blessed be God that hath made you so worthy a member in his Kingdom. For it cannot be but such shall reap with abundance in time of reward, that here do sow so plenteously in well doing; Albeit I am most unworthy to receive any such benefit at your hands, as in respect of a pillar of Christs Church, which am scarce a shadow thereof. But the zeal of Christs Church in you wisheth me to be such a one as the time doth require. God fulfil your desire of me, that I may be found constant, and no wandring star. I am not worthy of the name of a Prophet, or of a Minister of Gods Word, for that I have (being letted by the iniquity of the time) little or nothing laboured therein. I am a friend of our common Spouse Jesus, and do rejoyce of the verity of his word; for the which (praised be his name) he hath counted me worthy to suffer: and indeed *who that giveth a draught of water in the name of a Disciple* (as Christ promised) *shall not lose his reward.* Therefore that your gentleness doth in the name of him, which I am not, the Lord recompence unto you in all his blessings, which he is accustomed to pour on them which love his flock unfainedly.

Mark 9.

Good Lady, you have to joy that the Kingdom of God is thus continually before your eyes, and that you are not ashamed of the bands of Christ, which you with his People in part do suffer. They may be assured of the glory everlasting, which here are not ashamed to take up the Cross of Christ, and to follow him. Here we must weep and lament, whiles the World laugheth and triumpheth over us; but our tears shall shortly be turned into unspeakable joy, and we shall eternally be merry together, when the World shall lament their infidelity without end, &c.

I would I were able to do any thing that might shew condign thanks for that sincere love you bear unto me in Christ: you adjure me (as it were) by your gentle letters to be bold on you in all my needs. I thank God which ceaseth not to provide for his, I lack nothing at this present, but onely hability to thank your faithful heart for your goodness towards me. I love you and not yours, as it is meet Christians to love one another in God; and your faith which I behold in you, is more worth unto me then all your possessions. And I think I shall not need long to be chargeable unto you, for that this week I look for Commissioners to sit on me, and my fellow-prisoners in prison, lest the Spirit of our breath might blow further abroad. The will of God be done. We are not so good as *John* the Baptist which was beheaded in prison. Darkness cannot abide the light. Therefore their doings must declare what they are. We are as sheep appointed for a sacrifice to the Lord. We must not fear the fire for our Lord is a consuming fire; which will put out the fierceness of raging torments from us. Be not afraid of them that can kill the body, but fear him that can cast both body and soul into hell fire. God forbid that we should rejoyce otherwise then in the Cross of Christ, and pray that he would make us worthy to suffer for his sake. God will have our faith tried and known; and therefore let us willingly humble our selves under the mighty hand of God, that he may gloriously lift us up in his good time. There is none perfectly faithful indeed till he can say with S. *Paul*, *I am perswaded that neither death, neither life, neither angels, neither princes or powers, neither things present, neither things to come, neither highness, neither lowness, neither any other creature is able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.* This faith God plant both in you and me unmovably. In this faith we have to rejoyce, and in none other.

A perfect christian man how he is known. Rom. 8.

All the tribulations of the World are not worthy of the eternal weight of glory which is prepared for them, that here do with patience abide the Cross. Wherefore let us be strong with the strength in him, that is able to make us strong, and lament the weakness, I might say the infidelity of our faint Gospellers. Christ whom we would pretend to have put upon us, is the strength of God, and how then may they be weak where Christ is? We have more to be glad, touching our selves, of this time, then we have had of any time before, in the which we have so ready away to go unto God, and so good occasion to shew our duty in glorifying his holy name. For if we be imprisoned in this cause, we are blessed. If we lose all that we have, we are blessed an hundred fold. If we die, we are blessed eternally; so that in suffering of persecutions, all is full of blessings. Be blessed therefore (O elect Lady) of God, with the blessed of God, and flee (as you do) the concupiscence of the World. Embrace that which is perfect, and joyfully look for the coming and Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. Thus desiring God to preserve you to his true peace, and to give you victory of that temptation which now is come to try our faith, Christ be with you, and bless you both in Body and Soul; and my prayer shall follow you whersoever you go, as I desire that yours may be with me. The last week I sent your beneficence to *Oxford*; I could not before have a Covenient

The time of tribulation better for a Christian then the time of joy.

Meſſenger. As ſoon as I have word, you ſhall be ſatisfied of your requeſt. Love me as you do, and the God of Love be with you. The 20. day of *Auguſt*.

By yours, with all his power in the Lord, John Philpot.

Another Letter full of ſpiritual Conſolation to the ſaid Lady.

Another Letter of Mr. Philpot to the ſame Lady.

THe mercy of God the Father, and the conſolation of the Holy Ghoſt through Jeſus Chriſt, be with you, and ſtrengthen you my dear Mother and Siſter in the Lord, in theſe dangerous days, to the Crown of eternal Glory, which is now offered to all faithful Souldiers in the Goſpel, *Amen.*

As your good Ladyſhip doth deſire to hear from me, ſo am I deſirous to write, as your gentleneſs and daily goodneſs bindeth me. But Satan of late hath letted me, who envying all good exerciſes which I have had and received by mine eaſie impriſonment in times paſt, hath brought me out of the *Kings Bench* into the Biſhop of *Londons* Cole-houſe, a dark and an ugly Priſon as any is about *London*, (but my dark Body of ſin hath well deſerved the ſame, and the Lord now hath brought me into outward darkneſs, that I might the more be lightened by him, as he is moſt preſent with his Children in the midſt of darkneſs,) where I cannot be ſuffered to have any Candle-light, neither Ink nor Paper, but by ſtealth. Wherefore I cannot write to you as I would, neither as my duty is. As Chriſt, my Maſter, was ſent from *Annas* to *Caiaphas*, ſo am I ſent from *Wincheſter* Dioceſs to *London*, I truſt to make a ſpeedy end of my courſe; God give me grace and patience to be a faithful follower of my Maſter. I have been already this Seven-night in his Cole-houſe, and have of late been four times called to mine Anſwer, but hitherto not called to Judgment which I do daily look for; but I fear they will prolong me, and try me by ſtrait Impriſonment a while, in the which Gods will be done.

Experience of Chriſt, comforting his Saints in their perſecution.

Pray (dear Lady) that my Faith faint not, which I praiſe God is preſently more lively with me than it hath been in times paſt. I taſt and feel the faithfulneſs of God in his promiſe, who hath promiſed to be with his in their trouble, and to deliver them. I thank the Lord, I am not alone, but have ſix other faithful Companions; who in our darkneſs do chearfully ſing hymns and praiſes unto God for his great goodneſs. We are ſo joyful, that I wiſh you part of my joy. For you that are ſo careful of my bodily relief, how can I but wiſh your ſpiritual conſolation, and that abundantly? Let not (dear Heart) my ſtrait Impriſonment any thing moleſt you: for it hath added and daily doth unto my joy; but rather be glad and thankful unto God with me, that it hath pleaſed him to make me, moſt wretched ſinner, worthy to ſuffer any thing for his ſake. Hitherto we have not reſiſted unto blood. God make us never to count our blood more precious in our eyes than his Truth.

Ah, my dear Siſter, I thank you again for the laſt Letter you ſent me; it is a ſingular comfort unto me, as oft as I read the ſame. I have it in my boſom, and will carry the ſame even to the Stake with me, in witneſs that Chriſt hath ſo conſtant and faithful a Lady in *England*. God ſuccour and keep that ſpirit in you; for it is the very Spirit of Adoption of the Child of God. Such chearful and holy Spirits under the Croſs be acceptable Sacrifices in the ſight of God; for Chriſt came to caſt fire into the Earth, and looketh that it ſhould be kindled. Be you fervent in ſpirit in our Chriſts cauſe, as you have begun, for that is the principal ſpirit wherewithal *David* deſired to be confirmed. O, how do I rejoyce, your Ladiſhip to go arm in arm with me unto Chriſt, or rather before me? I cannot but joy of ſuch a worſhipful Fellow. Me thinketh I ſee you to mourn, and deſire to be looſed out of the earthly and frail habitacle of this Body. O, how amiable and pleaſant is it to dwell in the Lords Tabernacle? Our Chriſt and his heavenly company look for us; let us haſt and run thereto, for behold the Lord is ready to embrace us. Mine own bowels in the Lord, be merry in the Lord with your afflicted Brother, who daily offereth your merciful alms, which moſt unworthily I do receive ſtill of you, unto the Lord. But now (dear Mother) you need not to burthen ſo much your ſelf (as my laſt Letters did ſignifie) for that my chargable Impriſonment is cut off, and a little now ſerveth me; wherefore I pray you ſend no more until I ſend to you, for I have ſufficient and abound. Gods peace be with you for ever. Out of my Lord of *Londons* Cole-houſe, the laſt of *October*.

Anno 1556.

Your own, John Philpot.

Another Letter of Mr. Philpot *to the ſaid Lady, wherein partly he complaineth of the diſſimulation and perjury of* Engliſhmen, *falling again to the Pope, and partly he expreſſeth his joy in his afflictions.*

Another Letter of M. Philpot. By this Senacherib he meaneth the death of the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

I Cannot but joy with you (my heartily Beloved in Chriſt) of the fall of *Senacherib*: ſince it is to the glory of God, and to the conſolation of his Church, to ſee the fall of their enemies before their face, according as it is written, *The juſt ſhall rejoyce, when he ſeeth the vengeance of the wicked.* God make this your joy perfect; for as concerning my ſelf, I count not to ſee thoſe good days whereof you have a glimmering in this life. For although the Cockatrice be dead, yet his peſtilent Chickens, with the Whore of *Babylon*, ſtill liveth. But a great hope there is of their ſhort confuſion, becauſe God doth not proſper their doings according to their expectation. Moſt happy ſhall he be, whom the Lord ſhall ſooneſt take out of this life, that he may not ſee the plagues which the manifeſt perjury, and the manifold Idolatry and deteſtable diſſimulation, and that of ſuch as do know the Truth, do threaten to come.

The Lord is juſt, and all unrighteouſneſs diſpleaſeth him, and either here or elſe in another world he will puniſh this groſs Infidelity of the world: but his elect, and ſuch as he loveth, will he puniſh here, that they ſhould not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally: we have nothing ſo much to rejoyce in, as in the Croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which be the earneſt-peny of that eternal Kingdom, which he upon the Croſs for us hath purchaſed. For as *Paul* his faithful witneſs ſaith, *If we ſuffer with him, we ſhall reign with him. If we die with him, we ſhall live with him.*

Wherefore (mine own dear Bowels) praiſe God with me moſt intirely, that it hath pleaſed him now mercifully to viſit the ſins of my youth, and my huge unthankfulneſs, and by the ſame doth give me much conſolation, that he aſſureth me of his great goodneſs and mercy, and turneth his Fatherly caſtigation into my Crown of glory. O good God! what am I on whom he ſhould ſhew this great mercy? To him that is immortal, inviſible, and only wiſe, be all honour, praiſe, and glory therefore, *Amen.*

He expreſſeth the great joy which Gods Priſoners feel in their ſufferings.

This is the day that the Lord hath made, let us rejoyce and be glad in the ſame. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the Peace of God, and leadeth to eternal Bliſs. O how my heart leapeth for joy, that I am ſo near the apprehenſion thereof! God forgive me mine unthankfulneſs and unworthineſs of ſo great glory. The Swords which pierced *Maries* heart in the Paſſion of our Saviour, which daily alſo go through your faithful heart, be more glorious and to be deſired than the golden Scepters of this World. O bleſſed be they that mourn in this world to God ward, for they ſhall eternally be comforted! God make my ſtony heart to mourn more than it doth. I have ſo much joy of the reward that is prepared for me moſt wretched Sinner, that though I be in place of darkneſs and mourning, yet I cannot lament, but both night and day am ſo joyful, as though I were under no Croſs at all: yea, in all the days of my life I was never ſo merry, the Name of the Lord be praiſed therefore for ever and ever, and he pardon mine unthankfulneſs. Our enemies do fret, fume, and gnaſh their Teeth to ſee and hear that we, under this grievous affliction in the world, can be ſo merry. We are of them counted as deſperate perſons, for the certain hope and feeling which we have of our everlaſting ſalvation: and it is no marvel, for the worldly men cannot perceive the things of God, it is meer fooliſhneſs and abomination to them.

John Philpot never ſo merry in all his life before.

Be

Anno 1556.

Be thankful unto our God (mine own dear helper) for his wonderous working in his choſen People. Pray inſtantly that this joy be never taken from us, for it paſſeth all the delights of this World. This is the peace of God which ſurmounteth all underſtanding: this peace the more his choſen be afflicted, the more they feel, and therefore cannot faint, neither for fire, neither for water. Let us pray for our weak Brethren and Siſters ſake, that it may pleaſe God to alleviat the grievous and intolerable burden of theſe cruel days. But touching our ſelves, let us heartily beſeech our Saviour to vouchſafe to give us this glorious gift to ſuffer for his Goſpels ſake, and that we may think the ſhame of the World to be our glory, as it is indeed. God increaſe our Faith, and open our eyes to behold what is prepared for us. I lack nothing, praiſe be to God. I truſt my Marriage Garment is ready. I will ſend you my examinations as ſoon as I can get them written, if you be deſirous of them.

God of his mercy fill your merciful heart with all joy and conſolation of the hope to come. Out of the Colehouſe the 19. of *November*.

Your own lover, John Philpot.

A Letter of Mr. Philpot *to a friend of his, priſoner the ſame time in* Newgate, *wherein is debated and diſcuſſed the matter or queſtion of Infants to be Baptized.*

A Letter of Mr. Philpot, ſtabliſhing a certain Brother in the matter of Baptizing of Infants.

THE God of all light and underſtanding lighten your heart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, *Amen*.

I received yeſternight from you (dear Brother, Saint, and fellow-priſoner for the truth of Chriſts Goſpel) a Letter, wherein you gently require my judgment concerning the Baptiſm of Infants, which is the effect thereof. And before I do ſhew you what I have learned out of Gods Word and of his true and infallible Church touching the ſame, I think it not out of the matter firſt to declare what viſion I had the ſame night whiles muſing on your Letter I fell aſleep, knowing that God doth not without cauſe reveal to his People who have their minds fixed on him, ſpecial and ſpiritual Revelations to their comfort, as a taſte of their joy and Kingdom to come, which Fleſh and Blood cannot comprehend.

A viſion revealed to M. Philpot upon a Letter to be anſwered

Being in the midſt of my ſweet reſt, it ſeemed me to ſee a great beautiful City, all of the colour of azure, and white, four ſquare in a marvellous beautiful compoſition in the midſt of the ſky, the ſight whereof ſo inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to expreſs the Conſolation I had thereof, yea the remembrance thereof cauſeth as yet my heart to leap for joy: and as charity is no churl, but would others to be partakers of his delight, ſo me thought I called to others (I cannot tell whom) and whiles they came and we together beheld the ſame, by and by to my great grief it vaded away.

The viſion expounded.

This dream I thing not to have come of the illuſion of the ſenſes, becauſe it brought with it ſo much ſpiritual joy, and I take it to be of the working of Gods Spirit for the contentation of your requeſt, as he wrought in *Peter* to ſatisfie *Cornelius*. Therefore I interpret this beautiful City to be the glorious Church of Chriſt, and the appearance of it in the ſky, ſignifieth the Heavenly State thereof, whoſe Converſation is in Heaven, and that according to the Primitive Church which is now in Heaven, men ought to meaſure and judge the Church of Chriſt now in earth, for as the Prophet *David* ſaith; *The foundations thereof be in the holy hils, and glorious things be ſpoken of the City of God*. And the marvellous quadrature of the ſame, I take to ſignifie the univerſal agreement in the ſame, and that all the Church here militant ought to conſent to the Primitive Church throughout the four parts of the World, as the Prophet affirmeth, ſaying; *God maketh us to dwell after one manner in one houſe*. And that I conceived ſo wonderful joy at the contemplation thereof, I underſtand the unſpeakable joy which they have that be at unity with Chriſts Primitive Church: For there is joy in the Holy Ghoſt, and peace, which paſſeth all underſtanding, as it is written in the *Pſalms*; *As of joyful perſons is the dwelling of all them that be in thee*. And that I called others to the fruition of this viſion, and to behold this wonderful City, I conſtrue it by the will of God this Viſion to have come upon me muſing on your Letter, to the end, that under this figure I might have occaſion to move you with many others, to behold the Primitive Church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conform your ſelf in all points to the ſame, which is the pillar and ſtabliſhment of truth, and teacheth the true uſe of the Sacraments, and having with a greater fulneſs then we have now, the firſt fruits of the Holy Ghoſt, did declare the true interpretation of the Scriptures according to all verity, even as our Saviour promiſed to ſend them another Comforter, which ſhould teach them all truth.

The Primitive example for us to follow. Pſal. 67.

And ſince all truth was taught and revealed to the Primitive Church, which is our Mother, let us all that be obedient Children of God, ſubmit our ſelves to the judgment of the Church for the better underſtanding of the Articles of our faith, and of the doubtful ſentences of the Scripture. Let us not go about to ſhew in us, by following any private mans interpretation upon the Word, another Spirit then they of the Primitive Church had, leſt we deceive our ſelves. For there is but one Faith and one Spirit, which is not contrary to himſelf, neither otherwiſe now teacheth us then he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the Scriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true Catholick Church is at this day: and the God of peace aſſuredly will be with us, and deliver us out of all our Worldly troubles and miſeries, and make us partakers of their joy and bliſs, through our obedience to faith with them.

Therefore God commandeth us in *Job*, to aſk of the elder generation, and to ſearch diligently the memory of the Fathers. For we are but yeſterdays Children, and be ignorant, and our days are like a ſhadow, and they ſhall teach thee (ſaith the Lord) and ſpeak to thee, and ſhall utter words from their hearts. And by *Solomon* we are commanded, not to reject the direction of our Mother. The Lord grant you to direct your ſteps in all things after her, and to abhor contention with her. For as S. *Paul* writeth; *If any man be contentious, neither we, neither the Church of God hath any ſuch cuſtom*.

Job. 8.

Prov. 6.

1 Cor. 11.

Hitherto I have ſhewed you (good Brother S.) my judgment generally of that you ſtand in doubt and diſſent from others, to the which I wiſh you as mine own heart to be conformable, and then doubtleſs you cannot err, but boldly may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the hour of your death, that you ſhall dy in the Church of God a faithful Martyr, and receive the Crown of eternal glory. And thus much have I written upon the occaſion of a Viſion before God unfained. But that you may not think that I go about to ſatisfie you with uncertain Viſions only, and not after Gods Word, I will take the ground of your Letter, and ſpecially anſwer to the ſame by the Scriptures, and by infallible reaſons deduced out of the ſame, and prove the Baptiſm of Infants to be lawful, commendable, and neceſſary, whereof you ſeem to ſtand in doubt.

Proof by teſtimonies and Scriptures.

Baptiſm of Infants of old antiquity in the Church.

Indeed if you look upon the Papiſtical Synagogue onely, which had corrupted Gods Word by falſe interpretations, and hath perverted the true uſe of Chriſts Sacraments, you might ſeem to have good handfaſt of your opinion againſt the Baptiſm of Infants. But for as much as it is of more antiquity, and hath his beginning from Gods Word, and from the uſe of the Primitive Church, it muſt not in reſpect of the abuſe in the Popiſh Church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be uſed in Chriſt Church. *Auxentius*, one of the *Arrians* ſect, with his adherents, was one of the firſt that denied the Baptiſm of Children, and next after him *Pelagius* the Heretick, and ſome other there were in S. *Bernards* time, as it doth appear by his writings, and in our days the Anabaptiſts, an inordinate kind of men ſtirred up by the Devil, to the deſtruction of the Goſpel. But the Catholick truth delivered unto us by the Scriptures, plainly determineth, that all ſuch are to be Baptized, as whom God acknowledgeth for his People, and voucheth them worthy of Sanctification or remiſſion of their ſins. Therefore ſince that Infants be in

Every thing abuſed in the Popes Church is not to be rejected, but the antiquity thereof to be ſearched and to be reduced again to the ſame.

the number or ſcroll of Gods People, and be partakers of the promiſe by their purification in Chriſt, it muſt needs follow thereby, that they ought to be baptized as well as thoſe that can profeſs their faith. For we judge the People of God as well by the free and liberal promiſe of God, as by the Confeſſion of Faith. For to whomſoever God promiſeth himſelf to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, thoſe no man without great impiety may exclude from the number of the faithful. But God promiſeth that he will not onely be the God of ſuch as do profeſs him, but alſo of infants, promiſing them his grace and remiſſion of ſins, as it appeareth by the words of the Covenant made unto *Abraham*. *I will ſet my Covenant between thee and me* (ſaith the Lord) *and between thy ſeed after thee in their generations, with an everlaſting Covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy ſeed after thee.* To the which Covenant Circumciſion was added to be a ſign of ſanctification as well in Children as in men; and no man may think that this promiſe is abrogated with Circumciſion and other Ceremonial Laws. For Chriſt came to fulfil the promiſes, and not to diſſolve them. Therefore in the Goſpel he ſaith of Infants, that is, of ſuch as yet believed not; *Let the little ones come unto me, and forbid them not, for of ſuch is the Kingdom of Heaven.* Again, *It is not the will of your Father which is in Heaven, that any of theſe little ones do periſh.* Alſo, *He that receiveth me. Take heed therefore that ye deſpiſe not one of theſe babes, for I tell you their Angels do continually ſee in heaven my Fathers face.* And what may be ſaid more plainer then this? It is not the will of the Heavenly Father, that the Infants ſhould periſh; whereby we may gather that he receiveth them freely unto his grace, although as yet they confeſs not their faith. Since then that the word of the promiſes, which is contained in Baptiſm, pertaineth as well to Children as to men, why ſhould the ſign of the promiſe, which is Baptiſm in water be withdrawn from Children, when Chriſt himſelf commandeth them to be received of us, and promiſeth the reward of a Prophet to thoſe that receive ſuch a little infant, as he for an Example did put before his Diſciples?

The People of God is to be judged by his free promiſes, and not by their Confeſſion:

Gen. 17.

Matth. 5.

Matth. 10.

Matth. 19.

Matth. 18.

Now will I prove with manifeſt Arguments that Children ought to be Baptized, and that the Apoſtles of Chriſt did Baptize Children. The Lord commanded his Apoſtles to Baptize all Nations; therefore alſo Children ought to be Baptized, for they are comprehended under this word, *All Nations.*

Matth. 28. Arguments proving the Baptiſm of Children to be of God, and that the Apoſtles Baptized Children.

Further, whom God doth account among the faithful, they are faithful, for it was ſaid to *Peter*, *That thing which God hath purified, thou ſhalt not ſay to be common or unclean*: But God doth repute Children among the faithful: *Ergo*, they be faithful, except we had rather to reſiſt God, and ſeem ſtronger and wiſer then he.

Acts 10.

And without all doubt the Apoſtles Baptized thoſe which Chriſt commanded: but he commanded the faithful to be Baptized, among the which infants be reckoned: The Apoſtles then Baptized infants.

Another argument. 1 Cor. 1.

The Goſpel is more then Baptiſm, for *Paul* ſaid; *The Lord ſent me to preach the Goſpel, and not to Baptize*: not that he denied abſolutely that he was ſent to Baptize, but that he preferred Doctrine before Baptiſm, for the Lord commanded both to the Apoſtles: but Children be received by the Doctrine of the Goſpel of God, and not refuſed: therefore what perſon being of reaſon may deny them Baptiſm, which is a thing leſſer then the Goſpel? for in the Sacraments be two things to be conſidered, the thing ſignified, and the ſign, and the thing ſignified is greater then the ſign, and from the thing ſignified in Baptiſm, Children are not excluded; who therefore may deny them the ſign, which is Baptiſm in water?

1 Cor. 1. Another argument.

In Sacraments two things to be conſidered.

Saint *Peter* could not deny them to be Baptized in water, to whom he ſaw the Holy Ghoſt given, which is the certain ſign of Gods People: For he ſaith in the, Acts, *May any body forbid them to be Baptized in water who have received the Holy Ghoſt as well as we?* Therefore S. *Peter* denied not Baptiſm to infants, for he knew certainly both by the Doctrine of Chriſt, and by the Covenant which is everlaſting, that the Kingdom of Heaven pertained to infants.

Acts 10.

Another Reaſon.

None be received into the Kingdom of Heaven, but ſuch as God loveth, and which are indued with the Spirit: for whoſo hath not the Spirit of God, he is none of his. But infants be beloved of God, and therefore want not the Spirit of God: wherefore if they have the Spirit of God as well as men, if they be numbred among the People of God as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withſtand Children to be Baptized with water, in the name of the Lord?

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Another reaſon. Rom. 8.

The Apoſtles in times paſt being yet not ſufficiently inſtructed, did murmur againſt thoſe which brought their Children unto the Lord, but the Lord rebuked them, and ſaid; *Let the Babes come unto me.* Why then do not theſe Rebellious Anabaptiſts obey the Commandment of the Lord? For what do they now adays elſe that bring their Children to Baptiſm, then that they did in times paſt, which brought their Children to the Lord, and our Lord received them, and putting his hands on them, bleſſed them, and both by words and by gentle behaviour towards them, declared manifeſtly that Children be the People of God, and entirely beloved of God. But ſome will ſay, Why then did not Chriſt Baptize them? Becauſe it is written, Ieſus himſelf Baptized not, but his Diſciples.

Another reaſon.

Matth. 19.

Objection.

Moreover, Circumciſion in the old Law was miniſtred to infants; therefore Baptiſm ought to be miniſtred in the new Law unto Children. For Baptiſm is come in the ſtead of Circumciſion, as Saint *Paul* witneſſeth, ſaying to the *Coloſſians*; *By Chriſt ye are Circumciſed with a Circumciſion which is without hands, when ye put off the Body of ſin of the Fleſh, by the Circumciſion of Chriſt, being buried together with him through Baptiſm.* Behold, *Paul* calleth Baptiſm the Circumciſion of a Chriſtian man, which is done without hands, but that with hands no man any longer ought to be Circumciſed, albeit the myſtery of Circumciſion do ſtill remain in faithful People.

John. 4.

Another reaſon. Coloſſ. 2.

To this I may add, that the Servants of God were always ready to miniſter the Sacraments to them, for whom they were inſtituted. As for an example, we may behold *Joſua*, who moſt diligently procured the People of *Iſrael* to be Circumciſed before they entred into the land of promiſe; but ſince the Apoſtles were the Preachers of the word, and the very faithful Servants of Ieſus Chriſt, who may hereafter doubt that they Baptized Infants, ſince Baptiſm is in place of Circumciſion?

Another reaſon.

Ioſ. 5.

Item, the Apoſtles did attemperate all their doings to the ſhadows and figures of the old *Teſtament*: therefore it is certain that they did attemperate Baptiſm accordingly to Circumciſion, and Baptized Children becauſe they were under the figure of Baptiſm; for the People of *Iſrael* paſſed through the Red Sea, and the bottom of the watter of *Iordan*, with their Children. And although the Children be not always expreſſed, neither the Women in the Holy Scriptures, yet they are comprehended and underſtood in the ſame.

Another reaſon.

Alſo the Scripture evidently telleth us, that the Apoſtles Baptized whole Families or houſholds: But the Children are comprehended in a Family or houſhold, as the chiefeſt and deareſt part thereof: Therefore we may conclude, that the Apoſtles did Baptize Infants or Children, and not onely men of lawful age. And that the houſe or houſhold is taken for Man, Woman, and Child, it is manifeſt in the 17. of *Geneſis*, and alſo in that *Ioſeph* doth call *Iacob* with all his Houſe, to come out of the Land of *Canaan* into *Egypt*.

Another reaſon.

Finally, I can declare out of ancient Writers, that the Baptiſm of Infants hath continued from the Apoſtles time unto ours, neither that it was inſtituted by any Councils, neither of the Pope, nor of other men, but commanded from the Scripture by the Apoſtles themſelves. *Origen* upon the declaration of Saint *Pauls* Epiſtle to the *Romans*, expounding the ſixth Chapter, ſaith, *That the Church of Chriſt received the Baptiſm of Infants from the very Apoſtles.* Saint *Hierome* maketh mention of the Baptiſm of Infants, in the third book againſt the *Pelagians*, and in his Epiſtle to *Leta*. S. *Auguſtine* reciteth for this purpoſe a place out of *John* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, in

Arguments of example and of antiquity.

Origen who was 200. years after Chriſt.

S. *Auſtin* & S. *Hierome* 400. years after Chriſt.

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in his first Book against *Julian*, Chap. 2. and he again writing to St. *Hieron.*, *Epist.* 28. saith, *That St.* Cyprian *not making any new Decree, but firmly observing the Faith of the Church, judged with his fellow Bishops, that as soon as one was born, he might be lawfully baptized.* The place of *Cyprian* is to be seen in his Epistle to *Fidus*.

Verba Johannis Constantinopol. Heb. 11. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ παιδία βαπτίζομεν, καὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἔκ ἔχοντα. Cypr. 250. after Christ: Aug. contra Donatist. Cyrillus.

Also S. *Augustine* in writing against the *Donatists* in the 4*th* Book, Chap. 23, and 24. saith, That the Baptism of Infants was not derived from the authority of man, neither of Councils, but from the tradition or doctrine of the Apostles.

Cyril upon *Leviticus*, Chap. 8. approveth the Baptism of Children, and condemneth the iteration of Baptism. These Authorities of men I do alleadge, not to tye the Baptism of Children unto the Testimonies of men, but to shew how Mens Testimonies do agree with Gods Word, and that the verity of Antiquity is on our side, and that the Anabaptists have nothing but Lyes for them, and new imaginations, which feign the baptism of Children to be the Popes commandment.

After this will I answer to the sum of your Arguments for the contrary. The first, which includeth all the rest, is, It is written, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidings to all Creatures. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that believeth not, shall be damned, &c.*

To this I answer, That nothing is added to Gods Word by baptism of Children, as you pretend, but that is done which the same Word doth require, for that Children are accounted of Christ in the Gospel among the number of such as believe, as it appeareth by these words, *He that offendeth one of these little Babes which believe in me, it were better for him to have a Mill-stone tyed about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the Sea.* Where plainly Christ calleth such as be not able to confess their Faith, Believers, because of his meer grace he reputeth them for Believers. And this is no wonder so to be taken, since God imputeth Faith for Righteousness unto Men that be of riper age: for both in Men and Children, righteousness, acceptation, sanctification is of meer grace, and by imputation, that the glory of Gods grace might be praised.

Matth. 18.

Righteousness and acceptation, is only by imputation and meer grace.

And that the Children of faithful Parents are sanctified, and among such as do believe, is apparent in the 1 *Cor.* 7. And whereas you do gather by the order of the words in the said commandment of Christ, that Children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end you alleadge many places out of the *Acts*, proving that such as confessed their Faith first, were baptized: I answer, that if the order of words might weigh any thing in this cause, we have the Scripture that maketh as well for us. For in St. *Mark* we read, that *John* did baptize in the Desart, preaching the baptism of Repentance. In the which place we see baptizing go before, and preaching to follow after.

1 Cor. 7.

Mark 1.

And also I will declare this place of *Matthew*, exactly considered, to make for the use of baptism in Children; for St. *Matthew* hath it written in this wise, *All power is given me* (saith the Lord) *in heaven and in earth*, therefore going forth μαθητεύσατε, that is, *Disciple ye*, (as I may express the signification of the word;) that is, make or gather to me Disciples of all Nations. And following, he declareth the way how they should gather to him Disciples out of all Nations, *baptizing them and teaching*; by baptizing and teaching ye shall procure a Church to me. And both these aptly and briefly severally he setteth forth, saying, *Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.* Now then Baptism goeth before Doctrine.

Matth. 28.

The place Matthew 28. (He that believeth and is baptized) opened.

But hereby I do not gather, that the *Gentiles*, which never heard any thing before of God, and of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost, ought to be baptized, neither they would permit themselves to be baptized before they knew to what end. But this I have declared to shew you upon how feeble foundation the Anabaptists be grounded. And plainly it is not true which they imagine of this Text, that the Lord did only command such to be baptized whom the Apostles had first of all taught. Neither here verily is signified who only be to be baptized, but he speaketh of such as be at perfect age, and of the first foundations of Faith, and of the Church to be planted among the *Gentiles*, which were as yet rude and ignorant of Religion.

Such as be of age may hear, believe and confess that which is preached and taught, but so cannot Infants; therefore we may justly collect, that he speaketh here nothing of Infants or Children. But for all this they ought not to be excluded from baptism.

It is a general Rule, *He that doth not labour, must not eat.* But who is so barbarous that might think hereby, that Children should be famished?

In the first converting of Infidels, believing ought to go before baptizing: but where Faith is received, Gods Grace and Sacraments go not by age, but as well be Children of the faithful received as the Fathers.

The Lord sent his Apostles at the beginning of his setting up of his true Religion unto all Nations, unto such as were both ignorant of God, and were out of the Covenant of God; and truly such persons it behoved not first to be baptized, and afterward taught; but first to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we should go to the *Turks* to convert them to the Faith of Christ, verily first we ought to teach them, and afterward baptize such as would yield to be the Servants of Christ. Likewise the Lord himself in time past did, when first he renewed the Covenant with *Abraham*, and ordained Circumcision to be a Seal of the Covenant after that *Abraham* was circumcised. But he, when he perceived the Infants also to pertain to the Covenant, and that Circumcision was the sealing up of the Covenant, did not only circumcise *Ismael* his Son, that was 13. years of age, but all other Infants that were born in his house, among whom we reckon *Isaac*.

Even so faithful People which were converted from Heathen Idolatry by the preaching of the Gospel, and confessing the Faith, were baptized; when they understood their Children to be counted among the People of God, and that Baptism was the token of the People of God, they procured also their Children to be baptized. Therefore, as it is written, *Abraham circumcised all the male Children of his house.* Semblably we read in the acts and writings of the Apostles, that after the Master of the house was turned to the Faith, all the whole house was baptized. And as concerning those which of old time were compelled to confess their Faith before they received Baptism, which were called *Catechumeni*, they were such as with our Fore-fathers came from the *Gentiles* into the Church, who being yet rude of Faith, they did instruct in the principles of their Belief, and afterward they did baptize them; but the same ancient Fathers notwithstanding did baptize the Children of Faithful men, as I have already partly declared.

Why Children of Christian Parents be received to Baptism.

Catechumeni, is as much to say, as young Novices and beginners in Christs Faith.

And because you do require a hasty answer of your Letter of one that is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to cease particularly to go through your Letter in answering thereto, knowing that I have fully answered every part thereof, in that I have already written, although not in such order as it had been meet, and as I purposed. But forasmuch as I understand that you will be no Contentious man, neither in this matter, neither in any other, contrary to the judgment of Christs Primitive Church, which is the body and fulness of Christ, I desire you in the entire love of him, or rather Christ desireth you by me (that your joy may be perfect, whereto you are now called) to submit your judgment to that Church, and to be at peace and unity in the same; that the Coat of Christ which ought to be without seam, but now alas most miserably is torn in pieces by many dangerous Sects and damnable Opinions, may appear by you in no part to have been rent, neither that any giddy head in these Dog-days, might take an ensample by you to dissent from Christs true Church: I beseech thee, dear Brother in the Gospel, follow the steps of the Faith of the glorious Martyrs in the Primitive Church, and of such as at this day follow the same; decline from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then shall Death, be it never so bitter, be more sweeter than this life; then shall Christ with all the Heavenly *Jerusalem* triumphantly embrace your spirit with unspeakable gladness and exaltation, *who in this Earth was content to joyn your spirit with*

their

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their ſpirits, according as it is commanded by the Word, that the ſpirit of the Prophets ſhould be ſubject to the Prophets. One thing ask with *David* ere you depart, and require the ſame, that you may dwell with a full accord in his Houſe, for there is glory and worſhip: and ſo with *Simeon* in the Temple embracing Chriſt, depart in peace: to the which Peace Chriſt bring both you and me, and all our loving Brethren that love God in the unity of Faith, by ſuch ways as ſhall pleaſe him, to his glory. Let the bitter paſſion of Chriſt, which he ſuffered for your ſake, and the horrible torments which the godly Martyrs of Chriſt have endured before us, and alſo the ineſtimable reward of your life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Chriſt, ſtrengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in, *Amen.*

1 Cor. 14.

Concerning the party to whom this Letter was written, note that he was converted and afterward died in the ſame Faith as this Letter did perſwade him.

Your Yoke-fellow in Captivity for the verity of Chriſts Goſpel, to live and dye with you in the unity of Faith.

John Philpot.

Divers other Letters were written by Mr. *Philpot* to divers, but theſe as moſt principal I have excerpted and inſerted. Amongſt which I thought here not much impertinent to the place, to adjoyn another certain Letter of a godly and zealous Goſpeller (whoſe name in her writing doth not appear) who in defending and commending the quarrel of this Mr. *John Philpot*, Chriſts moſt famous and worthy Martyr, was therefore troubled and brought before Biſhop *Boner*. And therefore being appointed by the ſaid Biſhop to appear upon a certain day to anſwer for her ſelf; indeed kept not her day with the Biſhop, but inſtead of her appearance ſent him this Letter here following.

Wo be unto the Idolatrous Shepheards of England, *that feed themſelves. Should not the Shepheards feed the Flock? but ye have eaten the fat, ye have cloathed you with the wool; the beſt fed have ye ſlain, but the Flock have ye not nouriſhed, the weak have ye not holden up, the ſick have you not healed, the broken have you not bound together, the out-caſts have ye not brought again, the loſt have ye not ſought, but churliſhly and cruelly have ye ruled them*, Ezek. 34.

FOraſmuch (my Lord) as my buſineſs is ſuch that I cannot come to your Lordſhip, according to my promiſe, I have been ſo bold to write theſe few words unto you, partly to excuſe mine abſence, and partly to anſwer your Lordſhips demands at my laſt moſt happy departure from you. As touching the breach of my Promiſe with you in not coming again at the hour appointed, your Lordſhip ſhall underſtand that I take the counſel of the Angel, which warned the Wiſe men not to come again to *Herod* according to their promiſe, but to turn home again another way. Now, my Lord, I perceiving your Lordſhip to be a more cruel Tyrant than ever was *Herod*, and more deſirous to deſtroy Chriſt in his poor Members than ever he was, which to deſtroy Chriſt killed his own Son, I thought good to take the Angels counſel, and to come no more at you; for I ſee that you are ſet all in a rage like a ravening Wolf againſt the poor Lambs of Chriſt, appointed to the ſlaughter for the teſtimony of the Truth. Indeed you are called the common Cut-throat and general Slaughter-ſlave to all the Biſhops of *England*; and therefore it is wiſdom for me and all other ſimple Sheep of the Lord, to keep us out of your Butchers-ſtall as long as we can: eſpecially ſeeing that you have ſuch ſtore already, that you are not able to drink all their Blood, leſt you ſhould break your Belly; and therefore let them lye ſtill and dye for hunger. Therefore (my Lord) I thought it good to tarry a time until your Lordſhips ſtomach were come to you a little better; for I do perceive by your great fat Cheeks, that you lack no Lambs-fleſh yet, and belike you are almoſt glutted with ſupping ſo much Blood, and therefore you will let ſome of the leaneſt dye in Priſon, which will then be meat good enough for your barking Beagles, *Harpsfield* and his Fellows: but yet, my Lord, it were a great deal more for your Lordſhips Honour, if your Chaplains might have the meat roaſted in *Smithfield* at the fire of the Stake, yea, and when it is ſomething fat and fair-liking; for now they have nothing but ſkin and bones, and if the Dogs come haſtily to it, they may chance ſhortly to be choaked, and then your hunting will be hindered greatly, if it be not altogether marred. I hear ſay, my Lord, that ſome of the butcherly Curs came of late to my houſe to ſeek their Prey, and that they go round about the City (as *David* ſaith) grinning and grudging that they have not meat enough; therefore belike they have killed my poor Brethren and Siſters that have lain ſo long upon the Butcherly-Stall, and eaten them up: for I hear ſay their Friends could not be ſuffered to ſee them theſe three days and more; therefore I perceive now that if I had come again according to my promiſe, your Lordſhip, like a ravening Wolf, or elſe ſome of your Hell-hounds would quickly have worried me: but I ſee well my appointed time is not yet come, therefore I will yet live and thank him for my deliverance, with continual Songs of laud and praiſe. Thus have I been bold to trouble your Lordſhip with telling you the truth, and the very cauſe that I came not to you again according to my unpurpoſed Promiſe. I truſt your Lordſhip will take this in good part, and accept it as a lawful excuſe, and not doubting but your Lordſhip would have done the like, if you had been in my caſe.

Now as concerning the ſecond part that cauſed me to write unto your Lordſhip, which is to anſwer unto your ſubtle or rather cruel demand of my Judgment of the death of that bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt Jeſus, good Maſter *John Philpot*, I will anſwer your Lordſhip ſimply and plainly, what peril ſoever ſhall come thereof. Truly, my Lord, I do not only think, but I am alſo moſt certain and ſure, that he as a very man of God, died a true Martyr and conſtant Confeſſor of his dear Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whom he did moſt faithfully commit his ſweet Soul, who will ſurely keep the ſame with him in joy for evermore. Alſo, my Lord, I do verily believe and know that your Lordſhip hath committed an horrible and moſt cruel murther in the unjuſt condemning and killing of him, and that you ſhall make as heavy an acconnt for his Blood, which ſhortly ſhall be required at your hand, as ever your great Grandfather cruel *Cain* did or ſhall do for his innocent Brother *Abel*. Moreover, becauſe I am credibly informed that your Lordſhip doth believe, and have in ſecret ſaid, that there is no Hell, I certifie you, that your Lordſhip did never any thing in all your life that ſo much did redound to your Lordſhips diſhonour, and perpetual ſhame and infamy, as your killing the Body of this bleſſed Prophet doth; eſpecially ſeeing that he was none of your Dioceſs, nor had offended any of your Lordſhips deviliſh and cruel Laws. Verily I hear almoſt every Body ſay in all places where I come, that your Lordſhip is made the common Slaughter-ſlave to all your Fellows, Bite-ſheep, Biſhops I would ſay; yea, the very Papiſts themſelves begin now to abhor your blood-thirſtineſs, and ſpeak ſhame of your Tyranny. Like Tyranny, believe me my Lord, every Child that can any whit ſpeak, can call upon by your name and ſay, Bloody *Boner* is Biſhop of *London*, and every man hath it as perfectly upon his fingers ends, as his *Pater noſter*, how many you for your part have burned with fire, and famiſhed in priſon; they ſay the whole ſum ſurmounteth to forty Perſons within this three quarters of this year. Therefore, my Lord, though your Lordſhip believeth that there is neither Heaven nor Hell, nor God nor Devil: yet if your Lordſhip love your own honeſty, which was loſt long agone, you were beſt to ſurceaſe from this cruel burning of true Chriſtian men, and alſo from murthering of ſome in Priſon; for that indeed offendeth mens minds moſt; yea, even your old friends the rankeſt Papiſts that be. For, ſay they, *Felix* the Heathen Ruler did not forbid *Pauls* Friends to viſit him in Priſon, and to bring him neceſſary relief; and therefore it is a very great ſhame and

Your deeds declare and bear witneſs to the ſame.

ſin,

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ſin, to ſee a Biſhop that beareth the name of a Chriſtian, to be more cruel upon his poor Brethren, than an Heathen, Turk, or Infidel.

This is mens ſayings in every place, not only of this Realm, but alſo of the moſt part of the World, and the common talk they have of your Lordſhip; Therefore I thought to be bold ſo with your Lordſhip, as to tell you of it, though perchance you will give me but ſmall thanks for my labour. Well, as for that, I put it to your Lordſhips choice, for I have as much already as I look for: Finally, my Lord, I will give you to underſtand, that the death of this conſtant Martyr and valiant Souldier of Jeſus Chriſt hath given a greater ſhake towards the overthrowing of your Papiſtical Kingdom, than you ſhall ever be able to recover again theſe ſeven years, do the beſt you can, and ſet as many crafty dawbers to patch it up with untempered Clay as you will; yea, though prating *Pendleton*, that wicked *Apoſtata*, apply all his wily wits to help them. Verily, my Lord, by all mens reports, his bleſſed life could never have done the like ſorrow to Satans Synagogue, whereof ſome ſay your Lordſhip is a mighty Member, as his happy death hath done. You have broken a Pot indeed, but the precious Word contained therein is ſo notably therewithal ſhed abroad, that the ſweet ſavour thereof hath wonderfully well refreſhed all the true Houſhold or Congregation of Chriſt, that they cannot abide any more the ſtinking ſavour of your filthy Ware that came from the dunghil of *Rome*, though your Lordſhips *Judaſſes* do ſet them to ſale every where to fill your Bags. I put your Lordſhip out of doubt, that if you do break any more ſuch Pots, you will marr your own Market altogether: for I promiſe you, moſt men begin to miſlike your deviliſh doings, and wonderfully to loath your Popiſh Pedlary Wares.

Thus have I (according to your Lordſhips commandments) ſhewed you ſimply what I think of that good mans death, whoſe Blood crieth for vengeance againſt your Lordſhips butcherly bloody proceedings in the ears of the Lord of Hoſts, who will ſhortly revenge the ſame upon your pillid Pate, and upon the reſt of all your Poll-ſhorn Brethren, the very marked Cattel of the great Antichriſt of *Rome*. The meaſure of his Iniquity is filled up to the brim, therefore will God ſhortly pour in double unto your deſerved deſtruction. And then I when your new made Proſelytes will be glad to cover their Crowns with a Cow-turd (ſaving your Lordſhips Reverence I ſhould have ſaid firſt.) Well, I rather deſire their converſion than confuſion, the Lord ſend the one of them ſhortly, as may be moſt to his glory, *Amen*.

I ſignifie alſo unto your Lordſhip, that the railing words which your lying Preacher ſhewed forth of his filthy Fountain upon Sunday againſt the dear Servant of God, good Maſter *Philpot*, do greatly redound to your Lordſhips diſhoneſty, and much deface your ſpiritual Honour. Verily I ſee that the great wrath of God hath ſo blinded your eyes, that you ſee not what is with you, nor what is againſt you, but ſtill you vomit out your own ſhame, and make all the world wonder upon you. Was it not enough for you to condemn him moſt unjuſtly, yea contrary to your own Laws, and to kill his innocent Body moſt tyrannouſly, but you muſt alſo ſet a lying Limb of the Devil to blaſpheme, ſlander, and belye him now he is dead? Oh Viperous generation, ſeed of the Serpent, and right Children of the Devil! Full well do you counterfeit your Fathers ſteps, whom Chriſt calleth a Murtherer, and a Lyar from the beginning; which two things be the only weapons of your War, wherewith you maintain all your miſchief, that is to ſay, Lying and Murther; for thoſe whom ye cannot overcome with your lying perſwaſions, them you kill moſt cruelly, and then blaſpheme and belye them with railing Sentences when they are dead. But all this will not blind the People of God, nor yet make them any whit the leſs believe the Truth, nor abate their love from the true Preachers thereof, yea, it is a true ſign and a token that they are the very Diſciples of Chriſt; for he hath ſaid, *Bleſſed are ye when men revile you, and ſay all manner of evil ſayings againſt you for my Names ſake. Rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven.* And doubtleſs great is the good mans reward in Heaven by this time, as your Lordſhips damnation ſhall be great in Hell, except you repent and ſurceaſe from ſhedding innocent Blood. But it is to be feared your heart is hardened as *Pharaohs* was, ſeeing that with *Judas* ye have ſold and betrayed your Maſter. Take heed, my Lord, leſt you come to the ſame end or a worſe than he did. For verily I cannot perceive how you ſhould eſcape it long; therefore ſay not, but a Woman gave you warning, if you liſt to take it. And as for the obtaining of your Popiſh purpoſe in ſuppreſſing the Truth, I put you out of doubt, you ſhall not obtain it ſo long as you go this way to work as ye do; for verily I believe that you have loſt the hearts of 20000. that were rank Papiſts within this twelve Months.

It is found very true that one holy Doctor ſaith, The Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of the Goſpel; when one is put to death a thouſand doth riſe for him. And that this is true, you may well perceive by the hearty love that the People ſhewed unto good Maſter *Philpot* at his going to his death. They went not about to make an Idol of him, as your Adders-brood would bear men in hand; but they worſhipped God which gave ſuch ſtrength to his dear Child, to dye ſo conſtantly for the teſtimony of his Truth, unto the utter deſtruction of that deteſtable Idolatry which your Lordſhip doth moſt deviliſhly maintain with the force of Fire, Faggots, and Sword: yea, and rather than fail, to famiſh Men in Priſon again, as ye have done already. It is reported of your own Tormentors, that the ſix Priſoners that you have in your Priſon, be put in ſix ſeveral places all the day, and every night brought together, and ſet in the Stocks. Forſooth, my Lord, this doth get you a foul name all abroad the Countrey, and yet all will not help your Lordſhips peſtilent purpoſe, but every way hinder the ſame. For *Zorobabel* will be found no lyar, which ſaid, The Truth ſhall have victory. You do but ſtrive againſt the ſtream, and kick againſt the prick; the Lord doth laugh your doings to ſcorn, and will bring all your counſels and devices to nought (as knoweth the Lord God) who of his great mercy ſhortly convert your Lordſhip, or utterly confound you, and get his Name a glory over you, *Amen*.

Your Lordſhips Orator, who prayeth daily to God that he may reward you according to your deeds, Anno 1556.

The Story of ſeven Martyrs ſuffering together at London, for the teſtimony of Chriſts Goſpel.

THe Catholick Prelates of the Popes band being as yet not ſatisfied with this their one years bloody murthering of the Reverend, Learned, and principal Members of Chriſts Church (whereof there were now very few, which either were not conſumed by moſt cruel fire, or elſe, for the avoiding of their Popiſh rage, compelled to flee their natural Country) continued ſtill this next year alſo, which was *Anno* 1556. in no leſs cruelty towards the poor, ſimple and inferiour ſort of People (I mean in degree, though God be praiſed, not in ſtedfaſtneſs) having yet ſometimes amongſt them ſuch as were both learned and of good eſtimation, as in continuance of this ſtory ſhall appear.

Wherefore (as the firſt Fruits thereof) to begin this year withal, about the 27. day of *January* were burned in *Smithfield* at *London* theſe ſeven perſons hereafter following, to wit:

Thomas Whittle, Prieſt.
Bartlet Green, Gentleman.
John Tudſon, Artificer.
John Went, Artificer.
Thomas Browne.
Iſabel Foſter, Wife.
Joan Warne, alias *Laſhford*, Maid.

} Seven godly Martyrs ſuffering together in *Smithfield*, Anno 1556. January 27.

All

All which Seven, as they were burned together in one fire, ſo were they likewiſe all upon one ſort and form of Articles condemned in one day. Howbeit, foraſmuch as the gifts of God in them were diverſe (ſome more abounding in knowledge than others) their dealings withal were alſo diverſe, as ſhall be more plainly perceived in the diſcourſing of their ſeveral proceſſes hereafter following. And therefore for the better underſtanding hereof, I will firſt (by the leave of the Lord) paſſing over their private Articles and Examinations had at ſundry times in the Biſhops houſe, ſet forth their general *Examinations in the publick Conſiſtory*, upon the Biſhops Articles there miniſtred unto them, with their Anſwers alſo unto the ſame, according as they all agreed after one manner and ſort together, as here by the words both of the Articles, and their Anſwers under-written, may appear.

The form and words of Boners *Articles miniſtred to the ſeven Perſons above-mentioned in his Conſiſtory.*

AND firſt to behold the manner of ſpeech in theſe Biſhops, ſitting in their Majeſty to terrifie the ears of the ſimple withal, let us hear the Pontifical phraſe of this Biſhop, beginning in this ſort.

The within written Articles, and every of them, and every part and parcel of them, we Edmund, *by the permiſſion of God, Biſhop of* London, *do object and miniſter to thee* Thomas Whittle, &c. *of our meer Office, for thy Souls health, and for the reformation of thine offences and miſdemeanours, moniſhing thee in the vertue of obedience, and under the pains of both cenſures of the Church, and alſo of other pains of the Law, to anſwer fully, plainly, and truly to all the ſame.*

1. FIrſt, that thou *N.* haſt firmly, ſtedfaſtly, and conſtantly believed in times paſt, and ſo doſt now believe at this preſent, that there is here in Earth a Catholick Church, in the which Catholick Church the Faith and Religion of Chriſt is truly profeſſed, allowed, received, kept and retained of all faithful and true Chriſtian People.

Seven Sacraments.

2. *Item*, That thou the ſaid *N.* in times paſt haſt alſo believed, and ſo doſt believe at this preſent, that there are in the Catholick Church ſeven Sacraments, inſtituted and ordained by God, and by the conſent of the holy Church allowed, approved, received, kept, and retained.

The Godfathers Faith.

3. *Item.* That thou the ſaid *N.* waſt in times paſt baptized in the Faith of the ſaid Catholick Church, profeſſing by thy Godfathers and Godmother, the Faith and Religion of Chriſt and the obſervation thereof, renouncing there the Devil and all his pomps and works, and was by the ſaid Sacrament of Baptiſm incorporate to the Catholick Church, and made a faithful Member thereof.

4. *Item*, That thou the ſaid *N.* coming to the age of fourteen years, and ſo to the age of diſcretion, didſt not depart from the ſaid Profeſſion and Faith, nor didſt miſlike any part of the ſame Faith or doings, but didſt like a faithful Chriſtian perſon abide and continue in all the ſame by the ſpace of certain years, ratifying and confirming all the ſame.

Sacrifice of the Maſs.

5. *Item*, That then the ſaid *N.* notwithſtanding the premiſſes, haſt of late, that is to ſay, within theſe two years laſt paſt, within the City and Dioceſs of *London*, ſwerved at the leaſt way from ſome part of the ſaid Catholick Faith and Religion: and amongſt other things thou haſt miſliked and earneſtly ſpoken againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs, the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Unity of the Church, railing and maligning the Authority of the See of *Rome*, and the Faith obſerved in the ſame.

See of *Rome*.

6. *Item*, That thou the ſaid *N.* haſt heretofore refuſed, and doſt refuſe at this preſent to be reconciled again to the unity of the Church, not knowledging and confeſſing the Authority of the ſaid See of *Rome* to be lawful.

7. *Item*, That thou the ſaid *N.* miſliking the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and the Sacrament of the Altar, haſt refuſed to come to thy Pariſh Church to hear Maſs, and to receive the ſaid Sacrament, and haſt alſo expreſly ſaid, that in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, really, ſubſtantially, and truly, but haſt affirmed expreſly, that the Maſs is Idolatry and abomination; and that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is none other ſubſtance, but only material Bread, and material Wine, which are tokens of Chriſts Body and Blood only, and that the ſubſtance of Chriſts Body and Blood is in no wiſe in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar. Anno 1556. See of *Rome*. The Sacrament of the Altar.

8. *Item*, That thou the ſaid *N.* being convented before certain Judges or Commiſſioners, for thy diſorder herein, and being found obſtinate, wilful and heady, waſt by their commandment ſent unto me and my Priſon, to be examined by me, and proceſs to be made againſt thee for thy offence herein.

9. *Item.* That all and ſingular the premiſſes have been, and be true and manifeſt, and thy ſelf not only infamed and ſuſpected thereof, but alſo culpable therein; and by reaſon of the ſame, thou waſt and art of the Juriſdiction of me *Edmund*, Biſhop of *London*, and before me, according to the order of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, are to be convented, and alſo by me to be puniſhed and reformed.

Here follow likewiſe their Anſwers, in general, made to the Articles above rehearſed.

And firſt concerning the firſt Article, in believing there is a Catholick Church.

TO the firſt Article they altogether agreeing, affirmed the ſame to be true: *John Tudſon*, and *Thomas Brown*, further adding, that the Church of *England*, as it was at that preſent uſed, was no part of the true Catholick Church. Anſwer to the 1. Article.

Concerning the ſecond Article, that there be in the Church ſeven Sacraments.

To the ſecond Article they anſwered, that they acknowledged but only two Sacraments in Chriſts Catholick Church, that is to ſay, Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord; *John Went* and *Tudſon* affirming, that the Sacrament of the Altar, as it is uſed, is an Idol, and no Sacrament at all. To the 2. Article.

Concerning the third Article, that they were firſt baptized in the Faith of the Catholick Church, profeſſing by their Godfathers the profeſſion of the ſame, &c.

To the third Article they all agreed, and confeſſed it to be true, that they were baptized in the Faith of Chriſt, and of the Church then taught; and afterward during the time of King *Edward* the ſixth, they hearing the Goſpel preached, and the Truth opened, followed the order of the Religion and Doctrine then uſed and ſet forth in the reign of the ſaid King *Edward*. To the 3. Article.

Concerning the fourth Article, that they for the ſpace of certain years did ratifie or allow, and not depart from any part of the profeſſion of the ſame Church.

To this fourth Article they granted alſo and agreed; *John Went* adding moreover, that about ſeven years paſt, he then being about twenty years of age, began to miſlike certain things uſed in the Church of *England*, as the miniſtration of the Sacrament of the Altar; likewiſe all the Ceremonies of the ſaid Church, and did likewiſe at that preſent time miſlike the ſame as they were uſed, although his Godfathers and Godmother promiſed for him the contrary. To the 4. Article.

John Tudſon added alſo in much like ſort, and ſaid, that when he came to the years of diſcretion, that is about nine years paſt, being about eighteen years of age, he did miſlike the Doctrine and Religion then taught and ſet forth in the Church of *England*, ſaving in King *Edwards* time, in whoſe time the Goſpel was truly ſet forth: and further ſaid, that the Doctrine ſet forth in the

Queens

Anno 1556.

Queens reign was not agreeable to Gods Word, nor yet to the true Catholick Church that Christ ſpeaketh of, &c.

The Faith which they were baptized in, was in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, believing the Articles of the Creed, with promiſe made to abrenounce the Devil, the Fleſh, and the World, of the which Faith their Godfathers and Godmothers were Sureties for them, and in this Faith they continue ſtill. As for other Ceremonies and abuſes of the Church, they never made any promiſe in their Baptiſm: To ſwerve from the corruptions of the See of *Rome*, and ſacrifice of the Maſs, is not to go from the Catholick Church of Chriſt.

Iſabel Foſter with other granted, adding likewiſe, and ſaying to the ſaid four Articles, that ſhe continued in the ſame Faith and Religion which ſhe was baptized in, after ſhe came to the years of diſcretion as other Common People did; howbeit, blindly and without knowledge, till the reign of King *Edward* the ſixth: at which time ſhe hearing the Goſpel truly preached and opened to the People, received thereupon the Faith and Religion then taught and ſet forth, &c.

Concerning the fifth Article, that they of late years have ſwerved and gone away, miſliked, and ſpoken againſt the profeſſion of the ſame Church, at leaſt ſome part thereof, eſpecially the Sacrifice of the Maſs, the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Authority of the Church of Rome.

To the fifth Article, they anſwered the ſame to be true, according to the contents thereof: *Thomas Whittle* adding moreover, that he had ſwerved and gone away, and not in whole but in part, not from the whole Catholick Church, but from the Church of *Rome*, in ſpeaking againſt the Maſs, the Sacrifice thereof, and the See of *Rome*.

Joan Laſhford (alias Joan Warn) granting with the other the ſaid Article, addeth moreover, that ſhe never hitherto ſwerved or went away, nor yet doth, from any part of Chriſts Catholick Faith and Religion? but ſaith, that from the time ſhe was Eleven years of age, ſhe hath miſliked the ſacrifice of the Maſs, the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Authority of the See of *Rome*, with the Doctrine thereof, becauſe they be againſt Chriſts Catholick Church, and the right Faith of the ſame.

Bartlet Green anſwering with the other to this Article, addeth and ſaith, that he ſwerved not from the Catholick Faith, but only from the Church of *Rome*, &c.

Concerning the ſixth Article, that they refuſe to be reconciled to the unity of the ſaid Church of Rome.

To the ſixth Article.

To the ſixth Article they anſwer and confeſs the ſame to be true, rendring the cauſe thereof, becauſe (ſay they) the ſame Church and Doctrine therein ſet forth and taught, diſagreeth from the unity of Chriſts Word, and the true Catholick Faith, &c.

The Catholick Church, and the Church of *Rome*, are two things.

Whereunto *Bartlet Green* anſwered that he is contented to be reconciled to the unity of Chriſts Catholick Church, but not of the Church of *Rome*.

In like manner added alſo *John Went*.

Concerning the ſeventh Article, that they refuſe to come to hear Maſs, and to receive the ſaid Sacrament, calling it an Idol, &c.

To the ſeventh Article. The Maſs diſſonant from the Word of the Goſpel. The Maſs full of Idolatry. *John Went* repenteth his going to Maſs.

To the ſeventh Article they anſwer, and confeſs the contents thereof to be true, giving withal the reaſon and cauſe of this their ſo doing, for that the Maſs with the Sacrament therof, as it was then uſed and ſet forth in the Church of *England*, is diſſonant to the word and teaching of the People, &c.

John Went furthermore ſaid, as concerning the Maſs, that he believeth no leſs, but the Maſs which he calleth the Supper of the Lord, as it is now uſed in the Realm of *England*, is naught, full of Idolatry, and againſt Gods Word ſo far as he ſeeth it; howbeit, he ſaith that ſince the Queens Coronation by chance he hath been preſent where the Maſs hath been ſaid, whereof he is ſorry.

Iſabel Foſter alſo anſwering to the ſaid Articles, with the other before, confeſſed moreover, that ſince Queen *Maries* reign ſhe hath not heard Maſs, nor received the Sacrament, but hath refuſed to come in place where it was miniſtred: for ſhe knoweth no ſuch Sacrament to be. And being demanded of her Belief in the ſame, ſhe ſaith, that there is but only material Bread, and material Wine, and not the real ſubſtance of the Body of Chriſt in the ſame Sacrament: for ſo ſhe hath been taught to believe by the Preachers in the time of King *Edward*, whom ſhe believeth to have preached the Truth in that behalf.

Concerning the eighth Article, that they were ſent by the Commiſſioners to the Biſhop to be examined and impriſoned.

To the eighth Article they grant the ſame and the contents thereof to be ſo. To the 8. Article.

Thomas Whittle adding and affirming that the Lord Chancellor that then was, ſent him up to the Biſhop there preſent.

Bartlet Green added, that he was ſent up to the ſaid Biſhop, but for no offence herein Articulate.

John Went ſaid, that Dr *Story*, Queen *Maries* Commiſſioner, examined him upon the Sacrament and becauſe he denied the Real preſence, he preſented this Examinate to the Biſhop.

John Tudſon likewiſe examined by Mr. *Cholmley* and Doctor *Story*, upon the ſame matters, and for not coming to the Church, and accuſed by the ſame, becauſe he would not agree to them, was ſent to the Biſhop.

Thomas Brown alſo ſaid, that he for not coming to the Church of St. *Brides*, was brought by the Conſtable to the Biſhop, &c.

Joan Warne. confeſſed that ſhe was ſent by Doctor *Story* to the Biſhop of *London*, about twelve weeks ago, ſince which time ſhe hath continued with the ſaid Biſhop. Of this *Joan Warne* read before.

Concerning the ninth Article.

To the ninth Article they confeſs and ſay, that as they believe the premiſſes before by them confeſſed to be true, ſo they deny not the ſame to be manifeſt, and that they be of the juriſdiction of *London*. To the 9. Article.

And thus having expreſſed their Articles, with their anſwers joyntly made unto the ſame, it remaineth further more fully to diſcourſe the ſtories, and handling of all the ſeven aforeſaid Martyrs ſeverally and particularly by themſelves, firſt beginning with *Thomas Whittle*.

The Story of all theſe ſeven Martyrs, particularly deſcribed, in order here followeth, and firſt of Thomas Whittle, *who firſt recanting, then returning again, with great conſtancy and fortitude ſtood to the defence of Chriſts Doctrine againſt the Papiſts, to the fire.*

Tho. Whittle, Martyr.

IN the ſtory of Mr. *Philpot*, mention was made before, of a married Prieſt, whom he found in the Colehouſe at his firſt coming thither, in heavineſs of mind and great ſorrow, for recanting the Doctrine which he had taught in King *Edwards* days, whoſe name was *Thomas Whittle* of *Eſſex*; and thus lieth his ſtory. This *Thomas Whittle*, after he had been expulſed from the place in *Eſſex* where he ſerved, went abroad where he might, now here and there, as occaſion was miniſtred, preaching and ſowing the Goſpel of Chriſt. At length being apprehended by one *Edmund Alablaſter*, in hope of reward and promotion, which he miſerably gaped after, he was brought firſt as priſoner before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who then was fallen lately ſick of his diſeaſe, whereof not long after he died moſt ſtrangely. But the apprehender for his profered ſervice was highly checked and rated of the Biſhop, asking if there were no man unto whom he might bring ſuch Raſcals, but to him. Hence (quoth he) out of my ſight thou Varlet, what doſt thou trouble me with ſuch matters? The greedy Cormorant being thus defeated of his deſired prey, yet thinking to ſeek and to hunt further, carried his Priſoner to the Biſhop of *London*, with whom what an evil meſs of handling this *Whittle* had, and how he was by the Biſhop all to beaten and buffeted about the face, by this his own narration in a Letter ſent unto his Friend, manifeſtly may appear. *Edmund Alablaſter*, after a promoter and perſecutor.

Tho. Whittle reporteth of the manner of his handling with Biſhop *Boner*.

Upon Thurſday which was the tenth of *January*, the Biſhop of *London* ſent for me *Thomas Whittle* Miniſter, out of the Porters-lodge, where I had been all night, lying upon the earth upon a Pallet where I had as painful a night of ſickneſs as ever I had, God be thanked. And when I came before him, he talked with me many things of the Sacrament ſo groſly, as is not worthy to be rehearſed. And amongſt other things he asked me if I would have come to Maſs that morning if he had ſent for me.

Where-

Tho. Whittle beaten on the face by Boner.

Whereunto I anſwered, that I would have come to him at his commandment, but to your Maſs (ſaid I) I have ſmall affection. At which anſwer he was diſpleaſed ſore, and ſaid, I ſhould be fed with Bread and Water. And as I followed him through the great Hall, he turned back and beat me with his Fiſt, firſt on the one Cheek, and then on the other, as the ſign of my beating did many days appear. And then he led me into a little Salt-houſe, where I had no Straw nor Bed, but lay two nights on a Table, and ſlept ſoundly, I thank God.

Epiſcopum non percuſſorem eſſe oportet. Tit. 1.

Then, upon the Friday next after, I was brought to my Lord, and he then gave me many fair words, and ſaid he would be good to me. And ſo he going to *Fulham*, committed me to Dr. *Harpsfield*, that he and I in that Afternoon ſhould commune together, and draw out certain Articles, whereunto if I would ſubſcribe, I ſhould be diſmiſſed. But Dr. *Harpsfield* ſent not for me till night, and then perſwaded me very ſore to forſake my Opinions. I anſwered, I held nothing but the Truth, and therefore I could not ſo lightly turn there-from. So I thought I ſhould at that time have had no more ado: but he had made a certain Bill, which the Regiſter pulled out of his boſom, and read it. The Bill indeed was very eaſily made, and therefore more dangerous: for the effect thereof was, to deteſt all Errors and Hereſies againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and other Sacraments, and to believe the Faith of the Catholick Church, and live accordingly.

Tho. Whittle convented before Dr. Harpsfield.

The Copy of this Bill here mentioned, if it pleaſe the gentle Reader to peruſe, ſo as it came to our hands we have hereunto adjoyned, written, and contained in their own words, as followeth to be ſeen.

The Bill of Submiſſion, offered to *Thomas Whittle* to ſubſcribe.

The bill of ſubmiſſion put to Tho. Whittle to ſubſcribe unto.

I Thomas Whittle *Prieſt, of the Dioceſs of* London, *knowledge and confeſs with my mouth, agreeing with my heart before you Reverend Father in God*, Edmund *Biſhop of* London, *my Ordinary, that I do deteſt and abhor all manner of Hereſies and Errors againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, or any of the Sacraments of the Church, which Hereſies and Errors have heretofore been condemned in any wiſe by the Catholick Church: and I do proteſt and declare by theſe preſents, that I do both now hold, and alſo intend by Gods grace always hereafter to hold, obſerve and keep, in all points the Catholick Faith and Belief of Chriſts Church, according as this Church of* England, *being a member of the ſaid Catholick Church, doth now profeſs and keep, and in no wiſe to ſwerve, decline, or go from the ſaid Faith, during my natural life, ſubmitting my ſelf fully and wholly to you, Reverend Father, my ſaid Ordinary, in all things concerning my reformation and amendment at all times. In witneſs whereof I the ſaid* Thomas Whittle *Prieſt, have hereunto ſubſcribed my name, written, &c.*

Tho. Whittle through infirmity ſubſcribeth to the Bill.

To this Bill I did indeed ſet my hand, being much deſired and counſelled ſo to do; and the fleſh being always deſirous to have liberty, I conſidered not throughly the inconvenience that might come thereupon; and reſpit I deſired to have had, but earneſtly they deſired me to ſubſcribe. Now when I had ſo done, I had little joy thereof. For by and by my Mind and Conſcience told me by Gods Word that I had done evil, by ſuch a ſleight means to ſhake off the ſweet Croſs of Chriſt: and yet it was not my ſeeking, as God he knoweth, but altogether came of them. Oh the crafty ſubtilty of Satan in his Members! Let every man that God ſhall deliver into their hands, take good heed, and cleave faſt to Chriſt: for they will leave no corner of his Conſcience unſought, but will attempt all guileful and ſubtle means to corrupt him, to fall both from God and his Truth. But yet let no man deſpair of Gods help, for *Peter* did fall and riſe again. And *David* ſaith, *A righteous man though he fall, he ſhall not be caſt away: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand.* For I for my part have felt my infirmities, and yet have I found Gods preſent help and comfort in time of need, I thank him therefore.

Tho. Whittle compunected in conſcience, for forſaking of the Croſs of Chriſt. A good warning for all faithful Chriſtians not to fall into the crafty hands of the Papiſts.

Comfort againſt deſpair.

The night after I had ſubſcribed, I was ſore grieved, and for ſorrow of Conſcience could not ſleep. For in the deliverance of my Body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but ſtill was in my Conſcience tormented more and more, being aſſured by Gods Spirit and his Word, that I through evil counſel and adviſement had done amiſs. And both with diſquietneſs of mind, and with my other cruel handling, I was ſickly, lying upon the ground when the Keeper came; and ſo I deſired him to pray Dr. *Harpsfield* to come to me, and ſo he did. Anno 1556.

T. Whittle repenteth his recantation.

And when he came, and the Regiſter with him, I told him that I was not well at eaſe, but eſpecially I told him I was grieved very much in my Conſcience and mind, becauſe I had ſubſcribed. And I ſaid, that my Conſcience had ſo accuſed me, through the juſt judgment of God and his Word, that I had felt Hell in my Conſcience, and Satan ready to devour me: and therefore I pray you Mr. *Harpsfield* (ſaid I) let me have the Bill again, for I will not ſtand to it. So he gently commanded it to be fetched, and gave it me, and ſuffered me to put out my name, whereof I was right glad when I had ſo done, although death ſhould follow. And hereby I had experience of Gods providence and mercy towards me, who trieth his people, and ſuffereth them to fall, but not to be loſt: for in the midſt of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and alſo delivered me, his name be praiſed for evermore, *Amen.*

Experience of Gods providence, ſuffering his People to fall, but not to be loſt.

Neither Devil nor cruel Tyrant can pluck any of Chriſts Sheep out of his hand. Of the which flock of Chriſts Sheep I truſt undoubtedly I am one by means of his death and blood-ſhedding, which ſhall at the laſt day ſtand at his right hand, and receive with other his bleſſed Benediction. And now being condemned to dye, my Conſcience and Mind, I praiſe God is quiet in Chriſt, and I by his grace am very well willing and content to give over this Body to the death, for the teſtimony of his Truth and pure Religion, againſt Antichriſt and all his falſe Religion and Doctrine. They that report otherwiſe of me, ſpeak not truly. And as for *Fountain*, I ſaw him not all this while.

Peace of Conſcience a great Treaſure.

By me Thomas Whittle, *Miniſter.*

Concerning the troubled mind of this godly man, and tearing his name out of the Bill, here followeth the report of the ſame, written in the Letters both of the ſaid *Harpsfield*, and alſo of *Johnſon* the Regiſter, being then preſent thereat, and reporters of the ſame unto the Biſhop, as in their Letters hereto annexed is to be ſeen.

The Copy of Nicholas Harpsfields *Letter, touching Mr.* Whittle, *written to* Boner *Biſhop of* London.

A Letter of M. Harpsfield declaring how Tho. Whittle rent his ſubſcription out of the Biſhops Regiſter.

PLeaſeth your good Lordſhip to underſtand, that yeſterday I dined with my Lord of *Exceter*, who ſoon after my firſt coming to him, asked me what news? I anſwered, none but good that I had heard. No, ſaith he. Why, it is a rumor in the City, that to morrow the Queens Grace will take her journey towards the King. I anſwered, that I thought it not to be any whit true, but an invention of Hereticks: yea, and further, ſaith he, there is a report made abroad of my Lord your Maſter, that he is in diſcomfort, and therefore will ſuffer no man to come unto him. When I heard thus much, I began to laugh, and to declare how untrue this report was: ſo that my Lord (who before was very ſad) afterward knowing the Truth, rejoyced much to hear that all was well with your Lordſhip, and deſired me to have his hearty Commendations to your Lordſhip.

One of my Lord of *Pembrokes* Retinue, a very handſom Man, and as far as I can yet learn, a Catholick, is a ſuter to your Lordſhip to have licence to erect a School: and the order which he intendeth to uſe, is contained in this printed Paper, which I ſend here incloſed to your Lordſhip. I would be glad for my Lord of *Pembrokes* ſake, that he underſtood, that upon my motion your Lordſhip were content he ſhould teach as he intendeth. Mr. *Johnſon* and I have travelled with the Prieſt, and he hath ſubſcribed his name to this draught which is herein incloſed, and hath promiſed he will ſtand to the ſame before your Lordſhip.

When

Anno 1556.

When I had written thus much, ſuddenly came tidings to me, that *Jordanis converſus eſt retrorſum.* *Cluney* coming to the Prieſt, found him lying proſtrate, and groaning as though he ſhould have died forthwith. Then *Cluney* took him up, and ſet him upon a Stool, and came to me, and told me of this Revel. It chanced that Mr. *Johnſon* was with me, and we went to this fond Heretick, and found him lying all along, holding his hands up, and looking hypocritically towards Heaven. I cauſed *Thomas More* and *Cluney* to ſet him on the Stool, and with much ado at length he told me, that Satan had been with him in the night, and told him that he was damned, and weeping he prayed Mr. *Johnſon* and me to ſee the Bill, whereunto he ſubſcribed, and when he ſaw it, he tore out his name, *è libro ſcilicet viventium.* Me thinketh by him he will needs burn a Fagot, neither is there any other likelyhood of the young Woman. I have enquired of the two perſons which ſue to have a Licence to eat fleſh. And the Woman of *Chriſts-Church* is indeed very much diſeaſed, and hath been long diſeaſed, and ſhe and her Husband both Catholick. of the other yet I can learn nothing. Thus Jeſus evermore preſerve your good Lordſhip, and my Miſtreſs your Lordſhips Siſter, with all yours. This preſent Saturday.

He meaneth of the return again of T. *Whittle.*

This young Woman was Joan Warne, otherwiſe named *Joan Laſſford*, who was burned alſo with the ſame *Whittle.*

Your Lordſhips moſt bounden Servant,
Nicholas Harpsfield.

Here followeth another Letter of Robert Johnſon *Regiſter, touching* Thomas Whittle, *written to* Boner *Biſhop of* London.

Another Letter of *Johnſon*, touching the ſaid T. *Whittle.*

MY bounden duty premiſed, pleaſeth your Lordſhip to underſtand, that this laſt Friday in the Afternoon, Mr. Archdeacon of *London* did diligently travel with Sir *Thomas Whittle.* I being preſent, and perceiving his conformity, as outwardly appeared, deviſed this Submiſſion, and he being content therewith did ſubſcribe the ſame. But now this Saturday morning Mr. Archdeacon and I, upon *Cluneys* report, declaring that he feigned himſelf to be diſtracted of his ſenſes, went unto him, to whom he declared, that Satan in the night time appeared unto him, and ſaid that he was damned, for that he had done againſt his Conſcience in ſubſcribing to the ſaid Submiſſion, with other like words, &c. And then Mr. Archdeacon, at his earneſt requeſt, delivered unto him the Submiſſion. And thereupon the ſaid *Whittle* did tear out his ſubſcription, made in the foot of the ſame, as your Lordſhip ſhall perceive by the Submiſſion ſent now unto your Lordſhip by Mr. Archdeacon; wherewith the ſaid *Whittle* was ſomewhat quieted.

Touching *Joan Laſſford.*

And as touching *Joan Laſhford*, Mr. Archdeacon did likewiſe travel with her, and ſhewing her Sir *Thomas* Submiſſion, which I read unto her two times, demanded if ſhe could be content to make the like Submiſſion, and ſhe deſired reſpit until this morning. And being now eftſoons demanded, in like wiſe ſaith, that ſhe will not make any thing in writing, nor put any ſign thereunto. Mr. Archdeacon and I intend this Afternoon to examine the ſaid Sir *Thomas* upon Articles: for as yet there doth appear nothing in writing againſt him, as knoweth Almighty God, who preſerve your good Lordſhip in proſperity long with honour to endure.

From *London* this Saturday.

By your Lordſhips daily Beads-man, and bounden Servant,
Robert Johnſon.

The Condemnation, Death, and Martyrdom of Thomas Whittle.

The laſt Examination of T. *Whittle.*

CONcerning the words and anſwers of the ſaid *Thomas Whittle* at his laſt Examination before the Biſhop, upon the 14. day of *January*, the year above-expreſſed, *Boner* with other his fellow *Bonerlings* ſitting in his Conſiſtory at Afternoon, firſt called forth *Thomas Whittle*, with whom he began in effect as followeth. Becauſe ye be a Prieſt (ſaith he) as I and other Biſhops here be, and did receive the order of Prieſthood, after the right and form of the Catholick Church, ye ſhall not think but I will miniſter juſtice as well unto you as unto other. And then the ſaid *Boner* in further communication did charge him, that where in times paſt he had ſaid Maſs according to the Order then uſed, the ſame *Whittle* now of late had ſpoken and railed againſt the ſame, ſaying that it was Idolatry and Abomination. Whereunto *Thomas Whittle* anſwering again, ſaid, that at ſuch time as he ſo ſaid Maſs, he was then ignorant, &c. adding moreover, that the elevation of the Sacrament at the Maſs, giveth occaſion of Idolatry to them that be ignorant and unlearned.

Elevation of the Sacrament cauſe of Idolatry.

After this the Biſhop making haſt to the Articles (which in all his Examinations ever he harped upon) came to this Article, That thou waſt in times paſt baptized in the Faith of the Catholick Church.

B. Boners Argument, He was baptized in the Faith of the Catholick Church: *Ergo*, he was baptized in the Faith of *Rome.*

To this the ſaid *Whittle* inferred again, I was baptized in the Faith of the Catholick Church, although I did forſake the Church of *Rome.* And ye, my Lord, do call theſe Hereſies, that be no Hereſies, and do charge me therewith as Hereſies, and ye ground your ſelf upon that Religion, which is not agreeable to Gods Word, &c.

Then the ſaid victorious Souldier and Servant of our Saviour, conſtant in the Verity received and profeſſed, was again admoniſhed, and with perſwaſions intreated by the Biſhop; who becauſe he would not agree unto the ſame, the Biſhop forthwith proceeded, firſt to his actual degradation, that is, to unprieſt him of all his Prieſtly trinkets and Clerkly habit. The order and manner of which their Popiſh and moſt vain degradation, before in the ſtory of Biſhop *Hooper* is to be ſeen. Then *Whittle* in the midſt of the Ceremonies, when he ſaw them ſo buſie in degrading him, after their Father the Popes Pontifical faſhion, ſaid unto them, *Paul* and *Titus* had not ſo much to do with their Prieſts and Biſhops. And farther, ſpeaking to the Biſhop, he ſaid unto him, My Lord, your Religion ſtandeth moſt with the Church of *Rome*, and not with the Catholick Church of Chriſt.

T. *Whittle* degraded.

Whittles words to B. *Boner.*

The Biſhop after this, according to his accuſtomed formal proceedings, aſſayed him yet again with words rather than with ſubſtantial Arguments, to conform him to his Religion. Who then denying ſo to do, ſaid, As for your Religion, I cannot be perſwaded that it is according to Gods Word.

The Biſhop then asked what fault he found in the adminiſtration of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Whittle anſwered and ſaid, it is not uſed according to Chriſts Inſtitution, in that it is privately and not openly done. And alſo for that it is miniſtred but in one kind to the Lay People, which is againſt Chriſts Ordinance. Farther, Chriſt commanded it not to be elevated nor adored: For the adoration and elevation cannot be approved by Scripture.

Cauſes why the adminiſtration of the Popiſh Sacrament is to be reproved.

Well, quoth *Boner*, my Lords here and other Learned men have ſhewed great Learning for thy converſion, wherefore if thou wilt yet return to the Faith and Religion of the Catholick Church, I will receive thee thereunto, and not commit thee to the Secular Power, &c. To make ſhort, *Whittle*, ſtrengthned with the grace of the Lord, ſtood ſtrong and unmovable in that he had affirmed. Wherefore the Sentence being read, the next day following he was committed to the Secular Power, and ſo in few days after brought to the fire with the other ſix aforenamed, ſealing up the teſtimony of his Doctrine with his Blood, which he willingly and chearfully gave for witneſs of the Truth.

Letters of Thomas Whittle.

A Letter of Thomas Whittle *to* John Careleſs, *Priſoner in the* Kings-Bench.

A Letter of T. *Whittle* written to *John Careleſs.*

THE Peace of God in Chriſt be with you continually, dearly beloved Brother in Chriſt, with the aſſiſtance of Gods grace and Holy Spirit, to the working and performing of thoſe things which may comfort and edifie his Church (as ye daily do) to the glory of his Name, and the increaſe of your joy and ſolace of Soul in this life, and alſo your reward in Heaven, with Chriſt our Captain, whoſe faithful Souldier ye are, in the life to come, *Amen.*

I have greatly rejoyced(my dear Heart) with thanks to God for you, ſince I have heard of your Faith and love which you bear towards God and his Saints, with a moſt godly ardent zeal to the vertue of Chriſts Doctrine and Religion, which I have heard by the report of many, but ſpecially by the declaring of that valiant Captain in Chriſts Church, that ſtout Champion in Gods cauſe, that ſpectacle to the world, I mean our good Brother *Philpot*, who now lieth under the Altar, and ſweetly enjoyeth the promiſed reward. And ſpecially I and my condemned Fellows give thanks to God for your loving and comfortable Letter in the deepneſs of our trouble (after the fleſh) ſent unto us to the conſolation of us all, but muſt ſpecially to me moſt ſinful miſer on mine own behalf, but happy, I hope, through Gods loving kindneſs in Chriſt ſhewed unto me; who ſuffered me to faint and fail through humane infirmity, by the working of the Arch-enemy in his ſworn Souldiers the Biſhops and Prieſts. In whom ſo lively appeareth the very viſage and ſhape of Satan, that a man (if it were not prejudice to Gods Word) might well affirm them to be Devils incarnate, as I by experience do ſpeak. Wherefore, who ſo ſhall for Conſcience matters come in their hands, had need of the wilineſs of the Serpent to ſave his head, though it be with the wounding of his Body, and to take diligent heed how he conſenteth to their wicked writings, or ſetteth his hand to their conveyances.

His judgment and experience of Popiſh Prelates.

So did they aſſault me and craftily tempt me to their wicked ways, or at leaſt to a denegation of my Faith and true Opinions, though it were but by colour and diſſimulation. And (alas) ſomething they did prevail. Not that I did any thing at all like their Opinions and falſe Papiſtical Religion, or elſe doubted of the Truth wherein I ſtand, but only the infirmity of the fleſh beguiled me, deſiring liberty by an unlawful means; God lay it not to my charge at that day, and ſo I heartily deſire you to pray. Howbeit, uncertain I am whether more profit came thereby: profit to me, in that God ſuffered Satan to buffet me by his foreſaid miniſter of miſchief, ſhewing me mine infirmity, that I ſhould not boaſt nor rejoyce in my ſelf, but only in the Lord? who when he had led me to hell in my Conſcience through the reſpect of his fearful judgments againſt me for my fearfulneſs, miſtruſt, and crafty cloaking in ſuch ſpiritual and weighty matters (in the which agony and diſtreſs I found this old verſe true, *Non patitur ludum fama, fides, oculus.*) yet he brought me from thence again to the magnifying of his Name, ſuſpecting of fleſh and Blood, and conſolation of mine own Soul, or elſe that I might feel diſprofit in offending the Congregation of God, which peradventure will rather adjudge my fall to come of doubtfulneſs in my Doctrine and Religion, then of humane imbecillity.

The burden of a troubled Conſcience.

Well, of the importune burthen of a troubled Conſcience for denying or diſſembling the known verity, I by experience could ſay very much more, which perhaps I will declare by writing, to the warning of others, if God grant time: For now am I and my Fellows ready to go hence even for Chriſts cauſe; Gods name be praiſed, who hath hereto called us. Pray, I pray you, that we may end our courſe with joy, and at your appointed time you ſhall come after. But as the Lord hath kept you, ſo will he preſerve your life ſtill, to the intent you ſhould labour (as you do) to appeaſe and convince theſe ungodly contentions and controverſies, which now do too much reign, brawling about terms to no edification. God is diſhonoured, the Church diſquieted, and occaſion to ſpeak evil of the Goſpel miniſtred to our Adverſaries. But ſuch is the ſubtilty of Satan, that whom he cannot win with groſs Idolatry in open Religion, them he ſeeketh to corrupt and deceive in Opinions, in a private profeſſion. But here I will abruptly leave, leſt with my rude and ſimple vein I ſhould be tedious unto you, deſiring you (my loving Brother) if it ſhall not ſeem grievous unto you, to write unto me and my Fellows, yet once again, if you have leiſure, and we time to the ſame.

He writeth for the Examinations of M. Philpot.

Provide me Mr. *Philpots* nine Examinations for a Friend of mine, and I ſhall pay you therefore, by the leave of Almighty God our heavenly Father, who correcteth all his dear Children in this world, that they ſhould not be damned with the world, and trieth the Faith of his Saints through many tribulations, that being found conſtant to the end, he may crown his own gifts in them, and in Heaven highly reward them; whither I truſt to go before, looking for you to follow (my faithful Friend) that we may ſing perpetual praiſe to our loving Lord God for victory over Satan and ſin, won for us by Jeſus Chriſt God and Man, our only and ſufficient Saviour and Advocate, *Amen.* Farewel, and pray in Faith. Anno 1556.

Yours Thomas Whittle *Miniſter, and now condemned to die for the Goſpels ſake.* 1556. Jan. 21.

All my Fellows ſalute you. Salute all our faithful Brethren with you.

To my dear Friend and Brother John Went *and other his Priſon-fellows in* Lollards Tower.

HE that preſerved *Joſeph* Priſoner in *Egypt*, fed *Daniel* in the Lions Den, and delivered *Paul*, *Peter*, and the Apoſtles out of Priſon, vouchſafe of his goodneſs to keep, feed, and deliver you my good Brother *Went*, with the other our fellow Souldiers your Priſon-fellows, as may be moſt to his glory, to your conſolation, and the edification of his Church. Acts 16.

I cannot but praiſe God moſt earneſtly, when I hear of your conſtancy in the Faith, and joy in the Croſs of Chriſt, which you now bear and ſuffer together, with many other good members of Chriſt, which is a token that by Chriſt you are counted worthy the Kingdom of God, as *Paul* ſaith. And though the world counteth the yoke and Croſs of Chriſt as a moſt pernicious and hurtful thing, yet we which have taſted how friendly the Lord is, cannot but rejoyce in this perſecution as touching our ſelves; inaſmuch as the cauſe for the which we ſuffer is the Lords cauſe and not ours, at whoſe hand if we endure to the end, we ſhall receive, through his liberal promiſe in Chriſt, not only a great reward in Heaven, but alſo the Kingdom of Heaven it ſelf, and alſo in the mean ſeaſon be ſure to be defended and cared for, ſo that we ſhall lack no neceſſary things, neither a hair of our heads ſhall periſh without his knowledge. Oh what is he that would miſtruſt, or not gladly ſerve ſo loving a Father? O how unhappy are they that forſake him and put their truſt in man; But how bleſſed are they that for his love and for his holy words ſake, in theſe troubleſom days do commit their Souls and Bodies into his hands with well doing, counting it greater happineſs and riches to ſuffer rebuke with Chriſt and his Church, then to enjoy the pleaſures of this life, for a little ſhort ſeaſon? This Croſs that we now bear hath been common to all the faithful from *Abel* hitherto, and ſhall be to the end, becauſe the Devil, having great wrath againſt God and his Chriſt, cannot abide that he ſhould for his manifold mercies be lauded and magnified, and Chriſt to be taken and believed upon for our only ſufficient Redeemer, Saviour and Advocate: and therefore becauſe we will not deny Chriſt, nor diſſemble with our Faith, but openly proteſt and profeſs the ſame before the world, he ſeeketh by all means to ſtir up his wicked members, to perſecute and kill the bodies of the true Chriſtians; as St. *John* ſaith, *The Devil ſhall caſt ſome of you into Priſon.* And *David* ſaith, *I believed, and therefore have I ſpoken, but I was ſore troubled.* This notwithſtanding, go forward dear Brethren, as ye have begun, to fight the Lords battle, conſidering Chriſt the Captain of your war, who will both fight for you, give you victory, and alſo highly reward your pains. Conſider to your comfort the notable and chief Shepherds and Souldiers of Chriſt, which are gone before us in theſe days, I mean theſe learned and goly Biſhops, Doctors and other Miniſters of Gods Word; whoſe Faith and exanples we that be inferiors ought to follow, as St. *Paul* ſaith; Remember them that have declared unto you the Word of God, the end of whoſe converſation ſee that ye look upon, and follow their Faith. The grace and bleſſing of God, with the miniſtry of his holy Angels, be with you for ever, *Amen.* All my Priſon-fellows greet you.

2 Theſſ. 1.

1 Pet. 2.

Matth. 16.

1 Pet. 4.

Heb. 11.

Apoc. 12. *Satan cannot abide Chriſt to be received for our only Saviour, and thereof ariſeth all this perſecution.*

Apoc. 2. Pſal. 115.

Heb. 13.

From the Cole-houſe *this* 4. *of* December;
By your poor Brother Thomas Whittle,
an unworthy Miniſter of Chriſt, now his Priſoner for the Goſpels ſake, Amen.

To

Anno 1555.

To all the true professors and lovers of Gods Holy Gospel within the City of London.

A Letter of Th. Whittle to the true professors of the City of *London.*

THe same faith for the which *Abraham* was counted righteous, and *Mary* blessed, the Lord God increase and make stable in your hearts, my dear and faithful Brethren and Sisters of *London*, for ever and ever, *Amen.*

Rom. 4. Luke 1.

Dearly beloved, be not troubled in this heat which is now come amongst you to try you, as though some strange thing had hapned unto you, but rejoyce in as much as ye are partakers of Christs passions, that when his glory appeareth, ye may be merry and glad, &c. Out of these words of S. *Peter*, I gather most specially these four Notes. First, that persecution happeneth to Christs Church for their trial, that is, for the probation and proof of their faith. Which faith, like as it is known with God in the depth of our hearts, so will he have it made manifest to the whole World through persecution; that so it may evidently appear that he hath such a Church and People upon earth, which so trusteth in him and feareth his holy Name, that no kind of persecution, pains, nor death shall be able to separate them from the love of him. And thus was *Abraham* tried, and *Job* tempted, that their faith, which before lay hid almost in their hearts, might be made known to the whole World to be so stedfast and strong, that neither the Devil, natural love, nor any other enemie could be able to beleave them thereof. Whereby also God was to be magnified, who hath tried his People by many tribulations, and also standeth by them in the midst of their troubles, to deliver them by life or death as he seeth best: like as he assisted *Lot*, and delivered him out of his enemies hands: *Joseph* out of the hands of his Brethren and out of prison: *Paul* from his enemies in *Damasco*, and the Apostles out of the stocks and prison.

Four Notes.

Rom 8. Gen. 22. Job 1.

Rom. 9. 2 Cor. 11. Acts 16. Gen. 4. 2 Macch. 6. Acts 7. Matth. 17.

These with many more he delivered to life; and also he delivered *Abel*, *Eleazar*, *Stephen*, and *John* Baptist, with other many by death, and hath also by the trial of their faith made them good Presidents, and examples to us and all that come after, to suffer affliction in the like cause; as S. *James* saith, Take, my Brethren (saith he) the Prophets for an ensample of suffering Adversity and of long patience, which spake unto you in the Name of the Lord: behold we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of *Job*, and have known what end the Lord made with him, for the Lord is very pitiful and merciful. Also the Lord trieth us, to let us see our own hearts and thoughts, that no Hypocrisie or ambition deceive us, and that the strong in Christ may pray that he fall not, but endure to the end; and that those that fall through fearful infirmity, might speedily repent and rise again with *Peter*, and also that the weak ones might bewail their weakness, and cry with *David*, *Psal.* 6. Have mercy upon me O Lord, for I am weak: O Lord heal me, for all my bones are vexed.

Jam. 5. 4.

Of this opening of the heart by persecution spake Holy *Simeon* to *Mary* Christs Mother when he said, The Sword, that is, the Cross of persecution, shall pierce thy Soul, that the thoughts of many hearts may be opened. For like as a King, that should go to Battel, is compelled to look in his coffers what treasure he hath, and also what number and puissance of men and weapons he hath, so that if he himself be unready and unarmed to bicker with his enemy, he surceaseth and taketh truce for a time: even so we by persecutions have our hearts opened, that we may look therein to see what faith in Christ we have, and what strength to withstand the enemies, and to bear the Cross, that if we be rich in these Treasures, we might rejoyce, and valiantly go to Battel; or if we want these things, we might with all speed call and cry upon him which giveth all good gifts to those that ask them. *Item*, the Cross trieth the good People from the bad, the faithful from the worldlings and Hypocrites, and also cleanseth and scoureth the faithful hearts from all corruption and filthiness both of the Flesh and the Spirit. And even as Iron, except it be often scoured, will soon wax rusty: so except our sinful hearts and Flesh be often scoured with the whetstone of the Cross, they will soon corrupt and overgrow with the rust of all filthiness and sin. And therefore it is meet and good for us (as the wise man saith, *Syrach* 2.) that as gold and silver is tried in the fire, so should the hearts of acceptable men be tryed in the furnace of Adversity. Abide the trial (dear friends) that ye may obtain the Crown of life. Fight manfully in this the Lords cause, that ye may obtain a glorious victory here, and receive a great reward in Heaven hereafter.

Luke 2.

The Cross trieth the good People from the bad.

As ye are called Christians and would be angry to be called Jews or Turks, so declare your Christianity by following the steps of Christ, whose name ye bear; suffer with him and for his Gospels sake, rather then to deny him or to defile your Faith and Conscience with false worshipping of Romish Religion.

Take up your Cross (my dear hearts) now when it is offered you, and go up with Christ to *Jerusalem* amongst the Bishops, Priests, and Rulers, if God call you thereto, and they will anon send you to *Calvary*: from whence (dying in the cause of the Gospel, wherein our good Preachers and Brethren have given their lives) your Souls (I warrant you) through Christ Jesus shall ascend to God that gave them, and that body shall come after at the last day, and so shall ye dwell with the Lord for ever in unspeakable joy and bliss. Oh blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness sake, as Christs People in this Jewish *England* now doth; for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. O my beloved, let your minds on this Kingdom where Christ our head and King is; considering that as the brute beast looketh down-wards with the face towards the earth: so man is made contrariwise with his face looking upwards towards the Heavens, because his Conversation should be in Heaven and Heavenly things, and not upon the earth and earthly things, as Saint *Paul* saith, *Colos.* 3. Set your minds on things which are above, where Christ is. And again he saith, *Phil.* 3. Our Conversation is in Heaven, from whence we look for our Saviour, who will change our vile Bodys, and make them like to his glorious Body. Oh the glorious estate that we be called unto! The Lord preserve us harmless to his eternal Kingdom through Christs Jesus our Lord, *Amen.*

The second thing that I note in the foresaid words of *Peter*, is, that he calleth persecution no strange thing. And truth it is: for which of the Prophets were not persecuted with Christ and his Apostles, and some of them in the end cruelly killed for the truths sake? *Caine* killed *Abel*, *Isaac* was persecuted of *Ismael*, *Jacob* was hated of *Esau*, *Joseph* was prisoned and set in the stocks, the Prohet *Esay* was cut in two with a Saw, *Ieremy* was stoned, *Micheas* was buffeted and fed with Bread and Water, *Helias* was sore persecuted, *Eleazer*, and the Woman with her seven Sons were cruelly killed. What Christ and the Apostles suffered it is well known. So that by many tribulations (as *Paul* saith, *Acts* 14.) we must enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. All the Holy Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles suffered such afflictions not for evil doing, but for preaching Gods Word, for rebuking of the World of sin, and for their faith in Jesus Christ.

The second Note, Persecution no strange thing in the Church.

3 Regum. 4. Regum. 2 Mac. 07.

This is the ordinance of God (my friends) this is the high-way to Heaven, by corporal death to eternal life; as Christ saith, *Joh.* 5. He that heareth my words and believeth in him that sent me, hath eternal life, and shall not come into judgment, but is escaped from death to life. Let us never fear death which is killed by Christ, but believe in him and live for ever, as *Paul* saith, *Rom.* 8. There is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, which walk not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit. And again *Paul* saith, 1 *Cor.* 15. Death where is thy sting? Hell where is thy victory? Thanks be to God which hath given us victory through Jesus Christ.

Besides this, ye have seen and daily do see the Blood of your good Preachers and Brethren, which hath been shed in the Gospels cause in this sinful *Sodom*, this Bloody *Jerusalem*, this, unhappy City of *London*. Let not their Blood be forgotten, nor the Blood of your good Bishop *Ridley*, who like a shepheard, to your comfort and example hath given his life for his sheep. Good S. *Paul* saith, *Heb.* 13. Remember them that have spoken to you the Word of God, and look upon the end of their Conversation, and follow their faith.

Example of Gods Martyrs. John 10.

The Devil ever stirreth up false Teachers, as he hath done now over all *England*, as *Peter*, *Paul*, and *Jude* prophesied it should be, to poyson and kill our Souls with the false doctrine. And where he faileth of his

2 Pet. 2. 1 Tim. 4. 2 Tim. 3. Jud. 1.

purpoſe that way, then moveth he his members to perſecute the ſilly carkaſſes of the Saints, becauſe they will not deny nor diſſemble their pure faith in our living Chriſt, and confeſs a dead bready Chriſt, and honour the ſame as CHRIST God and Man, contrary to Gods Commandment, *Exod.* 10.

This is the working of Satan, who knowing his own juſt damnation, would all mankind to be partakers with him of the ſame; ſuch a mortal hatred beareth he againſt God and his People. And therefore when this wicked tempter could not kill Chriſt, with ſubtil tentation to fall down and worſhip him, then he ſtirred up his Servants the Biſhops, and Phariſees to kill his Body, whereby notwithſtanding the Devil loſt his title and intereſt which he had to mans Soul, and man by his precious paſſion and death was ranſomed from the Devil, Death and Hell, to immortality and life everlaſting: and ſo when Satan thought to have wonne all in killing of Chriſt, he loſt all: and ſo ſhall he do in us if we abide conſtant and ſtrong in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt unto the end. God grant it for his mercys ſake in Chriſt. Bleſſed are all they that put their truſt in him, *Amen.*

1 John 5. 2 Cor. 10. Matth. 4. Where Satan could not bring Chriſt to fall down and worſhip him, he ſet the Phariſees to kill him.

Wherefore (my hearty beloved Brethren and Siſters) be of good comfort through Jeſus Chriſt, for he that is in us is ſtronger then he that is in the World. Therefore draw ye near to God, and he will draw near to you. Reſiſt the Devil, and he will (as *James* ſaith) flee from you. Beware of the leaven of the Phariſees. Touch not pitch leſt you be defiled therewith. Eat no ſwines fleſh, for it is againſt the law; I mean defile not your ſelves either inwardly or outwardly with this falſe and wicked Religion of Antichriſt: for it is nothing elſe but pitch and ſwines fleſh. Beware of the Beaſts mark, leſt ye drink of the cup of Gods wrath. If God have given you knowledge and faith, diſſemble not therewith. Deny not the known verity before men, leſt Chriſt deny you before his Father. Come away from *Babylon*, as *John* biddeth you, *Apoc.* 18. and touch no unclean thing, but ſeparate your ſelves from the company of the ungodly, as *Paul* commandeth you. Whatſoever you have done amiſs heretofore, now repent ye and amend: for with the Lord there is mercy and plentious redemption, *Pſalm* 126.

James. 2. Matth. 16. Apoc. 13. 14. 2 Cor. 6.

The third note.

The third thing and note which I gather out of the foreſaid words of *Peter*, is this, that he ſaith, Rejoyce becauſe ye are partakers of Chriſts paſſion. Our ſufferings, (my welbeloved) are Chriſts ſufferings, and that injury that is done to us for his ſake, he reckoneth it to be done to himſelf, as he ſaid to Saint *Paul*, *Saul, Saul,* why perſecuteſt thou me? Therefore we ought to rejoyce in our ſufferings, as *Paul* writeth, which we ſuffer with Chriſt and one with another, as *Peter* ſaith, and ſo to fulfil that which is behind of the paſſions of Chriſt in our fleſh; which Chriſt hath, by his paſſion, fully redeemed and ſaved us in his own perſon: howbeit his Elect muſt ſuffer with him and for him unto the Worlds end, that he may be glorified in them, and they thereby corrected and cleanſed from ſin in this World, and be made more meet Temples for the Holy Ghoſt, and alſo obtain a great reward in heaven for their ſuffering for righteouſneſs ſake, according to his promiſe. And therefore I ſay (my Brethren) rejoyce in the Lord always, and again I ſay rejoyce. Let us rejoyce in the Croſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whereby the World is crucified to us, and we to it.

Acts 9. Coloſſ. 1. Matth 6. Phil. 3. Gal. 6.

The fourth note

And why ſhould we ſo greatly rejoyce in the Croſs of Chriſt, which we now ſuffer? Becauſe (ſaith *Peter*) when his glory appeareth, we may be merry and glad. And this is the fourth note that I gather out of his words above written. Wherein is ſet out the reward of ſuffering, not to be had in this World; but at his coming to judgment when we ſhall be raiſed again: and then ſhall they that have ſown in tears, reap in joy, as Chriſt ſaith, Bleſſed are they that weep here: for they ſhall laugh. Bleſſed are ye when men hate you, and thruſt you out of their company, railing on you, and abhorring your name as an evil thing for the Son of mans ſake; rejoyce ye in that day and be glad, for your reward is great in Heaven.

Luke 6.

Wherefore (my dearly beloved) through the hope of this Heavenly Joy and Reward, which he that cannot lie hath promiſed (which joy is ſo great that no ear hath heard, no eye hath ſeen, nor the heart can think, where we ſhall dwell for ever in the Heavenly City, the celeſtiall *Jeruſalem*, in the preſence of God the Father, and Jeſus Chriſt our Mediator, as *Paul* ſaith, and in the company of innumerable Angels, and with the Spirits and Souls of all faithful and juſt men) rejoyce and be glad: and ſeeing ye be called to ſo great glory, ſee that you make your election and vocation ſure by good works, and ſpecially by ſuffering adverſity for the Goſpels ſake: for it is given us of God (ſaith *Paul*) not onely to believe in Chriſt, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. Continue in prayer, and pray for me that I may end my courſe with joy. Have Brotherly love amongſt your ſelves, which is a token that ye be Chriſts Diſciples. Edifie and comfort one another in the Word of the Lord, and the God of peace and love be with you always, *Amen.* For your liberality and kindneſs ſhewed upon the priſoners and afflicted People of God in this time of perſecution, the Lord will reward you when he cometh to reward every man according to their deeds, and will not leave a cup of cold water beſtowed upon his faithful People unrewarded. God make you rich in all grace, that ye always having ſufficient, may be rich unto all manner of good works.

1 Cor. 2. Heb. 12. 1 Pet. 2. Phil. 3. John 14. Matth. 10. 2 Cor. 8.

The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the love of God, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt, be with you always. *Amen.*

Your Brother now in bonds for the Goſpel,

Thomas Whittle.

To my loving and faithful Brother, J. Carleſs, *priſoner in the* King Bench.

Another Letter of T. Whittle.

THe ſame faith, for the which *Abraham* was accounted juſt, and *Mary* bleſſed, whereby alſo all juſt men live, the Lord God our loving Father increaſe and ſtabliſh in you and me, to the obtaining of eternal life in our alone and ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

I cannot worthily and ſufficiently praiſe God (my heartily beloved Brother) for the conſolation and joy that I have received by reaſon of your loving Letters, repenting me much that I being ſo long ſo near you, did not enterpriſe to ſtirr up Familiarity and Communication between us by writing, to mutual conſolation in Chriſt. For what is there upon earth wherein to rejoyce (where all things are tranſitory and vain, yea man himſelf, reſpecting this life:) but (as *David* ſaith, *Pſal.* 16.) the Saints that dwell upon the earth, and ſuch as excel in vertue? But here now I conſider, that if the fellowſhip, love, and joy of faithful Men and Children of God being as we now be in double Bondage, the Body within clay walls, and the Soul within theſe frail earthly Bodys, be ſo great and comfortable; how unſpeakable will theſe joys be, when we ſhall be delivered from all corruption into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God? Where we ſhall be preſent together continually in our glorified Bodys beholding the face of our Father preſently (whom now we ſee but in the glaſs of Faith) with his dear Son Chriſt our Redeemer and Brother, and the bleſſed company of Angels and all faithful ſaved Souls.

The ſociety of Saints.

Oh the incomparable good things and Heavenly treaſures laid up for us in Heaven by Chriſt Jeſus! For the obtaining whereof, we ought to ſet light by all temporal grief and tranſitory afflictions, ſo much the more, in that our good God is faithful, and will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength, and that namely in the end of our life, when the tree where it falleth lyeth ſtill, as the Preacher ſaith, *Eccleſ.* 11. when every one, *cauſa ſua dormit, & cauſa ſua reſurget*: for elſe before the end he ſuffereth his ſometime to fall, but not finally to periſh: as *Peter* ſinked upon the ſea, but yet was not drowned; and ſinned grievouſly upon the land through infirmity denying his Maſter, but yet found mercy: for the righteous falleth often times. And Chriſts Holy Apoſtles are taught to ſay, *Remitte nobis debita noſtra.* yea though the righteous fall, ſaith *David*, he ſhall not be caſt away, for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. Oh the bottomleſs mercy of God towards us miſerable Sinners! He vouchſafe to plant in my heart true repentance and faith,

Gods Saints ſuffered ſometimes to fall, but not finally to periſh.

Anno 1556.

Faith, to the obtaining of remiſſion of all my ſins in the mercies of God, and merits of Chriſt his Son, and thereto I pray you ſay, Amen.

Oh my dearly Beloved, it greiveth me to ſee the ſpoyl and havock that *Saul* maketh with the Congregation of Chriſt: but what remedy? This is Gods will and ordinance, that his People ſhall here both be puniſhed in the fleſh and tryed in their Faith: as it is written, *Many are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all*; for by a ſtrait path and narrow door muſt we enter. Whither? Into the joyful Kingdom of Heaven: therefore bleſſed are you and others that ſuffer perſecution for Chriſts ſake, for the profeſſion of the ſame. Pray for me and my Fellows (good Brother) that we may fight a good fight, that we may keep the Faith, and end our courſe with joyful gladneſs, for now the time of our deliverance is at hand. The Lord guide, defend, and keep us and you, and all his People in our journey, that we may ſafely through a ſhort death, paſs to that long laſting life.

Farewel, my dear and loving Brother and fellow-ſouldier in Chriſt; farewel, I ſay, in him who receive our Souls in peace when they ſhall depart from theſe Tabernacles, and he grant us a joyful Reſurrection, and a merry meeting at the laſt day, and continual dwelling together in his eternal heavenly Kingdom, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, *Amen.*

Yours with my poor Prayer; other pleaſure can I do you none,
Thomas Whittle, *Miniſter.*

To my dear Brethren Mr. Filles *and* Cutbert.

Another Letter of T. Whittle to certain of his Friends.

Welfare of Soul.

Welfare of Body.

MY dear and welbeloved Brethren in Chriſt, Mr. *Filles* and *Cuthert*, I wiſh you all welfare of Soul and Body. Welfare to the Soul, is repentance of ſin, faithful affiance in Chriſt Jeſus, and a godly life. Welfare to the Body, is the health of the ſame, with all neceſſary things for this Body life. The Soul of man is immortal, and therefore ought to be well kept, leſt immortality to joy ſhould turn to immortality of ſorrow. As for the Body be it never ſo well kept and much made of, yet ſhortly by nature will it periſh and decay: But thoſe that are ingrafted and incorporated into Chriſt by true Faith, feeling the motion of Gods holy Spirit as a pledge of their election and inheritance, exciting and ſtirring them not only to ſeek heavenly things, but alſo to hate vice, and imbrace vertue, will not only do theſe things, but alſo if need require, will gladly take up their Croſs and follow their Captain, their King, and their Saviour Jeſus Chriſt (as his poor afflicted Church of *England* now doth) againſt that falſe and Antichriſtian Doctrine and Reiglion now uſed, and ſpecially that blaſphemous Maſs, wherein Chriſts Supper and holy Ordinance is altogether perverted and abuſed, contrary to his inſtitution and to *Pauls* proceedings: ſo that that which they have in their Maſs, is neither Sacrament of Chriſt, nor yet Sacrifice for ſin, as the Prieſts falſly pretend. It is a Sacrament, that is, as Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, a viſible ſigne of inviſible grace, when it is miniſtred to the Communicants according to Chriſts example, and as it was of late years in this Realm. And as for Sacrifice, there is none to be made now for ſin: *for Chriſt with one Sacrifice hath perfected for ever thoſe that are ſanctified.*

Matth. 26. Mark 14. Luke 22.

2 Cor. 11. No Sacrifice of the Maſs is to be made for ſin.

Heb. 9. 10.

Beware of falſe Religion, and mens vain Traditions, and ſerve God with reverence and godly fear according to the Doctrine of his Goſpel, whereto cleave ye that ye may be bleſſed, though of wicked me ye be hated and accurſed. Rather drink of the Cup of Chriſt with his Church than of the Cup of that Roſe coloured whore of *Babylon*, which is full of abominations. Rather ſtrive ye to go Heaven by the path which is ſtrait to fleſh and Blood, with the little flock, then to go in the wide way, following the inticements of the world and the fleſh, which leadeth to damnation.

Luke 11. Apoc. 18.

Like as Chriſt ſuffered in the fleſh, ſaith Saint *Peter*, ſo arm ye your ſelves with the ſame mind: for Chriſt ſuffered for us, leaving us example to follow his foot-ſteps. Bleſſed are they that ſuffer for his ſake, great is their reward in Heaven. He that overcometh (ſaith St. *John, Apoc.* 2. 3.) ſhall eat of the Tree of life; he ſhall have a Crown of life, and not to be hurt of the ſecond death? he ſhall be cloathed with white array, and not be put out of the Book of life; yea, I will confeſs his name, ſaith Chriſt, before my Father and before his Angels, and he ſhall be a pillar in the houſe of God, and ſit with me on my ſeat. And thus I bid you farewel; mine own Brethren and dear Fellows in Chriſt. Whoſe grace and peace be alway with you, *Amen.*

1 Pet. 4. 3.

This world I do forſake.
To Chriſt I me take,
And for his Goſpels ſake,
Patiently death I take.
My Body to the duſt,
Now to return it muſt:
My Soul I know full well,
With my God it ſhall dwell.

Thomas Whittle.

Another Letter of Thomas Whittle *written to a certain godly Woman.*

Another Letter of T. Whittle to a godly Woman.

OH my dear and loving Siſter in Chriſt, be not diſmayed in this ſtorm of perſecution: for *Paul* calleth the Goſpel the word of the Croſs, becauſe it is never truly taught, but the Croſs and cruel Perſecution immediately and neceſſarily doth follow the ſame, and therefore it is a manifeſt token of Gods Truth and hath been here and is ſtill abroad, and that is the cauſe of the rage and cruelty of Satan againſt Chriſt and his members, which muſt be corrected for their ſins in this world: their Faith muſt be tryed, that after tryal and patient ſuffering the Faithful may receive the Crown of glory. Fear not therefore, my welbeloved, but proceed in the knowledge and fear of God, and he will keep you from all evil. Call upon his holy name, and he will ſtrengthen you and aſſiſt you in all your ways: and if it pleaſe him to lay his Croſs upon you for his Goſpels ſake, refuſe it not, neither ſhake it off by unlawful means, leſt you ſhould (as God forbid) find a more grievous Croſs and torment of Conſcience, if you ſhould diſſemble and deny the known verity, than is any perſecution or death of Body. Oh how happy are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake? their reward is great in Heaven. The momentany afflictions of this life are not worthy of the glory that ſhall be ſhewed upon us. Oh remember the godly women of the old Teſtament and new, which lived in Gods ſervice and fear, and therefore are now in bliſs and commended for ever: and namely *Judith*, *Heſter*, *Abigal*, the Mother of the ſeven Sons, *Mary Elizabeth*, *Suſanna*, *Lidia*, and *Phebe*, and others. Set their examples before your eyes, and fear nothing, for Satan is conquered by our Saviour Chriſt; ſin is put to flight, and the gate of immortality and eternal life is ſet wide open; God grant we may enter therein through the door Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

To be ſtrong againſt Satan, and not to fear perſecution.

Good counſel, not to forſake the Lord for perſecution.

Thomas Whittle.

The ſtory of Mr. Bartlet Green *Gentleman and Lawyer, Martyr.*

The ſtory of M. Bartlet Green Gent. and Martyr. January 27.

AFter the Martyrdom of *Thomas Whittle*, next followeth in order to ſpeak of *Bartlet Green*, who the next day after the foreſaid *Whittle*, was likewiſe condemned. This *Green* was of a good houſe, and had ſuch Parents, as both favoured learning, and were alſo willing to bring up this their Child in the ſame. Who after ſome entrance in other inferiour Schools, was by them ſent unto the Univerſity of *Oxford*? where through exerciſe and diligent ſtudy, he ſo profited, that within ſhort time he attained, as well to the knowledge of ſundry prophane Sciences, as alſo now in his laſt years, unto the godly underſtanding of Divinity. Whereunto through ignorance (in which he was trained up from his youth) he was at the firſt an utter enemy, until ſuch time

Bartlet Green Student at Oxford.

Mr. *Green* converted by the Lectures of *Peter Martyr*.

as God of his mercy had opened his eyes, by his often repairing unto the common Lectures of *Peter Martyr* Reader of the Divinity Lecture in the ſame Univerſity ſo that thereby (as by Gods inſtrumen t) he ſaw the tru light of Chriſts Goſpel.

John 4.

Whereof when he had once taſted, it became unto him as the fountain of lively water, that our Saviour Chriſt ſpake of to the Woman of *Samaria*, ſo as he never thirſted any more, but had a Well ſpringing unto everlaſting life. Inſomuch as when he was called by his friends from the Univerſity, and was placed in the *Temple* at *London*, there to attain to the knowledge of the Common Laws of the Realm, he yet continued ſtill in his former ſtudy and earneſt profeſſion of the Goſpel; wherein alſo he did not a little profit. Howbeit (ſuch is the frailty of our corrupt nature, without the ſpecial aſſiſtance of Gods Holy Spirit) through the continual accompanying, and fellowſhip of ſuch Worldly (I will not ſay too much youthful) young Gentlemen, as are commonly in that and the like houſes, he became by little and little a compartner of their fond follies, and youthful vanities, aſwel in his apparel as alſo in banquettings, and other ſuperfluous exceſſes: which he afterward (being again called by Gods merciful correction) did ſore lament and bewail, as appeareth by his own teſtimony notified, and left in a book of a certain friend of his, a little before his death, written with his own hand, in manner as followeth.

Mr. *Green* ſtudent in the Temple at *London*.

This did Mr. *Bartlet Green* write in Mr. *Bartram Calthrops Book*.

A good note or leſſon for young Lawyers to mark and follow.

TWo things have very much troubled me whileſt I was in the Temple, *Pride and Gluttony; which under the colour of glory and good fellowſhip, drew me almoſt from God. Againſt both there is one remedy, by prayer earneſt, and without ceaſing. And forſomuch as vainglory is ſo ſubtle an Adverſary, that almoſt it woundeth deadly, ere ever a man can perceive himſelf to be ſmitten, therefore we ought ſo much the rather by continual prayer, to labour for humbleneſs of mind. Truly gluttony beginneth under a charitable pretence of mutual love and ſociety, and hath in it moſt uncharitableneſs. When we ſeek to refreſh our bodys, that they may be the more apt to ſerve God, and perform our dutys towards our neighbours, then ſtealeth it in as a privy thief, and murdereth both Body and Soul, that now it is not apt to pray, or ſerve God, apt to ſtudy, or labour for our neighbour.. Let us therefore watch and be ſober: For our Adverſary the Devil walketh about like a roaring Lion, ſeeking whom he may devour, And remember what* Solomon *ſaith,* Melior eſt patiens viro forti, & qui dominatur animo expugnatore urbium. i. *A patient man is better then a ſtrong warriour, and he that conquereth his own ſtomach, is better then he that Conquereth Towns and Cities.*

What lewd company doth.

Bartlet Greene.

Animorum in fide unio, per charitatem aucta, firma eſt amicitia. Vale (mi Bartrame) & mei memineris, ut ſemper ſimilimi efficiamur. Vale, Apud novam Portam, 20. Janu arii 1556. *i. Agreement of minds joyning in Unity of faith, and growing up in charity, is true and ſtedfaſt amity. Farewel (my Bartrame) and remember me, that ever we may be like together. Farewel at* Newgate *Jan.* 20. *Anno* 1556.

Set ſober love againſt haſty wrath.

Barlet Greene.

Thus we ſee the fatherly kindneſs of our moſt gracious and merciful God, who never ſuffereth his elect Children ſo to fall, that they lie ſtill in ſecurity of ſin, but oftentimes quickneth them up by ſome ſuch means, as perhaps they think leaſt of, as he did here this his ſtrayed ſheep. And now therefore to return to our hiſtory: for the better maintenance of himſelf in theſe his ſtudies, and other his affairs, he had a large exhibition of his Grandfather, Mr. Doctor *Bartlet*, who during the time of *Greens* impriſonment made unto him large offers of great livings, if he would recant, and (forſaking the truth, and Goſpel of Chriſt) come home again to the Church and Synagogue of *Rome*. But thoſe his perſwaſions (the Lord be therefore praiſed) took ſmal effect in his faithful heart, as the ſequel did declare. He was a man beloved of all men, (except of the Papiſts, who love none that love the truth) and ſo he well deſerved: for he was of a meek, humble, diſcreet, and moſt gentle behaviour to all. Injurious he was to none, beneficial to many, eſpecially to thoſe that were of the houſhold of Faith; as appeareth amongſt other, by his friendly dealing with Mr. *Chriſtopher Goodman*, being at that preſent a poor exile beyond the Seas. With whom this *Bartlet Greene* (as well for his toward learning, as alſo for his ſober and godly behaviour) had often ſociety in *Oxford*, in the days of good King *Edward*: which now, notwithſtanding his friends miſery and Baniſhment, he did not lightly forget; and that turned as it chanced (not without the providence of Almighty God) to the great grief of both; the one of heart, for the loſs of his friend, and the other of Body in ſuffering the cruell and murdering rage of Papiſts.

Large gifts offered Mr. *Green* by D. *Bartlet* to return to the Church of *Rome*.

Anno 1556.

Friendſhip between *Chriſtopher Goodman* and Mr. *Green*.

The cauſe hereof was a Letter which *Green* did write unto the ſaid *Goodman*, containing as well the report of certain demands or queſtions, which were caſt abroad in *London* (as appeareth hereafter in a Letter of his own penning, which he meant to have ſent unto Mr. *Philpot*, wherein he declareth his full uſage before the Biſhop of *London* and others) as alſo an anſwer to a queſtion made by the ſaid *Chriſtopher Goodman*, in a Letter written unto him, in which he required to have the certainty of the report which was ſpread amongſt them on the other ſide of the Seas, that the Queen was dead. Whereunto Mr. *Green* anſwered ſimply, and as the truth then was, that ſhe was not dead.

Occaſion of apprehending of Mr. *Green* came by Letters intercepted.

Theſe Letters with many other, written to divers of the godly exiles, by their friends here in *England*, being delivered to a meſſenger to carry over, came by the apprehenſion of the ſaid bearer, unto the hands of the King and Queens Council. Who at their convenient leiſure (which in thoſe days by ſome of them was quickly found out for ſuch matters) peruſed the whole number of the ſaid Letters, and amongſt them eſpied this Letter of Mr. *Greens*, written unto his friend *Chriſtopher Goodman*: in the Contents whereof (amongſt other news and private matters) they found theſe words; the Queen is not yet dead. Which words were onely written as an anſwer, to certifie Mr. *Goodman* of the truth of his former demand. Howbeit (to ſome of the Council) they ſeemed very hainous words, yea, treaſon they would have made them, if the Law would have ſuffered. Which when they could not do (and being yet very loath to let any ſuch depart freely, whom they ſuſpected to be a favourer of the Goſpel) they then examined him upon his faith in Religion, but upon what points, it is not certainly known.

Mr. *Greens* examined by the Council of his faith.

Neverthleſs (as it ſeemeth) his anſwers were ſuch, as little pleaſed them (eſpecially the annointed ſort) and therefore after they had detained him in priſon, as well in the *Tower* of *London*, as elſewhere, they ſent him at laſt unto *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, to be ordered according to his Eccleſiaſtical Law; as appeareth by their Letters ſent unto the Biſhop, with the ſaid priſoner alſo: wherein it may appear, that Sir *John Bourne* (then Secretary to the Queen) was a chief ſtirrer in ſuch caſes, yea and an entiſer of others of the Council; who otherwiſe (if for fear they durſt) would have been content to have let ſuch matters alone. The Lord forgive them their weakneſs (if it be his good pleaſure) and give them true repentance, *Amen*.

John Bourne a ſtirrer of perſecution.

A Letter ſent unto *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, by the Queens Council dated the 11. day of *November* 1555. but not delivered until the 17. of the ſame Month.

A Letter from the Council to *Boner*.

AFter our hearty commendations to your good Lordſhip, we ſend to the ſame herewith the Body of one Bartlet Greene, *who hath of good time remained in the* Tower *for his obſtinate ſtanding in matters againſt the Catholick Religion, whom the King and Queens Majeſtys pleaſures are (becauſe he is of your Lordſhips Dioceſs) ye*

Anno 1556. *ye ſhall cauſe to be ordered according to the Laws in ſuch caſes provided. And thus we bid your Lordſhip heartily farewel. From St.*James *the* 11. *of* November, 1555.

Your good Lordſhips loving Friends,

Wincheſter,	William Haward.
Pembroke,	John Bourne,
Thomas Ely,	Thomas Wharton.

Poſtſcript. *I Sir* John Bourne *will wait upon your Lordſhip, and ſignifie further the King and Queens Majeſties pleaſure hereſn.*

Now that ye may the better underſtand the certainty of his handling, after this his coming unto *Boners* cuſtody, I have thought it good to put forth his own Letter, containing at large the diſcourſe of the ſame. Which Letter he wrote, and did mean to have ſent unto Mr.*Philpot*, but was prevented, belike either by *Philpots* death, or elſe (and rather) by the wily watching of his Keeper: for it came (by what means I know not certainly) unto the Biſhops hands, and being delivered unto his Regiſter, was found in one of his Books of Record. The Copy whereof here followeth.

A Letter of Bartlet Green, *written unto* John Philpot, *containing beſides other particular matter betwixt him and Mr.*Philpot, *a brief rehearſal of his handling, and certain his Conferences with* Boner *and others, at his firſt coming to the Biſhops.*

Mr. *Green* preſented before B. *Boner.*

THat which was wanting in talk (through my default) at your being here, I have ſupplied by writing in your abſence, now at the length getting ſome opportunity and leiſure. The 17. day of *November*, being brought hither by two of the Clock at Afternoon, I was preſented before my Lord of *London* and other two Biſhops, Mr. *Deane*, Mr. *Roper*, Mr. *Welch*, Dr.*Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *London*, and other two or three, all ſitting at one Table. There were alſo preſent Dr. *Dale*, Mr.*George Mordant*, Mr. *Dee*. Then after the Biſhop of *London* had read unto himſelf the Letter that came from the Council, he ſpake with more words, but (as I remember) to this effect; that the cauſe of their aſſembly was, to hear mine Examination, whereunto he had authority by the Council, and had provided M.*Welch* and another, whoſe name I know not (but well I remember, though he obtained it not, yet deſired he my Lord, that I might hear the Councils Letters) to be there if any matters of the Common Law ſhould ariſe, to diſcuſs them, he intreated my Lord to determine all Controverſies of Scriptures; and as for the Civil Law, he and Dr.*Dale* ſhould take on them.

M. *Dee* was yet under bond of Recognisance for the good appearing and forth coming till Chriſtmas next after.

M. *Green* commitged firſt to the *Fleet*, and upon what occaſion.

Wherefore he demanded of me the cauſe of mine Impriſonment: I ſaid, that the occaſion of mine Apprehenſion was a Letter which I wrote to one *Chriſtopher Goodman*, wherein (certifying him of ſuch News as happened here) among the reſt, I wrote that there were certain printed Papers of Queſtions ſcattered abroad. Whereupon, being ſuſpected to be privy unto the deviſing or publiſhing of the ſame, I was committed to the *Fleet*: but ſithence heard, I nothing thereof, after the Commiſſioners had received my ſubmiſſion. The ſum whereof was, that as I was ſure there neither could be true witneſſes, nor probable conjecture againſt me in that behalf; ſo refuſed I no puniſhment, if they of their Conſciences would judge me privy to the deviſing, printing, or publiſhing of thoſe Queſtions. But my Lord affirming that there was another cauſe of mine Impriſonment ſithence, demanded if I had not after, ſince I was committed to the *Fleet*, ſpoken or written ſomewhat againſt the natural preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then deſired I his Lordſhip to be good unto me, truſting that he would put me to anſwer to no new matters, except I were firſt diſcharged of the old. And when I ſtood long in that, Mr.*Welch* anſwered, that it was procured that I ſhould ſo do, right well. For albeit I were Impriſoned for Treaſon, if during the time of endurance I had maintained Hereſie, that were no ſufficient allegation againſt the Ordinary; neither whether I were before him acquitted or condemned, ſhould it take away the former fault. Then my Lord affirming that I was not brought before him but for Hereſie, and the other Gentleman ſaying; that doubtleſs I was diſcharged of my former matter; my deſire was, that I might be charged according to the order of the Law, to hear my Accuſers.

D. *Chedſey* witneſſeth againſt Mr. *Green.*

Then Dr.*Chedſey* was ſent for, who reported that in the preſence of Mr.*Moſley* and the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, I ſpake againſt the real preſence and the ſacrifice of the Maſs, and that I affirmed that their Church was the Church of Antichriſt.

Talk between Mr. *Green* and the Commiſſioners.

Is not this true, quoth my Lord? I ſaid, Yea. Will you continue therein, quoth he? Yea, ſaid I. Wilt thou then maintain it by Learning, ſaid he? Therein, quoth I, I ſhould ſhew my ſelf to have little wit, knowing mine own youth and ignorance, if I would take on me to maintain any Controverſie againſt ſo many grave and learned Men. But my Conſcience was ſatisfied in the Truth, which was ſufficient to my ſalvation.

Roper. Conſcience? (quoth Mr.*Roper*) ſo ſhall every Jew and Turk be ſaved.

We had hereafter much talk to no purpoſe, and eſpecially on my part, who felt in my ſelf, through cold and open air, much dulneſs of wit and memory. At the length I was asked what Conſcience was: and I ſaid, the certifying of the Truth.

Perſwaſion of M. Welch to M. Green.

Mr. *Welch.* With that Mr. *Welch* roſe up, deſiring leave to talk with me alone. So he taking me aſide into another Chamber, ſaid that he was ſorry for my trouble, and would gladly ſee me at liberty: he marvelled, that I being a young Man, would ſtand againſt all the Learned men of the Realm, yea and contrary to the whole determination of the Catholick Church from Chriſts time, in a matter wherein I could have no great Learning; I muſt not think mine own wit better than all mens, but ſhould believe them that were Learned. I promiſe you (quoth he) I have read all *Peter Martyrs* Book, and *Cranmers*, and all the reſt of them, and have conferred them with the contrary, as *Roffenſis*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *&c.* and could not perceive but that there was one continual Truth, which from the beginning had been maintained; and thoſe that at any time ſevered from this unity, were anſwered, and anſwered again. This was the ſum of his Tale, which lacked neither wit nor eloquence.

Anſwer of M. *Green* to M. *Welch.*

Mr. *Green.* Then ſpake I: Foraſmuch as it pleaſeth your Maſterſhip to uſe me ſo familiarly (for ſo he behaved himſelf towards me, as though I had been his equal) I ſhall open my mind freely unto you, deſiring you to take it in good worth. I conſider my youth, lack of wit and learning, which would God it were but a little under the opinion that ſome men have of me. But God is not bound to time, wit, or knowledge, but rather chuſeth *infirma mundi*, *ut confunderet fortia*, neither can men appoint bounds to Gods mercy: For, I will have compaſſion (ſaith he) on whom I will ſhew mercy. There is no reſpect of perſons with God, whether it be old or young, rich or poor, wiſe or fooliſh, Fiſher or Basket-maker. God giveth knowledge of his Truth, through his free grace, to whom he liſt, *James* 1. Neither do I think my ſelf only to have the Truth, but ſtedfaſtly believe that Chriſt hath his Spouſe the Catholick and Univerſal Church, diſperſed in many Realms where it pleaſeth him, *Spiritus ubi vult ſpirat*: no more is he addicted to any one place, than to the perſon and quality of one man. Of this Church I nothing doubt my ſelf to be a member, truſting to be ſaved by the Faith that is taught in the ſame. But how this Church is known, is in a manner the end of all Controverſie. And the true marks of Chriſts Church, is the true preaching of his Word and miniſtring of his Sacraments. Theſe marks were ſealed by the Apoſtles, and confirmed by the ancient Fathers, till at the length they were, through the wickedneſs of men and the Devil, ſore worn, and almoſt utterly taken away. But God be praiſed that he hath renewed the print, that his Truth may be known in many places. For my ſelf, I call God to witneſs, I have none hope in mine own wit and learning, which is very ſmall; but I was perſwaded thereto by

Modeſty of M. *Green.*

Rom. 9.

The Spirit of God addicted neither to perſon nor place.

The end of all Controverſies is to know the true Church.

Marks of the true Church.

him,

him, as by an * inſtrument, that is excellent in all good learning and living. And God is my record, that chiefly I ſought it of him by continual prayer with tears.

* By this inſtrument he meaneth *Peter Martyr.* *Mr. Green* ſeeking his knowledge of God with tears.

Furthermore, what I have done herein, it is not needful for me to ſpeak: but one thing (I ſay) I wiſh of God with all my heart, that all men which are of contrary judgment, would ſeek the truth in like manner. Now I am brought hither before a great many of Biſhops, and learned men, to be made a fool and a laughing ſtock, but I weigh it not a ruſh: for God knoweth that my whole ſtudy is to pleaſe him: Beſides that, I care not for mans pleaſure, or diſpleaſure.

Mr. *Welſh* replyeth to Mr. *Green.*

Mr. *Welch.* No Mr. *Green*, quoth he, think not ſo uncharitably of any man, but judge rather that men labour for your Souls health, as for their own. But alaſs, how will you condemn all our Forefathers? Or how can you think your ſelf to be of the Catholick Church, without any continuance, and contrary to the judgment of all learned men?

Green. Then ſaid I, Sir I have none Authority to judge any man: nevertheleſs, I doubt not but that I am of the true Catholick Church, howſoever our learned men here judge of me.

Welch. Why then, ſaid he, do you ſuppoſe your own wit and learning better then all theirs? if you do not give credit only to them, other learned men ſhall reſort unto you, that ſhall perſwade you by the Scriptures and Doctors.

Green. Sir, quoth I, God knoweth that I refuſe not to learn of any Child, but I would imbrace the truth from the mouth of a natural fool, in any thing wherein I am Ignorant, and that in all things, ſaving my faith: But concerning the truth, wherein I am throughly perſwaded, I cannot ſubmit my ſelf to learn, unleſs it be, as your Maſterſhip ſaid, that I peruſed to books on both ſides. For ſo might I make my ſelf an indifferent judge; otherwiſe I may be ſeduced.

And here we fell out again in a long talk of the Church wherein his learning and wit was much above mine: but in the end I told him I was perſwaded, and that he did but loſe his labour.

Welch. Why then (quoth he) what ſhall I report to my Lord?

Green. Even as pleaſeth you, quoth I, or elſe you may ſay that I would be glad to learn, if I had books on both ſides. So he going in, the Biſhops (even then riſen, and ready to depart) asked how he liked me? He anſwered, In faith my Lord, he will be glad to learn. Which words when they were taken, leſt they ſhould miſtake his meaning and mine, I ſaid, yea my Lord, ſo that I may have books on both ſides, as *Calvin*, and my Lord of *Canterburies* books, and ſuch other. Well, quoth my Lord, I will ſatisfie thy mind therein alſo; and they all were in great hope, that ſhortly I ſhould become a good Catholick as they call it.

Then was I brought into my Lords inner Chamber (* where you were) and there was put in a Chamber with Maſter *Dee*, who intreated me very friendly. That night I ſupped at my Lords table, and lay with Maſter *Dee* in the Chamber you did ſee. On the morrow I was ſerved at dinner from my Lords Table, and at night did eat in the Hall with his Gentlemen; where I have been placed ever ſithence, and fared wonderful well. Yea to ſay the truth, I had my liberty within the bounds of his Lordſhips houſe: for my lodging and fare, ſcarce have I been at any time abroad in better caſe ſo long together, and have found ſo much gentleneſs of my Lord, and his Chaplains, and others Servants, that I ſhould eaſily have forgotten that I was in priſon, were it not that this great chear was often powdred with unſavory ſauces of examinations, exhortations, poſings, and diſputations.

* Where *Philpot* was, he meaneth, to whom he worte this Letter.

Friendly entertainment of *Mr. Green* in B. *Boners* houſe for a time.

For ſhortly after ſupper the firſt Munday at night, I was had into my Lords Bed-chamber, and there he would know of me how I came firſt into theſe Hereſies: I ſaid I was perſwaded thereto by the Scriptures, and Authorities of the Doctors, alledged by *Peter Martyr* in his Lectures upon the eleventh Chapter of the firſt *Epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*, whiles he intreated there on that place *De cæna Domini*, by the ſpace of a Month together. But then then my Lord inforced the plainneſs of Chriſts Words, and his Almighty power, demanding of me, what reaſon ſhould move me from the literal ſenſe of the words: but I having no luſt to thoſe matters, would have alledged that there were books ſufficient of that matter, as *Peter Martyr*, *Cranmer* and *Oecolam padius*: nevertheleſs when this ſhift would not ſerve, but I was conſtrained to ſay ſomewhat, I ſaid I was moved from the literall ſenſe by the manner of ſpeaking, by the Circumſtance, and by Conference of other places of the Scriptures. It is evident that Chriſt took bread, and that he ſhewed them (they ſeeing it) Bread, which he affirmed to be his Body.

Mr. *Green* had in private examination before the Biſhop. *Mr Green* urged with the literal ſenſe of the words (this is my Body.

Anno 1556.

Cauſes moving *Mr. Green* from the literal ſenſe of the words aforeſaid.

Argument.

Chriſt affirmed that bread was his Body.

But that affirmation taken literally, can by no means be true.

Ergo, the words, if they be taken according to the Letter, cannot be true.

For this predication, *Panis eſt corpus Chriſti*, or *corpus Chriſti eſt panis*, is neither *identica* nor *accidentalis*, nor *eſſentialis prædicatio*. Wherefore of neceſſity I muſt ſay it was ſpoken in the like ſenſe, as Chriſt was a door, a vine, and a way. Neither can it ſerve to ſay; that it was not of Bread that he affirmed to be his Body, and that for two cauſes.

Why the words of Chriſt of his Body muſt be take n ſpiritually.

For whatſoever he ſhewed, that was Bread; for nought elſe was ſeen.

Argument.

But that which he ſhewed he affirmed to be his Body.

Ergo, he Affirmed of Bread that it was his Body.

The ſecond reaſon is; for that it was not changed before, ſeeing *benedixit, is gratias egit*, or elſe Chriſt affirmed no true propoſition, and you are without Authority.

In the end of this Letter, there were noted theſe ſentences following, collected for Confirmation of his former aſſertions, *videlicet*,

Reaſons moving *Mr. Green* to take the words ſpritually, not literally.

Eadem locutio poculi, i. The ſame phraſe is uſed and ſpoken, upon the cup.

Dicitur poſtea panis. It is called Bread in the ſame place afterward.

Eadem ratione rejecero corpus, qua tu panem, i. By the ſame reaſon as it may be denied to be Bread, it may be denied to be the Body.

Aſcendit in cœlum, i. His Body aſcended into Heaven.

Corpore nobis factus eſt ſimilis in omnibus poſt nativitatem. At noſtrum corpus non poteſt eſſe in duobus locis. Ergo, &c. In Body he was like to us in all things after his nativity (ſin excepted.) Seeing then our Body cannot be two places at once: *Ergo*, neither his.

Diſcipuli non ſtupebant, &c. His Diſciples took it as no miracle nor wonder.

The laſt Examination and Condemnation of Mr. Green.

The laſt examination of *Mr. Green.*

THus (as it ſeemeth) for this time they left off. But not long after the Biſhop perceiving *Greens* learning and conſtancy to be ſuch, as neither he, nor any of his Doctors and Chaplains could by the Scriptures reſell, began then to object and put in practice his chief and ſtrongeſt argument againſt him; which was the rigour of the Law, and cruelty of Execution: an argument I enſure you, which without the ſpecial grace of our God to fleſh is importable. And therefore uſing Laws a cloak of his tyranny, the 28. day of *November*, the ſaid Bp. examined him upon certain points of Chriſtian Religion. Whereunto when he had anſwered, the Biſhop appointed the Regiſter (as their moſt common manner is) to draw thereout an order of confeſſion. Which being afterwards read unto *Green*, was alſo ſubſcribed by him, as a confirmation of his former aſſertions: The tenour whereof here enſueth.

The confeſſion and ſaying of Bartlet Green.

A draught of *Mr. Greens* confeſſion, gathered by the Biſhops Regiſter.

BArtlet Green born in the City of *London* in the Pariſh of *Baſſingſhal* of the Dioceſs of *London*, and of the age of 25. years, being examined in the Biſhops palace, the 27. day of *November*, *Anno* 1555. upon certain Articles, anſwered as foloweth. *viz.* that neither in the time of King *Edward*, after the

Maſs

Anno 1556.

Maſs by him was put down; neither in the time of Queen Mary after the Maſs was reſtored again, he hath heard any Maſs at all; but he ſaith that in the reign of the ſaid Queens Majeſty he the ſaid *Bartlet*, two times, to wit, at two Eaſter-tides or days, in the Chamber of *John Pulline*, one of the Preachers in King *Edwards* time, within the pariſh of St. *Michaels Cornhil* of the Dioceſs of *London*, did receive the communion with the ſaid *Pulline* and *Chriſtopher Goodman*, ſome time Reader of the Divinity Lecture in *Oxford*, now gone beyond the Sea; and the ſecond time with the ſaid *Pulline* and with one *Rimnegor*, Maſter of Arts of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*: and this Examinate alſo ſaith, that at both the ſaid Communions he, and the other before named, did take and receive Bread and Wine, which Bread and Wine he called Sacramental Bread, and Sacramental Wine, which he ſaith were uſed there by them, *Pulline* only reading the words of the inſtitution, expreſſed in the Book of Communion.

Ex Regiſt.

Tranſubſtantiation denied.

In which receiving and uſing, this Examinate ſaith, that the other aforenamed did receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and that they received material Bread and material Wine, no ſubſtance thereof changed, and ſo no real preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt there being, but only grace added thereto. And further, this Examinate ſaith, that he had heretofore, during the Reign of the Queens Majeſty aforeſaid, refuſed, and ſo now doth refuſe to come and hear Maſs, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, as they are now uſed and miniſtred in this Church of *England*, becauſe he ſaith, that concerning the Maſs, he cannot be perſwaded in his Conſcience, that the Sacrifice pretended to be in the ſame, is agreeable to Gods Word, or maintainable by the ſame? and that without deadly offence he cannot worſhip the Body and Blood of Chriſt, that is pretended to be there. And as concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, this Examinate ſaith, that he heretofore during the ſaid Reign hath refuſed, and now doth refuſe to receive the ſame, as is now uſed in this Church of *England*, becauſe it is not uſed according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, but both in a ſtrange Tongue, and alſo not miniſtred in both kinds; and beſides that, contrary to Gods Word it is there taught, that the thing there miniſtred is to be adored, as the real and true Body of Chriſt. And furthermore this Examinate ſaith, that during the ſaid Reign he hath not been confeſſed to the Prieſt, nor received Abſolution at his hands, becauſe he is not bound by Gods Word to make auricular Confeſſion.

M. Green refuſing to hear Maſs.

Sacrifice of the Maſs not maintainable by Gods Word.

M. Green againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

Auricular confeſſion refuſed.

Bartlet Green.

Many other Conferences and publick Examinations they brought him unto. But in the end (ſeeing his ſtedfaſtneſs of Faith to be ſuch, as againſt the which neither their threatnings, nor yet their flattering promiſes could prevail) the 15. day of *January* the Biſhop cauſed him with the reſt above-named, to be brought into the Conſiſtory in *Pauls*; where being ſet in his Judgment Seat, accompanied with *Fecknam*, then Dean of the ſame Church, and other his Chaplains, after he had condemned the other Six, he then calling for *Bartlet Green*, began with theſe, or the like words:

M. Green with the other ſix Martyrs brought to the Conſiſtory.

Honourable Audience, I think it beſt to open unto you the Converſation of this man, called *Bartlet Green*. And becauſe you ſhall not charge me, that I go about to ſeek any mans Blood, here you ſhall hear the Councils Letters, which they ſent with him unto me. The effect whereof is; that whereas he had been of long time in the *Tower* of *London* for Hereſie, they have now ſent him unto me to be ordered, according to the Laws therefore provided. And now to thee *Bartlet Green* I propoſe theſe nine Articles. Then he read the Articles above mentioned, which were generally objected to all theſe ſeven Priſoners, to wit, *Thomas Whittle*, *John Tudſon*, *John Went*, *Thomas Brown*, *Iſabel Foſter*, *Joan Laſhford*, *Bartlet Green*.

B. *Boners* words to the Audience.

Nine Articles put to *M. Green*.

M. Green not ſuffered to anſwer to the Articles.

But when Maſter *Green* would have anſwered them particularly, he was put to ſilence, with promiſe that he ſhould have time to anſwer ſufficiently, and therefore the Biſhop proceeding ſaid, that when *Green* came firſt to his houſe, he deſired to have the Books of the ancient Doctors of the Church to read, which he ſaid he granted him.

Whereunto *Green* anſwered and ſaid, that if the Doctors were with indifferent judgment weighed, they made more a great deal with him, then they did with them.

Doctors read with indifferent judgment, make more againſt the Papiſts, than with them.

Feck. Upon which words *Fecknam*, Dean of of *Pauls*, ſtood up, and marvelling why he ſaid ſo, asked him if he would be content to ſtand to the judgment of the Doctors.

Green. Green then ſaid, that he was content to ſtand to the Doctors judgment.

Feck. I will then propound unto you (quoth *Fecknam*) the Doctors, and interpret them your ſelf. So he alledged a place of *Chryſoſtom*, *Ad Popul. Antioch.* Which was this, *Elias aſcendens melotem ſuum poſt ſe reliquit: Chriſtus vero aſcendens carnem ſuam aſſumpſit, & eandem poſt ſe reliquit i. Elias* going up, left his Cloak behind him: but Chriſt aſcending up took his fleſh, and alſo left it behind him. And he demanded *Green*, how he underſtood the place.

Chryſoſt. ad Pop. Antioch.

Green. Then *Green* prayed him that he would conferr the Doctors ſayings together, and therefore alledged the ſame Doctor again, writing upon the 1 *Cor* 10. *An non eſt panis quem nos benedicimus, communicatio corporis Domini? Nonne eſt calix, &c. i.* Is not the Bread which we bleſs the Communication of the Lords Body? Whereby he proved that this Doctor called this Sacrament but a ſign of the Lords Body. Many other words of probation and denial were betwixt them.

Chryſoſt. in 1 Cor. 10.

Feck. At laſt *Fecknam* demanded of him, how long he had been of this Opinion. For Mr. *Green* (ſaid he) you confeſſed once to me, that when you were at *Oxford* at School, you were called the rankeſt Papiſt in that Houſe, and being compelled to go to the Lecture of *Peter Martyr*, you were converted from your old Doctrine.

Green. And *Green* confeſſed the ſame.

Feck. Then again he ſaid, that *Green* told him that the ſaid *Peter Martyr* was a Papiſt in his firſt coming to *Oxford*. Whereupon he made an exclamation, and prayed the People to conſider how vain his Doctrine that he profeſſed was, which was grounded upon one man, and that upon ſo unconſtant a man as *Peter Martyr*, which perceiving the wicked intent of the Council, was content to pleaſe them, and forſake the true and Catholick Faith.

M. Green firſt a rank Papiſt. unſtrue report of *P. Martyr*.

Green. Green ſaid that he grounded not his Faith upon *Martyr*, nor any other, nor did believe ſo becauſe *Martyr* believed the ſame? but becauſe that he had heard the Scriptures, and the Doctors of the Church truly and wholſomly expounded by him; neither had he any regard of the man, but of the word which he ſpake. And further he ſaid, that he heard the ſaid Mr. *Peter* ſay often, that he had not as yet, while he was a Papiſt, read *Chryſoſtom* upon the tenth to the *Corinths*, nor many other places of the Doctors: but when he had read them, and well conſidered them, he was content to yield to the Doctors, having firſt humbled himſelf in prayer, deſiring God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true underſtanding of the Scripture. Which thing (ſaid *Green*) if you my Lord would do, I do not doubt, but God would open your eyes, and ſhew you his Truth, no more then I do doubt his words to be true that ſaith; *Aſk, and it ſhall be given to you; knock and it ſhall be opened unto you, &c.*

P. Martyr firſt turned from Popery to the Truth by prayer and reading the Doctors.

Feck. Then *Fecknam* asked him, what he thought of this Article; *Sanctam Eccleſiam Catholicam.*

Green. And *Green* anſwered, that he did believe one holy and univerſal Church throughout all the world.

One holy Catholick Church.

Feck. Then *Fecknam* ſaid, that he would fain have a ſure mark and token, whereby he might know this Church? and therefore he prayed *Green* to define unto him this Church.

Green. Green anſwered, that this Church did agree in verity of the true Doctrine of Chriſt, and was known by the true adminiſtration of his Sacraments.

True marks of the Church.

Feck. Whereupon *Fecknam* ſaid, that he would prove the Church whereof he was, to be never agreeing in Doctrine, but always to have been in Controverſie in their Religion. For (ſaid he) *Luther* and *Zuinglius* could never agree in their writings or ſayings, nor *Oecolampadius* with *Caroloſtadius*, nor *Caroloſtadius* with either

Diſagreement noted amongſt Profeſſors of the Goſpel by *Fecknam*.

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either *Zuinglius* or *Luther*, &c. for *Luther* writing upon the Sacrament of the Altar, ſaid, that *in hoc pane, vel ſub hoc pane corpus Domini accipimus. Zuinglius* controlling him, ſaid, *Sub ſigno panis corpus Domini accipimus.* And the other controlled him in like caſe.

The Goſpellers in words ſeem to diſſent, but in effect do agree with the Word.

Green. Then Mr. *Green* proved their opinions of the Sacrament to be one in effect, being rightly weighed: and though their words did not ſound all one, yet they meant one thing; and their Opinions were all one, as he proved by divers other examples.

Fecknam. Then *Fecknam* deſired him that he would not ſo wilfully caſt himſelf away, but to be rather conformable to reaſon, and that my Lord Biſhop there preſent would be good unto him, and would grant him reſpit (if he would demand it) for a fortnight or three weeks, and that he ſhould chuſe any Learned man whom he would, and ſhould go with him home to his houſe, and that he whom he would chuſe, would willingly take the pains to read and confer the Doctors with him, and open the Doctors minds and meanings unto him.

Boner forbiddeth *M. Green* to be called Maſter.

Boner. Then *Boner* ſaid, that he was proud, and an obſtinate Boy; and therefore he bade *Fecknam* to hold his peace, and to call him no more Mr. *Green:* for (ſaid he) you ought not to call an Heretick Maſter.

Note the blind ignorance of *Pendleton*, as though the Kingdom of Chriſt was not gotten at the death of Chriſt.

Pendleton. After this Dr. *Pendleton* alleadged to him this Text out of the 22. of *Luke*; *Ex hoc non manducabo illud donec impleatur in regno Dei.* Here (ſaid he) you muſt confeſs your Opinion to be falſe, elſe you muſt ſay that Chriſt was a lyar: for Chriſt ſaid, *I will eat no more of this, while it be fulfilled in my Fathers Kingdom.* If Chriſt did eat no more the Bread when he ſpake theſe words, then muſt you ſay that he was a lyar: for he did eat Bread after with his Diſciples before he aſcended. But if you ſay he did eat his Body then, and after but Bread, it will not agree with the Scriptures, nor with good reaſon.

This Biſhop belike was the Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*

Green. Then *Green* anſwered and ſaid, that this was ſpoken by an anticipation, as one of their own Biſhops, (which is now dead) did ſay.

Pendleton. Then Dr. *Pendleton* ſaid, that that was no ſufficient diſcharge, nor no ſufficient anſwer for him in this caſe; for (ſaid he) it is well known that the Biſhop was of a contrary Opinion to you, and that he died a good Chriſtian man.

Green. To which words *Green* ſaid, I do not call him to witneſs in this caſe, as though he were a ſufficient man, to prove my ſaying to be true in this matter: but I do alledge him againſt you, as *Paul* did the Scripture, which he found graven in the Altar of the *Athenians*, againſt themſelves, *ignoto Deo.*

Theſe with many other words were between them, which I do overpaſs, becauſe it were too long to ſtand upon recital of every thing. Laſt of all the Biſhop asked him, if he would recant. He ſaid nay, he would not. But my Lord (ſaid he) in old time there were no men put to death for their Conſcience, until ſuch time as Biſhops found the means to make it death to believe contrary to them; but Excommunication (my Lord) was the greateſt penalty which men had for their Conſcience; yea, inſomuch that S. *Auguſtine* wrote, and commanded that no man ſhould be put to death for his Opinion.

In the old time Excommunication was the greateſt penalty in matters of Faith and Conſcience.

Boner. Then *Boner* ſaid, that when S. *Auguſtine* ſaw what inconveniences followed of that Commandment, he wrote again to the temporal Rulers, commanding them to puniſh their Bodies alſo.

Green. But, ſaid *Green*, he bade not put them to death.

Bon. He bade puniſh them, quoth *Boner.*

Green. Yea, ſaid *Green*, but not put them to death.

Boner. That they ſhould be puniſhed, quoth *Boner* again.

Sentence given againſt Mr. *Green.*

This talk ended, he asked *Green* if he would recant, and return to their *Romiſh* Mother. Which when he denied, the Biſhop pronounced the Sentence definitive againſt him, and ſo committed him to the Sheriffs of *London*, who cauſed him to be carried to *Newgate.*

And as he was going thither, there met with him two Gentlemen, being both his ſpecial Friends, minding belike to comfort this their perſecuted Brother: but at their meeting, their loving and friendly hearts (not able any longer to hide themſelves) were manifeſted by the abundance of their pitiful tears. To whom, when *Green* ſaw them, he ſaid in theſe or like words, Ah my Friends, is this your comfort you are come to give me, in this my occaſion of heavineſs? Muſt I, who needed to have comfort miniſtred to me, become now a comforter of you? And thus declaring his moſt quiet and peaceable Mind and Conſcience, he chearfully ſpake to them and others, until he came to the Priſon door, into the which he joyfully entred, and there remained always either in Prayer (whereunto he much gave himſelf) or elſe in ſome other godly meditations and exerciſes, unto the 28. day of *January*, when he with his other above-mentioned Brethren went moſt chearfully unto the place of their torments, often repeating, as well by the way, as alſo at the Stake, theſe Latin Verſes following.

The words of M. *Green* to his Friends, by the way going to *Newgate.*

Chriſte Deus, ſine te ſpes eſt mihi nulla ſalutis:
Te duce vera ſequor, te duce falſa nego.

Verſes of M. *Green* written in his Friends Books.

In Engliſh thus,

O Chriſt, my God, ſure hope of health,
Beſides thee have I none:
The truth I love, and falſhood hate,
By thee my Guide alone.

During the time of his Impriſonment in *Newgate*, divers of his Friends had acceſs unto him, to whom he gave ſundry godly Exhortations, wherewith they were not only well contented, but for better remembrance as well of the ſame his inſtructions, as alſo of his own good and godly perſon, they deſired him to write ſomewhat in their Books, which requeſt he willingly granted, as in manner here enſueth.

Theſe Verſes were written in a Book of M. *Huſſey* of the *Temple.*

Behold thy ſelf by me,
Such one was I, as thou:
And thou in time ſhalt be,
Even duſt as I am now.
Bartlet Green.

Theſe Verſes were alſo written in a Book of Mr. *William Fleetwood*, of the ſame Houſe.

My Reſting-road is found,
Vain hope and hap adieu:
Love whom you liſt with change,
Death ſhall me rid from you.
Barlet Green.

The ſingular modeſty and humble nature of M. *Green.*

Amongſt other divers and ſingular good vertues of this good man, ſpecially in him was to be noted ſuch a modeſt nature, ſo humbly thinking of himſelf, as in few men is to be found, ever dejecting himſelf under that was in him, and ever ſeeming to be leſs than he was, ſo that nothing leſs he could abide, than to hear of his praiſe or commendation; as well declareth not only his Letter written to Mr. *Philpot*, wherein he doth earneſtly expoſtulate with him, for ſlandering him with praiſe of his wit and learning, and other manifold vertues of great excellency; but alſo by his own ſpeech and anſwers in his Examination, wherein he caſteth from him all knowledge of learning and cunning, when notwithſtanding he had more in him, than to any mans eyes did appear.

So great and admirable was this gift of modeſty grafted in the nature of him, ſo far abhorring from all pride and arrogancy, that as he could not abide any thing that was ſpoken to his advancement or praiſe; ſo neither did there appear in him any ſhew or brag in thoſe things wherein he might juſtly glory, which were his puniſhments and ſufferings for the cauſe and quarrel of Chriſt. For when he was beaten and ſcourged with rods by Biſhop *Boner* (which ſcarce any man would believe, nor I neither, but that I heard it of him, which heard it out of his mouth) and he greatly rejoyced in the ſame, yet his ſhamefaſt modeſty was ſuch, that never he would expreſs any mention thereof, leſt he ſhould ſeem

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to glory too much in himſelf, ſave that only he opened the ſame to one Mr. *Cotton* of the *Temple*, a friend of his, a little before his death.

Moreover, to his rare and maidenly modeſty in him was alſo adjoyned the like nature of mercy and pitiful compaſſion; which affection though it ſeemeth to be little regarded of ſome, yet in my mind is there no other thing wrought in nature, wherein man reſembleth more truly the Image of the high Majeſty of Almighty God, then this. And as in this reſpect of merciful tenderneſs, man only excelleth all other beaſts; ſo almoſt no leſs may this man ſeem to paſs many other men, whoſe cuſtomable property and exerciſe was to viſit the poor Priſoners with him in Priſon both with Bodily relief, and alſo with Spiritual comfort: and finding many of them (I mean ſuch as were there for theft and other naughty facts) very penitent and ſorry for their evel demeanours, in hope of their amendment, did not only by mouth, but alſo by his Letters require, yea, as it were of duty in love, did charge his Friends to travel for their deliverances; ſuch was the pity and charitable mercy of this godly and moſt true member of Chriſts Church, as appeareth by this Letter here following.

The pitiful nature of Mr. *Green.*

To my very loving Friends and Maſters Mr. Goring, Mr. Fernham, Mr. Fleetwood, Mr. Ruſſwel, Mr. Bell, Mr. Huſſey, Mr. Calthrop, Mr. Bowyer, *and other my Maſters of the* Temple, Bartlet Green *wiſheth health of Body and Soul.*

A Letter of M. B*artlet Green* to certain of his loving Friends in the *Temple.*

VEry Friends are they which are knit together with the knot of Charity; Charity doth not decay, but increaſe in them that die faithfully: whereof it followeth, that though we be abſent in body, yet are we preſent in the ſpirit, coupled together with the unity of Faith in the bond of peace, which is love. How is he worthy the name of a Friend, that meaſureth his Friendſhip with the diſtance of a place, or parting of perſons? If thy friend be out of ſight, is thy friendſhip ended? If he be gone into the Country, wilt thou ceaſe to love him? If he be paſſed the Seas, will you ſo forſake him? If he be carried into Heaven, is charity hindred thereby

What true friendſhip is. True friendſhip is not meaſured by diſtance of place or of perſons.

On the one ſide we have the uſe of the Fathers from the Primitive Church, that gave thanks for their friends that died in the Faith, to prove that Charity died not with death. On the other ſide (ſaith *Horace*) *Cœlum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.*

What ſpeak I of *Horace*? Saith not St. *Paul* the ſame thing? For we are members of his Body, of his fleſh, and of his Blood, yea, we are members one of another. Is the hand or arm, foot or leg a member, when it is diſſevered from the Body? How can we be members, except we be joyned together? What is the line that coupleth us, but love? When all things ſhall fail, love faileth never. Hope hath his end, when we get that he hoped for. Faith is finiſhed in Heaven, love endureth for ever: Love (I ſay) that proceedeth of Charity; for carnal love, when that which he loveth is loſt, doth periſh with the fleſh. Neither was that ever but fleſhly love, which by diſtance of place, or ſevering of bodies is parted aſunder. If love be the end or ſum of the Law, if Heaven and Earth ſhall periſh, yet one jot of Gods Word ſhall not decay, why ſhould we think that love laſteth not for ever?

Love only coupleth together. All other things fail. Love only endureth for ever.

I need not to write much to you my friends, neither can I have leiſure now that the Keepers are riſen: but this I ſay; If we keep Chriſts Commandment in loving each other, as he loved us, then ſhould our love be everlaſting. This friendſhip *Paul* felt when it moved him to ſay, that neither length nor breadth (meaning no diſtance of place) neither height nor depth ſhould ſever him from the love of Chriſt. Weigh well this place, and mete it with *Pauls* meaſures; ſo ſhall we find that if our love be untainted, it can never be ended. Now may you ſay, Why writeſt thou this? certainly to the end that if our friendſhip be ſtable, you may accompliſh this the laſt requeſt of your friend, and perform after my death the friendſhip we began in our life, that amity may increaſe until God make it perfect at our next meeting together.

Love unfeigned never endeth.

Mr. *Fleetwood*, I beſeech you remember *Wittrance* and *Cook*, two ſingular men amongſt common Priſoners. Mr. *Fernham* and Mr. *Bell*, with Mr. *Huſſey* (as I hope) will dipatch *Palmer* and *Richardſon* with his Companions. I pray you Mr. *Palmer* think on *John Grove*, an honeſt poor man *Trafford* and *Rice Apprice* his Accomplices: My Couſin *Thomas Witton* (a Scrivener in *Lombard-ſtreet*) hath promiſed to further their delivery: at the leaſt he can inſtruct you which way to work, I doubt not but that Mr. *Bowyer* will labour for the good wife *Cooper* for ſhe is worthy to be holpen) and *Berard* the Frenchman. There be alſo divers other well diſpoſed men, whoſe deliverance if ye will not labour for, yet I humbly beſeech you to ſeek their relief, as you ſhall ſee cauſe: namely, of *Henry Apprice*, *Lancelot*, *Hobbes*, *Lother*, *Homes*, *Carre*, and *Bockingham*, a young man of goodly gifts in Wit and learning, and (ſaving that he is ſomewhat wild) likely to do well hereafter. There be alſo two women, *Coningham* and *Alice Alexander* that may proye honeſt. For theſe and all other poor Priſoners here I make this my humble ſute and prayer to you all my Maſters, and eſpecially good friends, beſeeching you of all bonds of amity, for the precious Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, in the bowels of mercy, to tender the cauſes of miſerable Captives; help to clothe Chriſt, viſit the afflicted, comfort the ſorrowful, and relieve the needy. The very God of peace guide your hearts to have mercy on the poor, and love faithfully together, *Amen.* This preſent Monday when I look to die, and live for ever.

The ſute of M. *Green* for the ſaving of certain poor Priſoners in *Newgate.*

Yours as ever, Bartlet Green.

Another Letter of M. Green *to Mrs.* Elizabeth Clark.

WOuld God (if it were his pleaſure) that with this Letter I might ſend you my heart and mind, and whatſoever there is in me elſe, that pertaineth to God: So ſhould I think it the beſt meſſage, and happieſt Letter that ever I could write. But though I obtain not my deſire, yet ſhall I not ceaſe with continual Prayer to labour for you, deſiring Almighty God to increaſe that which he hath long ſince begun in you, of ſober life, and earneſt zeal towards his Religion. In Faith (as ſaith St. *Paul*) ſhe that is a true widow and friendleſs, putteth her truſt in God, continuing day and night in ſupplication and Prayer; but ſhe that liveth in pleaſure is dead, even yet alive. And verily a true widow is ſhe that hath married Chriſt, forſaking the vanities of the world, and luſt of the fleſh. For as the married woman careth how to love, pleaſe, and ſerve her husband; ſo ought the widow to give all her heart and Soul, thoughts and words, ſtudies and labours, faithfully to love God, vertuouſly to bring up her Children and houſhold, and diligently to provide for the poor and oppreſſed.

Another Letter of Mr. *Green's* to Mrs. *Eliz. Clark.*

1 Tim 5.

1 Cor. 7.

1 Tim. 5.

Therefore St. *Paul* firſt inſtructeth a widow how to behave her ſelf, that is, Not to live in pleaſure, then to watch unto prayer, is the only means to obtain all our deſires; ſtedfaſtly laying up all our truſt in God, as *David* right well ſaith, Firſt eſchew evil, then do good. Of *Anna*, the praiſe was written, that ſhe never went out of the Temple, but ſerved God with faſting and prayer night and day; ſo well had ſhe eſpouſed Chriſt. *Judith* wore a Smock of hair, continuing in faſting, and had good report of all men.

Pſal. 34.

Luke 2.

Judg. 8.

The next care that belongeth to a widow, is, that ſhe bring up her Children and houſhold godly in the nurture and information of the Lord. Whereof St. *Paul* ſaith; If any have Children or Nephews, let them learn firſt to rule their own houſe godly, and to recompence their elders. The incontinency and covetouſneſs of *Phineas* and *Ophny*, corrected by *Ely* their Father, provoked Gods vengance upon him and all his kindred. The over tender love of *Abſalom* expelled *David* from his Kingdom. The unrebuked ſins of *Ammon* incouraged *Abſalom* to ſlay his Brother; moſt manifeſt examples againſt the Parents, for the offences of their Children.

Epheſ. 6.

1 Tim. 5.

1 Reg. 2.

2 Reg. 15.

1 Reg. 8.

Contrariwiſe, how greatly might *Hannah* rejoyce over *Samuel* her Son, whom ſhe had brought up in the Houſe of the Lord? What thanks might *Tobias* wife give for her Son *Toby*? How happy was *Solomon* to be taught by the Prophet *Nathan*? But above all widows, thrice bleſſed was the happy Mother of the ſeven Sons, that ſo had inſtructed them by the fear of God, that by no torments they would ſhrink from the love of his truth?

2 Reg 23.

3 Reg. 1.

2 Macch. 7.

Of

Of the laſt part Saint *Paul* ſheweth that a widow ſhould be choſen, If ſhe have nouriſhed her Children, if ſhe have been liberal to ſtrangers, if ſhe have waſhed the Saints feet, and if ſhe have miniſtred to them in Adverſity. Herein it is evident how earneſtly Saint *Paul* would have widows bent towards the poor; for that (as though they onely had been therefore meet) he appointed onely widows to miniſter to the Saints, and to gather for the poor. Which uſe alſo continued almoſt throughout the Primitive Church, that widows had the charge and gathering for the poor men and ſtrangers.

The office and exerciſe of Chriſtian widows in the primitive Church.

Of your neighbours I need not to put you in Remembrance, ſeeing you daily feed them with good Hoſpitality by which means alſo many foreiners are of you relieved: but of the poor Almſ-houſes, and miſerable priſoners here in *London*, many lacking their liberty without cauſe, ſome under the Colour of Religion, ſome onely kept for fees, and ſome on private mens diſpleaſure. Alas that Chriſt ſo hungereth, and no man will feed him; is ſore oppreſt with thirſt, and no man will give him drink; deſtitute of all lodging, and not relieved; naked, and not clothed; ſick, and not viſited; impriſoned, and not ſeen.

In times paſt men could beſtow large ſums of money on copes, veſtiments, and ornaments of the Church. Why rather follow we not * St. *Ambroſes* example, which ſold the ſame for the relief of the poor, or *Chryſoſtoms* Commandment, which willed firſt to deck and garniſh the living Temple of God? But alas, ſuch is the wickedneſs of theſe our laſt days, that nothing moveth us; neither the pure Doctrine, the godlineſs of life, nor good examples of the Ancient Fathers. If in any thing they erred, if they have written any thing that ſerveth for ſects and diſſention, that will their charitable Children imbrace, publiſh and maintain with ſword, fagot, and fire: But all in vain; they ſtrive againſt the ſtream. For though in deſpite of the truth, by force of the cares of crafty perſwaſion, they may bring themſelves into the Haven of Hell: yet can they not make all men believe that the banks move whileſt the ſhip ſaileth, nor ever ſhall be able to turn the direct courſe of the ſtream of Gods Truth. Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſtrengthen you in all pure Doctrine and upright living, and give you grace vertuouſly to bring up your Children and Family, and carefully to provide for the poor and opreſſed, *Amen*. At *Newgate* the 20. of *January*. *Anno* 1556.

* St Ambroſe took from the Church, and gave to the poor; we take from the poor their tithes and impropriations, & give them to Churche and miniſters where is nothing but ſinging and idleneſs.

Your aſſured Bartlet Green.

Another certain writing of Mr. Bartlet Green.

Another certain writing of Mr. Bartlet Green

BEtter is the day of death (ſaith *Solomon*) then the day of birth. Man that is born of a Woman liveth but a ſhort time, and is repleniſhed with many miſeries; but happy are the dead that die in the Lord. Man of woman is born in travel, to live in miſery; man through Chriſt doth dy in joy, and live in felicity. He is born to dy, and dieth to live. Straight as he cometh into the World, with cries he uttereth his miſerable eſtate; ſtraight as he departeth, with ſongs he praiſeth God for ever. Scarce yet in his cradle, three deadly enemies aſſault him; after death no Adverſary may annoy him. Whileſt he is here, he diſpleaſeth God; when he is dead, he fulfilleth his will. In this life here he dieth through ſin; in the life to come he liveth in righteouſneſs. Through many tribulations in earth he is ſtill purged; with joy unſpeakable in Heaven is he made pure for ever. Here he dieth every hour; there he liveth continually. Here is ſin; there is righteouſneſs. Here is time; there is eternity. Here is hatred; there is love. Here is pain; there is pleaſure. Here is miſery; there is felicity. Here is corruption; there is immortality. Here we ſee vanity; there ſhall we behold the Majeſty of God with triumphant and unſpeakable joy in glory everlaſting. Seek therefore the things that are above, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father; unto whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory, World without end, *Amen*.

Yours in Chriſt, Bartlet Green.

Divers other Letters and matters there were beſide which this Servant of God did write, as namely certain notes and extracts in *Latine* out of the Doctors and other Authors for his memory, whereby is declared how ſtudious he was in the ſearching and knowledge of the Law of God, although his profeſſion was the temporal Law. Where I would to God he were not among the Lawyers ſuch a Phenix, that he had very few or no fellows to flie with him, or to follow his ſteps. But God is to be praiſed, that although we read of few or none among that ſort that died as he did, yet good witneſs doth ſpring up daily of the ſame profeſſion, to ſuch towardneſs and godly zeal, that ſome hope already appeareth ſhortly to come to paſs, that this godly Phenix ſhall not flie alone. Theſe aforeſaid notes and gatherings of his out of the Doctors were taken from him by *Boner*, being found about him, which was to him no little grief. He among the reſt was firſt apprehended, but laſt of them condemned, which was the fifteenth day of *January*, and afterward burned with the other Martyrs, the 27. of the ſame Month. *Anno* 1556.

A commendation of Lawyers.

3. Thomas Brown, *Martyr.*

Ex Regiſt. Tho. Brown Martyr.

Thomas Brown, born in the Pariſh of *Hiſton* within the Dioceſs of *Ely*, came afterwards to *London*, where he dwelled in the Pariſh of Saint *Brides* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, a Married Man, of the age of thirty ſeven years; who becauſe he came not to his Pariſh Church, was preſented by the Conſtable of the Pariſh to *Boner*. As touching whoſe Articles, whereupon he was examined by the ſaid *Boner*, with his anſwers alſo annexed to the ſame, mention goeth before, as in the general proceſs of him and of the reſt may appear. This *Thomas Brown* being had to *Fulham*, with the other there to be examined was required upon *Thurſday*, being the 26. day of *September*, to come into the Chappel to hear Maſs, which he refuſing to do, went into the Warren, there kneeled among the trees. For this he was greatly charged of the Biſhop, as for an hainous matter, becauſe he ſaid it was done in deſpite and contempt of their Maſs; which ſeemed to the Biſhop and his Chaplains no ſmall offence. At length being produced to his laſt examination before the ſaid Biſhop the fifteenth day of *January*, there to hear ſentence definitive againſt him; firſt he was required with many fair words and gloſing promiſes to revoke his Doctrin, to whom the foreſaid Biſhop ſpeaking theſe words, ſaid, *Brown*, ye have been before me many times and oft, and I have travelled with thee, to win thee from thine errours; yet thou, and ſuch like, have and do report that I go about to ſeek thy Blood &c.

Tho. Brown presented by the Conſtable of S. *Brides*.

Brown kneeleth among the trees at Maſs time.

B. *Boners* words to *Tho. Brown*.

To whom the ſaid *Thomas Brown* anſwered again; Yea, my Lord (ſaith he) indeed ye be a Bloodſucker, and I would I had as much Blood as is water in the Sea, for you to ſuck.

B. *Boner* charged to be a Bloodſucker.

Boner then proceeding to the Articles, when he had read them unto him again, as he had done divers times before, asked him whether he was content and willing to reliniquiſh thoſe his Hereſies and erroneous opinions (as he called them) and return again unto the Unity of the Catholick Faith. Whereunto he made anſwer again, ſaying, if they were Hereſies, he would forſake them. They be Hereſies (quoth the Biſhop.) How will ye prove it, ſaid *Brown*? for I will not go from mine anſwer, except you can prove them to be Hereſies, which ye ſhall never do. For that which you call Hereſie, is no Hereſie. With that *Boner*, not able, or elſe not diſpoſed to ſupply the part of a ſufficient teacher, in proving that which the other had denied by good Authority and Doctrine of the Scripture, went about with words and promiſe of pardon to allure him to renounce thoſe his Hereſies, as he called them, and to return unto the Unity of his Mother the Catholick Church, &c.

The anſwer of *Tho. Brown* to B. *Boner*.

To whom the ſaid *Thomas* inferred again, as followeth; Prove it (ſaid he) to be Hereſie, that I do hold and maintain, and I will turn to you. But you condemn me, becauſe I will not confeſs and believe the Bread in the Sacrament of the Altar (as you call it) to be the Body of Chriſt, and therefore ye ſpill mine and ſuch like innocents Blood, being the Queens true ſubjects, for which you ſhall anſwer, and that ſhortly.

After

Anno 1556.

Sentence read againſt Tho. Brown.

After this being ſpoken, *Boner* (as he had done to the other before) read in writing the Sentence definitive againſt him. The Copy and Form of which Sentence wherewith the Papiſts were wont to condemn all the innocent Saints of Chriſt, is above expreſſed. And ſo this done, he was committed to the Sheriffs to be had away, and burned the 27th day of the ſaid Month of *January*, conſtantly abiding with the other the Popes torments for the true Confeſſion of his Chriſtian Faith.

4. *John Tudſon*, Martyr.

John Tudſon, Martyr. January 27.

THe ſame day and time, when the foreſaid *Thomas Brown* with his Fellows was condemned (as is above rehearſed) being the fifteenth day of *January*, was alſo produced *John Tudſon*, with the reſt of the ſaid Company, unto the like Condemnation. This *John Tudſon* was born in *Ipſwich*, in the County of *Suffolk*, after that Apprentice in *London*, dwelling with one *George Goodyear* of the Pariſh of S. *Mary Botolph*, within the Dioceſs of *London*, who being complained of to Sir *Richard Chomley* and Dr. *Story*, was by them ſent unto *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, and was divers times before him in Examination.

The Articles and Interrogatories miniſtred unto him, as unto the reſt, before are ſpecified, with his Anſwers alſo to the ſame annexed, *&c.* After this he was brought unto the open Conſiſtory; where the ſaid bleſſed and true Servant of the Lord *John Tudſon*, appearing before the ſaid Biſhop and his Complices, was moved with ſundry perſwaſions (as their manner is) to go from his opinion (which they named Hereſie) and to perſiſt in the unity of the Church which they were of; but he, conſtantly perſiſting in that which he had received by the Preachers in King *Edwards* time, refuſed ſo to do, ſaying, there was no Hereſie in his Anſwers. For I, ſaid he, defie all Hereſie. The Biſhop yet ſtill uſed his old accuſtomed perſwaſions to remove him, promiſing moreover all his offences and errors (as he called them) to be forgiven him, if he would return, *&c.* Then ſaid *Tudſon*, Tell me wherein I have offended, and I will return. Then ſaid the Biſhop, In your Anſwers. No, ſaid *Tudſon* again, I have not therein offended; and ye (my Lord) pretend Charity, but nothing thereof appeareth in your works. Thus after a few words, the Biſhop did likewiſe promulgate againſt him Sentence of Condemnation; which being read, the godly and conſtant Martyr was committed to the Secular Power, and ſo with much patience finiſhed this life with the other above named, the 27th day of *January*.

Of theſe Articles read before.

The conſtant perſiſting of John Tudſon.

Sentence read againſt John Tudſon.

5. *John Went*, Martyr.

John Went, Martyr. January 27.

John Went born in *Langham* in *Eſſex*, within the Dioceſs of *London*, of the Age of 27. and a Sheerman by Occupation, firſt was examined (as partly is touched before) by Dr. *Story* upon the Sacrament of his Popiſh Altar; and becauſe the poor man did not accord with him throughly in the Real Preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, the ſaid *Story* did ſend him up to *Boner* B. of *London*. Who likewiſe, after divers Examinations upon the Articles aforeſaid in the Conſiſtory, attempted the like manner of perſwaſions with him, as he did to the other, to retant and return. To whom, in few words, the ſaid *Went* anſwered again, He would not, but that by the leave of God, he would ſtand firm and conſtant in that he had ſaid. And when the Biſhop yet notwithſtanding did ſtill urge and call upon him with words and fair gloſſes, to give over himſelf to their opinion, he could have no other anſwer of him but this, No, I ſay as I have ſaid, *&c.* Whereupon being condemned by the Biſhops Sentence, he was committed unto the Sheriffs (whom that ſhameleſs Shaveling at that time abuſed for his Servile Butchers) and ſo brought to his Martyrdom, which he with no leſs conſtancy ſuffered to the end, with the reſt of that bleſſed Society of Martyrs above named.

John Went withſtandeth the Biſhops perſwaſions.

John Went condemned.

6. *Iſabel Foſter*, Martyr.

Iſabel Foſter, Martyr. January 27.

WIth theſe five Perſons above recited and condemned, were alſo two Women in the ſaid Company condemned the ſame time, and likewiſe burned for the ſame cauſe; the one a Wife, called *Iſabel Foſter*, the other a Maid, named *Joan Warn*, or otherwiſe, *Laſhford*.

Iſabel Foſter conſtant in confeſſing Chriſts Goſpel.

This foreſaid *Iſabel* was born in *Grafeſtock* in the Dioceſs of *Carliſle*, and afterwards married to one *John Foſter*, Cutler, of the Pariſh of St. *Brides* in *Fleetſtreet*, being of the Age of five and fifty years. She likewiſe, for not coming unto the Church, being ſent unto *Boner*, and ſo impriſoned, was ſundry times examined by the ſaid Biſhop, but never overcome, nor removed from the conſtant Confeſſion of Chriſts Goſpel.

At length, coming unto her final Examination before the Biſhop in the Conſiſtory the fifteenth day of the ſaid Month of *January*, ſhe was moved again, whether ſhe would yet go from her former Anſwers. Whereunto ſhe gave a reſolute Anſwer in few words; I will not (ſaith ſhe) go from them by Gods grace; and thereunto did adhere, neither being caſt down by the menacing threats of the Biſhop, nor yet yielding through his alluring inticements, promiſing both life and liberty, if ſhe would aſſociate her ſelf in the Unity of the Catholick Church. Whereunto ſhe ſaid again in this wiſe, That ſhe truſted ſhe was never out of the Catholick Church, *&c.* and ſo perſiſting in the ſame, continued conſtant till the Sentence definitive was pronounced, and then ſhe was committed by commandment of the Biſhop to the Secular Power, and ſo brought a few days after to the Stake, the Seven and twentieth day of the foreſaid Month; where ſhe like a faithful Witneſs of the Lords Truth (with the other five aforeſaid) ended her troubles here, to find a better reſt in the Kingdom of Chriſt our Saviour.

The words of *Iſabel Foſter* at her laſt Examination.

Iſabel Foſter condemned.

7. *Joan Laſhford*, alias *Joan Warne*, Martyr.

IN a certain place of theſe *Acts* and *Monuments* heretofore, mention was made of one *Elizabeth Warne*, who with her Husband *John Warne* (as is aforeſaid) in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, was apprehended in *Bowe Church-yard* for being there at a Communion; and both ſuffered for the ſame, firſt the Man in the Month of *May*, then the Wife in *July* after; and now the Daughter in the Month of *January* followed her Parents in the ſame Martyrdom. Furthermore, in the ſame place following mention was made alſo of Dr. *Story*, who there (we ſaid) was ſomewhat near unto the ſaid Parties, either in Kindred or Alliance; albeit, as I underſtand ſince of ſome, there was no Kindred between them, but only that ſhe was his Servant. Yet notwithſtanding, the ſaid Dr. *Story* (as it is above ſpecified) before he was Commiſſioner, made interceſſion for the Parties to Dr. *Martyn* then Commiſſioner: but afterward being placed in Commiſſion himſelf, he ſo far forgot himſelf, and his old Servant, that he became no ſmall Procurer of their deaths. I will not here expoſtulate with the hard heart of that man, nor with his inconſtancy: who yet notwithſtanding, after he had brought them to death, was arreſted himſelf for three-ſcore pounds, charged with Debt in their behalf; which if it be true, it may thereby appear that he was in ſome piece of kindred joyned or allied unto them. But leaving that perſon unto the good pleaſure of the Lord, let us return unto that we have in hand.

Joan Laſhford, alias *Joan Warne*, Martyr. January 27.

Dr. *Story* firſt interceſſor for *John Warne* and his daughter, and afterward the chiefeſt Perſecutor againſt them.

This *Joan Laſhford*, born in the Pariſh of *Little Alhallows* in *Thames-ſtreet*, was the Daughter of one *Robert Laſhford* Cutler, and of the foreſaid *Elizabeth*, who afterward was married to *John Warne* Upholſter, who (as is ſaid) was perſecuted for the Goſpel of God to the burning fire; and after him his Wife; and after her, this *Joan Laſhford* her Daughter; who, about the Age of twenty years, miniſtring to her Father and Mother in Priſon, ſuſpected and known to be of the ſame Doctrine and Religion, was ſent to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, by Dr. *Story*, (as is above in her Anſwers to the Articles declared) and ſo committed to the *Compter* in the *Poultrey*, where ſhe remained the ſpace of five weeks, and from thence had to *Newgate*, where ſhe continued the ſpace of certain Months.

Joan Laſhford daughter of *Eliz. Warne*.

The daughter burned after the father and mother.

After that, remaining Priſoner in the Cuſtody of the ſaid *Boner*, her Confeſſion was, being examined, that the whole twelve month before, and more, ſhe came unto no Popiſh Maſs Service in the Church, neither would do, either to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, or to

The Confeſſion of *Joan Laſhford* before the Biſhop.

Seven Godly and conſtant Martyrs, ſuffering at one fire together in Smithfield.

The burning of the foreſaid man, and four Women. Anno 1556.

be confeſſed, becauſe her Conſcience would not ſuffer her ſo to do; confeſſing and proteſting, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, there is not the real preſence of Chriſts Body and Blood; nor that auricular confeſſion or abſolution after the Popiſh ſort, was neceſſary, nor the Maſs to be good, or according unto the Scripture, but ſaid that both the ſaid Sacrament, confeſſion, abſolution, and the Maſs, with all other their ſuperfluous Sacraments, ceremonies, and divine ſervice, as then uſed in this Realm of *England*, were moſt vile, and contrary to Chriſts words and inſtitution; ſo that neither they were at the beginning, nor ſhall be at the latter end. This godly Damoſel, feeble and tender of age, yet ſtrong by Grace, in this her Confeſſion and Faith ſtood ſo firm, that neither the flattering promiſes, nor the violent threats of the Biſhops could turn her, but being moved and exhorted by the Biſhop to return to the Catholick unity of the Church, ſaid boldly to him again; If ye will leave off your abomination, ſo I will return, and otherwiſe I will not.

Superſtuous and Popiſh Ceremonies.

The worthy conſtancy of a maid.

The words of *Joan Laſſford* at her laſt examination.

Whereupon the Biſhop yet again promiſed her pardon of all her errours (as he called them) if ſhe would be conformed. To this ſhe anſwered again, ſaying unto the Biſhop; Do as it pleaſeth you, and I pray God that you may do that which may pleaſe God.

The ſentence and condemnation of *Joan Laſſford*. January 27.

And thus ſhe conſtantly perſevering in the Lords holy truth, was by the ſentence definitive condemned and committed unto the Sheriffs, by whom the foreſaid ſeven and twentieth day of *January* ſhe with the reſt being brought unto the Stake, there waſhed her Clothes in the Blood of the Lamb, dying moſt conſtantly for his Word and Truth, to whom moſt lovingly ſhe eſpouſed her ſelf.

And thus much concerning the Life, Story, and Condemnation of theſe ſeven Martyrs, afore ſpecified.

Five other Martyrs in Canterbury, *four Women and one Man, at two Stakes and one fire, altogether burned.*

January 31. After theſe ſeven before rehearſed, martyred together in *Smithfield*, ſhortly after in the ſame Month, the 31. day of *January*. followed another like fellowſhip of Godly Martyrs at *Canterbury*, four Women and one Man, whoſe names be theſe:

4 Women and one Man, Martyrs.

- *John Lomas*, a young Man,
- *Anne Albright*,
- *Joan Catmer*,
- *Agnes Snoth*, Widow,
- *Joan Sole*, Wife.

1. *John Lomas*, Martyr.

John Lomas of the Pariſh of *Tenderden*, detected and preſented of that Religion which the Papiſts call Hereſie, and cited upon the ſame to appear at *Canterbury*, examined there of the firſt Article, whether he believed the Catholick Church or no, anſwered thus; that he believed ſo much as is contained in Gods Book, and no more. John Lomas Martyr.

Then being aſſigned to appear again under the pain of the Law the next *Wedneſday* ſevennight after, which was the 17. day of *January*, the ſaid *Lomas* examined whether he would be confeſſed of a Prieſt or no, anſwered and ſaid, that he found it not written that he ſhould be confeſſed to any Prieſt in Gods Book, neither would be confeſſed, unleſs he were accuſed by ſome Man of Sin. Again, examined whether he believed the Body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the Altar really under the forms of Bread and Wine after the Conſecration or no, he anſwered that he believed no realty of Chriſts Body to be in the Sacrament; neither found he written, that he is there under form or treſſel, but he believed ſo much as is written. Being then demanded whether he believed that there is a Catholick Church or no, and whether he would be content to be a member of the ſame, he anſwered thereunto, that he believed ſo much as was written in Gods Book, and other anſwer then this he refuſed to give, &c. Whereupon the ſentence was given and read againſt him the 18. day of *January*; and ſo committed to the ſecular power, he conſtantly ſuffered for the Conſcience of a True Faith, with the other four Women here following.

The anſwer of *John Lomas* at his Examination.

The Sacrament of the Altar denied.

Realty of Chriſt neither under form nor treſſel.

Sentence againſt *John Lomas*.

2. *Agnes Snoth*, Martyr.

Agnes Snoth Widow, of the Pariſh of *Smarden*, likewiſe accuſed and cited for the true profeſſion of Chriſts Religion, was divers times examined before the Phariſaical Fathers. Who, there compelled to anſwer to ſuch Articles and interrogatories as ſhould be miniſtred unto her, firſt denied to be confeſſed to a Prieſt; notwithſtanding, ſhe denied not to confeſs her offences as one to another, but not auricularly to any Prieſt. And as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, ſhe proteſted that if ſhe or any other did receive the Sacrament ſo as Chriſt & his Apoſtles after him did deliver it, then ſhe and they did

January 31.

Confeſſion auricular refuſed.

The Sacrament how to be received

Anno 1556.

did receive it to their comfort: but as it is now uſed in the Church, ſhe ſaid that no man could otherwiſe receive it than to his damnation, as ſhe thought. Afterward being examined again concerning Penance, whether it were a Sacrament or no, ſhe plainly denied the ſame, and that the Popiſh manner of their Abſolution was not conſonant to the Word, nor neceſſary to be taken; with ſuch other like, agreeing with the Anſwers and Confeſſion of *John Lomas* before mentioned. Whereupon the Sentence being likewiſe read, ſhe was committed to the Sheriffs of *Canterbury*, and ſo ſuffering Martyrdom with the reſt, declared her ſelf a perfect and conſtant witneſs of Chriſt and of his truth the 31 day of *January*.

Penance is denied to be a Sacrament.

Agnes Snot condemned and committed to the Secular Power.

3. Anne Albright, *alias* Champnes, *Martyr.*

Anne Albright Martyr.

AGainſt *Anne Albright*, likewiſe appearing before the Judge and his Colleagues, it it was alſo objected concerning the ſame matter of Confeſſion. Whereunto ſhe anſwered in theſe words, ſaying, That ſhe would not be confeſſed of a Prieſt, and added moreover, ſpeaking unto the Prieſts, You Prieſts (ſaid ſhe) are the Children of Perdition, and can do no good by your Confeſſion. And likewiſe ſpeaking unto the Judge and his Aſſiſtance, ſhe told them that they were Subverters of Chriſts Truth.

Auricular Confeſſion.

The words of *Anne Albright* to the Prieſts.

Anne Albright denieth the Sacrament of the Altar.

And as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, ſhe ſaid it was a naughty and abominable Idol, and ſo utterly denied the ſame Sacrament. Thus perſiſting and perſevering in her former ſayings and anſwers, ſhe was condemned the ſaid eighteenth day of the ſaid Month, with the other above mentioned; with whom alſo ſhe ſuffered quietly, and with great comfort, for the right of Chriſts Religion.

Condemnation of *Anne Albright*, January 18.

4. *Joan Sole.*

Joan Sole Martyr. January 31.

IN the like manner *Joan Sole*, of the Pariſh of *Horton*, was condemned of the ſame Phariſees and Prieſts, for not allowing Confeſſion Auricular, and for denying the Real Preſence and Subſtance of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the Altar. Who, after their Phariſaical Sentence being promulgate, was brought by the Sheriffs to the Stake with the other four, and ſuſtained the like Martyrdom with them, through the aſſiſtance of Gods holy Grace and Spirit mightily working in her, to the glory of his Name, and confirmation of his Truth.

Condemnation of *Joan Sole* Martyr. January 18.

5. *Joan Catmer.*

Joan Catmer Martyr.

THe fifth and laſt of this heavenly Company of Martyrs, was *Joan Catmer* of the Pariſh of *Hith*, wife (as it ſhould ſeem) of *George Catmer* burned before. Who being asked what ſhe ſaid to Confeſſion made to a Prieſt, denied to be confeſſed to any ſuch Prieſt. And moreover, the Judge ſpeaking of the Sacrament of the Altar, ſhe ſaid and affirmed, That ſhe believed not in that Sacrament, as it was then uſed, for that it was made, ſaid ſhe, a very Idol. In this her Confeſſion ſhe remaining and perſiſting, was by the like Sentence cruelly of them condemned, and ſo ſuffered with the foreſaid *Thomas Lomas*, and the other three fellow Martyrs, ratifying and confeſſing with their blood the true knowledge and doctrine of the glorious Goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus our Saviour.

January 31.

Theſe five perſons were burnt at two Stakes, and one fire, together at *Canterbury*, as is before ſaid: Who, when the fire was flaming about their ears, did ſing *Pſalms*. Whereat the good Knight, Sir *John Norton*, being there preſent, wept bitterly at the ſight thereof.

Perſecutors.

The Judges and other Aſſiſtants which ſate upon her, and the other four above mentioned, were *Richard Faucet*, *John Warren*, *John Mills*, *Robert Collins*, and *John Baker* the Notary.

The life, ſtate, and ſtory of the Reverend Paſtor and Prelate, Thomas Cranmer *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Martyr, burned at* Oxford, *for the Confeſſion of Chriſts true Doctrine under Queen* Mary, *An.* 1556. March 21.

March 21. Tho. Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Martyr.

AS concerning the life and eſtate of that moſt reverend Father in God, and worthy Prelate of godly memory, *Thomas Cranmer* late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and of the original cauſe and occaſion of his preferment unto his Archiepiſcopal Dignity, who of many hath been thought to have procured the ſame by friendſhip only, and of ſome other eſteemed unworthy ſo high a Vocation: It is firſt therefore to be noted and conſidered, that the ſame *Thomas Cranmer* coming of an ancient Parentage, from the Conqueſt to be deduced, and continuing ſince in the name and family of a Gentleman, was born in a Village called *Arſelacton* in *Nottinghamſhire*, of whoſe ſaid name and family there remaineth at theſe days one Mannor and Manſion-houſe in *Lincolnſhire*, called *Cranmer Hall*, &c. Sometimes of Heritage of the ſaid ſtock and family. Who being from his Infancy kept at School, and brought up not without much good Civility, came in proceſs of time unto the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and there proſpering in right good knowledge amongſt the better ſort of Students, was choſen Fellow of *Jeſus Colledge* in *Cambridge*. And ſo being Maſter of Art, and Fellow of the ſame Colledge, it chanced him to marry a Gentleman's Daughter: by means whereof he loſt and gave over his Fellowſhip there, and became the Reader in *Buckingham Colledge*; and for that he would with more diligence apply that his Office of Reading, he placed his ſaid Wife in an Inn, called the Dolphin in *Cambridge*, the Wife of the Houſe being of Affinity unto her. By reaſon whereof, and for that his often reſort unto his Wife in that Inn, he was much marked of ſome Popiſh Merchants; whereupon roſe the ſlanderous noiſe and report againſt him, after he was preferred to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, raiſed up by the malicious diſdain of certain malignant Adverſaries to Chriſt and his Truth, bruting abroad every where, that he was but an Hoſtler, and therefore without all good learning. Of whoſe malicious reports, one of their practiſes in that behalf ſhall hereafter be declared, as place and time ſhall ſerve.

Tho. Cranmer a Gentleman born.

Tho. Cranmer firſt coming to *Cambridge*.

Tho. Cranmer fellow of *Jeſus Colledge*. *Cranmer* married.

Cranmer Reader in *Buckingham Colledge*.

But in the mean time to return to the matter preſent: Whilſt this ſaid Mr. *Cranmer* continued as a Reader in *Buckingham Colledge*, his Wife died in Childbed. After whoſe death, the Maſters and Fellows of *Jeſus Colledge* deſirous again of their old Companion, namely, for his towardlineſs in learning, choſe him again Fellow of the ſame Colledge. Where he remaining at his Study, became in few years after the Reader of Divinity Lecture in the ſame Colledge, and in ſuch ſpecial eſtimation and reputation with the whole Univerſity, that being Doctor of Divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the Heads (which are two or three of the chiefeſt learned men) to examine ſuch as yearly proceed in Commencement, either Batchelors or Doctors of Divinity, by whoſe approbation the whole Univerſity licenſeth them to proceed unto their degree; and again by whoſe diſallowance the Univerſity alſo rejecteth them for a time to proceed, until they be better furniſhed with more knowledge.

Tho. Cranmer after the deceaſe of his wife, choſen fellow into *Jeſus Colledge*.

Tho. Cranmer made Reader in *Jeſus Colledge*, and Doctor of Divinity.

Dr. Cranmer publick examiner in *Cambridge* of them that were to proceed.

Now, Doctor *Cranmer*, ever much favouring the knowledge of the Scripture, would never admit any to proceed in Divinity, unleſs they were ſubſtantially ſeen in the ſtory of the Bible: by means whereof certain Friers, and other religious perſons, who were principally brought up in the ſtudy of School Authors, without regard had to the Authority of Scriptures, were commonly rejected by him; ſo that he was greatly, for that his ſevere examination, of the religious ſort much hated, and had in great indignation: and yet it came to paſs in the end, that divers of them being thus compelled to ſtudy the Scriptures, became afterwards very well learned and well affected; inſomuch, that when they proceeded Doctors of Divinity, they could not overmuch extoll and commend Mr. Doctor *Cranmers* goodneſs towards them, who had for a time put them back, to aſpire unto better knowledge and perfection. Among whom Dr. *Barret* a white Frier, who afterwards dwelt at *Norwich*, was after that ſort handled, giving him no leſs commendation for his happy rejecting of him for a better amendment. Thus much I repeat, that our apiſh and Popiſh ſort of ignorant Prieſts, may well underſtand that this his exerciſe, kind of life, and vocation was not altogether Hoſtler like.

Friers in hatred with Dr *Cranmer*, Dr. *Barret*.

Anno 1556.

Dr. *Cranmer* appointed to be Fellow of the Cardinals Colledge in *Oxford*, refused.

Well, to go forwards; Like as he was neither in fame unknown, nor in knowledge obscure, so was he greatly solicited by Dr. *Capon*, to have been one of the Fellows in the foundation of Cardinal *Wolseys Colledge* in *Oxford*, which he utterly refused, not without danger of indignation. Notwithstanding foreseeing that which after chanced, to the utter confusion of many well affected learned men there, without consideration (beeause mans glory was there more sought for than Gods) he stood to the danger of the said indignation, which chanced more prosperously unto him within few years after than he looked for. For whiles he thus continued in *Cambridge*, the great and weighty Cause of *King Henry* the Eighth, his Divorce with the Lady *Katherine* Dowager of *Spain*, came into question; which being many ways by the space of two or three years amongst the Canonists, Civilians, and other learned men diversly disputed and debated, it came to pass that this said Dr. *Cranmer*, by reason that the Plague was in *Cambridge*, resorted to *Waltham Abbey*, to one Mr. *Cressеys* House there, whose Wife was of kin to the said Mr. *Cranmer*. And for that he had two Sons of the said *Cressey* with him at *Cambridge* as his Pupils, he rested at *Waltham Cross*, at the House of the said Mr. *Cressey*, with the said two Children, during that Summer time whiles the Plague reigned.

Question of the Kings divorce with *Katherine* Dowager.

Of this Campeius, and discourse of his Legacy, read before.

In this Summer time Cardinal *Campeius* and Cardinal *Wolsey*, being in Commission from the Pope, to hear and determine that great Cause in controversie between the King and the Queen, his pretended Wife, dallied and delayed all the Summer time until the Month of *August* came, in hearing the said Cause in controversie debated. When *August* was come, the said Cardinals little minding to proceed to Sentence giving, took occasion to finish their Commission, and not further to determine therein, pretending that it was not permitted by the Laws to keep Courts of Ecclesiastical matters in Harvest time: which sudden stay and giving over of the said Commission by both the Cardinals, being unknown to the King, it so much moved him, that he taking it as a mock at the Cardinals hands, commanded the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* to dispatch forthwith Cardinal *Campeius* home again to *Rome*; and so in haste removed himself from *London* to *Waltham* for a night or twain, whiles his Houshold removed to *Greenwich*: by means whereof it chanced that the Harbengers lodged Doctor *Stephens*, Secretary, and Doctor *Foxe*, Almoner (who were the chief furtherers, preferrers, and defenders on the Kings behalf of the said Cause) in the House of the said Mr. *Cressey*, where the said Dr. *Cranmer* was also lodged and resident. When Supper time came, they all three Doctors met together; Doctor *Stephens* and Doctor *Foxe* much marvelling of Doctor *Cranmers* being there. Who declared to them the cause of his there being, namely, for that the Plague was in *Cambridge*. And as they were of old Acquaintance, so the Secretary and the Almoner right well entertained Doctor *Cranmer*, minding to understand part of his Opinion touching their great business they had in hand. And so as good occasion served, whiles they were at Supper, they conferred with Dr. *Cranmer* concerning the Kings Cause, requesting him of his Judgment and Opinion what he thought therein.

Ste. Gardiner and D. *Foxe*, chief stirrers of the Kings Divorce.

Dr. *Stephens*, Dr. *Foxe*, Dr. *Cranmer* conferring together in the Kings Cause.

Whereto Dr. *Cranmer* answered, That he could say little to the matter, for that he had not studied nor looked for it. Notwithstanding he said to them, that in his Opinion they made more ado in prosecuting the Law Ecclesiastical, then needed. It were better, as I suppose, quoth Dr. *Cranmer*, that the question, Whether a man may marry his Brothers wife, or no? were decided and discussed by the Divines, and by the Authority of the Word of God, whereby the Conscience of the Prince might be better satisfied and quieted, then thus from year to year by frustratory delays to prolong the time, leaving the very truth of the matter unboulted out by the Word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the Scripture will soon declare, make open and manifest, being by learned men well handled, and that may be as well done in *England* in the Universities here, as at *Rome*, or elsewhere in any forreign Nation, the Authority whereof will compel any Judge soon to come to a definitive Sentence: and therefore, as I take it, you might this way have made an end of this matter long since. When Dr. *Cranmer* had thus ended his tale, the other two well liked of his device, and wished that they had so proceeded aforetime, and thereupon conceived some matter of that device to instruct the King withal, who then was minded to send to *Rome* again for a new Commission.

Dr. *Cranmers* anſwer in the queſtion of the Kings divorce.

Dr. *Cranmers* device well liked of.

Now the next day, when the King removed to *Greenwich*, like as he took himself not well handled by the Cardinals in thus deferring his Cause, so his mind being unquieted, and desirous of an end of his long and tedious Sute, he called unto him these his two principal doers in his said Cause, namely, the said Dr. *Stephens* and Dr. *Foxe*, saying unto them, What now my Masters (quoth the King) shall we do in this infinite Cause of mine? I see by it there must be a new Commission procured from *Rome*, and when we shall have an end, God knoweth, and not I.

The King troubled about the divorce.

When the King had said somewhat his mind herein, the Almoner, Dr. *Foxe*, said unto the King again, We trust that there shall be better ways devised for your Majesty, then to make travel so far as to *Rome* any more in your Highnesses Cause, which by chance was put into our heads this other night being at *Waltham*. The King being very desirous to understand his meaning, said, Who hath taken in hand to instruct you by any better or shorter way to proceed in our said Cause? Then said Dr. *Foxe*, It chanced us to be lodged at *Waltham* in Mr. *Cressеys* House this other night, your Highness being there, where we met with an old Acquaintance of ours, named Doctor *Cranmer*, with whom having Conference concerning your Highnesses Cause, he thought that the next way were, first to instruct and quiet your Majesties Conscience by trying your Highnesses Question out by the Authority of the Word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final Sentence. With this Report the Secretary was not content with the Almoner, for that he did not utter this device as of their own invention. And when the Secretary would have seemed by colourable words to make it appear to the King, that they of themselves had devised that means; the King then said, Where is this Dr. *Cranmer*? Is he still at *Waltham*? They answered, that they left him there. Marry (said the King) I will surely speak with him, and therefore let him be sent for out of hand. I perceive (quoth the King) that that man hath the Sow by the right ear. And if I had known this device but two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me out of much disquietness.

Dr. *Cranmer* deviſe & reported to the King.

Note the glorious head of Dr. *Stephens*.

Whereupon Dr. *Cranmer* was sent for, and being removed from *Waltham* to *Cambridge*, and so towards his Friends in *Nottinghamshire*, a Post went for him. But when he came to *London*, he began to quarrel with these two his Acquaintances, that he by their means was thus troubled and brought thither to be cumbred in a matter, wherein he had nothing at all travelled in study; and therefore most instantly intreated them, that they would make his excuse in such sort, that he might be dispatched away from coming in the Kings presence. They promised and took the matter upon them so to do, if by any means they might compass it. But all was in vain; for the more they began to excuse Dr. *Cranmers* absence, the more the King chid with them, for that they brought him not out of hand to his presence, so that no excuse serving, he was fain undelaiedly to come to the Court unto the King, whom the gentle Prince benignly accepting, demanded his name, and said unto him, Were you not at *Waltham* such a time, in the company of my Secretary and my Almoner? Doctor *Cranmer* affirming the same; the King said again, Had you not conference with them concerning our matter of Divorce now in question after this sort, repeating the manner and order thereof? That is right true, if it please your Highness, quoth Doctor *Cranmer*. Well (said the King) I well perceive that you have the right scope of this matter. You must understand (quoth the King) that I have been long troubled in Conscience, and now I perceive that by this means I might have been long ago relieved one way or other from the same, if we had this way proceeded. And therefore, Master Doctor, I pray you, and nevertheless because you

Dr. *Cranmer* ſeeketh excuſes, both to come unto the King & preſence.

Dr. *Cranmer* brought to the King.

Talk between the King and Dr. *Cranmer*.

The King troubled in Conſcience.

Anno 1556.

you are a Subject, I charge and command you (all your other buſineſs and affairs ſet apart) to take ſome pains to ſee this my cauſe to be furthered according to your device, as much as it may lye in you, ſo that I may ſhortly underſtand whereunto I may truſt. For this I proteſt before God and the World, that I ſeek not to be divorced from the Queen, if by any means I might juſtly be perſwaded that this our Matrimony were inviolable, and not againſt the Laws of God; for otherwiſe there was never cauſe to move me to ſeek any ſuch extremity. Neither was there ever Prince had a more gentle, a more obedient and loving Companion and Wife than the Queen is, nor did I ever fanſie woman in all reſpects better, if this doubt had not riſen; aſſuring you that for the ſingular vertues wherewith ſhe is indued, beſides the conſideration of her noble ſtock, I could be right well contented ſtill to remain with her, if ſo it would ſtand with the will and pleaſure of Almighty God. And thus greatly commending her many and ſingular qualities, the King ſaid, I therefore pray you with an indifferent eye, and with as much dexterity as lieth in you, that you for your part do handle the matter for the diſcharging of both our Conſciences.

Mark this you Papiſts which ſo raſhly judge the Kings divorce, and the Popes overthrow to have ſprung of light cauſes.

Dr. *Cranmer* excuſing and diſabling himſelf to the King.

Dr. *Cranmer* much diſabling himſelf to meddle in ſo weighty a matter, beſought the Kings Highneſs to commit the trial and examining of this matter by the Word of God, unto the beſt learned men of both his Univerſities, *Cambridge* and *Oxford*. You ſay well, ſaid the King, and I am content therewith. But yet nevertheleſs, I will have you ſpecially to write your mind therein. And ſo calling the Earl of *Wiltſhire* to him, ſaid, I pray you my Lord, let Dr. *Cranmer* have entertainment in your Houſe at *Durham-Place* for a time, to the intent he may be there quiet to accompliſh my requeſt, and let him lack neither Books, nor any thing requiſite for his ſtudy. And thus after the Kings departure, Dr. *Cranmer* went with my Lord of *Wiltſhire* unto his Houſe, wherein he incontinently wrote his mind concerning the Kings queſtion; adding to the ſame, beſides the Authorities of the Scriptures, of general Councils and of ancient Writers, alſo his Opinion which was this; That the Biſhop of *Rome* had no ſuch Authority, as whereby he might diſpenſe with the Word of God and the Scripture. When Dr. *Cranmer* had made this Book, and committed it to the King, the King ſaid to him, Will you abide by this that you have here written before the Biſhop of *Rome*? That will I do, by Gods grace, quoth Dr. *Cranmer*, if your Majeſty do ſend me thither. Marry (quoth the King) I will ſend you even to him in a ſure Ambaſſage.

Dr. *Cranmer* aſſigned by the King to ſearch the Scriptures in the cauſe of his divorce.

The King firſt given to underſtand that the Pope hath no authority to diſpenſe with the Word of God.

And thus by means of Dr. *Cranmers* handling of this matter with the King, not only certain learned men were ſent abroad to the moſt part of the Univerſities in Chriſtendom, to diſpute the queſtion, but alſo the ſame being by Commiſſion diſputed by the Divines in both the Univerſities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, it was there concluded, That no ſuch Matrimony was by the Word of God lawful.

The Kings matter removed from the Popes Canon Law, to the trial of the Scriptures.

The Kings marriage found by Gods Word unlawful.

Whereupon a ſolemn Ambaſſage was then prepared and ſent to the Biſhop of *Rome*, then being at *Bonony*, wherein went the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Stokeſley*, Dr. *Carne*, Dr. *Bennet*, and divers other learned men and Gentlemen.

Dr. *Cranmer* with others ſent to *Rome* Ambaſſador to the Pope.

And when the time came that they ſhould come before the Biſhop of *Rome* to declare the cauſe of their Ambaſſage, the Biſhop ſitting on high in his Cloth of Eſtate, and in his rich Apparel, with his Sandals on his feet, offering as it were his foot to be kiſſed of the Ambaſſadors; the Earl of *Wiltſhire* diſdaining thereat, ſtood ſtill, and made no countenance thereunto, ſo that all the reſt kept themſelves from that Idolatry.

The Engliſh Ambaſſadors not haſty to kiſs the Popes foot.

Howbeit, one thing is not here to be omitted, as a prognoſticate of our Separation from the See of *Rome*, which then chanced by a Spaniel of the Earl of *Wiltſhire*. For he having there a great Spaniel which came out of *England* with him, ſtood directly between the Earl and the Biſhop of *Rome*.

The unmannerly nature of a Dog preſuming to kiſs the Popes foot.

When the ſaid Biſhop had advanced forth his foot to be kiſſed, now whether the Spaniel perceived the Biſhops foot of another nature than it ought to be; and ſo taking it to be ſome kind of repaſt, or whether it was the will of God to ſhew ſome token by a Dog unto the Biſhop of his inordinate pride, that his feet were more meet to be bitten of Dogs, than kiſſed of Chriſtian men; the Spaniel (I ſay) when the Biſhop extended his foot to be kiſt, no man regarding the ſame, ſtreight-way (as though he had been of purpoſe appointed thereunto) went directly to the Popes feet, and not only kiſſed the ſame unmannerly with his mouth, but as ſome plainly reported and affirmed, took faſt with his mouth the great toe of the Pope, ſo that in haſte he pulled in his glorious feet from the Spaniel. Whereat our men ſmiling in their ſleeves, what they thought, God knoweth. But in fine, the Pontifical Biſhop after that, ſought no more at that preſent for kiſſing his feet, but without any further Ceremony gave ear to the Ambaſſadors what they had to ſay.

Who entring there before the Biſhop, offered on the Kings behalf to be defended, that no man *Jure Divino*, could or ought to marry his Brothers wife, and that the Biſhop of *Rome* by no means ought to diſpenſe to the contrary: Divers promiſes were made, and ſundry days appointed, wherein the queſtion ſhould have been diſputed, and when our part was ready to anſwer, no man there appeared to diſpute in that behalf. So in the end, the Biſhop making to our Ambaſſadors good Countenance, and gratifying Dr. *Cranmer* with the Office of the Penitentiariſhip, diſmiſſed them undiſputed withal.

Arguing to the Popes face, that contrary to the Word of God, he had no power to diſpenſe.

Dr. *Cranmer* made the Popes Penitentiary.

Whereupon the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and the other Commiſſioners, ſaving Dr. *Cranmer*, returned home again into *England*. And forthwith Dr. *Cranmer* went to the Emperour, being in his Journey towards *Vienna*, in Expedition againſt the Turk, there to anſwer ſuch learned men of the Emperours Council, as would or could ſay any thing to the contrary part. Where amongſt the reſt, at the ſame time was *Cornelius Agrippa*, an high Officer in the Emperors Court, who having private Conference with Dr. *Cranmer* in the queſtion, was ſo fully reſolved and ſatisfied in the matter, that afterwards there was never diſputation openly offered to Dr. *Cranmer* in that behalf. For through the perſwaſion of *Agrippa*, all other learned men there were much diſcouraged: Inſomuch, that after Dr. *Cranmer* was returned into *England*, *Agrippa* fell into ſuch diſpleaſure with the Emperor, as ſome men thought, that becauſe of the hindering and diſcouraging ſo much the contrary part, he was committed to Priſon, where he for ſorrow ended his life, as it was reported. In the mean ſpace, while the Emperor returned home from *Vienna* thorow *Germany*, Dr. *Cranmer* in that Voyage had conference with divers learned men of *Germany* concerning the ſaid queſtion, who very ambiguouſly heretofore conceiving the cauſe, were fully reſolved and ſatisfied by him.

Dr. *Cranmer* Ambaſſador to the Emperor.

Conference between B. *Cranmer* and *Cornelius Agrippa*.

This matter thus proſpering on Dr. *Cranmers* behalf, as well touching the Kings queſtion, as concerning the invalidity of the Biſhop of *Romes* Authority, Biſhop *Warham*, then Arcbiſhop of *Canterbury*, departed this tranſitory life, whereby that Dignity then being in the Kings gift and diſpoſition, was immediately given to Dr. *Cranmer*, as worthy for his Travel of ſuch a Promotion. Thus much touching the preferment of Dr. *Cranmer* unto his Dignity, and by what means he atchieved unto the ſame: not by flattery, nor by bribes, nor by any other unlawful means; which thing I have more at large diſcourſed, to ſtop the railing mouths of ſuch, who being themſelves obſcure and unlearned, ſhame not to detract ſo learned a man moſt ignominiouſly with the ſirname of an Hoſtler, whom for his godly zeal unto ſincere Religion, they ought with much humility to have had in regard and reputation.

Dr. *Cranmer* made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Now as concerning his behaviour and trade of life towards God and the World, being now entred into his ſaid Dignity, and forſomuch as the Apoſtle S. *Paul* writing to two Biſhops, *Timothy* and *Titus*, ſetteth out unto us a perfect deſcription of a true Biſhop, with all the properties and conditions belonging to the ſame, unto the which exemplar it ſhall be hard in theſe ſtrange days to find the Image of any Biſhop correſpondent; yet for example ſake let us take this Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and try him by the rule thereof, to ſee either how near he cometh to the deſcription of S. *Paul*, or elſe how far

1 Tim. 3. Titus 1.

off he ſwerveth from the common courſe of other in his time, of his calling. The rule of S. *Paul* is to be found, 1 *Tim.* 3. alſo in his Epiſtle to *Titus*, chap. 1. in theſe words:

The rule of a true Biſhop.

A Biſhop muſt be faultleſs, as becometh the Miniſter of God. Not ſtubborn, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre; but harbarous, one that loveth goodneſs, ſober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and ſuch as cleaveth unto the true Word and Doctrine, that he may be able to exhort, &c.

A Miniſter muſt be faultleſs.

Unto this rule and touch-ſtone, to lay now the life and converſation of this Archbiſhop, we will firſt begin with that which is thus written; *A Biſhop muſt be faultleſs, as becometh the Miniſter of God.* Like as no man is without ſin, and every man carrieth with him his eſpecial vice and fault: ſo yet nevertheleſs, the Apoſtle meaneth, that the Biſhop and Miniſter muſt be faultleſs, in compariſon of the common converſation of men of the world, which ſeem more licentiouſly to live at their own liberties and pleaſures, then the Biſhop or Miniſter ought to do, having ſmall regard unto good example giving: which a Biſhop and Miniſter moſt carefully ought to conſider, leſt by his diſſolute life the word of God be ſlandered and evil ſpoken of. Which thing to avoid, and the better to accompliſh this Precept of the Apoſtle, this worthy man evermore gave himſelf to continual ſtudy, not breaking that order that he in the Univerſity commonly uſed, that is, by five of the clock in the morning at his Book, and ſo conſuming the time in ſtudy and prayer until nine of the clock; he then applied himſelf (if the Princes affairs did not call him away) until dinner time to hear Suters, and to diſpatch ſuch matters as appertained unto his ſpecial cure and charge, committing his temporal affairs, both of his houſhold and other forreign buſineſs, unto his Officers. So that ſuch things were never impediments either to his ſtudy, or to his Paſtoral Charge, which principally conſiſted in reformation of corrupt Religion, and in ſetting forth of true and ſincere Doctrine. For the moſt part always being in Commiſſion, he aſſociated himſelf with learned men for ſifting and bolting out of one matter or other, for the commodity and profit of the Church of *England*. By means whereof, and what for his private ſtudy, he was never idle; beſides that, he accounted it no idle point to beſtow one hour or twain of the day in reading over ſuch works and books as daily came from beyond the Seas.

The order of D. *Cranmers* ſtudy.

After dinner, if any Suters were attendant, he would very diligently hear them, and diſpatch them in ſuch ſort as every man commended his lenity and gentleneſs, although the caſe required that ſome whiles divers of them were committed by him to Priſon. And having no Suters after dinner, for an hour or thereabout he would play at the Cheſs, or behold ſuch as could play. That done, then again to his ordinary ſtudy, at the which commonly he for the moſt part ſtood, and ſeldom ſate; and there continuing until five of the clock, beſtowed that hour in hearing the Common Prayer, and walking or uſing ſome honeſt paſtime until Supper time. At Supper, if he had no appetite (as many times he would not ſup) yet would he ſit down at the Table, having his ordinary proviſion of his Meſs furniſhed with expedient Company, he wearing on his hands his gloves, becauſe he would (as it were) thereby wean himſelf from eating of meat, but yet keeping the Company with ſuch fruitful talk as did repaſt and much delight the hearers, ſo that by this means Hoſpitality was well furniſhed, and the Alms-cheſt well maintained for relief of the Poor. After Supper, he would conſume one hour at the leaſt in walking, or ſome other honeſt paſtime, and then again until nine of the clock, at one kind of ſtudy or other. So that no hour of the day was ſpent in vain, but the ſame was ſo beſtowed, as tended to the glory of God, the ſervice of the Prince, or the commodity of the Church. Which his well beſtowing of his time procured to him moſt happily a good report of all men, to be in reſpect of other mens converſation faultleſs, as it became the Miniſter of God.

The temperate diet of Doctor *Cranmer*.

That a Biſhop ought not to be ſtubborn.

Anno 1555.

Secondly, it is required, *That a Biſhop ought not to be ſtubborn.* With which kind of vice, without great wrong, this Archbiſhop in no wiſe ought to be charged; whoſe Nature was ſuch, as none more gentle, or ſooner won to an honeſt ſuit or purpoſe, ſpecially in ſuch things, wherein by his word, writing, counſel, or deed, he might gratifie either any gentle or noble man, or do good to any mean perſon, or elſe relieve the needy and poor. Only in cauſes pertaining to God or his Prince, no man more ſtout, more conſtant, or more hard to be won; as in that part his earneſt defence in the Parliament Houſe, above three days together, in diſputing againſt the ſix Articles of *Gardiners* device, can teſtifie. And though the King would needs have them upon ſome politick conſideration to go forward, yet he ſo handled himſelf as well in the Parliament Houſe, as afterwards by writing, ſo obediently and with ſuch humble behaviour in words towards his Prince, proteſting the cauſe not to be his, but Almighty Gods, who was the Author of all truth, that the King did not only well like his defence (willing him to depart out of the Parliament Houſe, into the Council Chamber, whilſt the Act ſhould paſs and be granted for ſafeguard of his Conſcience; which he with humble proteſtation refuſed, hoping that his Majeſty in proceſs of time would revoke them again) but alſo after the Parliament was finiſhed, the King perceiving the zealous affection that the Archbiſhop bare towards the defence of his cauſe, which many ways by Scriptures and manifold Authorities and Reaſons he had ſubſtantially confirmed and defended, ſent the Lord *Cromwel*, then Vicegerent, with the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and all the Lords of the Parliament, to dine with him at *Lambeth*; where it was declared by the Vicegerent, and the two Dukes, that it was the Kings pleaſure, that they all ſhould in his Highneſs behalf, cheriſh, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his travel in that Parliament had ſhewed himſelf both greatly learned, and alſo diſcreet and wiſe, and therefore they willed him not to be diſcouraged for any thing that was paſſed contrary to his allegations. He moſt humbly thanked the Kings Majeſty of his great goodneſs towards him; and them for all their pains, ſaying, I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and authorities ſhall take place to the Glory of God and the commodity of the Realm; in the mean time I will ſatisfie my ſelf with the honourable conſent of your Honours, and the whole Parliament.

Cranmer ſtout and conſtant in Gods Cauſe.

D. *Cranmer* ſtout enemy againſt the ſix Articles.

Of this coming of the Lord Cromwel, and the two Dukes to the Archbiſhop read before.

Here is to be noted, that this Mans ſtout and Godly defence of the truth herein ſo bound the Princes Conſcience, that he would not permit the truth in that Man to be clean overthrown with Authority and Power; and therefore this way God working in the Princes mind, a plain token was declared hereby, that all things were not ſo ſincerely handled in the confirmation of the ſaid ſix Articles as it ought to have been; for elſe the Prince might have had a juſt cauſe to have born his great indignation towards the Archbiſhop. Let us pray that both the like ſtoutneſs may be perceived in all Eccleſiaſtical and learned Men where the truth ought to be defended and alſo the like relenting and flexibility may take place in Princes and Noble Men; when they ſhall have occaſion offered them to maintain the ſame, ſo that they utterly overwhelm not the truth by ſelf-will, power and Authority. Now in the end this Archbiſhops conſtancy was ſuch towards Gods Cauſe, that he confirmed all his doings by bitter death in the fire, without reſpect of any Worldly Treaſure or pleaſure. And as touching his ſtoutneſs in his Princes cauſe, the contrary reſiſtance of the Duke of *Northumberland* againſt him proved right well his good mind that way; which chanced by reaſon that he would not conſent unto the diſſolving of Chanteries, until the King came of age, to the intent that they might then better ſerve to furniſh his Royal Eſtate, then to have ſo great Treaſure conſumed in his nonage. Which his ſtoutneſs; joyned with ſuch ſimplicity, ſurely was thought to divers of the Council, a thing incredible, ſpecially in ſuch ſort to contend with him, who was ſo accounted in this Realm, as few or none would or durſt gainſtand him.

Example for Eccleſiaſtical Paſtors.

Archb. *Cranmer* in diſpleaſure about the employing of Chantry Lands.

So

Anno 1555.

So dear was to him the cauſe of God, and of his Prince, that for the one he would not keep his Conſcience clogged, nor for the other ſurk or hide his head. Otherwiſe (as it is ſaid) his very enemies might eaſily entreat him in any cauſe reaſonable; and ſuch things as he granted, he did without any ſuſpition of upbraiding or meed therefore: So that he was altogether void of the vice of ſtubbornneſs, and rather culpable of overmuch facility and gentleneſs.

Not angry.

The ſingular patience of this Archbiſhop.

Then followeth, *Not angry*. Surely if overmuch patience may be a vice, this Man may ſeem peradventure to offend rather on this part then on the contrary. Albeit for all his doings I cannot ſay: for the moſt part, ſuch was his mortification that way, that few we ſhall find in whom the ſaying of our Saviour Chriſt ſo much prevailed as with him, who would not only have a Man to forgive his enemies, but alſo to pray for them; that leſſon never went out of his memory. For it was known that he had many cruel enemies, not for his own deſerts, but only for his Religion ſake: and yet whatſoever he was that ſought his hinderance, either in goods, eſtimation or life, and upon conference would ſeem never ſo ſlenderly any thing to relent or excuſe himſelf, he would both forget the offence committed, and alſo evermore afterwards friendly entertain him, and ſhew ſuch pleaſure to him, as by any means poſſible he might perform or declare: inſomuch that it came into a common Proverb: Do unto my L. of *Canterbury* diſpleaſure, or a ſhrewd turn, and then you may be ſure to have him your friend whiles he liveth. Of which his gentle diſpoſition in abſtaining from revengement, amongſt many examples thereof, I will repeat here one.

A ſtory between the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and a Popiſh Prieſt his enemy.

It chanced an ignorant Prieſt and Parſon in the North parts (the town is not now in remembrance, but he was a kinſman of one *Cherſey* a Grocer, dwelling within *London*, being one of thoſe prieſts that uſe more to ſtudy at the Alehouſe, then in his Chamber or in his ſtudy.) to ſit on a time with his honeſt neighbours at the Alehouſe within his own Pariſh, where was communication miniſtred in commendation of my Lord *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This ſaid Parſon, envying his name only for Religion ſake, ſaid to his neighbours; what make you of him, quoth he, he was but an hoſtler, and hath no more learning then the Goſelings that go yonder on the green, with ſuch like ſlanderous and uncomly words. Theſe honeſt neighbours of his, not well bearing thoſe his unſeemly words, articled againſt him, and ſent their complaint to the Lord *Cromwel*, then Vicegerent in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; who ſent for the Prieſt, and committed him to the *Fleet*, minding to have had him recant thoſe his ſlanderous words at *Pauls Croſs*. Howbeit the Lord *Cromwel*, having great affairs of the Prince then in hand, forgat his Priſoner in the *Fleet*. So that this *Cherſey* the Grocer, underſtanding that his kinſman was in durance in the *Fleet*, only for ſpeaking words againſt my Lord of *Canterbury* conſulted with the Prieſt, and between them deviſed to make ſute rather unto the Archbiſhop for his deliverance, then to the Lord *Cromwel*, before whom he was accuſed: underſtanding right well that there was great diverſity of natures between thoſe two Eſtates, the one gentle and full of clemency, and the other ſevere and ſomewhat intractable, namely, againſt a Papiſt: So that *Cherſey* took upon him firſt to try my Lord of *Canterburies* benignity, namely, for that his couſins accuſation touched only the offence againſt him, and none other. Whereupon the ſaid *Cherſey* came to one of the Archbiſhops Gentlemen (whoſe Father bought yearly all his Spices and Fruit of the ſaid *Cherſey*, and ſo thereby of familiar acquaintance with the Gentleman) who opening to him the trouble wherein his kinſman was, requeſted that he would be a means to my Lord his Maſter, to hear his ſute in the behalf of his kinſman.

The railing of a Popiſh Prieſt againſt Doctor *Cranmer*.

Cherſey ſuing for his kinſman to the Archbiſhop.

The matter was moved. The Archbiſhop like as he was of nature gentle, and of much clemency, ſo would he never ſhew himſelf ſtrange unto ſuters but incontinently ſent for the ſaid *Cherſey*. When he came before him, *Cherſey* declared, that there was a kinſman of his in the *Fleet*, a Prieſt of the North Country, and as I may tell your Grace the truth (quoth *Cherſey*) a Man of ſmall civility, and of leſs learning. And yet he hath a Parſonage there, which now (by reaſon that my Lord *Cromwel* hath laid him in Priſon) being in his Cure, is unſerved; and he hath continued in durance above two months, and is called to no anſwer, and knows not when he ſhall come to any end, ſo that this his impriſonment conſumeth his ſubſtance, and will utterly undo him, unleſs your Grace be his good Lord. I know not the Man (ſaid the Archbiſhop) nor what he hath done why he ſhould be thus in trouble.

Said *Cherſey* again, he only hath offended againſt your Grace, and againſt no Man elſe, as may well be perceived by the Articles objected againſt him, the Copy whereof the ſaid *Cherſey* then exhibited to the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. who well peruſing the ſaid Articles ſaid, This is the common talk of all the ignorant papiſtical Prieſts in *England* againſt me. Surely, ſaid he, I was never made privy to this accuſation, and of his indurance I never heard before this time. Notwithſtanding, if there be nothing elſe to charge him withal againſt the Prince, or any of the Council, I will at your requeſt take order with him, and ſend him home again to his cure to do his duty; and ſo thereupon ſent his ring to the Warden of the *Fleet*, willing him to ſend the priſoner unto him, with his keeper at afternoon.

The Prieſt ſent for to the Archbiſhop.

When the keeper had brought the priſoner at the hour appointed, and *Cherſey* had well inſtructed his couſin in any wiſe to ſubmit himſelf to the Archbiſhop, confeſſing his fault, whereby that way he ſhould moſt eaſily have an end and win his favour; thus the Parſon being brought into the garden at *Lambeth*, and there the Archbiſhop ſitting under the vine demanded of the Parſon, what was the cauſe of his indurance, and who committed him to the *Fleet*. The Parſon anſwered and ſaid, that the Lord *Cromwel* ſent him thither, for that certain malicious pariſhioners of his pariſh had wrongfully accuſed him of words which he never ſpake nor meant; *Cherſey* hearing his fooliſh couſin ſo far out of the way from his former inſtruction, ſaid, Thou daſtardly dolt and varlet, is this thy promiſe that thou madeſt to me? Are there not a great number of thy honeſt neighbours hands againſt thee, to prove thee a liar? Surely my Lord (quoth *Cherſey*) it is pity to do him good. I am ſorry that I have troubled your Grace thus far with him.

The Archbiſhops words to the Parſon.

Well, ſaid the Archbiſhop unto the Parſon, if you have not offended me, I can do you no good: for I am intreated to help one out of trouble that hath offended againſt me. If my Lord *Cromwel* hath committed you to priſon wrongfully, that lieth in himſelf to amend and not in me. If your offence only hath touched me, I will be bold to do ſomewhat for your friends ſake here. If you have not offended againſt me, then have I nothing to do with you, but that you may go and remain from whence you came. Lord what ado his kinſman *Cherſey* made with him, calling him all kind of opprobrious names? In the end my Lord of *Canterbury* ſeeming to riſe and go his ways, the fond Prieſt fell on his knees, and ſaid, I beſeech your Grace to forgive me this offence, aſſuring your Grace that I ſpake thoſe words being drunk and not well adviſed. Ah, ſaid my Lord, this is ſomewhat, and yet it is no good excuſe: for drunkenneſs evermore uttereth that which lieth hid in the heart of Man when he is ſober, alledging a Text or twain out of the Scriptures concerning the vice of drunkenneſs, which cometh not now to remembrance.

The Prieſt confeſſeth his fault to the Archb.

Now therefore (ſaid the Archbiſhop) that you acknowledge ſomewhat your fault, I am content to commune with you, hoping that you are at this preſent of an indifferent ſobriety. Tell me then, quoth he, did you ever ſee me, or were you ever acquainted with me before this day? The Prieſt anſwered and ſaid, that never in his life he ſaw his Grace. Why then (ſaid the Archbiſhop) what occaſion had you to call me an hoſtler, and that I had not ſo much learning as the Goſelings which then went on the green before you face? If I have no learning you may now try it, and be out of doubt thereof: therefore I pray you appoſe me, either in Grammar or in other liberal Sciences, for I have at one time or other taſted partly of them. Or elſe if you are a Divine, ſay ſomwhat that way.

The Prieſts anſwer.

The prieſt being amazed at my Lords familiar talk, made anſwer and ſaid; I beſeech your Grace to pardon me. I am altogether unlearned, and underſtand not the Latin

Tongue

Tongue, but very ſimply. My only ſtudy hath been to ſay my ſervice and Maſs, fair and deliberate, which I can do as well as any Prieſt in the Countrey where I dwell, I thank God. Well, ſaid the other, if you will not appoſe me, I will be ſo bold to appoſe you, and yet as eaſily as I can deviſe, and that only in the ſtory of the Bible now in Engliſh, in which I ſuppoſe that you are daily exerciſed. Tell me therefore who was King *Davids* Father, ſaid my Lord. The Prieſt ſtood ſtill pauſing a while, and ſaid, In good faith my Lord, I have forgotten his name. Then ſaid the other again to him, If you cannot tell that, I pray you tell me then, who was *Solomons* Father? The fond fooliſh Prieſt without all conſideration what was demanded of him before, made anſwer, Good my Lord bear with me, I am no further ſeen in the Bible, then is daily read in our ſervice in the Church.

The Maſs Prieſt ignorant in the Scripture.

The Archbiſhop then anſwering, ſaid, this my queſtion may be found well anſwered in your ſervice. But I now well perceive, howſoever ye have judged heretofore of my learning, ſure I am that you have none at all. But this is the common practice of all you that be ignorant and ſuperſtitious Prieſts, to ſlander, backbite, and hate all ſuch as are learned and well affected towards Gods Word and ſincere Religion. Common Reaſon might have taught you what an unlikely thing it was, and contrary to all manner of reaſon, that a Prince having two Univerſities within his Realm of well learned Men, and deſirous to be reſolved of as doubtful a queſtion as in theſe many years the like was not moved within Chriſtendom, ſhould be driven to that neceſſity for the defence of his cauſe, to ſend out of his Realm an Hoſtler, being a Man of no better knowledge then is a Goſling, in an Embaſſage to anſwer all learned Men, both in the Court of *Rome*, and the Emperours Court, in ſo difficult a queſtion as toucheth the Kings Matrimony, and the divorce thereof. I ſay, if you were Men of any reaſonable conſideration, you might think it both unſeemly and uncomly for a Prince ſo to do. But look where malice reigneth in Man, there reaſon can take no place; and therefore I ſee by it, that you all are at a point with me, that no reaſon or authority can perſwade you to favour my name, who never meant evil to you, but your both commodity and profit. Howbeit, God amend you all, forgive you, and ſend you better minds.

Evil will never ſaith well.

The Archbiſhop forgiveth and diſmiſſeth the Prieſt.

With theſe words the Prieſt ſeemed to weep, and deſired his Grace to pardon his fault and frailty, ſo that by this means he might return to his Cure again, and he would ſure recant thoſe his fooliſh words before his Pariſhioners ſo ſoon as he came home, and would become a new Man. Well, ſaid the Archbiſhop, ſo had you need: and giving him a godly admonition to refuſe the haunting of the Alehouſe, and to beſtow his time better in the continual reading of the Scriptures, he diſmiſſed him from the *Fleet*.

The Lord *Cromwel* offended with the Archb. in forgiving the Popiſh Prieſt.

The Lord *Cromwel*, perceiving within a fortnight after that his priſoner was ſent home without any open puniſhment, came to *Lambeth* unto the Archbiſhop, and in a great heat ſaid to him, My Lord, I underſtand that you have diſpatched the Northern Prieſt, that I of late ſent to the *Fleet*, home again, who unhoneſtly railed of you, and called you an Hoſtler.

Indeed I have ſo done (ſaid he again) for that in his abſence the people of his Cure wanted their Divine Service. It is very devout Divine Service that he ſaith, quoth the Lord *Cromwel*; It were more meet for him to be an Hoſtler then a curate, who ſticked not to call you an Hoſtler. But I thought ſo much what you would do, and therefore I would not tell you of his knavery when I ſent him to priſon. Howbeit henceforth, they ſhall cut your throat before that I ſay any thing more to them on your behalf. Why? What would you have done with him, quoth the Archbiſhop? there was nothing laid to his charge, other then words ſpoken againſt me, and now the Man is repentant and well reconciled, and hath been at great charges in priſon: it is time therefore that he were rid out of his trouble. Well, ſaid my Lord *Cromwel*, I meant that he ſhould have preached at *Pauls Croſs* a recantation before he had gone home. That had been well done, quoth the other, for then you would have had all the World as well to wonder at me as at him. Well, well, ſaid the Lord *Cromwel*, we ſhall ſo long bear with theſe Poliſh knaves, that at length they will bring us indeed to be wondred at of the whole World.

The Archbiſhop defendeth his enemy that before railed upon him.

Anno 1556.

This example among other, ſerveth to declare that there remained ſmall deſire of revenging in the ſaid Archbiſhop. But what ſhould I ſay more? His quietneſs and mortification this way was ſuch, that it is reported of all that knew him, that he never raged ſo far with any of his houſhold Servants, as once to call the meaneſt of them varlet, or knave in anger, much leſs to reprove a ſtranger with any reproachful words. Much unlike in this part to the property (as it ſeemeth) of ſome other inferiour Biſhops of this Realm, which have not ſpared to ſlie in the faces, to pluck off the beards, to burn the hands, to beat and ſcourge with rods the Bodies of both Gentlemen, married Men and other, having almoſt nothing elſe in Mouth, but fools and knaves, &c. and yet after all this, think themſelves good perfect Biſhops, after the rule which followeth and ſaith.

The Archbiſhop Cranmer was never heard to call any of his houſhold once varlet or knave.

No ſtriker, no fighter.

No ſtriker, no fighter. From which kind of vice, the nature of this Archbiſhop was ſo far off, as was his Doctrine which he profeſſed, and death which he ſuffered, far off from all condition and example of blind Popery. After the prohibition of theſe foreſaid vices, ſucceedeth the Mother of all good vertues neceſſarily required of all true Chriſtians, but chiefly of a Spiritual Prelate, which is,

Not given to filthy lucre, but harborous.

Not given to filthy lucre, but harborous.

Not given to filthy lucre, but harborous, &c. The contrary whereof, was ſo odious unto St. *Paul*, that he eſteemed the ſame no leſs then a kind of Idolatry, in that it maketh Men forget their duty to God ſo far, and inſtead of him to worſhip their Treaſure. How little this Prelate we ſpeak of was infected with this vice, and how he was no niggard, all kind of people that knew him, as well learned beyond the Seas and on this ſide, to whom yearly he gave in exhibition no ſmall ſums of mony, as other, both Gentlemen, mean Men, and poor Men, who had in their neceſſity that which he could conveniently ſpare, lend, or make, can well teſtifie. And albeit ſuch was his liberality to all ſorts of Men, that no Man did lack whom he could do for, either in giving or lending; yet nevertheleſs ſuch was again his circumſpection, that when he was apprehended and committed by Queen *Mary* to the *Tower*, he owed no Man living a peny that could or would demand any duty of him, but ſatisfied every Man to the uttermoſt; whereas no ſmall ſums of Mony were owing him of divers perſons, which by breaking their bils and obligations he freely forgave, and ſuppreſſed before his attainder. Inſomuch that when he perceived the fatal end of King *Edward* ſhould work to him no good ſucceſs touching his Body and Goods, he incontinently called for his Officers, his Steward and others, commanding them in any wiſe to pay where any peny was owing, which was out of hand diſpatched. And then he ſaid, now I thank God I am mine own Man, and in Conſcience, with Gods help able elſe to anſwer all the World and Worldly Adverſities, which ſome Men ſuppoſe he might alſo have avoided, if he would have been Counſelled by ſome of his Friends. It followeth moreover:

The liberal doings of this Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop clearing all his debts before his attainder.

Harborous.

And as touching this word *Harborous*, whereby is meant the good maintenance of Hoſpitality; ſo little was this property lacking in him, that ſome Men miſliking the ſame, thought it rather a houſe of overmuch laviſhing and unprofitable expence. But as nothing can be ſo well done, which by ſome other ſhall not be maligned and detracted; ſo neither did this Man lack his Cavillers, ſome finding fault with his overmuch prodigality, ſome on the contrary part repining and complaining of his ſpare houſe, and ſtraight order, much under the ſtate of his revenews and calling. Of which two, the firſt ſort muſt conſider the cauſes which moved him to that liberal and large kind of expences. Wherein here cometh to be conſidered, the time wherein he ſerved; which was when reformation

The large expenſes of D. Cranmer

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formation of Religion firſt began to be advanced. In which time the whole weight and care of the ſame moſt chiefly depended upon his hand. During which ſeaſon, almoſt for the ſpace of ſixteen years together, his houſe was never lightly unfurniſhed of a number both of learned Men and Commiſſioners, from time to time appointed for deciding of Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

And thus as he ſeemed to ſome over-large and laviſh ing more then needed in hoſpitality; ſo on the other ſide there wanted not ſome, of whom he was much noted and accuſed again, yea and alſo complained of to King *Henry* the eighth for too ſlender and niggardly houſekeeping, as not worthy to be accounted the hoſpitality of a mean Gentleman, as here following ſhall appear.

After that the ample and great poſſeſſions, revenues, jewels, rich ornaments, and other treaſures of the Abbeys were diſſolved and brought into the Kings hands, in the diſſolving whereof many cormorants were fed and ſatisfied, and yet not ſo fully ſatisfied, but that within a few years they began to wax hungry again: and for ſo much as no more could be ſcraped now out of Abbeys, they began to ſeek how by ſome other prey to ſatisfie their appetites, which was to tickle the Kings Ears with the rich revenue of the Biſhops Lands. And to bring this deviſe to paſs, they procured Sir *Thomas Seimour* Knight of the privy Chamber, to be a promoter of the matter; who not in all points much favouring the Archbiſhop, having time and a convenient occaſion, declared to the King that my Lord of *Canterbury* did nothing elſe but ſell his woods, and let his Leaſes by great and many fines, making havock of all the Royalties of the Archbiſhoprick, and that only to the intent to gather up treaſure for his wife and Children, keeping no manner of Hoſpitality, in reſpect of ſo great a revenue; advertiſing the King further, that it was the opinion of many wiſe Men, that it were more meet for the Biſhops to have a ſufficient yearly ſtipend in money out of the Exchequer, then to be cumbred with thoſe temporal affairs of their Royalties, being impediments unto their ſtudy, and paſtoral charge, and his Highneſs to have their Lands and Royalties converted to his proper uſe, which beſides their honeſt ſtipends would be unto his Majeſty no ſmall commodity and profit.

The Biſhops Lands ſought.

Untruth told to the King of the Archbiſhop of *Canterburies* houſekeeping.

When the King had heard his fair tale, he ſaid little thereunto, other then this. Well (quoth he) we will talk more of this matter at another time. Now, within a fortnight after or thereabout (whether by chance, or of ſet purpoſe, it is not known) it came to paſs, that one day his Highneſs going to dinner had waſhed, Sir *Thomas Seimor* then holding the Ewer, and ſaid to the ſaid Sir *Thomas*, Go you out of hand to *Lambeth* unto my Lord of *Canterbury*, and bid him to be with me at two of the Clock at afternoon, and fail not. Sir *Thomas* ſtraightways went to *Lambeth*, and as he came to the gate the Porter being in the lodge, came out, and conveighed him to the Hall, which was throughly furniſhed and ſet, both with the houſhold ſervants and ſtrangers, with four principal head meſſes of officers, as daily it was accuſtomed to be. When Sir *Thomas Seimor* ſaw that ſtately large Hall ſo well ſet and furniſhed, being therewith abaſhed, and ſomewhat guilty of an untruth told to the King before, he retired back, and would needs have gone to the Archb. of *Canterbury* by the Chappel, and not through the Hall. *Richard Nevel* Gentleman, then Steward of the Houſhold, perceiving his retire, came by and by unto him, and after gentle entertainment demanded of him whether he would ſpeak with my Lord or no? Sir *Thomas* ſaid, that he muſt needs do ſo from the Kings Highneſs, ſaying unto him, and this way I am going to my Lords Grace. Sir, ſaid the Steward, you cannot go that way, for the door is faſt ſhut, in the dinner time; and ſo by gentle means brought him up to my Lords Chamber thorow the Hall, who then was at dinner: with whom he dined after he had done his meſſage, whoſe ordinary fair might always well beſeem a right honourable perſonage. When dinner was ſcarce done, Sir *Thomas* took his leave of my Lord, and went again to the Court.

The Kings anſwer to the complainer of the Archbiſhop.

The Archb. of *Canterburies* houſekeeping.

So ſoon as the Kings Highneſs ſaw him, he ſaid to him; have you been with my Lord of *Canterbury*? Sir *Thomas* anſwered, That I have if it pleaſe your Majeſty, and he will be with your Highneſs ſtraightways. Dined you not with him, ſaid the King? Yes Sir (ſaid he) that have I done. And with that word, whether he eſpied by the Kings countenance, or by his words any thing tending to diſpleaſure, he ſtraightway without delay kneeled down upon his knee, and ſaid, I beſeech your Majeſty to pardon me: I do now well remember and underſtand, that of late I told your Highneſs a great untruth concerning my Lord of *Canterburies* houſe-keeping; but from henceforth I intend never to believe that perſon which did put that vain tale into my head: For I aſſure your Highneſs that I never ſaw ſo honourable a Hall ſet in this Realm (beſides your Majeſties Hall) in all my life, with better order, and ſo well furniſhed in each degree. If I had not ſeen it my ſelf, I could never have believed it, and himſelf alſo ſo honourably ſerved.

The compleiner aſketh pardon of the King for his untrue report.

Ah Sir, quoth the Kings Highneſs, Have you now eſpied the truth? I thought you would tell me another tale when you had been there. He was a very varlet (quoth the King) that told you that tale: for he ſpendeth (ah good Man ſaid the King) all that he hath in houſe-keeping. But now I perceive which way the wind bloweth. There are a ſort of you to whom I have liberally given of the poſſeſſions and revenues of the ſuppreſſed Monaſteries, which like as you have lightly gotten, ſo have you more unthriftily ſpent, ſome at dice, other ſome in gay apparel, and other ways worſe I fear me: and now that all is gone you would fain have me make another chevance with the Biſhops Lands, to accompliſh your greedy appetites. But let no other Biſhops beſtow their revenues worſe then my Lord of *Canterbury* doth, then ſhall you have no cauſe to complain of their keeping of houſe.

The King ſpeaketh in defence of the Archb. of *Canterbury*.

And thus the tale being ſhut up, and ended by the Kings Highneſs, neither Sir *Thomas Seimor*, nor any other on his behalf ever after duſt renew, or revive that ſute or any more in King *Henries* days; ſo that it may be evident to all indifferent Men, the liberality of the Archbiſhop in houſe-keeping what it was, which being defended, and commended by the Prince himſelf, rather may give a good example to his poſterity to follow, then was then to be depraved of any private Subject, ſuch as knew him not.

In which Archbiſhop this moreover is to be noted, with a *memorandum* touching the relief of the poor, impotent, ſick, and ſuch as then came from the wars at *Bullen*, and other parts beyond the Seas, lame, wounded, and deſtitute: for whom he provided, beſides his manſion houſe at *Beckisborn* in *Kent*, the Parſonage *Barn* well furniſhed with certain lodgings for the ſick and maimed Souldiers. To whom were alſo appointed the almoner, a Phyſician, and a Surgeon to attend upon them, and to dreſs and cure ſuch as were not able to reſort to their Countreys, having daily from the Biſhops kitchin hot broth and meat: for otherwiſe the common alms of the houſhold was beſtowed upon the poor neighbours of the Shire. And when any of the impotent did recover and were able to travel, they had convenient mony delivered to bear their charges, according to the number of miles from that place diſtant. And this good example of mercy and liberal benignity, I thought here good not in ſilence to be ſuppreſſed, whereby other may be moved according to their vocation, to walk in the ſteps of no leſs liberality, then in him in this behalf appeared.

The Alms of the Archbiſhop towards the poor.

One that loveth goodneſs, ſober minded, righteous, holy, and temperate.

Now followeth together theſe vertues, *One that loveth goodneſs, ſober minded, righteous, holy, and temperate.* As concerning theſe qualities, the trade of his life before joyned with his benign and gentle diſpoſition, do teſtify that he could not be void of theſe good vertues reigning in him, which was ſo abundantly adorned with the other, which above we have declared.

To cleave faſt unto the true word of Doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholeſom learning, and to reprove them that ſay againſt it.

Then concludeth Saint *Paul* with the moſt exceſſent

vertue

vertue of all other to be wiſhed in a Prelate of the Church. For if this conſtancy be not in him to this end, that is, *To cleave faſt unto the true word of Doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholeſom learning and to improve them that ſay againſt it*: If he be void (I ſay) of theſe gifts and graces, he is worthy of no commendation, but ſhall ſeem an Idol, and a deceiver of the World. Neither ſhall he deſerve the name of a Biſhop, if either for dread or meed, affection or favour, he do at any time or in any point ſwerve from the truth. As in this behalf the worthy conſtancy of this ſaid Archbiſhop never, for the moſt part ſhrunk for any manner of ſtorm; but was ſo many ways tried, that neither favour of his Prince, nor fear of the indignation of the ſame, nor any other worldly reſpect could alienate or change his purpoſe, grounded upon that infallible Doctrine of the Goſpel. Notwithſtanding, his conſtant defence of Gods truth was ever joyned with ſuch meekneſs toward the King, that he never took occaſion of offence againſt him.

To cleave faſt to the Word of Doctrine able to exhort in wholſom learning, and to reprove the gain-ſayer. Titus 1.

Archb. *Cranmer* ever conſtant in defence of Chriſts truth and Goſpel.

At the time of ſetting forth the ſix Articles, mention was made before in the ſtory of King *Henry* the eighth, how adventurouſly this Archbiſhop *Thomas Cranmer* did oppoſe himſelf, ſtanding as it were, poſt alone, againſt the whole Parliament diſputing and replying three days together againſt the ſaid Articles. Inſomuch, that the King, when neither he could miſlike his reaſons, and yet would needs have theſe *Articles* to paſs, required him to abſent himſelf for the time out of the Chamber, while the Act ſhould paſs, and ſo he did, and how the King afterward ſent all the Lords of the Parliament unto the Archbiſhop to *Lambeth* to cheer his mind again, that he might not be diſcouraged, all which appeareth above expreſſed: And this was done during yet the ſtate and time of the Lord *Cromwels* Authority. And now that it may appear likewiſe, that after the decay of the Lord *Cromwel*, yet his conſtancy in Chriſts cauſe did not decay, you ſhall hear what followeth after.

For after the apprehenſion of the Lord *Cromwel*, when the Adverſaries of the Goſpel thought all things ſure now on their ſide; it was ſo appointed amongſt them, that ten or twelve Biſhops, and other learned Men, joyned together in Commiſſion, came to the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for the eſtabliſhing of certain Articles of our Religion, which the Papiſts then thought to win to their purpoſe againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop. For having now the Lord *Cromwel* faſt and ſure, they thought all had been ſafe, and ſure for ever: as indeed, to all Mens reaſonable conſideration, that time appeared ſo dangerous; that there was no manner of hope that Religion reformed ſhould any one week longer ſtand, ſuch account was then made of the Kings untowardneſs thereunto. Inſomuch, that of all thoſe Commiſſioners there was not one left to ſtay on the Archbiſhops part but he alone againſt them all ſtood in the defence of the truth; and thoſe that he moſt truſted to, namely, Biſhop *Heath*, and Biſhop *Skip* left him in the plain field, who then ſo turned againſt him, that they took upon them to perſwade him to their purpoſe: and having him down from the reſt of the Commiſſioners into his Garden at *Lambeth*, there by all manner of effectual perſwaſions intreated him to leave of his overmuch conſtancy, and to incline unto the Kings intent, who was fully ſet to have it otherwiſe then he then had penned, or meant to have ſet abroad. When thoſe two his familiars, with one or two others his friends, had uſed all their eloquence and policy, he little regarding their inconſtancy and remiſneſs in Gods cauſe or quarrel, ſaid unto them right notably.

The Archb. alone ſtandeth in defence of the truth.

B. *Heath*, and B. *Skip* forſake the Archb. in the plain field.

The Archb. incenſed by B. *Heath* and *Skip* to give over the defence of the Goſpel.

The anſwer of the Archb. to D. *Heath* and *Skip*.

You make much ado to have me come to your purpoſe, alledging that it is the Kings pleaſure to have the Articles, in that ſort you have deviſed them, to proceed; and now that you do perceive his Highneſs by ſiniſter information to be bent that way, you think it a convenient thing to apply unto his Highneſs mind. You be my friends both, eſpecially the one of you I did put to his Majeſty as of truſt. Beware (I ſay) what you do: There is but one truth in our Articles to be concluded upon, which if you do hide from his Highneſs by conſenting unto a contrary Doctrine, and then after in proceſs of time, when the truth cannot be hidden from him, his Highneſs ſhall perceive how that you have dealt colourably with him, I know his Graces nature ſo well (quoth the Archbiſhop) that he will never after truſt and credit you, or put any good confidence in you. And as you are both my friends, ſo therefore I will you to beware thereof in time, and diſcharge your Conſciences in maintenance of the truth. But all this would not ſerve, for they ſtill ſwerved; and in diſcharging of his Conſcience and declaring the truth unto the King, GOD ſo wrought with the King, that his Highneſs joyned with him againſt the reſt, ſo that the Book of Articles paſſing on his ſide, he wan the Gole from them all, contrary to all their expectations, when many wagers would have been laid in *London*, that he ſhould have been laid up with *Cromwel* at that time in the *Tower* for his ſtiff ſtanding to his tackle. After that day there could neither Councellour, Biſhop, nor Papiſt win him out of the King favour.

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Notwithſtanding, not long after that, certain of the Council, whoſe names need not to be repeated, by the inticement and provocation of his ancient enemy the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and other of the ſame ſect, attempted the King againſt him, declaring plainly, that the Realm was ſo infected with Hereſies and Hereticks, that it was dangerous for his Highneſs farther to permit it unreformed, leſt peradventure by long ſuffering, ſuch contention ſhould ariſe, and enſue in the Realm among his Subjects, that thereby might ſpring horrible commotions, and uproars, like as in ſome parts of *Germany* it did not long ago. The enormity whereof they could not impute to any ſo much, as to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who by his own Preaching, and his Chaplains, had filled the whole Realm full of divers pernicious Hereſies. The King would needs know his accuſers. They anſwered that foraſmuch as he was a Counſellor, no Man durſt take upon him to accuſe him; but if it would pleaſe his Highneſs to commit him to the *Tower* for a time, there would be accuſations and proofs enow againſt him: for otherwiſe, juſt teſtimony and witneſs againſt him would not appear, and therefore your Highneſs (ſaid they) muſt needs give us the counſel, liberty and leave to commit him to durance.

The Papiſts buſy to bring the Archb. out of credit with the King.

The Archb. again accuſed to the King.

The King perceiving their importunate ſute againſt the Archbiſhop (but yet meaning not to have him wronged, and utterly given over into their hands) granted unto them that they ſhould the next day commit him to the *Tower* for his trial. When night came, the King ſent Sir *Anthony Deny* about midnight to *Lambeth* to the Archbiſhop, willing him forthwith to reſort unto him at the Court. The meſſage done, the Archbiſhop ſpeedily addreſſed himſelf to the Court, and coming into the Gallery, where the King walked, and tarried for him, his Highneſs ſaid, Ah, my Lord of *Canterbury*, I can tell you news. For divers weighty conſiderations it is determined by me, and the Council, that you to morrow at nine of the Clock ſhall be committed to the *Tower*, for that you and your Chaplains (as information is given us) have taught and Preached, and thereby ſown within the Realm ſuch a number of execrable Hereſies, that it is feared, the whole Realm being infected with them; no ſmall contentions, and commotions will riſe thereby amongſt my Subjects, as of late days the like was in divers parts of *Germany*: and therefore the Council have requeſted me, for the trial of the matter, to ſuffer them to commit you to the *Tower*, or elſe no Man dare come forth, as witneſs in theſe matters, you being a Counſellor.

The King ſent Sir *Anthony Deny* at midnight for the Archbiſhop.

The Kings words and advice for the ſupportation of the Archbiſhop.

When the King had ſaid his mind, the Archbiſhop kneeled down and ſaid, I am content, if it pleaſe your Grace, with all my heart, to go thither at your Highneſs commandment, and I moſt humbly thank your Majeſty that I may come to my trial; for there be that have many ways ſlandered me, and now this way I hope to try my ſelf not worthy of ſuch report.

The Archb. anſwer to the King.

The King perceiving the Mans uprightneſs, joyned with ſuch ſimplicity, ſaid; O Lord, what manner of Man be you? What ſimplicity is in you? I had thought that you would rather have ſued to us to have taken the pains to have heard you and your accuſers together for your trial, without any ſuch indurance. Do you not know, what ſtate you be in with the whole World, and how many great enemies you have? Do you not conſider what an eaſie thing it is, to procure three or four falſe knaves to witneſs againſt you? Think you to have better luck

that

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The Kings favourable care and conſideration toward the Archbiſhop of *Cant.*

that way, then your Maſter Chriſt had? I ſee by it you will run head-long to your undoing, if I would ſuffer you. Your enemies ſhall not ſo prevail againſt you, for I have otherwiſe deviſed with my ſelf to keep you out of their hands. Yet notwithſtanding to morrow when the Counſil ſhall ſit, and ſend for you, reſort unto them, and if in charging you with this matter, they do commit you to the *Tower*, require of them, becauſe you are one of them, a Counſellour, that you may have your accuſers brought before them without any further indurance, and uſe for your ſelf as good perſwaſions that way as you may deviſe; and if no intreaty or reaſonable requeſt will ſerve, then deliver unto them this my ring (which then the King delivered unto the Archbiſhop) and ſay unto them, if there be no remedy my Lords, but that I muſt needs go to the *Tower*, then I revoke my cauſe from you, and appeal to the Kings own perſon by this his token unto you all; for (ſaid the King then unto the Archbiſhop) ſo ſoon as they ſhall ſee this my ring, they know it ſo well, that they ſhall underſtand that I have reſumed the whole cauſe into mine own hands and determination, and that I have diſcharged them thereof.

The K. ſendeth his Signet in the behalf of the Arch. of *Cant.*

The Archbiſhop perceiving the Kings benignity ſo much to himwards, had much ado to forbear tears. Well ſaid the King, Go your ways my Lord, and do as I have bidden you. My Lord humbling himſelf with thanks, took his leave of the Kings Highneſs for that night.

The Archb. being one of the Council, made to ſtand at the Council Chamber door waiting.

On the morrow about nine of the clock before noon, the Council ſent a Gentleman Uſher for the Archbiſhop who when he came to the Council Chamber door, could not be let in; but of purpoſe (as it ſeemed) was compelled there to wait among the Pages, Lackies and Servingmen all alone. Doctor *Buts* the Kings Phyſician reſorting that way, and eſpying how my Lord of *Canterbury* was handled, went to the Kings Highneſs, and ſaid, My Lord of *Canterbury*, if it pleaſe your Grace, is well promoted: for now he is become a Lackey or a Serving Man, for yonder he hath ſtood this half hour at the Council Chamber door amongſt them. It is not ſo (quoth the King) I trow; the Council hath not ſo little diſcretion as to uſe the Metropolitan of the Realm in that ſort, ſpecially being one of their own number. But let them alone (ſaid the King) and we ſhall hear more ſoon.

D. Buts, the Kings Phiſician a friend of the Archbiſhops.

The Archb. called before the Council.

Anon the Archbiſhop was called into the Council Chamber, to whom was alledged, as before is rehearſed. The Archbiſhop anſwered in like ſort, as the King had adviſed him; and in the end when he perceived that no manner of perſwaſion or intreaty could ſerve, he delivered them the Kings Ring, revoking his cauſe into the Kings hands. The whole Councel being thereat ſomwhat amazed the Earl of *Bedford* with a loud voice, confirming his Words with a Solemn Oath, ſaid, When you firſt began the matter my Lords, I told you what would come of it. Do you think that the King will ſuffer this Mans finger to ake? Much more (I warrant you) will he defend his life againſt brabling varlets? You do but cumber your ſelves to hear tales and fables againſt him. And ſo incontinently upon the receipt of the Kings token, they all aroſe, and carried the King his ring, ſurrendring that matter as the order and uſe was, into his own hands.

The Councel being ſet againſt the Archbiſhop, he ſheweth the Kings ring, and appealeth from them.

The Kings words to the Council in defence of the Archbiſhop.

When they were all come to the Kings preſence, his Highneſs with a ſevere countenance ſaid unto them; Ah my Lords, I thought I had had wiſer Men of my Councel then now I find you. What diſcretion was this in you, thus to make the Primate of the Realm, and one of you in Office, to wait at the Council Chamber door amongſt ſerving Men? You might have conſidered that he was a Counſellor as well as you, and you had no ſuch Commiſſion of me ſo to handle him. I was content that you ſhould try him as a Counſellor, and not as a mean Subject. But now I well perceive that things be done againſt him maliciouſly, and if ſome of you might have had your minds, you would have tried him to the uttermoſt. But I do you all to wit, and proteſt, that if a Prince may be beholding unto his Subject (and ſo, ſolemnly laying his hand upon his Breſt, ſaid) by the Faith I owe to God, I take this Man here, my Lord of *Canterbury*, to be of all other a moſt Faithful Subject unto us, and one to whom we are much beholding, giving him great commendations otherwiſe. And with that one or two of the chiefeſt of the Council, making their excuſe, declared, that in requeſting his indurance, it was rather meant for his tryal, and his purgation againſt the common fame, and ſlander of the World, than for any malice conceived againſt him. Well, well, my Lords (quoth the King) take him and well uſe him, as he is worthy to be, and make no more ado. And with that every Man caught him by the hand, and made fair weather of altogethers, which might eaſily be done with that Man.

The Lords of the Council glad to be friends again with the Archb.

And it was much to be marvelled, that they would go ſo far with him, thus to ſeek his undoing, underſtanding this well before, that the King moſt entirely loved him, and always would ſtand in his defence whoſoever ſpake againſt him; as many other times the Kings patience was by ſiniſter informations againſt him tried. Inſomuch that the Lord *Cromwel* was evermore wont to ſay unto him, My Lord of *Canterbury*, you are moſt happy of all Men: for you may do and ſpeak what you liſt; and ſay what all Men can againſt you, the King will never believe one word to your detriment or hindrance. I am ſure I take more pains than all the Council doth, and ſpend more largely in the Kings affairs, as well beyond the Seas as on this ſide: yea I aſſure you, even very ſpies in other forreign Realms, at *Rome* and elſewhere, coſt me above 1000. marks a year: and do what I can to bring matters to knowledge, for the commodity of the King and the Realm, I am every day chidden, and many falſe tales now and then believed againſt me; and therefore you are moſt happy, for in no point can you be diſcredited with the King. To this the Archbiſhop again anſwering, if the Kings Majeſty were not good to me that way, I were not able to ſtand and indure one whole week, but your Wiſdom and Policy is ſuch, that you are able to ſhift well enough for your ſelf.

The King a great ſupporter of *Cranmer.*

The L. *Cromwels* words to the Archbiſhop.

Now when the Kings Highneſs had thus benignly and mercifully diſpatched the ſaid Archbiſhop from this ſore accuſation by the Council laid againſt him, all Wiſe Men would have thought that it had been meer folly afterwards to have attempted any matter againſt him: but yet look where malice reigneth, there neither reaſon nor honeſty can take place. Such therefore as had conceived deep rancor and diſpleaſure againſt him, ceaſed not to perſecute him by all poſſible means. Then brought they againſt him a new kind of accuſation, and cauſed Sir *John Goſtwike* Knight, a Man of a contrary Religion, to accuſe the Archbiſhop openly in the Parliament Houſe, laying to his charge his Sermons Preached at *Sandwich*, and his Lectures read at *Canterbury*, wherein ſhould be contained manifeſt Hereſies againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. Which accuſation came to the Kings ear. Why (quoth the King) where dwelleth *Goſtwike?* As I take it, either in *Bedfordſhire* or *Buckinghamſhire*, and hath he ſo open an ear that he can hear my Lord of *Canterbury* Preaching out of *Kent?* This is very likely, ſaid the King. If he had been a *Kentiſhman*, there had been ſomething worthy of conſideration: but as for *Goſtwike*, I know him well enough, and what good Religion he is of. Go to him and tell him, ſaid the King to one of his privy Chamber, if he go not to my L. of *Cant.* and ſo reconcile himſelf to him, that he may become his good Lord, I will pull the Goſlings Feathers ſo, that hereafter he ſhall have little luſt to ſlander the Metropolitane, or any other learned Man. When Sir *J. Goſtwike* heard theſe words, it was no need to bid him haſt himſelf to *Lambeth* unto the Metropolitan, making to him as many friends as poſſibly he might. When he came to the Archb. he was fain to diſcloſe unto him, by what means he was procured to do that he did, requeſting his clemency to be his good Lord, or elſe he took himſelf utterly undone, being ſo in the Kings indignation, as he underſtood he was by that afore declared, which ſute was ſoon won at his hand: and ſo the Archb. caſting into the ſatchel behind him all thoſe Sir *J. Goſtwikes* ingratitudes, went to the King, and wan to Sir *John* his Princes favour again. And thus the King made a ſhort end of this accuſation.

Another accuſation brought into the Parliament Houſe by Sir John *Goſtwike* againſt the Archbiſhop.

Goſtwike checkt of the King for accuſing the Archbiſhop.

Goſtwike glad to fall in again with the Archb. of *Canterbury.*

Well, here you may perceive that malicious invention went not the wiſeſt way to work, to procure a ſtranger dwelling a far off, to accuſe the Archb. of his Doctrine Preached in his Dioceſs: and therefore hath blind malice learned ſome more wiſdom now to accuſe their Archbiſhop in

in ſuch ſort as he ſhall never be able to avoid it. And therefore it was procured by his ancient enemies, that not only the Prebendaries of his Cathedral Church in *Canterbury*, but alſo the moſt famous Juſtices of Peace in the ſhire ſhould accuſe him, article againſt him; which in very deed was moſt ſubſtantially brought to paſs, and the Articles both well written and ſubſcribed, were delivered to the Kings Highneſs, as a thing of ſuch effect, that there muſt needs follow to the ſaid Archbiſhop, both indignation of the Prince, and condign puniſhment for his grievous offence committed by him and his Chaplains, in Preaching ſuch erroneous Doctrine as they did within his Dioceſs of *Canterbury*; whereof they being ſuch witneſſes of credit, no Man had cauſe to doubt of their circumſpect doings. This accuſation particularly ſent out was delivered to the King by ſome of the Councils means: When the King had peruſed the Book, he wrapt it up, and put it in his ſleeve; and finding occaſion to ſolace himſelf upon the *Thames*, came with his Barge furniſhed with his Muſicians a long by *Lambeth* Bridge towards *Chelſey*. The noiſe of the Muſicians provoked the Archbiſhop to reſort to the Bridge to do his duty, and to ſalute his Prince. Whom when the King had perceived to ſtand at the Bridge, eſtſoons he commanded the Watermen to draw towards the ſhoar, and ſo came ſtraight to the Bridge.

New accuſation by Prebendaries and Juſtices of *Kent* againſt the Archbiſhop.

Articles put to the King againſt D. *Cranmer*.

Ah my Chaplain, ſaid the King to the Archbiſhop, come into the Barge to me. The Archbiſhop declared to his Highneſs, that he would take his own Barge and wait upon his Majeſty. No ſaid the King, you muſt come into my Barge, for I have to talk with you. When the King and the Archbiſhop all alone in the Barge were ſet together, ſaid the King to the Archbiſhop, I have news out of *Kent* for you my Lord. The Archbiſhop anſwered, good I hope, if it pleaſe your Highneſs. Marry, ſaid the King, they be ſo good, that I now know the greateſt Hetetick in *Kent*, and with that pulled out of his ſleeve the Book of Articles againſt both the ſaid Arcb. and his Preachers, and gave the Book to him, willing him to peruſe the ſame. When the Archb. had read the Articles, and ſaw himſelf ſo uncourteouſly handled of his own Church whereof he was head, I mean of the Prebendaries of his Cathedral Church, and of ſuch his neighbours as he had many ways gratified, I mean the Juſtices of the Peace, it much grieved him. Notwithſtanding he kneeled down to the King, and beſought his Majeſty to grant out a Commiſſion to whomſoever it pleaſed his Highneſs, for them to try out the truth of this accuſation. In very deed (ſaid th King) I do ſo mean, and you your ſelf ſhall be chief Commiſſioner, to adjoyn to you ſuch two or three more as you ſhall think good your ſelf. Then it will be thought (quoth the Archb. to the King) that it is not indifferent, if it pleaſe your Grace, that I ſhould be mine own judge, and my Chaplains alſo. Well, ſaid the King, I will have none other but your ſelf, and ſuch as you will appoint. For I am ſure that you will not halt with me in any thing, although you be driven to accuſe your ſelf, and I know partly how this gear proceedeth, and if you handle the matter wiſely, you ſhall find a prety conſpiracy deviſed againſt you. Whom will you have with you, ſaid the King? Whom it ſhall pleaſe your Grace to name, quoth the Archbiſhop. I will appoint D. *Belhouſe* for one, name you the other, ſaid the King, meet for that purpoſe. My Chancellor, Doct. *Cox*, and *Huſſey* my Regiſter, ſaid the Archbiſhop are Men expert to examine ſuch troubleſom matters. Well, ſaid the King, let there be a Commiſſion made forth, and out of hand get you into *Kent*, and advertiſe me of your doings.

The King maketh the Archb. privy of the Articles.

Commiſſion appointed to be ſent into *Kent*, for trial of the Articles.

Commiſſioners appointed to *Cranmer* D. *Belhouſe*, D. *Cox* Chancellor, M. *Huſſey* Regiſter.

They came into *Kent*, and there they ſate about three weeks to boult out who was the firſt occaſion of this accuſation, for thereof the King would chiefly be advertiſed. Now the Inquiſition being begun by the Commiſſioners, every Man ſhrunk in his horns, and no Man would confeſs any thing to the purpoſe. For Doctor *Cox* and *Huſſey*, being friendly unto the Papiſts, handled the matter ſo, that they would permit nothing material to come to light. This thing being well perceived by one of the Archbiſhops Servants, his Secretary, he wrote incontinently unto Doctor *Buts* and Maſter *Deny*, declaring that if the Kings Majeſty did not ſend ſome other to aſſiſt my Lord, than thoſe that then were there with him, it were not poſſible that any thing ſhould come to light: and therefore wiſhed that Doctor *Lee* or ſome other ſtout Man that had been exerciſed in the Kings Eccleſiaſtical affairs in his Viſitations, might be ſent to the Archbiſhop. Upon theſe Letters Dr. *Lee* was ſent for to *York* by the King, and having the Kings farther mind declared unto him, when he came to the Court, he reſorted incontinently into *Kent*, ſo that on All-hallow even he delivered to the Archbiſhop the Kings Ring, with a declaration of his Highneſs farther pleaſure: and by and by upon his meſſage done, he appointed the Archbiſhop aforeſaid to name him a doſen or ſixteen of his Officers and Gentlemen, ſuch as had both diſcretion, wit, and audacity, to whom he gave in Commiſſion from the King, to ſearch both the purſes, cheſts, and Chambers of all thoſe that were deemed or ſuſpected to be of this confederacy, both within the Cathedral Church and without, and ſuch Letters or writings as they could find about them, to bring them to the Archbiſhop and him.

D. Cox Chan. and M. *Huſſey* falſe to the Archb. This Secretary was M. *Rolph Morice* witneſs and drawer of this ſtory.

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D. *Lee* of *York*, appointed Commiſſioner with the Archb. for trying out the conſpiracy.

Theſe Men thus appointed, went in one hour and inſtant to the perſons houſes and places, that they were appointed unto; and within four hours afterwards the whole conſpiracy was diſcloſed by finding of Letters, ſome from the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſome from Doctor *London* at *Oxford*, and from Juſtices of the Shire, with other; ſo that the firſt beginning, the proceeding, and what ſhould have been the end of their conſpiracy, was now made manifeſt. Certain Chambers and Cheſts of Gentlemen of the Shire were alſo ſearched, where alſo were found Letters ſerving to this purpoſe. Amongſt all other came to my Lords hands two Letters, one of the Suffragan of *Dover*; and another of Doctor *Barbar* a Civilian, whom continually the Archbiſhop retained with him in houſhold for expedition of matters in ſute before him, as a Counſellor in the Law when need required. Theſe two Men being well promoted by the Archbiſhop, he uſed ever in ſuch familiarity, that when the Suffragan, being a Prebend of *Canterbury*, came to him, he always ſet him at his own meſs, and the other never from his table, as Men in whom he had much delight and comfort, when time of care and penſiveneſs chanced. But that which they did, was altogether counterfeit, and the Devil was turned into the Angel of light, for they were both of this confederacy.

The conſpiracy of the Papiſts againſt the Archbiſhop found out. The Biſhop of Winche[ſter], [Lon]don, the Suffragan of *Dover*, D. *Barbar*, with certain Juſtices of *Kent*, chief conſpirers againſt the Archbiſhop. Domeſtical enemies and conſpirers againſt their Maſter.

When my Lord had gotten theſe their Letters into his hands, he on a day, when it chanced the Suffragan to come to him to his houſe at *Bekisburn*, called to him into his ſtudy the ſaid Suffragan of *Dover* and Doctor *Barbar*, ſaying, Come your ways with me, for I muſt have your advice in a matter. When they were with him in his ſtudy altogether, he ſaid to them, you twain be Men in whom I have had much confidence, and truſt; you muſt now give me ſome good Counſel, for I am ſhamefully abuſed with one or twain to whom I have ſhewed all my ſecrets from time to time, and did truſt them as my ſelf. The matter is ſo now fallen out, that they not only have diſcloſed my ſecrets, but alſo have taken upon them to accuſe me of Hereſie and are become witneſſes againſt me. I require you therefore of your good advice how I ſhall behave my ſelf towards them. You are both my friends, and ſuch as I always have uſed when I needed Counſel. What ſay you to the matter, quoth the Archbiſhop?

Privy talk between the Archbiſhop and his Suffragan, and D. *Barbar*.

Marry, quoth Doctor *Barbar*, ſuch villains and knaves (ſaving your honor) were worthy to be hanged out of hand without any other Law. Hanging were too good, quoth the Suffragan, and if there lacked one to do Execution, I would be hangman my ſelf.

The Suffragan and Civilian give judgment againſt themſelves.

At theſe words, the Archbiſhop caſt up his hands to Heaven, and ſaid, Oh Lord moſt merciful God, whom may a Man truſt now adays? It is moſt true which is ſaid, *Maledictus qui confidit in homine, & ponit carnem brachium ſuum.* There was never Man handled as I am: but O Lord thou haſt evermore defended me, and lent me one great friend and Maſter (meaning the King) without whoſe protection I were not able to ſtand upright one day unoverthrown, I praiſe thy holy name therefore: and with that he pulled out of his boſom their two Letters, and ſaid, Know ye theſe Letters my Maſters? With that they fell down upon their Knees, and deſired

for

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forgiveneſs, declaring how they a year before were attempted to do the ſame, and ſo very lamentably weeping and bewailing their doings, beſought his Grace to pardon and forgive them. Well, ſaid the gentle Archbiſhop, God make you both good men, I never deſerved this at your hands: but aſk God forgiveneſs, againſt whom you have highly offended. If ſuch men as you are not to be truſted, what ſhould I do alive? I perceive now, that there is no fidelity or truſt amongſt men. I am brought to this point now, that I fear my left hand will accuſe my right hand. I need not much marvel hereat, for our Saviour Chriſt truly propheſied of ſuch a world to come in the latter days. I beſeech him of his great mercy to finiſh that time ſhortly; and ſo departing, he diſmiſſed them both with gentle and comfortable words, in ſuch ſort that never after appeared in his countenance or words any remembrance thereof.

The falſe Suffragan, and *Barbar* the Civilian, ask the Archbiſhop forgiveneſs.

The Archb. forgiveth his enemies.

Now, when all thoſe Letters and Accuſations were found, they were put into a Cheſt, the Kings Majeſty minding to have peruſed ſome of them, and to have partly puniſhed the Principals of it. The Cheſt and Writings were brought to *Lambeth*; At what time began the Parliament. Lord what ado there was to procure the King a Subſidy, to the intent that thereupon might enſue a Pardon, which indeed followed, and ſo nothing was done, other than their falſhood known. This was the laſt puſh of the Pike that was inferred againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop in King *Henry* the Eighth his days: for never after durſt any man move matter againſt him in his time.

And thus have ye both the working and diſcloſing of this Popiſh Conſpiracy againſt this worthy Archbiſhop and Martyr of Chriſt, *Thomas Cranmer*. In the which Conſpiracy, for ſo much as complaint was alſo made unto the King of his Chaplains and good Preachers in *Kent*, it ſhall not be out of the ſtory ſomething likewiſe to touch thereof, eſpecially of *Richard Turner*, then Preacher the ſame time in this Archbiſhops Dioceſs, and Curate to Mr. *Morice* the Archbiſhops Secretary, in the Town of *Chartham*, by whoſe diligent preaching a great part of this heart-burning of the Papiſts took his firſt kindling againſt the Archbiſhop. Touching the deſcription of which ſtory, becauſe by me nothing ſhall be ſaid, either more or leſs, than is the truth, ye ſhall hear the very certainty thereof truly compiled in a Letter ſent the ſame time to Dr. *Buts* and Sir *Anthony Deny*, to be ſhewed unto the King, and ſo it was, written by the foreſaid Mr. *Morice*, Secretary then to the Archbiſhop, Farmour of the ſame Benefice of *Chartham*, and Patron to Mr. *Turner*, there Miniſter and Preacher aforeſaid.

Rich. Turner a faithful Preacher in *Kent*.

Papiſts ſet againſt the Archbiſhop by occaſion of *Turners* preaching.

A Letter or Apology of Mr. Morice, *ſent to Sir* William Buts, *and Sir* Anthony Deny, *defending the Cauſe of Mr.* Richard Turner *Preacher, againſt the Papiſts.*

THe Letter firſt beginning in theſe words; I am certain (Right worſhipful) that it is not unknown to your diſcreet wiſdom, &c. And after a few lines, coming to the matter, thus the ſaid Letter proceedeth.

The troubles of *Rich. Turner* Miniſter at *Chartham*.

As your Worſhips well know, it was my chance to be brought up under my Lord of *Canterbury*, my Maſter, in writing of the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of this Realm, as well touching reformation of corrupt Religion, as concerning the advancement of that pure and ſincere Religion received by the Doctrine of the Goſpel; which I take to be ſo ſubſtantially handled and builded upon the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles, That Hell-gates ſhall never prevail againſt it. The conſideration whereof compelled me, being a Farmer of the Parſonage of *Chartham* in *Kent*, to retain with me one named Mr. *Richard Turner*, a man not only learned in the Scriptures of God, but alſo in Converſation of life towards the world, irreprehenſible, whom for diſcharging of my Conſcience I placed at *Chartham* aforeſaid, to be Curate there. This man, becauſe he was a ſtranger in the Country there, and ſo thereby void of grudge or diſpleaſure of any old rancor in the Country, I thought it had been a mean to have gotten him the better credit in his Doctrine; but where malice once taketh fire againſt truth, no policy I ſee is able to quench it. Well, this man as he knew what appertained to his Office, ſo

Mr. *Ralph Morice* Patron of *Rich. Turner* Preacher.

he ſpared not weekly both Sundays and Holidays to open the Goſpel and Epiſtle unto his audience after ſuch a ſort, (when occaſion ſerved) that as well by his vehement inveighing againſt the Biſhop of *Romes* uſurped Power and Authority, as in the earneſt ſetting forth and advancing of the Kings Majeſties Supremacy, innumerable of the People of the Country reſorting unto his Sermons, changed their opinions, and favoured effectually the Religion received. The confluence of the People ſo daily increaſed, that the Church being a fair, ample, and large Church, was not now and then able to receive the number. The fame of this new inſtruction of the People was ſo blazed abroad, that the popiſh Prieſts were wonderfully amazed and diſpleaſed, to ſee their Pope ſo to be defaced, and their Prince ſo highly advanced.

The great concourſe of people to Mr. *Turners* preaching.

Now thought they it is high time for us to work, or elſe all will here be utterly loſt by this mans preaching: ſome of them went with Capons, ſome with Hens, ſome with Chickens, ſome with one thing, ſome with another, unto the Juſtices, ſuch as then favoured their Cauſe and Faction, and ſuch as are no ſmall fools, as Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hales*, Sir *Thomas Moile*, Knights; with other Juſtices. The Prebendaries of *Chriſts Church* in *Canterbury* were made privy hereof, giving their ſuccour and aid thereunto. So that in concluſion poor *Turner*, and other Preachers, were grievouſly complained of unto the Kings *Majeſty*. Whereupon my Lord of *Canterbury*, and certain other Commiſſioners, were appointed at *Lambeth* to ſit upon the Examination of theſe Seditious Preachers. Howbeit, before *Turner* went up to his Examination, I obtained of Sir *Thomas Moile*, that he in *Eaſter* week was content to hear *Turner* preach a rehearſal Sermon in his Pariſh Church at *Weſtwell*, of all the Doctrine of his Sermons preached at his Cure in *Chartham*; which he moſt gently granting, heard *Turner* both before noon and after noon on the *Wedneſday* in *Eaſter* week laſt paſt, and (as it ſeemed) took all things in good part, remitting *Turner* home to his ſaid Cure with gentle and favourable words. I ſuppoſed by this means to have ſtayed Mr. *Turner* at home from further Examination, hoping that Sir *Thomas Moile* would have anſwered for him at *Lambeth* before the Commiſſioners. Notwithſtanding, after Mr. *Moiles* coming to *London*, ſuch Information was laid in againſt *Turner*, that he was ſent for to make anſwer himſelf before the ſaid Commiſſioners; and there appearing before them, he made ſuch an honeſt, perfect, and learned anſwer unto the Articles objected, that he was with a good Exhortation, diſcharged home again, without any manner of Recantation or other Injunction.

Sir *Jo. Baker*, Sir *Chriſtoph. Hales*, Sir *Tho. Moile*, Juſtices, with the Prebendaries of *Canterbury*, Perſecutors of Gods people

Sir *Th. Moil* hearing *Turner*, could find no fault with his doctrine.

Mr. *Turner* appearing before the Commiſſioners at *Lambeth*, was diſcharged and ſent home.

Now when the Pope-Catholick Clergy of *Kent* underſtood of his coming home without controlment, ſo that he preached as freely as he did before, againſt their blind and dumb Ceremonies, ſtreightway by the help of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Stephen Gardiner*, they found a new *means* to put him to utter confuſion, deviſing that he came home from Examination in ſuch glorious pomp by the High-ways ſide in the Woods adjoyning, that five hundred perſons met him then with banquetting diſhes to welcome him home, ſtirring the People rather to an Uproar and Commotion, than to keep them in any quiet Obedience: when in very deed, contrary to this ſurmiſe, (as God would) on this ſide *Rocheſter* a mile or two, for avoiding all ſuch light and glorious talk with any his Familiars or Acquaintance, he of purpoſe left the High-way, and came thorow the woods all alone above 18 miles together on foot, ſo wearied and megered for want of ſuſtenance, that when he came into my Houſe at *Chartham*, he was not well able to ſtand or ſpeak for faintneſs & thirſt.

New matter made againſt *Rich. Turner*.

The practice of Papiſts to hold up their Kingdom with lies.

This malicious tale being reported to the Kings Highneſs, his Majeſty was ſo ſore aggrieved therewith, that he ſent for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, willing him to cauſe *Turner* to be whipt out of the Country. By means whereof, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſent again for *Turner*: I hearing thereof made incontinently report by my Letters, with ſuch vehemency proving it meer malice, that the Archbiſhop underſtanding the truth, pacified again the Kings Majeſties wrath. Home cometh *Turner* once again to his Cure without blot. Which ſo wrung the Papiſts, in that they could not prevail, that they thought it all in vain any further to attempt a

The King deceived by ſiniſter information.

gainſt him concerning any accuſation for matters in *Kent*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being his Ordinary. Well, yet would they not thus leave him undiſcredited. Then was there one new matter deviſed, how that he had Preached erroneous Doctrine in other Countries before he came into *Kent*, laying to his charge that he had both tranſlated the Maſs into Engliſh, and ſaid, or miniſtred the ſame, and that he had Preached againſt Purgatory, Pilgrimages, and praying for the dead, &c. By means whereof, he was now convented before the whole Council by the Biſhop of *Winch.* who ſent *Syriake Petite* Gentleman for him, who brought him up to *London* bound (as I heard ſay) and being examined before the ſaid Biſhop of *Winchester* and others, he was committed to ward for a ſeaſon.

New matter made againſt *Rich. Turner.*

In the which mean time, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being in *Kent* about the trial of a conſpiracy purpoſed againſt himſelf by the Juſtices of the Shire, and the Prebendaries of Chriſts Church: *Turner* is now ſent down to the Archbiſhop, to the intent he ſhould recant that Doctrine which long ago he in other places out of *Kent* had Preached, to the utter ſubverſion and defacing of all that he had moſt Godly and earneſtly here in *Kent* taught both to the Glory of God, and the furtherance and ſetting forth of the Kings Highneſs proceedings. If his Majeſty will thus permit learned honeſt Men thus daily to be overcrowned and trodden under foot with a ſort of tyrannous, or rather traiterous Papiſts. (who cannot abide to hear his Majeſties Supremacy advanced, nor the ſincere Word of God Preached) it were better for Men to dwell amongſt the Infidels and miſcreants than in *England.*

Conſpiracy againſt the Archbiſhop *Cranmer* by the Juſtices of *Kent.*

What reaſon is this, that *Turner* ſhould recant here in *Kent* the Doctrine which in other Countries he hath taught, to the wounding and everthrowing moſt deſperately of five hundred Mens Conſciences and above, (I dare ſay) who lately by his ſincere Preaching have embraced a right good opinion both of the Kings Supremacy, and alſo of the reformed Religion received? All good Subjects may well lament the Kings Majeſties eſtate in this behalf, that no Man may dare to be ſo bold to advance his Highneſs Title; but that every ignorant and malicious Papiſt ſhall ſpurn againſt him, ſeeking his utter undoing, and that by the ayd of Papiſtical Juſtices ſet in Authority. I beſeech your Worſhips to pardon me of my rude and homely terms. They herein deſerve worſe, if worſe may be deviſed. For what honeſt Man can bear with this, that ſo Noble a Princes ears ſhall be thus impudently abuſed with manifeſt lies and fables, as this one is of *Turners* coming home in ſuch a Triumph as they craftily and falſly had deviſed? It is eaſily to be ſpied what they mean and go about, that, the Prince being alive, dare take in hand ſo uncourteouſly to abuſe both the gentle nature of the Prince, and his Godly Preacher, the advancer and extoller of his juſt Authority.

What think your Worſhips they would attempt if his Majeſty were at Gods mercy (as God forefend that ever any of us ſhould ſee that day, without better reformation) that can thus dally with his Highneſs, blinding his Eyes with miſts, whilſt he liveth and reigneth amongſt us in moſt proſperity? As for my L. of *Cant.* he dare nothing do for the poor Mans delivery, he hath done ſo much for him already. And his Grace hath told me plainly, that it is put into the Kings Head, that he is the maintainer and ſupporter of all the Hereticks within the Realm; nor will he permit me or my neighbors to reſort unto the Council for his purgation while he was at *Chartham*, ſaving only I have obtained this at his hand, that I may become a ſuter in writing to my friends and good Maſters in the Court for his delivery.

And therefore it is (Right Worſhipful) that I have now taken pen in hand, thus to diſcourſe and open our miſery unto you concerning the extream handling of this honeſt poor Man Maſter *Turner*, that, if it may poſſibly be brought to paſs by your Godly Wiſdom, the poor Man may be releaſed and diſcharged of his recantation; you cannot do to God and your Prince a more acceptable ſervice in my poor opinion. For otherwiſe if he ſhould be driven to recant (as I am ſure he will ſooner dye) both Gods cauſe and the Kings ſhall ſuffer no ſmall detriment amongſt his poor loving Subjects here. For if there be no better ſtay for the maintenance of theſe Godly Preachers, the Kings Authority concerning his Supremacy ſhall lye poſt alone hidden in the Act of Parliament, and not in the Hearts of his Subjects. Anno 1556.

If they can bring to paſs that *Turner* may recant, to the defacing of his good Doctrine Preached here, then have they that for which they have thus long travelled. And yet in effect ſhall not *Turner* recant, but King *Henry* the 8. in *Turners* perſon ſhall moſt odiouſly recant, to the wounding of all Mens Conſciences here. If the Kings Majeſty do not eſteem his Authority given to his Highneſs by Gods Word and his Parliament: it were well done, that the Preachers had good warning to talk no more to the people thereof, rather than thus to be toſſed and turmoiled for doing their duties, by the members of Antichriſt.

Sanders and *Brown*, two perſecuting Papiſts.

And now to the intent that they might effectually for ever ſlander *Turners* Doctrine here, they have indicted him for offending againſt the ſix Articles, this laſt Seſſions, by the witneſs of two Papiſts of the Pariſh of *Chartham* his utter enemies, *Sanders* and *Brown* by name, for a Sermon Preached at *Chartham*, on Paſſion Sunday, which chanced on S. *Gregories* even, they both being abſent that day at *Wye Fair*, as it is well proved, namely, for that he Preached againſt the Maſs: ſaying, that our Saviour Chriſt was the only ſole Prieſt, which ſung Maſs on the Altar of the Croſs, there ſacrificing for the Sins of the World once for ever, and that all other Maſſes were but remembrances and thankſgiving for that one Sacrifice, or ſuch words in effect.

Wherefore, to conclude (Right Worſhipful) knowing your Godly zeals, as well towards the preferment of ſincere Religion, as your no leſs affection towards the King his Majeſties perſon and his Godly proceedings, I moſt humbly beſeech you, in the Bowels of our Saviour Chriſt, ſo to ponder the weighty conſideration of the premiſſes, as by your travels unto the Kings Majeſty or to the Honourable Council, we here in *Kent* that have now of late our hearts bent towards the obſervation of the Law of God and the Prince through *Turners* Godly perſwaſions, may receive from your Worſhips ſome comfortable words of his deliverance, or elſe certainly many an honeſt and ſimple Man, lately imbracing the truth, may perhaps fall away deſperately from the ſame, not without danger of their Souls. In accompliſhing whereof your Worſhips ſhall not only do unto Almighty God and the Prince moſt true and acceptable ſervice, but alſo bind the ſaid M. *Turner*, with all other to whom this cauſe doth appertain, both daily to pray for your proſperities, and alſo to be at your commandments during their lives. From *Canterbury* the ſecond day of *November.*

Your worſhips evermore at commandment, R. M.

And thus much containeth the Letter ſent (as is ſaid) by Maſter *Morrice* to Doctor *Buts* and Sir *Anthony Denny*. Now, what ſucceſs and ſpeed this Letter had, it followeth to be declared. For Doctor *Buts* the Kings Phyſician aforeſaid, after the receipt of theſe Letters, conſidering the weighty contents of the ſame, as he was ever a forward friend in the Goſpels cauſe, ſo he thought not to foreſlack this matter to the uttermoſt of his diligence, and ſo ſpying his time, when the King was in trimming and in waſhing (as his manner was at certain times to call for his Barbar) Doctor *Buts* (whoſe manner was at ſuch times ever to be preſent, and with ſome pleaſant conceits to refreſh and ſolace the Kings mind) brought with him in his hand this Letter. The King asking what news, Doctor *Buts* pleaſantly and merrily beginneth to inſinuate unto the King the effect of the matter, and ſo at the Kings Commandment read out the Letter; which when the King had heard, and pauſed a little with himſelf upon the ſame, commanded again the Letter to be read unto him. The hearing and conſideration whereof ſo altered the Kings mind, that where as before he commanded the ſaid *Turner* to be whipped out of the Country, he now commanded him to be retained as a faithfull Subject. And here of that matter an end. Let us now return to the Archbiſhop again.

The Kings favour conceived again to Mr. *Turner.*

Who

Anno 1556.

This Archb. married his ſecond wife at *Noremberge.*

Who although he was compaſſed about (as is ſaid) with mighty enemies, and by many crafty trains impugned, yet through Gods more mighty Providence, working in the Kings heart ſo to favour him, he rubbed out all K. *Henries* time without blemiſh or foil, by means of the Kings ſupportation, who not only defended the ſaid Archbiſhop againſt all his conſpired Adverſaries, but alſo extended ſuch ſpecial favour unto him in ſuch ſort, that he being not ignorant of his wife, whom he had married before at *Noremberge*, (being Niece to the wife of *Oſiander*) keeping her alſo their ſix Articles time contrary to the Law, notwithſtanding he both permitted the ſame, and kept his counſel.

Then after the death of K. *Henry*, immediately ſucceeded his Son K. *Edward*, under whoſe government and protection the ſtate of this Archbiſhop being his Godfather, was nothing impaired, but rather more advanced.

During all this mean time of K. *Henry* aforeſaid, until the entring of K. *Edward*, it ſeemed that *Cranmer* was ſcarcely yet throughly perſwaded in the right knowledge of the Sacrament, or at leaſt, was not yet fully ripened in the ſame: wherein ſhortly after he being more groundedly confirmed by conference with Biſhop *Ridley*, in proceſs of time did ſo profit in more ripe knowledge, that at laſt he took upon him the defence of that whole Doctrine, that is, to refute and throw down firſt the Corporal Preſence; ſecondly, the fantaſtical Tranſubſtantiation; thirdly, the idolatrous adoration; fourthly, the falſe error of the Papiſts, that wicked men do eat the natural Body of Chriſt; and laſtly, the blaſphemous Sacrifice of the Maſs. Whereupon in concluſion he wrote five Books for the publick inſtruction of the Church of *England*, which inſtruction yet to this day ſtandeth, and is received in this Church of *England*.

The true and godly doctrine of the Sacrament in five Books, ſet forth by the Archb. of *Canterbury.*

Againſt theſe five Books of the Archbiſhop, *Stephen Gardiner*, the Arch-enemy to Chriſt and his Goſpel, being then in the *Tower*, ſlubbereth up a certain Anſwer, ſuch as it was, which he in open Court exhibited up at *Lambeth*, being there examined by the Archbiſhop aforeſaid, and other the Kings Commiſſioners in King *Edwards* days, which Book was intituled, *An explication and aſſertion of the true Catholick Faith, touching the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, with a Confutation of a Book written againſt the ſame.*

An Explication of *Stephen Gardiner* againſt *Cranmer* Archb. of *Canterbury.*

Againſt this Explication, or rather a cavilling Sophiſtication of *Stephen Gardiner* Dr. of Law, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* learnedly and copiouſly replying again, maketh anſwer, which alſo he publiſhed abroad to the eyes and judgments of all men in print. All which Writings and Books, as well of the one part as of the other, our preſent ſtory would require here to be inſerted, but becauſe to proſecute the whole matter at length will not be comprehended in a ſmall room, and may make too long tarriance in our ſtory, it ſhall therefore be beſt to put off the ſame unto the place of the Appendix following, wherein (the Lord willing) we intend to cloſe up both theſe, and divers other Treatiſes of theſe learned Martyrs, as to this our ſtory ſhall appertain.

The anſwer of Dr. *Cranmer* Archb. of *Canterbury* againſt *Step. Gardiner.*

Marcus Antonius written by *Step. Gardiner.*

The unquiet ſpirit of *Stephen Gardiner* being not yet contented, after all this thruſteth out another Book in Latin of the like Popiſh Argument, but after another Title, named *Marcus Antonius Conſtantinus.* Whereunto firſt the Archbiſhop again intending a full Confutation, had already abſolved three parts of his Anſwer lying in Priſon. Of the which parts two periſhed in *Oxford*; the other yet remaineth in my hands ready to be ſeen and ſet forth, as the Lord ſhall ſee good. Alſo Biſhop *Ridley* lying likewiſe the ſame time in Priſon, having there the ſaid Book of *Marcus Antonius*, for lack of Pen and Paper, with a Lead of a Window, in the Margent of the Book wrote Annotations, as ſtreightneſs of time would ſerve him, in refutation of the ſame Book. And finally, becauſe theſe worthy Martyrs had neither liberty nor leiſure to go through with that travel, that which lacked in them, for accompliſhment of that behalf, was ſupplied ſhortly after by *Peter Martyr*, who abundantly and ſubſtantially hath overthrown that Book in his learned Defenſion of the Truth, againſt the falſe Sophiſtication of *Marcus Antonius* aforeſaid.

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* about to anſwer to *Marcus Antonius.*

Notes of Dr. *Ridley* againſt *Marcus Antonius.*

Peter Martyrs Book of defence againſt *Marcus Antonius.*

Beſides theſe Books above cited of this Archbiſhop, divers other things there were alſo of his doing, as the Book of the Reformation, the Catechiſm, with the Book of Homilies, whereof part was by him contrived, part by his procurement approved and publiſhed. Whereunto alſo may be adjoyned another Writing or Confutation of his againſt 88. Articles by the Convocation deviſed and propounded, but yet not ratified nor received in the reign and time of King *Henry* the Eighth.

And thus much hitherto concerning the doings and travels of this Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, during the lives both of K. *Henry*, and of K. *Edward* his Son. Which two Kings ſo long as they continued, this Archbiſhop lacked no ſtay of maintenance againſt all his maligners.

Afterward, this King *Edward*, a Prince of moſt worthy towardneſs, falling ſick, when he perceived that his death was at hand, and the force of his painful Diſeaſe would not ſuffer him to live longer, and knowing that his Siſter *Mary* was wholly wedded to Popiſh Religion, bequeathed the Succeſſion of this Realm to the Lady *Jane* (a Lady of great Birth, but of greater Learning, being Niece to King *Henry* the Eighth by his Siſter) by conſent of the Council and Lawyers of this Realm. To this Teſtament of the Kings, when all the Nobles of the Realm, States and Judges had ſubſcribed; they ſent for the Archbiſhop, and required him that he alſo would ſubſcribe. But he excuſing himſelf on this manner, ſaid, That it was otherwiſe in the Teſtament of King *Henry* his Father, and that he had ſworn to the Succeſſion of *Mary*, as then the next Heir, by which Oath he was ſo bound, that without manifeſt Perjury he could not go from it. The Council anſwered, that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had Conſcience as well as he, and moreover, that they were ſworn to that Teſtament, and therefore he ſhould not think there was any danger therein, or that he ſhould be in more peril of Perjury than the reſt.

Lady *Jane.*

Cranmer refuſeth to ſwear to Lady *Jane.*

To this the Archbiſhop anſwered, that he was judge of no mans Conſcience but his own: and therefore as he would not be prejudicial to others, ſo he would not commit his Conſcience unto other mens facts, or caſt himſelf into danger, ſeeing that every man ſhould give account of his own Conſcience, and not of other mens. And as concerning Subſcription, before he had ſpoken with the King himſelf, he utterly refuſed to do it.

The King therefore being demanded of the Archbiſhop concerning this matter, ſaid, That the Nobles and Lawyers of the Realm counſelled him unto it, and perſwaded him that the Bond of the firſt Teſtament could nothing let, but that this Lady *Jane* might ſucceed him as Heir, and the People without danger acknowledge her as their Queen. Who then demanding leave of the King, that he might firſt talk with certain Lawyers that were in the Court; when they all agreed that by Law of the Realm it might be ſo, returning to the King, with much ado he ſubſcribed.

Cranmer through the perſwaſion of the Counſel, the King and Lawyers, ſubſcribed to King *Edwards* Teſtament.

Well, not long after this King *Edward* died, being almoſt ſixteen years old, to the great ſorrow, but greater calamity of the whole Realm. After whoſe deceaſe immediately it was commanded that the Lady *Jane* (which was unwilling thereunto) ſhould be proclaimed Queen. Which thing much miſliked the Common People, not that they did ſo much favour *Mary*, before whom they ſaw the Lady *Jane* preferred, as for the hatred conceived againſt ſome, whom they could not favour.

Beſides this, other Cauſes there happened alſo of Diſcord between the Nobles and the Commons the ſame time: for what injuries of Commons and Encloſures wrongfully holden, with other inordinate pollings and uncharitable dealing between the Landlords and Tenants, I cannot tell. But in fine, thus the matter fell out, that *Mary* hearing of the death of her Brother, and ſhifting for her ſelf, was ſo aſſiſted by the Commons, that eftſoons ſhe prevailed. Who, being eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of the Realm, not long after came to *London*, and after ſhe had cauſed firſt the two Fathers, the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Duke of *Suffolk*, to be executed, (as is above remembred) likewiſe ſhe cauſed the Lady *Jane*, being both in Age tender, and innocent from this Crime, after ſhe could by no means be turned from the conſtancy of her Faith, together with her Husband, to be beheaded.

The reſt of the Nobles, paying fines, were forgiven, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* only excepted. Who though he deſired pardon (by means of his friends) could obtain none;

Manet alta mente repoſtum Judicium Paridis, ſpretæq; injuria formæ. Virg. Eneid. 1.

inſomuch that the Queen would not once vouchſafe to ſee him. For as yet the old grudge againſt the Archbiſhop for the divorcement of her Mother, remained hid in the bottom of her heart. Beſides this Divorce, ſhe remembred the ſtate of Religion changed; all which was imputed to the Archbiſhop as the cauſe thereof.

While theſe things were in *doing*, a rumor was in all mens mouths, That the Archbiſhop, to curry favour with the Queen, had promiſed to ſay a *Dirge* Maſs after the old cuſtom, for the Funeral of King *Edward* her brother. Neither wanted there ſome which reported that he had already ſaid Maſs at *Canterbury*; which Maſs indeed was ſaid by Dr. *Thornton*. This rumor *Cranmer* thinking ſpeedily to ſtay, gave forth a writing of his Purgation: the tenor whereof being before expreſſed, I need not here again to recite.

This Doctor *Thornton* was after the B. of *Dover*, a cruel and wicked perſecutor.

This Bill being thus written, and lying openly in a Window in his Chamber, cometh in by chance Mr. *Story*, Biſhop then of *Rocheſter*, who after he had read and peruſed the ſame, required of the Archbiſhop to have a Copy of the Bill. The Archbiſhop when he had granted and permitted the ſame to Mr. *Story*, by the occaſion thereof Mr. *Story* lending it to ſome friend of his, there were divers Copies taken out thereof, and the thing publiſhed abroad among the common people; inſomuch that every Scriveners Shop almoſt, was occupied in writing and copying out the ſame: and ſo at length ſome of theſe copies coming to the Biſhops hands, and ſo brought to the Council, and they ſending it to the Commiſſioners, the matter was known, and ſo he commanded to appear.

The Biſhop was D. *Heath* Biſhop after of *York*.

Whereupon D. *Cranmer* at his day prefixed, appeared before the ſaid Commiſſioners, bringing a true Inventory, as he was commanded, of all his goods. That done, a Biſhop of the Queens Privy Council, being one of the ſaid Commiſſioners, after the inventory was received, bringing in mention of the Bill; My Lord (ſaid he) there is a Bill put forth in your name, wherein you ſeem to be agrieved with ſetting up the Maſs again; we doubt not but you are ſorry that it is gone abroad.

To whom the Archbiſhop anſwered again, ſaying, as I do not deny my ſelf to be the very Author of that Bill or Letter, ſo muſt I confeſs here unto you, concerning the ſame Bill, that I am ſorry that the ſaid Bill went from me in ſuch ſort as it did. For when I had written it, Mr. *Story* got the copy of me, and it is now come abroad, and as I underſtand, the City is full of it. For which I am ſorry, that it ſo paſſed my hands: for I had intended otherwiſe to have made it in a more large and ample manner, and minded to have ſet it on *Pauls* Church door, and on the doors of all the Churches in *London*, with mine own Seal joyned thereto.

At which words, when they ſaw the conſtantneſs of the Man, they diſmiſſed him, affirming they had no more at that preſent to ſay unto him, but that ſhortly he ſhould hear further. The ſaid Biſhop declared afterward to one of Doctor *Cranmers* friends, that notwithſtanding his attainder of Treaſon, the Queens determination at that time was, that *Cranmer* ſhould only have been deprived of his Archbiſhoprick, and have had a ſufficient living aſſigned him, upon his exhibiting of a true inventory, with commandment to keep his houſe without medling in matters of Religion. But how true that was, I have not to ſay. This is certain, that not long after this, he was ſent to the *Tower*, and ſoon after Condemned of Treaſon. Notwithſtanding the Queen, when ſhe could not honeſtly deny him his pardon, ſeeing all the reſt were diſcharged, and ſpecially, ſeeing he laſt (of all other) ſubſcribed to King *Edwards* requeſt, and that againſt his own will, releaſed to him his action of Treaſon, and accuſed him only of Hereſie; which liked the Archbiſhop right well, and came to paſs as he wiſhed, becauſe the cauſe was not his own, but Chriſts; not the Queens, but the Churches. Thus ſtood the cauſe of *Cranmer*, till at length it was determined by the Queen and the Council, that he ſhould be removed from the *Tower* where he was priſoner, to *Oxford*, there to diſpute with the Doctors and Divines. And privily word was ſent before to them of *Oxford* to prepare themſelves, and make them ready to diſpute. And although the Queen and the Biſhops had concluded before what ſhould become of him, yet it pleaſed them that the matter ſhould be debated with Arguments, that under ſome honeſt ſhew of diſputation the murther of the Man might be covered. Neither could their haſty ſpeed of revengement abide any long delay; and therefore in all haſt he was carried to *Oxford*.

Cranmer Condemned of Treaſon.

Cranmer releaſed of Treaſon, and accuſed of Hereſie.

Anno 1556. *Cranmer* had to *Oxford*.

What this diſputation was, and how it was handled, what were the queſtions and reaſons on both ſides, and alſo touching his Condemnation by the Univerſity and the Prolocutor, becauſe ſufficiently it hath been declared, we mind to now therefore proceed to his final Judgment and order of Condemnation, which was the 12. day of *September*, *Anno* 1555. and ſeven days before the Condemnation of Biſhop *Ridley* and Maſter *Latimer*, as is above foretouched. The Story whereof here followeth, faithfully corrected by the report and narration (coming by chance to our hands) of one who being both preſent thereat, and alſo a devout favourer of the See and Faction of *Rome*, can lack no credit (I trow) with ſuch which ſeek what they can to diſcredit whatſoever maketh not with their phantaſied Religion of *Rome*.

After the Diſputations done and finiſhed in *Oxford* between the Doctors of both Univerſities, and the three Worthy Biſhops, Doctor *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, ye heard then how ſentence condemnatory immediate upon the ſame was miniſtred againſt them by Doctor *Weſton* and other of the Univerſity; whereby they were judged to be Hereticks and ſo committed to the Major and Sheriffs of *Oxford*. But foraſmuch as the Sentence given againſt them was void in Law (for at that time the Authority of the Pope was not yet received into the Land) therefore was a new Commiſſion ſent from *Rome*, and a new Proceſs framed for the conviction of theſe reverend and Godly learned Men aforeſaid. In which Commiſſion, firſt was Doctor *James Brooks* Biſhop of *Gloceſter* the Popes Subdelegate, with Doctor *Martin*, and Doctor *Story*, Commiſſioners in the King and Queens behalf, for the Execution of the ſame. Of the which three Commiſſioners above named, as touching Doctor *Martin*, this by the way is to be underſtood, that although he was uſed for an inſtrument of the Popes ſide, to ſerve a turn (whoſe Book alſo is extant againſt the lawful Marriage of Prieſts) yet notwithſtanding neither was he ſo bitter an enemy in this perſecution, as other Commiſſioners were; and alſo in this time of Queen *Elizabeth*, where divers other Doctors of the Arches refuſed to be ſworn againſt the Pope, he denied not the Oath; and yet notwithſtanding not altogether here to be excuſed. But to the purpoſe of this Story. Whereof firſt it ſhall be requiſite to declare the circumſtance, and the whole ſtate of the matter, as in a general deſcription, before we come to their Orations, according as in a parcel of a certain Letter touching the ſame, it came to our hands.

D. Brooks, *D. Martin*, *D. Story*, Commiſſioners againſt the Archbiſhop.

D. Martin not ſo bitter in this Perſecution, as other Commiſſioners were.

Imprimis, here is to be underſtood, that at the coming down of the foreſaid Commiſſioners, which was upon *Thurſday*, the 12. of *September*, *Anno* 1555. in the Church of S. *Mary*, and in the Eaſt end of the ſaid Church at the High Altar, was erected a ſolemn Scaffold for Biſhop *Brooks* aforeſaid, repreſenting the Popes perſon, ten foot high. The ſeat was made that he might ſit under the Sacrament of the Altar. And on the right hand of the Popes Delegate beneath him ſate Doctor *Martin*, and on the left hand ſate Doctor *Story* the King and Queens Commiſſioners, which were both Doctors of the Civil Law, and underneath them other Doctors, Scribes, and Phariſees alſo, with the Popes Collector, and a rabblement of ſuch other like.

The order of ſetting and placing the Commiſſioners.

And thus theſe Biſhops being placed in their Pontificalibus, the Biſhop of *Canterbury* was ſent for to come before them. He having intelligence of them that were there, thus ordered himſelf. He came forth of the priſon to the Church of S. *Mary*, ſet forth with Bills and gleves for fear he ſhould ſtart away, being clothed in a fair black gown, with his hood on both ſhoulders, ſuch as Doctors of Divinity in the Univerſity uſe to wear. Who, after he was come into the Church, and did ſee them ſit in their Pontificalibus, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but ſtood ſtill till that he was called. And anon one of the Proctors for the Pope, or elſe his Doctor, called *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, appear here and make anſwer to that ſhall be laid to thy charge; that is

The appearing of the Archbiſh. of *Canterbury* before the Commiſſioners.

to

Anno 1556.

to say, for Blasphemy, Incontinency, and Heresie; and make answer here to the Bishop of *Gloceſter*, representing the Popes person.

Upon this he being brought more near unto the Scaffold, where the foresaid Bishop sate, he first well viewed the place of Judgment, and spying where the King and Queens Majesties Proctors were, putting off his Cap, he first humbly bowing his knee to the ground, made reverence to the one, and after to the other.

The Archb. giveth reverence to the Queens Commissioners.

That done, beholding the Bishop in the face, he put on his Bonet again, making no manner of token of obedience towards him at all. Whereat the Bishop being offended, said unto him, that it might beseem him right well, weighing the authority he did represent, to do his duty unto him. Whereunto Dr. *Cranmer* answered and said, That he had once taken a solemn Oath, never to consent to the admitting of the Bishop of *Romes* Authority into this Realm of *England* again; and that he had done it advisedly, and meant by Gods grace to keep it; and therefore would commit nothing either by sign or token, which might argue his consent to the receiving of the same, and so he desired the said Bishop to judge of him, and that he did it not for any contempt to his person, which he could have been content to have honoured as well as any of the other, if his Commission had come from as good an Authority as theirs. This answered he both modestly, wisely, and patiently, with his Cap on his head, not once bowing or making any reverence to him that represented the Popes person, which was wonderously of the people marked that was there present and saw it, and marked it as nigh as could be possible.

Dr *Cranmer* sheweth no reverence to the Popes Delegate.

The Oration of Dr. Brooks *Bishop of* Gloceſter, *unto Dr.* Cranmer *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *in the Church of S.* Mary *at* Oxford, Anno 1556. March 12.

The Oration of Bp. Brooke.

WHen after many means used, they perceived that the Archbishop would not move his Bonet, the Bishop proceeded in these words following.

My Lord, at this present we are come to you as Commissioners, and for you, not intruding our selves by our own Authority, but sent by Commission, partly from the Popes holiness, partly from the King and Queens most excellent Majesties, not to your utter discomfort, but to your comfort if you will your self. We come not to judge you, but to put you in remembrance of that you have been, and shall be. Neither come we to dispute with you, but to examine you in certain matters; which being done, to make relation thereof to him that hath power to judge you. The first being well taken, shall make the second to be well taken. For if you, of your part be moved to come to a conformity, then shall not only we of our side take joy of our Examination, but also they that have sent us.

And first, as Charity doth move us, I would think good somewhat to exhort you, and that by the second Chapter of S. *John* in the *Apoc. Memor esto unde exideris, & age pœnitentiam, & prima opera fac. Sin minus*; *i.* Remember from whence thou art faln, and do the first works, or if not, and so as ye know what followeth. Remember your self from whence you have faln. You have faln from the Universal and Catholick Church of Christ, from the very true and received Faith of all Christendom, and that by open Heresie. You have faln from your promise to God, from your fidelity and allegiance, and that by open preaching, marriage, and adultery. You have faln from your Sovereign Prince and Queen by open Treason. Remember therefore from whence you are faln. Your fall is great, the danger cannot be seen. Wherefore when I say, remember from whence you are faln, I put you in mind, not only of your fall, but also of the state you were in before your fall. You were sometime, as I and other poor men, in a meán estate, God I take to witness, I speak it to no reproach or abasement of you, but to put you in memory, how God hath called you from a low to an high degree, from one degree to another, from better to better, and never gave you over, till he had appointed you *Legatum natum, Metropolitanum Angliæ, Pastorem gregis sui.* Such great trust did he put you in, in his Church; What could he do more? for even as he ordained *Moses* to be a Ruler over his Church of *Israel*, and gave him full authority upon the same: so did he make you over his Church of *England*. And when did he this for you? forsooth when you gave no occasion or cause of mistrust either to him, or to his Magistrates. For although it be conjectured, that in all your time ye were not upright in the honour and faith of Christ, but rather set up of purpose as a fit Instrument, whereby the Church might be spoiled and brought into ruin; yet may it appear by many your doings otherwise, and I for my part, as it behoveth each one of us, shall think the best. For who was thought as then more devout? who was more religious in the face of the world? Who was thought to have more conscience of a Vow making, and observing the order of the Church, more earnest in the defence of the Real Presence of Christs Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar then ye were? and then all things prospered with you; your Prince favoured you; yea, God himself favoured you; your Candlestick was set up in the highest place of the Church, and the light of your Candle was over all the Church; I would God it had so continued still.

Apoc. 2.

Heresie, Adultery, and Treason laid to Dr. Cranmer.

The high estate of Dr. Cranmer, sometime Archb. of Canterbury.

But after ye began to fall by Schism, and would not acknowledge the Popes Holiness as Supream Head, but would stoutly uphold the unlawful Requests of K. *Henry* the Eighth, and would bear with that should not be born withal, then began you to fansie unlawful liberty; and when you had exiled a good Conscience, then ensued great shipwrack in the Sea, which was out of the true and Catholick Church cast into the Sea of Desperation; for as he saith, *Extra Ecclesiam non est salus*; *i.* Without the Church there is no Salvation. When ye had forsaken God, God forsook you, and gave you over to your own will, and suffered you to fall from Schism to Apostasie, from Apostasie to Heresie, and from Heresie to Perjury, from Perjury to Treason, and so in conclusion, into the full indignation of our Sovereign Prince, which you may think a just punishment of God, for your other abominable Opinions.

After that, ye fell lower and lower, and now to the lowest degree of all, to the end of honour and life. For if the light of your Candle be as it hath been hitherto duskey, your Candlestick is like to be removed, and have a great fall, so low, and so far out of knowledge, that it be quite out of Gods favour, and past all hope of recovery: *Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio*; *i.* For in Hell there is no redemption. The danger whereof being so great, very pity causeth me to say, *Memor esto unde exideris*; *i.* Remember from whence thou hast faln. I add also, and whither you fall.

But here peradventure you will say to me, What Sir? my fall is not so great as you make it. I have not yet faln from the Catholick Church. For that is not the Catholick Church that the Pope is Head of. There is another Church. But as touching that, I answer, You are sure of that as the Donatists were, for they said they had the true Church, and that the name of true Christians remained only in *Africk*, where only their seditious Sect was preached: and as you think, so thought *Novatus*, That all they that did acknowledge their Supream Head at the See of *Rome*, were out of the Church of Christ. But here S. *Cyprian* defending *Cornelius* against *Novatus*, *Libro secundo, Epistola sexta*, saith on this wise, *Ecclesia una est, quæ cum sit una, intus & foris esse non potest*. So that if *Novatus* were in the Church, then was not *Cornelius*, who indeed by lawful Succession succeeded Pope *Fabian*. Here Saint *Cyprian* intendeth by the whole Process to prove, and concludeth thereupon, that the true Church was only *Rome*. Gather you then what will follow of your fall. But you will say peradventure, that you fell not by Heresie, and so said the Arrians, alledging for themselves that they had Scripture, and going about to perswade their Schism by Scripture; for indeed they had more places by two and forty, which by their torture seemed to depend upon Scripture, than the Catholicks had.

Cypr. lib. 2. Epist. 6.

So did the *Martians* provoke their Heresie to Scripture. But those are no Scriptures; for they are not truly alledged, nor truly interpreted, but untruly wrested and wrong, according to their own fantasies. And therefore were they all justly condemned for their wrong taking of the Scriptures, and the Church replieth against them, saying, *Qui est iste vos? quando? quid agi-*

Provoking to the Scripture.

tis in meo, non mei? The Church ſaith, What make you here in my Heritage? from whence came you? The Scripture is mine Inheritance? I am right Heir thereof: I hold it by true Succeſſion of the Apoſtles; for as the Apoſtles required me to hold, ſo do I hold it. The Apoſtles have received me, and put me in my Right, and have rejected you as Baſtards, having no Title thereunto.

Breaking of Vows.

Alſo ye will deny that ye have fallen by Apoſtaſie, by breaking your Vow; and ſo *Vigilantius* ſaid, inſomuch that he would admit none to his Miniſtery, but thoſe that had their Wives bagged with Children. What now? Shall we ſay that *Vigilantius* did not fall therefore? Did not *Donatus* and *Novatus* fall, becauſe they ſaid ſo, and brought Scripture for their defence? Then let us believe as we liſt, pretending well, and ſay ſo; nay, there is no man ſo blind that will ſay ſo: For except the Church, which condemneth them for their ſay ſo, do approve us for to do ſo, then will ſhe condemn you alſo. So that your denial will not ſtand. And therefore I tell you, remember from whence ye are fallen, and how long ye ſhall fall, if you hold on as you do begin. But I truſt you will not continue, but revoke your ſelf in time, and the remedy followeth.

* That is, repent, and do thy firſt works.

* *Age pœnitentiam, & prima opera fac*, for by ſuch means as ye have fallen, ye muſt riſe again. Firſt, your heart hath fallen, then your tongue and your pen, and beſides your own damage, hath cauſed many more to fall. Therefore, firſt your heart muſt turn, and then ſhall the tongue and the pen be quickly turned; *Sin minus, veniam tibi cito, & moveho Candelabrum tuum de loco ſuo.*

I need not to teach you a method to turn; you know the ready way your ſelf. But I would God I could but exhort you to the right and truth, then the way ſhould ſoon be found out. For if ye remember how many ye have brought by abominable Hereſie into the way of Perdition, I doubt not but very Conſcience would move you, as much for them as for your ſelf, to come again. And ſo would you ſpare neither tongue nor pen, if heart were once reformed; for as touching that point, the Holy Ghoſt toucheth their hearts very near by the mouth of his holy Prophet *Ezekiel*, when he requireth the blood of his flock at the Prieſts hands, for lack of good and wholſom food. How much more ſhould this touch your guilty heart, having over much diligence to teach them the way of Perdition, and feeding them with baggage and corrupt food, which is Hereſie. *Qui convertere fecerit peccatorem ab errore vitæ ſuæ, ſalvam faciet animam ſuam à morte, & operiet multitudinem peccatorum ſuorum*; *i.* He that ſhall convert a ſinner from his wicked life, ſhall ſave his ſoul from death, and ſhall cover the multitude of ſins. So that if it be true that he, who converteth a ſinner, ſaveth a ſoul; then the contrary muſt needs be true, that he that perverteth a ſoul, and teacheth him the way of Perdition, muſt needs be damned.

Ezech. 33.

Origenes ſuper Paulum ad Romanos; The damnation of thoſe that preach Hereſie doth increaſe to the day of Judgment. The more that periſh by heretical doctrine, the more grievous ſhall their torment be, that miniſter ſuch doctrine. *Berengarius*, who ſeemed to fear that danger, provided for it in his life time, but not without a troubled and diſquiet Conſcience. He did not only repent, but recant, and not ſo much for himſelf, as for them whom he had with moſt peſtilent Hereſies infected. For as he lay in his Death-bed upon *Epiphany-day*, he demanded of them that were preſent, Is this (quoth he) the day of *Epiphany*, and appearing of the Lord? They anſwered him, Yea. Then (quoth he) this day ſhall the Lord appear to me, either to my comfort, or to my diſcomfort. This remorſe argueth, that he feared the danger of them whom he had taught, and led out of the Faith of Chriſt. *Origenes* upon him ſaith in this wiſe; *Although his own blood was not upon his head, for that he did repent, and was ſorry for his former errors, yet being converted, he feared the blood of them whom he had infected, and who received his doctrine.*

Orig. In Ep. Paul. ad Rom.

Berengarius.

Let this move you even at the laſt point. Inſomuch as your caſe is not unlike to *Berengarius*, let your repentance be like alſo. And what ſhould ſtay you (tell me) from this godly return? Fear that ye have gone ſo far, ye may not return? nay, then I may ſay as *David* ſaid, *Illic trepidaverunt ubi non erat timor*, Ye fear where ye have no cauſe to fear. For if ye repent and be heartily ſorry for your former Hereſie and Apoſtaſie, ye need not to fear. For as God of his part is merciful and gracious to the repentant ſinner, ſo is the King, ſo is the Queen merciful, which ye may well perceive by your own caſe, ſince ye might have ſuffered a great while ago for Treaſon committed againſt her Highneſs, but that ye have been ſpared and reſerved upon hope of amendment, which ſhe conceived very good of you, but now (as it ſeemeth) is but a very deſperate hope. And what do you thereby? *Secundum duritiam cordis theſaurizas tibi iram in die iræ*; *i.* According to the hardneſs of your heart ye treaſure up to your ſelf anger in the day of wrath.

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Well, what is it then, if fear do not hinder you? Shame, to unſay that that you have ſaid? Nay, it is no ſhame, unleſs you think it ſhame to agree with the true and the Catholick Church of Chriſt. And if that be ſhame, then blame S. *Paul*, who perſecuted the Diſciples of Chriſt with the Sword; then blame S. *Peter*, who denied his Maſter Chriſt with an Oath, that he never knew him. S. *Cyprian* before his return being a Witch; S. *Auſtin* being nine years out of the Church: They thought it no ſhame after their return of that they had returned. Shall it then be ſhame for you to convert and conſent with the Church of Chriſt? No, no.

What is it then that doth let you? Glory of the world? nay, as for the vanity of the world, I for my part judge not in you, being a man of learning, and knowing your eſtate.

And as for the loſs of your eſtimation, it is ten to one that where you were Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Metropolitan of *England*, it is ten to one (I ſay) that ye ſhall be as well ſtill, yea, and rather better.

And as for the winning of good men, there is no doubt but all that be here preſent, and the whole Congregation of Chriſts Church alſo will more rejoyce of your return, than they were ſorry for your fall. And as for the other, ye need not to doubt, for they ſhall all come after; and to ſay the truth, if you ſhould loſe them for ever it were no force, ye ſhould have no leſs thereby at all. I do not here touch them which ſhould confirm your eſtimation. For as S. *Paul*, after his Converſion, was received into the Church of Chriſt, with wonderful joy to the whole Congregation, even ſo ſhall you be. The fame of your return ſhall be ſpread abroad throughout all Chriſtendom, where your face was never known.

But you will ſay perhaps, your Conſcience will not ſuffer you. My Lord, there is a good Conſcience; and there is a bad Conſcience. The good Conſcience have not they, as S. *Paul* declareth to *Timothy* concerning *Hymeneus* and *Alexander*. The evil and bad Conſcience is (ſaith S. *Cyprian*) well to be known by his mark. What mark? This Conſcience is marked with the print of Hereſie. This Conſcience is a naughty, filthy, and a brand-ed Conſcience, which I truſt is not in you. I have conceived a better hope of you then ſo, or elſe would I never go about to perſwade or exhort you. But what Conſcience ſhould ſtay you to return to the Catholick Faith and univerſal Church of Chriſt? What Conſcience doth ſeparate you to that deviliſh and ſeveral Church? to a liberty which never had ground in the holy Scriptures? If you judge your liberty to be good, then judge you all Chriſtendom to do evil beſides you.

A good Conſcience.

Mark of an evil Conſcience.

O what a preſumptuous perſwaſion is this, upon this utterly to forſake the Church of Chriſt? Under what colour or pretence do you this? for the abuſes? as though in your Church were no abuſes: Yes that there were. And if you forſake the Univerſal Church for the abuſes, why do you not then forſake your particular Church, and ſo be flitting from one to another? That is not the next way, to ſlip from the Church for the abuſes; for if you had ſeen abuſes, you ſhould rather have endeavoured for a reformation than for a defection. He is a good Chirurgion, who for a little pain in the toe will cut off the whole leg. He helpeth well the tooth-ach, which cutteth away the head by the ſhoulders. It is meer folly to amend abuſes by abuſes. Ye are like *Diogenes*; for *Diogenes* on a time envying the cleanlineſs of *Plato*, ſaid on this wiſe, *Ecce calce faſtum Platonis*. *Plato* anſwered, *Sed alio faſtu*. So that *Diogenes* ſeemed more faulty of the two.

Abuſes in the Church require a reformation, and not a defection.

But

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But when we have ſaid all that we can, peradventure you will ſay, I will not return. And to that I ſay, I will not anſwer. Nevertheleſs, hear what Chriſt ſaith to ſuch obſtinate and ſtiffnecked people in the Parable of the Supper. When he had ſent out his Men to call them in that were appointed, and they would not come, he bade his Servants go into the ways and ſtreets, to compel Men to to come in *Cogite intrare*. If then the Church will not leeſe any member that may be compelled to come in, ye muſt think it good to take the compulſion, leſt you loſe your part of the Supper which the Lord hath prepared for you; and this compulſion ſtandeth well with Charity.

Cogite intrare clearly expounded

But it may be perhaps, that ſome hath animated you to ſtick to your tackle, and not to give over, bearing you in hand that your opinion is good, and that ye ſhall die in a good quarrel, and God ſhall accept your oblation. But hear what Chriſt ſaith of a meaner gift; If thou come to the Altar to offer thy oblation, and knoweſt that thy Brother hath ſomewhat to ſay againſt thee, leave there thy gift, and go and be reconciled to thy Brother, and then come and offer up thy gift, or elſe thy Brother will make thy offering unſavoury before God. This he ſaid unto all the World, to the end they ſhould know how their offerings ſhould be received, if they were not according.

Matth. 5.

Remember you therefore before you offer up your offering, whether your gift be qualified or no. Remember the Church of *Rome*, and alſo of *England*, where not one only Brother, but a number have matter againſt you, ſo juſt that they will make your burnt offering to ſtink before God, except you be reconciled. If you muſt needs appoint upon a Sacrifice, make yet a mean firſt to them that have to lay againſt you. I ſay no more then the Church hath allowed me to ſay. For the Sacrifice that is offered without the Church is not profitable. The premiſſes therefore conſidered, for Gods ſake, I ſay, *Memor eſto unde excideris, & age pœnitentiam, & prima opera fac. Sin minus, &c.* Caſt not your ſelf away, ſpare your Body, ſpare your Soul, ſpare them alſo whom you have ſeduced, ſpare the ſhedding of Chriſts Blood for you in vain. Harden not your heart, acknowledge the truth, yield to the preſcript Word of God, to the Catholick Church of *Rome*, to the received verity of all Chriſtendom. Wed not your ſelf to your own ſelf-will. Stand not too much in your own conceit, think not your ſelf wiſer then all Chriſtendom is beſides you. Leave off this unjuſt cavil. How? leave what? leave reaſon, leave wonder, and believe as the Catholick Church doth believe and teach you. Perſwade with your ſelf, that *Extra Eccleſiam non eſt ſalus, i.* Without the Church there is no ſalvation. And thus much have I ſaid of Charity. If this poor ſimple exhortation of mine may ſink into your head, and take effect with you, then have I ſaid as I would have ſaid, otherwiſe not as I would but as I could for this preſent.

Mellelita pernicies.

And thus Biſhop *Brooks* finiſhing his Oration, ſate down. After whom, Doctor *Martin*, taking the matter in hand, beginneth thus.

The Oration of Doctor Martin.

Oration of D. *Martin.*

ALbeit there be two Governments, the one, ſpiritual, and the other temporal, the one having the Keys, the other the Sword, yet in all ages we read that for the Honour and Glory of God both theſe powers have been adjoyned together. For if we read the Old Teſtament, we ſhall find that ſo did *Joſias* and *Ezekias*. So did the K. of the *Ninivites* compel a general faſt through all the whole City. So did *Darius* in breaking the great Idol, *Bell*, and delivered Godly *Daniel* out of the Den of Lions. So did *Nebuchodonoſor* make and inſtitute Laws againſt the Blaſphemers of God. But to let paſs theſe examples, with a great number more, and to come to Chriſts time, it is not unknown what a great travel they took to ſet forth Gods Honour: and although the rule and Government of the Church did only appertain to the ſpiritualty, yet for the ſuppreſſion of Hereſies and Schiſms, Kings were admitted as aiders thereunto. Firſt, *Conſtantine* the great called a Council at *Nice* for the ſuppreſſion of the *Arrians* Sect, where the ſame time was raiſed a great contention among them. And after long diſputation had, when the Fathers could not agree upon the putting down the *Arrians*, they referred their judgment to *Conſtantine*. God forbid, quoth *Conſtantine*; You ought to rule me, and not I you. And as *Conſtantine* did, ſo did *Theodoſius* againſt the Neſtorians, ſo did *Marcianus* againſt *Manicheus*. *Jovinian* made a Law, that no Man ſhould marry with a Nun, that had wedded her ſelf to the Church.

Temporal government ruling in ſpiritual matters.

Temporal magiſtrates aiders not rulers in ſpiritual cauſes.

So had King *Henry* the eighth the Title of Defender of the Faith, becauſe he wrote againſt *Luther*, and his complices. So theſe 900. years the King of *Spain* had that Title of Catholick, for the expulſion of the *Arrians*, and to ſay the truth, the King and Queens Majeſties do nothing degenerate from their anceſtors, taking upon them to reſtore again the Title to be Defender of the Faith, to the right heir hereof, the Popes Holineſs.

Therefore theſe two Princes, perceiving this noble Realm, how it hath been brought from the unity of the true and Catholick Church, the which you and your confederates do, and have renounced; perceiving alſo that you do perſiſt in your deteſtable errors, and will by no means be revoked from the ſame, have made their humble Requeſt and Petition to the Popes Holineſs, *Paulus* the fourth, as ſupream head of the Church of Chriſt, declaring to him, that where you were Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Metropolitane of *England* and at your Conſecration took two ſolemn Oaths, for your due obedience to be given to the See of *Rome*, to become a true Preacher or Paſtor of his Flock, yet contrary to your Oath and allegiance, for unity have ſowed diſcord; for chaſtity, Marriage and Adultery; for obedience, contention; and for Faith, ye have been the Author of all Miſchief. The Popes Holineſs conſidering their Requeſt and Petition, hath granted them, that according to the cenſure of this Realm proceſs ſhould be made againſt you.

The Popes charity and juſtice to the Archbiſhop.

And whereas in this late time, you both excluded Charity and juſtice, yet hath his Holineſs decreed, that you ſhall have both Charity and Juſtice ſhewed unto you. He willeth you ſhould have the Laws in moſt ample manner to anſwer in your behalf, and that you ſhall here come before my Lord of *Gloceſter*, as High Commiſſioner from his Holineſs, to the Examination of ſuch Articles as ſhall be propoſed againſt you, and that we ſhould require the Examination of you, in the Kings and Queens Majeſties behalf. The King and Queen as touching themſelves, becauſe by the Law they cannot appear perſonally, *Quia ſunt illuſtriſ. perſonæ*, have appointed as their Atturneys, Doctor *Story* and me. Wherefore here I offer to your good Lordſhip our Proxy, Sealed with the Broad Seal of *England*, and offer my ſelf to be Proctor in the King Majeſties behalf. I exhibit here alſo certain Articles, containing the manifeſt adultery and perjury: Alſo Books of Hereſie made partly by him, partly ſet forth by his authority. And here I produce him as party principal, to anſwer to your good Lordſhip.

Thus when Doctor *Martin* had ended his Oration, the Archbiſhop beginneth, as here followeth.

Cranmer. Shall I then make my anſwer?

Martin. As you think good, no Man ſhall let you.

And here the Archbiſhop kneeling down on both knees towards the Weſt, ſaid firſt the Lords Prayer. Then riſing up he reciteth the Articles of the Creed. Which done, he entreth with his proteſtation in form as followeth.

The Faith and profeſſion of Doctor Cranmer, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *before the Commiſſioners.*

The profeſſion or proteſtation of D. *Cranmer* before the Commiſſioners.

THis I do profeſs as touching my Faith, and make my proteſtation, which I deſire you to note. I will never conſent that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhall have any juriſdiction within this Realm.

Story. Take a note thereof.

Martin. Mark, Mr. *Cranmer*, how you anſwer for your ſelf. You refuſe and deny him, by whoſe Laws ye do remain in Life, being otherwiſe attainted of High Treaſon, and but a dead Man by the Laws of the Realm.

Cran. I proteſt before God I was no Traitor but indeed I confeſſed more at my arraignment then was true.

Martin. That it is not to be reaſoned at this preſent. Ye know ye were Condemned for a Traitor, and *Res judicata*

judicata pro veritate accipitur. But proceed to your matter.

Cranmer. I will never conſent to the Biſhop of *Rome*, for then ſhould I give my ſelf to the Devil; for I have made an Oath to the King, and I muſt obey the King by Gods Laws. By the Scripture the King is chief, and no foraign perſon in his own Realm above him. There is no Subject but to a King. I am a Subject, I owe my fidelity to the Crown. The Pope is contrary to the Crown. I cannot obey both; for no Man can ſerve two maſters at once, as you in the beginning of your Oration declared by the Sword and Keyes, attributing the Keyes to the Pope, and the Sword to the King. But I ſay the King hath both. Therefore he that is ſubject to *Rome*, and the Laws of *Rome*, he is perjured; for the Popes and the Judges Laws are contrary, they are uncertain and confounded.

Cauſes alledged why Dr. *Cranmer* cannot receive the Pope.

The Lawsof this Realm, and the Popes, contrary.

A Prieſt indebted by the Laws of the Realm, ſhall be ſued before a temporal Judge; by the Popes Laws contrary.

The Pope doth the King injury in that he hath his power from the Pope. The King is head in his own Realm: But the Pope claimeth all Biſhops, Prieſts, Curates, &c. So the Pope in every Realm hath a Realm.

Again, by the Laws of *Rome* the Benefice muſt be given by the Biſhop, by the Laws of the Realm, the Patron giveth the Benefice. Herein the Laws be as contrary as Fire and Water.

No Man can by the Laws of *Rome* proceed in a *præmunire*, and ſo is the Law of the Realm expelled, and the King ſtandeth accurſed in maintaining his own Lands. Therefore in conſideration that the King and the Queen take their power of him, as though God ſhould give it to them, there is no true ſubject, unleſs he be abrogate, ſeeing the Crown is holden of him being out of the Realm.

The Popes proceedings contrary to God.

The Biſhop of *Rome* is contrary to God, and injurious to his Laws; for God commanded all Men to be diligent in the knowledge of his Law; and therefore hath appointed one Holy Day in the week at the leaſt, for the people to come to the Church and hear the Word of God expounded unto them, and that they might the better underſtand it, to hear it in their Mother Tongue which they know. The Pope doth contrary; for he willeth the Service to be had in the Latin Tongue, which they do not underſtand. God would have it to be perceived; the Pope will not. When the Prieſt giveth thanks, God would that the people ſhould do ſo too, and God will them to confeſs altogether; the Pope will not.

The Real Preſence is not to be proved by any Doctor above a thouſand years after Chriſt.

Now as concerning the Sacrament, I have taught no falſe Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar: For if it can be proved by any Doctor above a thouſand years after Chriſt, that Chriſts Body is there really, I will give over. My Book was made ſeven years ago, and no Man hath brought any Authors againſt it. I believe that whoſo eateth and drinketh that Sacrament, Chriſt is within them, whole Chriſt, his Nativity, Paſſion, Reſurrection and Aſcenſion; but not that corporally that ſitteth in Heaven.

Now Chriſt commanded all to drink of the Cup; The Pope taketh it away from the Lay Men, and yet one ſaith, that if Chriſt had died for the Devil, that he ſhould drink thereof. Chriſt biddeth us to obey the King, *etiam diſcolo*. The Biſhop of *Rome* biddeth us to obey him; therefore unleſs he be Antichriſt, I cannot tell what to make of him. Wherefore if I ſhould obey him, I cannot obey Chriſt.

The Pope likened to the Devil, and wherein.

He is like the Devil in his doings; for the Devil ſaid to Chriſt; If thou wilt fall down and worſhip me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the World. Thus he took upon him to give that which was not his own. Even ſo the Biſhop of *Rome* giveth Princes their Crowns, being none of his own; for where Princes either by election, either by ſucceſſion, either by inheritance obtain their Crown, he ſaith that they ſhould have it from him.

The Pope proved Antichriſt.

Chriſt ſaith, that Antichriſt ſhall be. And who ſhall he be? Forſooth he that advanceth himſelf above all other Creatures. Now if there be none already that hath advanced himſelf after ſuch ſort beſides the Pope, then in the mean time let him be Antichriſt.

Story. Pleaſeth it you to make an end?

Cran. For he will be the Vicar of Chriſt, he will diſpenſe with the Old and New Teſtament alſo, yea and with Apoſtaſie.

Now I have declared why I cannot with my conſcience obey the Pope. I ſpeak not this for hatred I bear to him that now ſupplieth the room, for I know him not. I pray God give him Grace not to follow his Anceſtors. Neither ſay I this for my defence, but to declare my Conſcience for the zeal that I bear to Gods Word troden under foot by the Biſhop of *Rome*. I caſt fear apart, for Chriſt ſaid to his Apoſtles, that in the latter days they ſhould ſuffer much ſorrow, and be put to death for his names ſake: fear them not (ſaith he) but fear him which when he hath killed the Body, hath power to caſt the Soul into fire everlaſting. Alſo Chriſt ſaith, that he that will live ſhall die, and he that loſeth his life for my Names ſake, he ſhall find it again. Moreover he ſaid, confeſs me before Men, and be not afraid; for if you do ſo, I will ſtand with you; if you ſhrink from me I will ſhrink from you. This is a comfortable and terrible ſaying, this maketh me to ſet all fear apart. I ſay therefore, the Biſhop of *Rome* treadeth under foot Gods Laws and the Kings. Anno 1556.

Matth. 16.

Matth. 8.

The Pope would give Biſhopricks; ſo would the King. But at the laſt the King got the upper hand, and ſo are all Biſhops perjured, firſt to the Pope, and then to the King.

The Crown hath nothing to do with the Clergy. For If a Clerk come before a judge, the judge ſhall make proceſs againſt him, but not to execute any Laws. For if the judge ſhould put him to Execution, then is the King accurſed in maintaining his own Laws. And therefore ſay I, that he is neither true to God, neither to the King, that firſt received the Pope. But I ſhall heartily pray for ſuch Counſellours, as may inform her the truth; for the King and Queen, if they be well informed, will do well.

The Popes Laws againſt the Laws of this Realm.

Martin. As you underſtand, then if they maintain the Supremacy of *Rome*, they cannot maintain *England* too.

Cran. I require you to declare to the King and Queen what I have ſaid, and how their Oaths do ſtand with the Realm and the Pope: S. *Gregory* ſaith, he that taketh up- on him to be head of the Univerſal Church, is worſe then the Antichriſt. If any Man can ſhew me, that it is not againſt Gods Word to hold his ſtirrop when he taketh his horſe, and kiſs his feet (as Kings do) then will I kiſs his feet alſo.

To be called Univerſal Head is a mark of Antichriſt. *Gregor.*

The Biſhop of *Gloceſter* charged with perjury.

And you for your part, my Lord, are perjured; for now ye ſit Judge for the Pope, and yet you did receive your Biſhoprick of the King. You have taken an Oath to be adverſary to the Realm; for the Popes Laws are contrary to the Laws of the Realm.

Gloceſter. You were the cauſe that I did forſake the Pope, and did ſwear that he ought not to be Supream Head, and gave it to King *Henry* the eighth, that he ought to be it, and this you made me to do.

Cranmer. To this I anſwer, ſaid he; You report me ill, and ſay not the truth, and I will prove it here before you all. The truth is, that my Predeceſſor, Biſhop *Warham*, gave the Supremacy to King *Henry* the eighth, and ſaid that he ought to have it before the Biſhop of *Rome*, and that Gods Word would bear him. And upon the ſame was there ſent to both the Univerſities *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, to know what the Word of God would do touching the Supremacy, and it was reaſoned upon, and argued at length. So at the laſt both the Univerſities agreed, and ſet to their Seals, and ſent it to King *Henry* the eighth to the Court, that he ought to be Supream Head, and not the Pope. Whereupon you were then Doctor of Divinity at that time, and your conſent was thereunto, as by your hand doth appear. Therefore you miſreport me, that I was the cauſe of your falling away from the Pope, but it was your ſelf. All this was in Biſhop *Warhams* time, and whilſt he was alive, ſo that it was three quarters of a year after ere ever I had the Biſhoprick of *Canterbury* in my hands, and before I might do any thing. So that here ye have reported of me that which ye cannot prove, which is evil done. All this while his cap was on his head.

Warham Archbiſhop gave up firſt the Supremacy to the King.

Both the Univerſities ſubſcribed to the Kings Supremacy, before *Cranmer* was Archbiſhop.

Gloceſt. We come to examine you, and you, me think, examine us.

Doctor

Anno 1556.

Doctor Stories *Oration.*

D. *Stories* Oration against the Archbishop.

STory. Pleaseth it your good Lordship, because it hath pleased the King and Queens Majesties to appoint my companion and me to hear the Examination of this Man before your good Lordship, to give me leave somewhat to talk in that behalf. Although I know that in talk with Hereticks there cometh hurt to all Men; for it wearieth the stedfast, troubleth the doubtful, and taketh in snare the weak and simple: yet because he saith, he is not bound to answer your Lordship sitting for the Popes Holiness, because of a *Premunire*, and the Word of God as he termeth it; I think good somewhat to say, that all Men may see how he runneth out of his Race of Reason into the rage of common talk, such as here I trust hath done much good. And as the King and Queens Majesties will be glad to hear of your most charitable dealing with him; so will they be weary to hear the blundering of this stubborn Heretick. And where he alledgeth Divinity, mingling *fas nefasque* together, he should not have been heard. For shall it be sufficient to him to alledge, the Judge is not competent? Do we not see that in the Common Law it is not lawful for a Man in *Westminster-Hall* to refuse his Judge? And shall we dispute *contra eum qui negat principia*? Although there be here a great company of learned Men, that know it unmeet so to do, yet have I here a plain Canon, wherein he declareth himself convicted *ipso facto*. The Canon is this; *Sit ergo ruinæ suo dolore prostratus quisquis Apostolicis volverit contraire decretis, nec locum deinceps inter Sacerdotes habeat, sed exors à sancto fiat ministerio, nec de eo ejus judicio quisquam posthac curam habeat, quin jam damnatus à sancta & Apostolica Ecclesia sua inobedientia ac præsumptione à quoquam esse non dubitetur. Quin majoris excommunicationis dejectione est abjiciendus, cui sanctæ Ecclesiæ commissa fuerit disciplina, qui non solum jussionibus prælatæ sanctæ Ecclesiæ parere debuit, sed etiam aliis ne præterirent insinuare. Sitque alienus à divinis & pontificalibus officiis, qui noluerit præceptis Apostolicis obtemperare.*

Words of the Popes Canon.

He hath alledged many matters against the Supremacy, but maliciously. Ye say that the King in his Realm is supream head of the Church. Well Sir, you will grant me that there was a perfect Catholick Church before any King was christened. Then if it were a perfect Church, it must needs have a head, which must needs be before any King was member thereof; for you know *Constantinus* the Emperour was the first christened King that ever was. And although you are bound (as Saint *Paul* saith) to obey your Rulers, and Kings have rule of the people, yet doth it not follow that they have cure of Souls: for *à fortiori*, the head may do that the Minister cannot do; but the Priest may consecrate, and the King cannot, therefore the King is not head.

Note the worshipful reasons of *D. Story*, wherewith he proveth the Popes Supremacy.

It was licensed by Christ to every Man to bring into the sheepfold, and to augment the flock, but not to rule, for that was only given to *Peter*.

D Story reasoneth as though to feed with the word, and to govern with the Sword were all one.

And where the Apostles do call upon Men to obey their Princes, *cui tributum, tributum; cui vectigal, vectigal*; they perceiving that Men were bent to a kind of liberty and disobedience, were enforced to exhort them to obedience and payment of their tribute, which exhortation extendeth only to temporal matters.

A maxim in the Law.

And again, where you say that the Bishop of *Rome* maketh Laws contrary to the Laws of the Realm, that is not true; for *this* is a maxim in the Law; *Quod in particulari excipitur, non facit universale falsum.*

Now as touching that monstrous talk of your Conscience, that is no Conscience that ye profess; it is but *privata scientia, electio* and *secta*. And as yet for all your glorious babble, you have not proved by Gods Laws that ye ought not to answer the Popes Holiness.

A Rule of Law.

The Canons which be received of all Christendom compel you to answer, therefore you are bound so to do. And although this Realm of late time, through such Schismaticks as you were, hath exiled and banished the Canons, yet that cannot make for you. For you know your self, that *Par in parem, nec pars in totum aliquid statuere potest*. Wherefore this Ile, being indeed but a member of the whole, could not determine against the whole. That notwithstanding the same Laws, being put away by Parliament, are now received again by a Parliament, and have as full authority now as they had then, and they will now that ye answer to the Popes Holiness; therefore by the Laws of this Realm ye are bound to answer him. Wherefore, my good Lord, all that this *Thomas Cranmer* (I cannot otherwise term him, considering his disobedience) hath brought for his defence, shall nothing prevail with you, nor take any effect. Require him therefore to answer directly to your good Lordship; command him to set aside his trifles, and to be obedient to the Laws and Ordinances of this Realm. Take witness here of his stubborn contempt against the King and Queens Majesties, and compel him to answer directly to such Articles as we shall here lay against him, and in refusal, your good Lordship is to excommunicate him.

D. *Story* chargeth the Archbishop with stubbornness.

As soon as Doctor *Story* had thus ended his tale, beginneth Doctor *Martin* again to enter speech with the Archbishop; which talk I thought here likewise not to let pass, although the report of the same be such, as the Author thereof seemeth in his writings very partial; for as he expresseth the speech of Dr. *Martin* at full, and to the uttermost of his diligence, leaving out nothing in that part, that either was or could be said more; so again on the other part, how raw and weak he leaveth the matter, it is easie to perceive, who neither comprehendeth all that Doctor *Cranmer* again answered for his defence; nor yet in those short speeches which he expresseth, seemeth to discharge the part of a sincere and faithful reporter. Notwithstanding such as it is, I thought good to let the Reader understand, who in perusing the same, may use therein his own judgment and consideration.

Partiality in the reporter.

Talk between Doctor Martin *and the Archbishop.*

Talk between D. *Martin* and the Archbishop.

MAster *Cranmer*, ye have told here a long glorious tale, pretending some matter of Conscience in appearance, but in verity you have no Conscience at all. You say that you have sworn once to King *Henry* the eighth against the Popes jurisdiction, and therefore you may never forswear the same; and so ye make a great matter of Conscience in the breach of the said Oath. Here will I ask you a question or two. What if ye made an Oath to an Harlot, to live with her in continual adultery, ought you to keep it?

Cran. I think no.

Unadvised Oaths are not to be kept.

Mart. What if you did swear never to lend a poor Man one penny, ought you to keep it?

Cran. I think not.

Martin. Herod did swear whatsoever his Harlot asked of him he would give her, and he gave her *John* Baptists head; Did he well in keeping his Oath?

Cran. I think not.

Jephthe's Oath.

Mart. Jephthe one of the Judges of *Israel* did swear unto God, that if he would give him victory over his enemies, he would offer unto God the first Soul that came forth of his house; it hapned that his own daughter came first, and he slue her to save his Oath. Did he well?

Cran. I think not.

Martin. So saith Saint *Ambrose de officiis, Miserabilis necessitas, quæ solvitur parricidio, id est*, It is a miserable necessity, which is paid with parricide. Then Master *Cranmer* you can no less confess by the premisses but that you ought not to have Conscience of every Oath, but if it be just, lawful, and advisedly taken.

Cran. So was that Oath.

Mart. That is not so, for first it was unjust, for it tended to the taking away of another mans right. It was not lawful, for the Laws of God and the Church were against it. Besides, it was not voluntary; for every Man and Woman were compelled to take it.

Cran. It pleaseth you to say so.

The Archb. being sworn to the King, ought not to swear to the Pope.

Mart. Let all the World be Judge. But Sir, you that pretend to have such a Conscience to break an Oath, I pray you did you never swear and break the same?

Cran. I remember not.

Mart. I will help your Memory. Did you never swear Obedience to the See of *Rome*?

Cranmer. Indeed I did once swear unto the same.

Mart.

Anno 1556.

Mart. Yea, that you did twice, as appeareth by records and writings here ready to be ſhewed.

The Archb. ſworn firſt to the Pope by proteſtation.

Cran. But I remember I ſaved all by proteſtation that I made by the Counſel of the beſt learned Men I could get at that time,

Mart. Hearken good people what this Man ſaith. He made a proteſtation one day, to keep never a whit of that which he would ſwear the next day; was this the part of a Chriſtian Man? If a Chriſtian Man would bargain with a Turk, and before he maketh his bargain ſolemnly, before witneſs readeth in his paper that he holdeth ſecretly in his hand, or peradventure proteſteth before one or two, that he mindeth not to perform whatſoever he ſhall promiſe to the Turk; I ſay, if a Chriſtian Man ſhould ſerve a Turk in this manner, that the Chriſtian Man were worſe then the Turk. What would you then ſay to this Man that made a Solemn Oath and promiſe unto God and his Church, and made a proteſtation before quite contrary?

Cran. That which I did, I did by the beſt learned Mens advice I could get at that time.

D. *Martin* would prove the Archbiſh. *perjured in* forſwearing his Oath made to the Pope.

Mart. I proteſt before all the learned Men here, that there is no learning will ſave your perjury herein; for there be two Rules of the Civil Law clean contrary againſt you, and ſo brought forth his Rules, which being done he proceeded further. But will you have the truth of the matter. King *Henry* the eighth even then meant the lamentable change which after you ſee came to paſs; and to further his pittiful proceedings from the divorcement of his moſt lawful wife, to the deteſtable departing from the Bleſſed Unity of Chriſts Church, this Man made the foreſaid proteſtation; and on the other ſide, he letted not to make two Solemn Oaths quite contrary, and why? for otherwiſe by the Laws and Canons of this Realm, he could not aſpire to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*.

Dr. *Cranmer* unwilling to be made Archbiſh.

Cran. I proteſt before you all, there was never Man came more unwillingly to a Biſhoprick, then I did to that. Inſomuch that when King *Henry* did ſend for me in poſt, that I ſhould come over, I prolonged my journey by ſeven weeks at the leaſt, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the mean time.

Mart. You declare well by the way that the King took you to be a Man of good Conſcience, who could not find within all his Realm any Man that would ſet forth his ſtrange attempts, but was inforced to ſend you in poſt to come out of *Germany*. What may we conjecture hereby, but that there was a compact between you being then Queen *Annes* Chaplain, and the King; Give me the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, and I will give you licence to live in adultery.

Falſe ſlander of Dr. *Martin.*

Cran. You ſay not true.

Martin. Let your proteſtation joyned with the reſt of your talk, give judgment. *Hinc prima mali labes.* Of that your execrable perjury, and his coloured and too ſhamefully ſuffered adultery, came Hereſie and all miſchief to this Realm.

And thus have I ſpoken as touching the Conſcience you make for breaking your Heretical Oath made to the King. But to break your former Oath made at two ſundry times both to God and his Church, you have no Conſcience at all. And now to anſwer another part of your Oration, wherein you bring in Gods Word, that you have it on your ſide and no Man elſe, and that the Pope hath deviſed a New Scripture contrary to the Scripture of God; ye play herein as the Phariſees did, which cried always, * *Verbum Domini, Verbum Domini*, The Word of the Lord, the Word of the Lord, when they meant nothing ſo. This bettereth not your cauſe, becauſe you have Gods Word for you; for *Baſilides* and *Phontinns* the Hereticks ſaid, that they had Gods Word to maintain their Hereſie. So *Neſtorius*, ſo *Macedonius*, ſo *Pelagius*, and briefly, all the Hereticks that ever were, pretended that they had Gods Word for them; yea, and ſo the Devil being the Father of Hereſies, alledged Gods Word for him, ſaying, *Scriptum eſt*, It is written: So ſaid he to Chriſt, *Mitte te deorſum*, Caſt thy ſelf downward, which you applyed moſt falſly againſt the Pope. But if you mark the Devils Language well, it agreed with your proceedings moſt truly. For, *Mitte te deorſum*, Caſt thy ſelf downward, ſaid he, and ſo taught you to caſt all things downward. Down with the Sacrament, down with the Maſs, down with the Altars, down with the Arms of Chriſt, and up with a Lion and a Dog, down with the Abbeys, down with Chauntries, down with Hoſpitals and Colledges, down with † Faſting and Prayer, yea down with all that Good and Godly is. All your proceedings and preachings tended no other, but to fulfill the Devils requeſt, *Mitte te deorſum*. And therefore tell not us that you have Gods Word. For God hath given us by his Word a mark to know that your teaching proceeded not of God, but of the Devil, and that your Doctrine came not of Chriſt but of Antichriſt. For Chriſt foreſaid, there ſhould come againſt his Church, *Lupi rapaces, id eſt*, Ravening Wolves, and *Pſeudoapoſtoli, id eſt*, Falſe Apoſtles. But how ſhould we know them? Chriſt teacheth us, ſaying, *Ex fructibus eorum cognoſcetis eos, id eſt*, By their fruits ye ſhall know them. Why, what be their fruits? Saint *Paul* declareth; *Poſt carnem in concupiſcentia, & immunditia ambulant: poteſtates contemnunt, &c. i.* After the Fleſh they walk in concupiſcence and uncleanneſs; they contemn Poteſtates. Again, *In diebus noviſſimis erunt periculoſa tempora, erunt ſeipſos amantes, cupidi, elati, immorigeri parentibus, proditorcs, &c. i.* In the latter days there ſhall be perilous times. Then ſhall there be Men loving themſelves, covetous, proud, diſobedient to parents, Treaſon-workers. Whether theſe be not the fruits of your Goſpel, I refer me to this Worſhipful Audience; whether the ſaid Goſpel began not with perjury, proceeded with Adultery, was maintained with Hereſie, and ended in Conſpiracy.

* *Nay*, the Phariſees cried not *Verbum Domini*, but *Templum Domini*, as the Papiſts do now againſt the Proteſtants.

† So did King *Ezechias* and *Joſias* down with munuments of Idolatry, and are commended.

† Another falſe ſlander of Dr. *Martin.*

Whether theſe be the fruits of the Papiſts more, let the converſation of them both give judgment.

Now Sir, two points more I marked in your raging diſcourſe that you made here: the one againſt the Holy Sacrament; the other againſt the Popes juriſdiction, and the Authority of the See Apoſtolick.

Doctrine of the Sacrament.

Touching the firſt, ye ſay you have Gods Word with you, yea and all the Doctors. I would here ask but one queſtion of you; whether Gods Word be contrary to it ſelf, and whether the Doctors teach Doctrine contrary to themſelves, or no? For you Maſter *Cranmer* have taught in this High Sacrament of the Altar three contrary doctrines, and yet you pretended in every one; *Verbum Domini.*

Cran. Nay, I taught but two contrary Doctrines in the ſame.

Mart. What Doctrine taught you when you Condemned *Lambert* the Sacramentary in the Kings preſence in *Whitehall.*

So was S. *Auguſtine* firſt a Pagan, then a Manichee, and then a Catholick.

* *Cranmer.* I maintained then the Papiſts Doctrine.

Mart. That is to ſay, the Catholick and Univerſal Doctrine of Chriſts Church. And how when King *Henry* died? did you not tranſlate *Juſtus Jonas* Book?

Cran. I did ſo.

Mart. Then there you defended another Doctrine touching the Sacrament, by the ſame token, that you ſent to *Lynn* your Printer, that whereas in the firſt print there was an affirmative, that is to ſay Chriſts Body really in the Sacrament, you ſent then to your Printer to put in a *not*, whereby it came miraculouſly to paſs, that Chriſts Body was clean conveighed out of the Sacrament.

Cran. I remember there were two Printers of my ſaid Book, but where the ſame *not* was put in, I cannot tell.

Martin. Then from a *Lutheran* ye became a *Swinglian*, which is the vileſt Hereſie of all in the High Myſtery of the Sacrament, and for the ſame Hereſie you did help to burn *Lambert* the Sacramentary, which you now call the Catholick Faith, and Gods Word.

Dr. *Cranmer* firſt won to the knowledge of the Sacrament by Biſhop *Ridley.*

Cranmer. I grant that then I believed otherwiſe then I do now, and ſo I did, until my Lord of *London*, Doctor *Ridley*, did confer with me, and by ſundry perſwaſions and authorities of Doctors drew me quite from my opinion.

Supremacy of the Pope.

Martin. Now Sir, as touching the laſt part of your Oration, you denied that the Popes Holineſs was Supream Head of the Church of Chriſt.

Cran. I did ſo.

Mart. Who ſay you then is Supream Head?

Cran. Chriſt.

Mart.

Anno 1556.

Mart. But whom hath Chriſt left here in Earth his Vicar and head of his Church?

Cran. No body.

Mart. Ah, why told you not King *Henry* this when you made him Supream Head? and now no body is. This is Treaſon againſt his own perſon as you then made him.

King *Henry* was not ſupream head but only of his own Realm. The Pope will be univerſal head over all.

Cran. I mean not but every King in his own Realm and Dominion is Supream Head, and ſo was he Supream Head of the Church of Chriſt in *England*.

Mart. Is this always true? and was it ever ſo in Chriſts Church?

Cran. It was ſo.

Mart. Then what ſay you by *Nero*? He was the mightieſt Prince of the Earth after Chriſt was aſcended: Was he Head of Chriſts Church?

Cran. Nero was *Peters* Head:

Mar. I ask whether *Nero* was Head of the Church or no? if he were not, it is falſe that you ſaid before, that all Princes be, and ever were Heads of the Church within their Realms.

Cran. Nay, it is true, for *Nero* was Head of the Church: that is, in worldly reſpect of the temporal Bodies of Men, of whom the Church conſiſteth; for ſo he beheaded *Peter* and the Apoſtles. And the Turk too is Head of the Church in Turky.

Mart. Then he that beheaded the Heads of the Church, and Crucified the Apoſtles, was Head of Chriſts Church; and he that was never member of the Church, is Head of the Church, by your new found underſtanding of Gods Word.

¶ It is not to be ſuppoſed contrary, but much other matter paſſed in this Communication between them, eſpecially on the Archbiſhops behalf. Whoſe anſwers I do not think to be ſo ſlender, nor altogether in the ſame form of words framed, if the truth, as it was, might be known: but ſo it pleaſed the Notary thereof, being too much partially addicted to his Mother See of *Rome* in favour of his faction, to diminiſh and drive down the other ſide, either in not ſhewing all, or in reporting the thing otherwiſe than it was; as the common guiſe is of moſt Writers, to what ſide their affection moſt weigheth, their Oration commonly inclineth. But let us proceed further in the Story of this matter.

The anſwer of the Archbiſhop not ſincerely reported.

It followed then (ſaith this reporter) when the Archbiſhop thus had anſwered, and the ſtanders by began to murmure againſt him; the Judges not content with his Anſwers, willed him to anſwer directly to the Interrogatories; which Interrogatories articulated againſt him in form of Law, were theſe under following.

Interrogatories objected to the Archbiſhop, with his Anſwers annexed to the ſame.

Interrogatories laid againſt the Archbiſhop.

1. *Interrog.* Firſt was objected, that he the foreſaid *Thomas Cranmer*, being yet free, and before he entred into Holy Orders, married one *Joan*, ſurnamed black or brown, dwelling at the ſign of the Dolphin in *Cambridge*.

The firſt marriage of the Archbiſhop.

Anſwer. Whereunto he anſwered, that whether ſhe was called black or brown, he knew not, but that he married there one *Joan*, that he granted.

2. *Interrog.* That after the death of the foreſaid wife, he entred into holy Orders, and after that was made Archbiſhop by the Pope.

Anſw. He received (he ſaid) a certain Bull of the Pope, which he delivered unto the King, and was Archbiſhop by him.

The ſecond marriage of the Archbiſhop.

3. *Inter. Item*, that he being in Holy Orders, married another Woman as his ſecond Wife, named *Anne*, and ſo was twice married.

Anſw. To this he granted.

4. *Interrog. Item*, in the time of King *Henry* the eighth, he kept the ſaid wife ſecretly, and had Children by her.

Anſw. Hereunto he alſo granted; affirming that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other Prieſts, holding and keeping other Mens Wives.

5. *Inter. Item*, in the time of King *Edward*, he brought out the ſaid Wife openly, affirming and profeſſing publickly the ſame to be his Wife.

Anſw. He denied not but he ſo did, and lawfully might do the ſame; foraſmuch as the Laws of the Realm did ſo permit him.

6. *Interrog. Item*, that he ſhamed not openly to glory himſelf to have had his Wife in ſecret many years.

Anſw. And though he ſo did (he ſaid) there was no cauſe why he ſhould be aſhamed thereof.

7. *Inter. Item*, that the ſaid *Thomas Cranmer* falling afterward into the deep bottom of errors, did flie and refuſe the Authority of the Church, did hold and follow the hereſie concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, and alſo did compile, and cauſed to be ſet abroad divers Books.

The Archbiſhop charged with his Doctrine and Books.

Anſw. Whereunto when the names of the Books were recited to him, he denied not ſuch Books which he was the Author of. As touching the treatiſe of *Peter Martyr* upon the Sacrament, he denied that he ever ſaw it before it was abroad, yet did approve and well like of the ſame. As for the Catechiſm, the Book of Articles, with the other Book againſt *Wincheſter*, he granted the ſame to be his doings.

8. *Inter. Item*, that he compelled many againſt their wills to ſubſcribe to the ſame Articles.

Anſw. He exhorted (he ſaid) ſuch as were willing to ſubſcribe; but againſt their wills he compelled none.

9. *Inter. Item*, forſomuch as he ſurceaſed not to perpetrate enorm and inordinate crimes, he was therefore caſt into the *Tower*, and from thence was brought to *Oxford*, at what time it was commonly thought that the Parliament there ſhould be holden.

Anſw. To this he ſaid, that he knew no ſuch enorm and inordinate crimes that ever he committed.

10. *Inter. Item*, that in the ſaid City of *Oxford* he did openly maintain his hereſie, and there was convict upon the ſame.

Anſw. He defended (he ſaid) there the cauſe of the Sacrament, but that he was convicted in the ſame, that he denied.

11. *Inter. Item*, when he perſevered ſtill in the ſame, he was by the publick cenſure of the Univerſity pronounced an Heretick, and his Books to be Heretical.

Anſw. That he was ſo denounced, he denied not; but that he was an Heretick, or his Books Heretical, that he denied.

12. *Inter. Item*, that he was and is notoriouſly infamed with the note of Schiſm, as who not only himſelf receded from the Catholick Church and See of *Rome*, but alſo moved the King and Subjects of this Realm to the ſame.

Anſw. As touching the receding, that he well granted; but that receding or departing (ſaid he) was only from the See of *Rome*, and had in it no matter of any Schiſm.

The Archb. ſworn to the Pope by proteſtation.

13. *Inter. Item*, that he had been twice ſworn to the Pope; and withal Doctor *Martin* brought out the inſtrument of the publick Notary, wherein was containad his proteſtation made when he ſhould be conſecrated, asking if he had any thing elſe proteſted.

Anſw. Whereunto he anſwered, that he did nothing but by the Laws of the Realm.

14. *Inter. Item*, that he the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* did not only offend in the premiſſes, but alſo in taking upon him the Authority of the See of *Rome*, in that without leave or licence from the ſaid See, he conſecrated Biſhops and Prieſts.

Anſw. He granted, that he did execute ſuch things as were wont to be referred to the Pope, at what time it was permitted to him by the Publick Laws and determination of the Realm.

15. *Inter. Item*, that when the whole Realm had ſubſcribed to the Authority of the Pope, he only ſtill perſiſted in his errour.

Anſw. That he did not admit the Popes Authority, he confeſſed to be true. But that he erred in the ſame, that he denied.

16. *Inter. Item*, that all and ſingular the premiſſes be true.

Anſw. That likewiſe he granted, excepting thoſe things whereunto he had now anſwered.

After he had thus anſwered to the objections aforeſaid, and the publick Notary had entred the ſame, the Judges and Commiſſioners, as having now accompliſhed that wherefore they came, were about to riſe up and depart. But the Biſhop of *Gloceſter* thinking it not the beſt ſo to diſmiſs the people, being ſomewhat ſtirred with the words

words of the Archbiſhop, began in his Oration in the hearing of the People, thus to declaim.

The Oration of Biſhop Brooks, *in cloſing up his Examination againſt Dr.* Cranmer *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

Another Oration of Bp. Brooke, to Archbiſhop Cranmer.

MAſter *Cranmer* (I cannot otherwiſe tearm you, conſidering your obſtinacy) I am right ſorry, I am right heartily ſorry to hear ſuch words eſcape your mouth ſo unadviſedly. I had conceived a right good hope of your amendment. I ſuppoſe that this obſtinacy of yours came not of a vain-glory, but rather of a corrupt Conſcience, which was the occaſion that I hoped ſo well of your return. But now I perceive by your fooliſh babble, that it is far otherwiſe. Ye are ſo puffed up with vain-glory, there is ſuch a *cauteria* of Hereſie crept into your Conſcience, that I am clean void of hope, and my hope is turned into Perdition. Who can ſave that will be loſt? God would have you to be ſaved; and you refuſe it. *Perditio tua ſuper te* Iſrael; *tantummodo in me ſalvatio tua, ait Dominus per Prophetam: i.* Thy Perdition is only upon thy ſelf, O *Iſrael*; only in me is thy ſalvation, ſaith the Lord by his Prophet. You have uttered ſo erroneous talk, with ſuch open malice againſt the Popes Holineſs, with ſuch open lying againſt the Church of *Rome*, with ſuch open Blaſphemy againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, that no mouth could have expreſſed more maliciouſly, more lyingly, more blaſphemouſly.

Mr. Cranmer not to be reaſoned withal.

To reaſon with you, although I would of my ſelf to ſatisfie this Audience, yet may I not by our Commiſſion, neither can I find how I may do it with the Scriptures: For the Apoſtle doth command that ſuch a one ſhould not only not be talked withal, but alſo ſhunned and avoided, ſaying, *Hæreticum hominem poſt unum aut alterum conventum, devita, ſciens quòd hujuſmodi perverſus eſt & delinquet, quum ſit proprio judicio condemnatus*; *i.* An heretical perſon after once or twice conferring, ſhun, knowing that he is perverſe and ſinneth, being of his own judgment condemned. Ye have been conferred withal not once or twice, but oftentimes, ye have oft been lovingly admoniſhed, ye have been oft ſecretly diſputed with. And the laſt year in the open School, in open Diſputations, ye have been openly convict, ye have been openly driven out of the School with hiſſes: your Book which ye brag you made ſeven years ago, and no man anſwered it, *Marcus Antonius* hath ſufficiently detected and confuted, and yet ye perſiſt ſtill in your wonted hereſie.

Wherefore being ſo oft admoniſhed, conferred withal, and convicted, if ye deny you to be the man whom the Apoſtle noteth, hear then what *Origen* ſaith, who wrote above 1300 years ago, and interpreteth the ſaying of the Apoſtle in this wiſe, *in Apologia Pamphili: Hæreticus eſt omnis ille habendus, qui Chriſto ſe credere profitetur, & aliter de Chriſti veritate ſentit quam ſe habet Eccleſiaſtica traditio.* Even now ye profeſſed a kind of Chriſtianity and Holineſs unto us, for at your beginning you fell down upon your knees, and ſaid the Lords Prayer (God wot like an Hypocrite) and then ſtanding upon your feet, you rehearſed the Articles of your Faith, but to what end I pray you elſe, but to cloak that inward Hereſie rooted in you, that you might blind the poor, ſimple, and unlearned peoples eyes? For what will they ſay or think, if they do not thus ſay? Good Lord, what mean theſe men to ſay that he is an Heretick, they are deceived, this is a good Chriſtian, he believeth as we believe.

Orig. in Apol. Pamph.

But is this ſufficient to eſcape the name of an Heretick? To the ſimple and unlearned it is ſufficient, but for you that have profeſſed a greater knowledge and higher doctrine, it is not enough to recite your belief. For unleſs (as *Origen* ſaith) ye believe all things that the Church hath decreed beſides, you are no Chriſtian man. In the which becauſe you do halt, and will come to no conformity; from henceforth ye are to be taken for an Heretick, with whom we ought neither to diſpute, neither to reaſon, whom we ought rather to eſchew and avoid.

What an Heretick is, after the Popes making.

Nevertheleſs, although I do not intend to reaſon with you, but to give you up as an Abject and Out-caſt from Gods favour, yet becauſe ye have uttered, to the annoying of the People, ſuch peſtilent Hereſies as may do harm among ſome rude and unlearned, I think meet, and not *abſ*re, ſomewhat to ſay herein; not becauſe I hope to have any good at your hands, which I would willingly wiſh, but that I may eſtabliſh the ſimple People which be here preſent, leſt they being ſeduced by your Diabolical Doctrine, may periſh thereby. Anno 1556.

And firſt (as it behooveth every man to purge himſelf firſt before he enter with any other) where you accuſe me of an Oath made againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, I confeſs it, and deny it not, and therefore do ſay with the reſt of this Realm, good and catholick men, the ſaying of the Prophet; *Peccavimus cum patribus noſtris, injuſtè egimus, iniquitatem fecimus*; *i.* We have ſinned with our Fathers, we have done unjuſtly and wickedly. *Delicta juventutis meæ, & ignorantias meas ne memineris Domine*; *i.* The ſins of my youth, and my ignorances, O Lord, do not remember. I was then a young man, and as young a Scholar here in the Univerſity.

Bp. Brooke recanteth his Oath made to the King againſt the Pope.

I knew not then what an Oath did mean, and yet to ſay the truth, I did it compulſed, compulſed I ſay by you Mr. *Cranmer*, and here were you the Author and Cauſe of my Perjury, you are to be blamed herein, and not I. Now where you ſay I made two Oaths, the one contrary to the other, it is not ſo, for the Oath I made to the Popes Holineſs appertaineth only to Spiritual things: The other Oath that I made to the King, pertaineth only to Temporal things; that is to ſay, that I do acknowledge all my Temporal Livings to proceed only from the King, and from none elſe. But all men may ſee, as you agree in this, ſo ye agree in the reſt of your Opinions.

Supremacy.

Now Sir, as concerning the Supremacy which is only due to the See of *Rome*, a word or two. Although there be a number of places which do confirm that Chriſt appointed *Peter* Head of the Church, yet this is a moſt evident place. When Chriſt demanded of his Apoſtles whom men called him; they anſwered, Some *Elias*, ſome a Prophet, *&c.* But Chriſt replyed unto *Peter*, and ſaid, Whom ſayeſt thou *Peter* that I am? *Peter* anſwered, *Tu es Chriſtus, Filius Dei*: and Chriſt replyed, *Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam.* The Doctors interpreting this place, *Super hanc Petram*, expounded it, *id eſt; non ſolum ſuper fidem Petri, ſed ſuper te Petre.* And why did Chriſt change his name from *Simon* to *Peter*, which in Latin is a *Stone*, but only to declare that he was only the Foundation and Head of the Church?

The Church builded upon Peter.

Again, where Chriſt demanded of *Peter*, being amongſt the reſt of his Apoſtles, three times a-row, *Petre, amas me?* he gave him charge over his Sheep, *Paſce oves meas, paſce agnos meos.* Which place *Chryſoſtom* interpreting, ſaith, *Paſce, hoc eſt, loco mei eſto præpoſitus & caput fratrum tuorum.* To conclude, when they came that required *Didrachma* of Chriſt, he commanded *Peter* to caſt his Net into the Sea, and to take out of the Fiſhes mouth that he took, *ſtateram, hoc eſt, duplex Didrachma, & da, inquit, pro te & me Petre.* Which words do ſignifie, that when he had paid for them two, he had paid for all the reſt. For as in the old Law there were appointed two Heads over the People of *Iſrael*, *Moſes* and *Aaron*; *Moſes* as Chief, and *Aaron* next Head under him; ſo in the new Law there were two Heads of the Church, which were Chriſt and *Peter*. Chriſt is Head of all, and *Peter* next under him. S. *Auſtin* in 75 *queſt. Veteris & Novi Teſtamenti, Salvator (inquit) quum proſe & Petro dari jubebat Didrachma, pro omnibus ipſum dari cenſuit, ipſum enim conſtituit caput eorum*; *i.* Our Saviour Chriſt (ſaith S. *Auſtin*) commanding the Tribute to be given for him and for *Peter*, meant thereby the ſame to be given for all other, for he appointed him to be Head of them. What can be more plain then this? But I will not tarry upon this matter.

Paſce expounded by Chryſoſtom.

Aug. queſt. 75.

Now as touching the Popes Laws, where you ſay they be contrary, becauſe the Service which ſhould be (as you ſay) in Engliſh, is in Latin; I anſwer, Whoſoever will take the pains to peruſe the Chapter, which is in 1 *Cor.* 14. ſhall find, that his meaning is concerning preaching, and *obiter* only of praying.

Service in Latin.

Again, where you ſay, that the Popes Holineſs doth take away one part of the Sacrament from the Lay-men, and Chriſt would have it under both, ye can ſay no more but this, *Bibite ex eo omnes*; *i.* Drink ye all of this. And what followeth, *Et biberunt ex eo omnes*; *i.* And all drank thereof. Now if a man would be ſo proterve with you, he might ſay that Chriſt gave it only to his Apoſtles,

Sacrament in one kind.

in

Anno 1556. in whoſe places ſucceeded Prieſts, and not Lay-men.

Authority of the Church in changing Rites.

And admit that Chriſt commanded it to be received under both kinds, yet the Church hath authority to change that, as well as other. Ye read, that Chriſt calling his Apoſtles together, ſaid unto them, *Ite, prædicate Evangelium omni Nationi, baptizantes in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, i.* Go and preach the Goſpel to every Nation, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. But the Apoſtles, being deſirous to publiſh Chriſts Name every where, did baptize only in Chriſts name. Again, Chriſt before his laſt Supper waſhed his Apoſtles feet, ſaying, *Si ego lavi pedes veſtros Dominus & Magiſter, & vos debetis alter alterius lavare pedes, i.* If I have waſhed your feet, being your Lord and Maſter, alſo you ought to waſh the feet one of another.

Rites and Ceremonies ſubject to the diſpoſition of the Church.

Exemplum dedi vobis, i. I have given you example. This was a Precept, yet hath the Church altered it, leſt the ſimple people ſhould not think a rebaptization in it. So becauſe, ſaith the Apoſtle, *Accepi à Domino quod & tradidi vobis. Dominus noſter qua nocte tradebatur, &c. i.* I have received of the Lord the ſame which I have delivered to you, that our Lord the ſame night in which he was betrayed, &c. Notwithſtanding that this was a precept that the Sacrament ſhould be miniſtred after Supper, the Church hath altered it, and commanded it to be received faſting. And where Chriſt did break the Bread, we receive the whole Hoſt. Chriſt miniſtred ſitting at the Table, we ſtanding at the Altar.

It was alſo commanded in *Acts* 25. that Chriſtian men ſhould abſtain *à ſuffocato & ſanguine, i.* From ſtrangled and blood. But the Church perceiving it to be a precept but for a time, hath altered it. Chriſt commanded to keep holy, *diem Sabbati*, The Sabbath-day, and the Church hath altered it to Sunday. If then the Church may change things that be ſo expreſſed in the Scriptures, ſhe may alſo change the form of receiving of Lay-men under both kinds, for divers occaſions.

Reaſons why Lay-men receive not under both kinds.

Firſt, that in carrying it to the ſicks, the blood may not be ſhed, loſt, or miſuſed.

And next, that no occaſion might be given to Hereticks to think that there is not ſo much under one kind, as under both.

But why would you have it under both kinds, I pray you elſe, but only to pervert and contrary the commandment of the Church? For when you had it under both kinds, you believed in neither. And we having but one, believe both kinds. Now Sir, as concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, where you ſay, you have a number of Doctors of your ſide, and we none of our ſide, that is to ſay, to confirm the real preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, indeed one to ſtop your mouth, I think it not poſſible to find. Nevertheleſs, where your requeſt is to have one ſhewed unto you, and then you will recant, I will ſhew you two.

Real preſence proved by B. Brooks, Aug. Pſal. 33.

St. *Auſtin, ſuper Pſal.* 33. *Ferebatur manibus ſuis,* I find not how this is true in *David* (ſaith he) literally, that he was born in his own hands; but in Chriſt I find it literally, when he gave his Body to his Apoſtles at his laſt Supper.

Cyprian de Cœna Domini.

Again, St. *Cyprian, de Cœna Domini*, ſaith, *Panis quem Dominus noſter Diſcipulis ſuis porrigebat, non effigie, ſed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus eſt caro.* What can be more plain than this? yet to your expoſition it is not plain enough. But give me your figurative, ſignificative, and other ſuch like terms, and I will defend that Chriſt hath not yet aſcended; no nor yet that he was incarnate, &c. Wherefore I can do no other but put you in the number of them, whom *Chryſoſtom* ſpake of in this wiſe, ſaying, *Audi, homo fidelis, qui contra hæreticum contendis, ſi Phariſæi convicti, & non placati & hæretici, &c.* Hear, O thou Chriſtian man, wilt thou do more than Chriſt could do? Chriſt confuted the *Phariſees*, yet could he not put them to ſilence; *Et fortior es tu Chriſto?* And art thou ſtronger than Chriſt? Wilt thou go about to bring them to ſilence that will receive no anſwer? as who ſhould ſay, thou canſt not. Thus much I have ſaid, not for you Mr. *Cranmer*, for my hope that I conceived of you is now gone and paſt; but ſomewhat to ſatisfie the rude and unlearned People, that they perceiving your arrogant lying and lying arrogancy, may the better eſchew your deteſtable and abominable Schiſm.

And thus ended the Prelate his worſhipful Tale. After whom D. *Story* taketh the matter, and thus inferred in words, as followeth.

Dr Storie talk to the Archbiſhop.

Mr. *Cranmer*, you have made a goodly proceſs concerning your heretical Oath made to the King, but you forget your Oath made to the See Apoſtolick. As concerning your Oath made to the King, if you made it to him only, it took an end by his death, and ſo it is releaſed; if you made it to his Succeſſors, well Sir, the true Succeſſors have the Empire, and they will you to diſſolve the ſame, and become a Member of Chriſts Church again, and it ſtandeth well with charity.

To this the Archbiſhop anſwered again, ſaith the Reporter: but what his anſwer was, that he ſuppreſſeth and returneth to the words of Dr. *Story*, who imperiouſly turning his ſpeech again to the Archbiſhop, ſaid as followeth:

Three things required in an Oath.

Hold your peace Sir, and ſo ſhall it right well become you, conſidering that I gave you licence before to ſay your phanſie. Your Oath was no Oath: for it lacked the three points of an Oath, that is to ſay, *Judicium, Juſtitiam, & Veritatem.*

Theſe, with the like words to the ſame effect, being uttered by Dr. *Story*, ſeeking to break up and make an end of that Seſſion, he eſtſoons called for witneſſes to be produced, who ſhould be ſworn upon the Book, to utter and declare the next day whatſoever they knew, or could remember to be inferred againſt Dr. *Cranmers* Hereſie. The names of the Witneſſes are theſe:

D. Story calleth for witneſſes.

Dr. *Marſhall*, Commiſſary, and	Dr. *Crooke.*
*Dean of *Chriſts-Church.*	M. *London.*
Dr. *Smith*, under Commiſſary.	M. *Curteys.*
	M. *Warde.*
Doctor *Treſham.*	M. *Serles.*

Witneſſes ſworn againſt the Archbiſhop.

After the depoſitions of which Witneſſes being taken, Dr. *Story* admoniſhed the Archbiſhop, permitting him to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the ſaid Witneſſes were to be refuſed. Who then would admit none of them all, being men perjured, and not in Chriſtian Religion. For if to ſwear, ſaid he, againſt the Pope were unlawful, they ſhould rather have given their lives, than their Oath. But if it were lawful, then they are perjured, to defend him whom they forſwear before. Nevertheleſs, this anſwer of the Archbiſhop being lightly regarded, as little to the purpoſe appertaining, he was commanded again to the place from whence he came. Who at his departing out, like as at his firſt coming in, ſhewed low obedience to Dr. *Martin*, and to Dr. *Story*, the Queens Commiſſioners. Then Dr. *Story* pointing him to the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, ſaid, that he ought rather to give reverence unto him. So the reverend Archbiſhop departing without any obeyſance exhibited to the Biſhop, all the other roſe up, and departed every one to his own. And thus brake up the Seſſion for that day, about two of the Clock at Afternoon.

The Archbiſhop refuſeth thoſe perjured.

The Archbiſhop ſent again to *Bocardo.*

The Archbiſhop again giveth no reverence to the Popes Delegate.

And thus much hitherto concerning the ſummary effect of this Action or Seſſion, with the Orations, Diſcourſes and Articles commenced againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, alſo with the reaſons and anſwers of the ſaid Archbiſhop to their Objections and Interrogatories. Touching which his Anſwers, forſomuch as they being recited by report of a Papiſt, (as is aforeſaid) ſeem to be not indifferently handled, it ſhall therefore not greatly be out of our matter, as ye have heard the Orations of Biſhop *Brooks*, with the reaſons and talk of the other Commiſſioners, amplified and ſet forth at large on the one ſide, ſo now in repeating the words and anſwers of the other part, to declare and ſet forth ſomewhat more amply and effectually, what ſpeech the ſaid Archbiſhop uſed for himſelf in the ſame action, by the faithful relation and teſtimony of certain other, who were likewiſe there preſent, and do thus report the effect of the Archbiſhops words, anſwering to the firſt Oration of Biſhop *Brooks* in manner as followeth.

The anſwer of the Archbiſhop not indifferently reported.

A more ful anſwer of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury *to the firſt Oration of Biſhop* Brooks.

A more full anſwer of the Archb. to B. *Brooks* Oration.

My Lord, you have very learnedly and eloquently in your Oration put me in remembrance of many things touching my ſelf, wherein I do not mean to ſpend the time in anſwering of them. I acknowledge Gods goodneſs to me in all his gifts, and thank him as heartily for this ſtate wherein I find my ſelf now, as ever I did for the time of my proſperity; and it is not the loſs of my promotions that grieveth me. The greateſt grief I have at this time is, and one of the greateſt that ever I had in all my life, to ſee the King and Queens Majeſties by their Proctors here to become my accuſers; and that in their own Realm and Countrey, before a forain power. If I have tranſgreſſed the Laws of the Land, their Majeſties have ſufficient Anthority and power both from God, and by the ordinance of the Realm, to puniſh me, whereunto I both have, and at all times ſhall be content to ſubmit my ſelf.

Q. *Mary* accuſeth the Archb. for taking her own part againſt a forain Power.

Alas! What hath the Pope to do in *England*? whoſe juriſdiction is ſo far different from the juriſdiction of this Realm, that it is impoſſible to be true to the one, and true to the other. The Laws alſo are ſo divers, that whoſoever ſweareth to both, muſt needs incur perjury to the one. Which as oft as I remember, even for the love that I bear to her Grace, I cannot but be heartily ſory to think upon it, how that her Higlineſs the day of her Coronation, at which time ſhe took a Solemn Oath to obſerve all the Laws and Liberties of this Realm of. *England*, at the ſame time alſo took an Oath to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and promiſed to maintain that See. The State of *England* being ſo repugnant to the Supremacy of the Pope, it was impoſſible but ſhe muſt needs be forſworn in the one. Wherein if her grace had been faithfully advertiſed by her Councel, then ſurely ſhe would never have done it.

The laws of the Realm and of the Pope are contrary.

No man can be true both to the Realm and to the Pope together.

The Laws of this Realm are, that the King of *England* is the ſupream and ſole Governor of all his Countrys and Dominions: and that he holdeth his Crown and Scepter of himſelf, by the ancient laws, cuſtoms, and deſcents of the Kings of the Realm, and of none other. The Pope ſaith, that all Emperors and Kings hold their Crowns and Regalites of him, and that he may depoſe them when he liſt; which is high Treaſon for any man to affirm and think, being born within the Kings Dominions.

The contrarity between the laws of this Realm, and of the Pope deſcribed.

The Laws of *England* are, that all Biſhops and Prieſts offending in caſes of felony or treaſon, are to be judged and tried by the laws and cuſtoms of the Realm. The Popes Laws are, that the ſecular power cannot judge the ſpiritual power, and that they are not under their juriſdiction; which robbeth the King of the one part of his People.

Kings and Princes cannot uſe their own laws in their dominions. for the Pope.

The laws alſo of *England* are, that whoſoever hindereth the execution or proceeding of the Laws of *England* for any other forain Laws Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, incurreth the danger of a *Præmunire*. The Popes Laws are, that whoſoever hindereth the proceedings or executions of his laws, for any others laws, of any other King or Country, both the Prince himſelf, his Council, all his Officers, Scribes, Clerks, and whoſoever give conſent or aid to the making or executing of any ſuch laws, ſtand accurſed. A heavy caſe (if his curſe were any thing worth) that the King and Queen cannot uſe their own laws, but they and all theirs muſt ſtand accurſed. Theſe things and many more examples he alledged, which (he ſaid) ſtirred him that he could not give his conſent to the receiving of ſuch an enemy into the Realm, ſo ſubverting the dignity and ancient liberties of the ſame.

Cauſe why the Archb. would not admit the Pope.

And as for the matter of Hereſy and Schiſm, wherewith he was charged, he proteſted and called God to witneſs, that he knew none that he maintained. But if that were an Hereſy to deny the Popes Authority, and the Religion which the See of *Rome* hath publiſhed to the World theſe later Years, then all the Ancient Fathers of the Primitive Church, the Apoſtles and Chriſt himſelf taught Hereſy; and he deſired all then preſent to bear him witneſs, that he took the Traditions and Religion of that Uſurping Prelate to be moſt erroneous, falſe, and againſt the Doctrine of the whole Scripture; which he had oftentimes well proved by writing, and the Author of the ſame to be very Antichriſt, ſo often preached of by the Apoſtles and Prophets, in whom did moſt evidently concur all ſigns and tokens whereby he was painted out to the World to be known.

The Popes Religion moſt erroneous.

Anno 1556.

All marks of Antichriſt muſt concur in the Pope.

For it was moſt evident that he had advanced himſelf above all Emperours and Kings of the World, whom he affirmeth to hold their Eſtates and Empires of him, as of their chief, and to be at his commandment to depoſe and erect at his good will and pleaſure, and that ſtories make mention of his intolerable and inſolent pride, and tyranny, uſed over them in ſuch ſort, as no King would have uſed to his Chriſtian ſubjects, nor yet a good maſter to his ſervants, ſetting his feet on the Emperours neck, affirming that to be verified in him, which was ſpoken onely of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, in theſe words, *Super Aſpidem & Baſiliſcum ambulabis, & conculcabis Leonem & Draconem.* Other ſome had he made to hold his ſtirrop, others he had diſplaced and removed from their Empires and ſeats royal: and not content herewithal, more inſolent then Lucifer, he hath occupied not onely the higheſt place in this World, above Kings and Princes, but hath further perſumed to ſit in the ſeat of Almighty God, which onely he reſerved to himſelf, which is the Conſcience of man; and to keep the poſſeſſion thereof, he hath promiſed forgiveneſs of ſins *toties quoties*.

The Popes pride and tyranny.

Marks of Antichriſt.

He hath brought in gods of his own framing, and invented a new Religion, ful of gain and lucre, quite contrary to the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture, onely for the maintaining of his Kingdom, diſplacing Chriſt from his glory, and holding his People in a miſerable ſervitude of blindneſs to the loſs of a great number of Souls, which God at the latter day ſhall exact at his hand; boaſting many times in his Canons and Decrees, that he can diſpenſe *Contra Petrum, contra Paulum, contra vetus & novum Teſtamentum* and that he *Plenitudine poteſtatis, tantum poteſt quantum Deus*: That is, *Againſt* Peter, *againſt* Paul, *againſt the old and new* Teſtament: *and of the fulneſs of power may do as much as God.* O Lord, who ever heard ſuch Blaſphemy? If there be any man that can advance himſelf above him, let him be judged Antichriſt.

The Pope diſpenſeth againſt the new and old Teſtament.

This enemy of God and of our redemption, is ſo evidently painted out in the Scriptures by ſuch manifeſt ſigns and tokens, which all ſo clearly appear in him, that except a man will ſhut up his eyes and heart againſt the light, he cannot but know him: and therefore for my part I will never give my conſent to the receiving of him into this Church of *England*. And you my Lord, and the reſt that ſit here in Commiſſion, conſider well and examine your own Conſciences; you have ſworn againſt him, you are learned, and can judge of the truth. I pray God you be not wifully blind. As for me, I have herein diſcharged mine own Conſcience toward the World, and I will write alſo my mind to her Grace, touching this matter. The copy of which letter ſent to the Queen, ye ſhall find after in the end of his ſtory.

While he in this ſort made his anſwer, ye hear before how Dr. *Story* and *Martin* divers times interrupted him with Blaſphemous talk, and would fain have had the Bp. of *Gloceſter* to put him to ſilence: who notwithſtanding did not, but ſuffered him to end his tale at full. After this he heard alſo how they proceeded to examine him of divers Articles, whereof the chief was, That at the time of his creating Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he was ſworn to the Pope, and had his inſtitution and induction from him, and promiſed to maintain then the Authority of that See, and therfore was perjured: wherefore he ſhould rather ſtick to his firſt Oath and return to his old fold again, then to continue obſtinately in an Oath forced in the time of Schiſm.

His anſwer to their Articles. How *Cranmer* was made Archb. againſt his will.

To that he anſwered, ſaving his proteſtation (which term he uſed before all his anſwers) that at ſuch time Archbiſhop *Warham* died, he was Ambaſſador in *Germany* for the King, who ſent for him thereupon home, and having intelligence by ſome of his friends (who were near about the King) how he meant to beſtow the ſame Biſhoprick upon him, and therefore counſelled him in that caſe to make haſt home, he feeling in himſelf a great inability to ſuch a promotion, and very ſory to leave his ſtudy, and eſpecially conſidering by what means

he

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he must have it, which was clean against his Conscience, which he could not utter without great peril and danger, devised an excuse to the King of matter of great importance, for the which his longer abode there should be most necessary, thinking by that means in his absence, that the King would have bestowed it upon some other, and so remained there by that device, one half year after the King had written for him to come home. But after that no such matter fell out, as he seemed to make suspicion of, the King sent for him again. Who after his return, understanding still the Archbishoprick to be reserved for him, made means by divers of his best friends to shift it off, desiring rather some smaller Living, that he might more quietly follow his Book.

To be brief, when the King himself spake with him, declaring that his full intention, for his service sake, and for the good opinion he conceived of him, was to bestow that dignity upon him, after long disabling of himself, perceiving he could by no persuasions alter the Kings determination, he brake frankly his Conscience with him, most humbly craving first his Graces pardon, for that he should declare unto his Highness. Which obtained, he declared, that if he accepted the Office, then he must receive it at the Popes hand, which he neither would nor could do, for that his Highness was only the supream Governour of this Church of *England*, as well in causes Ecclesiastical as Temporal, and that the full right and donation of all manner of Bishopricks and Benefices, as well as of any other Temporal dignities and promotions, appertained to his Grace, and not to any other forreign Authority, whatsoever it was, and therefore if he might in that vocation serve God, him, and his Countrey, seeing it was his pleasure so to have it, he would accept it, and receive it of his Majesty, and of none other stranger, who had no Authority within this Realm, neither in any such gift, nor in any other thing. Whereat the King, said he, staying a while and musing, asked me how I was able to prove it. At which time I alledged many Texts out of the Scriptures, and the Fathers also, approving the supream and highest Authority of Kings in their Realms and Dominions, disclosing therewithal the intolerable usurpation of the Pope of *Rome*.

Dr. Cranmer denied that he took the Archbishoprick at the Popes hands.

Cranmers answer to King Henry, refusing to be Archbishop.

First breaking of the matter of the Popes Supremacy to K. Henry.

Afterwards it pleased his Highness (quoth the Archbishop) many and sundry times to talk with me of it, and perceiving that I could not be brought to acknowledge the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, the King himself called Doctor *Oliver*, and other civil Lawyers, and devised with him how he might bestow it upon me, inforcing me nothing against my Conscience. Who thereupon informed him, that I might do it by the way of protestation, and so one to be sent to *Rome*, who might take the Oath, and do every thing in my name. Which when I understood, I said, he should do it *Super animam suam*: and I indeed *Bona fide* made my protestation, that I did not acknowledge his Authority any further, than as it agreed with the expres Word of God, and that it might be lawful for me at all times to speak against him, and so to impugn his Errours, when time and occasion should serve me. And this my protestation did I cause to be inrolled, and there I think it remaineth.

Cranmer sworn to the Pope under protestation.

Cranmer in swearing to the Pope, did nothing without advice of the best learned in this Realm.

They objected to him also that he was married, which he confessed. Whereupon Dr. *Martin* said, that his Children were Bondmen to the See of *Canterbury*. At which saying the Archbishop smiled, and asked him if a Priest at his Benefice kept a Concubine, and had by her Bastards, whether they were Bondmen to the Benefice or no, saying, I trust you will make my Childrens causes no worse.

The Archb. answereth for his Wife and Children.

After this Dr. *Martin* demanded of him, who was supream Head of the Church of *England*? Marry, quoth my Lord of *Canterbury*, Christ is Head of this Member, as he is of the whole Body of the Universal Church. Why, quoth Dr. *Martin*, you made King *Henry* the 8*th*. supream Head of the Church. Yea, said the Archbishop, of all the People of *England*, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal. And not of the Church, said *Martin*? No, said he, for Christ is only the Head of his Church, and of the Faith and Religion of the same. the King is Head and Governour of his People, which are the visible Church. What (quoth *Martin*) you never durst tell the King so. Yes, that I durst, quoth he, and did in the publication of his stile, wherein he was named supream Head of the Church, there was never other thing meant. A number of other fond and foolish Objections were made, with repetition whereof I thought not to trouble the Reader.

Because there was offence taken at this word Supream Head, it was declared in the Queens stile to be supream Governour.

Thus after they had received his Answers to all their Objections, they cited him (as is aforesaid) to appear at *Rome* within fourscore days, to make there his personal Answers: which he said, if the King and Queen would send him, he would be content to do, and so thence was carried to Prison again, where he continually remained, notwithstanding that he was commanded to appear at *Rome*.

The Archb. cited to appear at Rome.

Wherein all men that have eyes to see, may easily perceive the crafty practice of these Prelates, and the vizored face of their Justice, as though the Court of *Rome* would condemn no man before he answered for himself, as all Law and equity required. But the very same instant time, the holiness of that unholy Father, contrary to all reason and justice, sent his Letter executory unto the King and Queen to degrade and deprive him of his dignity: which thing he did not only before the 80. days were ended, but before there were 20. days spent. Furthermore, whereas the said Archbishop was first detained in strait Prison, so that he could not appear (as was notorious both in *England* and also in the *Romish* Court) and therefore had a lawful and most just excuse of his absence by all Laws, both Popish and other: yet in the end of the said fourscore days, was that worthy Martyr decreed *Contumax*, that is, sturdily, frowardly, and wilfully absent, and in pain of the same his absence condemned and put to death.

A point to be noted in the crafty practice of Romish hypocrites.

As touching the said Executory Letters of the Pope sent to the King and Queen, beginning thus, Paulus *Episcopus servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio* Philippo *Regi, & charissimæ in Christo filiæ* Mariæ *Reginæ*, &c. Because the full tenour thereof is expressed in our first impression of Acts, it shall not therefore be needful to cumber this Volume in repeating the same again.

Dr. Thurly, *and Dr.* Boner, *coming with a new Commission to sit upon the Archbishop the* 14 *day of* February.

THis Letter or Sentence definitive of the Pope, was dated about the first day of *January*, and was delivered here in *England* about the midst of *February*. Upon the receit of which Letters another Session was appointed for the Archbishop to appear the 14. day of *February*, before certain Commissioners directed down by the Queen, the chief whereof was the Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Thurlby*. Concerning the which Dr. *Thurlby* by the way here is to be noted, that albeit he was not the said Archbishops houshold Chaplain, yet he was so familiarly acquainted with him, so dearly beloved, so inwardly accepted and advanced of him (not like a Chaplain, but rather like a natural Brother) that there was never any thing in the Archbishops house so dear, were it Plate, Jewel, Horse, Maps, Books, or any thing else, but if *Thurlby* did never so little commend it (a subtle kind of begging) the Archbishop by and by, either gave it to him, or else sent it after him to his house. So greatly was the Archbishop enamored with him, that whosoever would obtain any thing of him, most commonly would make their way before by D. *Thurlby*. Which by matter of the said D. *Thurlby*, I thought here to recite; not so much to upbraid the man with the vice of unthankfulness, as chiefly and only for this, to admonish him of old benefits received, whereby he may the better remember his old Benefactor, and so to favour the cause and quarrel of him whom he was so singularly bounden unto.

A new Commission sent down from Rome against the Archbishop.

D. Thurlby, D. Boner, Commissioners.

The old benefits and familiarity between the Archb. and D. Thurlby.

With the said Dr. *Thurlby* Bishop of *Ely*, was also assigned in the same Commission Dr. *Boner* Bishop of *London*, which two coming to *Oxford* upon St. *Valentines* day, as the Popes Delegates, with a new Commission from *Rome*, by the vertue thereof commanded the Archbishop aforesaid to come before them, in the Quire of *Christs-Church*, before the high Altar, where they sitting (according to their manner) in their *Pontificalibus*, first began as the fashion is, to read their Commission: wherein was contained, how that in the Court of *Rome*

A new setting of the Pope's delegates in Christs-Church, against the Archb. of Canterbury.

all things being indifferently examined, both the Articles laid to his charge, with the anſwers made unto them, and Witneſſes examined on both parts, and Council heard as well on the King and Queens behalf, his Accuſers, as on the behalf of *Thomas Cranmer*, the party guilty, ſo that he wanted nothing appertaining to his neceſſary defence, &c. Which foreſaid Commiſſion, as it was in reading: Oh Lord, ſaid the Archbiſhop, what Lies be theſe, that I being continually in Priſon, and never could be ſuffered to have counſel or advocate at home, ſhould produce witneſs and appoint my counſel at *Rome*? God muſt needs puniſh this open and ſhameleſs lying. They read on the Commiſſion which came from the Pope, *Plenitudine poteſtatis*, ſupplying all manner of defects in Law or Proceſs, committed in dealing with the Archbiſhop, and giving them full authority to proceed to deprivation and degradation of them, and ſo upon Excommunication to deliver him up to the ſecular Power, *Omni appellatione remota*.

The Popes Commiſſion grounded upon Lies.

When the Commiſſion was read thus, they proceeding thereupon to his degradation, firſt cloathed and diſguiſed him, putting on him a Surpleſs, and then an Albe; after that the veſtment of a Subdeacon, and every other furniture, as a Prieſt ready to Maſs.

The order of the Archbiſhops degradation.

When they had apparelled him ſo far; What, ſaid he, I think I ſhall ſay Maſs: Yea, ſaid *Coſins* one of *Boners* Chaplains, my Lord, I truſt to ſee you ſay Maſs for all this. Do you ſo, quoth he? that ſhall you never ſee, nor will I ever do it.

Then they inveſted him in all manner of robes of a Biſhop and Archbiſhop, as he is at his Inſtalling, ſaving that as every thing then is moſt rich and coſtly, ſo every thing in this of Canvas and old Clouts, with a Mitre and a Pall of the ſame ſute done upon him in mockery, and then the Croſier-ſtaff was put in his hand.

This done after the Popes Pontifical form and manner, *Boner*, who by the ſpace of many years had born, as it ſeemed, no great good will towards him, and now rejoyced to ſee this day wherein he might triumph over him, and take his pleaſure at full, began to ſtretch out his eloquence, making his Oration to the Aſſembly after this manner of ſort.

B. Boners eloquent Oration againſt the Archbiſhop *Cranmer*.

This is the Man that hath ever deſpiſed the Popes Holineſs, and now is to be judged by him. This is the Man that hath pulled down ſo many Churches, and now is come to be judged in a Church. This is the Man that contemned the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and now is come to be condemned before that bleſſed Sacrament hanging over the Altar. This is the Man that like *Lucifer* ſate in the place of Chriſt upon an Altar to judge other, and now is come before an Altar to be judged himſelf.

Boner taken with an untruth.

Whereunto the Archbiſhop interrupting him ſaid, that in that he belied him, as he did in many other things: For that which he would now ſeem to charge him withal, was his own fault, if it was any, and none of his. For the thing you mean, was in *Pauls-Church* (ſaid he) where I came to ſit in Commiſſion; and there was a Scaffold prepared for me and others, by you and your Officers, and whether there were any Altar under it or not, I could not perceive it, nor once ſuſpected it, wherefore you do wittingly evil to charge me with it.

Unmannerlineſs of *B. Boner* to his Brother in time of adverſity.

But *Boner* went on ſtill in his Rhetorical repetition, lying and railing againſt the Archbiſhop, beginning every ſentence with, This is the Man, this is the Man, till at length there was never a man but was weary of his unmannerly uſage of him in that time and place: Inſomuch that the Biſhop of *Ely* aforeſaid divers times pulled him by the ſleeve to make an end; and ſaid to him afterward when they went to Dinner, that he had broken promiſe with him: for he had intreated him earneſtly to uſe him with reverence.

After all this done and finiſhed, they began then to buſtle toward his degrading, and firſt to take from him his Croſier-ſtaff out of his hands, which he held faſt and refuſed to deliver, and withal, imitating the example of *Martin Luther*, pulled an Appeal out of his left Sleeve under the wriſt, which he there and then delivered unto them, ſaying, I appeal to the next General Council; and herein I have comprehended my cauſe and form of it, which I deſire may be admitted; and prayed divers of the ſtanders by, by name to be witneſſes, and eſpecially Mr. *Curtop*, to whom he ſpake twice, &c.

Archb. *Cranmer* appealeth from the Pope to a General Council.

The Copy of which his appellation, becauſe it was not printed before, I thought here to exhibit, *ad rei memoriam*, as in form here followeth.

Anno 1556.

The tenor of the Appeal of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury *from the Pope, to the next General Council.*

IN the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

Challenge or appeal of the Archb. from the Pope to a General Council.

Firſt, my plain Proteſtation made, that I intend to ſpeak nothing againſt one holy Catholick and Apoſtolical Church, or the Authority thereof (the which Authority I have in great reverence, and to whom my mind is in all things to obey) and if any thing peradventure, either by ſlipperneſs of Tongue, or by indignation of abuſes, or elſe by the provocation of mine Adverſaries be ſpoken or done otherwiſe than well, or not with ſuch reverence as becometh me, I am moſt ready to amend it.

The Pope not unſinnable.

Although the Biſhop of *Rome* (whom they call Pope) beareth the room of Chriſt in Earth, and hath authority of God, yet by that power or authority he is not become unſinnable, neither hath he received that power to deſtroy, but to edifie the Congregation. Therefore if he ſhall command any thing that is not right to be done, he ought to take it patiently and in good part, in caſe he be not therein obeyed. And he muſt not be obeyed, if he command any thing againſt the Precepts of God: no, rather he may lawfully be reſiſted, even as *Paul* withſtood *Peter*. And if he being aided by help of Princes, deceived perchance by falſe ſuggeſtion, or with evil counſel, cannot be reſiſted, but the remedies of withſtanding him be taken away, there is nevertheleſs one remedy of appealing (which no Prince can take away) uttered by the very Law of Nature: forſomuch as it is a certain defence, which is meet for every body by the Law of God, of Nature, and of Man.

The Pope hath no power to deſtruction, but to edifie.

Remedy of appealing ſtandeth with the Law of God and Nature.

And whereas the Laws do permit a man to appeal, not only from the griefs and injuries done, but alſo from ſuch as ſhall be done hereafter, or threatned to be done; inſomuch that the inferiour cannot make Laws of not appealing to a ſuperiour Power; and ſince it is openly enough confeſſed, that a holy General Council, lawfully gathered together in the Holy Ghoſt, and repreſenting the holy Catholick Church, is above the Pope, eſpecially in matters concerning Faith; that he cannot make Decrees that men ſhall not appeal from him to a General Council: therefore I *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or in time paſt Ruler of the Metropolitical Church of *Canterbury*, Doctor in Divinity, do ſay and publiſh before you the publick Notary, and witneſſes here preſent, with mind and intent to challenge and appeal from the perſons and griefs underneath written, and to proffer my ſelf in place and time convenient and meet, to prove the Articles that follow. And I openly confeſs, that I would lawfully have publiſhed them before this day, if I might have had either liberty to come abroad my ſelf, or licence of a Notary and Witneſſes. But further than I am able to do, I know well is not required of the Laws.

The Inferior cannot forbid to appeal to all the Superiour. A General Council is ſuperiour to the Pope.

The 1. cauſe why he doth appeal.

1. Firſt, I ſay and publiſh, that *James* by the mercy of God, Prieſt, called Cardinal of the *Pit*, and of the title of our Lady in the way of the Church of *Rome*, Judge and Commiſſary ſpecially deputed of our moſt holy Lord the Pope (as he affirmed) cauſed me to be cited to *Rome*, there to appear fourſcore days after the Citation ſerved on me, to make anſwer to certain Articles touching the peril of my ſtate and life: And whereas I was kept in Priſon with moſt ſtrait Ward, ſo that I could in no wiſe be ſuffered to go to *Rome*, nor to come out of Priſon, (and in ſo grievous cauſes concerning ſtate and life, no man is bound to ſend a Proctor,) and though I would never ſo fain ſend my Proctor, yet by reaſon of poverty I am not able (for all that ever I had, wherewith I ſhould bear my Proctors coſts and charges, is quite taken from me) nevertheleſs the moſt reverend Cardinal aforeſaid doth ſore threaten me, that whether I ſhall appear or not, he will nevertheleſs yet proceed in judgment againſt me. Wherein I feel my ſelf ſo grieved, that nothing can be imagined more miſchievous or further from reaſon.

The Archb. cited to appear at *Rome*, where he was faſt in Priſon that he could not come.

Note with what juſtice and ſincerity this Catholick Church doth proceed.

2. Se-

Anno 1556.

The 2. cause. The Archb. denied to have Counsel of the Law.

2 Secondly, the reverend Father *James Brooks*, by the mercy of God Bishop of *Gloucester*, Judge and under-deputy (as he affirmeth) of the most reverend Cardinal, caused me to be cited at *Oxford* (where I was then kept in prison) to answer to certain Articles, concerning the danger of my state and life. And when I being unlearned and ignorant in the Laws, desired Counsel of the learned in the Law, that thing was most unrighteously denied me, contrary to the equity of all Laws both of God and Man. Wherein again I feel me most wrongfully grieved.

The 3. cause.

3 And when I refused the said Bishop of *Gloucester* to be my Judge, for most just causes, which I then declared, he nevertheless went on still, and made process against me, contrary to the rule of the laws of appealing, which say; *A Judge that is refused ought not to proceed in the cause, but to leave off.* And when he had required of me answers to certain Articles, I refused to make him any answer: I said I would yet gladly make answer to the most renowned Kings and Queens deputys or attorneys then present, with this condition notwithstanding, that mine answer should be extrajudicial, and that was permitted me. And with this my protestation made and admitted, I made answer; but mine answer was sudden and unprovided for: and therefore I desired to have a copy of mine answers, that I might put to, take away, change and amend them; and this was also permitted me. Nevertheless, *contrary* to his promise made unto me, no respect had to my protestation, nor licence given to amend mine answer, the said reverend Father Bishop of *Gloucester* (as I hear) commanded mine answers to be inacted contrary to the equity of the Law. In which thing again I feel me much grieved.

The Papists proceed contrary to Law.

The Papists contrary to their promise.

The cause

Causes moving the Archb. why he could not admit the Popes Authority.

The Popes Authority cannot be admitted in this Realm without perjury.

4 Furthermore, I could not for many causes admit the Bishop of *Romes* usurped Authority in this Realm; nor consent to it: For my Solemn Oath letting me, which I made in the time of King *Henry* the eighth, of most famous memory, according to the Laws of *England*: Secondly, because I knew the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* which he Usurpeth, to be against the Crown, Customs, and Laws of this Realm of *England*, in somuch, that neither the King can be Crowned in this Realm, without the most grievous crime of perjury, nor may Bishops enjoy their Bishopricks, nor judgments to be used according to the laws and customs of this Realm, except by the Bp. of *Romes* Authority, be accursed both the King and Queen; the Judges, Writers, and Executors of the Laws and Customs, with all that consent to them. Finally, the whole Realm shall be accursed.

The 5. cause, Inconvenience to this Realm in receiving the Popes Authority.

5 Moreover, that hainous and usurped Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, through reservations of the Bishopricks, Provisions, Annuates, Dispensations, Pardons, Appellations, Buls, and other cursed merchandise of *Rome*, was wont exceedingly to spoil and consume the riches and substance of this Realm, all which things should follow again by recognising and receiving of that usurped Authority unto the unmeasurable loss of this Realm.

The 6. cause.

6 Finally, it is most evident by that usurped Authority, not onely the Crown of *England* to be under yoke, the Laws and Customs of this Realm to be thrown down and troden under foot, but also the most Holy Decrees of Councils, together with the precepts both of the Gospel and of God.

When in times past the Sun of righteousnes being risen in the World, Christian Religion by the preaching of the Apostles began to be spread very farr abroad and to flourish, insomuch that their sound went out into all the World; innumerable People, which walked in darkness, saw a great light, Gods glory every where published did flourish, the onely care and care of the Ministers of the Church was purely and sincerely to preach Christ; the People to imbrace and follow Christs Doctrine. Then

The primitive state of the Church of *Rome* sincere and pure.

the Church of *Rome*, as it were Lady of the World, both was, and also was counted worthily the mother of other Churches, for as much as then she first begat to Christ, nourished with the food of pure Doctrine, did help them with their riches, succoured the oppressed, and was a sanctuary for the miserable, she rejoyced with them that rejoyced, and wept with them that wept. Then by the examples of the Bishops of *Rome*, riches were despised, worldly glory and pomp was troden under foot, pleasures and riot nothing regarded. Then this frail and uncertain life, being full all miseries, was laughed to scorn, whiles through the example of Romish Martyrs, men did every where press forward to the life to come. But afterward when the ungraciousnes of damnable ambition, never satisfied avarice, and the horrible enormity of vices had corrupted and taken the See of *Rome*; there followed every where almost the deformities of all Churches, growing out of kind into the manners of the Church their Mother, leaving their former innocency and purity, and slipping into foul and hainous usages.

The Church of *Rome* how and where it began to alter.

Deformities of the Church of *Rome*, infecting all other Churches.

For the aforesaid and many other griefs and abuses (which I intend to prove, and do proffer my self in time convenient to prove hereafter) since reformation of the above mentioned abuses is not to be looked for of the Bishop of *Rome*, neither can I hope by reason of his wicked abuses and Usurped Authority, to have him an equal judge in his own cause: therefore I do challenge and appeal in these writings from the Pope, having no good Counsel, and from the above named pretenses, commissions, and judges, from their citations, processes, and from all other things that have or shall follow thereupon, and from every one of them, and from all their sentences, censures, pains, and punishments of cursing, suspension, and interdicting, and from all others whatsoever their denouncings and declarations (as they pretend) of Schism, of Heresie, Adultery, deprivation, degrading by them or by any of them, in any manner wise attempted, done and set forward to be attempted, to be done, and to be set forward hereafter (saving always their honours and reverences) as unequal and unrighteous, most tyrannical and violent, and from every grief to come, which shall happen to me, as well for my self as for all and every one that cleaveth to me, or will hereafter be on my side, unto a free general Council, that shall hereafter lawfully be, and in a sure place, to the which place I or a Proctor deputed by me, may freely and with safety come, and to him or them, to whom a man may by the Law, priviledge, custom, or otherwise challenge and appeal,

The Bishop of *Rome* no equal judge in his own cause.

Appellation from the Pope to a general Council.

And I desire the first, the second, and third time, instantly, more instantly, and most instantly, that I may have * messengers, if there be any man that will and can give me them. And I make open promise of prosecuting this mine appellation, by the way of disannulling, abuse, inequality, and unrighteousnes, or otherwise as I shall be better able: choice and liberty reserved to me, to put to, diminish, change, correct, and interpret my sayings, and to reform all things after a better fashion, saving always to me every other benefit of the law, and to them that either be, or will be on my part.

* Letters of protection and defence.

And touching my Doctrine of the Sacrament, and other my Doctrine, of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to the most Holy Word of God, or else against the Holy Catholick Church of Christ, but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things onely, which I had learned of the sacred Scripture, and of the Holy Catholick Church of Christ from the beginning, and also according to the exposition of the most holy and learned Fathers and Martyrs of the Church.

Defence of his Doctrine.

And if any thing hath peradventure chanced otherwise then I thought; I may erre, but Heretick I cannot be, for as much as I am ready in all things to follow the judgment of the most sacred Word of God, and of the Holy Catholick Church, desiring none other thing, then meekly and gently to be taught, if any where (which God forbid) I have swerved from the truth.

The Archb. no Heretick, and why.

He protesteth himself to be Catholick.

And I protest and openly confess, that in all my Doctrine and preaching, both of the Sacrament, and of other my Doctrine whatsoever it be, not onely I mean and judge those things, as the Catholick Church, and the most holy Fathers of old with one accord have meant and judged, but also I would gladly use the same words that they used, and not use any other words, but to set my hand to all and singular their speeches, phrases, ways and forms of speech, which they do use in their Treatises upon the Sacrament, and to keep still their interpretation. But in this thing I only am accused for an Heretick, because I allow not the Doctrine lately brought in of the Sacrament, and because I consent not to words not accustomed in Scripture, and unknown to the ancient Fathers,

New terms of the Sacrament brought in by the Pope unknown to the Scripture and old Doctors.

but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the deſtruction of Souls, and overthrowing of the pure and old Religion. Yeven,&c.

This Appeal being put up to the Biſhop of *Ely*, he ſaid, My Lord, our Commiſſion is to proceed againſt you, *Omni appellatione remota*, and therefore we cannot admit it.

Talk between D. *Tow-ly* and the Archb. about the Appeal.

Why (quoth he) then you do me the more wrong: for my caſe is not as every private mans caſe. The matter is between the Pope and me *immediate*, and none otherwiſe: and I think no man ought to be a Judge in his own cauſe.

Well, quoth *Ely*, if it may be admitted it ſhall, and ſo received it of him. And then began he to perſwade earneſtly with the Archbiſhop to conſider his ſtate, and to weigh it well, while there was time to do him good, promiſing to become a ſuter to the King and Queen for him; and ſo proteſted his great love and friendſhip that had been between them, heartily weeping, ſo that for a time he could not go on with his tale. After going forward, he earneſtly affirmed, that if it had not been the King and Queens commandment, whom he could not deny, elſe no worldly commodity ſhould have made him to have done it, concluding that to be one of the ſorrowfulleſt things that ever happened unto him. The Archbiſhop gently ſeeming to comfort him, ſaid, he was very well content withal: and ſo proceeded they to his degradation: the perfect form whereof, with all the rites and ceremonies thereto appertaining, taken out of the Popes Pontifical, becauſe it is already deſcribed at full in our firſt Book of Monuments, I ſhall refer the Reader to the ſame.

Thirlby weepeth for the Archbiſhop.

Here then to be ſhort, when they came to take off his Pall (which is a ſolemn veſture of an Archbiſhop) then ſaid he, Which of you hath a Pall, to take of my Pall? Which imported as much as they being his Inferiours, could not degrade him. Whereunto one of them ſaid, in that they were but Biſhops, they were his Inferiours, and not competent Judges: but being the Popes Delegates, they might take his Pall, and ſo they did, and ſo proceeding took every thing in order from him, as it was put on. Then a Barber clipped his Hair round about, and the Biſhop ſcraped the tops of his Fingers where he had been anointed, wherein Biſhop *Boner* behaved himſelf, as roughly and unmannerly, as the other Biſhop was to him ſoft and gentle. Whilſt they were thus doing, All this (quoth the Archbiſhop) needed not: I had my ſelf done with this gear long ago. Laſt of all they ſtripped him out of his Gown into his Jacket, and put upon him a poor Yeoman Beadles Gown, full bare and nearly worn, and as evil favouredly made, as one might lightly ſee, and a Towns-mans Cap on his head, and ſo delivered him to the ſecular Power.

Lord *Boner* unlordeth the Archb. It is happy this Biſhop had ſo much manners yet to call him Gentleman.

After this pageant of Degradation, and all was finiſhed, then ſpake Lord *Boner*, ſaying to him, Now are you no Lord any more: and ſo whenſoever he ſpake to the People of him (as he was continually barking againſt him) ever he uſed this term, This Gentleman here,&c.

And thus with great compaſſion and pity of every man in this evil favoured Gown was he carried to Priſon. Whom there followed a Gentleman of *Glouceſterſhire* with the Archbiſhops own Gown, who ſtanding by, and being thought to be toward one of the Biſhops, had it delivered unto him; who by the way talking with him, ſaid, the Biſhop of *Ely* proteſted his friendſhip with tears. Yet (ſaid he) he might have uſed a great deal more friendſhip towards me, and never have been the worſe thought on, for I have well deſerved it: and going into the Priſon up with him, asked him if he would drink. Who anſwered him, ſaying, if he had a piece of ſalt Fiſh, that he had better will to eat: for he had been that day ſomewhat troubled with this matter, and had eaten little, but now that it is paſt, my heart (ſaid he) is well quieted. Whereupon the Gentleman ſaid, he would give him Mony with all his heart, for he was able to do it. But he being one toward the Law, and fearing Mr. *Farmers* caſe, durſt therefore give him nothing, but gave Mony to the Bayliffs that ſtood by, and ſaid, that if they were good men, they would beſtow it on him (for my Lord of *Canterbury* had not one peny in his Purſe to help him) and ſo left him, my Lord bidding him earneſtly farewel, commending himſelf to his Prayers and all his Friends. That night this Gentleman was ſtaid by *Boner* and *Ely*, for giving him this Mony: and but for the help of Friends, he had been ſent up to the Council. Such was the cruelty and iniquity of the time, that men could not do good without puniſhment.

Curteſie ſhewed to the Archb. by a Gentleman. This *Farmer* had loſt all his Lands for receiving a Prieſt in the Tower in K. *Henries* time.

Anno 1556.

The Gentleman in danger for relieving the Archbiſhop.

Here followeth the Recantation of the Archbiſhop, with his repentance of the ſame.

IN this mean time, while the Archbiſhop was thus remaining in durance (whom they had kept now in Priſon almoſt the ſpace of three years) the Doctors and Divines of *Oxford* buſied themſelves all that ever they could about M. *Cranmer*, to have him recant, aſſaying by all crafty practices and allurements they might deviſe how to bring their purpoſe to paſs. And to the intent they might win him eaſily, they had him to the Deans houſe of *Chriſts-Church* in the ſaid Univerſity, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the Bowls, had his pleaſure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Chriſt. Over and beſides all this, ſecretly and ſlightly they ſubborned certain men, which when they could not expugn him by Arguments and Diſputation, ſhould by intreaty and fair promiſes, or any other means allure him to recantation; perceiving otherwiſe what a great wound they ſhould receive, if the Archbiſhop had ſtood ſtedfaſt in his ſentence: and again on the other ſide, how great profit they ſhould get, if he as the principal Standard-bearer, ſhould be overthrown. By reaſon whereof the wily Papiſts flocked about him, with threatning, flattering, intreating and promiſing, and all other means; ſpecially *Henry Sydall*, and Frier *John* a Spaniard, *de Villa Garcina*, to the end to drive him, to the uttermoſt of their poſſibility, from his former ſentence to recantation.

Perſwaſions of the Papiſts to the Archbiſhop to recant.

Firſt, they ſet forth how acceptable it would be both to the King and Queen, and eſpecially how gainful to him, and for his Souls health the ſame ſhould be. They added moreover, how the Council and the Noble men bare him good will. They put him in hope, that he ſhould not only have his life, but alſo be reſtored to his ancient Dignity, ſaying, it was but a ſmall matter, and ſo eaſie that they required him to do, only that he would ſubſcribe to a few words with his own hand; which if he did, there ſhould be nothing in the Realm that the Queen would not eaſily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignity, or elſe if he had rather live a private life in quiet reſt, in whatſoever place he liſted, without all publick Miniſtry, only that he would ſet his name in two words to a little leaf of paper; but if he refuſed, there was no hope of health and pardon: for the Queen was ſo purpoſed, that ſhe would have *Cranmer* a Catholick, or elſe no *Cranmer* at all. Therefore he ſhould chuſe whether he thought it better to end his life ſhortly in the flames and fire-brands now ready to be kindled, than with much honour to prolong his life, until the courſe of nature did call him: for there was no middle way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that he would look to his wealth, his eſtimation and quietneſs, ſaying, that he was not ſo old, but that many years yet remained in this his ſo luſty Age; and if he would not do it in reſpect of the Queen, yet he ſhould do it for reſpect of his life, and not ſuffer that other men ſhould be more careful for his health, than he was himſelf: ſaying, that this was agreeable to his notable learning and vertues; which being adjoyned with his life would be profitable both to himſelf and to many other; but being extinct by death, ſhould be fruitful to no man: that he ſhould take good heed that he went not too far; yet there was time enough to reſtore all things ſafe, and nothing wanted, if he wanted not to himſelf. Therefore they would him to lay hold upon the occaſion of his health while it was offered, leſt if he would now refuſe it while it was offered, he might hereafter ſeek it when he could not have it.

Finally, If the deſire of life did nothing move him, yet he ſhould remember that to die is grievous in all Ages, and eſpecially in theſe his years and flower of dignity it were more grievous: but to die in the fire and ſuch torments, is moſt grievous of all. With theſe and like provocations theſe fair flatterers ceaſed not to ſollicit

and

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The Archb. content to recant.

and urge him, uſing all means they could to draw him to their ſide; whoſe force his Manly conſtancy did a great while reſiſt. But at laſt when they made no end of calling and crying upon him, the Archbiſhop being overcome, whether through their importunity, or by his own imbecillity, or of what mind I cannot tell, at length gave his hand.

Cauſes moving the Archbiſhop to give with time.

It might be ſuppoſed that it was done for the hope of life, and better days to come. But as we may ſince perceive by a Letter of his ſent to a Lawyer, the moſt cauſe why he deſired his time to be delayed, was that he would make an end of *Marcus Antonius*, which he had already begun: but howſoever it was, plain it was, to be againſt his Conſcience. The form of which recantation made by the Friers and Doctors, whereto he ſubſcribed, was this.

The Copy and words of Cranmers *Recantation.*

The Copy of *Cranmers* recantation ſparſed abroad by the Papiſts.

I *Thomas Cranmer*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, do renounce, abhor, and deteſt all manner of Hereſies and Errors of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, and all other teachings which be contrary to ſound and true Doctrine. And I believe moſt conſtantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confeſs one holy and Catholick Church viſible, without the which there is no ſalvation; and thereof I acknowledge the Biſhop of *Rome* to be ſupream Head in Earth, whom I acknowledge to be the higheſt Biſhop and Pope, and Chriſts Vicar, unto whom all Chriſtian People ought to be ſubject.

And as concerning the Sacraments, I believe and worſhip in the Sacrament of the Altar the very Body and Blood of Chriſt, being contained moſt truly under the forms of Bread and Wine; the Bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the Body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and the Wine into his Blood.

And in the other ſix Sacraments alſo (like as in this) I believe and hold as the Univerſal Church holdeth, and the Church of *Rome* judgeth and determineth.

Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of Purgatory, where Souls departed be puniſhed for a time, for whom the Church doth godly and wholſomly pray, like as it doth honour Saints and make prayers to them.

Finally, in all things I profeſs, that I do not otherwiſe believe, than the Catholick Church and Church of *Rome* holdeth and teacheth. I am ſorry that ever I held or thought otherwiſe. And I beſeech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchſafe to forgive me, whatſoever I have offended againſt God or his Church, and alſo I deſire and beſeech all Chriſtian People to pray for me.

And all ſuch as have been deceived either by mine Example or Doctrine, I require them by the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, that they will return to the unity of the Church, that we may be all of one mind, without ſchiſm or diviſion.

And to conclude, as I ſubmit my ſelf to the Catholick Church of Chriſt, and to the ſupream Head thereof, ſo I ſubmit my ſelf unto the moſt excellent Majeſties of *Philip* and *Mary*, King and Queen of this Realm of *England*, &c. and to all other their Laws and Ordinances, being ready always as a faithful Subject ever to obey them. And God is my witneſs, that I have not done this for favour or fear of any perſon, but willingly and of mine own mind, as well to the diſcharge of mine own Conſcience, as to the inſtruction of other.

This recantation of the Archbiſhop was not ſo ſoon conceived, but the Doctors and Prelates without delay cauſed the ſame to be imprinted, and ſet abroad in all mens hands. Whereunto for better credit, firſt was added the name of *Thomas Cranmer*, with a ſolemn ſubſcription, then followed the witneſſes of this recantation, *Henry Sydal*, and Frier *John de villa Garcina*. All this while *Cranmer* was in certain aſſurance of his life, although the ſame was faithfully promiſed to him by the Doctors? but after that they had their purpoſe, the reſt they committed to all adventure, as became men of that Religion to do. The Queen, having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly: but of her purpoſe to put him to death ſhe would nothing relent.

The Queens heart ſet againſt *Cranmer*.

Now was *Cranmers* cauſe in a miſerable taking, who neither inwardly had any quietneſs in his own conſcience, nor yet outwardly any help in his Adverſaries.

Cranmer in a miſerable caſe.

Beſides this, on the one ſide was praiſe, on the other ſide ſcorn, on both ſides danger, ſo that neither he could die honeſtly, nor yet unhoneſtly live. And whereas he ſought profit, he fell into double diſprofit, that neither with good men he could avoid ſecret ſhame, nor yet with evil men the note of diſſimulation.

The Queen conferreth with Dr. *Cole* about *Cranmers* burning.

In the mean time, while theſe things were adoing (as I ſaid) in the Priſon amongſt the Doctors, the Queen taking ſecret councel, how to diſpatch *Cranmer* out of the way (who as yet knew nothing of her ſecret hate, and looked for nothing leſs then death) appointed Dr. *Cole*, and ſecretly gave him in commandment, that againſt the 21. of *March*, he ſhould prepare a Funeral Sermon for *Cranmers* burning, and ſo inſtructing him orderly and diligently of her will and pleaſure in that behalf, ſendeth him away.

L. *Williams* of *Tame*, L. *Shandoyt*, Sir *Thomas Bridger*, Sir *John Browne*, appointed to be at *Cranmers* Execution.

Soon after, the Lord *Williams* of *Tame*, and the Lord *Shandoys*, Sir *Thomas Bridges*, and Sir *John Brown* were ſent for, with other worſhipful men and Juſtices, commanded in the Queens name to be at *Oxford* at the ſame day, with their Servants and Retinue, leſt *Cranmers* death ſhould raiſe there any tumult.

Cole the Doctor having this Leſſon given him before, and charged by her commandment, returned to *Oxford*, ready to play his part; who as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the Priſon to *Cranmer*; to try whether he abode in the Catholick Faith wherein before he had left him. To whom, when *Cranmer* had anſwered, that by Gods grace he would daily be more confirmed in the Catholick Faith; *Cole* departing for that time, the next day following repaired to the Arch-Biſhop again, giving no ſignification as yet of his death that was prepared: And therefore in the morning, which was the 21. day of *March* appointed for *Cranmers* execution, the ſaid *Cole*, coming to him, asked if he had any mony. To whom when he anſwered that he had none, he delivered him fifteen Crowns to give to the poor to whom he would: and ſo exhorting him ſo much as he could to conſtancy in Faith, departed thence about his buſineſs, as to his Sermon appertained.

Cranmer writeth, and ſubſcribeth the Articles with his own hand.

By this partly, and other like arguments, the Archbiſhop began more and more to ſurmiſe what they went about. Then becauſe the day was not farr paſt, and the Lords and Knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the *Spaniſh* Frier, witneſs of his recantation, bringing a Paper with Articles, which *Cranmer* ſhould openly profeſs in his recantation before the People, earneſtly deſiring him that he would write the ſaid inſtrument with the Articles with his own hand, and ſign it with his name: which when he had done, the ſaid Frier deſired that he would write another Copy thereof which ſhould remain with him, and that he did alſo. But yet the Archbiſhop being not ignorant whereunto their ſecret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer diſſemble the profeſſion of his Faith with Chriſts People, he put ſecretly in his boſom his Prayer with his Exhortation written in another Paper, which he minded to recite to the People, before he ſhould make the laſt profeſſion of his Faith, fearing leſt if they had heard the Confeſſion of his Faith firſt, they would not afterward have ſuffered him to exhort the People.

Soon after about nine of the Clock, the Lord *Williams*, Sir *Tho. Bridges*, Sir *John Browne*, and the other Juſtices, with certain other Noblemen, that were ſent of the Queens Council, came to *Oxford* with a great train of waiting men. Alſo of the other multitude on every ſide (as is wont in ſuch a matter) was made a great concourſe, and greater expectation, For firſt of all, they that were of the Popes ſide were in great hope that day to hear ſomething of *Cranmer* that ſhould ſtabliſh the vanity of their Opinion: the other part, which were endued with a better mind, could not yet doubt, that he which by continual ſtudy and labour for ſo many years, had ſet forth the Doctrine of the Goſpel, either would or could now in the laſt Act of his life forſake his part. Briefly, as every mans will inclined, either to this

this part or to that, ſo according to the diverſity of their deſires, every man wiſhed and hoped for. And yet becauſe in an uncertain thing the certainty could be known of none what would be the end; all their minds were hanging between hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in ſo doubtful a matter, the more was the multitude, that was gathered thither to hear and behold.

Dr Cranmer brought to D. Coles Sermon.

In this ſo great frequency and expectation, *Cranmer* at the length cometh from *Bocardo* Priſon unto St. *Maries* Church, becauſe it was a foul and rainy day, the chief Church in the Univerſity, in this order. The Mayor went before, next him the Aldermen in their place and degree; after them was *Cranmer* brought between two Friers, which mumbling to and fro certain Pſalms in the ſtreets, anſwered one another untill they came to the Church door, and there they began the Song of *Simeon*, *Nunc dimittis*, and entring into the Church, the Pſalm-ſaying Friers brought him to his ſtanding, and there left him. There was a ſtage ſet over againſt the Pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where *Cranmer* had his ſtanding, waiting until *Cole* made him ready to his Sermon.

Cranmer ſet up upon a Stage.

The lamentable caſe and ſight of that man gave a ſorrowful Spectacle to all Chriſtian eyes that beheld him. He that late was Archbiſhop, Metropolitan, and Primate of *England*, and the Kings privy Councellor, being now in a bare and ragged gown, and ill favouredly cloathed, with an old ſquare Cap, expoſed to the contempt of all men, did admoniſh men not only of his own calamity, but alſo of their ſtate and fortune. For who would not pity his caſe, and bewail his fortune, and might not fear his own chance, to ſee ſuch a Prelate, ſo grave a Councellor, and of ſo long continued honour after ſo many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his eſtate, adjudged to die, and in ſo painful a death to end his life, and now preſently from ſuch freſh Ornaments, to deſcend to ſuch vile and ragged apparel?

In this habit, when he had ſtood a good ſpace upon the Stage, turning to a pillar neer adjoyning thereunto, he lifted up his hands to Heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, till at the length Dr. *Cole* coming into the Pulpit, and beginning his Sermon, entered firſt into mention of *Tobias* and *Zachary*. Whom after he had praiſed in the beginning of his Sermon for their perſeverance in the true worſhiping of God, he then divided his whole Sermon into three parts (according to the ſolemn cuſtom of the Schools) intending to ſpeak firſt of the mercy of God: ſecondly, of his juſtice to be ſhewed: and laſt of all, how the Princes ſecrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occaſion by and by to turn his tale to *Cranmer*, and with many hot words reproved him, that once he being indued with the ſavour and feeling of wholeſom and Catholick Doctrine, fell into the contrary Opinion of pernicious Error; which he had not only defended by writings, and all his Power, but alſo allured other men to do the like, with great liberality of gifts, as it were appointing rewards for Error; and after he had allured them, by all means did cheriſh them.

Dr. Coles Sermon divided into three parts

The ſum and effect of D. Coles Sermon at Oxford.

It were too long to repeat all things, that in long order were pronounced. The ſum of his tripartite declamation was that he ſaid Gods mercy was ſo tempered with his juſtice, that he did not altogether require puniſhment according to the merits of offenders, nor, yet ſometimes ſuffered the ſame altogether to go unpuniſhed yea though they had repented. As in *David*, who when he was bidden chooſe of three kinds of puniſhment which he would, and he had choſen peſtilence for three days; the Lord forgave him half the time, but did not releaſe all: And that the ſame thing came to paſs in him alſo, to whom although pardon and reconciliation was due according to the Canons, ſeeing he repented him of his Errors, yet there were cauſes why the Queen and the Council at this time judged him to death: of which, leſt he ſhould marvel too much, he ſhould hear ſome.

If Cole gave this judgment upon Cranmer when he had repented, what judgment is then to be given of Cole, which always perdured in Error, and never yet repented.

Firſt, that being a Traitor, he had diſſolved the lawful matrimony between the King her Father and Mother; beſides the driving out of the Popes Authority, while he was Metropolitan.

Secondly, that he had been an Heretick, from whom as from an Author and only fountain all heretical Doctrine and ſchiſmatical Opinions, that ſo many years have prevailed in *England*, did firſt riſe and ſpring; of which he had not been a ſecret favourer only, but alſo a moſt earneſt defender even to the end of his life, ſowing them abroad by writings and arguments, privately and openly, not without great ruine and decay of the Catholick Church.

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If all Heretiks in England ſhould be burned, where ſhould Dr. Cole have been ere now?

And further, it ſeemed meet, according to the Law of equality, that as the death of the Duke of *Northumberland* of late, made even with *Tho. Moor* Chancellor that died for the Church, ſo there ſhould be one that ſhould make even with *Fiſher* of *Rocheſter*; and becauſe that *Ridley*, *Hooper*, *Ferrar*, were not able to make even with that man, it ſeemed that *Cranmer* ſhould be joyned to them to fill up their part of equality.

Lex non æqualitatis ſed iniquitatis.

Beſides theſe there were other juſt and weighty cauſes, which ſeemed to the Queen and Council, which was not meet at that time to be opened to the Common People.

After this, turning his Tale to the hearers, he bade all men beware by this mans example, that among men nothing is ſo high, that can promiſe it ſelf ſafety on the Earth, and that Gods vengeance is equally ſtretched againſt all men and ſpareth none: therefore they ſhould beware and learn to fear their Prince. And ſeeing the Queens Majeſty would not ſpare ſo notable a man as this, much leſs in the like cauſe ſhee would ſpare other men, that no man ſhould think to make thereby any defence of his Error, either in riches or any kind of Authority. They had now an example to teach them all, by whoſe calamity every man might conſider his own fortune; who from the top of dignity, none being more honourable than he in the whole Realm, and next the King, was fallen into ſo great miſery, as they might now ſee, being a man of ſo high degree, ſometime one of the chiefeſt Prelates in the Church, and an Archbiſhop, the chief of the Council, the ſecond perſon in the Realm of long time, a man thought in greateſt aſſurance, having a King on his ſide; notwithſtanding all his Authority and defence, to be debaſed from high eſtate to a low degree, of a Councellor to become a Caitiff, and to be ſet in ſo wretched a ſtate, that the pooreſt wretch would not change condition with him; briefly ſo heaped with miſery on all ſides, that neither was leſt in him any hope of better fortune, nor place for worſe.

No ſtate in this earth ſo high nor ſo ſure, but it may fall.

Dr. Cole encourageth the Archbiſhop to take his death patiently.

The latter part of his Sermon he converted to the Archbiſhop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of Scripture, as with theſe and ſuch like; bidding him not to miſtruſt, but he ſhould incontinently receive that the Thief did, to whom Chriſt ſaid, *Hodie mecum eris in Paradiſo*, That is, *This day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe*: And out of St. *Paul* he armed him againſt the terror of the fire, by this, *Dominus fidelis eſt, non ſinet vos tentari ultra quam ferre poteſtis*, That is, *The Lord is faithful, which will not ſuffer you to be tempted above your ſtrength*: by the example of the three Children, to whom God made the flame to ſeem like a pleaſant dew, adding alſo the rejoycing of St. *Andrew* in his Croſs, the patience of St. *Laurence* on the fire, aſſuring him, that God, if he called on him, and to ſuch as die in his Faith, either would abate the fury of the flame, or give him ſtrength to abide it.

1 Cor. 10.

Dr. Cole rejoyceth in the Archbiſhops converſion, but that rejoycing lafted not long.

He glorified God much in his converſion, becauſe it appeared to be only his work, declaring what travel and conference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till that it pleaſed God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In diſcourſing of which place, he much commended *Cranmer*, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the time (ſaid he) he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy of his life: and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But leſt he ſhould carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour (he ſaid) and alſo he did promiſe in the name of all the Prieſts that were preſent, that immediately after his death there ſhould be Dirges, Maſſes, and Funerals executed for him in all the Churches of *Oxford* for the ſuccour of his Soul.

Dirges and Maſſes promiſed for Cranmers Soul.

Cranmer

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Cranmer in all this mean time, with what great grief of mind he ſtood hearing this Sermon, the outward ſhews of his Body and countenance did better expreſs, then any man can declare; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto *Heaven*, and then again for ſhame letting them down to the Earth. A man might have ſeen the very image and ſhape of perfect ſorrow lively in him expreſſed. More then twenty ſeveral times the tears guſhed out abundantly, dropping down marvellouſly from his Fatherly Face. They which were preſent, do teſtifie that they never ſaw in any Child more tears, then braſt out from him at that time, all the Sermon while; but eſpecially when they recited his prayer before the People. It is marvellous what commiſeration and pity moved all mens hearts, that beheld ſo heavy a countenance, and ſuch abundance of tears in an old man of ſo Reverend Dignity.

The tears of the Archb.

Cole, after he had ended his Sermon, called back the People that were ready to depart, to prayers. Brethren (ſaid he) leſt any man ſhould doubt of this mans earneſt converſion and repentance, you ſhall hear him ſpeak before you, and therefore I pay your Maſter *Cranmer*, that you will now perform that you promiſed not long ago; namely, that you would openly expreſs the true and undoubted profeſſion of your faith, that you may take away all ſuſpicion from men, and that all men may underſtand that you are a Catholick indeed. I will do it (ſaid the Archbiſhop) and that with a good will; who by and by riſing up, and putting off his cap, began to ſpeak thus unto the People.

Cranmer required to declare his faith.

Cranmer willing to declare his faith.

The words of the Archb. to the People.

I deſire you, well beloved Brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive me my ſins, which above all men, both in number and greatneſs, I have committed. But among all the reſt, there is one offence which moſt of all at this time doth vex and trouble me, whereof in proceſs of my talk you ſhall hear more in his proper place, and then putting his hand into his Boſom, he drew forth his prayer, which he recited to the People in his ſenſe.

The prayer of Doctor Cranmer, *Archbiſhop.*

GOod Chriſtan People, my dearly beloved Brethren and Siſters in Chriſt, I beſeech you moſt heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my ſins and offences, which be many without number, and great above meaſure. But yet one thing grieveth my Conſcience more then all the reſt, whereof, God willing, I intend to ſpeak more hereafter. But how great and how many ſoever my ſins be, I beſeech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all. And here kneeling down, he ſaid:

The prayer of the Archb. *Cranmer.*

O Father of Heaven, O Son of God Redeemer of the World, O Holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God, have mercy upon me moſt wretched caitif and miſerable ſinner. I have offended both againſt Heaven and Earth, more then my tongue can expreſs. Whither then may I goe, or whither ſhall I flee? To Heaven I may be aſhamed to lift up mine eyes, and in Earth I find no place of refuge or ſuccour. To thee therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble my ſelf, ſaying, O Lord my God, my ſins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great myſtery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didſt not give thy Son, O Heavenly Father, unto death for ſmall ſins onely, but for all the greateſt ſins of the World, ſo that the ſinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do here at his preſent. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whoſe property is always to have mercy, have mercy upon me O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for mine own merits, but for thy names ſake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake. And now therefore, Our Father of Heaven, hallowed be thy name, &c. And then he riſing, ſaid:

The laſt words of exhortation of the Archb. to the People.

Every man (good People) deſireth at the time of his death to give ſome good exhortation that others may remember the ſame before their death, and be the better thereby: ſo I Beſeech God grant me grace, that I may ſpeak ſomething at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

Exhortation to contempt of the World.

Firſt, it is an heavy cauſe to ſee that ſo many folk ſo much dote upon the love of this falſe World, and be ſo careful for it, that of the love of God, or the World to come, they ſeem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this ſhall be my firſt exhortation: That you ſet not your minds overmuch upon this glozing World, but upon God, and upon the World to come, and to learn to know what this leſſon meaneth, which St. *John* teacheth, *That the love of this World is hatred againſt God.*

Exhortation to obedience

The ſecond exhortation is, That next under God you obey your King and Queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them onely, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be Gods Miniſters, appointed by God to rule and govern you: and therefore whoſoever reſiſteth them, reſiſteth the ordinance of God.

Exhortation to brotherly love.

The third exhortation is, That you love altogether like Brethren and Siſters. For alas, pity it is to ſee what contention and hatred one Chriſtian man beareth to another, not taking each other as Brother and Siſter, but rather as ſtrangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one leſſon, To do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more then you would hurt your own natural loving Brother or Siſter. For this you may be ſure of, that whoſoever hateth any perſon, and goeth about maliciouſly to hinder or hurt him, ſurely, and without all doubt God is not with that man, although he think himſelf never ſo much in Gods favour.

Exhortation to rich men of this world moving them to charitable alms.

The fourth exhortation, ſhall be to them that have great ſubſtance and riches of this World, That they will well conſider and weigh three ſayings of the Scripture. One is of our Saviour Chriſt himſelf, who ſaith, *Luke* 18. *It is hard for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* A ſore ſaying, and yet ſpoken of him that knoweth the truth.

The ſecond is of St. *John*, *I John* 3. whoſe ſaying is this, *He that hath the ſubſtance of this World, and ſeeth his Brother in neceſſity, and ſhutteth up his mercy from him, how can he ſay that he loveth God?*

The third is of St. *James*, who ſpeaketh to the covetous rich man after this manner, *Weep you and howl for the miſery that ſhall come upon you: your riches do rot, your cloaths be moth-eaten, your gold and Silver doth canker and ruſt, and their ruſt ſhall bear witneſs againſt you, and conſume you like fire: you gather a hoard or treaſure of Gods indignation againſt the laſt day.* Let them that be rich ponder well theſe three ſentences: for if they ever had occaſion to ſhew their charity, they have it now at this preſent, the poor People being ſo many, and victuals ſo dear.

And now for as much as I am come to the laſt end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life paſt, and all my life to come, either to live with my Maſter Chriſt for ever in joy, or elſe to be in pain for ever with wicked Devils in Hell, and I ſee before mine eyes preſently either Heaven ready to receive me, or elſe Hell ready to ſwallow me up: I ſhall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour of diſſimulation: for now is no time to diſſemble, whatſoever I have ſaid or written in times paſt.

The Archb. declareth the true confeſſion of his faith without all colour or diſſembling.

Firſt, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth, &c. And I believe every Article of the Catholick faith, every word, and ſentence taught by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, his Apoſtles and Prophets, in the new and old Teſtament.

The Archb. revoketh his former recantation, and repenteth the ſame

And now I come to the great thing, which ſo much troubleth my conſcience, more then any thing that ever I did or ſaid in my whole life, and that is the ſetting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuſe, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to ſave my life if it might be, and that is, *all ſuch bils and papers which I have written or ſigned with my hand ſince my degradation*; wherein I have written many things untrue. And foraſmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand ſhall firſt be puniſhed therefore: for may I come to the fire it ſhall be firſt burned.

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The Archb. refuſeth the Pope as Chriſts enemy and Antichriſt.

And as for the Pope, I refuſe him, as Chriſts enemy and Antichriſt, with all his falſe Doctrine.

The Archb. ſtandeth to his book written againſt *Wincheſter.*

And as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book againſt the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the which my book teacheth ſo true a Doctrine of the Sacrament, that it ſhall ſtand at the laſt day before the Judgment of God, where the Papiſtical Doctrine contrary thereto ſhall be aſhamed to ſhew her face.

Here the ſtanders by were all aſtonied, marvelled, were amazed, did look one upon another, whoſe expectation he had ſo notably deceived. Some began to admoniſh him of his recantation, and to accuſe him of falſhood.

The expectation of the Papiſts deceived.

Briefly, it was a World to ſee the Doctors beguiled of ſo great an hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted but they looked for a Glorious Victory, and a perpetual Triumph by this mans retractation.

The Papiſts in great chafe againſt the Archbiſhop.

Who aſſoon as they heard theſe things, began to let down their ears, to rage, fret, and fume; and ſo much the more, becauſe they could not revenge their grief: for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the moſt miſerable man in the World can die but once: and whereas of neceſſity he muſt needs die that day, though the Papiſts had been never ſo well pleaſed: now being never ſo much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed of them. And ſo when they could do nothing elſe unto him, yet leſt they ſhould ſay nothing, they ceaſed not to object unto him his falſhood and diſſimulation.

Cranmers anſwer to the Papiſts.

Unto which accuſation he anſwered, Ah my Maſters (quoth he) do not you take it ſo. Always ſince I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falſhood, and a lover of ſimplicity, and never before this time have I diſſembled; and in ſaying this, all the tears that remained in his Body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to ſpeak more of the Sacrament and of the Papacy, ſome of them began to cry out, yelp, and baul, and ſpecially *Cole* cried out upon him; Stop the Hereticks mouth, and take him away.

The deſcription of D. Cranmer, how he was plucked down from the ſtage, by Friars and Papiſts, for the true Confeſſion of his faith.

The burning of D. Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the Town ditch at Oxford, with his hand firſt thruſt in the fire where he ſubſcribed before.

Cranmer pulled down from the ſtage.

Cranmer led to the fire.

And then *Cranmer* being pulled down from the ſtage was led to the fire, accompanied with thoſe Friers, vexing, troubling, and threatning him moſt cruelly. What madneſs (ſay they) hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable Souls with thee into hell? To whom he anſwered nothing, but directed all his talk to the People, ſaving that to one troubling him in the way he ſpake, and exhorted him to get him home to his ſtudy, and apply his book diligently, ſaying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he ſhould get knowledge.

But the other Spaniſh barker, raging and foming, was almoſt out of his wits, always having this in his mouth, *Non feciſti?* didſt thou it not?

The Archb. brought to the place of execution.

But when he came to the place where the Holy Biſhops and Martyrs of God, *Hugh Latimer* and *Ridley* were burnt before him for the confeſſion of the truth, kneeling down he prayed to God, and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his ſhirt, he prepared himſelf to Death. His ſhirt was made long down to his feet. His feet were bare. Likewiſe his head, when

The deſcription of his perſon.

both his caps were off, was ſo bare, that one hair could not be ſeen upon it. His Beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance of gravity moved the hearts both of his friends, and of his enemies.

Then the Spaniſh Friers *John* and *Richard*, of whom mention was made before, began to exhort him and play their parts with him afreſh, but with vain and loſt labour. *Cranmer* with ſtedfaſt purpoſe abiding in the profeſſion of his Doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and other that ſtood by, bidding them farewell.

Mr. Ely refuſeth to give his hand to the Archbiſhop.

And when he had thought to have done ſo likewiſe to *Ely*, the ſaid *Ely* drew back his hand and refuſed, ſaying, it was not lawful to ſalute Hereticks, and ſpecially ſuch a one as falſely returned unto the opinions that he had forſworn. And if he had known before that he would have done ſo, he would never have uſed his company ſo familiarly, and chid thoſe Sergeants and Citizens, which had not refuſed to give him their hands. This *Ely* was a Prieſt lately made, and ſtudent in Divinity, being then one of the fellows of Braſen-noſe.

The Archb. tyed to the ſtake.

Then was an iron chain tyed about *Cranmer*, whom when they perceived to be more ſtedfaſt then that he could be moved from his ſentence, they commanded the fire to be ſet unto him.

Cranmer putteth his right hand which ſubſcribed, firſt into the fire.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, ſtretching out his Arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held ſo ſtedfaſt and immovable (ſaving that once with the ſame hand he wiped his face) that all men might ſee his hand burned before his Body was touched. His Body did ſo abide the burning of the flame with ſuch conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſs, that ſtanding always in one place whithout moving his Body, he ſeemed

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to move no more than the Stake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up into heaven, and oftentimes he repeated his unworthy right hand, ſo long as his voice would ſuffer him; and uſing often the words of *Stephen*, *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit*, in the greateſt of the flame he gave up the ghoſt.

The laſt words of *Cranmer* at his death.

This fortitude of mind, which perchance is rare and not found among the Spaniards, when Frier *John* ſaw, thinking it came not of fortitude, but of deſperation, although ſuch manner of examples which are of like conſtancy, have been common here in *England*, ran to the Lord *Williams* of *Tame*, crying that the Archbiſhop was vexed in mind, and died in great deſperation. But he which was not ignorant of the Archbiſhops conſtancy, being unknown to the Spaniards, ſmiled only, and (as it were) by ſilence rebuked the Friers folly. And this was the end of this learned Archbiſhop, whom, leſt by evil ſubſcribing he ſhould have periſhed, by well recanting God preſerved; and leſt he ſhould have lived longer with ſhame and reproof, it pleaſed God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name and profit of his Church. So good was the Lord both to his Church, in fortifying the ſame with the teſtimony and blood of ſuch a Martyr; and ſo good alſo to the man with this Croſs of Tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but alſo of his ſtanding againſt *John Lambert* and Mr. *Allen*, or if there were any other, with whoſe burning and blood his hands had been before any thing polluted. But eſpecially he had to rejoyce, that dying in ſuch a cauſe, he was numbred amongſt Chriſts Martyrs, much more worthy the name of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, than he whom the Pope falſly before did Canonize.

The Friers lying report of *Cranmer*.

Archbiſhop *Cranmer* the middle Martyr of all the Martyrs burnt in Queen *Maries* time.

And thus have you the full ſtory concerning the life and death of this Reverend Archbiſhop and Martyr of God, *Thomas Cranmer*, and alſo of divers other the learned ſort of Chriſts Martyrs burned in Queen *Maries* time, of whom this Archbiſhop was the laſt, being burnt about the very middle time of the reign of that Queen, and almoſt the very middle man of all the Martyrs which were burned in all her Reign beſides.

Now after the life and ſtory of this foreſaid Archbiſhop diſcourſed, let us adjoyn withal his Letters, beginning firſt with his famous Letter to Queen *Mary*, which he wrote unto her incontinent after he was cited up to *Rome* by Biſhop *Brooks* and his fellows, the tenor whereof here followeth.

Letters of Doctor Thomas Cranmer *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

The Archbiſhop of Canterburies *Letter to the Queens Highneſs.*

A writing or Letter of the Archb. ſent to Qu. *Mary*.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty to pardon my preſumption, that I dare be ſo bold to write to your Highneſs. But very neceſſity conſtraineth mè, that your Majeſty may know my mind, rather by mine own writing, than by other mens reports. So it is that upon Wedneſday, being the 12. day of this Month, I was cited to appear at *Rome* the 80. day after, there to make anſwer to ſuch matters as ſhould be objected againſt me upon the behalf of the King and your moſt Excellent Majeſty, which matters the Thurſday following were objected againſt me by Dr. *Martin* and Dr. *Story*, your Majeſties Proctors before the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, ſitting in Judgment by Commiſſion from *Rome*. But (alas) it cannot but grieve the heart of a natural Subject, to be accuſed of the King and Queen of his own Realm; and ſpecially before an outward Judge, or by Authority coming from any perſon out of this Realm: where the King and Queen, as if they were Subjects within their own Realm, ſhall complain and require Juſtice at a ſtrangers hands againſt their own Subject, being already condemned to death by their own Laws. As though the King and Queen could not do or have juſtice within their own Realms againſt their own Subjects, but they muſt ſeek it at ſtrangers hands in a ſtrange Land; the like whereof (I think) was never ſeen. I would have wiſhed to have had ſome meaner Adverſaries: and, I think, that death ſhall not grieve me much more, than to have my moſt dread and moſt gracious Sovereign Lord and Lady, to whom under God I do own all obedience, to be mine Accuſers in Judgment within their own Realm, before any ſtranger and outward power. But foraſmuch as in the time of the Prince of moſt famous memory, King *Henry* the Eighth your Graces Father, I was ſworn never to conſent, that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould have or exerciſe any Authority or Juriſdiction in this Realm of *England*, therefore leſt I ſhould allow his Authority contrary to mine own Oath, I refuſed to make anſwer to the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* ſitting here in Judgment by the Popes Authority, leſt I ſhould run into Perjury.

The King and Queen make themſelves no better than Subjects complaining of their own Subject unto the Pope.

The firſt cauſe why the Archb. would not make anſwer to the Popes Delegate is to avoid Perjury.

Another cauſe why I refuſed the Popes Authority, is this, that his Authority, as he claimeth it, repugneth to the Crown Imperial of this Realm, and to the Laws of the ſame; which every true Subject is bound to defend. Firſt, for that the Pope ſaith, that all manner of Power, as well Temporal as Spiritual, is given firſt to him of God; and that the Temporal Power he giveth unto Emperour and Kings, to uſe it under him, but ſo as it be always at his commandment and beck.

The ſecond cauſe is, that the Popes Laws are contrary to the Crown and Laws of *England*.

But contrary to this claim, the Imperial Crown and Juriſdiction Temporal of this Realm is taken immediately from God, to be uſed under him only, and is ſubject unto none, but to God alone.

Moreover, to the Imperial Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm the King in his Coronation, and all Juſtices when they receive their Offices, be ſworn, and all the whole Realm is bound to defend and maintain. But contrary hereunto, the Pope by his Authority maketh void, and commandeth to blot out of our Books, all Laws and Cuſtoms being repugnant to his Laws, and declareth accurſed all Rulers and Governours, all the makers, writers, and executors of all ſuch Laws or Cuſtoms; as it appeareth by many of the Popes Laws, whereof one or two I ſhall rehearſe. In the Decrees, *Diſt.* 10. is written thus, *Conſtitutiones contra Canones & Decreta Præſulum* Romanorum *vel bonos mores, nullius ſunt momenti.* That is, The Conſtitutions or Statutes enacted againſt the Canons and Decrees of the Biſhops of *Rome* or their good Cuſtoms, are of none effect. Alſo, *Extra. de ſententia Excommunicationis, noverit, Excommunicamus omnes Hæreticos utriuſque ſexus, quocunque nomine cenſeantur, & fautores, & receptores, & defenſores eorum; nec non & qui de cætero ſervari fecerint ſtatuta edita & conſuetudines contra Eccleſiæ libertatem, niſi ea de capitularibus ſuis intra duos menſes poſt hujuſmodi publicationem ſententiæ fecerint amoveri. Item, Excommunicamus ſtatutarios, & ſcriptores ſtatutorum ipſorum, nec non poteſtates, conſules, rectores, & conſiliarios locorum, ubi de cætero hujuſmodi ſtatuta & conſuetudines editæ fuerint vel ſervatæ; nec non & illos qui ſecundum ea præſumpſerint judicare, vel in publicam formam ſcribere judicata.* That is to ſay, We Excommunicate all Hereticks of both Sexes, what name ſoever they be called by, and their fautors, and receptors, and defendors; and alſo them that ſhall hereafter cauſe to be obſerved the Statutes and Cuſtoms made againſt the liberty of the Church, except they cauſe the ſame to be put out of their Records and Chapters within two months after the publication thereof. Alſo we Excommunicate the Statute-makers and writers of thoſe Statutes, and all the Poteſtates, Conſuls, Governours and Counſellors of places, where ſuch Statutes and Cuſtoms ſhall be made or kept; and alſo thoſe that ſhall preſume to give judgment according to them, or ſhall notifie in publick form the matter ſo adjudged.

The Oath of the King and Juſtices, and the duty of Subjects.

Diſt. 10. Conſtitutiones.

Extrav. de Sentent. & re judic. Noverit.

Now by theſe Laws, if the Biſhop of *Romes* Authority which he claimeth by God, be lawful, all your Graces Laws and Cuſtoms of your Realm, being contrary to the Popes Laws, be naught, and as well your Majeſty, as your Judges, Juſtices, and all other Executors of the ſame, ſtand accurſed amongſt Hereticks, which God forbid. And yet this Curſe can never be avoided (if the Pope have ſuch power as he claimeth) until ſuch times as the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm (being contrary to his Laws) be taken away and blotted out of the Law Books. And although there be many Laws

The Popes Laws and the Laws of *England* do vary, how, and wherein.

of

of this Realm contrary to the Laws of *Rome*, yet I named but a few; as to convict a Clerk before any temporal Judge of this *Realm* for debt, felony, murther, or for any other crime; which Clerks by the Popes Laws be ſo exempt from the Kings Laws, that they can be no where ſued, but before their Ordinary.

Caſes wherein the Popes Laws repugn againſt our laws.

Alſo the Pope by his Laws may give all Biſhopricks and benefices ſpiritual; which by the Laws of this Realm can be given but onely by the King and other Patrons of the ſame, except they fall into the lapſe.

By the Popes Laws, *Jus patronatus* ſhall be ſued onely before the Eccleſiaſtical Judge; but by the Laws of the Realm it ſhall be ſued before the temporal Judge.

Proviſion againſt the Popes Laws by *Præmunire*.

And to be ſhort, the Laws of this Realm do agree with the Popes Laws like fire and water. And yet the Kings of this Realm have provided for their laws by the *præmunire*; ſo that if any man have let the execution of the Laws of this Realm by any Authority from the See of *Rome*, he falleth into the *præmunire*.

The proviſion of the Pope againſt our *præmunire*.

But to meet with this, the Popes have provided for their laws by curſing. For whoſoever letteth the Popes laws to have full courſe within this Realm, by the Popes power ſtandeth accurſed. So that the Popes power treadeth all the laws and cuſtoms of this Realm under his feet, curſing all that execute them, until ſuch time as they do give place unto his Laws.

Mark this well.

But it may be ſaid, that notwithſtanding all the Popes decrees, yet we do execute ſtill the laws and cuſtoms of this Realm. Nay, not all quietly without interruption of the Pope. And where we do execute them, yet we do it unjuſtly, if the Popes power be of force, and for the ſame we ſtand Excommunicate, and ſhall do, until we leave the execution of our own Laws and cuſtoms. Thus we be well reconciled to *Rome* allowing ſuch Authority, whereby the Realm ſtandeth accurſed before God, if the Pope have any ſuch Authority.

Theſe things (as I ſuppoſe) were not fully opened in the Parliament houſe, when the Popes Authority was received again within this Realm; for if they had, I do not believe that either the King or Queens Majeſty, or the Nobles of this Realm, or the Commons of the ſame would ever have conſented to receive again ſuch a forrein Authority, ſo injurious, hurtful, and prejudicial as well to the Crown as to the Laws and Cuſtoms and ſtate of this Realm, as whereby they muſt needs acknowledge themſelves to be accurſed. * But none could open this matter well but the Clergy, and ſuch of them as had read the Popes Laws, whereby the Pope had made himſelf as it were a God. Theſe ſeek to maintain the Pope whom they deſired to have their chief head, to the intent they might have as it were a Kingdom and Laws within themſelves, diſtinct from the Laws of the Crown, and wherewith the Crown may not meddle; and ſo being exempted from the Laws of the Realm, might live in this Realm like Lords and Kings, without damage or fear of any man, ſo that they pleaſe their high and ſupreme Head at *Rome*. For this conſideration (I ween) ſome that knew the truth, held their peace in the Parliament, whereas if they had done their duties to the Crown and whole Realm, they ſhould have opened their mouths, declared the truth, and ſhewed the perils and dangers that might enſue to the Crown and Realm.

* The Clergies duty in the Parliament.

The Clergy of *England* more addicted to the Pope then to their country.

And if I ſhould agree to allow ſuch Authority within this Realm, whereby I muſt needs confeſs, that your moſt gracious Highneſs, and alſo your Realm ſhould ever continue accurſed, until ye ſhall ceaſe from the execution of your own Laws and cuſtoms of your Realm; I could not think my ſelf true either to your Highneſs, or to this my natural countrey, knowing that I do know. Ignorance, I know, may excuſe other men; but he that knoweth how prejudicial and injurious the power and Authority, which he challengeth every where, is to the Crown-Laws, and cuſtoms of this Realm, and yet will allow the ſame, I cannot ſee in any wiſe how he can keep his due allegiance, fidelity, and truth to the Crown and ſtate of this Realm.

The third cauſe why he could not allow the Pope.

Another cauſe I alledged, why I could not allow the Authority of the Pope, which is this; That by his Authority he ſubverteth not onely the Laws of this Realm, but alſo the Laws of God: ſo that whoſoever be under his Authority, he ſuffereth them not to be under Chriſts Religion purely, as Chriſt did command. And for one example I brought forth, that whereas by God Laws all Chriſtian People be bounden diligently to learn his Word that they may know how to believe and live accordingly, for that purpoſe he ordained Holydays, when they ought, leaving apart all other buſineſs, to give themſelves wholly to know and ſerve God. Therefore Gods will and Commandment is, that when the People be gathered together, Miniſters ſhould uſe ſuch language as the People may underſtand and take profit thereby, or elſe hold their peace. For as an Harp or Lute, if it give no certain ſound that men may know what is ſtricken, who can dance after it? for all the ſound is in vain; ſo is it in vain, and profiteth nothing, ſaith Almighty God by the mouth of Saint *Paul*, if the Prieſt ſpeak to the People in a language which they know not; *For elſe he may profit himſelf: but profiteth not the People*, ſaith Saint *Paul*. But herein I was anſwered thus; that Saint *Paul* ſpake onely of preaching, that the Preacher ſhould preach in a tongue which the People did know, or elſe his Preaching availeth nothing: but if the Preaching availeth nothing, being ſpoken in a language which the People underſtand not, how ſhould any other ſervice avail them, being ſpoken in the ſame language? And yet that S. *Paul* meant not onely of Preaching, it appeareth plainly by his own words. For he ſpeaketh by name expreſly of praying, ſinging, and thanking of God, and of all other things which the Prieſts ſay in the Churches, whereunto the People ſay *Amen*; which they uſe not in Preaching, but in other divine ſervice; that whether the Prieſts rehearſe the wonderful works of God, or the great benefits of God unto mankind above all other creatures, or give thanks unto God, or make open profeſſion of their faith, or humble confeſſion of their ſins, with earneſt requeſt of mercy and forgiveneſs, or make ſute or requeſt unto God for any thing; then all the People underſtanding what the Prieſts ſay, might give their minds and voices with them, and ſay *Amen*, that is to ſay, allow what the Prieſts ſay; that the rehearſal of Gods Univerſal works and benefits, the giving of thanks, the profeſſion of faith, the confeſſion of ſins, and the requeſts and petitions of the Prieſts and of the People might aſcend up into the Ears of God altogether, and be as a ſweet ſavour, odour, and incenſe in his noſe; and thus was it uſed many hundred years after Chriſts Aſcenſion. But the foreſaid things cannot be done when the Prieſts ſpeak to the People in a language not known, and ſo they (or their Clerk in their name) ſay *Amen*, but they cannot tell whereunto. Whereas Saint *Paul* ſaith; *How can the People ſay* Amen *to thy well ſaying, when they underſtand not what thou ſayeſt?* And thus was Saint *Paul* underſtood of all Interpreters, both the Greeks and Latines, old and new, ſchool Authors and other that I have read, until above thirty years paſt. At which time one *Eckius* with other of his ſort began to deviſe a new expoſition, underſtanding St. *Paul* of preaching onely.

Anno 1556.

Why Latine ſervice ſeems to be reſtored in *England*.

But when a good number of the beſt learned men reputed within this Realm, ſome favouring the old, ſome the new learning, as they term it, (where indeed that which they call the old, is the new, and that which they call the new, is indeed the old) but when a great number of ſuch learned men of both ſorts, were gathered together at *Windſor*, for the reformation of the ſervice of the Church, it was agreed by both, without Controverſie (not one ſaying contrary) that the ſervice of the Church ought to be in the mother Tongue, and that S. *Paul* in the fourteenth Chapter to the *Corinthians* was ſo to be underſtood. And ſo is S. *Paul* to be underſtood in the Civil Law, more then a thouſand years paſt, where *Juſtinianus*, a moſt godly Emperour in a Synod writeth on this manner: *Jubemus ut omnes Epiſcopi pariter & presbyteri non tacito modo, ſed clara voce, quæ à fideli populo exaudiatur, ſacram oblationem & preces in ſacro Baptiſmate adhibitas celebrent, quo majori exinde devotione in depromendis Domini Dei laudibus audientium animi afficiantur, Ita enim & Divus* Paulus *docet in Epiſtola ad* Cornith. *Si ſolummodo benedicat ſpiritus, quomodo is qui privati locum tenet, dicet ad gratiarum actionem tuam, Amen? quandoquidem quid dicas non videt. Tu quidem pulchrè gratias agis, alter autem non ædificatur.* That is to ſay, We command that all Biſhops and Prieſts celebrate the holy

The Papiſts and Proteſtants both agreed in *Windſor*, the ſervice of the Church to be in the mother tongue. *Anno* 1549.

Anno 1556.

holy oblation and prayer uſed in holy Baptiſm, not after a ſtill and cloſe manner, but with a clear loud voice, that they may be plainly heard of the faithful People, ſo as the hearers minds may be lifted up thereby with the greater devotion, in uttering the praiſes of the Lord God. For ſo *Paul* teacheth alſo in the Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*; *If the Spirit do only bleſs (or ſay well) how ſhall he that occupieth the place of a private perſon ſay,* Amen, *to thy thankſgiving? for he perceiveth not what thou ſayeſt: Thou doſt give thanks well, but the other is not edified.* And not only the Civil Law, and all other Writers a thouſand and five hundred years continually together have expounded St. *Paul* not of preaching only, but of other ſervice ſaid in the Church; but alſo reaſon giveth the ſame, that if men be commanded to hear any thing, it muſt be ſpoken in a language which the hearers underſtand, or elſe (as St. *Paul* ſaith) what availeth it to hear? So that the Pope giving a contrary commandment, that the People coming to the Church ſhall hear they wot not what, and ſhall anſwer they know not whereto, taketh upon him to command, not only againſt reaſon, but alſo directly againſt God.

The Pope commandeth both againſt God and natural reaſon.

The Sacrament ought to be received in both kinds of all Chriſtians.

And again I ſaid, whereas our Saviour Chriſt ordained the Sacrament of his moſt precious Body and Blood to be received of all Chriſtian People under the forms of Bread and Wine, and ſaid of the Cup, *Drink ye all of this:* the Pope giveth a clean contrary commandment, that no Lay-man ſhall drink of the Cup of their ſalvation; as though the Cup of ſalvation by the Blood of Chriſt pertained not to Lay-men. And whereas *Theophilus Alexandrinus* (whoſe works St. *Hierom* did tranſlate about eleven hundred years paſt) ſaith, *That if Chriſt had been crucified for the Devils, his Cup ſhould not be denied them*; yet the Pope denieth the Cup of Chriſt to Chriſtian People, for whom Chriſt was crucified. So that if I ſhould obey the Pope in theſe things, I muſt needs diſobey my Saviour Chriſt.

Ex Theophilo Alexandrino.

But I was anſwered hereunto (as commonly the Papiſts do anſwer) that under the form of Bread is whole Chriſts fleſh and blood: ſo that whoſoever receiveth the form of Bread, receiveth as well Chriſts blood as his fleſh. Let it be ſo, yet in the form of Bread only, Chriſts blood is not drunk, but eaten; nor is it received in the Cup in the form of Wine, as Chriſt commanded, but eaten with the fleſh under the form of Bread. And moreover, the Bread is not the Sacrament of his blood, but of his fleſh only; nor is the Cup the Sacrament of his fleſh, but of his blood only. And ſo the Pope keepeth from all Layperſons, the Sacrament of their redemption by Chriſts Blood, which Chriſt commandeth to be given unto them.

The excuſe of the Papiſts, why they take away the Cup.

And furthermore, Chriſt ordained the Sacrament in two kinds, the one ſeparated from the other, to be a repreſentation of his death, where his Blood was ſeparated from his Fleſh, which is not repreſented in one kind alone: So that the Lay-people receive not the whole Sacrament whereby Chriſts death is repreſented as he commanded.

Moreover, as the Pope taketh upon him to give the temporal Sword, by royal and imperial Power, to Kings and Princes: ſo doth he likewiſe take upon him to depoſe them from their imperial ſtates, if they be diſobedient to him, and commandeth the Subjects to diſobey their Princes, aſſoyling the Subjects as well of their obedience, as of their lawful Oaths made unto their true Kings and Princes, directly contrary to Gods commandment, who commandeth all Subjects to obey their Kings, or their Rulers under them.

Miſorder in the Pope in aſſoyling the diſobedience of Subjects towards their Princes.

One *John*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, in the time of St. *Gregory* claimed ſuperiority above all other Biſhops. To whom St. *Gregory* writeth, that therein he did injury to his three Brethren, which were equal with him, that is to ſay, the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and of *Antiochia*: which three were Patriarchal Sees, as well as *Conſtantinople*, and were Brethren one to another. But (ſaith St. *Gregory*) if any one ſhall exalt himſelf above all the reſt, to be the univerſal Biſhop, the ſame paſſeth in pride. But now the Biſhop of *Rome* exalteth himſelf not only above all Kings and Emperours, and above all the whole world, but takes upon him to give and take away, to ſet up and pull down as he ſhall think good. And as the Devil having no ſuch Authority, yet took upon him to give unto Chriſt all the Kingdoms of the World, if he would fall down and worſhip him: in like manner the Pope taketh upon him to give Empires and Kingdoms being none of his, to ſuch as will fall down and worſhip him, and kiſs his feet.

Note the ſaying of *Gregory*.

The Devil and the Pope are like.

And moreover, his Lawyers and Gloſſers ſo flatter him, that they fain he may command Emperours and Kings to hold his Stirrop when he lighteth from his Horſe, and to be his Foot-men: and that, if any Emperour and King give him any thing, they give him nothing but that is his own, and that he may diſpence againſt Gods Word, againſt both the old and new Teſtament, againſt St. *Pauls* Epiſtles, and againſt the Goſpel. And furthermore whatſoever he doth, although he draw innumerable People by heaps with himſelf into Hell, yet may not mortal man reprove him, becauſe he being judge of all men, may be judged of no man. And thus he ſitteth in the Temple of God, as if he were a God, and nameth himſelf Gods Vicar, and yet he diſpenſeth againſt God. If this be not to play Antichriſts part, I cannot tell what is Antichriſt, which is no more to ſay, but Chriſts enemy and adverſary? who ſhall ſit in the Temple of God, advancing himſelf above all other, yet by hypocriſie and fained Religion, ſhall ſubvert the true Religion of Chriſt, and under pretence and colour of Chriſts Religion, ſhall work againſt Chriſt, and therefore hath the name of Antichriſt. Now if any man lift himſelf higher then the Pope hath done, who lifteth himſelf above all the world; or can be more adverſary to Chriſt, then to diſpence againſt Gods Laws; and where Chriſt hath given any commandment, to command directly the contrary, that man muſt needs be taken for Antichriſt. But until the time that ſuch a perſon may be found, men may eaſily conjecture where to find Antichriſt.

Emperours and Kings made the Popes foot-men.

The Pope is Antichriſt, that is, chriſts enemy.

The true marks, proving that the Pope is Antichriſt.

Wherefore, ſeeing the Pope thus to overthrow both Gods Laws and mans Laws, taketh upon him to make Emperours and Kings to be vaſſals and ſubjects unto him, eſpecially the Crown of this Realm, with the Laws and Cuſtoms of the ſame; I ſee no mean how I may conſent to admit his uſurped power within this Realm, contrary to mine Oath, mine obedience to Gods Laws, mine allegiance and duty to your Majeſty, and my love and affection to this Realm.

Note this concluſion.

This that I have ſpoken againſt the power and Authority of the Pope, I have not ſpoken (I take God to record and Judge) for any malice I owe to the Popes perſon, whom I know not, but I ſhall pray to God to give him grace, that he may ſeek above all things to promote Gods honour and glory, and not to follow the trade of his predeceſſors in theſe latter days.

The cauſe why the Archbiſhop ſpake and wrote thus.

Nor have I ſpoken it for fear of puniſhment, and to avoid the ſame, thinking it rather an occaſion to aggravate then to diminiſh my trouble; but I have ſpoken it for my moſt bounden duty to the Crown, Liberties, Laws, and cuſtoms of this Realm of *England*, but moſt ſpecially to diſcharge my Conſcience in uttering the Truth to Gods glory, caſting away all fear by the comfort which I have in Chriſt, who ſaith, *Fear not them that kill the Body, and cannot kill the Soul, but fear him that can caſt both Body and Soul into Hell fire.* He that for fear to loſe this life will forſake the Truth, ſhall loſe the everlaſting life: And he that for the truths ſake will ſpend his life, ſhall find everlaſting life. And Chriſt promiſeth to ſtand faſt with them before his Father, which will ſtand faſt with him here. Which comfort is ſo great, that whoſoever hath his eyes fixed upon Chriſt, cannot greatly paſs on this life, knowing that he may be ſure to have Chriſt ſtand by him in the preſence of his Father in Heaven. Matth. 10.

And as touching the Sacrament, I ſaid; Foraſmuch as the whole matter ſtandeth in the underſtanding of theſe words of Chriſt: *This is my Body, This is my Blood*; I ſaid that Chriſt in theſe words made demonſtration of the Bread and Wine, and ſpake figuratively, calling Bread his Body, and Wine his Blood, becauſe he ordained them to be Sacraments of his Body and Blood. And where the Papiſts ſay in thoſe two points contrary unto me, that Chriſt called not Bread his Body, but a ſubſtance uncertain, nor ſpake figuratively: Herein I ſaid I would be judged by the old Church, and which Doctrine could be proved the elder, that I would ſtand unto. And foraſmuch

The Sacrament.

A double error of the Papiſts in the words of the Sacrament.

Cranmer ſtandeth to be judged by the old Church.

foraſmuch as I have alledged in my Book many old Authors, both Greeks and Latins, which above a thouſand years after Chriſt continually taught as I do: if they could bring forth but one old Author, that ſaith in theſe two points as they ſay, I offered ſix or ſeven years ago, and do offer yet ſtill, that I will give place unto them.

The Papiſts not able to bring forth one old Author above a thouſand years, to make with the Sacrament.

But when I bring forth any Author that ſaith in moſt plain terms as I do, yet ſaith the other part, that the Authors meant not ſo; as who ſhould ſay, that the Authors ſpake one thing, and meant clean contrary. And upon the other part, when they cannot find any one Author, that ſaith in words as they ſay; yet ſay they, that the Authors meant as they ſay. Now, whether I or they ſpeak more to the purpoſe herein, I refer me to the judgment of all indifferent hearers; yea the old Church of *Rome*, above a thouſand years together, neither believed nor uſed the Sacrament, as the Church of *Rome* hath done of late years:

With the ſubſtance the uſe alſo changed of the Sacrament.

For in the beginning, the Church of *Rome* taught a pure and a ſound Doctrine of the Sacrament. But after that the Church of *Rome* fell into a new doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; with the Doctrine they changed the uſe of the Sacrament contrary to that Chriſt commanded, and the old Church of *Rome* uſed above a thouſand years. And yet to deface the old, they ſay that the new *is* the old: wherein for my part I am content to ſtand to the trial. But their Doctrine *is* ſo fond and uncomfortable, that I marvel that any man would allow it, if he knew what it is. But howſoever they bear the People in hand, that which they write in their Books hath neither Truth nor comfort.

The Papiſts make chriſt two Bodies. Mark the Errours of the Papiſts in their Doctrine of the Sacrament.

For by their Doctrine, of one Body of Chriſt is made two bodies: one natural, having diſtance of members, with form and proportion of mans perfect Body, and this Body is in Heaven: but the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, by their own Doctrine, muſt needs be a monſtrous Body, having neither diſtance of members, nor form, faſhion or proportion of a mans natural Body. And ſuch a Body is in the Sacrament (teach they) and goeth into the mouth with the form of Bread, and entreth no further then the form of Bread goeth, nor tarrieth no longer then the form of Bread is by natural heat in digeſting. So that when the form of Bread is digeſted, that Body of Chriſt is gone. And foraſmuch as evil men be as long in digeſting as good men, the Body of Chriſt (by their Doctrine) entreth as far, and tarrieth as long in wicked men as in godly men. And what comfort can be herein to any Chriſtian man, to receive Chriſts unſhapen Body, and it to enter no further then the ſtomach, and to depart by and by as ſoon as the Bread is conſumed?

Neither Truth nor comfort in the Popes Doctrine of the Sacrament.

The Proteſtants Doctrine of the Sacrament more comfortable, then the Doctrine of the Papiſts.

It ſeemeth to me a more ſound and comfortable Doctrine, that Chriſt hath but one Body, and that hath form and faſhion of a mans true Body; which Body ſpiritually entreth into the whole man, Body and Soul: and though the Sacrament be conſumed, yet whole Chriſt remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternal life, if he continue in godlineſs, and never departeth until the receiver forſake him. And as for the wicked, they have not Chriſt within them at all, who cannot be where *Belial* is. And this is my Faith, and (as me ſeemeth) a ſound Doctrine, according to Gods Word, and ſufficient for a Chriſtian to believe in that matter. And if it can be ſhewed unto me, that the Popes Authority is not prejudicial to the things before mentioned, or that my Doctrine in the Sacrament is erroneous (which I think cannot be ſhewed) then I never was nor will be ſo perverſe to ſtand willfully in mine own Opinion, but I ſhall with all humility ſubmit my ſelf unto the Pope, not only to kiſs his feet, but another part alſo.

Another reſpect why the Archbiſhop refuſeth B. *Brookes* to be his judge.

Another cauſe why I refuſed to take the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* for my Judge, was the reſpect of his own perſon, being more then once perjured. Firſt, for that he being divers times ſworn never to conſent that the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſhould have any juriſdiction within this Realm, but to take the King and his Succeſſors for ſupream heads of this Realm, as by Gods Laws they be contrary to that lawful Oath the ſaid Biſhop ſate then in judgment by Authority from *Rome*, wherein he was perjured, and not worthy to ſit as a Judge

The ſecond perjury was, that he took his Biſhoprick both of the Queens Majeſty and of the Pope, making to each of them a ſolemn Oath which oaths be ſo contrary that the one muſt needs be perjured. And furthermore in ſwearing to the Pope to maintain his Laws, Decrees, Conſtitutions, Ordinances, Reſervations, and Proviſions, he declareth himſelf an enemy to the Imperial Crown, and to the Laws and ſtate of this Realm, whereby he declareth himſelf not worthy to ſit as a Judge within this Realm. And for theſe conſiderations I refuſed to take him for my Judge.

Anno 1556.

Double perjury in B. *Brookes*.

This was written in another Letter to the Queen.

A Piece of another Letter to the Queen. Contradiction in the Queens Oaths, ſworn both to the Realm, and to the Pope in one day.

*I Learned by Dr.*Martin, *that at the day of your Majeſties Coronation, you took an Oath of obedience to the Pope of* Rome, *and the ſame time you took another Oath to this Realm, to maintain the Laws, Liberties, and Cuſtoms of the ſame. And if your Majeſty did make an Oath to the Pope, I think it was according to the other Oaths which he uſeth to miniſter to Princes; which is, to be obedient to him, to defend his perſon, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, lands and priviledges. And if it be ſo, (which I know not but by report) then I beſeech your Majeſty to look upon your Oath made to the Crown and Realm, and to expend and weigh the two Oaths together, to ſee how they do agree, and then do as your Graces Conſcience ſhall give you: For I am ſurely perſwaded, that willingly your Majeſty will not offend, nor do againſt your Conſcience for any thing.*

But I fear me that there be contradictions in your Oaths, and that thoſe which ſhould have informed your Grace thorowly, did not their duties therein. And if your Majeſty ponder the two Oaths diligently, I think you ſhall perceive you were deceived; and then your Highneſs may uſe the matter as God ſhall put in your heart. Furthermore, I am kept here from company of learned Men, from Books, from Counſel, from Pen and Ink, ſaving at this time to write unto your Majeſty, which all were neceſſary for a man being in my caſe. Wherefore I beſeech your Majeſty, that I may have ſuch of theſe as may ſtand with your Majeſties pleaſure. And as for my appearance at Rome, *if your Majeſty will give me leave, I will appear there. And I truſt that God ſhall put in my mouth to defend his Truth there, as well as here. But I refer it wholly to his Majeſties pleaſure.*

Another Letter of the Archbiſhop to Dr. *Martin*, and Dr. *Story*.

His Letter to D. *Martin* and D. *Story*.

I Have me commended unto you. And as I promiſed, I have ſent my Letters unto the Queens Majeſty unſigned, praying you to ſign them, and deliver them with all ſpeed. I might have ſent them by the Carrier ſooner, but not ſurer. But hearing Mr. Bayliff ſay, that he would go to the Court on Friday, I thought him a meet meſſenger to ſend my Letters by. For better is later and ſurer, than ſooner and never to be delivered. Yet one thing I have written to the Queens Majeſty incloſed and ſealed; which I require you may be ſo delivered without delay, and not be opened until it be delivered unto her Graces own hands. I have written all that I remember I ſaid, except that which I ſpake againſt the Biſhop of Glouceſters *own perſon, which I thought not meet to write. And in ſome places I have written more, then I ſaid, which I would have anſwered to the Biſhop, if you would have ſuffered me.*

You promiſed I ſhould ſee mine Anſwers to the ſixteen Articles, that I might correct, amend, and change them where I thought good, which your promiſe you kept not. And mine anſwer was not made upon my Oath, nor repeated, nor made in Judicio, *but* extra Judicium, *as I proteſted; nor to the Biſhop of* Glouceſter *as Judge, but to you the King and Queens Proctors. I truſt you deal ſincerely with me without fraud or craft, and uſe me as you would wiſh to be in like caſe your ſelves. Remember, that* Qua menſura menſi fueritis, eadem remetietur vobis, i. *What meaſure you mete, the ſame ſhall be meaſured to you again. Thus fare you well, and God ſend you his Spirit to induce you into Truth.*

Cranmers anſwers before Biſhop *Brooks* extra judicium.

Anno 1556.

Ye heard before how the Archbiſhop Dr. *Cranmer* in the month of *February* was cited up to *Rome*, and in the month of *March* next following was degraded by the Biſhop of *Ely* and Biſhop *Boner*. In time of which his degradation he put up his Appellation.

In this his Appellation, becauſe he needed the help of ſome good and godly Lawyer, he writeth to a certain Friend of his about the ſame: the Copy of which Letter in Latine is before expreſſed in the old Book of Acts, there to be read. The Engliſh of the ſame I thought good here to inſert, as under enſueth.

A Letter of Doctor Cranmer *Archbiſhop, to a Lawyer for the drawing out of his Appeal*

Another Letter of the Archb. to a certain learned Lawyer, his Friend about his Appeal.

THe Law of nature requireth of all men, that ſo far forth as it may be done without offence to God, every one ſhould ſeek to defend and preſerve his own life. Which thing, when I about three days ago bethought my ſelf of, and therewithal remembred how that *Martin Luther* appealed in his time from Pope *Leo* the Tenth, to a general Council (leſt I ſhould ſeem raſhly and unadviſedly to caſt away my ſelf) I determined to appeal in like ſort to ſome lawful and free general Council. But ſeeing the order and form of an Appeal pertaineth to the Lawyers, whereof I my ſelf am ignorant, and ſeeing that *Luthers* Appeal cometh not to my hand, I purpoſed to break my mind in this matter to ſome faithful Friend and skilful in the Law, whoſe help I might uſe in this behalf, and you only among other came to my remembrance as a man moſt meet in this Univerſity for my purpoſe. But this is a matter that requireth grat ſilence, ſo that no man know of it before it be done. It is ſo that I am ſummoned to make mine anſwer at *Rome*, the 16. day of this month; before the which day I think it good after ſentence pronounced, to make mine Appeal. But whether I ſhould firſt appeal from the Judge Delegate to the Pope, and ſo afterward to the general Council, or elſe leaving the Pope, I ſhould appeal immediately to the Council, herein I ſtand in need of your counſel.

Many cauſes there be for the which I think good to appeal. Firſt, becauſe I am by an Oath bound never to conſent to the receiving of the Biſhop of *Romes* Authority into this Realm. Beſides this, whereas I utterly refuſed to make anſwer to the Articles objected unto me by the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, appointed by the Pope to be my Judge, yet I was content to anſwer *Martin* and *Story*, with this Proteſtation, that mine anſwer ſhould not be taken as made before a Judge, nor yet in place of judgment, but as pertaining nothing to judgment at all; moreover, after I had made mine anſwer, I required to have a Copy of the ſame, that I might either by adding thereunto, or by altering or taking from it, correct and amend it as I thought good. The which though both the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and alſo the King and the Queens Proctors promiſed me, yet have they altogether broken promiſe with me, and have not permitted me to correct my ſaid anſwers according to my requeſt, and yet notwithſtanding have (as I underſtand) regiſtred the ſame as Acts formally done in place of judgment.

Finally, foraſmuch as all this my trouble cometh upon my departing from the Biſhop of *Rome*, and from the Popiſh Religion, ſo that now the quarrel is betwixt the Pope himſelf and me, and no man can be a lawful and indifferent Judge in his own cauſe; it ſeemeth (me thinks) good reaſon, that I ſhould be ſuffered to appear to ſome general Council in this matter; ſpecially ſeeing the Law of nature (as they ſay) denieth no man the remedy of appeal in ſuch caſes.

Now, ſince it is very requiſite that this matter ſhould be kept as cloſe as may be, if perhaps for lack of perfect Skill herein you ſhall have need of further advice; then I beſeech you even for the fidelity and love you bear to me in Chriſt, that you will open to no Creature alive whoſe the caſe is. And foraſmuch as the time is now at hand, and the matter requireth great expedition, let me obtain thus much of you, I beſeech you, that laying aſide all other your ſtudies and buſineſs for the time, you will apply this my matter only, till you have brought it to paſs. The chiefeſt cauſe in very deed (to tell you the Truth) of this mine Appeal is, that I might gain time (if it ſhall ſo pleaſe God) to live until I have finiſhed mine anſwer againſt *Marcus Antonius Conſtantius*, which I have now in hand. But if the Adverſaries of the Truth will not admit mine Appeal (*as I fear they will not*) Gods will be done; I paſs not upon it, ſo that God may therein be glorified, be it by my life, or by my death. For it is much better for me to die in Chriſts quarrel and to reign with him, then here to be ſhut up, and kept in the Priſon of this Body, unleſs it were to continue yet ſtill a while in this warfare, for the commodity and profit of my Brethren, and to the further advancing of Gods glory: To whom be all glory for evermore, *Amen*.

This *Conſtantius* was *Ste. Gardiner*, as conſtant indeed as a Weather-Cock: who thus named himſelf, writing againſt this good Archbiſhop.

There is alſo yet another cauſe why I think good to Appeal, that whereas I am cited to go to *Rome* to anſwer there for my ſelf, I am notwithſtanding kept here faſt in Priſon, that I cannot there appear at the time appointed: And moreover, foraſmuch as the ſtate I ſtand in, is a matter of life and death, ſo that I have great need of learned counſel for my defence in this behalf; yet when I made my earneſt requeſt for the ſame, all maner of Counſel and help of Proctors, Advocates, and Lawyers was utterly denied me.

Your loving Friend, Tho. Cranmer.

Another Letter of Dr. *Cranmer* Archbiſhop, to Mrs. *Wilkinſon*, exhorting her to fly in the time of Perſecution.

Another Letter of the Archb. to Mrs. Wilkinſon.

THe true comforter in all diſtreſs is only God, through his Son Jeſus Chriſt; and whoſoever hath him, hath company enough if he were in a wilderneſs all alone: and he that hath twenty thouſand in his Company, if God be abſent, is in a miſerable wilderneſs and deſolation. In him is all comfort, and without him is none. Wherefore I beſeech you ſeek your dwelling there whereas you may truly and rightly ſerve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be ſo heavy a burden as an unquiet Conſcience, to be in ſuch a place as a man cannot be ſuffered to ſerve God in Chriſts Religion? If you be loath to depart from your kin and Friends, remember that Chriſt calleth them his Mother, Siſters, and Brothers, that do his Fathers will. Where we find therefore God truly honoured according to his will, there we can lack neither Friend nor Kin. Matth. 3.

If you be loath to depart for the ſlander of Gods Word, remember that Chriſt, when his hour was not yet come departed out of his Country into Samaria, *to avoid the malice of the Scribes and Phariſees; and commanded his Apoſtles that if they were purſued in one place, they ſhould fly to another. And was not* Paul *let down by a basket out at a window, to avoid the perſecution of* Aretas? *And what wiſdom and policy he uſed from time to time to eſcape the malice of his enemies, the Acts of the Apoſtles do declare. And after the ſame ſort did the other Apoſtles, alheit, when it came to ſuch a point, that their could no longer eſcape danger of the perſecutors of Gods true Religion, then they ſhewed themſelves, that they flying before came not of fear, but of godly wiſedom to do more good; and that they would not raſhly without urgent neceſſity offer themſelves to death, which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they ſtood boldly to the profeſſion of Chriſt; then they ſhewed how little they paſſed of death; how much they feared God more then men; how much they loved and preferred the eternal life to come above this ſhort and miſerable life.* John 4. Matth. 5. 2 Cor. 11.

Wherefore I exhort you as well by Chriſts commandment, as by the example of him and his Apoſtles, to withdraw your ſelf from the malice of yours and Gods Enemies, into ſome place where God is moſt purely ſerved; which is no ſlandering of the Truth, but a preſerving of your ſelf to God, and the Truth, and to the ſociety and comfort of Chriſts little flock. And that you will do, do it with ſpeed, leſt by your own folly you fall into the perſecutors hands. And the Lord ſend his holy Spirit to lead and guide you whereſoever you go, and all that be godly will ſay, Amen.

Unto theſe former Letters of Dr. *Cranmer* Archbiſhop, written by him unto others, it ſeemeth to me not much out of place to annex withal a certain Letter alſo of Dr. *Taylor*, written to him and his fellow-priſoners: the tenor of which Letter here followeth.

To my dear Fathers and Brethren, Doctor Cranmer, *Doctor* Ridley, *and Doctor* Latimer, *Priſoners in* Oxford, *for the faithful teſtimony of Gods holy Word.*

A Letter written to D. *Cranmer* and his fellows by D. *Taylor.*

RIght Reverend Fathers in the Lord, I wiſh you to enjoy continually Gods grace and peace through Jeſus Chriſt; and God be praiſed again for this your moſt excellent promotion which ye are called unto at this preſent, that is, that ye are counted worthy to be allowed amongſt the number of Chriſts records and witneſſes. *England* hath had but a few learned Biſhops, that would ſtick to Chriſt *ad ignem incluſivè.* Once again I thank God heartily in Chriſt for your moſt happy on-ſet, moſt valiant proceeding, moſt conſtant ſuffering of all ſuch infamies, hiſſings, clappings, taunts, open rebukes, loſs of living and liberty, for the defence of Gods cauſe, truth, and glory. I cannot utter with pen how I rejoyce in my heart for you three ſuch Captains in the foreward under Chriſts Croſs, Banner, or Standard in ſuch a cauſe and skirmiſh, when not only one or two of our dear Redeemers ſtrong holds are beſieged, but all his chief Caſtles ordained for our ſafeguard, are traiterouſly impugned. This your enterprize in the ſight of all that be in Heaven, and of all Gods people in earth, is moſt pleaſant to behold. This is another manner of Nobility, then to be in the fore-front in worldly warfares. For Gods ſake pray for us, for we fail not daily to pray for you. We are ſtronger and ſtronger in the Lord, his Name be praiſed, and we doubt not but ye be ſo in Chriſts own ſweet School. Heaven is all and wholly of our ſide; therefore *Gaudete in Domino ſemper, & iterum gaudete & exultate, i.* Rejoyce always in the Lord: and again, rejoyce and be glad.

Many proteſt God *ad ignem excluſivè*, that is, in words and outward Profeſſion: but few ſtick to him *ad ignem incluſivè*, that is, in deed, and in ſuffering for his ſake.

Your aſſured in Chriſt,

Rowland Taylor.

De *Tho. Cranmeri* Archiepiſcopi qui carcere detinebatur palinodia.

Anno 1556.

TE Cranmere, gravis ſontem prope fecerat error;
Sed revocas lubricos ad meliora pedes.
Te docuit lapſus magis ut veſtigia firmes,
Atque magis Chriſto conſocière tuo:
Utque tuæ melius ſtudeas hæreſcere cauſæ;
Sic mala non raro cauſa fuere boni.
Et bene ſucceſſit; nam ficta & adultera turba
Illudens aliis, luditur arte pari.
Nempe pia ſic eſt fruſtratus fraude papiſmus;
Et ceſſit ſummo gloria tota Deo.

In mortem D. *Cranmeri Cant.* Archiepiſcopi.

Infortunatè eſt fœlix, qui numine læſo
Cujuſvis gaudet commoditate boni.
Infœlix ille eſt verò fœliciter, orbi
Inviſus quiſquis triſtia fata ſubit.
Hoc Cranmere *probas, vitæ præſentis amore*
Dum quæris ſanctam diſſimulare fidem:
Et dum conſiliis tandem melioribus uſus,
Præponis vitæ funera ſæva tuæ.

Perſecution in Suffolk, Agnes Potten, *and* Joan Trunchfield, *Martyrs.*

IN the ſtory of *Robert Samuel*, mention was made before of two godly Women of the ſame Town of *Ipſwich*, which ſhortly after him ſuffered likewiſe, and obtained the Crown of Martyrdom, the names of whom was *Agnes*, the wife of *Robert Potten*; and another, wife of *Michael Trunchfield*, a Shoomaker, both dwelling in one Town: who, about the ſame time that the Archbiſhop aforeſaid was burned at *Oxford*, ſuffered likewiſe in the foreſaid Town of *Ipſwich*, either in the ſame month of *March*, or (as ſome ſay) in the end of *February*, the next month before.

Agnes Potten and *Joan Trunchfield*, Martyrs.

The Martyrdom of *Agnes Potten* and *Joan Trunchfield* at *Ipſwich*, Anno 1556. March

The Opinions of theſe two Matrons and Martyrs.

Their Opinion or Perſwaſion was this, that in the Sacrament was the memorial only of Chriſts death and paſſion: for (ſaid they) Jeſus Chriſt is aſcended up into Heaven, and is on the right hand of God the Father, according to the Scriptures, and not in the Sacrament, as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*.

For this they were burned. In whoſe ſuffering their conſtancy worthily was to be wondered at, who being ſo ſimple Women, ſo manfully ſtood to the confeſſion and teſtimony of Gods Word and Verity: Inſomuch, that when they had prepared and undreſſed themſelves ready to the fire, with comfortable words of the Scripture they earneſtly required the People to credit and to lay hold on the Word of God, and not upon mans devices and inventions, deſpiſing the Ordinances and Inſtitutions of the *Romiſh* Antichriſt, with all his Superſtitions and rotten Religion; and ſo continuing in the torment of fire, they held up their hands, and called unto God conſtantly ſo long as life did endure. This

The ſtrength of God in weak veſſels.

Anno 1556.

The burning of Agnes Potten revealed to her before in her sleep.

This *Pottens* Wife in a night a little before her death, being asleep in her bed, saw a bright burning fire, right up as a Pole, and one the side of the fire she thought there stood a number of Queen *Marys* friends looking on. Then being asleep, she seemed to muse with her self whether her fire should burn so bright or no; and indeed her suffering was not far unlike to her dream.

God giveth strength many times, where now weakness is.

This also I thought further to note, how these two being always together in prison, the one which was *Michaels* Wife, seemed to be nothing so ardent and zealous as *Pottens* Wife was, although (God be thanked) they did stoutly stand to the confession of the truth both; but when the said *Michaels* Wife came to the stake, and saw nothing but present death before her she much exceeded the other in joy and comfort; albeit both of them did so joyfully suffer, as it was marvelled at of those that knew them, and did behold their end. And thus these two Martyrs ended their lives with great Triumph: the Lord grant we may do the like, *Amen.*

Persecution in the Diocess of Salisbury.

March 14. Other three Martyrs. suffering at *Salisbury.*

After these two Women of *Ipswich*, succeeded three men, which were burnt the same Month at one fire in *Salisbury*, who in the like quarrel with the other that went before them and led the dance, spared not their Bodys, to bring their Souls to the celestial felicity, whereof they were thoughly assured in Christ Jesus by his promises, as soon as the furious flames of fire had put their Body and Souls asunder.

Their Names were.
John Spicer, *Free-Mason.*
William Coberley, *Taylor.*
John Maundrel, *Husbandman.*

The Story of John Maundrel, William Coberley, *and* John Spicer, *Martyrs.*

The story of Jo. Maundrel.

First *John Maundrel*, which was the Son of *Robert Maundrel* of *Rowd* in the County of *Wiltshire* Farmer, was from his Childhood brought up in Husbandry, and after he came to mans state, did abide and dwell in a Village called *Buchampten*, in the Parish of *Kevel* within the Country of *Wiltshire*, aforesaid, where he had Wife and Children, being of good name and fame. Which *John Maundrel*, after that the Scripture was translated into English by the faithful Apostle of *England*, *Willam Tindal*, became a diligent hearer, and a fervent embracer of Gods True Religion, so that he delighted in nothing so much, as to hear and speak of Gods Word, never being without the New Testament about him, although he could not read himself. But when he came into any company that could read, his book was always ready, having a very good Memory; so that he could recite by heart most places of the New *Testament*, his Conversation and living being very honest and charitable, as his Neighbours are able to testifie.

Maundrel converted first by *Tindals Testament.*

Maundrel an earnest lover and hearer of Gods Word.

So it was, that in the days of *King Henry* the eighth, at what time Doctor *Trigonion*, and Doctor *Lee* did visit Abbeys, the said *John Maundrel* was brought before Doctor *Trigonion* at an Abbey called *Edyngton*, within the County of *Wiltshire* aforesaid; where he was accused that he had spoken against the Holy Water and Holy Bread, and such like Ceremonies, and for the same did wear a white sheet, bearing a candle in his hand about the Market, in the Town of the *Devises*, which is in the said County. Nevertheless, his fervency did not abate, but by Gods merciful assistance he took better hold, as the sequel thereof did declare.

Maundrel accused for speaking against Holy Bread and Holy Water.

Maundrel put to open penance in King *Henry* days.

For in the days of Queen *Mary*, when Popery was restored again, and Gods True Religion put to silence, the said *John Maundrel* left his own House, and departed into the County of *Gloucestershire*, and into the North part of *Wiltshire*, wandring from one to another to such men as he knew feared God, with whom as a servant to keep their Cattel, he there did remain with *John Bridges* or some other at *Kingswood*; but after a time he returned to his Countrey, and there coming to the *Vyes* to a friend of his named *Anthony Clee*, had talk and Conference with him in a Garden, of returning home to his house.

Anthony Clee of the Vyes.

And when the other exhorted him by the words of Scripture, to fly from one City to another, he replied again by the words of the *Apocalyps* 21. of them that be fearful, &c. said, that he needs must go home, and so did. Where he with *Spicer* and *Coberley* used at times to resort and confer together.

At length upon the *Sunday* following they agreed together to go to the Parish Church called *Kevel*, where the said *Maundrel* and the other two, seeing the Parishioners in the procession to follow and worship the Idol there carried, advertised them to leave the same, and to return to the living God, namely speaking to one *Robert Parksdale* head man of the Parish, but he took no regard to their words.

Maundrel, *Spicer*, and *Coberley*, speaking against the Procession.

After this, the Vicar came into the Pulpit, who there being about to read his Bederol, and to pray for the Souls in Purgatory; the said *John Maundrel* speaking with an audible voyce, said, that was the Popes pinfold, the other two affirming the same. After which words, by Commandment of the Priest they were had to the stocks, where they remained till their service was done, and then were brought before a Justice of Peace, and so the next day carried to *Salisbury* all three, and presented before Bishop *Capon*, and *W. Geffrey* being Chancellor of the Diocess. By whom they were imprisoned, and oftentimes examined of their faith in their Houses, but seldom openly. And at the last examination these were the Articles which the Chancellor alledged against them, being accompanied with the Sheriff of the shire, on Master S. *Johns*, and other Popish Priests in the Parish Church of *Fisherton Anger*, demanding how they did believe.

Maundrel calleth Purgatory the Popes pinfold.

Maundrel, *Spicer*, and *Coberley*, sent to *Salisbury*. Doct. *Capon* Bp. of *Salisbury.*

They answered, as Christian men should and ought to believe: and first they said, they believed in God the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, the 12. Articles of the Creed, the Holy Scripture from the first of *Genesis* to the last of the *Apocalyps*.

Confession of their belief.

But that faith the Chancellor would not allow. Wherefore he apposed them in particular Articles: First, whether that they did not believe that in the Sacrament of the Altar (as he termed it) after the words of Consecration spoken by the Priest at Mass, there remained no substance of Bread nor Wine, but Christs Body, Flesh and Blood, as he was born of the *Virgin Mary*. Whereunto they answered negatively, saying, that the Popish Mass was abominable Idolatry, and injurious to the Blood of Christ; but confessing that in a faithful Congregation, receiving the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, being duly ministred according to Christs institution, Christs Body and Blood is spiritually received of the faithful believer.

Sacrament of the Altar.

Also, being asked whether the Pope was supream head of the Church, and Christs Vicar on earth; they answered negatively, saying, that the Bishop of *Rome* doth Usurp over Emperors and Kings, being Antichrist, and Gods enemy.

Against the Popes supremacy.

The Chancellor said, Will you have the Church without Head?

They answered, Christ was head of his Church, and under Christ the Queens Majesty. What, said the Chancellor? a Woman head of the Church? Yea, said they, within her Graces Dominions.

Christ onely supreme head of his Church: under him every Prince in his own dominions.

Also, whether the Souls in Purgatory were delivered by the Popes pardons, and the suffrages of the Church.

They said, they believed faithfully that the Blood of Christ had purged their sins, and the sins of them that were saved, unto the end of the World, so that they feared nothing the Popes Purgatory, or esteemed his pardons.

Purgatory.

Also, whether Images were necessary to be in the Churches, as Lay-mens books, and Saints to be prayed unto and worshipped.

Images.

They answered negatively; *John Maundrel* adding that wooden Images were good to rost a shoulder of Mutton, but evil in the Church; whereby Idolatry was committed.

Those Articles thus answered (for their Articles were one, and their answers in manner like) the Chancellor read their condemnation, and so delivered them to the Sheriff. Then spake *John Spicer*, saying;

Sentence read against these three Martyrs.

Oh Maſter Sheriff, now muſt you be their Butcher, that you may be guilty alſo with them of innocent Blood before the Lord. This was the 23. day of *March*, *Anno* 1556. and the 24. day of the ſame month they were carried out of the Common Gaol to a place betwixt *Salisbury* and *Wilton*, where were two Poſts ſet for them to be burnt at. Which Men coming to the place, kneeled down, and made their prayers ſecretly together, and then being diſcloathed to their Shirts, *John Maundrel* ſpake with a loud voice, Not for all *Salisbury*. Which words men judged to be an anſwer to the Sheriff, which offered him the Queens Pardon if he would recant. And after that in like manner ſpake *John Spicer*, ſaying, this is the joyfulleſt day that ever I ſaw. Thus were they three burnt at two Stakes: where moſt conſtantly they gave their Bodies to the fire, and their Souls to the Lord for teſtimony of his Truth.

March 23.

Maundrel, Spicer, and Coberley brought to the place of martyrdom.

The words of *Maundrel.*

As touching *William Coberley*, this moreover is to be noted, that his Wife alſo, called *Alice*, being apprehended, was in the Keepers houſe the ſame time detained while her huſband was in Priſon. Where the Keepers Wife named *Agnes Penicote*, had ſecretly heated a Key fire hot, and laid it in the graſs in the backſide. So ſpeaking to *Alice Coberly* to fetch her the Key in all haſt, the ſaid *Alice* went with ſpeed to bring the Key, and ſo taking up the Key in haſt did pitteouſly burn her hand. Whereupon ſhe crying out at the ſudden burning of her hand; Ah thou drab, quoth the other, thou that canſt not abide the burning of the Key, how wilt thou be able to abide burning thy whole Body, and ſo ſhe afterward revoked. But to return again to the ſtory of *Coberly*, who being ſomewhat learned, and being at the Stake was ſomewhat long a burning as the wind ſtood: after his Body was ſcorched with the fire, and his left arm drawn and taken from him by the violence of the fire, that the fleſh being burnt to the white bone, at length he ſtooped over the Chain, and with the right hand, being ſomewhat ſtarkned, knocked upon his breaſt ſoftly, the Blood and matter iſſuing out of his mouth. Afterward when they all thought he had been dead, ſuddenly he roſe right up with his Body again. And thus much concerning theſe three *Salisbury* Martyrs.

Alice Coberley being in durance, how ſhe was brought by the Keepers Wife to revoke.

A diſcourſe of the Death and Martyrdom of ſix other Martyrs ſuffering at London, *whoſe names here followeth.*

April 23. *ſix Martyrs burnt in Smithfield at one Stake.*

ABout the 23. day of *April*, *Anno Dom.* 1556. were burned in *Smithfield* at one fire, theſe ſix conſtant Martyrs of Chriſt, ſuffering for the profeſſion of the Goſpel, *viz.*

Robert Drakes, Miniſter.
William Tyms Curate.
Richard Spurge Sheerman.
Thomas Spurge, Fuller.
John Cavel, Weaver.
George Ambroſe, Fuller.

Theſe Martyrs were ſent up by the Lord Rich, by Mr. Tyrel, and others.

They were all of *Eſſex*, and ſo of the Dioceſs of *London*, and were ſent up, ſome by the Lord *Rich*, and ſome by others at ſundry times, unto *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, then Lord *Chancellor* of *England*, about the 22. day of *March*, *Anno* 1555. Who after ſmall examination, ſent them, ſome unto the *Kings-Bench*, and others unto the *Marſhalſea*, where they remained almoſt all the whole year, until the death of the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and had during that time nothing ſaid unto them. Whereupon, after that Dr. *Heath*, Archbiſhop of *York* was choſen to the office of Lord Chancellorſhip, four of theſe perſecuted Brethren, being now weary of this their long impriſonment, made their ſupplication unto the ſaid Dr. *Heath*, requiring his favour and aid for their deliverance: the Copy whereof enſueth.

To the right reverend Father, Thomas *Archbiſhop of* York, *Lord Chancellor of* England.

A Supplication to the Lord Chancellor.

MAy it pleaſe your honourable good Lordſhip, for the love of God to tender the humble ſuit of your Lordſhips poor Orators, whoſe names are ſubſcribed, which have lain in great miſery in the *Marſhalſea*, by the ſpace of ten months and more, at the commandment of the late Lord *Chancellor*, to their utter undoing, with their Wives and Children. In conſideration whereof, your Lordſhips ſaid Orators do moſt humbly pray and beſeech your good Lordſhip to ſuffer them to be brought before your Honour; and there, if any man of good Conſcience can lay any thing to our charge, we truſt either to declare our innocency againſt their accuſations, or if otherwiſe their accuſations can be proved true and we faulty, we are ready (God helping us) with our condign puniſhments to ſatisfie the Law according to your wiſe judgment, as we hope, full of fatherly mercy toward us and all men, according to your godly Office, in the which we pray for your godly ſucceſs to the good pleaſure of God, *Amen*.

Anno 1556.

This Supplication was ſent (as is ſaid) and ſubſcribed with the names of theſe four under following?

Richard Spurge.
Thomas Spurge.
George Ambroſe.
John Cavel.

Names ſubſcribed to the ſupplication.

Richard Spurge.

UPon the receipt and ſight hereof, it was not long after, but Sir *Richard Read* Knight, then one of the Officers of the Court of the *Chancery*, the 16. day of *January*, was ſent unto the *Marſhalſea* to examine the ſaid four Priſoners; and therefore beginning firſt with *Richard Spurge* upon certain demands, received his Anſwers thereunto: the effect whereof was, that he with others were complained upon by the Parſon of *Bocking* unto the Lord *Rich*, for that they came not unto their Pariſh Church of *Bocking*, where they had inhabited; and thereupon was by the ſaid Lord *Rich* ſent unto the late Lord Chancellor, about the 22. day of *March* laſt paſt *Viz. Anno* 1555.

Ric. Spurge examined.

The Parſon of Bocking accuſer.

And farther, he ſaid, that he came not to the Church ſince the firſt alteration of the Engliſh ſervice into Latin (Chriſtmas day then a twelvemonth only excepted) and that, becauſe he miſliked both the ſame and the Maſs alſo, as not conſonant and agreeing with Gods holy Word.

For not coming to the Popiſh Church.

Moreover, he required that he might not be any more examined upon the matter, unleſs it pleaſed the Lord *Chancellor* that then was, to know his fault therein, which to him he would willingly utter.

Thomas Spurge.

THomas *Spurge* being then next examined, made the ſame anſwer in effect that the other had done; confeſſing, that he abſented himſelf from the Church, becauſe the Word of God was not there truly taught, nor the Sacraments of Chriſt duly miniſtred in ſuch ſort as was preſcribed by the ſame Word. And being farther examined of his belief concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, he ſaid; That if any could accuſe him thereof, he would then make anſwer as God had given him knowledge therein.

Tho. Spurge examined.

Not coming to the Church, and why.

Sacrament of the Altar.

George Ambroſe.

THe like anſwer made *George Ambroſe*, adding moreover, that after he had read the late Biſhop of *Wincheſters* Book, intituled, *De vera obedientia*, with *Boners* Preface thereunto annexed, inveighing (both) againſt the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, he did much leſs ſet by their doings then before.

George Ambroſe examined.

John Cavel.

John Cavel agreeing in other matters with them, anſwered, that the cauſe why he did forbear the coming to the Church, was, that the Parſon there had preached two contrary Doctrines. For firſt, in a Sermon that he made at the Queens firſt entry to the Crown, he did exhort the People to believe the Goſpel; for it was the Truth, and if they did not believe it, they ſhould be damned. But in a ſecond Sermon, he preached that the

John Cavel examined.

The cauſe why John Cavel came not to Church.

Teſtament

Anno 1556.

Teſtament was falſe* in forty places, which contrariety in him was a cauſe amongſt other of his abſenting from the Church.

*The Parſon of Bocking falſe and contrary to his own Doctrine.

Robert Drakes.

Rob. Drakes Parſon of Thunderſley examined.

ABout the fourth day of *March* next after; *Robert Drakes* alſo was examined, who was Parſon of *Thunderſley* in *Eſſex*, and had there remained the ſpace of three years. He was firſt made Deacon by Dr. *Taylor* of *Hadley*, at the commandment of Dr. *Cranmer*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. And within one year after (which was the third year after King *Edward*) he was by the ſaid Archbiſhop and Dr. *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, admitted Miniſter of Gods holy Word and Sacraments, not after the order then in force, but after ſuch order as was after eſtabliſhed; and was preſented unto the ſaid Benefice of *Thunderſley* by the Lord *Rich*; at the ſuit of Mr. *Cauſton* and Mr. *Treheron*; and now notwithſtanding was ſent up by the ſaid Lord *Rich*, with the others before-mentioned: and at his coming to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was by him demanded whether he would conform himſelf like a Subject to the Laws of this Realm then in force. To the which he ſaid he would abide all Laws that ſtood with the Laws of God; and thereupon was committed to Priſon, where he and the reſt above-named did remain ever ſince.

Drakes placed in the Benefice of Thunderſley by the L. Rich.

William Tyms.

NOw remaineth likewiſe to declare the examination of *William Tyms*, Deacon and Curate of *Hockley* in *Eſſex*. But before I come to his Examination, firſt here is to be opened and ſet forth the order and manner of his trouble, how and by whom he was firſt apprehended in *Eſſex*, and from thence ſent up to *London*: the ſtory whereof followeth in this manner.

The ſtory of William Tyms *Deacon and Curate of* Hockley, *with the manner of his taking.*

The firſt occaſion of taking Wil. Tyms.

THere was at *Hockley* in Queen *Maries* days two Sermons preached in the Woods, the which Woods were appertaining to Mr. *Tyrel*; and the name of the one Wood was called *Plumborough-Wood*, and the other *Beches-Wood*, and there was at the ſame Sermons an honeſt man and his wife with him, whoſe name was *John Gye*, the which *Gye* was Mr. *Tyrels* Servant, and did dwell under him, being his Herd at a Farm of his called *Plumborow*. Shortly after it was known to Mr. *Tyrel*, how that his Woods were polluted with Sermons, the which he did take very evil, and much matter did ariſe about it, as an unlawful Aſſembly; the which was laid to *John Gyes* charge, becauſe he did not diſcloſe that unlawful act to his Maſter, being then in the Commiſſion of Peace, appointed at that time to keep down the Goſpel, the which he did to the uttermoſt, as it may appear in many of his acts. Good God give him repentance if it be thy will.

Mr. Tyrell offended with Sermons preached in his Woods.

Shortly after it pleaſed Mr. *Tyrel* to come to *Hockley* to ſift out this matter, and to know who was at theſe Preachings. Well, there were found many faulty; for it is ſuppoſed there were an hundred perſons at the leaſt. So it pleaſed Mr. *Tyrel* to begin firſt with *John Gye*, and asked him where that naughty fellow was that ſerved their Pariſh, one *Tyms*; for it is told me (ſaid he) that he is the cauſe to bring theſe naughty Fellows into the Country. Therefore I charge thee *Gye* to fetch me this naughty Fellow *Tyms*, for thou knoweſt where he is. No, ſaid *Gye*, I do not know. So in no wiſe could he make him fetch him.

John Gye, M. Tyrels Servant, an honeſt man.

Then ſtepped forth another of Maſter *Tyrels* men, willing to ſhew his Maſter pleaſure, whoſe name was *Richard Sheriff*, and ſaid to his Maſter; Sir, I know where he is. Well, ſaid Maſter *Tyrel*, go to the Conſtables, and charge them to bring him to me.

Rich. Sheriff, M. Tyrels man, Perſecutor. Edw. Hedge, John James, Conſtables.

So this Sheriff being diligent, made ſure work, and had him brought before his Maſter with the Conſtables, whoſe names be theſe *Edward Hedge*, and *John James*.

So when he came before the ſaid Mr. *Tyrel*, then Mr. *Tyrel* commanded all men to depart; and it was wiſely done, for he was not able to open his mouth againſt *Tyms* without reproach, and there he kept him about three hours. But there were ſome that liſtened at the walls, and heard Mr. *Tyrel* ſay thus to *Tyms*.

Talk between Mr *Tyrel*, and W. *Tyms*.

Me thinketh (ſaid he) that when I ſee the bleſſed Rood, it maketh me think of God.

Why Sir, ſaid *Tyms*, if an Idol that is made with mans hands doth make you remember God; how much more ought the Creatures of God, as man being his workmanſhip, or the graſs, or the Trees that bring forth fruit, make you remember God?

So Mr. *Tyrel* ended his talk with *Tyms* it ſhould ſeem in an heat, for he braſt out and called him traitorly Knave.

Why Sir, ſaid *Tyms*, in King *Edwards* days you did affirm the Truth that I do now.

Affirm, quoth *Tyrel*? nay by Gods Body, I never thought it with my heart.

Well, ſaid *Tyms*, then I pray you Maſter *Tyrel* bear with me, for I have been a Traitor but a while, but you have been a Traitor ſix years.

Tyms ſent up to *London*.

After this *Tyms* was ſent to *London* to the Biſhop, and from him to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and ſo from him to the *Kings Bench*, and then was Mr. *Tyrels* rage ceaſed with them that were in the Woods at the Sermons. So Mr. *Tyrel* took away *Gyes* Coat, and gave it to *John Traiford*, and ſent him to St. *Toſies* to ſee good rule kept there.

Wil Tyms brought and examined before B. *Boner*, and the Biſhop of *Bathe*.

When *Tyms* came before the Biſhop of *London*, there was at that time the Biſhop of *Bathe*, and there was *William Tyms* examined of his Faith before them both. So mightily God wrought with this true hearted man, that he had wherewith to anſwer them both; for the Conſtables did ſay that brought him before the Biſhop, that they never heard the like. Then the Biſhop (as though he would have had *Tyms* to turn from the Truth) ſaid to the Conſtables, I pray you (ſaid he) give him good counſel, that he may turn from his error. My Lord, ſaid the Conſtables, he is at a point, for he will not turn.

Then both the Biſhops waxed weary of him, for he had troubled them about ſix or ſeven hours. Then the Biſhops began to pity *Tyms* caſe, and to flatter him, ſaying, Ah good Fellow (ſaid they) thou art bold, and thou haſt a good freſh ſpirit, we would thou hadſt learning to thy ſpirit. I thank you (my Lords) ſaid *Tyms*, and both you be learned, and I would you had a good ſpirit to your learning. So thus they broke up, and ſent *Tyms* to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and there were *Edward Hedge* and *John James* the Conſtables aforenamed diſcharged, and *Tyms* was commanded to the *Kings Bench*, where he was mightily ſtrengthned with the good men that he found there.

Wil. Tyms ſent from B. *Boner* to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

And thus hitherto ye have heard, firſt upon what occaſion this *William Tyms* was apprehended, how he was intreated of Mr. *Tyrel* the Juſtice, and by him ſent up to the Ordinary of the Dioceſs, which was Biſhop *Boner*; who after certain talk and debating he had with the ſaid *Tyms*, at length directed him to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, being then Lord Chancellor, and yet living, and ſo was commanded by him upon the ſame to the *Kings Bench*.

Here by the way is to be underſtood, that *Tyms* as he was but a Deacon, ſo he was but ſimply, or at leaſt not Prieſtly apparelled, foraſmuch as he went not in a Gown, but in a Coat; and his Hoſen were of two colours, the upper part white, and the neather ſtocks of Sheeps ruſſet. Whereupon the proud Prelate ſending for him to come before him, and ſeeing his ſimple attire, began to mock him, ſaying, Ah Sirra, are you a Deacon? Yes, my Lord, that I am, quoth *Tyms*. So methinketh, ſaid the Biſhop, ye are decked like a Deacon. My Lord, ſaid *Tyms*, my veſture doth not ſo much vary from a Deacon; but methinketh your apparel doth as much vary from an Apoſtle.

Talk between the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Wil. *Tyms*.

So then there ſpake one of the Biſhops Gentlemen, My Lord (ſaid he in mockage) give him a Chair, a Toſt and Drink, and he will be luſty. But the Biſhop bade, have him away, and commanded him to come before him again the next day at an hour appointed.

But

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But *Winchester*, for lack of leiſure, or becauſe of ſickneſs growing upon him, or for what cauſe elſe I know not, either would not, or could not attend unto him, but returned him again to his ordinary Biſhop *from* whence he came. So *William Tyms* being put off again to Biſhop *Boner*, was placed together and coupled with the other five Martyrs above named, and with them brought together to publick examination before the Biſhop the 21. day of *March*, firſt in the Biſhops Palace of *London*, where the ſaid Biſhop after his accuſtomed manner proceeding againſt them, enquired of them their faith upon the Sacrament of the Altar. To whom they anſwered, that the Body of Chriſt was not in the Sacrament of the Altar really and corporally, after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt: of the which opinion they had been of long time, ſome later, ſome ſooner, even as God of his mercy did call upon them unto the knowledge of his Goſpel.

These five Martyrs where R. *Drake*, Tho. *Spurge*, *Rich. Spur.*, *Cave*, and *Ambroſ.* Their examinations before the Bp. of *London*. Sacrament of the Altar.

Then the Biſhops Chaplains began to reaſon with them, but with no great Authoritys either of the Scriptures, or of the ancient Fathers (ye may be ſure) as other their large conferences with the learned do already declare.

Another Examination of Tyms *and* Drakes, *and the reſt before the Biſhop of* London.

March 23. THe 23. day of the ſame month next after, the Bp. ſent again for *Tyms* and *Drakes*, and *Ex officio*, did object unto them certain Articles the ſum and manner whereof were the ſame which before were objected to *Whittle*, *Greene*, *Tudſon*, *Went*, *Brown*, *Eliz. Foſter*, *Joan Laſhford*, look before. And the 26. day of the ſame month, he ſent for the other four, miniſtring unto them alſo the ſame general Articles. Unto the which they all in effect anſwered in matters touching their faith, as did the ſaid *Bartlet Greene* and the reſt. Other appearings they had, as the Biſhops common manner of proceeding was more (as I have often ſaid) for order and form of Law, then for any zeal of juſtice.

Wil. Tyms with the reſt again examined.

March 28. But in concluſion, the 28. day of his month of *March*, *William Tyms*, and *Robert Drakes*, with the other four above named, were brought to the open Conſiſtory in *Pauls* before the ſaid Biſhop of *London* to be condemned for Hereſie.

B. Boners words to Wil. Tyms.

The Biſhop firſt began in this or like ſort; *Tyms*, quoth he, I will begin with thee firſt, for thou art and haſt been the ring-leader of theſe thy companions, thou haſt taught them Hereſies, and confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and haſt endeavoured as much as in thee lyeth, to make them like unto thy ſelf. If thy fault had not tended to the hurt of other, I would then have uſed thee more charitably, and not have brought thee to this open rebuke. I would according to the rule of Chriſt in the 18. of *Matthew*, have told thee thy fault between me and thee; if thou wouldeſt not have heard me, I would not ſo have left thee, but I with two or three other would have exhorted thee; if that would not have ſerved, then would I have told the Church, &c. But for that thy fault is open and manifeſt to the World, and thou thy ſelf remainſt ſtout in thine errour, this charitable dealing is not to be extended towards thee: I have therefore thought good to proceed by another rule, whereof St. *Paul* ſpeaketh, 1 *Timothy* 5. *Such as ſin, rebuke them openly, that other may fear.* For this cauſe art thou brought before me in the face of this People, to receive judgment according to thy deſerts. Let me ſee what thou canſt ſay, why I ſhould not proceed againſt thee as thine Ordinary.

Matth. 18.

1 Tim. 5.

The anſwer of Wil. Tyms. to Biſh. Boner.

My Lord (quoth *Tyms*) will you now give me leave to ſpeak? Yea, quoth the Biſhop. Then ſaid *Tyms*; My Lord, I marvel that you will begin with a lie. You call me the ring-leader and teacher of this company, but how untruly you have ſaid, ſhall ſhortly appear: for there is none of all theſe my Brethren, which are brought hither as priſoners, but when they were at liberty and out of priſon, they diſſented from you and your doings, as much as they do at this preſent; and for that cauſe they are now priſoners.

So it is evident, that they learned not their Religion in priſon. And as for me, I never knew them, until ſuch time as I by your commandment was priſoner with them; how could I then be their ring-leader and teacher? So that all the World may ſee how untruly you have ſpoken. And as for my fault which you make ſo grievous, whatſoever you judge of me, I am well aſſured that I hold none other Religion then Chriſt preached, the Apoſtles witneſſed, the Primitive Church received, and now of late the Apoſtolical and *Evangelical* Preachers of this Realm have faithfully taught; for the which you have cruelly burned them, and now you ſeek our Blood alſo. Proceed on hardly by what rule you will; I force not, I do not refuſe you for my Ordinary.

Biſh. Boners words.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, I perceive thou wilt not be counted their ring-leader. How ſaiſt thou, wilt thou ſubmit thy ſelf to the Catholick Church as an Obedient Child? in ſo doing thou ſhalt be received and do well enough, otherwiſe thou ſhall have judgment as an Heretick.

One of the priſoners anſwereth Bp. Boner.

Then one of the priſoners (whoſe name is not certainly known) ſaid; My Lord, you are no upright Judge, for you judge after your own luſt. But if you will judge us according to the Holy *Teſtament* of Chriſt, which is the Word of Truth, we will accord to your judgment; for unto that Word we wholly ſubmit our ſelves. But as for your judgment without the Truth God ſhall condemn. And this priſoner was very earneſtly in hand with the Biſhop, that they might be judged by the Word of God.

With this the Biſhop was offended, calling him buſie knave, and commanded him to hold his tongue, or elſe he ſhould be had away to a place of ſmaller eaſe.

Wil. Tyms again anſwereth.

Then *Tyms* anſwered and ſaid; My Lord, I doubt not but I am of the Catholick Church whatſoever you judge of me. But as for your Church, you have before this day renounced it, and by Corporal Oath promiſed never to conſent to the ſame. Contrary to the which you have received into this Realm the Popes Authority, and therefore you are falſly perjured and forſworn all the ſort of you. Beſides this, you have both ſpoken and written very earneſtly againſt that Uſurped Power, and now you do burn men that will not acknowledge the Pope to be Supreme Head.

B. Boner charged with perjury and inconſtancy.

Have I, quoth the Biſhop? Where have I written any thing againſt the Church of *Rome*?

Boners Preface to Winch. book *De vera obedientia.*

My Lord, quoth *Tyms*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* wrote a very learned Oration, intituled, *De vera obedientia*, which containeth worthy matter againſt the Romiſh Authority. Unto the which book you made a Preface, inveighing againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, reproving his Tyranny and falſhood, calling his power falſe and pretenſed. The book is extant, and you cannot deny it.

B. Boner excuſeth himſelf by fear.

Then was the Biſhop ſomewhat abaſhed, and looking upon ſuch as were preſent, ſpake very gently, ſaying; Lo, here is a goodly matter indeed. My Lord of *Wincheſter* being a great learned man, did writte a book againſt the ſupremacy of the Popes Holineſs, and I alſo did write a Preface before the ſame book, tending to the ſame effect. And thus did we becauſe of the perillous World that then was. For then was it made treaſon by the laws of this Realm to maintain the Popes Authority, and great danger it was to be ſuſpected a favourer of the See of *Rome*; and therefore fear compelled us to bear with the time, for otherwiſe there had been no way but one. You know when any uttered his Conſcience in maintaining the Popes Authority, he ſuffered death for it.

And then turning his tale unto *Tyms*, he ſaid; But ſince that time, even ſince the coming in of the Queens Majeſty, when we might be bold to ſpeak our Conſcience we have acknowledged our faults, and my Lord of *Wincheſter* himſelf ſhamed not to recant the ſame at *Pauls* Croſs. And alſo thou thy ſelf ſeeſt that I ſtand not in it, but willingly have ſubmitted my ſelf. Do thou alſo as we have done.

Tyms again replyed to the Biſhop.

My Lord, quoth *Tyms*, that which you have written againſt the ſupremacy of the Pope, may be well approved by the Scriptures. But that which you now do, is againſt the Word of God, as I can well prove.

Then

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Then another, I ſuppoſe it was Dr. *Cooke*, ſaid; *Tyms*, I pray thee let me talk with thee a little, for I think we two are learned alike. Thou ſpeakeſt much of the Scripture, and yet underſtandeſt it not. I will tell thee to whom thou mayſt be compared. Thou art like to one which intending to go on hunting, riſeth up early in the morning, taketh his Hounds, and forth he goeth, up to the hills, and down into the vallies; he paſſeth over the fields, over hedge and ditch, he ſearcheth the woods and thickets; thus laboureth he all the whole day, without finding any game. At night home he cometh weary of his travel, not having caught any thing at all; and thus fareth it by thee. Thou laboureſt in reading of the Scriptures, thou takeſt the Letter, but the meaning thou knoweſt not, and thus thy reading is as unprofitable unto thee, as hunting was unto the man I ſpake of even now.

An Hunters parable againſt *Wil. Tyms* wiſely applied:

Sir, quoth *Tyms*, you have not well applied your ſimilitude; for I praiſe God, I have not read the Scriptures unprofitably: but God, I thank him, hath revealed unto me ſo much as I doubt not is ſufficient for my ſalvation.

The anſwer of *Tyms* to the Hunters ſimilitude.

Then ſaid the Biſhop; You brag much of knowledge, and yet you know nothing: you ſpeak much of Scripture, and you know not what Scripture is. I pray thee tell me; How, knoweſt thou that thing to be the Word of God, which thou calleſt Scripture?

B. Boners Reaſon:

To this anſwerd *Robert Drakes*, that he did know it to be the Word of God, for that it doth ſhew unto men their ſalvation in Chriſt, and doth revoke and call back all men from wicked life, unto a pure and undefiled converſation.

Robert Drake anſwereth.

The Biſhop replied, that the heathen Writers have taught precepts of good living, as well as the Scripture; and yet their writings are not eſteemed to be Gods Word.

Boner replieth.

To this anſwered *Tyms*, ſaying; The Old Teſtament beareth witneſs of thoſe things which are written in the New, for (quoth he) there is nothing taught in the New Teſtament, but it was fore-ſhewed in the Law and Prophets.

Tyms anſwereth to *Boner*.

I will deny all, quoth the Biſhop, I will deny all; what ſayſt thou then? Then *Robert Drakes* alledged a ſentence in Latine out of the Prophet *Eſay*, in the 59. Chapter of his Propheſie; *Spiritus meus qui eſt in te, &c. My Spirit Which is in thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of the mouth of thy ſeed, nor out of the mouth of the ſeed of thy ſeed from henceforth even for ever*; meaning thereby to prove, that he which had the Spirit of God, could thereby diſcern and judge truly which was Gods Word: But before he could explicate his mind, he was interrupted by the Biſhop, who ſpake unto Dr. *Pendleton*, ſaying.

Boner denying the principles of Divinity. *Eſay* 59.

Maſter Doctor, I pray you ſay ſomewhat unto theſe Folks that may do them ſome good. Then Dr. *Pendleton*, as he leaned near unto the Biſhop, covered his face with both his hands, to the end he might the more quietly deviſe what to ſay; but other talk was preſently miniſtred, ſo that for that time he ſaid nothing.

B. Boner calleth for more help. *D. Pendleton* ſtudieth for talk.

And thus much *William Alsbury*, witneſs hereof, being preſent thereat, ſo far as he heard, hath faithfully recorded and reported. What more was ſpoken and there ſaid (for they made not yet an end a good while after) becauſe he departed then out of the houſe, he doth not know, nor did hear.

Then the Biſhop, after this and ſuch like communication thus paſſed between them, proceeding at length in form of Law, cauſed both his Articles and Anſwers to the ſame, there and then to be openly read: the ſum of which his Confeſſion recorded and left by his own hand writing, tended to this effect as followeth.

The Articles for the which William Tyms *of* Hockley *in* Eſſex, *was condemned in the Conſiſtory in* Pauls, *the* 28. *day of* March, *with his Anſwers and Confeſſion upon the ſame.*

Articles anſwered by W. Tyms.

FIrſt, I did truly confeſs and believe, that I was baptized, in the true Catholick Church of Chriſt; for when I was baptized, there was the element and the Word of God, according to Chriſts inſtitution. And my Godfathers and Godmothers did promiſe for me, that I ſhould forſake the Devil, and all his works, and that I ſhould keep Gods Commandments, and believe all the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith; the which I do believe at this day, and with Gods help I truſt to do while I live; for it was not the wickedneſs of the Miniſter that made the Sacrament of none effect, &c.

His Baptiſm by his Gossfathers.

Item, I confeſſed two Sacraments, and but two in Chriſts true Church; that is, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and that Chriſt is preſent with his Sacraments, as it pleaſeth him.

Only two Sacraments.

Item, I confeſſed that Chriſt hath a viſible Church, wherein the Word of God is truly preached, and the Sacraments truly miniſtred.

The true viſible Church.

Item, I confeſſed the See of *Rome* to be as the late Biſhop of *Wincheſter* hath written in his Book, *De vera obedientia*, to the which I ſaid unto the Biſhop of *London*, that he had made a godly Preface; and alſo *John Bale* hath plainly declared in his Book, called the Image of both Churches, even ſo much as I believe thereof.

Wincheſters Book, De vera obedientia.

Item, I confeſſed the Maſs to be blaſphemy to Chriſts death and paſſion.

The Maſs blaſphemous.

Item, I Confeſſed that in the Sacrament of the Altar Chriſt is not preſent either ſpiritually or Corporally; but as they uſe it, it is an abominable Idol.

Sacrament of the Altar an Idol.

Laſt of all, I confeſſed the Biſhop of *London* to be mine Ordinary.

After this the Biſhop falling to intreating and perſwaſions, earneſtly exhorted him to revoke his Hereſies (as he termed them) and to reform himſelf unto the Church of *Rome*, and not to ſtick ſo much to the literal ſenſe of the Scriptures, but to uſe the interpretation of the old Fathers.

To the which *Tyms* anſwered, I will not reform my ſelf thereunto. And I thank God, of this day; for I truſt he will turn your curſings into bleſſings.

And furthermore, asking this queſtion, he ſaid; And what have you to maintain the real preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, but only the bare Letter?

We have (quoth the Biſhop) the Catholick Church.

No, ſaid *Tyms*, you have the Popiſh Church of *Rome* for you, for which you be perjured and foreſworn. And the See of *Rome* is the See of Antichriſt; and therefore to that Church I will not conform my ſelf, nor once conſent unto it.

The Popes Church. The See of *Rome*, the See of Antichriſt.

Then the Biſhop ſeeing his conſtant boldneſs to be unmoveable, proceeding to his Condemnation, pronounced the ſentence definitive upon him, and gave him over to the ſecular Power.

Sentence read againſt *Wil. Tyms*.

The Condemnation of Robart Drakes

After, calling for *Robert Drakes*, he uſed towards him the like manner of exhortation that he did before. To whom *Drakes* ſaid; As for your Church of *Rome*, I utterly defie and deny it, with all the works thereof, even as I deny the Devil and all his works.

The anſwer of *R. Drakes*.

The Biſhop then uſing his accuſtomed order of Law, with his like exhortations, at laſt gave him the like bleſſing that *Tyms* had, and ſo charged the Sheriff with him.

Sentence given againſt *Drakes*.

The Condemnation of Thomas Spurge, *and of the other three Martyrs*

Thomas Spurge being next demanded if he would return to the Catholick Church, ſaid as followeth; As for your Church of *Rome*, I do utterly deny it: but to the true Catholick Church I am content to return, and continue in the ſame, whereof I believe the Church of *Rome* to be no part or member. Then in fine, calling the reſt in their courſes, and upon the like demands receiving the like anſwers, the ſaid Biſhop gave unto each of them their ſeveral judgments, and ſo ridding his bloudy hands, committed them unto the cuſtody of the Sheriffs of *London*, who ſent them unto *Newgate*, whither they went all moſt joyfully, abiding there the Lords good time, wherein they ſhould ſeal this their Faith with the ſhedding of their Blood; which they moſt ſtoutly and willingly performed, the fourteenth day of *April*, as before is mentioned.

The anſwer of *Thomas Spurge*.

Sentence given againſt *Tho. Spurge*, *Rich. Spurge*, *Cavel* and *Ambroſe*.

Letters

Letters of William Tyms.

To his faithful Sister in the Lord, Parishoner in the Town of Hockley, *named* Agnes Glascock.

A Letter of W. *Tyms* to Agnes *Glascock.*

THe grace, mercy, and peace of God our Father through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to your everlasting comfort, be with you my dear Sister *Glascock*, both now and evermore, *Amen.*

My most dear and entirely beloved Sister, yea Mother I might rightly well call you for the Motherly care which you have always had for me, I have me most heartily commended unto you, giving God most hearty thanks for you, that he hath given you so loving a heart to Christs poor Gospel, and his poor afflicted flock for the same: and as you have full godly begun, so I beseech God to give you power to go forward in the same, and never more to look back, fearing neither fire, neither sword; and then I warrant you, you have not far to run.

And now (my dear Heart) remember well what I have taught you when I was present with you, and also written being absent, and no doubt we shall shortly meet again with a most joyful meeting. I go upon Friday next to the Bishop of *Londons* Cole-house, which is the 20. day of *March*, where I think it will be hard for any of my Friends to speak with me. Howbeit I trust I shall not long tarry there, but shortly after be carried up after my dear Brethren and Sisters, which are gone before me into Heaven in a fiery Chariot: therefore now I take my leave of you, till we meet in Heaven; and hie you after. I have tarried a great while for you, and seeing you be so long a making ready, I will tarry no longer for you. You shall find me merrily singing, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabbath*, at my Journeys end. Therefore now (my dear Heart) make good hast, and loyter not by the way, lest night take you, and so ye be shut out of the gate with the foolish Virgins. And now (my Sister) in witness that I have taught you nothing but the truth, here I write my name with my Blood for a testimonial unto you, that I will seal the simple Doctrine which I have taught you, with the rest. And thus fare you well: And God defend you from Antichrist, and all his Ministers, the false Priests, *Amen.*

These words following were written with his own Blood.

Continue in Prayer.
Ask in Faith.
And obtain your desire.

By me *Will. Tyms* in the *Kings-Bench* for the Gospel of Christ.

Another Letter of the said William Tyms, *wherein he doth comfort his Sister* Glascock, *being in great sorrow and repentance for going to the Mass.*

Another Letter of Wil. Tyms to Mr. Glascock.

GOd be merciful unto you, pardon and forgive all your sins, and send you Faith to believe the same, that you may be partaker of his heavenly Kingdom, *Amen.*

My dear Sister, I have most heartily commended unto you; and as I have lamented your falling from God, by being partaker with that Idolatrous Priest; so have I, since I heard of your earnest repentance, very much rejoyced, and also praised Almighty God for his mercy shewed unto you, in that he hath not left you to your self, but since your denial, he hath shewed his mercy on you, by looking back on you as he did on *Peter*, and so caused you to repent as *Peter* did, and bitterly to weep for your sins: whereas if God had left you to your self, you had run forward from one evil to another, till at length your heart should either have been hardened, or else you should have despaired of the mercy of God. And seeing that God hath been so merciful unto you as he hath been, be you not unthankful unto him for the same. For I certifie you that your sorrowful heart, that you have had, doth declare unto me that God hath pardoned and forgiven all your sins for the blood-shedding of that immaculate Lamb, Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.

Therefore as *Peter*, after the time that Christ had forgiven him his sin, did boldly confess Christ before all his enemies; even so my dear heart in the Lord, seeing that God hath so mercifully pardoned and forgiven you your sins, now cleave unto him, and be at defiance with his enemies the Papists: and as they do bear witness with their Father the Devil, by going to the Church, and shedding the innocent blood of all those that will not go with them; even so do you bear witness with Christ, by not coming there: for all those that do go thither shall be partakers of their Brethrens blood, that is shed for the testimony of Christ, except they repent and amend; which grace that they may so do, I beseech the eternal God for his Christs sake, if it be his good will, to give them in his good time. And the same good God that hath been so merciful unto you to call you to repentance, him I beseech to keep you in his fear and love, that you may have always affiance in him, and evermore seek his honour and glory to your everlasting comfort in Christ, *Amen.* Thus fare you well, from the *Kings-Bench* this 28. of *August.*

Anno 1556.

By me William Tyms.

Another Letter of William Tyms *to certain godly Women of his Parish, followers of the Gospel.*

Another Letter of W. *Tyms* to certain godly Women of his Parish.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you both now and evermore, *Amen.*

Dear Sisters, I have me most heartily commended unto you, thanking you for the great kindness shewed unto me in this time of mine imprisonment, and not only unto me, but also unto my poor Wife and Children; and also for the great kindness that you shew unto all the living Saints that be dispersed abroad, and are fain to hide their heads for fear of this cruel persecution.

Dear Sisters, when I do remember your constancy in Christ, I call to remembrance the constancy of divers godly Women, as *Susannah*, *Judith*, *Hester*, and the good wife of *Nabal*, that through her godly conditions saved both her husbands life, and all her household, when *David* had thought to have slain him for his churlish answer that he sent him. Also I do remember *Rahab* that lodged the Lords Spies, how God preserved her and her whole household for her faithfulness that she bare to Gods People. So I do believe that when the Lord shall send his Angel to destroy these Idolatrous *Egyptians* here in *England*, and shall find the blood of the Lamb sprinkled on the door-post of your hearts, he will go by and not hurt you, but spare your whole houshold for your sakes. Also I do remember *Mary Magdalen*, how faithful she was; for she was the first that preached the Resurrection of Christ. Remember the blessed Martyr *Anne Askew* in our time, and follow her example of constancy. And for the love of God take heed that in no case you do consent to Idolatry, but stand fast to the Lord, as the good Woman did that had her seven Sons put to death before her face, and she always comforting them, yea and last of all suffered death her self, for the testimony of her God, which is the living God. Thus I beseech God to send you grace and strength to stand fast to the Lord, as she did, and then you shall be sure of the same Kingdom that she is sure of; to the which Kingdom I pray God bring both you and me, *Amen.*

By me William Tyms, *Prisoner in the* Kings-Bench

Another Letter of William Tyms *to his Friends in* Hockley.

Another Letter of W. *Tyms* to his Friend in *Hockley.*

THe grace of God the Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus, our Lord and only Saviour, with the continual aid of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to our everlasting comfort, be with you my dear Brethren, both now and evermore, *Amen.*

My dearly Beloved, I beseech God to reward the great goodness that you have shewed unto me, seven fold into your bosoms; and as you have always had a most godly love unto his Word, even so I beseech him to

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Anno 1556.

give you grace to love your own Souls, and then I truſt you will flee from all thoſe things that ſhould diſpleaſe our good and merciful God, and hate and abhor all the company of thoſe that would have you to worſhip God any otherwiſe than is contained in his holy Word. And beware of thoſe Maſters of Idolatry, that is, theſe Papiſtical Prieſts. My dear Brethren, for the tender mercy of God, remember well what I have ſaid unto you, and alſo written, the which I am now ready to ſeal with my Blood. I praiſe God that ever I lived to ſee the day, and bleſſed be my good and merciful God, that ever he gave me a Body to glorifie his Name. And (dear Hearts) I do now write unto you for none other cauſe, but to put you in remembrance, that I have not forgotten you, to the end that I would not have you forget me but to remember well what I have ſimply by word of mouth and writing taught you. The which although it were moſt ſimply done, yet truly, as your own Conſcience beareth me record: and therefore in any caſe take good heed that you do not that thing which your own Conſcience doth condemn. Therefore come out of *Sodom*, and go to Heaven-ward with the ſervants and martyrs of God, leſt you be partakers of the vengeance of God that is coming upon this wicked Nation; from the which the Lord God defend you, and ſend us a joyful meeting in the Kingdom of Heaven: unto the which God bring you all, *Amen*. Thus now I take my leave of you for ever in this world, except I be burned amongſt you, which thing is uncertain unto me, as yet.

By me your pooreſt and moſt unworthy Brother in Chriſt, W. Tyms, *in* Newgate, *the* 12. *day of* April *condemned to die for Chriſts Verity.*

Another Letter of Willam Tyms, *giving thanks to his Pariſhioners, for their Charity ſhewed to his Wife, being brought to bed of a Child in his Captivity.*

Another Letter of W. *Tyms* to the faithful Brethren in his Pariſh.

THe everlaſting peace of our dear Lord and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, with the ſweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the increaſe of your Faith, to the performance of his will, and to your eternal comfort in the everlaſting Kingdom of heaven, be with you my dear Brethren and Siſters both now and ever, *Amen*.

My moſt dear Brethren and Siſters in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, I have me moſt heartily commended unto you, with hearty thanks for all the great liberality that you have ſhewed unto me, and eſpecially now in this time of my neceſſity, when that God hath ſent my poor Wife a Child in my Captivity; which is no little care to me, ſo to provide, that I might keep both the Child and my Wife from the Antichriſtian Church: the which thing I thank my God, through his moſt gracious providence, I have yet done, though it be (as ye know) great Charge, not to me, but to the Congregation of God; and it grieveth me that I have been ſo chargeable to them as I have been, and ſpecially you my dear Brethren, I being ſo unworthy a member as I have been, and alſo of ſo ſmall acquaintance; but ſuch is the merciful goodneſs of God, ſo to move your hearts with Charity towards me. And as he hath moved your hearts ſo to do, even ſo I beſeech God to give you power to forſake and refuſe all things which be diſpleaſant in his ſight, and to do all things which be requiſite to a Chriſtian; and ſend you grace to go forwards in the ſame as you have godly begun, neither fearing fire nor ſword. And, my moſt dear Hearts, remember well the ſimple plain Doctrine the which I have taught you, and alſo written unto you, which was the Truth, and for a teſtimony of the ſame, I truſt that you ſhall ſhortly hear, or elſe ſee that I will ſeal the ſame with my Blood. And in the mean time I deſire you all to remember me in your prayers, as I know you do, and as with Gods help I will do for you, that God, for his dear Son Chriſts ſake, will ſo finiſh the days of our pilgrimage, that we may reſt together with *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, in the everlaſting kingdom of Heaven; to the which I beſeech the eternal God for his Chriſts ſake to bring both you and all yours, *Amen*.

By me William Tyms.

Another Letter of William Tyms *to his Siſter* Colfox *and* Agnes Glaſcock.

A Letter of W. *Tyms* to his Siſters in the Lord, *Colfox* and *Glaſcock*.

GRace and peace from God the Father of all mercy, through the merits of our dear Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, be perceived and felt in the hearts of you, my dearly beloved Siſters in the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghoſt the Comforter, both now and evermore, *Amen*.

My moſt dear and entirely beloved Siſters in the Lord, after my moſt hearty Commendations, according to my moſt bounden duty, I do as I am accuſtomed, or at leaſt bound to do, that is, I give you warning of your Enemies, which be the Papiſts, and take good heed to them, for they ſerve a crafty Maſter; yea, and as St. *Peter* ſaith, he ſleepeth not, but goeth about like a roaring Lion, ſeeking whom he may devour. For your old familiar Friends, or worldly Campanions, when they ſee that you will not run to the Idols Temple with them, it will ſeem a ſtrange thing unto them, that ye run not to the ſame exceſs of riot, as St. *Peter* ſaith, and therefore they will ſpeak evil of you, rail on you, and perſecute you.

1 Pet. 5.

1 Pet. 4.

But, my dear Siſters, let it not trouble you, for it is but to try you, and let it not ſeem a ſtrange thing unto you. But when they do ſo, remember wherefore it is, and for whoſe ſake, even becauſe you will not forſake God as they do. For the hatred they bear you, is for the Word of God, and then it is Gods cauſe, and I tell you he will revenge it. And therefore if ye be railed on, and troubled for his ſake, think your ſelves moſt happy. For if you ſuffer with the Patriarchs, Prophets and Apoſtles, then ſhall ye be ſure to be partakers of the ſame joy that they are in. Yea, you have heard by the Word of God, how cruelly the Tyrants always have perſecuted the true Members of Chriſt, as he himſelf hath promiſed that they ſhall do unto the end of the world.

Rom. 12.

By the way I will bring to your remembrance the holy Martyr St. *Stephen*, who for favouring, maintaining and defending the ſame Doctrine that we now ſuffer for, was called a Blaſphemer, and ſtoned to death at *Jeruſalem*. And Chriſts Apoſtles were diverſly afflicted all the world over for the ſame by this viperous generation. *Antipas* the faithful witneſs of Chriſt was ſlain at *Pergamus*. *Jaſon* for receiving of *Paul* and *Silas*, with other Diſciples and teachers of the Goſpel, was brought before the Council at *Theſſolanica*, and accuſed for a ſeditious traytor againſt *Cæſar*. No marvel therefore though at this day we be vexed on the ſame ſort, maintaining the ſame cauſe, and favouring the teachers thereof. Is there any other reward following the true Servants of God now, than hath been afore-times? No ſurely, for ſo hath Chriſt promiſed. And if they have perſecuted him, needs muſt they perſecute his Members; if they have called the Maſter of the houſe *Beelzebub*, ſo will they do his houſhold; *You ſhall be hated of all men* (ſaith Chriſt) *for my Names ſake*.

Stephen for the ſame Goſpel put to death. Acts 7.

Antipas, *Jaſon*. Apoc. 2. 3. 1 Theſſ. 2. Rom. 16. Acts 17. John 16. Acts 9. Phil. 2. Luke 21. John 1. 3. 1 Cor. 6.

Matth. 10.

It is no new thing, my dear Hearts, to ſee the true Members of Chriſt handled as in our days they be, as it is not unknown to you how they be cruelly entreated, and blaſphemed without any reaſonable cauſe. For Hereticks muſt they be taken, which follow not their traditions. And then they may as well call Chriſt an Heretick, for he never allowed their dirty Ceremonies. He never went a proceſſion with a Cope, Croſs, or Candleſtick. He never ſenſed Image, nor ſang Latin Service. He never ſate in Confeſſion. He never preached of Purgatory, nor of the Popes Pardons. He never honoured Saints, nor prayed for the Dead. He never ſaid Maſs, Mattins, nor Evenſong. He never commanded to faſt Friday nor Vigil, Lent nor Advent. He never hallowed Church nor Chalice, Aſhes nor Palms, Candles nor Bells. He never made holy Water nor holy Bread, with ſuch like. But ſuch dumb Ceremonies, not having the expreſs commandment of God, he calleth the leaven of the *Phariſees*, and damnable hypocriſie; admoniſhing his Diſciples to beware of them. He curſeth all thoſe that add to his Word ſuch beggarly ſhadows, wiping their names clean out of the Book of Life. St. *Paul* ſaith, they have no portion with Chriſt, which wrap themſelves again with ſuch yokes of bondage.

Chriſt may as well be called an Heretick as theſe men.

Matth. 16. Luke 12. Deut 4. Apoc. 22. Pſal. 68. Gal. 4.

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Therefore my dear hearts, ſeeing that our good God *hath by the light of his Holy Word, delivered us from all ſuch dark, blind, dumb, beggarly traditions of men,* Galath. 5. *ſtand faſt in the liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made you free, and wrap not your ſelves again in the yoke of bondage.* But let us always be ready, looking for the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which as Saint *Peter* ſaith, *will come as a thief in the night.* 2 Pet. 3. And our Captain Chriſt ſaith, *If the good man of the* Matth. 24. *houſe knew what hour the thief would come, he would ſurely watch.*

Therefore my dear hearts, be of good comfort, although the World rage never ſo ſore againſt you. And for your comfort mark well the great mercy of God, who according to his promiſe for the weakneſs of our nature hath ſo aſſwaged the heat of the fire, that our dear Brethren which are gone before us, to the ſight of all men, have found it rather to be joy then pain. And think you *ſurely* God will be as merciful unto you, as he hath been unto them; and ſay with S. *Paul, Rom.* 8. *Who ſhall ſe-* Rom. 8. *parate us from the love of God? ſhall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, either hunger, either nakedneſs, either peril, either ſword? as it is written, for thy ſake are we killed all the day long, &c.*

Therefore (my dear Siſters) if to ſave your lives, any diſſembling Goſpellers would have you to go to the Idols Temple with them, ſay unto them; No, for my Mr. Matth. 10. Chriſt ſaith, *Matth.* 10. *He that would ſave his life, ſhall loſe it.* And in another place to comfort us he ſaith, *There ſhall not one hair fall from your head, without it be your Heavenly Fathers will.* And therefore ſay you that you will not be of that ſort, that be neither hot nor cold, leſt God ſhould ſpue you out of his mouth. But make them 2 Cor. 6. this anſwer, ſaying; *S. Paul* ſaith, 2 Corinth. 6. *Bear no ſtrange yoke with the unbelievers. For what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs, what company hath light with darkneſs, what concord hath Chriſt with Belial, either what part hath he that believeth, with an infidel? How agreeth the Temple of God with images?* And ye are the Temple of God, as God ſaith, *I will dwell among them, walk among them, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my People. Wherefore come out from among them, and ſeparate your ſelves (ſaith the Lord) and touch no unclean thing: ſo will I receive you, and wil be a Father unto you, and ye ſhall be my Sons and Daughters, ſaith the Lord.*

Thus mine own Bowels in the Lord, as I began, ſo make I an end, bidding you beware of your enemies, and take up your Croſs, and follow your Captain Chriſt in at the narrow gate here by perſecution, and then you ſhall be ſure to reign and rejoyce with him in his everlaſting Kingdom, which he himſelf hath purchaſed with his own moſt precious Blood: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour both now and for ever, *Amen.*

By me *William Tyms.*

Another Letter of William Tyms, *with an Exhortation to all Gods faithful Servants, to eſchew the Society of Idolaters, and Gods enemies.*

Another Letter of Wil. Tyms to Gods faithful Servants.

GRace be with you, and peace from the Father, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

I thank my God with all remembrance of you always in my prayers for you, and pray with gladneſs, becauſe of the fellowſhip which ye have in the Goſpel, from the firſt day that I knew you, untill this day; and I am ſurely certified of this, that he which hath begun a good work in you, ſhall go forth with it, until the day of Jeſus Chriſt, as it becometh me to judge of you; whom I have in my heart, and as companions of grace with me, even in my bonds. And thus I pray, that your love may increaſe more and more in knowledge. Good Brethren, I moſt heartily deſire God, that as you have a willing mind to comfort my vile Earthly Body in this time of perſecution, ſo he will ſtrengthen you with his Holy Spirit, that my impriſonment do not diſcomfort, but rather ſtrengthen and comfort you, to ſee the goodneſs of God ſhewed unto me, in that being a man without learning, and brought before three ſuch Biſhops concerning Worldly Wiſdom, he gave me both mouth and Wiſdom; inſomuch that the Bp. of *London* went away in a great haſt from me, and after that he ſent his man with a Bible, turning to the ninth chapter to the *Hebrews*, and the Biſhop of *Bathe* looking on it, ſaid; What meaneth my Lord? this maketh nothing for his purpoſe. Then I looked on it, and ſaid; my Lord ſeeth that I was weak, and therefore he hath holpen me; for here he hath condemned the ſacrifice of your Maſs: for you ſay that you offer a daily ſacrifice in your Maſs, both for the quick and the dead; and here 'S. *Paul* ſaith, *Without Blood-ſhedding there is no forgiveneſs of ſins;* Heb. 9. therefore that is here condemned. He anſwered, Yea, ſaith he ſo? So ſay all ſuch Hereticks, and ſo forth, with many like arguments, which my neighbors that heard them, can declare, therefore I leave them. This have I written, that you ſhould not be afraid, but call upon God, as he hath commanded us to ask, and we ſhall have; *Seek and you ſhall find, knock and it ſhall be opened unto you.* Alſo he hath commanded us to call on him in the day of trouble, and he hath promiſed to hear us. Therefore if we have not both mouth and Wiſdom at his hand, the fault is in us, that either we wil not repent us of our wickedneſs, and amend our lives, or elſe we be unfaithful, and believe not the promiſes of God; and ſo we our ſelves, are the cauſe that this Wiſdom is lacking in us. Therefore let us repent and amend our lives, and God is merciful. And in any caſe, as I have always ſaid unto you, ſince I firſt knew you, ſo ſay I now: Beware of Idolatry, and of your good intents; if not, mark what hath followed upon them that have left Gods commandments, and done their own good intents. Remember when the Children of *Iſrael* had made them a golden Calf, did not God ſay they had mard all, and would have deſtroyed them, had not *Moſes* earneſtly prayed for them? I let many others places alone that prove the Wrath of God to come upon the People for Idolatry; therefore as we will avoid the Wrath of God, let us keep us unſtained from it. You have example out of the Old *Teſtament*, how loth the Godly Fathers were to be partakers with the wicked: And yet to ſee how little we regarded it, it would make any Chriſtian mans heart to weep. God ſend us more grace. Firſt look in the 11. and 12. of *Geneſis*; *Abraham*, becauſe he would not be partaker of their Idolatry, fled from the People of *Caldea*, being his native countrey. And in the 19. of *Geneſ. Lot* at the commandment of the Angels departed from *Sodom*, leſt he tarrying with the Sodomites ſhould have been conſumed with them. In the 21. of *Geneſis*, *Sarah* would not ſuffer *Iſmael*, which was given to mocking, to keep company with her Son *Iſaac*, leſt he ſhould alſo become a mocker. Look in the 16. of *Numbers*, *Moſes* at Gods appointment commanded the People to depart from the dwelling places of *Chore*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, leſt they alſo ſhould be all wrapped in their ſins, and ſo periſh among them. So do I, even as *Moſes* Commanded them that they ſhould not keep company with thoſe wicked People, leſt the Vengeance of God ſhould light on them, ſo do I (I ſay) give you warning that you ſhould not keep company with the Idolaters, in their Idolatrous Temples, leſt the wrath of God come upon you to deſtroy you.

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B. Tonar went away from W. Tyms, belike not able to make his part good.

God giveth mouth and utterance to his Saints.

Warning to come away from the wicked.

Look what S. *Paul* ſaith in the ſecond Epiſtle, and the ſixth chapter to the *Corinthians*; *Set your ſelves* (ſaith 2 Cor. 6. he) *therefore at large, and bear no ſtrange yoak with the unbelievers: for what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs? what company hath light with darkneſs? what concord hath Chriſt with Belial: either what part hath he that believeth, with an Infidel? How agreeth the Temple of God with Images? And ye are the Temple of God*, as ſaith God; *I will dwell among them, and walk among them, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my People. Wherefore come out from among them, and ſeparate your ſelves (ſaith the Lord) and touch no unclean thing.*

Good Brethren mark what cometh of keeping company with the wicked. *Syrach* ſaith, *He that toucheth pitch,* Syrach 13. *ſhall be defiled withal: and he that keepeth company with the proud, ſhall cloath himſelf with pride.* Even ſo he that is familiar with Idolaters, cannot be unſtained from Idolatry, except he do it to win them to Chriſt, as there be but a few that do: Yea, it may not be where Idolatry is openly committed, as for an example; *Peter*, ſo long as he continued with Chriſt and Chriſts Diſciples, he continued

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continued in the truth, preached the truth, confeſſed openly Chriſt to be the Son of the living God; and promiſed that he would not only go to Priſon; but alſo to very death with him: but when he came once into the Court into the Biſhops Houſe, he ſtreightway was ſtricken with ſure fear, that a poor Maiden and ſimple Ruffian (ſuch a one as my Lord of *London* hath, that ſaid, By Gods blood, if I meet with any of theſe vile Hereticks, I will thruſt an Arrow in him) when *Peter* (I ſay) was amongſt them, he denied his Maſter, and ſwore that he never knew him, whom he, before he came there, boldly confeſſed before all men: and again, after that he had repented him of his wicked deed, he boldly preached to the believing Jews, commanding them among other his godly Exhortations, to ſave themſelves from that untoward Generation. How many of our Prieſts before this ſtorm of Perſecution, when the Goſpel was truly preached, were bold, and could ſay, They would dye rather than deny their Maſter? But when they come once into the Biſhops Houſes, they preach no more Chriſt, but utterly deny him: therefore I pray God keep them from thence, or elſe ſend them more grace and ſtrength. It is needful to pray; therefore watch in prayer.

What it is to be aſſociate in ill company.

A vile ſervant of Bp. Boner.

Acts 7.

Paul, all the while he was among the Biſhops, was a cruel Perſecutor, but after he was called of God from the Biſhops, he became a true Preacher: therefore God keep all Chriſtian men out of the hands of our Biſhops. S. *Paul* in the fifteenth to the *Romans*, ſaith, I dare not ſpeak any of thoſe things that Chriſt hath not wrought by me. He ſaith alſo, *Rom.* 16. *I beſeech you brethren, mark them that make diviſion, and give occaſion of evil, contrary to the Doctrine that ye have learned, and them avoid: for they that are ſuch ſerve not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own bellies; and with ſweet and flattering words deceive the hearts of the ſimple.* Our Maſter Chriſt himſelf hath given us warning which they be: for he hath ſet the plain mark on them, in the 24. of *Matthew*, *If they ſay here is Chriſt, or there is Chriſt, believe them not*, ſaith Chriſt. *If they ſay, he is in the deſert, go not forth. If they ſay, he is in the ſecret place, believe them not.* And I pray you, where can he be more ſecret, then in ſo ſmall a piece of bread? For my Lord of *London*, like a Liar, ſaid to me, that after the words be ſpoken, there remaineth neither Bread nor Wine. Then I asked him what he ſaid to *David*, where he ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not ſuffer thy holy One to ſee corruption.* How ſay you to that? Will not the Sacrament of the Altar putrifie or corrupt? He anſwered, Yes. I asked him, what it was that did corrupt, if there were neither Bread nor Wine. He anſwered, and ſaid the Accidents. I ſaid unto him, It was a mad Accident without Subſtance: for you ſay, there is neither Bread nor Wine, and then there is nothing to * corrupt: with many ſuch like Arguments.

Bp. Boner not able to anſwer to this place of *David*.

* How can corruption be referred to Accidents, when by all Philoſophy generation and corruption belong only to the Predicament of Subſtance?

Therefore beware of them, for they go about to deceive you with ſuch Arguments. Say not but ye be warned, and a great deal the more worthy of your damnation, if they deceive you, becauſe you have had ſo much warning. Repent you betimes of your ſinful lives, and amend, and then no doubt but God will either turn their hearts, or elſe take them away, or elſe he will give us that, that he promiſed to his Diſciples, if we be contented to take the ſame reward they had. And if we diſdain the one, let us not look for the other. For he that will be his Fathers heir, muſt be contented to receive his Fathers correction. For S. *Paul* ſaith in the twelfth to the *Hebrews*, *If we be not under correction, whereof all are partakers, then are we baſtards and not ſons.*

And you know what belongeth to a baſtard; he ſhall not be his Fathers heir. And if we remember our ſelves well, how negligent we have been to our Fathers commandment, we ſhall find our ſelves worthy to be corrected at his hand. If we refuſe his correction, he will refuſe us to be his ſons. I pray you look what he promiſed to his Diſciples, and I pray you alſo look how willingly they received it. And ſo, muſt we do, if we will be partakers with them. Firſt let us ſee what Chriſt promiſed to his Diſciples. Look in the tenth of S. *Matthew*, and there ſhall you ſee theſe words, *Behold, I ſend you forth as ſheep among wolves. Be wiſe therefore as ſerpents, and innocent as doves. Beware of men, for they ſhall deliver you up to the Councils, and ſhall ſcourge you in their Synagogues: ye ſhall be brought before the Head-rulers and Kings for my Names ſake. But when they put you up, take ye no thought, how or what ye ſhall ſpeak; for it ſhall be given you in the ſame hour what ye ſhall ſpeak. For it is not you that ſpeak, but the Spirit of my Father which ſpeaketh in you, &c.* Read the whole Chapter, for it is very comfortable to a Chriſtian man; and mark it well, and you ſhall find what we ought to do in the time of Perſecution. Alſo look in the ſecond Epiſtle of S. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, and the fourth Chapter, he ſaith; *For we which live are always delivered unto death for Jeſus ſake, that the life alſo of Jeſus might appear in our mortal fleſh.* Thus have you heard that S. *Paul* doth boaſt of Perſecution; even ſo ſhould we, for it is the way to bring us to reſt.

Therefore let us ſtrive to enter in at the narrow gate, and let us remember the ſaying of S. *Paul* in the 21. Chapter of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, when he was going to *Jeruſalem*. When he was in the Houſe of *Philip* the Evangeliſt, there came in a Prophet, and took off his girdle, and bound his hands and his feet, ſaying, *Thus ſhall they do with the man that oweth this girdle when he cometh to* Jeruſalem. When the Diſciples heard that, they would have perſwaded him that he ſhould not go thither. Here you ſhall ſee what anſwer this Paſtor made them; he was a faithful Shepherd; *What do ye weeping and breaking of my heart? I am not ready to be bound only, but alſo to dye at* Jeruſalem, *for the Name of the Lord Jeſus.*

Yet I think there be ſome that will ſay, that I needed not to have been taken, if I would have kept me out of the way. But I ſay unto them; that the ſhrinking away of ſo many of our Shepherds as be gone, maketh ſo many of the Flock to ſcatter; which will be required at their hands, of the Maſter of the Sheep. What will he ſay to them at the day of Accompt when they ſhall come to receive their wages? He ſhall ſay to them, Depart from me ye wicked Hirelings, for when ye ſaw the Wolf come, ye ran away, and left my Sheep in the Wilderneſs. If you had been good Shepherds, you would rather have loſt your lives than have loſt one Sheep committed to your charge, through your fault. And I pray you, what caſe be the Sheep in, when their Shepherd runneth away from them? I need not tell you, you know the danger that followeth ſo well.

A note for them which ſhrunk away having Cures.

Therefore let us pray to God to ſend us faithful Shepherds, and alſo obedient Sheep, that will not hear a ſtrangers voice. I would all men would mark well the ſaying of S. *Paul* in the eighth to the *Romans*, where he ſaith in theſe words, *Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of God? ſhall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, either nakedneſs, either peril, either ſword?* As it is written, *For thy ſake are we killed all the day long, and are counted as ſheep appointed to be ſlain: nevertheleſs we overcome ſtrongly through his help that loved us. Yea, I am ſure that neither death, neither life, neither Angels, neither rule, neither power, neither things preſent, neither things to come, neither height, neither depth, neither any other creature ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God;* and ſo forth. Alſo he ſaith in another place, *All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution, 2 Tim.* 3. Thus I prove it to be our heavenly Fathers rod: therefore let us thankfully receive it; like obedient Children, and then our Father will love us.

Yet hear what S. *Peter* ſaith in his firſt Epiſtle, and the fourth Chapter, *Dearly beloved* (ſaith he) *be not troubled in this heat which is now come among you to try you, as though ſome ſtrange thing had happened unto you: but rejoyce inaſmuch as ye are partakers of Chriſts Paſſions, that when his glory appeareth you may be merry and glad. If ye be railed on for the name of Chriſt, happy are ye, for the ſpirit of glory, and the ſpirit of God reſteth upon you. On their part he is evil ſpoken of, but on your part he is glorified.* Here S. *Peter* ſaith, it is no ſtrange thing; and that I have partly proved before, becauſe we have nothing elſe promiſed us in this world.

Therefore let us call on God for grace. Be ye ſure that they can do nothing to us, till God permit it. As for enſample, Look in the firſt Book of *Kings*, Chap. 19. you ſhall ſee how *Saul* perſecuted *David*, purpoſing to kill him: but his labour was in vain.

Also in the third Book of *Kings*, the 19. Chapter, *Jezabel* threatned and sware to slay *Elias*, but the Lord preserved him. Also in the second chapter of *Job*, you see that Satan could do nothing to *Job*, till God suffered him, neither exercise his cruelness any further then God had appointed him. The Godly Woman *Susanna*, in the thirteenth of *Daniel*, through the false accusation of the wicked Judges, was even at a point to dye, yet God wonderfully delivered her. These have I written to put you in remembrance, that Man can do no more then is the will of God: therefore let us not resist his will, but refer all to him: and let us be doing that thing that God hath commanded us in his holy Word.

Exhortation not to refuse Christ Cross.

Dear Brethren, for the Blood of Christ refuse not the Cross of Christ, but remember the saying of the godly Man *David* in his 119. *Psalm*, where he saith, *It is good for me that I have been in trouble, that I may learn thy Statutes.* In the same place he saith, *Before I was in trouble, I went wrong, but now I have kept thy word.* Even so it is in trouble with us, for the Word of God was never so sweet and comfortable, as it is now that we be in trouble. Also Saint *Paul* saith in the fifth chapter to the *Romans*, *We rejoyce in tribulation: For we know that tribulation bringeth patience, patience bringeth experience, experience bringeth hope, and hope maketh not ashamed.*

God's Word never so sweet as in trouble.

Also I pray you remember the saying of Saint *Paul* in the second to *Timothy*, and the first chapter, where he saith, *Be not ashamed to testifie the Lord: neither be ashamed of me.* Even so I say unto you, dear brethren, Be not ashamed of my imprisonment, neither sorry, but rejoyce with me, that it hath pleased God of his goodness to call me to such a dignity as this shall be unto me, if I may have his Grace to lose my Life (which I regard as most vile) for his Names sake: for then I shall be sure to find it again with advantage. Therefore I desire you all that you will pray with me unto Almighty God, that he of his merciful goodness will send me his Grace and strength, that I may continue unto the end; as I will pray for you, that God will preserve you from all the wicked ways of Antichrist, and strengthen and comfort you, if it be his good pleasure that you shall suffer any thing for his names sake, as he he hath faithfully promised to do. And I certifie you, that if all Men knew the comfort they should receive at the hand of God, being in prison, I think there would come more to prison then there do. For surely we find such comfort at the hand of God since we have been in prison, that we had rather dye then be abroad to see the Idolatry that is committed among them that be abroad; beside the seeking one of anothers Blood, with other wickedness too much; God send me more Grace. But I trust, among you there be none such: and if there be, repent and amend, lest it be verified on you, that is spoken by the Prophet *Jeremy*, the second Chapter, where he saith, *My people hath committed two great evils: They have forsaken me the Fountain of the living Waters, and digged them pits: pits (I say) that are broken, and can hold no Water.* Also in the seventh Chapter, he saith, *Hear not the words of the Prophets that preach their own dreams.* Good Brethren beware of those false Prophets that I have given you warning of.

Experiment of Gods comfort in the prisonment of his servants.

Dearly beloved, here I make an end for this time, desiring the same health both of Body and Soul unto you all, that I would have my self; and I end with the same that Saint *Peter* saith in his first Epistle and the fifth Chapter, *Submit your selves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you when the time is come. Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. Be sober and watch, for your adversary the Devil like a roaring Lion walketh about, seeking whom he may devour, whom resist stedfast in faith:* remembring that ye do but fulfil the same afflictions, that are appointed to your brethren that are in the World. The God of all Grace that called you unto his eternal Glory, by Christ Jesus, shall his own self, after you have suffered a little affliction, make you perfect, shall settle, strengthen and stablish you. To him be glory and dominion for ever, and while the World endureth, Amen.

Greet one another with an holy kiss of love. Peace be with you all which are in Christ Jesus. I pray you all say, Amen.

These be in the same prison where I am; the Bishop of S. *Davids*, Doctor *Taylor* of *Hadley*, Master *Philpot*, and my singular good Father Master *Bradford*, with five other of *Sussex*, Laymen. Anno 1556.

I desire some good Brother; to write this new, for I wrote it (as I do many times) with fear. For if the Keepers had found me, they would have taken it from me, and my Pen and Ink also.

Good Brethren, I am kept alone, and yet I thank God he comforteth me past all the comfort of any Man: for I thank him, I was never merrier in Christ.

By me Willams Tyms, *Prisoner in the* Kings Bench.

About this time, or somewhat before, came down certain Commissioners assigned by the Queen and Council, to *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* (as to other Countries else besides) to enquire of matters of Religion: unto the which Commissioners there was a Supplication then exhibited by some good and well disposed Men (as by the same may appear) dwelling about those parts. Which Supplication, as I thought it not unworthy to be read, bearing the date of this present year, to be printed; so I thought it was not to be omitted, nor unworthy here to be placed, in consideration of the fruit which thereof might ensue to the Reader.

¶ *A certain Godly Supplication exhibited by certain Inhabitants of the County of* Norfolf, *to the Commissioners come down to* Norfolk *and* Suffolk, *fruitful to be read and marked of all Men.*

A Supplication exhibited to the Commissioners in *Norfolk.*

IN most humble and lowly wise, we beseech your Honors, Right Honourable Commissioners, to tender and pity the humble suit of us poor Men, and true, faithful, and obedient Subjects, who as we have ever heretofore, so intend we, with Gods Grace, to continue in Christian obedience unto the end, and (according to the Word of God) with all reverend fear of God, to do our bounden duty to all those Superiour Powers; whom God hath appointed over us, doing as St. *Paul* saith, *Rom.* 13. *Let every Soul be Subject to the Superiour Powers. For there is no Power but of God: but those Powers that are, are ordained of God. Wherefore whosoever resisteth the Powers, the same resisteth God, and they that resist, get themselves judgment.* These *lessons* (Right Honourable Commissioners) we have learned of the holy Word of God, in our Mother Tongue.

The Authority of Kings and Queens approved.

First, That the Authority of a King, Queen, Lord, and other their Officers under them, is no tyrannical usurpation, but a just, holy, lawful, and necessary estate for Man to be governed by, and that the same is of God, the Fountain and Author of Righteousness.

Secondly, That to obey the same in all things not against God, is to obey God, and to resist them, is to resist God. Therefore, as to obey God in his Ministers and Magistrates bringeth life; so to resist God in them, bringeth punishment and death. The same lesson have we learned of S. *Peter*, 1 *Pet.* 5. saying, *Be ye subject to all humane ordinances for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King, as to the most highest, or to the Lieutenants sent from him, to the punishment of evil doers, but to the praise of such as do well. For so is the will of God, that with well doing, ye should stop the mouths of foolish and ignorant Men; as free, and not as having the liberty to be a cloak to malice, but as the servants of God.*

Christian Men bound to obey God in his Magistrates.

Wherefore considering with our selves, both that the Magistrates power is of God, and that for the Lords sake we be bound to Christian obedience unto them, having now presently a Commandment, as though it were from the Queens Majesty; with all humble obedience due to the Regal Power and Authority ordained of God (which we acknowledge to stand wholly and perfectly in her Grace) and with due reverence unto you her Graces Commissioners, we humbly beseech you with patience and pity to receive this our answer unto this Commandment, given unto us.

The honour of God to be preferred before all regal honour and power.

First, Right Honourable Commissioners, we have considered our selves to be not only English Men, but also Christians, and therefore bound by the holy vow made to God in our Baptism, to prefer Gods Honour in all things,

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things, and that all obedience (not only of us mortal men, but even of the very Angels and heavenly Spirits) is due unto Gods Word; inſomuch that no obedience can be true and perfect, either before God or Man, that wholly and fully agreeth not with Gods Word.

Q. Maries Injunctions diſagreeing from Gods word, how and wherein

Then have we weighed the Commandment concerning the reſtitution of the late aboliſhed Latin Service, given unto us to diſſent and diſagree from Gods Word, and to command manifeſt impiety, and the overthrow of godlineſs and true religion, and to import a ſubverſion of the Regal Power of this our Native Country and Realm of *England*, with the bringing in of the Romiſh Biſhops Supremacy, with all Errors, Superſtitions, and Idolatry, waſting of our Goods and Bodies, deſtroying of our Souls, bringing with it nothing but the ſevere wrath of God, which we already feel, and fear leſt the ſame ſhall be more fiercely kindled upon us. Wherefore we humbly proteſt, that we cannot be perſwaded, that the ſaid wicked Commandment ſhould come from the Queens Majeſty, but rather from ſome other, abuſing the Queens goodneſs and favour, and ſtudying to work ſome feat againſt the Queen, her Crown, and the Realm, to pleaſe with it the Roman Biſhop, at whoſe hands the ſame thinketh hereafter to be advanced.

Heſt. 3.

1 Eſd. 4.

As the *Agagite Aman* wrought maliciouſly againſt the noble King *Aſſuerus*, and as the Princes of *Babel* wrought againſt the good King *Darius*: ſo think we the Queens moſt gentle heart to be abuſed of ſome, who ſeeking themſelves and their own vain glory, procure ſuch Commandments as are againſt the glory of God. For we cannot have ſo evil an opinion in her Majeſty, that ſhe ſhould ſubvert the moſt godly and holy Religion (ſo accordingly to Gods Word ſet forth by the moſt noble, vertuous, and innocent King, a very Saint of God, our late moſt dear King *Edward*, her Graces Brother) except ſhe were wonderfully abuſed; who, as hating reformation, will rather the deſtruction of all others, then acknowledge their errors, and to be according to Gods Word, reformed. For truly, the Religion, lately ſet forth by King *Edward*, is ſuch in our Conſciences as every Chriſtian man is bound to confeſs to be the Truth of God, and every Member of Chriſts Church here in *England* muſt needs imbrace the ſame in heart, and confeſs it with mouth, and (if need require) loſe and forſake, not only houſe, land and poſſeſſions, riches, wife, children and friends; but alſo (if God will ſo call them) gladly to ſuffer all manner of perſecution, and to loſe their lives in the defence of Gods Word and Truth ſet out amongſt us. For our Saviour Chriſt requireth the ſame of us, ſaying, *Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me and my word before this adulterous and ſinful generation, the Son of Man will alſo be aſhamed of him, when he ſhall come in the glory of his Father with the holy Angels.* And again ſaith he, *Whoſoever will confeſs me before men, I will confeſs him before my Father that is in Heaven. And whoſoever will deny me before men, I will alſo deny him before my Father that is in Heaven. And whoſoever ſhall ſpeak a word againſt the Son of Man, it ſhall be forgiven him, but whoſoever ſhall rail againſt the holy Ghoſt, it ſhall not be forgiven him.*

Q. Mary evil incenſed.

Religion ſet forth in K. Edwards time commended.

Luke 9.

Matth. 10.

Matth. 12.

We humbly beſeech the Queens Majeſty, and you her honourable Commiſſioners, be not offended with us, for confeſſing this Truth of God, ſo ſtraitly given us in charge of Chriſt; neither bring upon us, that great ſin that never ſhall be forgiven, and ſhall cauſe our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in the great day of Judgment, before his heavenly Father and all his Angels, to deny us, and to take from us the bleſſed price and ranſome of his bloodſhed, wherewith we are redeemed.

An honeſt Petition to Q. Mary.

For in that day, neither the Queens Highneſs, neither you, nor any man ſhall be able to excuſe us, nor to purchaſe a pardon of Chriſt for this horrible ſin and blaſphemy of caſting aſide and condemning his Word. We cannot agree nor conſent unto this ſo horrible a ſin; but we beſeech God for his mercy to give us and all men grace, moſt earneſtly to flee from it, and rather (if the will of God be ſo) to ſuffer all extremity and puniſhment in this world, then to incur ſuch damnation before God.

Example of K. Manaſſes.

Manaſſes, who reſtored again the wickedneſs of Idolatrous Religion before put down by *Ezechias* his Father, brought the wrath of God upon the People: ſo that the Scripture ſaith, *Notwithſtanding the Reformation made by* Joſias, *the Lord turned not from the fierceneſs of his great wrath wherewith he was angry againſt* Juda, *becauſe of the provocation with the which* Manaſſes *provoked him. And the Lord ſaid, even* Juda *will I take away from my preſence, as I caſt away* Iſrael: *and I will caſt away this City of* Jeruſalem, *and the houſe whereof I ſaid, My name ſhall be there.* 4 Reg. 23.

Example of Jeroboam.

Jeroboam, who at *Bethel* and *Dan* erected up a new found Service of God, and not only ſinned himſelf, but alſo made all *Iſrael* to ſin with him, ſo that not only he was damned for commanding, but the wrath of God came upon all *Iſrael*, for obeying that his ungodly Commandment: Yet was it not ſo heinous an offence to bring in an Idolatry never yet heard of, as after Reformation made by the godly Kings and Princes, by the vertuous and holy Biſhops, by the Prophets and Servants of God, to reject and caſt off the Word and true Religion of God, and to receive again a damned Impiety.

This moſt heinous offence is now offered unto us, although the ſame be painted and coloured with the name of Reformation, reſtoring of Religion, ancient Faith, with the name of the Catholick Church, of Unity, Catholick Truth, and with the Cloak of feigned Holineſs. Theſe are ſheepskins, under the which (as Chriſt ſaith) ravening Wolves cover themſelves. But Chriſt willeth us to look upon their fruits, whereby we may know them; and truly that is no good fruit, to caſt aſide Gods Word, and to baniſh the Engliſh Service out of the Churches, and in the place of it to bring in a Latin Tongue unknown unto the People. Which as it edifieth no man, ſo it hath been occaſion of all blindneſs and error among the People. For afore the bleſſed Reformation begun by the moſt noble Prince of godly memory, the Queens good Father; and by our late holy and innocent King, her good Brother, finiſhed; it is not unknown what blindneſs and error we were all in, when not one man in all this Realm unlearned in the Latin, could ſay in Engliſh the Lords Prayer, or knew any one Article of his Belief, or rehearſe any one of the Ten Commandments. And that ignorance, mother of miſchief, was the very root and well-ſpring of all Idolatry, Sodomitical Monkery, and whoriſh Chaſtity of unmarried Prieſts, of all whoredom, drunkenneſs, covetouſneſs, ſwearing and blaſphemy, with all other wicked ſinful living. Theſe brought in the ſevere wrath and vengance of God plaguing ſin with Famine and Peſtilence; and at laſt the Sword conſumed and avenged all their impiety and wicked living. As it is greatly to be feared the ſame or more grievous Plagues ſhall now again follow.

Foul idolatry let out with fair ſhews and pretenſes.

Ignorance wilfully maintained.

We cannot therefore conſent nor agree that the Word of God and Prayers in our Engliſh Tongue, which we underſtand, ſhould be taken away from us, and for it a Latin Service, we wot not what (for none of us underſtand it) to be again brought in amongſt us, ſpecially ſeeing that Chriſt hath ſaid, *My ſheep hear my voice, and follow me, and I give to them everlaſting life.* The Service in Engliſh teacheth us, that we are the Lords People, and the Sheep of his Paſture, and commandeth that we harden not our hearts, as when they provoked the Lords wrath in the wilderneſs, leſt he ſwear unto us, as he did ſwear unto them, that they ſhould not enter into his reſt.

Service in Latin not to be admitted. John 10.

Againſt Latin Mattins.

The Service in Latin is a confuſed noiſe; which if it be good, (as they ſay it is) yet unto us that lack underſtanding, what goodneſs can it bring? S. *Paul* commandeth, that in the Churches all things ſhould be done to edifying, which we are ſure is Gods Commandment. But in the Latin Service nothing is done to edifying, but contrarily all to deſtroy thoſe that are already edified, and to drive us from Gods Word and Truth, and from believing of the ſame, and ſo to bring us to believe lies and fables, that tempting and provoking God, we ſhould be brought into that judgment that bleſſed *Paul* ſpeaketh of, ſaying, *Antichriſt ſhall come according to the working of Satan, with all manner of power and ſigns, and lying wonders in all deceiveableneſs of unrighteouſneſs in thoſe that periſh: becauſe they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be ſaved. And therefore God will ſend them ſtrong deluſion, that they ſhould believe lies*

In the Popes Service there is no edifying. what fables be in it the Lord knoweth. 2 Theſ. 2.

and be damned, as many as have not beleeved the truth, but have approved unrighteouſneſs.

Thus, altogether drawn from God, we ſhall fall into his wrath through unbelief, till he ſwear unto us as he did unto the unfaithful Jews, that ſuch Infidels ſhall not enter into his reſt.

The true uſe of the Lords Supper extinct.

In the Adminiſtration of the Lords Supper, which we confeſs to be the holy Communion, and partaking with Chriſt and his holy Congregation, we have learned Gods holy Commandments, and at the rehearſal of every one of them to ask God mercy for our moſt grievous tranſgreſſions againſt them, and to ask grace of God, to keep them in time to come, that the ſame may not only outwardly ſound in our ears, but alſo inwardly by the Holy Ghoſt be written in our hearts.

We have learned alſo the holy Prayer made for the Queens Majeſty; wherein we learn that her Power and Authority is of God, therefore we pray to God for her, that ſhe and all Magiſtrates under her, may rule according to Gods Word, and we her Subjects obey according to the ſame.

Cauſes why the Commiſſioners commandment ought not to be received.

Truly (moſt honourable Commiſſioners) we cannot think theſe things evil, but think them moſt worthy to be retained in our Churches, and we would think our ſelves not to have true Subjects hearts, if we ſhould go about to put away ſuch godly Prayers, as put us perpetually in memory of our bounden obedience and duty to God and our Rulers. For, as we think, at this preſent the unquiet Multitude had more need to have theſe things more often and earneſtly beaten and driven into them (ſpecially given in many places to ſtir and trouble) then to take from them that bleſſed Doctrine, whereby only they may to their ſalvation be kept in quiet.

Receiving in both kinds.

Furthermore, we cannot forſake that bleſſed partaking of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſts Inſtitution, miniſtred with ſuch godly Prayers, Exhortations and Admonitions teaching us the knowledge of God, the exceeding love and charity of our loving Redeemer Chriſt, breaking his Body upon the Croſs for our ſins, and ſhedding his moſt precious Blood for our Redemption: which we in eating of that bleſſed Bread, and drinking of the bleſſed Cup, aſſuredly believe that we receive, and be perfectly joyned with Chriſt and his holy Catholick Church into one Body, and into one unity and brotherly love, whereby each Member faithfully embraceth other. We muſt needs confeſs this Inſtitution of Chriſt to be moſt holy and godly, whereof we have the only comfort in Conſcience againſt ſin and damnation, with the aſſurance of Salvation, and whereof hath enſued reformation of many heinous ſins, much lawing, ſtrife, and contention is ended; drunkenneſs, whoredom, and other vices, in ſome reformed, goodneſs and vertue increaſed and nouriſhed.

The Maſs hath nothing in it but an heap of Ceremonies.

In the Latin Maſs we never had no ſuch edifying, but only we ſaw a great many of Ceremonies and ſtrange Geſtures; as turning of the Prieſt, croſſings, bleſſings, breathings, waſhing of hands, and ſpreading abroad of his arms, with like Ceremonies that we underſtand not. And concerning the Latin Tongue, wherein the Prieſt prayeth, we wot not whether he bleſſeth or curſeth us. We are not partakers of the Sacrament, as Chriſts Inſtitution appointeth we ſhould be.

In the miniſtring of the Sacrament, the Prieſts alter the Inſtitution of Chriſt, committing theft and ſacriledge, robbing us of the Cup of Chriſts Blood, contrary to Chriſts Commandment, ſaying, *Drink ye all of this.*

The people robbed of Gods word.

They rob us alſo of Gods Word, ſpeaking all things in Latin, which nothing edifieth us either in Faith or Manners. Chriſt commandeth not that his Supper ſhould be miniſtred in an unknown Tongue: but foraſmuch as Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh of Gods Word, how can we believe Chriſts word and promiſe made unto us in this holy Sacrament, ſaying, *This is my Body broken for you, and this is my Blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for you, for the remiſſion of ſins*, if the ſame promiſes of Chriſt either be not at all recited, or elſe ſo recited in Latin, that the Congregation underſtandeth not, nor heareth not what is ſpoken? S. *Paul* ſaith thus, reciting the ſaying of *Eſay*, *As truly as I live, ſaith the Lord, all knees ſhall bow unto me, all tongues ſhall give praiſe unto God.* Alſo he ſaith, *All tongues muſt confeſs, that Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father.* The holy Ghoſt came upon the Apoſtles in fiery Tongues, ſo that they ſpake the Tongues of all Nations under Heaven. S. *Paul* miniſtred to the *Corinthians*, and preached to them in their own Mother-tongue, and rebuked the bringing in of ſtrange Tongues into the Congregations. We cannot think it to be well, that ſo holy an Apoſtle rebuked. And whatſoever virtue the Latin Tongue hath, to ſuch as underſtand it, to us Engliſhmen not underſtanding it, it is altogether without virtue and edifying, and therefore unmeet for our Churches.

Phil. 2.

Anno 1556.

All things done in the Church ought to be in a known Tongue.

That Prieſts be not had in honour, it is their own fault.

The Prieſts complain that we Lay-men love them not, nor have them in honour, but it is their own fault: For how ſhould we love them, that only ſeek to keep us in blindneſs and ignorance, to damn our ſouls, to deſtroy our bodies, to rob and ſpoil our goods and ſubſtance under a colour of pretenſed holineſs? We know (right honourable Commiſſioners) what honour is due to ſuch Wolves, and how by the authority of Gods Word, ſuch are to be fled, as Peſtilences to the Lords Lambs, whom they miſerably daily murder.

Gods Word and true Religion caſt out of the Church in Q. *Maries* time.

But we have rather choſen by this our meek Supplication, humbly to deſire the Queens Majeſty, and you her honourable Commiſſioners, to render Gods Word again unto the Churches, and to permit us freely to enjoy the ſame. For we certainly know, that the whole Religion lately ſet out by the holy Saint of God, our late moſt dear King *Edward*, is Chriſts true Religion written in the holy Scripture of God, and by Chriſt and his Apoſtles taught unto his Church. Wherefore we cannot allow with ſafe Conſciences this refuſal of it, and caſting of it out of our Churches; foraſmuch as to refuſe, caſt off, and to reject it, is to caſt off Chriſt himſelf, and to refuſe our part in his bleſſed Body broken for our ſins, and his Blood ſhed for our Redemption. Which thing whoſo doth, the ſame without repentance can look for no Sacrifice for his ſins, but moſt fearfully wait for the Judgment, and for that vehement fire that ſhall deſtroy Chriſts Adverſaries. For if he that deſpiſeth the Law of *Moſes*, is without mercy put to death under two or three witneſſes, how much more grievous torments ſhall he ſuffer that treadeth under foot the Son of God, and eſteemeth the blood of the Teſtament (whereby he was ſanctified) as a profane thing, and contumelioufly uſeth the Spirit of Grace?

Wherefore, we moſt humbly pray and beſeech the Queens gracious Majeſty, to have mercy and pity upon us her poor and faithful Subjects, and not to compel us to do the thing that is againſt our Conſciences, and ſhall ſo incurably wound us in heart, by bringing into the Church the Latin Maſs and Service that nothing edifieth us, and caſting out of Chriſts holy Communion and Engliſh Service, ſo cauſing us to ſin againſt our Redemption. For ſuch as willingly and wittingly againſt their Conſciences ſhall ſo do (as it is to be feared many a one doth) they are in a miſerable ſtate, until the mercy of God turn them; which if he do not, we certainly believe, that they ſhall eternally be damned: and as in this world they deny Chriſts holy Word and Communion before men, ſo ſhall Chriſt deny them before his Heavenly Father and his Angels.

The Popiſh following of Chriſts Croſs in Proceſſion.

And whereas it is very earneſtly required, that we ſhould go in Proceſſion (as they call it) at which time the Prieſts ſay in Latin ſuch things as we are ignorant of, the ſame edifieth nothing at all unto godlineſs, and we have learned that to follow Chriſts Croſs, is another matter, namely, to take up our Croſs, and to follow Chriſt in patient ſuffering for his love, tribulations, ſickneſs, poverty, priſon, or any other adverſity, whenſoever Gods holy will and pleaſure is to lay the ſame upon us. The triumphant Paſſion and Death of Chriſt, whereby in his own perſon he conquered death, ſin, hell, and damnation hath moſt lively been preached unto us, and the glory of Chriſts Croſs declared by our Preachers; whereby we have learned the cauſes and effects of the ſame more lively in one Sermon, than in all the Proceſſions that ever we went in, or ever ſhall go in.

The true followers of Chriſts Croſs.

When we worſhipped the Divine Trinity kneeling, and in the Litany invocating the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, asking mercy for our ſins, and deſiring

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deſiring ſuch Petitions as the need of our frail eſtate and this mortal life requireth, we were edified, both to know unto whom all Chriſtian Prayers ſhould be directed, and alſo to know that of Gods hand we receive all things, as well to the ſalvation of our ſouls, as to the relief of our mortal neceſſities. And we humbly beſeech the Queens Majeſty, that the ſame moſt holy Prayers may be continued amongſt us; that our Miniſters praying in our Mother-tongue, and we underſtanding their Prayers and Petitions, may anſwer, *Amen*, unto them.

Prayers and Evening Service in Engliſh.

At Evening Service we underſtood our Miniſters Prayers, we were taught and admoniſhed by the Scriptures then read; which in the Latin Even-ſong is all gone.

Baptiſm in Engliſh.

At the Miniſtration of holy Baptiſm, we learned what League and Covenant God had made with us, and what Vows and Promiſes we upon our part had made, namely, to believe in him, to forſake Satan and his works, and to walk in the way of Gods holy Word and Commandments.

Catechiſm in Engliſh.

The Chriſtian Catechiſm continually taught and called to remembrance the ſame, whereas before no man knew any thing at all. And many good men of forty years, that had been Godfathers to thirty Children, knew no more of the Godfathers office, but to waſh their hands e're they departed the Church, or elſe to faſt five *Fridays* with bread and water.

The effects of Gods word deſcribed.

O merciful God, have pity upon us. Shall we be altogether caſt from thy Preſence? we may well lament our miſerable eſtate, to receive ſuch a Commandment, to reject and caſt out of our Churches all theſe moſt godly Prayers, Inſtructions, Admonitions and Doctrines, and thus to be compelled to deny God, and Chriſt our Saviour, his holy Word, and all his Doctrine of our Salvation, the Candle to our feet, and the Light to our ſteps, the Bread coming down from Heaven that giveth life, which whoſo eateth, it ſhall be in him a Well-ſpring ſtreaming unto eternal Life; whereby we have learned all Righteouſneſs, all true Religion, all true Obedience towards our Governours, all Charity one towards another, all good Works that God would us to walk in, what puniſhment abideth the wicked, and what heavenly Reward God will give to thoſe that reverently walk in his ways and commandments.

Wherefore right honourable Commiſſioners, we cannot without Impiety refuſe and caſt from us the holy Word of God which we have received, or condemn any thing ſet forth by our moſt godly late King *Edward* and his vertuous Proceedings, ſo agreeable to Gods Word. And our moſt humble ſute is, that the Commandment may be revoked, ſo that we be not conſtrained thereunto. For we proteſt before God, we think if the holy Word of God had not taken ſome root amongſt us, we could not in times paſt have done that poor duty of ours, which we did in aſſiſting the Queen, our moſt dear Sovereign, againſt her Graces mortal Foe, that then ſought her deſtruction. It was our bounden duty, and we thank God for the knowledge of his word and grace, that we then did ſome part of our bounden ſervice.

Suffolk and *Norfolk* men moved by Gods word did ſet up the Queen.

And we meekly pray and beſeech the Queens Majeſty for the dear Paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, that the ſame Word be not taken away out of her Churches, nor from us her loving, faithful and true Subjects; leſt if the like neceſſity ſhould hereafter chance (which God for his mercy ſake forbid, and ever ſave and defend her Grace, and us all) the want of Knowledge and due remembrance of Gods Word may be occaſion of great ruin to an infinite number of her Graces true Subjects. And truly we judge this to be one ſubtil part of the Devil, (Enemy to all godly peace and quietneſs) that by taking Gods Word from among us, and planting Ignorance, he may make a way to all miſchief and wickedneſs; and by baniſhing the holy Goſpel of Peace, he may bring upon us the heavy wrath of God, with all manner of Plagues; as death, ſtrange ſickneſs, peſtilence, murren, moſt terrible uproars, commotions and ſeditions. Theſe things did the Lord threaten unto the Jews for refuſing his Word, ſaying, *Go, and thou ſhalt ſay unto this people: Ye ſhall hear indeed, but ye ſhall not underſtand, ye ſhall plainly ſee, and not perceive. Harden the heart of this people, ſtop their ears, and ſhut their eyes, that they ſee not with their eyes, hear not with their ears, and underſtand not with their hearts, and convert and be healed. And I ſaid, How long Lord? And he anſwered, Until the Cities be deſtroyed, utterly waſted without Inhabitants, and the houſes without men, till the Land alſo be deſolate and lye unbuilded.* And the Prophet *Micheas*, conſidering the contempt of Gods Word among the Iſraelites, threatned them thus, *When the day, that thy Preachers warned thee of, cometh, thou ſhalt be waſted away: And let no man believe his friend, or put confidence in his brother. Keep the door of thy mouth from her that lyeth in thy boſom: for the ſon ſhall put his father to diſhonour, and the daughter ſhall riſe againſt her mother, the daughter in law againſt the mother in Law; and a mans foes ſhall be even they of his own houſhold.* The ſame Plague threatned Chriſt unto the Jews, for refuſing his Peace profered them in the Goſpel, and he wept on the City *Jeruſalem*, which murdered the Prophets, and ſtoned ſuch as were ſent unto her.

Iſay 6.

Mich. 6.

Luke 19.

The ſame Plagues, we are afraid, will alſo fall upon us. For whereas heretofore with the receiving of Chriſts Word and peaceable Goſpel, we had great Benedictions of God, eſpecially this Chriſtian concord and holy peace, ſo that all were at a full and perfect ſtay in Religion; no man offended with another, but as the Sons of Peace, each of us with Chriſtian Charity imbraced other: now alas for pity, the Devil (riding upon the red horſe, ſhewed unto S. *John* in the *Revelation*) is come forth, and power is given unto him to take peace from the Earth. For now a man can go to no place, but malicious buſiebodies curiouſly ſearch out his deeds, mark his words, and if he agree not with them in deſpiſing Gods Word, then will they ſpitefully and hatefully rail againſt him and it, calling it Error and Hereſie, and the Profeſſors thereof Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, with other odious and ſpiteful names, as Traitors and not the Queens Friends, not Favourers of the Queens Proceedings; as if to love Gods Word were Hereſie, and as though to talk of Chriſt, were to be Schiſmatick; as though none could be true to the Queen, that were not falſe to God; as though none were the Queens Friends, but ſuch as deſpitefully rail on her Graces Father and Brother, and on Gods Word that they ſet forth; as though none favoured the Queens Majeſty, but ſuch as hate all godly knowledge.

Apoc. 6.

Loving Gods word made hereſie.

And in very deed theſe things that all this turmoil is made for, are meer inventions of Popes, brought into the Church of their own imaginations, without commandment or enſample either of Chriſt, or of his Apoſtles; and there is not one word in the Bible, that being truly alledged, maintaineth them, nor any Doctor of Antiquity before S. *Auſtins* days, as it hath been divers times ſufficiently proved before all the whole Parliament and Convocation of this Realm. Yet theſe, being meer Traditions of Biſhops, are ſet out for Gods Commandments; and the Queens Authority (given to her of God to maintain his Word) muſt be abuſed to put down Gods Word. And you right honourable Juſtices, and Keepers of Laws and Righteouſneſs, are alſo abuſed and made the Biſhops Apparators, to ſet forth ſuch Romiſh Traſh as is to Chriſts diſhonour, and againſt the Supream Authority of the Regal Eſtate of this Realm. And we poor Subjects, for ſpeaking of that which *is* truth, and our bounden Allegiance, are daily puniſhed, railed upon, and noted for ſeditious, and not the Queens friends.

All that the Papiſts ſtrive for are but mans meer inventions beſides Gods word.

The Queen, her Commiſſioners, and Juſtices abuſed by the Biſhops.

Inconveniences that followed by taking away Gods word.

But God (who is bleſſed for ever) knoweth that they ſlander us, and pull the Thorn out of their own foot, and put it in ours: for the Searcher of hearts knoweth, that we bear a faithful and true heart unto her Grace, and unto all her Proceedings, that are not againſt God and his holy Word. And we daily pray unto the heavenly Father, to lighten her Graces Royal heart with the glorious Light of the Goſpel, that ſhe may eſtabliſh and confirm that Religion, that her Graces Brother, our moſt dear King, did ſet out amongſt us; and ſo governing and ruling this her Realm in the fear and true way of God, ſhe may long live, and with proſperity, peace, and honour reign over us.

True Subjects wrongfully ſlandered.

But we cannot think that thoſe men do ſeek either Gods honour, or her Graces proſperity, or wealth of the Realm, that take from her Graces faithful Subjects Gods

Word, which only is the root of all love and faithful obedience under her Grace, and of all honeſty, good life, and vertuous concord among her Commons. And this we fear, leſt the Root being taken away, the Branches will ſoon wither and be fruitleſs. And when the Philiſtines have ſtopped up the Well-ſpring, the fair Streams that ſhould flow ſhall ſoon be dried up. All our Watchmen, our true Preachers have taught us, that as long as we retained Gods Word, we ſhould have God our gracious merciful Father; but if we refuſed and caſt off the Lords yoke of his Doctrine, then ſhall we look for the Lords wrath and ſevere viſitation to plague us, as he did the Jews for the like offences. And *Paul* ſaith, *Rom.* 2. *God gave to them the ſpirit of unquietneſs and uproar, eyes wherewith they ſhould not ſee, and ears wherewith they ſhould not hear, until this day*: And as *David* ſaid; *Pſal.* 69. *Let their table be made a ſnare to take themſelves withal, a trap to catch them, and a ſtumbling block to fall at. Let their eyes be blinded that they ſee not, and bow thou down their backs always.*

What unquietneſs followeth the lack of Gods word.

O merciful God, all this is now come upon us, and daily more and more increaſed, and we fear at laſt it will ſo bow down our backs, that we ſhall utterly be deſtroyed; the troubleſome ſpirit of uproars and unquietneſs daily troubleth mens hearts, and worketh ſuch unquietneſs in all places, that no man that loveth quietneſs, can tell where to place himſelf. Men have eyes and ſee not, how grievous an offence it is to caſt off the yoke of Gods Doctrine; and to bear the heavy burden that unfaithful Hypocrites lay upon us. We have ears and hear not the warning of Gods Word, calling us to true Repentance, nor his threats againſt our Impiety. Our moſt ſweet table of Chriſts Word and moſt holy Communion is taken away, and turned to a moſt perillous ſnare, through the brawling Diſputations of men. And as the Idol of Abomination betokened final ſubverſion unto the Jewiſh Nation; ſo we fear, this ſetting aſide of the Goſpel and holy Communion of Chriſt, and the placing in of a Romiſh Religion, betokeneth deſolation of this noble Realm of *England* to be at hand.

For the Plagues of Hunger, Peſtilence and Sword, cannot long tarry; but except we repent, and turn again to the Lord, our backs ſhall be ſo bowed, that the like horrible Plagues were never ſeen. And no marvel: for the like offence was never committed, as to reject and caſt off Chriſt and his Word, and in plain Engliſh to ſay, *We will not have him to reign over us.* O Lord, how terrible is it that followeth in the Goſpel? *Thoſe mine enemies that would not have me to reign over them, bring them hither, and ſlay them before me, Luke* 19. God be merciful unto us, and move the Queens Majeſties heart, and the hearts of her honourable Council, and your hearts (right honourable Commiſſioners) to weigh theſe dangers in due time; and to call Gods Word into your Council, and then you ſhall ſee how it agreeth with this Biſhop-like Commandment; and to be as wary to avoid the contempt of the eternal God, and dangers of the ſame, as you are prudent and wiſe in matters of this World, leſt if the Almighty be contemned, he ſtretch forth his Arm which no man can turn, and kindle his Wrath, that no man can quench.

Warning to Q. *Mary*, to her Council, and Commiſſioners.

The duty of true Subjects declared, firſt to Chriſt, then to the Queen.

We have humbly opened unto your Conſciences, doubtleſs ſore wounded and grieved by this Commandment; and we meekly pray and beſeech the Queens Majeſty, for the precious death and bloodſhedding of Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, to have mercy and pity upon us her Graces poor Commons, faithful and true Subjects, Members of the ſame Body Politick, whereof her Grace is Supream Head. All our Bodies, Goods, Lands and Lives are ready to do her Grace faithful obedience, and true ſervice of all Commandments that are not againſt God, and his Word: but in things that import a denial of Chriſt, and refuſal of his Word and holy Communion, we cannot conſent nor agree unto it. For we have bound our ſelves in Baptiſm to be Chriſts Diſciples, and to keep his holy Word and Ordinances. And if we deny him before men, he will deny us before his heavenly Father and his holy Angels in the day of Judgment: which we truſt her benign Grace will not require of us.

How far a Prince ought to require obedience of his Subjects.

And we humbly beſeech her Majeſty, that we be not enforced unto it; but as we ſerve her Grace with Body and Goods, and due Obedience, according to Gods Commandment: ſo we may be permitted freely to ſerve God and Chriſt our Saviour, and keep unto him our Souls, which he hath with his precious blood redeemed, that ſo (as Chriſt teacheth) we may render to *Cæſar* that which is due to *Cæſar*, and to God that which is due to God. Anno 1556.

True obedience how far it ſtretcheth.

For we think it no true Obedience unto the Queens Highneſs, or to any other Magiſtrate ordained of God under her, to obey in the things contrary to Gods Word, although the ſame be never ſo ſtreightly charged in her Graces Name. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* hath truly taught in the point, in his Book of true Obedience, that true Obedience is in the Lord, and not againſt the Lord: as the Apoſtle anſwered before the Council at *Jeruſalem*, commanding them no more to preach in the Name of the Lord Jeſus. *Judge you* (ſaid they) *whether it be right in the ſight of God, to hear you rather then God.* And again they ſaid, *We muſt obey God rather than Man.* Wherefore we learn, that true Obedience is to obey God, King of all Kings, and Lord of all Lords, and for him, him, and not againſt him and his Word, to obey the Princes and Magiſtrates of this World, who are not truly obeyed when God is diſobeyed, nor yet diſobeyed when God is faithfully obeyed. Acts 4.

True obedience.

Tobias diſobeyed not his King, although contrary to his Commandment, and contrary to the uſage of all other, when they went to *Dan* and *Bethel*, he went unto *Jeruſalem*, and worſhipped in the Temple of the Lord. The three young men in *Babylon*, refuſing *Nebuchodonoſors* Commandment, pleaſed God more than the whole Multitude that obeyed. And *Daniel* that prayed to the God of Heaven, contrary to King *Darius*'s Commandment, bare a more true and faithful heart to the King, then thoſe wicked Counſellors, that procured that wicked Law, or thoſe that for fear or flattery obeyed it. Which two Peſtilences (fear and flattery) have ever deſtroyed true Obedience to God and Man; when wicked godleſs men (that care not if the Devil were worſhipped, ſo they might get and obtain riches, promotions, and dignity, and worldly glory) turn to and fro, as every wind bloweth; and weak and frail men fearing loſs of goods, puniſhment, or death, do outwardly in body that thing, that their hearts and conſciences inwardly abhorreth, and ſo outwardly diſobey God, and in heart diſſemble with man, which diſſimulation we think worthy hate of all men, and moſt uncomly for Chriſtian men.

Example of true obedience.

Fear and flattery, enemies to true obedience, to God and Man.

Wherefore, we humbly beſeech the Queens Majeſty, with pity and mercy to tender the lamentable ſute of us her poor Subjects, which be by this Commandment ſore hurt, and wounded in our Conſciences, and driven to many miſeries, and by the malicious attempts of wicked men ſuffer great wrongs and injuries, ſlanders, loſs of goods, and bodily vexations. We think not good, by any unlawfull ſtir or commotion to ſeek remedy; but intend, by Gods grace, to obey her Majeſty in all things, not againſt God, and his holy Word. But unto ſuch ungodly Biſhop-like Commandments, as are againſt God, we anſwer with the Apoſtles, *God muſt be obeyed rather then Man.* If Perſecution ſhall enſue (which ſome threaten us with) we deſire the heavenly Father, according to his promiſe, to look from Heaven, to hear our cry, to judge between us and our Adverſaries, and to give us faith, ſtrength and patience to continue faithful unto the end, and to ſhorten theſe evil days, for his choſens ſake; and ſo we faithfully believe he will.

False diſſemblers worthy to be hated of all men.

Notwithſtanding, we truſt the Queens gracious and merciful heart will not ſuffer ſuch tyranny to be done againſt her poor, innocent, faithful and obedient Subjects, that daily pray unto God for her; which have no remedy in this world, but to ſue unto her Highneſs, our moſt gracious and benign Sovereign; whom we pray and beſeech, for the dear blood of Chriſt, to pity our lamentable caſe and hurt of Conſcience, and to call back all ſuch Commandments as are againſt Gods honour, as the good King *Darius*, *Aſſuerus*, *Trajanus*, *Theodoſius*, and divers other have done, and permit the holy Word of God and true Religion (ſet forth by our moſt holy and innocent King *Edward*, a very Saint of God) to be reſtored again unto our Churches, to be frequented amongſt us. So ſhall we grow and increaſe in the knowledge of God and

Queen *Mary* authority ſtriving againſt mens conſciences.

Anno 1556.

and of Christ, is true repentance and amendment of Life: so shall we exhibite true obedience to our lawful Magistrates and all superiours ordained of God: so shall love and charity (of late through this commandment so decayed) be again restored, the honour of her regal estate the more confirmed and established and godliness and vertuous life among her loving subjects increased & maintained.

And we most heartily pray you (Right Honorable Commissioners) to be means unto the Queens Highness, and to her Honorable Council, that this our humble sute may be favourably tendered, and graciously heard and granted. And we shall not cease day and night to pray unto the Heavenly Father long to preserve her Grace and all other Magistrates in his fear, and love, and in prosperous peace and wealth, with long life and honor, Amen.

Your poor suppliants, the lovers of Christs true Religion in Norfolk *and* Suffolk.

The Story of John Harpole, *of the Parish of S.* Nicholas *in* Rochester, Joan Beach *Widow, of* Tunbridge, *Martyrs.*

In Harpole & Joan Beach, Martyrs.

TOuching the Examination of *Joan Beach* Widow, and of *John Harpole* within the Diocess of *Rochester*, by *Maurice* Bishop of the said Diocess, remembrance was made before in the Story of *Nicholas Hall*, wherein was declared the four Articles Consistorial of the Bishop, objected and laid, as unto the said *Nicholas Hall* and his company, so also to this *Joan Beach* Widow: whereof the first was this;

Ex Regist. Articles laid to Joan Beach.

1. That she was of the Parish of *Tunbridge*, in the Diocess of *Rochester*.

2. *Item*, that all persons which preach, teach, believe or say otherwise or contrary to that their Mother Holy Catholick Church of Christ, are Excommunicate Persons and Hereticks.

3. *Item*, that the said *Joan Beach* hath, and yet doth affirm, maintain, and believe contrary to the said Mother Church of Christ, *videlicet*, that in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, under form of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and memorial thereof; that the very Body and Blood of Christ is in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament.

4. *Item*, that she hath been, and yet is, amongst the Parishioners of *Tunbridge*, openly noted, and vehemently suspected to be a Sacramentary, and Heretick.

Her personal Answers to the said Articles.

Answers of Joan Beach to the Articles.

TO the which foresaid Articles, her answers were these. First, that she was and is of the said Parish of *Tunbridge*, in the Diocess of *Rochester*.

2. That all persons which do Preach and hold otherwise and contrary, to that which the Holy Catholick Church of Christ doth, are to be reputed for Excommunicate and Hereticks; adding withal, that nevertheless she believeth not the Holy Catholick Church to be her Mother, but believeth only the Father of Heaven to be her Father.

The Catholick Church is no Mother.

3. Thirdly, that she hath, and yet doth verily believe, hold, and affirm, in the Sacrament of the Altar under forms of Bread and Wine, not to be the very Body and Blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and remembrance of his death to the Faithful receiver, and this his Body and substance is only in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament.

Lastly, as touching how she hath been or is noted and reputed among the Parishioners of *Tunbridge*, she said, she could not tell; howbeit she believed, she was not so taken and reputed.

Examination and Condemnation of John Harple *and* Joan Beach.

The Martyrdom of John Harpole, and Joan Beach, at Rochester, Anno 1556. April. 1.

THe like matter, and the same four Articles were also the same present time and place ministred to *John Harpole* by the foresaid Bishop *Maurice*; who after the like answers received of him, as of the other before, adjudged and condemned them both together to death, by one form of Sentence, according to the tenour and course of their several sentence, which ye may read before in Master *Rogers* Story.

And thus these two Christian Martyrs coupled in one confession, being condemned by the Bishop, suffered together at one fire, in the Town of *Rochester*, where they together ended their lives about the first day of this present Month of *April*.

John Hullier, *Minister and Martyr.*

John Hullier Martyr.

NExt after these ensueth the Martyrdom of *John Hullier*, Minister, who first being brought up in the School of *Eaton*, was afterward Scholar, and then Conduct in the Kings Colledge at *Cambridge* suffered under Doctor *Thurlby* Bishop of *Ely*, and his Chancellour, for the sincere setting out of the light of Gods Gracious Gospel revealed in these our days. In whose behalf this is to be lamented, that among so many fresh wits and stirring pens in that University, so little matter is left unto us touching the process of his judgment, and order of his suffering, which so innocently gave his life in such a cause among the midst of them. By certain Letters which he himself left behind, it appeareth that he was zealous and earnest in that Doctrine of truth, which every true Christian Man ought to embrace. His Martyrdom was about the second day of this present Month of *April*.

The Martyrdom of John Hullier Minister, who suffered at Cambridge, Anno 1556. April. 2.

Letters of Master John Hullier, *Minister.*

A Letter of John Hullier *to the Christian Congregation, exhorting them faithfully to abide in the Doctrine of the Lord*

A Letter exhortatory of John Hullier to the Flock of the Faithful Christians.

IT standeth now most in hand (O dear Christians) all them that look to be accounted of Christs flock at the great and terrible day, when a separation shall be made of the sort that shall be received from the other which shall be refused, faithfully in this time of great afflictions to hear our Master Christs voice, the only true Shepheard of our Souls, which saith, *Whosoever shall endure to the end shall be safe.* For even now is that great trouble in hand (as here in *England* we may well see) that our Saviour Christ spake of so long before, which should follow the true and sincere Preaching of his Gospel. Therefore in this time we must needs either shew that we be his Faithful Souldiers, and continue in his battel unto the end, putting on the armour of God, the buckler of faith, the brestplate of love, the helmet of hope and Salvation, and the Sword of his Holy Word (which we have heard plentifully) with all instance of Supplication and Prayer; or else if we do not work and labour with these, we are Apostates and false Souldiers, shrinking most unthankfully from our gracious and soveraign Lord and Captain Christ, and leaning to *Belial*. For as he saith plainly, *Luke* 14. *Whosoever beareth not my Cross and followeth me, he cannot be my disciple.* And *Matth.* 6. *No Man can serve two Masters: for either he must hate the one, or love the other, or else he shall lean to the one, and despise the other.* The which thing the Faithful Prophet *Helias* signified when he came to the people, and said, *Why halt ye between two Opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him, or if* Baal *be he, then follow him*, 3 *Reg.* 18.

Matth 24. Ephes. 6. 1 Thes. 5.

Now let us not think, but that the same was recorded in writing for our instruction, whom the ends of the World are come upon, as the Apostle S. *Paul* saith, *Rom.* 15. *Whatsoever things are written aforehand, they are written for our learning.* If Christ be that only good and true Shepheard that gave his life for us, then let us that bear his mark, and have our Consciences sprinkled with his Blood, follow altogether, for our Salvation, his Heavenly Voice and calling, according to our profession and first promise. But if we shall not so do, certainly (say what we can) although we bear the name of Christ, yet we be none of his Sheep indeed. For he saith very manifestly, *John* 10. *My Sheep hear my voice, and follow me: a stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voice of a stranger.*

Therefore let every Man take good heed in these perillous days (whereof we have had so much warning aforehand)

hand) that he be not beguiled by the goodly outward ſhew and appearance, as *Eve* was of our old ſubtil enemy, whoſe craft and willneſs is ſo manifold and divers, and ſo full of cloſe windings, that if he cannot bring him directly and the plain ſtraight way to conſent to his ſuggeſtions, then he will allure him and wind him in by ſome other falſe ways (as it were by a train) that he ſhall not perceive it, to deceive him withal, and to ſteal from him that goodly victory of the incorruptible and Eternal Crown of Glory, which no Man elſe can have, but he that fighteth lawfully: as at this preſent day, if he cannot induce him throughly, as other do, to favour his Deviliſh Religion, and of good will and free heart to help to uphold the ſame, yet he will inveigle him to reſort to his wicked and whoriſh School-Houſe, and at the leaſt wiſe to be coverſant and keep company with his congregation there, and to hold his peace and ſay nothing, whatſoever he think, ſo that he be not a Diligent Souldier and a good labourer on Chriſts ſide, to further his Kingdom; by that ſubtil means flattering him that he ſhall both ſave his life, and alſo his goods, and live in quiet. But if we look well on Chriſts Holy Will and Teſtament, we ſhall perceive that he came not to make any ſuch peace upon Earth, nor yet that he gave any ſuch peace to his Diſciples; *I leave peace with you* (ſaith he) *my peace I give you, not as the World giveth it, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, nor fearful. Theſe things have I ſpoken unto you, that in me ye ſhould have peace. In the World ye ſhall have affliction, but be of good chear, I have overcome the World. The Servant is not greater then his Lord and Maſter: If they have perſecuted me, they ſhall alſo perſecute you. If any Man come to me, and hateth not his own Father and Mother, Wife, Children, Siſters, yea, and moreover his own Life, it is not poſſible for him to be my Diſciple. Bleſſed be ye that now weep, for ye ſhall laugh: and wo be unto you that now laugh, for ye ſhall mourn and weep. He that will find his life, ſhall loſe it.*

The wilineſs of the ſubtle Serpent.

2 Tim. 2.

Matth. 10. John 14, 15, 16.

The peace of Chriſt to them that ſuſtain the troubles of this World. Luke 14.

Therefore the God of that true peace and comfort, preſerve and keep us, that we never obey ſuch a falſe flattering, which at length will pay us home once for all, bringing for temporal peace and quietneſs, everlaſting trouble, vexation, and diſquietneſs; for theſe vain and tranſitory goods, extream loſs and utter damage of the eternal treaſure and inheritance; for this mortal life, deprivation of the moſt joyful life immortal; finally, the entrance into endleſs death moſt miſerable, unmeaſurable pain and torment both of Body and Soul.

Now conferring theſe two Schoolmaſters together, let us conſider the thing well, and determine with our ſelves which way we ought to take, and not to take the common broad way which ſeemeth here moſt pleaſant, and that the moſt part of the people take. Surely I judge it to be better, to go to School with our Maſter Chriſt, and to be under his *Ferula* and rod (although it ſeemeth ſharp and grievous for a time) that at the length we may be inheritors with him of everlaſting joy, rather then to keep company with the Devils Scholars, the adulterous generation, in his School that is all full of pleaſure for a while, and at the end to be paied with the wages of continual burning in the moſt horrible lake which burneth evermore with Fire and Brimſtone without any end. What ſhall then theſe vain goods and temporal pleaſures avail? Who ſhall then help when we cry inceſſantly, Wo, wo, alas, and weal away, for unreaſonable pain, grief, and ſorrow? O let us therefore take heed betime, and rather be content to take pains in this World for a time, that we may pleaſe God. Our Saviour Chriſt the true teacher ſaith; *Every Branch that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will take away, John 15.*

The ſtraite way of Chriſt better then the broad way of this World.

It is alſo not written in vain, *Eccleſ. 41. The Children of the Ungodly are abominable Children, and ſo are they that keep company with the Ungodly.* What doth he elſe, I pray you, that reſorteth to the miniſtration and ſervice that is moſt repugnant and contrary to Chriſts Holy Teſtament, there keeping ſtill ſilence, and nothing reproving the ſame, but in the face of the World, by his very deed it ſelf, declare himſelf to be of a falſe, fearful, diſſembling, fained, and unfaithful heart, and to have laid away from him the armour of light, diſcouraging as much as lieth in him all the reſidue of Chriſts hoſt, and giving a manifeſt offence to the weak, and alſo confirming, encouraging, and rejoycing the hearts of the adverſaries in all their evil doing? By which example he doth ſhew himſelf neither to love God, whom he ſeeth to be diſhonoured and Blaſphemed of an Antichriſtian Miniſter, nor yet his neighbour before whom he ſhould rebuke the evil, as it is expreſly commanded in Gods Holy Law, where it is ſaid *Thou ſhalt in any wiſe rebuke thy neighbour, that thou bear not ſin for his ſake, Levit. 18.* Wherefore let ſuch a one never fantaſie to deceive himſelf, that his name is regiſtred in the Book of Life, to have the ſtipend of Chriſts Souldier, except he do the duty, and perform the part of a Faithful and right true Souldier, as other have done before. For ſuch fearfulneſs cometh not from God, as teſtifieth Saint *Paul, 2 Tim. 1.* ſaying, *God hath not given us the ſpirit of fear, but of power and love. Be not aſhamed, ſaith he, to teſtifie our Lord, but ſuffer adverſity alſo with the Goſpel, through the power of God, which ſaved us and called us with an holy calling.*

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Gods ſtipend cometh not, but to ſuch as play his Souldiers

To be now fearful, when moſt need is that we ſhould be of ſtrong hearts, is utterly the rejecting of the fear of God, and plain unfaithfulneſs and diſobedience to the expreſs commandment of our Saviour Chriſt, which ſaith in his Holy Goſpel, *Matth. 10. Fear not them that kill the Body, &c.* For what faithfulneſs do we expreſs towards him, when he ſaith thus to us, and yet we declare in our doings the very contrary, being ever fearful, even as the unbelieving Iſraelites, which unfaithfully feared Gods Enemies the Heathen Cananites, whereas he had oftentimes given them commandment by his true Prophet *Moſes*, to do the contrary? For the which cauſe, all the whole number of that Sect were deſtroyed in proceſs of time in the Wilderneſs, and enjoyed not the pleaſant land of promiſe. Which was a Bodily figure ſhewed before, and now agreeing to the promiſe of the Heavenly Inheritance, which ſhall be given to none other, but only to all ſuch as with love unfained be wholly bent, without any fear of Man, to fulfill Gods Holy Will and pleaſure. But all they that pertain to the lively Faith, to the winning of the Soul, will faithfully ſtick to the commandment, truſting moſt firmly and faithfully that he that gave the ſame, will alſo give ſtrength plentifully to perform it, even in the weakeſt veſſels of all, even as we have heard and ſeen by many and divers examples; he only be praiſed therefore.

Fearfulneſs in Chriſts cauſe reproved.

Numb. 13, 14. Example by the fearful Iſraelites.

Saint *Peter* ſaith, *1 Pet. 3. Fear not though they ſeem terrible unto you, neither be troubled, but ſanctifie the Lord God in your hearts. Onely* (ſaith Saint *Paul, Philippi. 1. let your converſation be as it becometh the Goſpel of Chriſt. Continue in one ſpirit, and in one Soul, labouring as we do, to maintain the faith of the Goſpel, and in nothing fearing your adverſaries, which is to them a token of Damnation, and to you of Salvation, and that of God: for unto you it is given that not only ye ſhould believe in Chriſt, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake.* Wherefore let us be right well aſſured, that we ſhall yield a moſt ſtraight reckoning and account, if we tranſgreſs the ſaid moſt wholſom precepts given us of our Maſter Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles, and now in this troubleſom time wherein the Goſpel is perſecuted, ſhew our ſelves fearful Souldiers; as it is manifeſtly declared in the *Revelation* of Saint *John*, Chapter, 21. where it is written, *That the fearful ſhall have their part with the unbelieving and abominable, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecond death.* Again, it is written in the ſame Book for our warning, Chapter the third, *Becauſe thou art betwixt both, and neither cold nor hot, I will ſpew thee out of my Mouth.*

Ungoldly company to be avoided.

Now therefore (good Chriſtians) theſe true teſtimonies of Gods lively word deeply conſidered and weighed, let us chiefly ſtand in aw of his moſt terrible judgments, and be not as they that preſumptuouſly tempt him. Let him always be our fear and dread. He now chaſteneth, he now nourtereth us for our profit, delighting in us even as a loving Father in his beloved Child, to make us perfect, and to have us to be partakers of his Holineſs. He now judgeth us (not utterly taking away his everlaſting love and mercy from us, as he doth from the malignant and wicked) that we ſhould not be condemned with the wicked World: but if we now refuſe his moſt loving

Iſa. 8. Prov. 3. Hebr. 12. 1 Cor. 11. 2 Reg. 7.

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chastising, and follow the World, we must needs have our portion with the World. Wide is the gate, and broad is the way which leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: But strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. O how much better is it to go this narrow way with the people of God, then to enjoy the pleasures of Sin for a time?

Matth. 7.

In consideration whereof, let us without any more slacking and further delays in this great warning by Gods loving visitation, submit our selves betime under his mighty hand, that he may exalt us when the time is come. And thus I wholly commit you to him, and to the Word of his grace, which is able to build further, beseeching you most heartily to pray for me, that I may be strong through the power of his might, and stand perfect in all things, being always prepared and ready, looking for the mercy of our Lord unto eternal rest, and I will pray for you as I am most bound. So I trust he will graciously hear us for his promise sake made unto all the faithful in his dearly beloved Son Christ our alone Saviour, whose Grace be with your Spirit, most dear Christians, for ever. So be it.

By your Christian Brother, John Hullier, *a Prisoner of the Lord.*

John Hullier *being of long time prisoner, and now openly judged to dye for the Testimony of the Lord Jesus, wisheth heartily to the whole Congregation of God, the strength of his Holy Spirit, to their everlasting health both of Body and Soul.*

Another Letter of Jo. Hullier to the Congregation of Christs Faithful followers.

I Now (most dear Christians) having the sweet comfort of Gods saving health, and being confirmed with his free Spirit (be he only praised therefore) am constrained in my Conscience, thinking it my very duty to admonish you, as ye tender the Salvation of your Souls, by all manner of means to separate your selves from the company of the Popes hirelings, considering what is said in the *Revelation* of Saint *John*, by the Angel of God, touching all Men. The words be these; *If any Man worship the Beast and his Image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink the Wine of the Wrath of God, which is powred into the cup of his wrath, and he shall be punished with fire and brimstone before the holy Angels, and before the Lamb, and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up evermore.* Mark well here (good Christians) who is this Beast and worshippers that shall be partakers of that unspeakable torment. The Beast is none other but the carnal and Fleshly Kingdom of Antichrist, the Pope with his rabble of false Prophets and Ministers, as it is most manifest: which to maintain their high Titles, Worldly promotions and dignities, do with much cruelty, daily more and more set forth and establish their own traditions, decrees, decretals, contrary to Gods Holy Ordinances, Statutes, Laws, and Commandments, and wholly repugnant to his sincere and pure Religion and true Worshipping.

Apoc. 14.

He exhorteth the faithful to separate themselves from the Popes marked Ministers.

2 Pet. 2.

Now what do they else but Worship this Beast and his Image, who after they had once already escaped from the filthiness of the World, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, are yet again tangled therein and overcome, using dissimulation unfaithfully for fear of their displeasure, doing one thing outwardly, and thinking inwardly another; so having them in reverence under a cloak and colour, to whom they ought not so much as to say, God speed; and adjoyning themselves to the malignant congregation, which they ought to abhor as a den of Thieves and Murtherers, and as the brothel house of most blasphemous fornicators: whose Voices being contrary to Christs Voice, if they were of his Flock, they would not know, but would flee from them; as he himself being the good Shepheard of our Souls doth full well in his Holy Gospel testifie. Again, what do they else I pray you, but receive the Beasts mark in their foreheads and in their hands, which do bear a fair Face and Countenance outwardly in supporting them as other do, being ashamed openly to confess Christ and his Holy Gospel? But this fainedness and dissimulation Christ and his Gospel will in no wise allow. Of whom it is said, *Luke* 9. *Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this Adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he shall come in the Glory of his Father with his holy Angels.* Therefore saith Almighty God by his Prophet *Malachy*; *Malach.* 1. *Cursed be the dissemblers.* Ye were once lightned, and tasted of the Heavenly gift, and were become partakers of the Holy Ghost, and tasted of the Word of God, and of the power of the World to come. And our Saviour Christ saith, *Luke* 6. *No Man that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back, is apt for the Kingdom of God.* Therefore Saint *John* the Apostle useth this for a manifest token, that the backsliding of the true Preachers of Gods Word declare evidently, that they be not of the number of them. For, saith he 1 *John* 2. *They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, no doubt they would have continued with us.* Surely so long as we use dissimulation, and to play on both hands, we are not in the light. For whatsoever is manifest, the same is light, as the elect vessel of God S. *Paul* witnesseth in *Ephes.* 4.

Mark 8. Hebr 6.

John 2.

John 10. Ezech. 16.

John 10. Against dissembling hearers with the Papists.

Wherefore (good Christians) for Gods most dear love, deceive not your selves through your own wisdom, and through the Wisdom of the World, which is foolishness before God; but certifie and stay your own Conscience with the sure truth and faithful Word of God, and with the infallible testimonies of Holy Scripture. For although Gods mercy is over all his works; yet it doth not extend but only to them that hold fast the confidence and rejoycing of hope unto the end, not being weary in well doing, but rather waxing every day stronger and stronger in the inward Man. Therefore in the *Revelation* of S. *John*, where it is entreated of the Beast and his Image, it is also said, *Here is the sufferance of Saints, and here are they that keep the Commandments, and the Faith of Jesus Christ*, *Revelat.* 13. Whereby Almighty God doth shew plainly, that he doth use those wicked Men as Instruments for a time, to try the patience and faith of his peculiar people, without the performance whereof we can have no part among the living; but as it is said in the same Revelation, *The fearful shall have their part in the Lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.*

1 Cor. 3. Psal. 145. Heb. 3.

Gods Mercy to whom it belongeth.

Objection answered.

But peradventure ye will object and say unto me; What shall we do? Shall we cast our selves headlong to death? I say not so. But this I say, that we are all bound (if ever we look to receive Salvation at Gods Hand) in this case wholly to be obedient to his determinate counsel and foreknowledge, expressed by the gift of the Spirit in Holy Scripture; and then to cast all our care upon him, who worketh all in all for the best, unto them that love him: and thus he giveth commandment, saying: *Come away from her my people, that ye be not partakers of her Sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues, Apoc.* 18. Now who hearing this terrible voice of God, which must needs be fulfilled, will not with all speed and diligence apply himself to do thereafter, except such as will presumptuously tempt him? And as touching such, the Wise Man saith, *Eccles.* 3. *He that loveth peril and danger, shall perish therein.* But they that be of the Faith of *Abraham*, even as he did, so will they in all assays and trials be obedient to the Heavenly Voice, howsoever it seemeth contrary to their own natural will and carnal reason, according to the sure word of Faith, which saith; *Hope thou in the Lord, and keep his way: hold thee still in the Lord, and abide patiently upon him.* Let not thy jealousie move thee also to do evil. Come out from among them, and joyn not your selves to their unlawful assemblies; yea, do not once shew your selves with the least part of your Body to favour their wicked doings, but glorifie God (as most right is) as well in your whole Body outwardly, as inwardly in your Spirit; or else you can do neither of both well; for your Body doth belong to God as well as your Spirit. At the dreadful day of Judgment we shall all receive the works of our Bodies, according to that we have done, whether it be good or bad.

1 Cor. 12. Rom. 12.

Psal. 36.

The Body must joyn with the Spirit in serving God.

Therefore whatsoever we do, we may not bring the Spirit in bondage to the Body, but contrariwise we must subdue the Body and the will of the Flesh to the Spirit, that the Spirit may freely accomplish the will of God

all

in all things; for otherwiſe we ſhall never be partakers of his promiſe, with the true Children of *Abraham*. For as S. *Paul* ſaith, *They which are the children of the fleſh, are not the children of God. If we ſhall live according to the fleſh, we ſhall dye. For to be carnally minded, is death; but to be ſpiritually minded, is life and peace, becauſe that the fleſhly mind is enmity to God: for it is not obedient to the Law of God, neither can be. So then they that are in the fleſh, cannot pleaſe God.* Now chooſe you which way you will take; either the narrow way that leadeth unto life, which Chriſt himſelf, and his faithful followers, have gone through before; or elſe the broad path-way that leadeth to deſtruction, which the wicked worldlings take their pleaſure in for a while. I for my part have now written this ſhort Admonition unto you of good will (as God is my witneſs) to exhort you to that way, which at length you your ſelves ſhall prove and find to be beſt, yea and rejoyce thereof. And I do not only write this, but I will alſo (with the aſſiſtance of Gods grace) ratifie and confirm, and ſeal the ſame with the effuſion of my blood, when the full time ſhall be expired that he hath appointed; which (ſo far forth as I may judge) muſt needs be within theſe few days. Therefore I now bid you all moſt heartily farewel in the Lord, whoſe grace be with your ſpirit, Amen. Watch and pray, watch and pray, pray, pray. So be it.

Faithful admonitions.

Anno 1556.

John Hullier.

Beſides theſe Letters, the ſaid *John Hullier* left alſo a godly Prayer, which if any be diſpoſed to peruſe, it is extant in the old Book of Acts to be found, *pag.* 1515.

The death and martyrdom of ſix conſtant Profeſſors of Chriſt, burned at Colcheſter, *for the teſtimony of the Goſpel, the* 28. *day of* April.

NOt long after the death of *Robert Drakes*, *William Tyms*, and the other *Eſſex* Martyrs, executed in *Smithfield*, as is above ſpecified, followed in the ſame order likewiſe of Martyrdom, at one like fire in the Town of *Colcheſter*, (where the moſt part of them did inhabit) ſix other bleſſed Martyrs, whoſe names be theſe:

April 28. The martyrdom of ſix men at *Colcheſter*.

Chriſtopher Lyſter of *Dagneham*, Husbandman.
John Mace of *Colcheſter*, Apothecary.
John Spencer of *Colcheſter*, Weaver.
Symon Joyne, Sawyer.
Richard Nichols of *Colcheſter*, Weaver.
John Hamond of *Colcheſter*, Tanner.

The burning of the foreſaid ſix men at Colcheſter.

Roger Graſbroke.

With theſe ſix was alſo joyned another, whoſe name was *Roger Grasbroke*, but he afterward ſubmitted himſelf. Of theſe above named, the Biſhop, becauſe he (as it ſeemed by the ſhort Proceſs recorded by his Regiſter) waxed now weary, made a very quick diſpatch. For ſoon after that, they were delivered unto one *John Kingſtone*, Batchelor of Civil Law, and then Commiſſary to the Biſhop, by the Earl of *Oxford* and other Commiſſioners (as appeareth by a Bill indented, made between the Commiſſioners and the ſaid Commiſſary, for the receipt of the ſaid Priſoners, dated the 28. day of *March*, *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ* Philippi & Mariæ *ſecundo & tertio*, which is the year of our Lord, 1556.) and by him ſent up unto his Lord and Maſter, the Biſhop cauſed them to be brought unto his Houſe of *Fulham*: Where in the open Church, judicially were miniſtred unto them the ſame Articles that were propounded unto *Bartlet Green* and others, mentioned before. To the which they made their ſeveral Anſwers, agreeing altogether in one Truth, as by the ſum and effect thereof here enſuing, more plainly appeareth.

Joh. Kingſtone Bp. Boners Commiſſary in Eſſex.

These Martyrs were delivered by the Earl of Oxford to the Commiſſary, and by the Commiſſary ſent to the Biſhop.

1. To the firſt Article they all conſented and agreed; *John Spencer* adding further thereto, that the Church malignant (which is the Church of *Rome*) is no part of Chriſts Catholick Church; and that he neither hath, nor doth believe the Doctrine and Religion taught and ſet forth in the ſaid Romiſh and malignant Church.

Their Anſwers to the Biſhops Articles. The Church of *Rome* no part of Chriſts Catholick Church.

2. To the ſecond they anſwered, That they believed, that in the true Catholick Church of Chriſt there be but two Sacraments; that is to ſay, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.

Two Sacraments.

3. To the third Article they all agreed, confeſſing that they were baptized in the Faith and Belief of the Catholick Church, and that their Godfathers and Godmothers had profeſſed and promiſed for them, as is contained in the ſame Article.

Profeſſion of Baptiſm.

4. To the fourth they anſwered, That they always were, and yet then did continue in the Faith and Profeſſion wherein they were baptized; *Richard Nichols* adding alſo, that he had more plainly learned the truth of his Profeſſion by the Doctrine ſet forth in K. *Edward* the ſixth his days, and thereupon he had builded his Faith, and would

Anno 1556.

would continue in the ſame to his lives end, God aſſiſting him.

To deny the beggarly uſages of the Popes Church, is not to deny the Catholick Faith of Chriſt.

5. To the fifth they anſwered, That they neither ſwerved nor went away from the Catholick Faith of Chriſt. Howbeit they confeſſed, that within the time articulate (and before) they had miſliked, and earneſtly ſpoken againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, affirming that they would not come to hear or be partakers thereof, becauſe they had, and then did believe, that they were ſet forth and uſed contrary to Gods Word and Glory. And moreover they did grant, that they had ſpoken againſt the uſurped Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, as an oppreſſor of Chriſts Church and Goſpel, and that he ought not to have any Authority in *England*. For all which ſayings they were no whit ſorry, but rather rejoyced and were glad.

The Pope ought to have no Authority in *England*.

The Church of *Rome* to be abhorred.

6. To the ſixth they anſwered, That they never refuſed, nor yet then preſently did refuſe to be reconciled to the Unity of Chriſts Catholick Church: but they ſaid they had, and then did, and ſo ever would hereafter utterly refuſe to come to the Church of *Rome*, or to acknowledg the Authority of the ſeat thereof, but did utterly abhor the ſame, for putting down the Book of God, the Bible, and ſetting up the Babyloniſh Maſs, with all other of Antichriſts merchandize.

Againſt the Popes trumpery.

7. To the ſeventh Article, the effect thereof they all granted. And *Symon Joyne* declared further, that the cauſe of his refuſing to be partaker of their trumpery was, for that the Commandments of God were there broken, and Chriſts Ordinances changed and put out, and the Biſhop of *Romes* Ordinances in ſtead thereof put in. Moreover, as touching the Sacrament of Chriſts Body, *Chriſtopher Lyſter* affirmed, that in the ſaid Sacrament there is the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine, as well after the words of Conſecration as before, and that there is not in the ſame the very Body and Blood of Chriſt really, ſubſtantially, and truly, but only Sacramentally and Spiritually by Faith in the Faithful receivers, and that the Maſs is not propitiatory for the quick or for the dead, but meer Idolatry and Abomination.

Againſt tranſubſtantiation.

Againſt the Maſs.

8. To the eighth they ſaid, That they were ſent to *Colcheſter* Priſon by the King and Queens Commiſſioners, becauſe they would not come to their Pariſh Churches, and by them ſent unto the Biſhop of *London*, to be there of further examined.

9. To the ninth they all generally agreed, That that which they had ſaid in the premiſſes was true; and that they were of the Dioceſs of *London*.

These Anſwers thus made, the Biſhop did diſmiſs them for that preſent untill the afternoon. At which time having firſt their Articles and Anſwers read unto them again, and they ſtanding moſt firmly unto their Chriſtian profeſſion, they were by divers ways and means aſſayed and tried if they would revoke the ſame their profeſſed Faith, and return to the Unity of Antichriſts Church.

Sentence given againſt them by *B. Boner.*

Which thing when they refuſed, the Biſhop ſtoutly pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation againſt them, committing them unto the the Temporal Power. Who, upon the receipt of the King and Queens Writ, ſent them unto *Colcheſter*, where the 28. day of *April*, moſt cheerfully they ended their lives to the Glory of Gods holy Name, and the great incouragement of others.

Hugh Laverock *an old Man*, John Apprice *a blind Man*, *Martyrs, burned at* Stratford the Bow.

May 15. Two burned together at one ſtake, *Hugh Laverock* an old lame man, and *John Apprice* a blind Man.

IN the diſcourſe of this parcel or part of Hiſtory, I know not whether more to marvel at the great and unſearchable mercies of God (with whom there is no reſpect in degrees of perſons, but he choſeth as well the poor, lame, and blind, as the rich, mighty, and healthful, to ſet forth his glory) or elſe to note the unreaſonable, or rather unnatural doing of theſe unmercifull Catholicks (I mean Biſhop *Boner* and his Complices) in whom was ſo little favour or mercy to all ſorts and kinds of Men; that alſo they ſpared neither impotent Age, neither lame nor blind, as may well appear by theſe poor Creatures, whoſe names and ſtories here under follow.

Hugh Laverock, *of the Pariſh of* Barking, *Painter, of the Age of* 68. *a lame Cripple.*
John Apprice, *a Blind Man.*

The Martyrdome of a blind man, and a lame man, at Stratford the Bowe.

The Martyrdome of three Women

These two poor and ſimple Creatures being belike accuſed by ſome promoting neighbour of theirs, unto the Biſhop and other of the King and Queens Commiſſioners, were ſent for by their Officer; and ſo being brought and delivered into the hands of the ſaid Biſhop, were the firſt day of *May* examined before him in his Palace at *London*: where he firſt propounded and objected againſt them thoſe nine Articles, whereof mention is made before, miniſtred as well unto *Bartlet Green*, as alſo unto many others. To the which they anſwered in effect, as *Chriſtopher Lyſter*, *John Mace*, and other before mentioned had done.

Where.

Whereupon they were again ſent to priſon, and beſide other times, the ninth day of the ſame Month, in the Conſiſtory of *Pauls* were again openly produced, and there (after the old order) travelled withal to recant their opinions againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

The words of *Hugh Laverock* to *Boner.*

Whereunto *Hugh Laverock* firſt ſaid; I will ſtand to mine anſwers, and to that I have confeſſed; and I cannot find in the Scriptures, that the Prieſts ſhould lift up over their head a Cake of Bread.

The Biſhop then turned him unto *John Apprice*, and asked what he would ſay.

The words of *John Apprice* to the Biſhop.

To whom he anſwered; Your Doctrine (ſaid he) that ye ſet forth and teach, is ſo agreeable with the World, and embraced of the ſame, that it cannot be agreeable with the Scripture of God. And ye are not of the Catholick Church; for ye make Laws to kill Men, and make the Queen your Hangman.

At which words the Biſhop, belike, ſomewhat tickled, and therefore very loth to delay their Condemnation any longer (ſuch was now his hot burning charity) commanded that they ſhould be brought after him unto *Fulham*, whither he before dinner did go, and there in the afternoon, after his ſolemn manner, in the open Church he pronounced the definitive Sentence of Condemnation againſt them, and ſo delivering them into the hands of the temporal Officer, thought to diſpatch his hands of them, but could not ſo diſpatch his Conſcience before the judgment of God, from the guiltineſs of innocent Blood.

Sentence of Condemnation given againſt *Hugh Laverock* and *John Apprice.*

The poor Men, being now in the temporal Officers hands, might not there be ſuffered long to remain, and therefore the fifteenth day of *May*, very early in the morning, they were carried from *Newgate* in a Cart to *Stratford the Bowe*, and moſt quietly in the fire praiſing God yielded up their Souls into his hands, through a lively faith in Jeſus Chriſt, whom unto the end they did moſt conſtantly confeſs.

At their death, *Hugh Laverock*, after he was chained, caſt away his Crutch, and comforting *John Apprice* his fellow-Martyr, ſaid unto him; Be of good comfort my Brother; for my Lord of *London* is our good Phyſitian. He will heal us both ſhortly; thee of thy blindneſs, and me of my lameneſs. And ſo patiently theſe two good Saints of God together ſuffered.

Three Women the ſame time burned in Smithfield, Katherine Hut, Elizabeth Thackvel, *and* Joan Horns.

May 16. THe next day after martyrdom of this Lame and Blind Man above ſpecified, in the ſaid Month of *May*, were brought to the Fire three Women, with whom alſo was adjoyned another, who being in the ſame conſtancy with them, was likewiſe partaker of the ſaid condemnation. The names of theſe were:

Katherine Hut, Elizab. Thackvel, Joan Horns, Martyrs.

Katherine Hut of *Bocking*, Widow.
Joan Horns of *Billerica*, Maid.
Elizabeth Tackvel of great *Burſted*, Maid.
Margaret Ellis of *Billerica*, Maid.

How theſe with divers other more were perſecuted and ſent up, eſpecially by Sir *John Mordant*, and *Edmund Tyrel* Eſquire, Juſtices of Peace, this their Letter following will declare.

A Letter ſent unto Boner *Biſhop of* London, *from Sir* John Mordant *Knight, and* Edmund Tyrel *Eſquire, Juſtices of Peace for the County of* Eſſex.

A Letter of certain perſecuting Juſtices to Boner.

OUr Humble Commendations to your Lordſhip: theſe ſhall be to advertiſe you, that we have ſent unto your good Lordſhip *Joan Potter*, the Wife of *Hugh Potter*, *James Harris*, ſervant of *William Harris* of *Bromhill* and *Margaret Ellis*, for that they be not conformable to the orders of the Church, nor to the Real Preſence of Chriſts Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, to uſe your Lordſhips pleaſure with them, as you think good; not doubting, with the puniſhment of theſe and other before ſent to your Lordſhip, but that the Pariſh of great *Burſted* and *Billerica* ſhall be brought to good conformity. Thus, committing your good Lordſhip to the tuition of the Almighty God, we take our leave. From great *Burſted* this preſent ſecond day of *March*, 1556. Anno 1556.

Your Lordſhips to command, John Mordant, Edmund Tyrel.

After the receipt of theſe Letters, Biſhop *Boner* entring to examination of theſe four Women above named, laid and objected the like Articles to them, as after his uſual form he uſed to miniſter, and are before expreſſed: Whereunto the ſaid Women likewiſe agreeing in the ſame Unity of Spirit and Doctrine, accorded in their Anſwers, much agreeing unto the other before them.

As firſt, to the Article in the firſt place objected, they conſented and granted, believing the ſaid Article to be true in every part thereof.

2. To the ſecond, partly they anſwered, they could not tell what a *Sacrament* is; *Elizabeth Thackvel*, and *Katherine Hut* adding moreover, that Matrimony, and Baptiſm, and the Lords Supper were Sacraments ordained in the Church: but whether the other ſpecified in this Article be Sacraments (as they heard them called) ordained by God or not, they could not tell. *Margaret Ellis* being examined ſeverally, as the other were, upon the ſame, how many Sacraments there were, anſwered (as a young maid unskilled, in her ſimple ignorance), that ſhe could not tell. Howbeit ſhe had heard (ſhe ſaid) that there was one Sacrament, but what it was ſhe could not tell, &c.

The ſimple ignorance of theſe Women and more needful to be inſtructed, then they to be burned.

3. To the third likewiſe they granted, that they were Baptized by their Godfathers and Godmothers, which Godfathers and Godmothers (ſaid *Margaret Ellis*) did not then know ſo much, as ſhe doth now know: *Katherine Hut* adding withal and ſaying, that ſhe was Baptized; but what her Godfather and Godmothers did then promiſe for her in her name, ſhe could not tell, &c.

4. To the fourth Article *Margaret Ellis*, and *Elizabeth Thackvel* did grant thereunto: *Katherine Hut* ſaid moreover, that ſhe, being of the Age of fourteen years, was of the faith wherein ſhe was chriſtned; and yet nevertheleſs the ſaid faith in that Age (ſhe ſaid) was but a dead faith, becauſe ſhe did not then underſtand what ſhe did believe. *Joan Horns* added, that ſhe, being eleven years of age, began to learn the faith ſet forth in King *Edwards* days, in the which Faith and Religion (ſhe ſaid) ſhe hath hitherto, and yet doth, and ſo will hereafter continue, God ſo aſſiſting her.

5. To the fifth Article they anſwered and confeſſed, according all in this effect, that as touching the Maſs, they knew no goodneſs in it; and as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, they believed that Chriſts Natural Body is in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament of the Altar: & as concerning the See of *Rome*, they acknowledged no ſuch ſupremacy in that See, neither have they any thing to do therewith.

Againſt the Maſs and Sacrament of the Altar.

6. In anſwering the ſixth Article, they did all generally refuſe to be reconciled or united to the Church of *Rome*, or any other Church, contrary to that wherein they now ſtood and did profeſs.

7. To the ſeventh Article they anſwered likewiſe, that they had ſo done and ſaid in all things, as it is in this Article contained: *Katherine Hut* adding moreover the reaſon why; for that (ſaid ſhe) neither the Service in Latin, Maſs, Mattens, and Evenſong; nor the Sacraments were uſed and miniſtred according to Gods Word: And furthermore, that the Maſs is an Idol, neither is the true Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, as they make Men believe.

8. The Anſwer to the eighth Article, declared, that they were all and every one ſent up to *Boner* by Sir *John Mordant* Knight, and Juſtice of Peace in *Eſſex* (the Lord of his mercy ſend us better Juſtices I beſeech him) for that they could not affirm the preſence of Chriſts Body and Blood to be truly and really in the Sacrament, and for that they came not to their Popiſh Pariſh Church.

Sir Jo. *Mordant* Promoter.

9. To the ninth Article, they anſwered and confeſſed the premiſſes thereof to be true, and denied not the ſame; ſave that *Katherine Hut* ſaid, that ſhe was of *Bocking* in *Eſſex* of the peculiar juriſdiction of *Canterbury*, and not of the Dioceſs and juriſdiction of *London*.

Katherin Hut.

After

Anno 1556.

After these their Answers received; they were produced again about the thirteenth of *April* to further Examination, and so at length to their final Judgment; where *Katherine Hut* widow, standing before the Bishop, boldly and constantly stood to that which she had said before, neither yielding to his fair promises, nor overthrown with his terrour. Who being required of the Sacrament to say her mind, and to revoke her self unto the fellowship of the Catholick Faith, openly protested, saying, I deny it to be God, because it is a dumb God, and made with mens hands. Wherein the good and faithful Martyr of Christ firmly persisting, so received her Sentence, being condemned of *Boner* to the fire; which she with great constancy sustained by the grace and strength of the Lord, and did abide for the cause and love of Christ.

The words of Katherine Hut of the Sacrament.

Joan Horns Maid, producted likewise to her Judgment and Condemnation, with like firmness and Christian fortitude declared her self a true Martyr and follower of Christs Testament, giving no place to the Adversary; but being charged that she did not believe the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood to be Christ himself, of the which Sacrament (contrary to the nature of a Sacrament) the Adversaries are wont to make an Idol Service; to this she protesting openly her mind, said as followeth;

Joan Horns Maid.

The words and profession of Joan Horns touching the Sacrament.

If you can make your God to shed blood, or to shew any condition of a true lively Body, then will I believe you: but it is but Bread (as touching the Substance thereof) meaning the matter whereof the Sacrament consisteth; and that which you call Heresie, I trust to serve my Lord God in, *&c.*

And as concerning the Romish See, she said, My Lord (speaking to *Boner*) I forsake all his Abominations, and from them good Lord deliver us. From this her stable and constant assertion, when the Bishop was too weak to remove her, and too ignorant to convince her, he knockt her down with the butcherly Ax of his Sentence. And so the holy Virgin and Martyr committed to the Shambles of the Secular Sword, was offered up with her other fellows a burnt Sacrifice to the Lord, *In odorem bonæ fragrantiæ*, in the favour of a sweet and pleasant smell.

The butcherly Ax of *Boner.*

As touching *Margaret Ellis*, she likewise persevering in her foresaid Confession, and resisting the false Catholick errors and heresies of the Papists, was by the said *Boner* adjudged and condemned; but before the time of her burning came, prevented by death in *Newgate* Prison, departed and slept in the Lord.

Margaret Ellis died in *Newgate.*

No less strength in the grace of the Lord appeared in the other Maid *Elizabeth Thackvell*, whose heart and mind the Lord had so confirmed in his Truth, so armed with Patience, that as her Adversaries could by no sufficient knowledge of Scripture convince her affirmation, so by no forcible attempts they could remove her confession. Whereupon she standing to the death, being in like sort condemned, by the said unbishoplike * πλήκτης, gave her life willingly and mildly for the confirmation and sealing up of the sincere truth of Gods Word.

Elizabeth Thackvell, Maid and Martyr.

* i. A persecutor.

These three innocent and godly women, thus falsly and wrongfully by men condemned for the just quarrel and cause of Gods Gospel, were had to *Smithfield*, and there cruelly bound to the Stake, gave their Bodies to the Tormentors, their Spirits they commended to God. For whose glory they were willing and ready to suffer whatsoever the cruel hands of their enemies should work against them, dying more joyfully in the flaming fire, then some of them that burned them did peradventure in their beds. Such a Lord is God, glorious and wonderful in all his Saints. The martyrdom of these Saints of God was the 16. of *May*.

Thomas Drowry *a blind Boy, and* Thomas Croker *Bricklayer, Martyrs.*

May 5. *Tho. Drowry a blind Boy, and Thomas Croker, Martyrs Persecution at Glocester.*

YE heard a little before of two men, the one blind, the other lame, which suffered about the 15. of *May*. And here is not to be forgotten another as godly a couple, which suffered the like passion and martyrdom for the same cause of Religion at *Glocester*: of the which two, the one was a blind Boy, named *Thomas Drowry*, mentioned before in the History of Bishop *Hooper*, whom the said vertuous Bishop confirmed then in the Lord, and in the Doctrine of his Word.

* Of this blind Boy, read before.

With him also was burned another in the same place, and at the same fire in *Glocester*, about the fifth of *May*, whose name was *Thomas Croker* Bricklayer.

Concerning the which blind Boy, how long he was in Prison, and in what year he suffered, I am not certain. Of this credible Intelligence I have received by the Testimony of the Register then of *Glocester*, named *John Taylor*, alias *Barker*, that the said blind Boy at his last Examination and final Condemnation, was brought (by the Officers, under whose custody he had remained) before Dr. *Williams* then Chancellor of *Glocester*, sitting Judicially with the said Register in the Consistory, near unto the South-door, in the neither end of the Church of *Glocester*. Where the said Chancellor then ministred unto the Boy such usual Articles as are accustomed in such cases, and are sundry times mentioned in this Book. Amongst which, he chiefly urged the Article of Transubstantiation, saying in effect as followeth.

Chancellor. Dost thou not believe, that after the words of Consecration spoken by the Priest, there remaineth the very real Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar?

Thom. To whom the blind Boy answered; No, that I do not.

Chan. Then thou art an Heretick, and shalt be burned: But who hath taught thee this Heresie?

Thom. You Master Chancellor.

Chan. Where I pray thee?

Thom. Even in yonder place; pointing with his hand, and turning towards the Pulpit, standing upon the North-side of the Church.

Chan. When did I teach thee so?

Thom. When you preached there (naming the day) a Sermon to all men as well as to me; upon the Sacrament. You said, the Sacrament was to be received spiritually by Faith, and not carnally and really, as the Papists have heretofore taught.

Chan. Then do as I have done, and thou shalt live as I do, and escape burning.

Thom. Though you can so easily dispense with your self, and mock with God, the World, and your Conscience, yet will I not so do.

Chanc. Then God have mercy upon thee; for I will read the Condemnation Sentence against thee.

Thom. Gods will be fulfilled.

The Register being herewith somewhat moved, stood up, and said to the Chancellor;

Register. Fie for shame, Man, will you read the Sentence against him, and condemn your self? Away, away, and substitute some other to give Sentence and Judgment.

Chan. No, Register, I will obey the Law, and give Sentence my self according to mine Office.

And so he read the Sentence condemnatory against the Boy (with an unhappy tongue, and a more unhappy Conscience) delivering him over unto the Secular Power. Who the said fifth day of *May*, brought the said blind Boy to the place of Execution at *Glocester*; together with one *Thomas Croker* a Bricklayer, condemned also for the like testimony of the Truth. Where both together in one fire most constantly and joyfully yielded their Souls into the hands of the Lord Jesus, *Extestimo Io. Lond.*

Persecution in Suffolk.

Three burnt at Beckles, *May* 21.

AFter the death of these above rehearsed, were three men burnt at *Beckles* in *Suffolk*, in one fire about the 21. of *May*, *Anno* 1556. Whose names are here specified.

The martyrdom of three men burned at *Beckles.*

Thomas Spicer of *Winston*, Labourer;
John Denny and *Edmund Poole.*

This *Thomas Spicer* was a single man, of the age of Nineteen years, and by vocation a Labourer, dwelling in *Winston* in the County of *Suffolk*, and there taken in

his Maſters Houſe in Summer, about or anon after the riſing of the Sun, (being in his Bed) by *James Ling* and *John Keretch* of the ſame Town, and *William Davies* of *Debnam* in the ſaid County.

James Ling, John Keretch, Wil. Davies, Perſecutors.

The occaſion of his taking was, for that he would not go to their Popiſh Church to hear Maſs, and receive their Idol at the Commandment of Sir *John Tyrrel* Knight, of *Gipping-Hall* in *Suffolk*, and certain other Juſtices there, who ſent both him and them to *Eye* Dungeon in *Suffolk*, till at length they were all three together brought before *Dunning*, then Chancellor of *Norwich*, and Mr. *Mings* the Regiſter ſitting at the Town of *Beckles* to be examined.

Dunning and Mings Perſecutors.

And there the ſaid Chancellor, perſwading what he could to turn them from the Truth, could by no means prevail of his purpoſe. Wherefore minding in the end to give Sentence on them, he burſt out in tears, intreating them to remember themſelves, and to turn again to the holy Mother Church, for that they were deceived and out of the Truth, and that they ſhould not wilfully caſt away themſelves, with ſuch like words.

Now as he was thus labouring them, and ſeemed very loath to read the Sentence (for they were the firſt that he condemned in that Dioceſs) the Regiſter there ſitting by, being weary belike of tarrying, or elſe perceiving the conſtant Martyrs to be at a point, called upon the Chancellor in haſte to rid them out of the way, and to make an end. At the which words the Chancellor read the Condemnation over them with tears, and delivered them to the Secular Power.

Their Articles.

The Articles whereupon they were condemned.

THe Articles objected to theſe, and commonly to all other condemned in that Dioceſs by Dr. *Hopton* Biſhop of *Norwich*, and by *Dunning* his Chancellor, were theſe:

1. Firſt, It was Articulate againſt them, that they believed not the Pope of *Rome* to be Supream Head immediately under Chriſt in Earth of the Univerſal Catholick Church.

2. *Item*, That they believed not holy Bread and holy Water, Aſhes, Palms, and all other like Ceremonies uſed in the Church, to be good and laudable for ſtirring up the People to Devotion.

Ceremonies.

3. *Item*, That they believed not, after the words of Conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, the very natural Body of Chriſt, and no other Subſtance of Bread and Wine to be in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Sacrament of the Altar.

4. *Item*, That they believed it to be Idolatry to worſhip Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar.

5. *Item*, That they took Bread and Wine in remembrance of Chriſts Paſſion.

6. *Item*, That they would not follow the Croſs in Proceſſion, nor be confeſſed to a Prieſt.

7. *Item*, That they affirmed no mortal man to have in himſelf freewil to do good or evil.

For this Doctrine and Articles above prefixed, theſe three (as is aforeſaid) were condemned by Dr. *Dunning*, and committed to the Secular Power, Sir *John Silliard* being the ſame time high Sheriff of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*.

And the next day following upon the ſame, they were all burnt together in the ſaid Town of *Beckles*. Whereupon it is to be thought, that the Writ *De Comburendo*, was not yet come down, nor could be, the Lord Chancellor B. *Heath* being the ſame time at *London*. Which if it be true, then it is plain, that both they went beyond their Commiſſion, that were the Executioners, and alſo the Clergy, which were the Inſtigators thereof, cannot make good that they now pretend; ſaying, that they did nothing but by Law. But this let the Lord find out when he ſeeth his time.

Execution of burning in Suffolk done without a Writ.

In the mean time while theſe good men were at the Stake, and had prayed, they ſaid their Belief; and when they came to the reciting of the Catholick Church, Sir *John Silliard* ſpake to them; That is well ſaid, ſirs, quoth he, I am glad to hear you ſay, you do believe the Catholick Church. That is the beſt word I have heard of you yet.

Sir Joh. Silliards words.

To which his ſayings *Edmund Poole* anſwered, that though they believe the Catholick Church, yet do they not believe in their Popiſh Church, which is no part of Chriſts Catholick Church, and therefore no part of their Belief.

Anno 1556.

Edm. Poole refuſeth the Popiſh Church.

When they roſe from Prayer, they all went joyfully to the Stake, and being bound thereto, and the Fire burning about them, they praiſed God in ſuch an audible voice, that it was wonderful to all thoſe which ſtood by and heard them.

Then one *Robert Bacon*, dwelling in the ſaid *Beckles*, a very Enemy of Gods Truth, and a Perſecutor of his People, being there preſent within hearing thereof, willed the Tormentors to throw one Fagot to ſtop the Knaves breaths, as he termed them; ſo hot was his burning Charity. But theſe good men, not regarding their malice, confeſſed the Truth, and yielded their lives to the death for the teſtimony of the ſame, very gloriouſly and joyfully. The which their conſtancy in the like cauſe the Lord grant we may imitate and follow unto the end: Whether it be death or life, to glorifie the Name of Chriſt, Amen.

Robert Bacon an enemy.

And foraſmuch as we have here entred into the Perſecution of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, it cometh therefore to mind, by occaſion hereof, briefly to touch by the way, ſome part (for the whole matter cannot be ſo expreſt as it was done) touching the troubles of the Town of *Winſon* and *Mendleſam* in *Suffolk*, raiſed and ſtirred by the ſaid Sir *John Tyrrel* and other Juſtices there of the like affinity. The ſum and effect of which briefly is thus ſignified to me by writing.

The Perſecution in the Towns of Winſon *and* Mendleſam *in* Suffolk.

Sir Jo. Tyrrel Perſecutor. Perſecution at Winſon & Mendleſam in Suffolk.

BY the procurement of Sir *John Tyrrel* Kt. and other of his Colleagues, there were perſecuted out of the Town of *Winſon* in *Suffolk*, theſe perſons hereafter following, *Anno* 1556.

The names of good men perſecuted in Suffolk at Mendleſam.

Mrs. *Alice Twaites* Gentlewoman, of the age of threeſcore years and more, and two of her Servants.
Humfrey Smith and his wife.
William Catchpoole and his wife.
John Mauling and his wife.
Nicholas Burlingham and his wife.
And one *Rought* and his wife.

Such as were perſecuted and driven out of the Town of *Mendleſam*, in the County of *Suffolk*.

Gods people perſecuted.

Symon Harlſtone, and *Katherine* his wife, with his five children.
William Whitting, and *Katherine* his wife.
Thomas Dobſon and his wife.
Thomas Hubbard and his wife.
John Doncon and his wife and maid.
William Doncon.
Thomas Woodward the elder.
One *Konnolds* wife.
A Poor Widow.
One mother *Semons* Maid.

Beſides thoſe that were conſtrained to do againſt their Conſcience, by the help of the Pariſh Prieſt, whoſe name was Sir *John Brodiſh*.

Theſe be the chiefeſt Cauſes why thoſe above named were perſecuted.

The faith and doctrine of theſe men.

FIrſt, they did hold and believe the holy Word of God to be the ſufficient Doctrine unto their Salvation.

Secondly, They denied the Popes uſurped Authority, and did hold all that Church of Antichriſt to be Chriſts Adverſaries. And further, they refuſed the abuſed Sacraments, defied the Maſs and all Popiſh Service and Ceremonies, ſaying, they robbed God of his honour and Chriſt of his death and glory, and would not come at the Church, without it were to the defacing of that they did there.

Thirdly,

Anno 1556.

Thirdly, They did hold that the Miniſters of the Church by Gods Word might lawfully marry.

Fourthly, They held the Queen to be as chief Head, and wicked Rulers to be a great Plague ſent of God for ſin, &c.

Fifthly, They denied mans Free-will, and held that the Popes Church did err, and many other in that point with them, rebuking their falſe confidence in works, and their falſe truſt in mans righteouſneſs. Alſo when any rebuked thoſe perſecuted for going ſo openly, and talking ſo freely; their anſwer was, They knowledged, confeſſed, and believed, and therefore they muſt ſpeak: and that their Tribulation was Gods good will and providence, and that his Judgments were right, to puniſh them with other for their ſins; and that of very faithfulneſs and mercy God had cauſed them to be troubled, ſo that one hair of their Heads ſhould not periſh before the time, but all things ſhould work unto the beſt to them that love God, and that Chriſt Jeſus was their life and only righteouſneſs, and that only by faith in him, and for his ſake all good things were freely given them, alſo forgiveneſs of ſins and life everlaſting.

Witneſſed by the faithful report of *Suffolk* men.

Many of theſe perſecuted were of great Subſtance, and had Poſſeſſions of their own.

Give God the praiſe.

¶ Foraſmuch as we are now in the Month of *May*, before we overpaſs the ſame, and becauſe the Story is not long and not unworthy peradventure of noting, it ſhall not grieve the ſtudious Reader, a little to give the hearing thereof, whereby to learn to marvel and muſe at the great works of the Lord. *They that go down* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *into the Sea, labouring upon the water, have ſeen the works of the Lord, and his mighty wonders upon the deep, Pſal. 106. &c.* The truth whereof may well appear in this ſtory following; which ſtory, as it is ſignified and written to me by relation of the party himſelf, which was doer thereof, called *Thomas Morſe*, ſo I thought to purport the ſame as followeth.

A Story of one Gregory Crow, *marvellouſly preſerved with his New Teſtament upon the Seas,* May 26.

A ſtory of *Gregory Crow* marvellouſly preſerved upon the Sea with his New Teſtament.

UPon *Tueſday* after *Whitſunday*, which was the 26. day of *May*, in this preſent year 1556. (or elſe, as he rather thinketh, in the year next before, which was 1555.) a certain poor man, whoſe name was *Gregory Crow*, dwelling in *Maulden*, went to the Sea, minding to have gone into *Kent* for Fulling Earth, but by the way, being foul weather, was driven upon a Sand, where preſently the Boat ſunk, and was full of water, ſo that the men were forced to hold themſelves by the Maſt of the Boat, and all things that would ſwim did ſwim out of her. Amongſt which *Crow* ſaw his Teſtament in the water, and caught it and put it in his boſom. Now it was ebbing water, ſo that within one hour the Boat was dry, but broken ſo as they could not ſave her; but they went themſelves upon the Sand (being ten miles at the leaſt from the Land) and there made their Prayers together, that God would ſend ſome Ship that way to ſave them (being two men and one boy in all;) for they might not tarry upon the Sand but half an hour, but it would be floud. In the which time they found their Cheſt wherein was money to the ſum of five pound ſix ſhillings eight pence, the which money the man which was with the ſaid *Crow* (whoſe name I know not) took and gave it unto *Crow* who was owner thereof, and he caſt it into the Sea, ſaying, If the Lord will ſave our lives, he will provide us a Living, and ſo they went upon the Maſt there, hanging by the arms and legs for the ſpace of ten hours, in the which time the boy was ſo weary, and beaten with the Sea, that he fell off and was drowned.

Crow Boat broken up on the Sand.

Crow taketh his Teſtamear, and caſteth his mony away.

The boy beaten with the Sea, and drowned.

And when the Water was gone again, and the Sand dry, *Crow* ſaid to his man, It were beſt for us to take down our Maſts, and when the floud cometh we will ſit upon them, and ſo it may pleaſe God to bring us to ſome Ship that may take us up. Which thing they did, and ſo at ten of the Clock in the night of the ſame *Tueſday*, the floud did bear up the Maſt whereupon they ſate.

And upon the *Wedneſday* in the night the man died, being overcome with hunger and watching. So there was none left but this *Crow*, who, driving up and down in the Sea, called upon God as he could, and might not ſleep for fear that the Sea would have beaten him off.

Crow man dead upon the Maſt.

Gregory Crow driven upon the Seas, ſitting upon a Maſt. Gods providence to be noted.

So at length I my ſelf (ſaid *Thomas Morſe*) being laden to *Antwerp* with my Crayer, going from *Lee* upon *Friday*, having within my Crayer, of Mariners and Merchants, to the number of 46. perſons, and ſo coming to the *Foreland*, the wind was not very good, ſo that I was conſtrained to go ſomewhat out of my way, being in the Afternoon about ſix of the Clock, where at the laſt we ſaw a thing afar off, appearing unto us like a ſmall buoy, that Fiſhermen do uſe to lay with their hooks.

When we ſaw it, ſome ſaid, Let us have ſome fiſh. And I ſaid to him that was at the Helm; Keep your courſe away, for we ſhall but hinder the Fiſherman, and have no fiſh neither, and ſo at my commandment he did. But at length he at the Helm ſtanding higher then all we did, ſaid, Me think Maſter, it is a man. But yet they, being in doubt that it was but a Fiſhers Buoy, returned the Ship from him again to keep their courſe.

God a marvellous helper in time of need.

Crow beholding the Ship to turn from him, being then in utter deſpair, and ready now to periſh with watching, famine, and moreover miſerably beaten with the Seas, at laſt took his Mariners Cap from his head, and holding up the ſame with his arm, as high as he could, thought by ſhaking it as well as he might, to give them ſome token of better ſight.

Whereupon the Styremen more ſenſibly perceiving a thing to move, advertiſed us again, declaring how he did ſee plainly a mans arm; and with that we all beheld him well, and ſo came to him and took him up. And as ſoon as we had him in our Ship, he began to put his hand in his boſom; and one asked him if he had mony there. No, ſaid he, I have a Book here, I think it be wet; and ſo drew out his Teſtament, which we then dried. But the Sea had ſo beaten him, that his eyes, noſe, and mouth were almoſt cloſed with ſalt, that the heat of his face and the weather had made. So we made a fire and ſhifted him with dry clothes, and gave him *Aqua compoſita* to drink, and ſuch meat as was in the Ship, and then let him ſleep.

Crow with the Teſtament preſerved on the Sea.

The next day we awaked him about eight of the clock in the Morning, and his blood began ſomewhat to appear in his fleſh (for when we took him up, his fleſh was even as though it had been ſodden, or as a drowned mans is) and then we talked with him of all the matter before rehearſed. And ſo ſayling to *Antwerp*, the Merchants which ſaw the thing publiſhed the ſame in *Antwerp*; and becauſe it was wonderful, the people there, both men and women, came to the ſhip to ſee him many of them. Some gave him a Peticoat, and ſome a Shirt, ſome Hoſen, and ſome Money (always noting how he caſt away his Mony, and kept his Book.)

And many of the women wept when they heard and ſaw him. And Maſter Governour of the Engliſh Nation there had him before him, and talked with him of all the matter; and pitying his caſe, commanded the Officer of the Engliſh Houſe to go with him to the free Oſtehouſes amongſt the Engliſh Merchants, and I with them, and at three Houſes there was given him ſix pound ten ſhillings. And ſo from thence he went with me to *Roan*, where the people alſo came to him to ſee *him*, marvelling at the great works of God.

The ſum of his money: caſt into the Sea reſtored him again.

And thus much concering this poor man with his New Teſtament preſerved in the Sea (which Teſtament the Popes Clergy condemneth on the Land) ye have heard, as I received by the relation of the Party above named) who was the doer thereof, and yet alive dwelling in *Lee*, well known to all Merchants of *London*. In which ſtory this by the way underſtand, good Reader, (which rightly may be ſuppoſed) that if this poor man, thus found and preſerved in the Sea with a New Teſtament in his boſom, had had inſtead of that a Pix with a conſecrated Hoſt about him, no doubt it had been rung e're this time all Chriſtendom over for a Miracle, ſo far as the Pope hath any Land. But to let the Pope with his falſe Miracles go, let us return again to our matter begun, and adjoyn another Hiſtory of much like condition, teſtified likewiſe by the Informa-

tion of the ſaid *Thomas Morſe* above mentioned, to the intent to make known the worthy acts of the Almighty; that he may be magnified in all his wondrous works. The Story is thus declared, which happened *Anno* 1556. about *Michaelmas*.

Another like ſtory of Gods Providence upon three men delivered upon the Sea.

Another like ſtory of three men that feared God, by Gods providence preſerved on the Seas. Three ſitting upon a piece of their Ship two days and two nights in the Sea.

THere was a Ship (ſaith the ſaid *Thomas Morſe*) whereof I had a part, going toward the *Bay* for Salt, with two Ships of *Brickleſey*, which were altogether going for Salt, as before is ſaid. At what time we were within ten miles of the *North Foreland*, otherwiſe called *Tenet*, the wind did come ſo contrary to our Ship, that we were forced to go clean out of the way, and the other two Ships kept their courſe ſtill, until our Ship was almoſt out of ſight of them. And then they ſaw a thing driving upon the Sea, and hoiſed up their Boat and went unto it; and it was three men ſitting upon a piece of their Ship, which had ſitten ſo two days and two nights.

There had been in their Ship eight men more, which were drowned, being all Frenchmen, dwelling in a place in *France* called *Olloronne*. They had been at *Danſwick*, and loſt their Ship about *Oxford Nas*, as might be learned by their words. They were men that feared God, the one of them was Owner of the Ship. Their exerciſe, while they were in our Ship, was, that after their coming in, they gave thanks for their Deliverance: both Morning and Evening they exerciſed Prayer, and alſo before and after Meat; and when they came into *France*, our Ships went to the ſame place where theſe men dwelled, and one of them did ſell unto our men their Ships lading of Salt, and did uſe them very courteouſly and friendly, and not at that time only, but always whenſoever that Ship cometh thither, (as ſhe hath been there twice ſince) he always doth for them, ſo that they can lack nothing. I ſhould have noted, that after our Ship had taken up thoſe three men out of the Sea, they had the wind fair preſently, and came and overtook the other two Ships again, and ſo they proceeded in their Voyage together.

For the more credit of this Story above recited, to ſatiſfie either the doubtful, or to prevent the quarreller, I have not only alledged the name of the party which was the doer thereof, but alſo expreſſed the matter in his own words, as I of him received it; the Party and Reporter himſelf being yet alive, and dwelling at Lee, *a man ſo well known amongſt the Merchants of* London, *that whoſoever heareth the name of* Thomas Morſe, *will never doubt thereof. And again, the matter it ſelf being ſo notoriouſly known to Merchants as well here as at* Antwerp, *that though his name were not expreſſed, the Story can lack no Witneſſes.*

The death of William Slech *in the* Kings Bench.

May 31. *Will. Slech* dead in the *Kings Bench*, and buried in the fields.

THe laſt day of the ſaid Month of *May*, in the year aforeſaid, *William Slech* being in Priſon for the ſaid Doctrine of the Lords Goſpel, and the Confeſſion of his Truth, died in the *Kings Bench*, and was buried on the backſide of the ſaid Priſon, for that the Romiſh Catholick Spiritualty thought him not worthy to come within their Pope holy Church-yards, neither in any other Chriſtian Burial, as they call it.

The Story of four men condemned at Lewis *the* 6. *day of* June.

June 6. Four Martyrs burnt at *Lewis*.

IN *June* next following, about the ſixth day of the ſame Month, four Martyrs ſuffered together at *Lewis*, whoſe names were theſe:

Thomas Harland of *Woodmancote*, Carpenter.
John Oſwald of *Woodmancote*, Husbandman.
Thomas Avington of *Ardingly*, Turner.
Thomas Read.

To *Thomas Harland* I find in the Biſhop of *Londons* Regiſters, to be objected for not coming to Church. Whereunto he anſwered, That after the Maſs was reſtored, he never had will to hear the ſame, becauſe (ſaid he) it was in Latin which he did not underſtand; and therefore as good, quoth he, never a whit as never the better.

Ex Regiſt. Anſwer of *Th. Harland.*

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Anſwer of *Joh. Oſwald.*

John Oſwald denied to anſwer any thing, until his Accuſers ſhould be brought face to face before him; and nevertheleſs ſaid, That Fire and Fagots could not make him afraid: but as the good Preachers which were in King *Edwards* time have ſuffered and gone before, ſo was he ready to ſuffer and come after, and would be glad thereof.

Theſe four, after long Impriſonment in the *Kings Bench*, were burned together at *Lewis* in *Suſſex*, in one Fire, the day of the Month aforeſaid.

The Martyrdom of Thomas Whood, *and* Thomas Milles.

June 20. Two Martyrs burnt at Lewis.

IN the ſame Town of *Lewis*, and in the ſame Month likewiſe, were burned *Thomas Whood* Miniſter, and *Thomas Milles*, about the twentieth day of the ſame Month, for reſiſting the erroneous and heretical Doctrine of the pretenſed Catholick Church of *Rome*.

Two dead in the Kings Bench.

June 23. W. *Adherall*

IN the which Month likewiſe, *William Adherall* Miniſter, impriſoned in the *Kings Bench*, there died the 24. day of the ſame Month, and was buried in the backſide: Alſo *John Clement* Wheelright, who dying in the ſaid Priſon, in like ſort upon the Dunghil was buried in the backſide two days after, *viz.* the 25. day of *June*.

June 25. *Joh. Clement.*

A Merchants Servant burned at Leiceſter.

June 26. A Merchants Servant.

THe next day following of the ſaid Month of *June*, we read of a certain young man, a Merchants Servant, who for the like godlineſs ſuffered cruel Perſecution of the Papiſts, and was burnt at *Leiceſter* the 26. day of the Month of *June* above named.

Thirteen Martyrs burned at Stratford the Bow.

June 29. Thirteen Martyrs ſuffering at *Stratford the Bow*.

NOt long after the death of the Merchants Servant before mentioned, there followed in this happy and bleſſed order of Martyrs burned in one Fire at *Stratford the Bow* by *London*, eleven men and two women, whoſe dwellings were in ſundry places in *Eſſex*, and whoſe names hereafter follow.

Henry Adlington.	*Lyon Cawch.*
Laurence Parnam.	*Ralph Jackſon.*
Henry Wye.	*John Deriſall.*
William Hallywel.	*John Routh.*
Thomas Bowyer.	*Elizabeth Pepper.*
George Searles.	*Agnes George.*
Edmund Hurſt.	

Unto whom the 6. of *June*, *An.* 1556. Dr. *Darbyſhire*, *Boners* Chancellor, in form of Law miniſtred the ſame Articles that were pronounced unto *Thomas Whittle* and his Company, mentioned before, to the which they made their ſeveral anſwers, in ſimplicity and in a good conſcience. The ſum and effect whereof enſueth.

Their Anſwers to the Articles.

To the firſt, they all anſwered affirmatively; but *Lyon Cawch* added further, that he believed that the true Faith and Religion of Chriſt is, whereſoever the Word of God is truly preached.

Anſwer to the ſecond Article.

To the ſecond Article they all anſwered in effect, denying that there be ſeven Sacraments; ſome affirming that in the Church of Chriſt there be but two Sacraments, that is to ſay, Baptiſm and the Lords Supper: Others referring themſelves to believe as the Scripture teacheth them: And other ſome refuſed to make anſwer becauſe of their ſimplicity.

Anſwer to the third Article.

To the third Article they all anſwered affirmatively.

Anſwer to the fourth Article.

To the fourth Article they all anſwered affirmatively, ſaving *John Routh*, who ſaid he would make no anſwer thereunto. But *Lyon Cawch* added, that he believed the Article to be true; but it was becauſe he had no better know-

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knowledge. And *Agnes George* added, that in K. *Edward* the ſixth his time ſhe went from her old Faith and Religion, and believed in the Faith and Religion that was then taught and ſet forth.

Anſwer to the fifth Article.

To the fifth, they all anſwered in effect affirmatively, ſaving *John Routh*, whoſe anſwer was, That the Maſs is ſuch a thing, which neither can nor will enter into his Conſcience. And *Henry Adlington* anſwered, That for nine or ten years before, he miſliked the Maſs, and alſo the Sacrament of the Altar, becauſe they cannot be proved by the Scriptures. And as touching the Authority of the See of *Rome*, he being but fourteen years of age, took an Oath againſt the ſame, which Oath (he ſaid) he intended to keep by the grace of God.

Anſwer to the ſixth Article.

To the ſixth they all anſwered affirmatively, ſaving *John Routh*, and *William Halliwel*, who both refuſed to anſwer, becauſe they knew not what they meant by this Article. But the two Women added, That they refuſed to be reconciled to the Faith and Religion that was then uſed in the Realm of *England*. And *Laurence Pernam* added, That he never refuſed to be reconciled and brought to the Unity of the Catholick Church of Chriſt.

Anſwer to the ſeventh Article.

To the ſeventh Article they all anſwered affirmatively; but *William Halliwel* denied that ever he called the Maſs Idolatry and Abomination. And *Henry Wye* affirming the Article to be true; yet he confeſſed his infirmity, that he went to his Pariſh Church and received, before he was put in Priſon.

Anſwer to the eighth Article.

To the eighth Article *Edmund Hurſt*, *Ralph Jackſon*, and *George Searles* anſwered affirmatively: *Henry Wye* ſaid he was brought before certain Juſtices of Peace in *Eſſex*, concerning one *Higbed* his late Maſter, and thereupon he was committed to *Colcheſter* Caſtle, and from thence ſent to *London* to the Biſhop to be further examined. *William Halliwel* affirmed the like confeſſion as *Henry Wye* did, only *Higbed* excepted. *John Derifall* ſaid he was called before the Lord *Rich*, and Mr. *Mildmay* of *Chelmesford*, and was by them ſent to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, to be further by him examined. *Thomas Bowyer* ſaid he was brought before one Mr. *Wiſeman* of *Felſed*, and by him was ſent to *Colcheſter* Caſtle, and from thence was carried to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, to be by him further examined. *Lyon Cawch* ſaid that he was ſent to come before the King and Queens Majeſties Commiſſioners, and there before them appearing three times, was ſent to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, to be by him further examined. *Henry Adlington* ſaid, That he coming to *Newgate* to ſpeak with one *Gratwike* there being Priſoner for the Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, was apprehended and brought before Dr. *Story*, and by him ſent to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, to be by him further examined. *John Routh* ſaid, That he was convented before the Earl of *Oxford*, and by him ſent to the Caſtle of *Colcheſter*, and from thence conveighed to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, to be by him further examined. *Laurence Pernam* ſaid, That he was committed to *Hartford* Priſon, becauſe he would not go to Church, and from thence ſent to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, to be by him further examined. *Agnes George* ſaid, That ſhe was committed to Priſon in *Colcheſter*, at the commandment of one Mr. *Maynard* an Alderman of the Town, becauſe ſhe would not go to Church, and from thence was ſent to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, to be by him further examined. *Elizabeth Pepper* ſaid ſhe was apprehended by two Conſtables and an Alderman, for that ſhe would not come to Church, and by them was ſent to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, to be by him further examined.

Anſwer to the ninth Article.

To the ninth Article, they all believed the Premiſſes to be true above by them confeſſed, and that they were of the Dioceſs and Juriſdiction of *London*. But *Elizabeth Pepper* added, That ſhe was of the Town of *Colcheſter*.

And *Agnes George* added, That ſhe was of the Pariſh of *Barefold*. And *Lyon Cawch* added, That he was then of the City of *London*, by reaſon that he was at that preſent a Merchant there.

Henry Wye.

Henry Wye, Brewer, was of the Pariſh of *Stantford le Hore*, and of 32. years of age.

W. Halliwel.

William Halliwel was a Smith, of the Pariſh of *Waltham Holle-Croſs*, and of the age of 24. years, or thereabouts.

Ralph Jackſon.

Ralph Jackſon was a Servingman, of *Shepping Onger*, and of the age of 24. years.

Laurence Pernam.

Laurence Pernam was a Smith of *Hodſdon*, within the Pariſh of *Amwell*, in the County of *Hartford*, and of the age of 22. years.

John Derifall.

John Derifall was a Labourer, of the Pariſh of *Rettington* in *Eſſex*, and of the age of 50. years.

Edmund Hurſt.

Edmund Hurſt was a Labourer, of the Pariſh of S. *James's* in *Colcheſter*, and of the age of 50. years and above.

Thomas Bowyer.

Thomas Bowyer was a Weaver of *Much Dunmow*, and of the age of 36. years.

George Searles.

George Searles was a Taylor, between 20. or 21. years of age, of the Pariſh of *White Nottle*, where he was taken and carried to the Lord *Rich*, who ſent him to *Colcheſter* Caſtle, with a Commandment that no Friend he had ſhould ſpeak with him. There he lay ſix weeks, and was ſent up to *London*, where he was ſometime in the Biſhops Coleh[ou]ſe, ſometime in *Lollards Tower*, and laſt of all in *Newgate*. He was apprehended in *Lent*, about a fortnight before *Eaſter*, in the place aforeſaid.

Lyon Cawch.

Lyon Cawch was a Broker, born in *Flanders*, and then reſident, at his taking, in the City of *London*, and of the age of 28. years or thereabouts.

Henry Adlington.

Henry Adlington was a Sawyer, and of *Greenſted* in the County of *Suſſex*, and of the age of 30. years.

John Routh.

John Routh was a Labourer, and of the Pariſh of *Wiekes* in *Eſſex*, and of the age of 26. years.

Elizabeth Pepper.

Elizabeth Pepper was the wife of *Thomas Pepper*, Weaver, of the Pariſh of S. *James's* in the Town of *Colcheſter*, and of the age of 30. years, or thereabouts, who when ſhe was burned at *Stratford*, was eleven weeks gone with child, as ſhe then teſtified to one *Boſoms* wife, who then unlooſed her Neckerchief, ſaying moreover, when ſhe was asked why ſhe did not tell them; and anſwering, Why, quoth ſhe, they knew it well enough. O! ſuch be the bloody hearts of this cruel Generation, that no occaſion can ſtay them from their miſchievous murthering of the Saints of the Lord, which truſty profeſs Chriſt crucified only and alone for the ſatisfaction of their ſins.

Agnes George. Ex. Regiſt.

Agnes George was the wife of *Richard George* Huſbandman, of *Weſt Barefold* in the County of *Eſſex*, and of the age of 26. years. This *Richard George* had another wife burned beſide her in the *Poſtern* at *Colcheſter*, and himſelf lay in Priſon until Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, and then was delivered.

When theſe thirteen were condemned, and the day appointed they ſhould ſuffer, which was the 27. day of *June*, *An.* 1556. they were carried from *Newgate* in *London* the ſaid day to *Stratford the Bow*, (which was the place appointed for their Martyrdom) and there divided into two parts, in two ſeveral Chambers. Afterward the Sheriff, who there attended upon them, came to the one part, and told them that the other had recanted, and their lives therefore ſhould be ſaved, willing and exhorting them to do the like, and not to caſt away themſelves.

A practice of policy in the Sheriff of London.

Unto whom they anſwered, That their Faith was not builded on Man, but on Chriſt crucified. Then the Sheriff perceiving no good to be done with them, went to the other part, and ſaid (like a lyar) the like to them, that they whom he had been with before, had recanted, and ſhould therefore not ſuffer death, counſelling them to do the like, and not wilfully to kill themſelves, but to play the wiſe men, *&c.*

Unto whom they anſwered as their Brethren had done before, that their Faith was not builded on Man, but on Chriſt and his Word, *&c.*

Now when he ſaw it booted not to perſwade (for they were, God be praiſed, ſurely grounded on the Rock Jeſus Chriſt) he then led them to the place where they ſhould ſuffer, and being all there together, moſt earneſtly they prayed unto God, and joyfully went to the Stake, and kiſſed it, and embraced it very heartily.

Two women ſtanding at the Stake unbound.

The eleven men were tied to three Stakes, and the two women looſe in the midſt without any Stake, and ſo they were all burnt in one Fire, with ſuch love to each other, and conſtancy in our Saviour Chriſt, that it made all

the lookers on to marvel. The Lord grant us the like grace in the like need, according to the good pleasure of his will, Amen.

In the company of these foresaid thirteen, were three more condemned to dye; whose Names are here-under specified:

These three were dispensed all by the Cardinal.

Thomas Freeman.
William Stannard.
William Adams.

Which three answered to those Articles that were propounded unto the said thirteen, in effect as they did. And being thus in the hands of the Secular Power, Cardinal *Pool* sent his Dispensation for their lives, by what occasion I cannot safely say, but by means thereof they then escaped. The Copy of which Dispensation, because it is exemplified in our first Impression, I shall desire the Reader to resort to the place of the page 1525. Anno 1556.

The *Sunday* after these aforesaid sixteen were condemned, *Fecknam* Dean of *Pauls* preached at *Pauls Cross*, where he declared, that they had as many sundry Opinions as they were sundry Persons. At the hearing The slanders of Fecknam reproved.

whereof they drew out their Faith, and set to their Hands as hereafter followeth, and directed the same to their Friends, and the faithful Congregation, as followeth.

Unto all our dearly beloved Friends, and the holy Congregation of Jesus Christ, even so many as love God, grace be with you, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it.

A Letter or Apology of the Martyrs, purging themselves of the false slander of Mr. Fecknam.

BE it manifest to all unto whom this our Certificate shall be seen, that where upon Saturday, *being the thirteenth day of* June, *at* Fulham, *before the Bishop of* London, *sixteen of us (whose names here-under are subscribed) were condemned to dye for the most pure and sincere truth of Christs verity; which most godly truth hath been from the beginning with the wicked adversaries thereof continually defaced, and is by the Devil and his Imps even at this present likewise daily slandered: Upon this occasion, dearly beloved Brethren, we are moved, yea constrained, in the ears of all men to manifest our belief, and also briefly the Articles whereof we are condemned, for the avoiding of false reports and slanderous tongues, which might happen by the most ungodly and uncharitable Sermon lately preached at* Pauls Cross, *the fourteenth of the said Month, being* Sunday, *by Mr.* Fecknam, *now Dean of the same Church; where he in that most worthy Audience defamed us to be in sixteen sundry Opinions, which were a thing prejudicial to all Christian verity; and for a testimonial thereof, this here-under written shall answer our Cause, and therefore we pray you that are of God to judge.*

Uniform agreement in their Faith.

The first, we believe we were baptized in the Faith of Christs Church, and incorporate unto him, and made Members of his Church, in the which Faith we continue. And although we have erred for a certain time, yet the root of Faith was preserved in us by the Holy Ghost, which hath reduced us into a full certainty of the same, and we do perfist, and will by Gods assistance to the end. Now mark, that although the Minister were of the Church malignant, yet his wickedness did not hurt us, for that he baptized us in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

The profession of their Baptism.

There was both the Word and the Element, and our Godfathers and Godmothers renouncing for us the Devil and all his Works, and confessing the Articles of the Christian Faith for us, and also witnesses that we are baptized, not in the Faith of the Church of Rome, *but in the Faith of Christs Church.*

Sacrament of the Church.

1. Item, *There are but two Sacraments in Christs Church, that is, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Lords Supper. For in these are contained the Faith of Christ his Church; that is, the two Testaments, the Law and the Gospel. The effect of the Law is repentance, and the effect of the Gospel remission of sins.*

The visible Church.

2. Item, *We believe that there is a visible Church, wherein the Word of God is preached, and the holy Sacraments truly ministred, visible to the wicked world, although it be not credited, and by the death of Saints confirmed, as it was in the time of* Helias *the Prophet as well as now.*

The See of Rome.

3. *The See of* Rome *is the See of Antichrist, the Congregation of the wicked,* &c. *whereof the* Pope *is Head under the Devil.*

The Mass.

4. Item, *The Mass is not only a prophanation of the Lords Supper, but also a blasphemous Idol.*

Transubstantiation denied.

5. Item, *God is neither spiritually nor corporally in the Sacrament of the Altar, and there remaineth no Substance in the same, but only the Substance of Bread and Wine.*

For these the Articles of our Belief, we being condemned to dye, do willingly offer our corruptible Bodies to be dissolved in the fire, all with one voice assenting and con-

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conſenting thereunto, and in no point diſſenting or diſagreeing from any of our former Articles.

Apparent alſo let it be and known, that being of the former Articles before the bloody Biſhop examined, the ſaid day and time, we affirmed to believe all that he or the would approve by the Scriptures. But he ſaid that he would not ſtand to prove it with Heretick, but ſaid they themſelves were the holy Church, and that we ought to believe them, or elſe to be cut off like withered branches.

Their Names ſubſcribed to the ſame.

Thirteen of theſe were Martyrs, as is before ſaid.

Ralph Jackſon.	*Edmund Hurſt.*
Henry Adlington.	*Laurence Parnam.*
Lyon Cawch.	*Thomas Bowyer.*
William Halliwel.	*Elizabeth Pepper.*
George Searles.	*Agnes George.*
John Routh.	*Thomas Freeman.*
John Deriſall.	*William Stannard.*
Henry Wye.	*William Adams.*

Trouble and buſineſs in the Dioceſs of Litchfield.

June 14. Ralph Bane Bp. of Coventry and Lichfield, a cruel Perſecutor.

IN the Dioceſs of *Litchfield*, about the fourteenth of *June*, in the ſame year, *John Colſtock* who was lately come from *London* before, and now dwelling at *Welſington*, though he ſuffered no Martyrdom, yet ſuſtained ſome trouble, being attached and examined by the Biſhop, named *Ralph Bane*, for his Religion, eſpecially for two points, in holding againſt the reality of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and againſt Auricular Confeſſion to be made to the Prieſt. For the which cauſe being compelled to recant, he was injoyned in the Church of St. *Cedde* to bear a Fagot before the Croſs, bare-headed, having in the one hand a Taper, and in the other a pair of Beads, *&c.*

Amongſt divers other which in the ſame Dioceſs, and the ſame time were ſuſpected and troubled for the like, was *Thomas Flier* of *Uttoxater*, Shoomaker, *Nich. Ball* of *Uttoxater*, Capper, *Thomas Pyot* of *Chedull.*

Marrying in Lent puniſhed. June 26. Tho. Johnſon for ſwearing by the holy Maſs, did penance.

Item, Henry Crimes for marrying his Wife on *Palm-Sunday* Even, *&c.* Some other alſo there were which had the like Penance injoyned them, as *Thomas Johnſon* about the 26. day of this Month of *June*, becauſe he ſware by the holy Maſs before the Biſhop ſitting in Judgment; who for the ſame was driven to go before the Croſs with his Taper and Beads, *&c.*

Concerning the which *Thomas Flier* above named, being a godly and a zealous man, this furthermore is to be noted, and not unworthy of grateful memory, that whereas in the Town of *Uttoxater*, commandment was directed unto him amongſt others from the Ordinary, for pulling down Monuments of Superſtition, and namely the Rood-loft; he being one of the Churchwardens or Sidemen, on a time had talk upon the ſame with certain of his Neighbours, where one wiſhed them ill to chieve, that ſhould go about ſuch an act.

Thomas Flier ſlain in Gods quarrel.

What words paſſed elſe amonſt them, miniſtring matter of further provocation, it is not perfectly known. In fine, the ſaid *Flier* being offended, and afterward meeting with him that had uſed ſuch words before, began to commune with him of the matter; but in the end the man ſo little repented him of thoſe ſayings, that he added yet more fierce words, and at length ſtrokes alſo, in ſuch wiſe, that at the conflict the ſaid *Thomas Flier* was ſlain; and yet ſo was the matter handled, and ſuch amends was made with Money by the Murtherer and his Friends, to the ſaid *Fliers* wife, that he ſuffered little or nothing for the ſame, ſave only that he was baniſhed the Town, and ſworn and bound never to come in it ſo long as the ſaid *Fliers* wife ſhould live.

Three men dead in the Priſon of the Kings Bench.

June 27. Tho. Parret.

AFter the burning of theſe in *Stratford*, the ſame Month died in the Priſon of the *Kings Bench* in *Southwark*, one *Thomas Parret*, and was buried in the backſide, the 27. day of the Month aboveſaid.

June 29. Mart. Hunt.

Alſo *Martin Hunt* (as is reported) in the ſame Priſon was famiſhed the 29. day. At which time likewiſe died in the ſame Priſon, as I find recorded, one *John Norice*, and after the ſame ſort as the other was buried on the backſide of the ſaid Priſon, the day above mentioned.

The Story of three Martyrs ſuffering at St. Edmundsbury.

June 4.

AFter the death of the aforeſaid *Thomas Parret*, *Martin Hunt*, and *John Norice*, were three maryred at St. *Edmundsbury* in *Suffolk*, in one fire; whoſe Names are here-under ſpecified:

Roger Bernard.
Adam Foſter.
Robert Lawſon.

The firſt Examination of Roger Bernard *before Dr.* Hopton *Biſhop of* Norwich.

Reg. Bernard Martyr.

WHen *Roger Bernard* came before the Biſhop, firſt he was asked whether he had been with the Prieſt at *Eaſter* to be ſhriven, and whether he had received the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, or no? Unto whom *Roger Bernard* anſwered; No: I have not been with the Prieſt, nor confeſſed my ſelf unto him, but I have confeſſed my ſins to Almighty God, and I truſt he hath forgiven me; whereof I ſhall not need to go to the Prieſt for ſuch matters, who cannot help himſelf.

Reg. Bernard refuſeth Auricular Confeſſion.

Biſh. Surely *Bernard* thou muſt needs go, and confeſs thy ſelf unto him.

Rog. That ſhall I not do (by Gods grace) while I live.

Biſh. What a ſtout boyly Heretick is this? How malapertly he anſwereth?

Rog. My Lord, it grieveth me no whit (I thank God) to be called Heretick at your hands: for ſo your Forefathers called the Prophets and Confeſſors of Chriſt, long before this time.

At theſe words the Biſhop roſe up in a great heat, and bade *Bernard* follow him. Then the Biſhop went and kneeled before that they call the Sacrament of the Altar, and as he was in his Prayers kneeling, he looked back, and asked *Bernard* why he came not and did as he did. Unto whom *Bernard* anſwered, I cannot tell why I ſhould ſo do. Why, quoth the Biſhop, thou lewd Fellow, whom ſeeſt thou yonder, pointing to the Pix over the Altar?

Rog. I ſee no Body there. Do you, my Lord?

Biſh. Why, naughty man, doſt thou not ſee thy Maker?

Rog. My maker? No, I ſee nothing but a few Clouts hanging together on a heap. With that the Biſhop roſe up ſore diſpleaſed, and commanded the Jayler to take him away, and to lay Irons enough on him. For, quoth he, I will tame him e're he go from me, I trow ſo: and ſo he was carried away.

Note the Catholick Charity of this Prelate

The ſecond Examination of Roger Bernard *before the ſaid Biſhop.*

Another Examination of Roger Bernard.

THe next day *Bernard* was brought again before the Biſhop, who asked him if he did not remember himſelf ſince the day before, that he was before him.

Rog. Yes, my Lord, I have remembred my ſelf very well, for the ſame man I was yeſterday, I am this day, and I hope ſhall be all the days of my life, concerning the matter you talked with me of.

One of the Guard taketh Bernard to School.

Then one of the Guard ſtanding by, ſaid, My Lord, I pray you trouble not your ſelf any more with him, but let me have the examining of him, I ſhall handle him after another ſort, I trow, and make him a fair Child e're he go, you ſhall ſee.

A wholſom company of Caterpillers.

So was he committed to him, and brought by him to an Inn, where were a great many of Prieſts aſſembled together, and there they fell all in flattering him; and perſwading him with gay inticing words what they could; but when therein they might not prevail, for that the Lord aſſiſted the good poor man, then began they to threaten him with whipping, ſtocking, burning, and ſuch like, that it was wonderful the do they made with him. Unto whom *Bernard* ſaid, Friends, I am not better then my Maſter Chriſt and the Prophets, which your Fathers ſerved after ſuch ſort; and I for his Names ſake am content

tent to ſuffer the like at your hands, if God ſhall ſo permit, truſting that he will ſtrengthen me in the ſame according to his promiſe, in ſpite of the Devil and all his Miniſters. So when they could not make him to relent or yield, they ſaid, behold a right Scholar of *John Fortune*, whom they had then in priſon. Then carried they him to the Biſhop, who immediately condemned him as an Heretick, and delivered him to the Secular Power.

Roger Bernard was a ſingle Man; and by his vocation a Labourer, dwelling in *Franſden* in *Suffolk*, who was taken in the night by Maſter *Tamages* Men, becauſe he would not go to Church to hear their unſavory Service, and ſo by them carried to priſon.

Roger Bernard Condemned by the Biſhop of *Norwich*.

Bernard taken by *Tamages* Men.

Adam Foſter.

June 30. *Adam Foſter* Martyr.

Adam Foſter of the age of ſix and twenty years, Husbandman, being married, dwelling in *Mendleſam* in the County of *Suffolk*, was taken at home in his houſe a little before the Sun going down by the Conſtables of the ſaid Town, *George Revet* and *Thomas Mouſe*, at the Commandment of Sir *John Tyrrel* of *Gyppinghal* in *Suffolk*, Kt. becauſe he would not go to Church and hear Maſs, and receive at *Eaſter*, except he might have it after Chriſts Holy Ordinance. When they came for him, they told him he muſt go with them unto the Juſtice. Unto whom *Adam Foſter* ſaid, for Chriſts Cauſe, and to ſave his Conſcience, he was well contented; and ſo they led him to Sir *John Tyrrel*, and he ſent him to *Aye* dungeon in *Suffolk*, from whence at length he was ſent to *Norwich*, and there condemned by Biſhop *Hopton*.

George Revet, *Tho. Mouſe*, & Sir Jo. *Tyrrel* perſecutors.

Gods ſtroke upon wilful perſecutors.

Now after his taking, the ſaid *Thomas Mouſe* and *George Revet* were ſtriken with a great fear and ſickneſs, whereby *Mouſe* pined and conſumed away even unto death, although he was a Man of young and luſty age. But *George Revet* who was the ſaid *Mouſes* fellow, and a great Reader of the Scripture, or (as a Man may term it) a talkative Goſpeller, would not be premoniſhed by the Works of God, but ſet his Son to help the Prieſt ſay Maſs, and to be Clerk of the ſame Town of *Mendleſham* for lucres ſake; yet was there a fair warning given him of God, although he had not the Grace ſo to conſider it, the which thing was this.

A young Man Pariſh-clerk againſt his Conſcience.

A young Man of the ſame Pariſh newly married, called *Robert Edgore*, being of a ripe wit and ſound, was Clerk in the ſaid Church before the ſaid *Revet* ſet his Son in, that room, and executed the Office a little, yea, alas too long, againſt his own Conſcience; whereby at length the Lord ſo took away his wits, that many years after, his poor and woful Wife, good Woman, was compelled to keep him chained, and bound continually, leſt he ſhould unawares do himſelf or ſome other ſome miſchief, as many times (the more pitty) he was ready enough to do.

This (as I ſaid) would not admoniſh *Revet*, but needs he muſt perſiſt in his wicked purpoſe. Notwithſtanding at the length, as many Men were offended with him in the Pariſh, ſo honeſt women eſpecially (being mightily grieved at his ungodly doings) came to him and ſaid, Neighbour *Revet*, are ye not afraid to let your Son help the naughty Prieſt to ſay Maſs, and to ſerve that abominable Idol? and he ſaid, No.

Then ſaid they, we fear not to go to Church and hear Maſs, ſeeing you, being a Man that ſo much profeſs Chriſtianity, will let your Son help the Prieſt ſay Maſs, &c.

Revet prayed for a ſtrange token.

At which words *Revet* waxed angry, and in his rage immediately made his Prayer unto God after this manner, or with ſuch like words, ſaying; O Lord, if it be not thy will that my Son ſhould ſo do, then I beſeech thee ſend ſome ſtrange token to let me underſtand what thy good pleaſure is therein, &c. So according to his Petition, within ſhort ſpace after, his neighbors Bull came into his Paſture, and there he having a very proper Gelding, which was his felicity above any thing he had, the Bull running upon him, did ſo wound and gore him, that immediately thereof his Gelding died, and he thereby nothing amended. For although he knew and confeſſed, that it was the Lords hand upon him for the ſufferance of his Son in that wicked vocation; yet would he not take him from it, but permitted him ſtill to uſe and frequent the ſame againſt his own Conſcience.

Revet confeſſed the Lords hand againſt him, and yet continued in his ſin.

At the laſt, the Lord juſtly ſent upon him a great ſwelling in his Legs, which did ſo grievouſly vex and trouble him by reaſon it ſwelled upward, that at length having thereby brought upon him a very ſtrange ſickneſs, he died moſt miſerably, in ſo impatient manner, that it terrified all good hearts to hear thereof. The Lord grant for Chriſts ſake, that we may obſerve his Judgments better, to his glory and our comfort, Amen. *Ex teſtimonio quorundam Suffolcenſium.*

Anno 1556.

Revet died of a ſtrange ſickneſs. The Lords hand upon *Revet*.

Robert Lawſon.

June 30. *Robert Lawſon* Martyr. *Robert Kereth* a perſecutor.

Robert Lawſon was a ſingle Man, of the age of thirty years, and by vocation a Linen Weaver, who was apprehended in the night by one *Robert Kereth*, at the commandment of Sir *John Tyrrel* of *Gyppinghal* in *Suffolk*, Knight, and ſo was immediately carried to *Aye* Dungeon in *Suffolk*; where he remained a certain time, and after was led to *Bury*. The cauſe of his taking was, for that he would not go to Church to hear Maſs, and receive their Popiſh Idol.

The Martyrdom of *Roger Bernard*, *Adam Foſter*, *Robert Lawſon* at *Bury*. Ann. 1556. June 30.

When theſe three foreſaid Martyrs were carried to their deaths, *viz. Roger Bernard*, *Adam Foſter*, and *Robert Lawſon* at *Bury*, after they had made their Prayer, being at the Stake, and the tormentors attending the fire, they moſt triumphantly ended their lives, in ſuch happy and bleſſed condition, as did notably ſet forth their conſtancy and joyful end, to the great praiſe of God, and their commendation in him, and alſo to the incouragement of others in the ſame quarrel to do the like. The Lord of ſtrength fortifie us to ſtand as his true Souldiers in what ſtanding ſoever he ſhall think it good to place us, Amen.

In the Examination of *Roger Bernard*, ye heard a little before, how he was compared by the Prieſts there to *John Fortune*, and called his Scholar. This *John Fortune*, otherwiſe called *Cutler*, of *Hintleſham* in *Suffolk*, was by his occupation a Black-Smith, whom they had before them in Examination a little before, the 20. day of *April*. In Spirit he was zealous and ardent, in the Scriptures ready, in Chriſts Cauſe ſtout and valiant, in his anſwers marvellous, and no leſs patient in his wrongful ſuffering then conſtant in his Doctrine. Whether he was burned, or died in Priſon, I cannot certainly find; but rather I ſuppoſe that he was burned. Certain it is, howſoever he was made away, he never yielded. What his Anſwers and Examinations were before D. *Parker* and the Biſhop, ye ſhall hear him, although not with his own mouth ſpeaking, yet with his own hand you ſhall ſee written, what he did ſay, as followeth.

The Examination of John Fortune *before Doctor* Parker *and Mr.* Foſter.

The Examination of *John Fortune* before D. *Parker*, and M. *Foſter*.

FIrſt D. *Parker* asked me how I believed in the Catholick Faith.

And I asked him which Faith he meant; whether the Faith that *Stephen* had, or the Faith of them that put *Stephen* to death.

D. *Parker* being moved, ſaid, What a naughty fellow is this? you ſhall ſee anon he will deny the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar.

M. Foſter. Then ſaid Maſter *Foſter*, I know you well enough. You are a buſie Merchant. How fayeſt thou by the bleſſed Maſs?

For. And I ſtood ſtill and made no anſwer.

Foſt. Then ſaid Maſter *Foſter*, why ſpeakeſt thou not, and makeſt the Gentleman an anſwer?

Fort. And I ſaid, Silence is a good anſwer to a fooliſh queſtion.

Park. Then ſaid the Doctor, I am ſure he will deny the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar alſo.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Fort. And I ſaid, I know none ſuch, but only the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Park. Then ſaid he, you deny the order of the ſeven Sacraments. And why doſt thou not believe in the Sacrament of the Altar?

Fort. And I ſaid, becauſe it is not written in Gods Book.

Park. Then ſaid he, you will not believe unwritten Verities.

Fort.

Anno 1556.

Fort. And I ſaid, I will believe that thoſe unwritten verities that agree with the written verities be true: but thoſe unwritten verities that be of your own making, and invented of your own brain, I do not believe.

M. *Foſter* threatneth Jo. *Fortune* to be whipped.

Foſt. Well, ſaid M. *Foſter*, you ſhall be whipped and burned for this gear I trow.

Fort. Then ſaid I, if you knew how theſe words do rejoyce my heart, you would not have ſpoken them.

Foſt. Way thou fool, doſt thou rejoyce in whipping?

Fort. Yea, ſaid I, for it is written in the Scriptures and Chriſt ſaith, Thou ſhalt be whipped for my names ſake: and ſince the time that the ſword of tyranny came into your hands, I heard of none that was whipped. Happy were I, if I had the maiden-head of this perſecution.

Away with him then (ſaid he) for he is ten times worſe then *Samuel*: and ſo he was carried to priſon again.

The Second Examination of John Fortune *before the Biſhop of* Norwich.

WHen I came before the Biſhop, he asked me if I did not believe in the Catholick Church. I ſaid I believe that Church whereof Chriſt is the head.

Then the ſaid Biſhop, Doſt thou not believe that the Pope is Supream Head of the Church? And I ſaid, No, Chriſt is the Head of the True Church.

Biſh. So do I believe alſo: but the Pope is Gods Vicar upon Earth, and the Head of the Church, and I believe that he hath power to forgive ſins alſo.

Pſal. 49.

Fort. Then ſaid I, the Pope is but a Man, and the Prophet *David* ſaith, *that no Man can deliver his Brother, nor make agreement for him unto God: For it coſt more to redeem their Souls, ſo that he muſt let that alone for ever.*

The Pope likened to a Belweather or a Maſter Bee.

Biſh. And the Biſhop again fetching about a great circumſtance, ſaid, Like as the Belweather weareth her Bell, and is the Head of the Flock of Sheep: ſo is the Pope our Head. And as the Hives of Bees have a Maſter Bee that bringeth the Bees to the hive again: ſo doth our Head bring us home again to our True Church.

Poyſoned Popes.

Fort. Then I asked him, whether the Pope were a Spiritual Man: and he ſaid, Yea. And I ſaid again, They are ſpiteful Men; for in ſeventeen Months there were three Popes, and one poyſoned another for that preſumptuous ſeat of Antichriſt.

Biſh. It is maliciouſly ſpoken (ſaid he) for thou muſt obey the power and not the Man. And thus was the Pope denied to be Supream Head.

Ceremonies of the Church. Matth. 15.

Well, ſaid he, why ſayſt thou to the Ceremonies of the Church?

Fort. And I anſwered, *All things that are not planted by my Heavenly Father, ſhall be plucked up by the roots*, ſaith Chriſt. For they are not from the beginning, neither ſhall they continue to the end.

Biſh. They are good and godly and neceſſary to be uſed.

Fort. Saint *Paul* called them weak and beggarly.

Biſh. No that is a lye.

Fort. I hearing that, ſaid, that Saint *Paul* writeth thus in the fourth to the *Galathians*, *You fooliſh* Galathians (ſaith he) *who hath bewitched you, that ye ſeek to be in bondage to theſe weak and beggarly Ceremonies?* Now which of you do lye? you or S. *Paul*? And alſo it is ſaid, that works inſtituted, and injoyned without the commandment of God, pertain not to the Worſhip of God, according to the text, *Matth. 15. In vain do Men Worſhip me with Mens traditions and commandments.* And S. *Paul* ſaith, *Wherefore do ye carry us away from the Grace of Chriſt to another kind of Doctrine?* And Chriſt openly rebuked the Scribes, Lawyers, Phariſees, Doctors, Prieſts, Biſhops, and Hypocrites, for making Gods commandments of none effect, to ſupport their own tradition.

Biſh. Thou lieſt, there is not ſuch a word in all the Scriptures, thou naughty Heretick. Thou art worſe then all other Hereticks: for *Hooper* (ſaid he) and *Bradford* allow them to be good, and thou doeſt not. Away with him.

It is pity that popiſh Prelates cannot lye.

Here you may perceive, how that the Catholick Church cannot err, but whatſoever they ſay muſt needs be true. And ſo my Lord Biſhop cannot lye, as it may appear to all Men plainly in the Text.

The Third Examination of John Fortune *before the Biſhop of* Norwich.

THe next day I was brought before the ſaid Biſhop again, where he made a Sermon upon the ſixth Chapter of St. *Johns* Goſpel, of Chriſts words, *I am the Bread that came down from Heaven, &c.* And thereupon had a great bibble babble to no purpoſe. So in the end I was called before him, and he ſaid to me:

Another Examination of John Fortune

Biſh. How believeſt thou in the Sacrament of the Altar? Doſt thou not believe, that after the conſecration, there is the real ſubſtance of the Body of Chriſt?

Sacrament of the Altar.

Fort. And I anſwered him, that is the greateſt plague that ever came into *England*.

Biſh. Why ſo?

Fort. I ſaid, if I were a Biſhop, and you a poor Man as I am, I would be aſhamed to ask ſuch a queſtion. For a Biſhop ſhould be apt to teach and not to learn.

Biſh. I am appointed by the Law to teach, ſo are not you.

Catholick Prelates obſequious to higher powers ſo long as they make for their dignity, but when they do otherwiſe, then they excommunicate them.

Fort. And I ſaid, Your Law breaketh out very well: for you have burned up the true Biſhops and Preachers, and maintained liars to be in their ſtead.

Biſh. Now you may underſtand that he is a Traitor: for he denieth the higher powers.

Fort. I am no Traitor: for Saint *Paul* Saith, *All Souls muſt obey the higher powers*, and I reſiſt not the higher powers, concerning my Body, but I muſt reſiſt your evil Doctrine wherewith you would infect my Soul.

A Doct. Then ſaid a Doctor, My Lord, you do not well; let him anſwer ſhortly to his Articles.

Biſh. How ſayeſt thou? make an anſwer quickly to theſe Articles.

Fort. Saint *Paul* ſaith, *Heb. 10. Chriſt did one Sacrifice once for all, and ſet him down on the right hand of his Father*, triumphing over Hell and Death making interceſſion for ſins.

Biſh. I ask thee no ſuch queſtion, but make anſwer to this Article.

Fort. If it be not God before the Conſecration, it is not God after: for God is without beginning and without ending.

Biſh. Then ſaid he, lo, what a ſtiff Heretick is this? He hath denied all together: how ſayeſt thou? Is it Idolatry to worſhip the Bleſſed Sacrament or no?

Fort. God is a Spirit, and will be worſhipped in Spirit and Truth.

Biſh. I ask thee no ſuch queſtion: anſwer me directly.

Fort. I anſwer that this is the God *Mauzzim*, that robbeth God of his honour.

Biſh. It is pitty that the ground beareth thee, or that thou haſt a Tongue to ſpeak. Then ſaid the Scribe; Here are a great many more Articles.

Biſh. Then ſaid the Biſhop, Away with him: for he hath ſpoken too much.

Another Examination of John Fortune.

ANd when I came to mine Examination again, the Biſhop asked me if I would ſtand unto mine anſwer that I had made before: and I ſaid, Yea: for I had ſpoken nothing but the truth. And after that he made a great circumſtance upon the Sacrament.

Other talk between Jo. Fortune and the B. of Norwich.

Then I deſired him to ſtand to the Text, and he read the Goſpel on *Corpus Chriſti* day, which ſaid, *I am the Bread which came down from Heaven*: believeſt thou not this? And I ſaid, Yea truly.

And he ſaid, Why doſt thou deny the Sacrament? Becauſe your Doctrine is falſe, ſaid I. John 6.

Then ſaid he, how can that be falſe which is ſpoken in the Scripture? And I ſaid, Chriſt ſaid, *I am the Bread*, and you ſay the Bread is he. Therefore your Doctrine is falſe, ſaid I.

And he ſaid, Doſt thou not believe that the Bread is he? And I ſaid, No.

Biſh. I will bring thee to it by the Scriptures.

Fort. Hold that faſt my Lord: for that is the beſt Argument that you have yet.

Biſh. Thou ſhalt be burned like an Heretick.

Fort.

Fort. Who ſhall give judgment upon me?

Biſh. I will judge an hundred ſuch as thou art, and never be ſhriven upon it.

Fort. Is there not law for the ſpiritualty as well as for the Temporalty? And Sir *Clement Higham* ſaid, Yes. What meaneſt thou by that?

The B. of *Norwich* charged with perjury.

Fort. When a Man is perjured by the Law, he is caſt over the Bar, and ſitteth no more in judgment. And the Biſhop is a perjured Man, and ought to ſit in judgment of no Man.

Biſh. How proveſt thou that?

Fort. Becauſe you took an Oath in King *Henries* days to reſiſt the Pope. So both ſpiritual and temporal are perjured, that here can be no true judgment.

Biſh. Thinkeſt thou to eſcape judgment by that? No: for my Chancellor ſhall judge thee. He took no Oath, for he was then out of the Realm.

M. Higham. It is time to weed out ſuch fellows as you be, indeed.

Biſh. Good fellow, why believeſt not thou in the Sacrament of the Altar?

Fort. Becauſe I find it not in Gods Book, nor yet in the Doctors. If it were there I would believe it with all my heart.

Biſh. How knoweſt thou it is not there?

Fort. Becauſe it is contrary to the ſecond Commandment: and ſeeing it is not written in Gods Book, why do you then rob me of my Life?

Then the Biſhop having no more to ſay, commanded the Bailiff to take him away.

The death of *John Fortune.*

And thus much touching the Examinations of this Man. Now whether he dyed in fire, or was otherwiſe prevented with death, as I ſaid before, I am uncertain.

In the Regiſter of *Norwich* this I do find, that his Sentence of Condemnation was drawn and regiſtred; but whether it was pronounced, in the ſaid Regiſter it is not expreſſed, according as the uſual manner of the Notary is ſo to declare, in the end of the ſentence. Nevertheleſs this is moſt certain, that he never abjured nor recanted, howſoever it pleaſed the Lord by death to call him out of the World.

The death of John Careles *in the* Kings Bench.

July 1. The death of Jo. *Careles* priſoner in the *Kings Bench.*

ABout this time, the firſt day of *July*, amongſt diverſ other priſoners which died the ſame year in the *Kings Bench*, was alſo one *John Careles* of *Coventry* a Weaver. Who though he were by the ſecret judgment of Almighty God prevented by death, ſo that he came not to the full Martyrdom of his Body, yet is he no leſs worthy to be counted in honour and place of Chriſts Martyrs, then other that ſuffered moſt cruel torments, as well for that he was for the ſame truths ſake a long time impriſoned, as alſo for his willing mind and zealous affection he had thereunto, if the Lord had ſo determined it, as well may appear by his Examination had before Doctor *Martin*. Which Examination becauſe it contained nothing almoſt but wrangling interrogations, and matters of contention, wherein Doctor *Martin* would enter into no communication about the Articles of his accuſation, but only urged him to detect his fellows, it ſhall not be greatly material therefore to expreſs the whole, but only to excerpt ſo much as pertaining to the queſtion of predeſtination, may bring ſome fruit to the Reader.

Jo. *Careles* of Examined before D. *Martin.*

The effect of John Careles *Examination before Doctor* Martin *briefly declared.*

The effect of Jo. *Careles* Examination.

FIrſt, Doctor *Martin* calling *John Careles* to him in his Chamber, demanded what was his name. To whom the other had anſwered, that his name was *John Careles*, then began Doctor *Martin* to deſcant at his pleaſure upon that name, ſaying, that it would appear by his condition, by that time he had done with him, that he would be a true careleſs Man indeed. And ſo after other by-talk there ſpent about much needleſs matter, then he asked him where he was born.

How *John Careles* was brought to the *Kings Bench.*

Careles. Forſooth, ſaith he, at *Coventry*.

Martin. At *Coventry*? what ſo farr, Man? How cameſt thou hither? Who ſent thee to the *Kings Bench* to priſon?

Carel. I was brought thither by a Writ, I trow, what he was I cannot tell. I think Maſter *Marſhal* can tell you. Anno 1556.

Marſhal. In good Faith I cannot tell what the matter is; but indeed my Lord chief Juſtice ſent him from the Bar.

Mart. Well *Careles*, I would thou ſhouldſt play the Wiſe Mans part. Thou art a handſom Man, and it is pitty but thou ſhouldſt do well, and ſave that which God hath bought.

Carel. I thank your good maſterſhip moſt heartily: and I put you out of doubt, that I am moſt ſure and certain of my Salvation by Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that my Soul is ſafe already, whatſoever pains my Body ſuffer here for a little time.

Jo. *Careles* examined upon predeſtination.

Mart. Yea marry, you ſay truth. For thou art ſo predeſtinate to life, that thou canſt not periſh in whatſoever opinion thou doſt dye.

Carel. That God hath predeſtinate me to eternal life in Jeſus Chriſt, I am moſt certain, and even ſo am I ſure that his Holy Spirit (wherewith I am ſealed) will ſo preſerve me from all Hereſies and evil opinions, that I ſhall dye in none at all.

Mart. Go to, let me hear your Faith in predeſtination. For that ſhall be written alſo.

Carel. Your maſterſhip ſhall pardon me herein. For you ſaid your ſelf ere while, that you had no Commiſſion to examine my Conſcience. I will trouble my ſelf with anſwering no more matters then I needs muſt, until I come before them that ſhall have more Authority further to examine me.

Mart. I tell thee then I have Commiſſion; yea, and commandment from the Council to examine thee: for they delivered me thy Articles.

Carel. Yea, I think indeed that your maſterſhip is appointed to examine me of my Articles, which you have there in writing, and I have told you the truth. I do confeſs them to be mine own fact and deed: but you do now examine me of predeſtination, whereof my Articles ſpeak nothing at all.

D. *Martin* declareth his Commiſſion.

Martin. I tell thee yet again, that I muſt alſo examine thee of ſuch things as be in controverſie between thee and thy fellows in the *Kings Bench*, whereof predeſtination is a part, as thy fellow *N.* hath confeſſed, and thy ſelf doſt not deny it.

Carel. I do not deny it. But he that firſt told you the matter, might have found himſelf much better occupied.

Why Dr. *Martin* would not Examine him of the Sacrament.

Mart. Why? what if he had not told me? thinkeſt that I would not have known it? Yes, or elſe thou ſhouldſt have withſtood my Commiſſion. For I tell thee truth, I may now examine thee of the Bleſſed Sacrament, or any other thing that I liſt, but that I would ſhew thee favour, and not be too haſty with thee at the firſt.

Marſh. Yea in deed *Careles*, Mr. Doctor hath Commiſſion to examine you or any other of your fellows.

Martin. Yea marry have I, I tell thee the truth of it.

Carel. Then let your Scribe ſet his pen to the paper, and you ſhall have it roundly, even as the truth is. I believe that Almighty God our moſt dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodneſs, did elect in Chriſt.

Carel. Tuſh, what need all that long circumſtance? Write, I believe God elected, and make no more ado.

Carel. No, not ſo M. Doctor. It is an high myſtery, and ought reverently to be ſpoken of. And if my words may not be written as I do utter them, I will not ſpeak at all.

Mart. Go to, go to, write what he will. Here is more buſineſs then needeth.

Careles opinion of Gods Election.

Carel. I believe that Almighty God our moſt dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodneſs (through Jeſus Chriſt) did elect and appoint in him before the Foundation of the Earth was laid, a Church or Congregation, which he doth continually guide and govern by his Grace and Holy Spirit, ſo that not one of them ſhall ever finally periſh. When this was written, M. Doctor took it in his hand and read it, ſaying:

Mart. Why, who will deny this?

Carel.

Anno 1556.

Carel. If your Maſterſhip do allow it, and other learned Men when they ſhall ſee it, I have my hearts deſire.

D. *Martin* avoweth *Careles* judgment of Gods Election.

Mart. And do you hold none otherwiſe, then is there written?

Carel. No verily, nor never did.

Mart. Write what he ſaith, otherwiſe he holdeth not: So that was written. It was told me alſo that thou doſt affirm, that Chriſt did not dye effectually for all Men.

Carel. Whatſoever hath been told you, it is not much material unto me. Let the tellers of ſuch tales come before my face, and I truſt to make them anſwer. For indeed I do believe that Chriſt did effectually dye for all thoſe that do effectually repent and believe, and for no other: ſo that was written alſo.

Mart. Now Sir, what is *Trews* Faith of Predeſtination? He believeth that all Men be predeſtinate, and that none ſhall be damned. Doth he not?

A wrong faith of predeſtination believing to be elected in reſpect of good works.

Carel. No forſooth, that he doth not.

Mart. How then?

Carel. Truly I think he doth believe as your Maſterſhip and the reſt of the Clergy do believe of predeſtination, that we be elected in reſpect of our good works, and ſo long elected, as we do them, and no longer.

Mart. Write what he ſaith, that his fellow *Trew* believeth of predeſtination as the Papiſts do believe.

Carel. Ah Maſter Doctor, did I ſo term you? Seeing that this my Confeſſion ſhall come before the Council, I pray you place my terms as reverently as I ſpeak them.

Mart. Well, well, write that *Trew* is of the ſame Faith as the Catholicks be.

Carel. I did not ſo call you neither, I wonder what you mean.

Mart. You ſaid the Clergy, did you not *Careles*?

Carel. Yes forſooth did I. So then it was written of the Clergy.

Mart. Now ſir, what ſay you more?

Carel. Forſooth I have no further to ſay in this matter.

Mart. Well *Careles*, I pray thee prove thy ſelf a wiſe Man, and do not caſt away thy life wilfully.

Carel. Now the Lord he knoweth, good M. Doctor, I would full gladly live, ſo that I might do the ſame with a ſafe Conſcience. And your Maſterſhip ſhall right well perceive that I will be no wilful Man, but in all things that I ſtand upon I will have ſure ground.

D. *Martin* pretendeth favour to *Careles.*

Mart. Now the Lord knoweth, good *Careles*, that I would gladly make ſome means to preſerve thy Life. But thou ſpeakeſt ſo much of the Lord, the Lord; wilt thou be content to go with my Lord *Fitzwater* into *Ireland*? me thinks thou art a goodly tall fellow to do the Queen ſervice there. How ſayeſt thou?

Carel. Verily Maſter Doctor, whether I be in *Ireland*, *France*, or *Spain*, or any place elſe, I am ready to do her Grace the beſt ſervice that I can, with Body, Goods and Life, ſo long as it doth laſt.

Mart. That is honeſtly ſaid, I promiſe thee, every Man will not ſay ſo. How ſay you M. *Marſhal*? this Man is meet for all manner of ſervice. Indeed thou art worthy, *Careles*, to have the more favour.

Carel. Indeed Sir, I hope to be meet and ready unto all things that pertain unto a true Chriſtian ſubject to do. And if her Grace or her Officers under her do require me to do any thing contrary to Chriſts Religion, I am ready alſo to do my ſervice in *Smithfield* for not obſerving it, as my Bed-fellow and other Brethren have done, praiſed be God for them.

Mart. By my troth thou art a pleaſant fellow as ever I talked with of all the Proteſtants, except it were *Tomſon*. I am ſorry that I muſt depart with thee ſo ſoon; but I have ſuch buſineſs now, that I can tarry with thee no longer. Well yet thou canſt not deny, but you are at jar mongſt your ſelves in the *Kings Bench*, and it is ſo throughout all your Congregation: for you will not be a Church.

More variety in the Popes Church then is amongſt the Proteſtants.

Carel. No Maſter Doctor that is not ſo. There is a thouſand times more variety in opinions among your Doctors, which you call of the Catholick Church, yea and that in the Sacrament, for the which there is ſo much Blood ſhed now adays, I mean of your latter Doctors and new Writers; as for the old they agree wholy with us.

Mart. No, *Careles*, this is not ſo; there thou art deceived.

Carel. Verily it is ſo; Maſter Doctor, I am not deceived therein any thing at all, as it hath been, and is evidently proved by ſuch as God hath indued with great learning. Then he turned to the Marſhal, and whiſpered with him a while.

D. *Martin* taketh his leave gently of *Careles.*

Mart. Turning unto me again, he ſaid; Farewel *Careles*: for I cannot tarry no longer with thee now, my buſineſs is ſuch.

Carel. God be with you, good Maſter Doctor, The Lord give your Maſterſhip health of Body and Soul.

Mart. God have mercy good *Careles*, and God keep thee from all errors, and give thee Grace to do as well as I would wiſh my ſelf.

Carel. I thank your good Maſterſhip; I pray God I may do always that is acceptable in his ſight. Whereunto they all ſaid; Amen. And ſo I departed with a glad heart; God only have the whole praiſe, Amen.

It appeareth by the Examination of the foreſaid *John Careles*, that he endured priſoner the ſpace of two whole years, having Wife and Children. In the which his captivity, firſt being in *Coventry* jayl, he was there in ſuch credit with his Keeper, that upon his word he was *let out* to play in the Pageant about the City with his companions. And that done, keeping touch with his Keeper, he turned again into priſon at his hour appointed.

Jo. Careles died in Priſon and was buried in the Fields.

And after that being brought up to *London*, he was indued with ſuch patience and conſtant fortitude; that he longed for nothing more earneſtly, than to come to the promotion to dye in the fire for the profeſſion of his Faith: and yet it ſo pleaſed the Lord to prevent him with death that he came not to it, but died in the priſon, and after was buried in the fields in a dunghil.

In the mean time while he was in Priſon in the *Kings Bench*, it chanced he was in great heavineſs and perturbation of mind and Conſcience, whereupon he wrote to Maſter *Philpot* being then in the Colehouſe. Upon the occaſion hereof M. *Philpot* ſent an Epiſtle conſolatory unto him, ſpecified before among M. *Philpots* Letters. Unto the which Epiſtle *John Careles* maketh anſwer again as followeth.

Letters of John Careleſs.

A Letter of John Careles *anſwering to the loving Epiſtle or Letter ſent to him before by M.* John Philpot.

A Faithful friend is a ſtrong defence, whoſo findeth ſuch a one, findeth a treaſure.

A Faithful friend hath no peer, the weight of Gold and Silver is not to be compared to the goodneſs of his Faith.

A Faithful friend is a medicine of life, and they that fear the Lord ſhall find him, Eccleſ. 6.

A Letter of *John Careles* to M. *Philpot.*

THE Father of mercy and God of all conſolation, comfort you with his eternal Spirit (my moſt dear and Faithful loving friend, good Maſter *Philpot*) as you have comforted me by the mighty operation of the ſame; the everlaſting God be praiſed therefore for ever, Amen.

Ah my dear heart and moſt loving brother, if I ſhould do nothing elſe day and night ſo long as the days of Heaven do endure, but kneel on my Knees, and read Pſalms, I can never be able to render unto God condign thanks, for his great mercy, fatherly kindneſs, and moſt loving compaſſion extended unto me moſt vile, ſinful, wicked, and unworthy wretch. Oh that the Lord would open my mouth and give me a thankful heart, that from the bottom of the ſame might flow his continual praiſe. Oh that my ſinful fleſh (which is the cauſe of ſorrow) were clean ſeparated from me, that I might ſing Pſalms of thankſgiving unto the Lords name for ever; that with good *Samuels* Mother I might continually record this noble verſe following, the which by the good experience I have found moſt true, praiſed be my good God therefore.

The

1 Reg. 2. *John Careles* raised up by the Lord, out of great heavines.

The Lord (ſaith that good Woman) killeth and maketh alive ; He bringeth down to Hell,and fetcheth up again. Praiſed be the Lord for ever,yea and praiſed be his name, for that he hath given me true experience and lively feeling of the ſame. Bleſſed be the Lord God , whoſe mercy endureth for ever , which hath not dealt with me according to my deep deſerts , nor deſtroyed me in his diſpleaſure when I had juſtly deſerved it. Oh what reward ſhall I give again unto the Lord for all the great benefits that he hath done for my Soul ? I will gladly receive the Cup of Salvation at his hand, and will worſhip his Name with Prayer and with Praiſe.

Ah my dear heart , yea moſt dear unto me in the Lord , think not this ſudden change in me , to be ſome fickle phantaſie of my fooliſh head (as in deed ſome other would ſurely ſuſpect it to be ;) for doubtleſs it is the marvellous doing of the Lord , moſt merciful unto me his unworthy Creature.God for his great mercies ſake give me Grace to be more thankful unto him then I heretofore have been , and keep me that I never fall forth of his favour again.

And now , my dear Brother and moſt bleſſed Meſſenger of the Lord,whoſe beautiful feet have brought much glad tidings to my Soul,what ſhall I do or ſay unto you, in the leaſt part to recompence the Fatherly affection and Godly care that you continually keep for me ? Oh that God would give me the Spirit of fervent Prayer, that I might yet that way ſupply ſome little part of my duty toward you. Ah my true loving friend,how ſoon did you lay aſide all other buſineſs,to make a ſweet plaiſter for my wounded Conſcience,yea,and that out of a painful pair of ſtocks,which place muſt needs be uneaſie to write in? But God hath brought you into a ſtraight place, that you might ſet my Soul at liberty. Out of your pinching and painful ſeat, you have plentifully poured upon me your precious Nard , the ſweet ſavour whereof hath greatly refreſhed my tired Soul. The Lord likewiſe refreſh you, both Body and Soul , by pouring the oyl of his gracious Spirit in your ſweet heart.

This comfort received of M. *Philpot*, read in M. *Philpots* Letters.

Ah good *Jeremy*,hath *Phaſſor* put thee into the Stocks? why , now thou haſt the right reward of a Prophet.Thy glory never began to appear until now. I doubt not but ſhortly , in ſtead of *Abikam* the Son of *Shapham*, Jeſus the Son of the living God will come and deliver thee forth of the hands of all thine enemies , and will alſo make good, againſt them and their Antichriſtian Synagogue , all the words that thou haſt ſpoken in his Name. The Lord hath made thee this day a ſtrong defenſed Tower, an Iron Pillar , and a brazen Wall againſt the whole rabble of Antichriſt,and though they fight againſt thee never ſo fiercely,yet ſhall they not overcome thee,for the Lord himſelf is with thee to help and deliver thee ; and he will rid thee out of the hands of the wicked , and will deliver thee out of the hands of the Tyrants. And in that you are not buſie in caſting pearls before ſwine,nor in giving the holy things unto dogs, you are much to be commended in my ſimple judgment. And ſure I am,that your circumſpect and modeſt behaviour hitherto hath been as much to Gods glory,and to the ſhame and confuſion of your enemies , as any Mens doings that are gone before you.

Jer.10.

Jer.26.

Jer.1.

Jer.15.

Math 7.

The circumſpect behaviour of M. *Philpot*.

John Careles advice to M. *Philpot*.

Wherefore mine advice and moſt earneſt deſire is, with all other of your loving friends , that you ſtill keep that order with thoſe blood-thirſty Biteſheeps, Biſhops I ſhould ſay , that you have begun. For though in concluſion they will ſurely have your Blood,yet ſhall they come by it with ſhame enough, and to their perpetual infamy whiles the World doth endure. They would indeed condemn you in hugger mugger , to darken Gods Glory if it might be: But Sathans thoughts are not unknown to you,and the depth of his ſubtilty is by you well foreſeen. Therefore let them do whatſoever God ſhall ſuffer them to do: for I know all things ſhall turn to your beſt. Though you lye in the dark , ſloried with the Biſhops black coal-duſt : yet ſhall you be ſhortly reſtored unto the heavenly Light , and made as white as Snow in *Salmon* , and as the wings of a Dove that is covered with Silver Wings, and her Feathers like Gold.You know the veſſel , before it be made bright, is ſoiled with Oil , and other things , that it may ſcoure the better.

Pſal.68.

Oh happy be you that you be now in the ſcouring houſe: for ſhortly you ſhall be ſet upon the Celeſtial ſhelf as bright as Angels. Therefore my dear heart, I will now according to your loving requeſt, caſt away all care, and rejoyce with you,and praiſe God for you,and pray for you day and night; yea , I will now with Gods Grace ſing Pſalms of praiſe and thankſgiving with you. For now my Soul is turned to her old reſt again, and hath taken a ſweet nap in Chriſts lap. I have caſt my care upon the Lord,which careth for me,and will be *Careles*, according to my name, in that reſpect you would have me. I will leave out my unſeemly addition as long as I live : for it can take no place where true faith and hope is reſident. So ſoon as I had read your moſt godly and comfortable Letter,my ſorrows vaniſhed away as ſmoak in the wind , my Spirit revived,and comfort came again, whereby I am ſure the Spirit of God was Author of it.

Anno 1556.

J. Careles care turned into joy.

Gods gracious work through M. *Philpots* Letter.

Oh my good M. *Philpot*, which art a principal Pot indeed filled with moſt precious liquor, as it appeareth by the plenteous pouring forth of the ſame ; Oh Pot moſt happy , of the high Potter ordained to honour , which doſt contain ſuch heavenly treaſure in the earthen veſſel;Oh Pot thrice happy,in whom Chriſt hath wrought a great miracle , altering thy nature , and turning Water into Wine,and that of the beſt, whereout the Maſter of the Feaſt hath filled my cup ſo full,that I am become drunken in the joy of the Spirit through the ſame:When Martyrdom ſhall break thee (O veſſel of honour) I know the fragrant ſavor of thy precious Nard will much rejoyce the heavy hearts of Chriſts true Members, although the *Judaſſes* will grudge and murmur at the ſame. Yea, and burſt out into words of ſlander, ſaying, it is but loſt and waſte.

John Careles drunken with the joy of the Spirit.

Be not offended, dear heart , at my Metaphorical ſpeech: For I am diſpoſed to be merry, and with *David* to dance before the Ark of the Lord ; and though you play upon a pair of Organs not very comly or eaſie to the Fleſh,yet the ſweet ſound that came from the ſame,cauſeth me thus to do.Oh that I were with you in Body,as preſent I am in Spirit, that I might ſing all care away in Chriſt : for now the time of comfort is come. I hope to be with you ſhortly , if all things happen right. For my old friends of *Coventry* have put the Council in remembrance of me, not ſix days ago , ſaying,that I am more worthy to be burned then any that was burned yet. Gods bleſſing on their hearts for their good report. God make me worthy of that dignity, and haſten the time, that I might ſet forth his glory.

2 Reg.6.

Careles accuſed to the Council by certain baek friends in *Coventry*.

Pray for me, dear heart , I beſeech you , and will all your company to do the ſame , and I will pray God for you all,ſo long as I live.And now farewel in Chriſt,thou bleſſed of Gods own Mouth. I will for a time take my leave, but not my laſt farewel. Bleſſed be the time that ever I came into the *Kings Bench*,to be joyned in love and fellowſhip with ſuch dear Children of the Lord. My good Brother *Bradford* ſhall not be dead whiles you be alive : for verily the Spirit of him doth reſt on you in moſt ample wiſe. Your Letters of comfort unto me in each point do agree , as though the one were a copy of the other. He hath planted in me, and you do water, the Lord give good increaſe. My dear Brethren and fellow Priſoners here, have them humbly and heartily commended unto you,and your company, mourning for your miſery,but yet rejoycing for your plenteous conſolation and comfort in Chriſt. We are all cheerful and merry under our Croſs,and do lack no neceſſaries,praiſed be God for his providence and great mercy towards us for evermore , Amen.

Note how comfortably the Lord worketh in his priſoned Saints.

Gods providence toward his people.

To his Wife.

Another letter of *Careles* to his Wife.

AS by the great mercy of God , at the time of his good will and providence appointed (my dearly beloved Wife)you and I were joyned together in the holy and Chriſtian ſtate of Godly Matrimony, as well to our great joy and comfort in Chriſt, as alſo to the increaſe of his Bleſſed Church and Faithful Congregation,by having lawful Children by and in the ſame,with the which God of his mercy hath bleſſed us,praiſed be his Name therefore: even ſo now by his merciful will and divine ordinance , the time is come (ſo far as I can perceive) wherein he will

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will, for his glory and our eternal comfort, diſſolve the ſame, and ſeparate us aſunder again for a time. Wherefore I thought it good, yea and my bounden duty, by this ſimple Letter to provoke, ſtir, and admoniſh you, to behave your ſelf in all your doings, ſayings, and thoughts, moſt thankfully unto our good God for the ſame. And therefore (my dear Wife) as you have heartily rejoyced in the Lord, and oftentimes given God thanks for his goodneſs, in bringing us together in his Holy Ordinance: even ſo now I deſire you, when this time of our ſeparation ſhall come, to rejoyce with me in the Lord, and to give him moſt hearty thanks, that he hath (to his glory and our endleſs commodity) ſeparated us again for a little time, and hath mercifully taken me unto himſelf, forth of this miſerable world, into his celeſtial Kingdom; believing and hoping alſo aſſuredly, that God of his goodneſs, for his Son Chriſts ſake, will ſhortly bring you, and your dear Children thither to me, that we may moſt joyfully together ſing praiſes unto his glorious name for ever. And yet once again I deſire you for love of God, and as ever you loved me, to rejoyce with me, and to give God continual thanks for doing his moſt merciful will upon me.

Here is a true mark of a faithful Chriſtian, forſaking Wife and Children for Chriſts ſake.

True obedience of a faithful Woman.

I hear ſay that you do oftentimes uſe to repeat this godly ſaying, *The Lords will be fulfilled.* Doubtleſs it rejoyceth my poor heart to hear that report of you, and for the Lords ſake, uſe that godly prayer continually, and teach your Children and family to ſay the ſame day and night: and not onely ſay it with your tongues, but alſo with your heart and mind, and joyfully ſubmit your will to Gods will in very deed, knowing and believing aſſuredly, that nothing ſhall come to you or any of yours, otherwiſe then it ſhall be his Almighty and Fatherly good will and pleaſure, and for your eternal comfort and commodity. Which thing to be moſt true and certain, Chriſt teſtifieth in his Holy Goſpel, ſaying, *Are not two little Sparrows ſold for a farthing, and yet not one of them ſhall periſh without the will of our Heavenly Father?* And he concludeth ſaying, *Fear not ye therefore, for ye are better then many Sparrows.* As though he ſhould have ſaid, If God have ſuch reſpect and care for a poor Sparrow, which is not worth one farthing, that it ſhall not be taken in the lime-twig, net, nor pitfal, until it be his good will and pleaſure; you may be well aſſured, that not one of you (whom he ſo dearly loveth, that he hath given his onely dear Son for you) ſhall periſh, or depart forth of this miſerable life without his Almighty good will and pleaſure.

Matth. 10.

Therefore dear Wife, put you truſt and confidence wholly and onely in him, and ever pray that his will be fulfilled, and not yours, except it be agreeing to his will; the which I pray God it may ever be, *Amen.* And as for worldly things, take you no care, but be you well aſſured the Lord your dear God and Father will not ſee you for yours lack, if you continue in his love and Childly fear, and keep a clear Conſcience from all kind of Idolatry, Superſtition, and wickedneſs, as my truſt is that you will do, although it be with the loſs and danger of this temporal life. And good *Margaret*, fear not them that can but kill the Body (and yet can they not do that until God give them leave, but fear to diſpleaſe him that can kill both Body and Soul, and caſt them into Hell Fire. Let not the remembrance of your Children keep you from God. The Lord himſelf will be a Father and a Mother, better then ever you or I could have been unto them. He himſelf will do all things neceſſary for them; yea, as much as rock the cradle, if need be. He hath given his Angels charge over them, therefore commit them unto him. But if you may live with a clear Conſcience (for elſe I would not have you to live) and ſee the bringing up of your Children your ſelf, look that you nurture them in the fear of God and keep them far from Idolatry, Superſtition, and other kind of wickedneſs; and for Gods ſake help them to ſome learning if it be poſſible, that they may increaſe in vertue and godly knowledge, which ſhall be a better dowry to marry them withal, then any worldly ſubſtance; and when they be come to age, provide them ſuch husbands as fear God, and love his holy word. I charge you take heed that you match them with no Papiſts; and if you live and marry again your ſelf (which thing I would wiſh you to do, if need require, or elſe not) good Wife take heed how you beſtow your ſelf that you and my poor Children be not compelled to wickedneſs. But if you ſhall be able well to live Gods true Widow, I would Counſel you ſo to live ſtill, for the more quietneſs of your ſelf and your poor Children. Take heed *Margaret*, and play the wiſe Womans part. You have warning by other, if you will take an example. And thus I commit you and my ſweet Children unto Gods moſt merciful defence. The bleſſing of God be with you, and God ſend us a merry meeting together in Heaven. Farewel in Chriſt, Farewel mine own dear Hearts all. Pray, pray.

Good counſel given to his Wife.

Care of children to be caſt upon the Lord.

The mothers duty in bringing up her children.

To my good Brother, Mr John Bradford.

THe peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the eternal comfort of his ſweet Spirit, which hath ſurely ſealed you unto eternal Salvation, be with you and ſtrengthen you in your joyful journey towards the celeſtial *Hieruſalem* (my dear Friend and moſt faithful Brother Mr. *Bradford*) to the ſetting forth of Gods glory, and to your eternal joy in Chriſt, *Amen.*

A ſweet Letter of Jo. *Careles* to M. *Bradford* a little before his Martyrdom.

Ever ſince that good Mr. *Philpot* ſhewed me your laſt Letter (my dear Heart in the Lord) I have continued in great heavineſs and perplexity; not for any hurt or diſcommodity that I can perceive coming towards you, unto whom doubtleſs death is made life and great felicity, but for the great loſs that Gods Church here in *England* ſhall ſuſtain by the taking away of ſo godly, worthy, and neceſſary an inſtrument, as the Lord hath made you to be. O that my life and a thouſand ſuch wretched lives more might go for yours. Oh, why doth God ſuffer me and ſuch other Caterpillers to live, that can do nothing but conſume the Alms of the Church, and take away you, ſo worthy a workman and labourer in the Lords Vineyard? But wo be to our ſins and great unthankfulneſs, which is the greateſt cauſe of the taking away of ſuch worthy inſtruments of God, as ſhould ſet forth his glory, and inſtruct his People. If we had been thankful unto God for the good Miniſters of his word, we had not been ſo ſoon deprived both of it and them. The Lord forgive our great ingratitude and ſins, and give us true repentance and faith, and hold his hand of mercy over us, for his dear Son Chriſts ſake. Take not away all thy true Preachers forth of this Realm (O Lord) but leave us a ſeed, leſt *England* be made like unto *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, when thy true *Lots* be gone.

He mourneth for the loſs and lack of Mr. *Bradford* in the Church.

But what go I about to mingle your mirth, with my mourning, and your juſt joy with my deſerved ſorrow? If I loved you indeed, as I have pretended, I ſhould ſurely rejoyce with you moſt heartily, and praiſe God on your behalf from the very bottom of my Heart; I ſhould praiſe God day and night for your excellent election in and through his great mercy, and ſhould give him moſt humble thanks for your Vocation by his Goſpel, and your true knowledge in the ſame; I ſhould earneſtly praiſe him for your ſweet juſtification, whereof you are moſt certain by Gods Grace and Spirit, and ſhould inſtantly pray unto him for your glorification, which ſhall ſhortly enſue; I ſhould rejoyce and be glad to ſee you ſo dignified by the Crown of Martyrdom, and to be appointed to that honour, to teſtifie his truth, and to ſeal it with your Blood; I ſhould highly extol the Lord, who hath given you a Glorious Victory over all your enemies viſible and inviſible, and hath given you grace and ſtrength to finiſh the *Tower* that you have begun to build. Finally, if I loved you, I ſhould moſt heartily rejoyce and be glad to ſee you delivered from this Body of ſin, and vile priſon of the fleſh, and brought into that Heavenly Tabernacle where you ſhall be ſafely kept, and never offend him more.

He rejoyceth for the honour of Mr. *Bradfords* martyrdom.

This and much more ſhould I do, if I had a good heart towards God, or you his dear Child. But (alas) I am an Hypocrite, and do ſeek nothing but mine own commodity. I would have Gods everlaſting providence give place to my peeviſh will and purpoſe, although it were to the hinderance of his glory and your ſweet commodity. God forgive me my horrible ingratitude, ſins and offences againſt him: and good Brother, do you forgive me my great negligence and unthankfulneſs toward you, and henceforth I promiſe you, I will put my will

to Gods will, and pray that the ſame may be fulfilled in you, as long as you be on this earth; and when you are taken hence, I will moſt heartily praiſe the Lord for you, ſo long as I have my being in this world. Ah my dear Heart, now I muſt take my leave of you, and as I think, my *Ultimum vale* in this life, but in the life to come I am right well aſſured we ſhall merrily meet together, and that ſhortly I truſt. And in taking of my leave of you (my dear Heart in the Lord) I ſhall deſire you faithfully to remember all the ſweet meſſages that the Lord our good God and moſt dear loving Father hath ſent you by me his moſt unworthy Servant, which as they are moſt true, ſo ſhall they be moſt truly accompliſhed upon you eternally; and for the more aſſurance and certificate thereof to your godly Conſcience, he hath commanded me to repeat the ſame unto you again, in his own name and word.

John Careles taketh his leave of M. Bradford.

Teſtimony of Gods Spirit.

John Careles doth Gods meſſage to M. Bradford.

Therefore now give ear and faithful credence. Hearken O ye Heavens, and thou Earth give ear, and bear me witneſs at the great day, that I do here faithfully and truly the Lords meſſage unto his dear Servant, his ſingularly beloved and elect Child *John Bradford*. *John Bradford*, thou man ſo ſpecially beloved of God, I pronounce and teſtifie unto thee in the word and name of the Lord *Jehova*, that all thy ſins whatſoever they be, be they never ſo many, ſo grievous or ſo great, be fully and freely pardoned, releaſed and forgiven thee, by the mercy of God in Jeſus Chriſt thine only Lord and ſweet Saviour, in whom thou doſt undoubtedly believe. Chriſt hath cleanſed thee with his blood, and clothed thee with his righteouſneſs, and hath made thee in the ſight of God his Father, without ſpot or wrinkle; ſo that when the fire doth his appointed office, thou ſhalt be received (as a ſweet burnt Sacrifice) into Heaven, where thou ſhalt joyfully remain in Gods preſence for ever, as the true inheritor of his everlaſting Kingdom, unto the which thou waſt undoubtedly predeſtinate and ordained by the Lords infallible purpoſe and decree, before the foundation of the world was laid. And that this is moſt true that I have ſaid, I call the whole Trinity, the Almighty and Eternal Majeſty of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, to my record at this preſent; whom I humbly beſeech to confirm and ſtabliſh in thee the true and lively feeling of the ſame, *Amen. Selah.*

Power and practice of the Keys of the Goſpel.

Now with a merry heart and joyful ſpirit, ſomething mixed with lawful tears, I take my farewel of you, mine own dear Brother in the Lord; who ſend us ſhortly a merry meeting in his Kingdom, that we may both ſing praiſes together unto him with his holy Angels and bleſſed Spirits for ever and ever. Farewel thou bleſſed in the Lord, Farewel in Chriſt, depart unto my reſt in the Lord; and pray for me for Gods ſake.

As I had made an end of this ſimple Letter, I heard ſome comfort both of good Mr. *Philpots* Servant and yours: but (alas) I do ſcarcely believe them. Well, I will hope in God, and pray all night that God will ſend me ſome comfort to morrow, and if the Lord give you ſparing to morrow, let me hear four words of comfort from you, for Gods ſake. The bleſſing of God be with you now and for ever, *Amen.*

Yours for ever in the Lord Jeſus,
J. Careles, *living in hope againſt hope.*

In reading this Letter of *John Careles* to Mr. *Bradford* above prefixed, wherein he maketh ſo much mention of a certain Letter of his ſent to him, and of the great exceeding conſolation he received of the ſame, thou wilt wiſh peradventure (good loving Reader) in thy mind, to have ſome ſight alſo of the ſaid Letter of Mr. *Bradford*. Wherein to ſatiſfie thy deſire, or rather to prevent thy petition, I have hereunto annexed the ſame, to the intent thou maiſt not only underſtand the contents thereof, but alſo receive fruit thereof to thy conſolation likewiſe. The purport of the Letter here followeth.

Mr. *Bradford* to *Careles.*

Almighty God our dear Father, through and for the merits of his dearly beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt, be merciful unto us, pardon us our offences, and under the wings of his mercy protect us from all evil, from henceforth and for ever, Amen.

Anno 1556.

A comfortable Letter of M. Bradford to John Careles.

Dear Brother Careles, *I heartily pray you to pray to God for me, for the pardon of my manifold ſins and moſt grievous offences, which need none other demonſtration unto you than this, namely, that I have behaved my ſelf ſo negligently in anſwering your godly triple Letters, which are three witneſſes againſt me. God lay not them, nor any other thing to my charge to condemnation, though to correction, not my will, but his will be done. Concerning your requeſt of abſolution (my deareſt Brother) what ſhall I ſay, but even as truth is? that the Lord of all mercy, and Father of all comfort, through the merits and mediation of his dear Son thy only Lord and Saviour, hath clearly remitted and pardoned all thy offences whatſoever they be, that ever hitherto thou haſt committed againſt his Majeſty: and therefore he hath given to thee as to his Child (dear Brother* John Careles) *in token that thy ſins are pardoned; he (I ſay) hath given thee a penitent and believing heart, that is, a heart which deſireth to repent and believe: For ſuch a one is taken of him (he accepting the will for the deed) for a penitent and believing heart indeed.*

Practice of the Keys of the Goſpel.

Wherefore (my good Brother) be merry, glad, and of good chear, for the Lord hath taken away thy ſins; thou ſhalt not die. Go thy ways; the Lord hath put away thy ſins. The Eaſt is not ſo far from the Weſt, as the Lord hath now put thy ſins from thee. Look how the Heavens be in compariſon of the Earth, ſo far hath his mercy prevailed towards thee his dear Child, John Careles, *through Chriſt the Beloved. Say therefore with* David, *Praiſe the Lord, O my Soul, and all that is within me praiſe his holy Name: for he hath forgiven thee all thy ſins; as truly he hath. And hereof I deſire to be a witneſs. God make me worthy to hear from you the like true meſſage for my ſelf. Mine own dearly Beloved, you have great cauſe to thank God moſt heartily that he hath given you ſuch repentance and faith; the Lord increaſe the ſame in you and me a moſt miſerable wretch, whoſe heart is harder than the Adamant ſtone, or elſe I could not thus long have ſtayed from writing unto you. If I live and may, I purpoſe and promiſe you to make amends. Pray for me, my moſt dear Brother, I heartily beſeech you, and forgive me my long ſilence. God our Father be with us for ever,* Amen.

Yours in the Lord, *J. Bradford.*

To my moſt dear and faithful Brethren in Newgate, *condemned to die for the teſtimony of Gods everlaſting Truth.*

Another Letter of John Careles to the conſtant Brethren in Newgate condemned.

THE everlaſting peace of God, in Jeſus Chriſt, the continual joy, ſtrength and comfort of his moſt pure, holy, and mighty ſpirit, with the increaſe of faith and lively feeling of his eternal mercy, be with you, my moſt dear and faithful loving Brother *Tyms*, and with all the reſt of my dear Hearts in the Lord, your faithful fellow-Souldiers, and moſt conſtant Companions in bonds, yea of men condemned moſt cruelly for the ſincere teſtimony of Gods everlaſting Truth, to the full finiſhing of that good work, which he hath ſo graciouſly begun in you all, that the ſame may be to his glory, the commodity of his poor afflicted Church, and to your everlaſting comfort in him, *Amen.*

Ah my moſt ſweet and loving Brethren, and deareſt Hearts in the Lord, what ſhall I ſay, or how ſhall I write unto you, in the leaſt point or part to utter the great joy that my poor heart hath conceived in God, through the moſt godly example of your Chriſtian conſtancy and ſincere confeſſion of Chriſts Verity? Truly my tongue cannot declare, nor my pen expreſs the abundance of ſpiritual mirth and gladneſs, that my mind and inward man hath felt, ever ſince I heard of your hearty boldneſs, and modeſt behaviour before that bloody Butcher, in the time of all your crafty examinations, eſpecially at your cruel condemnation, in their curſed Conſiſtory place. Bleſſed be God the Father of all mercy, and praiſed be his name, for that he hath ſo graciouſly performed upon you his dear Darlings, his moſt ſweet and comfortable promiſes, in not only giving you the continual aid, ſtrength and comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit

Example of true love and charity among the Martyrs.

to

Anno 1556.

to the faithful confeſſion of his Chriſt, for whoſe cauſe (O moſt happy men) ye are condemned to die: but alſo in giving you ſuch a mouth and wiſdom, as all your wicked enemies were not able to reſiſt, but were fain to cry, Peace, peace, and not ſuffer you to ſpeak. As truly as God liveth (my dear Brethren) this is not onely unto you a moſt evident Probation that God is on our ſide, and a ſure certainty of your everlaſting ſalvation in him, but alſo to your cruel Adverſaries (or rather Gods curſed enemies) a plain demonſtration of their juſt eternal wo and damnation, which they ſhall be full ſure ſhortly to feel, when ye ſhall full ſweetly poſſeſs the place of felicity and pleaſure prepared for you from the beginning.

The enemies not able to withſtand th wiſdom of God in his Saints, but compelled to bid them hold their peace.

Therefore (my dearly beloved) ceaſe not ſo long as ye be in this life, to praiſe the Lord with a luſty courage, for that of his great mercy and infinite goodneſs, he hath vouched you worthy of this great dignity, to ſuffer for his ſake not onely the loſs of goods, Wife, and Children, long impriſonment, cruel oppreſſion, &c. but alſo the very deprivation of this mortal life with the diſſolution of your bodies in the fire. The which is the greateſt promotion that God can bring you or any other unto in this vale of miſery, yea ſo great an honour, as the higheſt Angel in heaven is not permitted to have; and yet hath the Lord for his dear Son Chriſts ſake reputed you worthy of the ſame, yea and that before me and many other, which have both long looked and longed for the ſame.

John Careles longeth to die a Martyr in the Goſpels cauſe.

Ah my moſt dear Brother *Tyms*, whoſe time reſteth altogether in the hands of the Lord, in a full happy time cameſt thou into this troubleſome world, but in a much more bleſſed hour ſhalt thou depart out of the ſame: ſo that the ſweet ſaying of *Solomon*, or rather of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhall be full well verified upon thee, yea and all thy faithful fellows, *Better is the day of death* (ſaith he) *then the day of birth.* This ſaying cannot be verified upon every man, but upon thee my dear Brother, and ſuch as thou art, whoſe death is moſt precious before God, and full dear ſhall your Blood be in his ſight. Bleſſed be God for thee my dear Brother *Tyms*, and bleſſed be God again that ever I knew thee, for in a moſt happy time I came firſt into thy company. Pray for me, dear Brother, pray for me, that God will once vouch me worthy, of that great dignity whereunto he hath brought you.

Eccleſ. 7.

Of the Martyrdom of this *Tyms* read before

Ah my loving Brother *Drake*, whoſe Soul now draweth nigh unto God, of whom ye have received the ſame, full glad may you be that ever God gave you a life to leave for his ſake: Full well will he reſtore it to you again in a thouſand fold more glorious wiſe. Praiſe God, good Brother, as you have a great cauſe, and pray for me, I beſeech you, which am ſo much unworthy (ſo great are my ſins) of that great dignity whereunto the Lord hath called you and the reſt of your godly Brethren; whom I beſeech you to comfort in the Lord, as you can full well; praiſed be God for his gifts, which you have heartily applied to the ſetting forth of his glory, and the commodity of his poor afflicted Church. Which thing ſhal ſurely redound to your everlaſting joy and comfort, as you ſhall moſt effectually feel ere ever it be long, though the wicked of the world judge far otherwiſe.

The martyrdom of *Drake* read before.

Ah mine own hearts, and moſt dearly beloved Brethren, *Cavel*, *Ambroſe*, and both the *Spurges*; bleſſed be the Lord on your behalf, and praiſed be his name, which hath given you ſuch a Glorious Victory; Full valiant have you ſhewed your ſelves in the Lords fight, and full faithful in your painful ſervice. Faint not, but go on forward as ye have moſt godly begun, for great ſhall your reward be at the end of this your travel. Ah my good faithful Brethren all, what ſhall I ſay, or what ſhall I write unto you? but even the ſame that good *Elizabeth* did ſay to her godly Kinſwoman *Mary* the bleſſed Mother of Chriſt, *Happy art thou* (quoth that good Woman) *which haſt believed: for all things which the Lord hath ſpoken to thee, ſhall be fulfilled.* So I ſay to you (my dear Hearts in the Lord) happy are ye all, yea twice happy ſhall you be for evermore, becauſe ye have ſtedfaſtly believed the moſt ſweet promiſes which God the Father hath made unto you with his own mouth, in that he hath promiſed you (which are the faithful ſeed of the believing *Abraham*) that ye ſhall be bleſſed ever, world without end. The promiſes of God your moſt ſweet Father as ye do believe, ſo do ye bear record that God is true. The teſtimony whereof ye have full worthily born to the world, and ſhortly will full ſurely ſeal the ſame with your Blood, yea even to morrow, I do underſtand. Oh conſtant Chriſtians! O valiant Souldiers of the high Captain Jeſus Chriſt! who for your ſake hath conquered the Devil, Death, Sin and Hell, and hath given you full victory over them for evermore. Oh worthy witneſſes, and moſt glorious Martyrs, whoſe invincible faith hath overcome that proud, ſturdy, bragging Prince of the world, and all his wicked army, over whom ye ſhall ſhortly Triumph for evermore. Ah my ſweet Hearts, the everlaſting treaſures are full ſurely laid up for you in Heaven. The immarceſſible and moſt Glorious Crown of Victory is already made and prepared for you, to be ſhortly clapt upon all your happy heads. The Holy Angels of your Heavenly Father are already appointed to conduct your ſweet Souls into *Abrahams* Boſom. All the Heavenly Hoſt rejoyceth already, for that they ſhall ſhortly receive you with joy and felicity, into their bleſſed fellowſhip, *Selah.*

The martyrdom of *Cavel*, *Ambroſe*, and both the *Spurges*, read before.

Luke 1.

He incourageth Gods Martyrs unto their death.

Rejoyce which double joy, and be glad my dear Brethren, for doubtleſs ye have more cauſe then can be expreſſed. But (alas) I that for my ſins am left behind, may lie and lament with the holy Prophet, ſaying, *Woe is me that the days of my joyful reſt are prolonged.* Ah curſed Satan, which hath cauſed me ſo ſore to offend my moſt dear loving Father, whereby mine exile and Baniſhment is ſo much prolonged. Oh Chriſt my dear Advocate, pacifie thy Fathers wrath, which I have juſtly deſerved, that he may take me home to him in his ſweet mercy. O that I might now come home unto thee with thy bleſſed Brethren. Well, thy will O Lord be effectuouſly fulfilled, for it is onely good, and turneth all things to the beſt, for ſuch as thou in thy mercy haſt choſen.

Pſal. 119.

And now farewel my dear hearts, moſt happy in the Lord: I truſt in my good God, yet ſhortly to ſee you in the Celeſtial City, whereof undoubtedly the Lord hath already made you free Citizens. Though you be yet with us for a little time, your very home is in Heaven, where your treaſure doth remain with your ſweet Lord and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe calling you have heard with the ears of your hearts, and therefore ye ſhall never come into judgment, but paſs from death to life. Your ſins ſhall never more be remembred, be they never ſo many ſo grievous, or ſo great: for your Saviour hath caſt them all into the bottom of the Sea; he hath removed them from you, as far as the Eaſt is from the Weſt, and his mercy hath much more prevailed over you, then is diſtance between Heaven and Earth; and he hath given you for everlaſting poſſeſſion of the ſame, all his holineſs, righteouſnes, and juſtification, yea and the Holy Ghoſt into your hearts, wherewith ye are ſurely ſealed unto the day of redemption, to certifie you of your eternal election, and that ye are his true adopted Sons, whereby ye may boldly cry unto God, *Abba dear Father*, for evermore: ſo that now no creature in Heaven, Earth nor Hell, ſhall be able to accuſe you before the Throne of the Heavenly King. Satan is now caſt out from you; he himſelf is judged, and hath no part in you. He will once more bite you by the heel, and then he hath done, for at that time you ſhall ſquiſe his head through your own good Chriſt, and ſo have you final victory for evermore. In joyful Triumph whereof, ye ſhall ſweetly aſcend into the place of eternal reſt, whither your eldeſt Brother Chriſt is gone before you to take poſſeſſion for you, and to prepare your place under the Holy Altar, with *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, *Rogers*, *Hooper*, *Sanders*, *Farrar*, *Tailor*, *Bradford*, *Philpot*, with many other, who will be full glad of your coming, to ſee ſix more of their appointed number that their Blood may ſo much the ſooner be revenged upon them that dwell on the Earth.

Pſal. 103.

Triumph of Martyrs.

Geneſ. 2.

This I make an end, committing you all to Gods moſt merciful defence, whoſe quarrel ye have defended, whoſe cauſe ye have promoted, whoſe glory ye have ſet forth, and whoſe name ye have conſtantly confeſſed. Farewel for a while my dear hearts in the Lord, I will make as much haſte after you as I may. All our dear Brethren ſalute you. They pray for you, and praiſe God for you continually. *Bleſſed be the dead that die in the Lord,*

Apoc. 14.

Lord, for they reſt from their labours, ſaith the Holy Ghoſt, *and their works follow them.*

Your own John Careles, *a moſt unprofitable ſervant of the Lord. Pray, pray, pray.*

Ye heard before the Letter of *Thomas Whittle*, written to *John Careles*, wherein he yieldeth great thanks unto him for the ſingular joy and conſolation received by his Letters. The copy of which letters ſent unto him if any be diſpoſed to peruſe, here under followeth to ſatisfie his deſire.

To Mr. Green, Mr. Whittle, *and certain other priſoners in* Newgate, *condemned, and ready to be burnt for the teſtimony of our Lord Jeſus.*

Another letter of *Jo. Careles*, wherein he doth animate *Green*, *Whittle* and the reſt of that company unto their martyrdom.

THe everlaſting peace in Jeſus Chriſt, the continual comfort of his moſt pure and Holy Spirit, be with you my dear and faithful Brethren and Siſters of *Newgate*, the Lords appointed ſheep unto the ſlaughter, to the good performance of the great and noble work of the Lord, which he hath ſo graciouſly begun in you all; that the ſame may redound to the ſetting forth of his glory, and to the commodity of his Church, and to your own everlaſting comfort in him. So be it.

Ah my dear Hearts, and moſt faithful Brethren and Siſters in the Lord, what high lauds and praiſe, yea what humble and continual thanks am I bound to give to God our Father for you and on your moſt happy behalf, who ſo mightily hath magnified himſelf in you thus far forth, in giving you his holy and mighty Spirit, to the conſtant confeſſing of Chriſts verity, even to the cruel condemnation, and I doubt not but he will do the ſame to the death. Oh happy and bleſſed are you that ever you were born, that the Lord will vouch you worthy of this great dignity, to die for his ſake. Doubtleſs it is the greateſt honour that God can give you in this life. Yea if they be ſo bleſſed of God that die in the Lord, as the Holy Ghoſt ſaith they be; how much more bleſſed and happy then are you that die not onely in the Lord, but alſo for the Lord. O that it were the good will of God, that the good hour were now come, that I might go with you. Ah that my ſins made me not unworthy of ſuch an excellent dignity.

Apoc. 11. To die in the Lord, and for the Lord.

Be thankful dear Hearts, be thankful and rejoyce in the Lord: for mighty is his mercy towards you, and great is your reward in Heaven the which you like faithful perſons have plucked to you with a godly violence of an invincible faith. Oh worthy Warriours of the moſt high Captain! Oh conſtant confeſſors of the everlaſting verity! how glorious a Crown of Victory ſhall you ſhortly receive, which is prepared for all ſuch as do continue to the end? Oh you ſweet Saints of the Lord, how precious ſhall your death be in his ſight? Oh how dear are your Souls to your Redeemer, in whoſe hand they ſhall moſt joyfully reſt, and the pains of death ſhall never touch you? Oh how bleſſed ſhall you be, when Chriſt ſhall appear, at the which time you ſhall receive your Bodies again full of immortality? Oh how joyful ſhall you be, when Chriſt according to his promiſe ſhall knowledge you before his Father and his Holy Angels, as you have moſt conſtantly confeſſed him to be your Lord and onely Saviour before men?

Of this *Burtis Green*, read before.

Oh bleſſed *Green*, thou meek and loving Lamb of the Lord, how happy art thou to be appointed to die for his ſake? A full dainty diſh art thou for the Lords own tooth. Freſh and Green ſhalt thou be in the Houſe of the Lord, and thy fruits ſhall never wither nor decay. Although thou go here forth ſowing thy good fruit with tears, the time ſhall come that thou ſhalt reap with joy and gladneſs the fruits of everlaſting life, and that without ceaſing. Be merry therefore and fear not, for it is thy Fathers will to give thee a Kingdom, whereunto he hath choſen thee before the foundations of the world were laid.

Luke 12. Of this *Tho. Whittle*, read before.

Oh happy Miniſter, thou man of God, how glad mayeſt thou be of Gods moſt gracious favour, which hath prevented thee in the day of thy trial? Oh happy *Peter*, whoſe part thou haſt well played; therefore thy reward and portion ſhall be like unto his. Now haſt thou good experience of mans infirmity, but much more proof and taſt, yea ſenſe and feeling of Gods abundant bottomleſs mercy. Although Satan deſired to ſift thee, yet Chriſt thy good Captain prayed that thy faith ſhould not fail. Gods ſtrength is made perfect by thy weakneſs, and his grace is ſufficient for thee his dear Child. Thine example did ſo encourage and ſtrengthen thy poor Brethren, that God is every way glorified by thee, and ſhortly will he glorifie thee with himſelf, with that glory which he hath prepared for thee his elect dearling before the world was made. Therefore rejoyce and be glad, for thou haſt good occaſion, in finding ſuch favour in his ſight. Anno 1556. Luke 22

This is moſt true (O my other Brethren, whom I do not know, neither have I heard much of you) happy are you that ever you were born, and bleſſed be our God which hath given you ſuch victory over the bloody Beaſt; ſhortly ſhall you be cloathed in large white garments, and fine robes of righteouſneſs, and ſo ſhall you follow the Lamb on *Mount Sion* with new ſongs of mirth and melody, for your delivery forth of Satans power and tyranny. God for evermore be bleſſed for you, and ſtrengthen you to the end, as I doubt not but he will: for he never failed them that put their truſt in him. Apoc. 14.

Of Joan Warne, read before.

O my dear and faithful Siſter *Joan Warne*, what ſhall I ſay to thee? Thy trial hath been great; thy victory in Chriſt hath been notable. Thou haſt overcome many a ſharp ſhower and ſtorm. Shortly ſhalt thou arrive at the haven of quiet reſt, and receive a reward due to a conſtant Martyr. Thou ſhalt go home to thy heavenly Father, and poſſeſs for ever the inheritance which Chriſt hath purchaſed for thee, where thy earthly parents be, ſtill looking for thee, which have triumphed over Antichriſt moſt victoriouſly. Oh bleſſed parents of happy Children, which have ſhewed ſuch an example as the like hath been ſeldom ſeen! I ſalute thee dear Siſter of like conſtant mind, whoſe conſtant example is worthy of continual memory. Praiſed be God for you mine own ſweet Siſters, which hath made you play ſuch wiſe virgins parts. He hath plentifully poured the oil of his Spirit into the lamps of your faith, ſo that the light thereof ſhall never be extinct. You ſhall enter with your Bridegroom into everlaſting joy, whereunto you were choſen in him from the beginning.

He meaneth *Elizabeth Foſter.* Matth. 25.

Oh my dear Brethren and Siſters, you bleſſed Saints of the Lord, how much, and how deeply am I bound to praiſe God for you both day and night. Pray, pray for me (my dear Hearts) for the tender mercy of God, that I may be made worthy to follow your trace. Oh that I had run the race of my life as far as you have done yours and were as nigh my journeys end as you be unto yours. But alas, I ly like the lame man at the pools ſide by *Solomons* porch, and every man goeth into the place of health before me. But God will appoint me one, one day to put me in. I truſt my Lord of *Londons* Colehouſe is empty, and all his Officers Idle. Therefore they muſt ſhortly fetch more ſheep to the Shambles; for he is the common ſlaughter ſlave of all *England*. But happy are you that are paſſed through the pikes, and delivered out of his hands and from all the angels of the darkneſs of this world, which long tempted you in the Wilderneſs of the ſame: but now ſhall the Angels of God come and miniſter unto you; for thy are your ſervants to hold you up in their hands, that you ſhall not hurt your foot, no nor one hair of your head ſhall periſh. They ſhall carry you up to heaven in a fiery chariot, though you leave your mantle behind you for a time, until God reſtore the ſame again in a more ample and glorious ſort. John 5. Bp. *Boner* called the ſlaughter-ſlave of *England*. Pſal. 60. 4. Reg. 2.

Thus in haſt, as it doth appear, I am conſtrained to make an end, committing you all to Gods moſt merciful defence; who ever have you in his bleſſed keeping, deſiring you all to remember me in your godly and faithful prayers, as I will not forget you in mine, by Gods grace. The bleſſing of God be with you all my dear Brethren and Siſters. All our Brethren and fellow priſoners here have them moſt heartily commended unto you, and pray for you without ceaſing. God ſend us a merry meeting in his Kingdom, *Amen.*

By your Brother and unfained lover,
John Careles, *priſoner, abiding his moſt merciful will and pleaſure. Pray, pray, pray.*

To

Anno 1556.

To my dear and faithful Brother William Tyms, *priſoner in* Newgate.

Another Letter of Jo. *Careles*, privately written to his bedfellow Wil. *Tyms*.

THe everlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, with the continual joy, comfort, and ſtrength of his ſweet Spirit, be multiplied, and daily more and more increaſed in your good heart (my moſt faithful and dear Brother *Tyms*) to the full quieting of your Conſcience, and beating back of all the fiery darts of the wicked, that you may ſhortly receive the glorious Crown of Victory, and in the ſame Triumph over all your enemies, for ever more, *Amen*.

I cannot expreſs the exceeding great joy and conſolation of my poor heart, conſidering the marvellous Works of God moſt graciouſly wrought upon you, not onely in proving you and trying your faith by his great and huge croſſes both inwardly and outwardly, but alſo in giving you ſo great conſolation and conſtancy in the midſt of the ſame. Faithful is God, and true of his promiſes, who hath ſaid; *That he will never ſuffer his choſen Children to be tempted above their ſtrength, but in the midſt of their temptation will make an out-ſcape for them*, by ſuch means as may make to his glory and their everlaſting conſolation. My dear heart, great cauſe have you to be of good comfort, I ſee in you as lively a token of Gods everlaſting love and favour in Jeſus Chriſt, as ever I perceived in any man. *In reſpect whereof*, I do even with *my heart love*, honour, and reverence you, beſeeching God for his glorious Names ſake, in the Bowels and Blood of our Lord and onely Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to finiſh his good work in you, as I doubt not but he will do, according to his infallible promiſes, yea I am well aſſured thereof, foraſmuch as you have ſo effectually received his Holy Spirit into your heart, as a pledge and a ſure ſeal of your eternal redemption, and a teſtimony of your adoption in Chriſt Jeſus. For which cauſe Satan ſo ſore envieth you, that he hath now bent all his fierce Ordnance againſt you, thinking thereby utterly to deſtroy the invincible Fort of your faith, founded moſt firmly upon the unmoveable Rock Chriſt, againſt the which neither the Devil, Sin, nor yet Hell Gates ſhall ever prevail, *Selah*.

Gods children never tempted above their ſtrength.

He confirmeth W. *Tyms*, being condemned, to the day of his martyrdom.

Therefore mine own bowels in the Lord, be not diſcomforted for this your conflict, which doubtleſs ſhall greatly increaſe your Crown of Glory, Triumph and Victory; but take a good heart unto you, and buckle boldly with Satan, both in himſelf and his ſubtle members. It is the very divine Ordinance of God, that all his regenerate People ſhall be tempted, proved, and tried, as we ſee by the example of our Saviour Chriſt; who as ſoon as he was Baptized, was ſtraightways led of the Holy Ghoſt into the Wilderneſs, there to be tempted of the Devil. But there got he ſuch a Glorious Victory of Satan, that he could never ſince finally prevail againſt any of his poor members, but in every aſſault that he maketh either inwardly or outwardly, he getteth a foil, and taketh ſhame; ſo that now he rageth with all the ſpite poſſible, ſpecially becauſe he knoweth his time is but ſhort. Saint *James* teſtifieth that he is but a very coward, that will ſoon flee if he be faithfully reſiſted. And as for his tempting tools, the Lord hath made them manifeſt unto us, ſo that he cannot deceive us though he aſſault us; For as S. *Paul* ſaith; *His very thoughts are not unknown to us*, as it doth in you largely appear, praiſed be the Lords Name therefore.

It is the nature of Gods children to be tempted. Matth. 4.

Satans tempting tools.

2 Cor. 2.

You ſee (dear Brother) that now to moleſt you and ſuch as you are, that be even paſſing from this vale of miſery, he hath but two wayes, or two pieces of Ordnance to ſhoot at you, with the which he cannot hurt you, becauſe you have two Bulwarks to defend you. The firſt of theſe terrible Guns that Satan hath ſhot at you, is the very ſame that he continually ſhooteth at me, that is to ſay, fear and infidelity; for the ugly ſomneſs of death and horror of my ſins, which be ſo many, grievous, and great. But this pellet is eaſily put away with the ſure ſhield of faith, in the moſt precious death and Bloodſhedding of our dear Lord and onely Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whom the Father hath given unto us wholly to be ours for evermore, and *with him hath given us all things*, as *Paul* ſaith; ſo that though we be never ſo great ſinners, yet Chriſt is made unto us holineſs, righteouſneſs, and juſtification. He hath clothed us with all his merits, mercies, and moſt ſweet ſufferings, and hath taken unto him all our miſery, wretchedneſs, ſin, and infirmity. So that if any ſhould now be condemned for the ſame, it muſt needs be Jeſus Chriſt, which hath taken them upon him. But indeed he hath made ſatisfaction for them to the uttermoſt jot; ſo that for his ſake they ſhall never be imputed to us, if they were a thouſand times ſo many more as they be. This do you moſt effectuouſly feel and know (dear Brother) a great deal better than I can tell you, bleſſed be God therefore.

Two principal pellets of Satan whereby he aſſaulteth Gods ſervants.

1. Fear of ſin and death, and infidelity of Gods promiſe.

Remedy againſt fear and infidelity.

And now Satan, ſeeing that he cannot prevail with his boyſterous battery againſt this Buwark of faith, which doth ſo quench all his fiery darts, that they can do you no harm, but rather do you good ſervice to caſt you down, under the mighty hand of God, that he *may* take you up by his onely grace and power, and ſo you may render him all the glory by Jeſus Chriſt (which thing the enemy can in no wiſe abide) therefore he ſhooteth off his other Piece moſt peſtilent, to provoke you to put ſome part of your truſt and confidence in your ſelf, and in your own holineſs and righteouſneſs, that you might that way rob God of his glory, and Chriſt of the honour and dignity of his death. But bleſſed be the Lord God, you have alſo a full ſtrong Bulwark to beat back this peſtiferous pellet alſo, even the pure Law of God, which *proveth the beſt of us all damnable ſinners in the ſight of* God, if he would enter into judgment with us according to the ſeverity of the ſame, and that even our beſt works are polluted and defiled in ſuch ſort, as the Prophet deſcribeth them. With which manner of ſpeaking our free-will Phariſees are much offended; for it felleth all mans righteouſneſs to the ground (I had like to have ſaid to the bottom of hell) and extolleth onely the righteouſneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, which is allowed before God, and is freely given to all thoſe that firmly believe, as bleſſed be God you do.

The ſecond pellet of Satan, is confidence and truſt in our good works.

Remedy againſt the ſecond pellet. Iſa. 64.

Ah my good Brother *Tyms*, Satan hath but his hand in a wrong box when he beginneth to tempt you, either to gain-glory or miſtruſt: for you are an old beaten ſouldier, and have had good experience of theſe manner of temptations, both by your ſelf and other, whom you know well were beloved of God. Be of good cheer therefore dear heart, be of good cheer, for now Satan hath wrought all his malice, he hath done all that he can, and hath ſhot off all his laſt Pieces, wherewith he had thought to have done moſt miſchief; but now he ſeeth he cannot prevail (the ſtrong *Tower* of our faith being ſo invincible) he will pluck up all his tents, and get him to ſome other place to practiſe the like aſſaults, and then will the Angels of God come and miniſter unto you the moſt ſweet and heavenly conſolations of the Holy Ghoſt. To him therefore who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that ever we can deſire or think, I do moſt heartily commit you, with all the reſt of your godly priſon-fellows, who comfort, ſtrengthen, and defend you with his grace and mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, as he hath hitherto done, that you having a moſt glorious Victory over the ſubtle Serpent, and all his wicked ſeed, may alſo receive the Crown of glory and immortality prepared for you before the foundations of the World were laid, and is ſo ſurely kept for you in the hands of him whoſe promiſe is unfallible, that the Devil, ſin, death, or hell, ſhall never be able to deprive you of the ſame. The bleſſing of God be with you now and for evermore, *Amen*. Pray, pray, pray for me.

Satan overcome in Gods Saints

Your own for ever,
John Careles.

To my good Sister M. C.

THe peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, and the eternal comforts of his ſweet Spirit, be with you my dear and faithful Siſter, to the full accompliſhment of that good work which he hath moſt graciouſly begun in you, that the ſame may be effectually to the ſetting forth of his glory and to your everlaſting Conſolation in him, *Amen*.

Another letter of Jo. *Careles* to Miſtreſs *Cotton*, a faithful Siſter and favourer of the Goſpel.

My loving and faithful Sister in the Lord, I thank you for all your loving kindneſs ſhewed unto me in your fervent and faithful Prayers, and for your moſt godly and comfortable Letter, whereby you do not only much increaſe my joy and comfort, but alſo put me in remembrance of my duty towards you.

Gods great gifts in Women.

Bleſſed be the Lord God, which of his great mercy hath ſo beautified his Church in theſe our days, that even unto many godly women he hath given moſt excellent gifts of knowledge and underſtanding of his Truth, ſo that they are not only well able to inform their own Conſciences in all things neceſſary to ſalvation, but alſo moſt ſweetly comfort their ſorrowful Brethren and Siſters that ſuſtain any trouble for the teſtimony of Gods Truth, yea, and that which is more, even in the midſt of their great conflicts of Conſcience. Of which moſt happy number of godly and vertuous women (my dear Heart) you are one, and that of the chiefeſt, being plentifully indued with the gifts of Gods moſt gracious Spirit, as it doth full well appear in your daily doings. God only have the praiſe therefore.

Note how God ſometime gives comfort by weaker veſſels.

Foraſmuch then as God hath given you the gift to write, I ſhall moſt heartily deſire you to let me hear from you ſometimes, be it never ſo little, for truly I take great comfort and courage thereby, ſpecially in my poor Conſcience, which is ſore aſſaulted of ſubtle Satan, and in a manner oppreſſed of my ſins. Pray (dear Siſter) that God may give me true, hearty and earneſt repentance, and increaſe my faith, for they are both the good gifts of God only, and far paſs the reach of my power, to take at my pleaſure.

Therefore (dear Siſter) if you help me to beg the ſame of our dear loving Father, I am ſure that he both can and will give them in his good time. As for the fear of death, or terrour of the fire, I moſt heartily thank my good God, I feel it not; only it is mine own ſins and unthankfulneſs which holdeth hard battel, and wageth ſtrong war againſt me, which only goeth about to ſeparate me from my good Captain Chriſt, that I ſhould not enjoy his glorious victory; but God being on my ſide (as I am ſure he is) that cannot continually prevail againſt me. Though God for a time permit Satan to take his pleaſure on me, as he did upon *Job*, yet I doubt not but in the end all ſhall turn to my profit, through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe moſt merciful defence I commit you (dear Siſter) with all the reſt of the Lords elect. Farewel in Chriſt.

John Careles nothing touched with fear of death, or of the fire, but only of his ſins.

Yours unfeignedly, John Careles.
Pray, pray, pray, pray.

To my dear Brother T. V.

Another Letter of John Careles, wherein he comforteth the afflicted mind of a certain good Brother, mourning for lack of Gods feeling.

THe everlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the continual comforts of his moſt pure and holy Spirit, be with you my moſt dear Friend and faithful Brother *V.* to the increaſe of your Faith, and comfort of your ſorrowful Spirit, which is to the Father a ſweet ſacrifice through Chriſt, for whoſe ſake he will never deſpiſe your humble and contrite heart, but doth favourably accept the ſame, and will in moſt ample wiſe perform the deſire thereof to his glory, and your eternal comfort in him.

In the midſt of my manifold croſſes and troubles, wherein I am conſtrained to flee unto God for refuge and ſuccour by earneſt and faithful Prayer, I cannot forget you my dear heart in the Lord, but eſteeming your ſtate for mine own, I do pour forth my complaint for you, as I do for my ſelf, and rather more, as I think preſent need doth require, deſiring moſt heartily to hear the good ſucceſs of the ſame in you. The Lord God, for his great mercies ſake, accompliſh my deſire, as I doubt not but he will, when he ſeeth it good and moſt to his glory, and to your comfort and commodity. Oh that I might once ſee you ſo merry in Chriſt, as you have juſt cauſe to be, that you might ſay with *David*, *Pſal.* 57. *Awake my glory, awake Lute and Harp, bring forth the Pſalter with the merry Song, that I might ſing a new Song of praiſe and thankſgiving unto the Lord, for the light of his favourable countenance, his help and deliverance.* Oh, that would refreſh me as a moſt precious Oil, and gladden my poor heart, which is aſſaulted with ſorrow more ways than one. I doubt not but the ſame ſhall by your means receive much comfort, though for a time it doth mourn with you, that we may be made both glad together; yea, and that with ſuch gladneſs as ſhall continue for ever. But in the mean ſpace (I ſay) moſt happy are you, that ſo heartily mourn for the abſence of the Bridegroom. If you were not a wedding Child, you could never do it. Only Chriſts true Diſciples do mourn for his abſence: therefore ſhall they doubtleſs rejoyce at his preſence, which will be ſo much more joyful, by how much the abſence is more ſorrowful.

Anno 1556.

Comfort for a ſick Conſcience.

Therefore (my good Brother) take a good heart unto you, and be of good chear. Say with the Prophet *David*, *Pſalm* 42. *O my Soul, why art thou ſo heavy, and why art thou ſo diſquieted within me? O put thy truſt in God, for I will yet give him thanks for the help of his loving countenance, and becauſe he is my God.* Read *Pſalm* 41. and 42. for your comfort, and conſider that the holy King and Prophet, at the making and firſt ſaying of them, was even in the ſame caſe that you are now in; but he ſtill comforted himſelf with the ſweet Promiſes of God: and ſo do you my dear heart, for to you they do as well pertain as they did to him, and as ſurely ſhall they be performed upon you, as they were upon him: for he is one God and dear Father unto you both, and for his mercy, truth and promiſe ſake, he muſt needs make good unto you all that he hath ſaid. If his love towards you ſtood in the reſpect of your own merit and worthineſs, you might well mourn, lament and complain; yea, you had good cauſe to doubt, fear, and miſtruſt. But ſeeing he loveth you only for and in Jeſus Chriſt, who is your whole holineſs, righteouſneſs and redemption; lay away all mourning, lamenting, and complaining, baniſh from you all fear, miſtruſt, and infidelity, and know that as long as Chriſt doth continue Gods Son, ſo long muſt the love of the Father continue towards you immutable, and his good will unchangeable, and cannot be altered through any of your infirmities. For this is moſt true, that as long as the cauſe of any thing doth laſt, ſo long muſt the effect remain; but Chriſt is the whole cauſe why the Father loveth you, and he alſo continueth for ever; then muſt I needs conclude, that the love of the Father continueth towards you for ever, and (as the *Pſalmiſt* moſt joyfully ſo often ſingeth) *His mercy endureth for ever and ever.*

Gods love goeth not by our deſervings, but by faith in Jeſus Chriſt.

Chriſt only is the cauſe why his Father loveth us.

This is moſt true (mine own dear Heart) although the Lord for a time hide it from your ſenſes, that you might be the more earneſt in prayer to him for the feeling of it, and alſo the more thankful for it when he doth give the lively taſt of it, as doubtleſs he will do ere ever it be long; and then ſhall you be well able to comfort other in the ſame ſtate that you are now in, with the ſame comfort wherewith you are, and further ſhall be comforted of God.

Why God ſometime hideth himſelf from us.

Therefore lift up your hands that are now a little fallen down, and ſtretch forth the weak knees of your troubled mind, which now mourneth with a godly mourning, and therefore ſhall it be full well comforted with that ſweet peace of God which paſſeth all underſtanding: and you are ſure already to enjoy the bleſſing that Chriſt gave unto the godly mourners of *Sion* upon the Mount, at the firſt Sermon that he made. Oh happy *V.* in whoſe mourning company I had rather be, than in the houſe of mirth and banquetting of ſuch as ſee not what cauſe they have to mourn and be ſorry. But yet (my good Brother) uſe a meaſure in this your godly mourning, and make not your faithful Friends too much ſorry for you. Let the perſwaſions of ſuch godly Lovers as you do daily company withal, or rather the perſwaſions of the Holy Ghoſt by them, move you to ſome godly mirth and rejoycing. Conſider that you are commanded of God by the mouth of Saint *Paul* thereto, *Rejoyce in the Lord* (ſaith he) *and I ſay again rejoyce, Philip.* 4. Mark how he doubleth the ſentence, that we may perceive it is a moſt earneſt and neceſſary thing he requireth. Obey the Commandment of God in this behalf; wherein, as you cannot but highly pleaſe him, ſo I aſſure you, you ſhall very much rejoyce my poor heart, and the hearts of other which pray for you with mourning Tears, and make that cruel

Heb. 12.

Eccleſ. 7.

Meaſure ought to be in mourning.

Example of Chriſtian charity and compaſſion towards his afflicted Brother.

enemy

Anno 1556.

enemy Satan and all your Adverſaries ſorry, which will rejoyce and laugh to ſee you mourn. Oh my good Brother, let it manifeſtly appear; that the Lord of his great mercy hath heard our faithful and hearty requeſts for you. Oh how would that rejoyce me in the midſt of my troubles.

Therefore now to conclude, becauſe the darkneſs conſtraineth me to make an end for this time, I ſay, my dear and faithful Brother, you in reſpect of the great cauſe you have of your own part through Chriſt, and for the glory and honour of Almighty God, the comfort, joy, and rejoycing of your dear Brethren and Siſters in Chriſt, alſo your own duty to the commandment of God; and laſt of all to vex, moleſt, and greive Satan withal, rejoyce in the Lord, and be moſt heartily glad in him, who is wholy yours, and you are his, and ſhall be for ever more, *Selah.*

Farewel mine own bowels in the Lord, and praiſe God with joyful lips and a merry heart, and pray for me his moſt unprofitable Servant, which have more cauſe concerning my ſelf to lament, then any one man elſe living: but my good Bridegroom is preſent, and biddeth me caſt away my mourning garments, and therefore I muſt needs be merry with him: and ſo he biddeth you to be, by my mouth, for he is preſent with you, although for ſorrow you cannot know him, as *Magdalen* could not in the garden, until he ſpake unto her. The Lord God ſpeak theſe words of comfort in your heart, and open the eyes of your mind, that you may perfectly perceive and feel his Bleſſed preſence, and ſo rejoyce in the ſame for evermore, *Amen.* Comfort your heart in Chriſt, and caſt your care upon him, for he careth for you.

Your Brother in the Lord, abiding his good pleaſure, John Careles.

To my dear and faithful Brother, Auguſtine Bernher.

Another Letter of *John Careles* to faithful *Auguſtine Bernher*, counſelling him to be circumſpect in theſe dangerous days.

THe peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the help, comfort, and aſſiſtance of his eternal Spirit be with you my dear and faithful Brother *Auguſtine*, and with all the reſt of my good Brethren and Siſters of the houſes of *Baxterley* und *Manceter* (which mourn for the miſery of Gods People) to your everlaſting conſolation in him, *Amen.*

Right glad I am to hear (my dear and faithful Brother *Auguſtine*) that God of his great mercy and infinite goodneſs hath yet ſo graciouſly delivered and preſerved you out of your enemies hands, beſeeching Almighty God alſo from the bottom of my heart, to be your continual defence unto the end, as hitherto he hath moſt graciouſly been, that you may live and die both to Gods glory, the commodity of his Church, and to the increaſe of your own everlaſting joy and comfort in him.

Know you (dear Brother) that I have received your Letter, for the which I heartily thank you. Indeed I think it very ſhort, although it ſeemeth ſomething ſharply to rebuke me in the beginning, for the breach of my promiſe in not writing to you of this long time. Well Brother, I am content to bear it with patience, conſidering that you are troubled otherwiſe (the Lord comfort you and all heavy hearts;) neither will I ſpend Ink and Paper for my purgation in this point. God he knoweth whether I be ſo mindleſs of my promiſe as it appeareth in your ſight I am. Your requeſt I will truly perform to the uttermoſt of my Power, as gladly as any poor wretch ſhall do in the world, and I thank God I have done no leſs of long time. And as my poor Prayer ſhall be a handmaid to wait upon you which way ſoever you ride or go; ſo I beſeech you that my ſimple counſel may take ſome place in you, in this time of your Pilgrimage, which you paſs in no ſmall peril. God keep and preſerve you for his Names ſake.

He counſelleth *Auguſtine* to be circumſpect, and not raſhly to thruſt himſelf in danger.

I do not diſallow, but much praiſe and commend your hearty boldneſs in putting your ſelf in preſs, when any one of Gods People needeth your help in any point. But yet I would not have you thruſt your ſelf in danger, when you can do them no good, or at leaſtwiſe when they may well enough ſpare that good you would do them: For if you ſhould then chance to be taken, you ſhall not only be no comfort unto them, but alſo a great diſcomfort, adding ſorrow unto their ſorrow.

I do not perſwade you to abſent your ſelf from any place where your preſence of neceſſity is required; for in all ſuch places, I know, God will preſerve you as he hath hitherto wonderfully done, praiſed be his Name therefore: or if it ſhall pleaſe him to permit you in any ſuch place to be taken, I know he will moſt ſweetly comfort your Conſcience with this conſideration, that it is the very providence and appointment of God, that you ſhould there and then be taken up for a witneſs of his Truth unto the world: but I cannot allow, nor be contented that you ſhould raſhly or negligently thruſt your ſelf into that place where your wicked enemies do continually haunt, yea and lay wait for you, when no neceſſity of your ſelf, nor of any other of Gods People doth require your company. If they need any of your godly counſel, you may write unto them that thing that you think good; which (I dare ſay) will be ſufficient unto them. For (continual thanks and praiſes be given unto the everlaſting God) there is none of thoſe that be cruelly condemned for Gods Truth, that now be weaklings; for they have manfully paſſed through the pikes, and they have boldly abiden the brunt of the Battle, and therefore I reckon the worſt is paſt with them already. So that now and then a godly Letter from you to them ſhall do as much good, as your company ſhall do, and perchance more too; for writing ſticketh longer in the memory then words do, yea though your Letters were as ſhort to them, as your laſt was to me, ſo that the ſame be ſomething ſweeter, and not all thing ſo ſharp.

This (dear Brother) is the ſimple counſel which I would gladly have you obſerve, partly for that I heartily pray for your preſervation to the commodity of Chriſts Church, and partly for that I unfainedly wiſh the peace, comfort, and tranquillity of your own Conſcience, which I know will be quickly ready to accuſe you, if you do any thing wherein you have not the Word of God for your warrant. For as in a glaſs that is clear, a ſmall mote will ſoon appear: even ſo the good Conſcience of Gods choſen Children, being more clear then chryſtal, will quickly accuſe them at the leaſt fault they do commit; whereas the wicked worldlings have their Conſcience ſo clogged, and corrupted through the cuſtom of ſin, that they cannot once ſee or perceive their ſhameful deeds and wicked works, until God ſet the ſame before them for their utter deſtruction, and then deſpair they immediately. But ſeeing that God hath given you a clear Conſcience, and a pure, ſharp, quick and lively ſight in your Soul, I would wiſh you to beware that you do nothing unadviſedly, but upon a good ground. For an accuſing Conſcience is a ſore thing when death doth approach, and then Satan will not ſtick to tell you that you have too much tempted God, when peradventure you have done nothing ſo at all. For this cauſe (I ſay) partly I have thought it good to admoniſh you (as I have done often) to be circumſpect, according to the counſel of Chriſt, which biddeth you beware of men. Other things I have not to write, for I know this bearer can certifie you of all things at large, better then I can declare it by writing.

A good Conſcience is ſoon troubled.

Conſcience of ſin ſometime is taken where none is committed. Matth. 10.

I beſeech you, good *Auguſtine*, help me forwards with your hearty prayers, for I truſt I have but a ſmall time to tarry in this troubleſom world. Dr. *Story* told out Marſhal that we ſhould all be diſpatched ſo ſoon as he came from *Oxford*, whither he and other bloody Butchers be gone to make ſlaughter of Chriſts ſheep that lie there appointed to be ſlain. God for Chriſts ſake put them and ſuch like beſides their cruel purpoſe, if it be his good will and pleaſure, *Amen* good Lord. I pray you do my moſt hearty commendations to my dear Siſter and Faithful Friend, good Miſtreſs *Mary Glover*. I beſeech God be her comfort, as I doubt not but he is. I am very glad to hear that ſhe doth ſo joyfully and ſo patiently bear this great Croſs that God hath laid upon her. I pray God ſtrengthen her, and all other his dear Saints unto the end, *Amen*. Commend me unto my dear and faithful Siſter *Elizabeth B.* I thank her moſt heartily for my Napkin, and ſo I do your dear Brother for my Shirt. Truly that day that we were appointed to come to our anſwer before the Commiſſioners (which had ſent word the ſame morning that they would

D. Story.

come

come to the *Kings Bench* by eight of the Clock, and the houſe and all things were trimmed and made ready for them) I got that Shirt on my back, and that Napkin in my hand, and me thought they did help to harneſs me, and weapon me well to go fight againſt that bloody Beaſt of *Babylon*. And truſt me, truly if they had come, I would have ſtricken three ſtrokes the more for your two ſakes, as well as God would have abled me to have ſet them on, as by Gods grace I will not fail to do at the next skirmiſh that I come to. Wherefore I pray you pray for me, that I may be ſtrong and hardy to lay on good load. Oh that I might ſo ſtrike him down, that he ſhould never be able to riſe again. But that ſtroke belongeth only unto the Lord, to ſtrike at his coming, the which I truſt will be ſhortly. Oh haſten it good Lord, and ſhorten theſe ſorrowful and ſinful days, for thy great mercies ſake.

The Chriſtian courage of *John Careles.*

Farewel my dear and faithful loving Brother. The Lord defend, keep, and preſerve you from the power of your enemies viſible and inviſible, and ſend us a moſt joyful and merry meeting here or elſewhere, as it ſhall pleaſe his goodneſs to appoint us.

In the mean ſpace I ſhall moſt earneſtly deſire you to pray for me, for I never had more need in my life, and doubtleſs you ſhall never want my poor prayer, if it ſhall pleaſe God to accept the prayer of ſo ſinful a wretch as I am. The Lord impute not my ſins to me, for Jeſus Chriſt ſake; unto whoſe moſt merciful defence I do moſt heartily commit you. The bleſſing of God be with you now and ever, *Amen.* I pray you do my moſt hearty commendations unto Mr. *John Glover.* I do not forget him in my daily prayers, and I truſt he doth remember me.

Your poor Brother always mindful of you in my prayer, John Careles *Priſoner, abiding Gods pleaſure.*

To my dear Brother Henry Adlington, *Priſoner in the* Lollards *Tower.*

Another Letter of *John Careles* to *Henry Adlington*, after a Martyr, partly comforting, and partly counſelling him how to anſwer his Adverſaries.

THe everlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the continual aid, ſtrength, joy, and comfort of his moſt pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increaſe of Faith, and lively feeling of his mercies be moſt effectuouſly wrought in your heart, my dear and faithful loving Brother *Adlington*, and in the hearts of all your other godly Priſon-fellows, to the full finiſhing of that good work, which the Lord hath moſt graciouſly begun in you; that the ſame may be to the advancing and ſetting forth of his glory, the Commodity of his poor afflicted Church, and to your own eternal joy and comfort in him, *Amen.*

My moſt dear and faithful loving Brother in the Lord, I with all the reſt of my loving Brethren here with me, do moſt humbly and heartily commend us unto you, with all faithful remembrance of you in our daily prayers, giving God earneſt thanks on your moſt happy behalf, for that he hath given you ſuch hearty boldneſs and Chriſtian conſtancy in the faithful confeſſion of his everlaſting verity. Bleſſed be God for thee my dearly beloved Brother, which hath vouched thee worthy of ſo great dignity, as to ſuffer for his ſake, and ſetting forth of his glory. Oh glad in heart mayſt thou be, to whom it is given, not only to believe in thy Lord and Chriſt moſt lively, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake, as one of his ſeelly ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter. Be of good comfort therefore my good Brother; for your calling unto the Croſs of Chriſt was after a marvelous ſort. Surely, it was only the Lords appointment, and therefore he will well perform his own work in and upon you, to the great magnifying of his glory, and comfort of your Brethren, whoſe hearts are mightily refreſhed, to hear how heartily you have behaved your ſelf hitherto.

This preſent day I received a Letter from you, at the reading whereof my Brethren and I were not a little comforted, to ſee your Conſcience ſo quieted in Chriſt and your continuance ſo ſtedfaſt in him; which things be the ſpecial gifts of God, not given unto every man, but to you his dear darling, elect and Choſen in Chriſt, and ſuch as you be. And whereas you do require to know my ſimple mind concerning your anſwer unto Dr. *Story* and the Chancellour; *truly I ſay you did* anſwer them very well: for there are but two Sacraments indeed that is to ſay, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, as you have full well anſwered them, praiſed be God for his good gifts, who chuſeth the weak to confound the ſtrong, and the fooliſh to confound the worldly wiſe. If when you come before them again, they do ask you what a Sacrament is, ſay you that a Sacrament, being miniſtred according to Chriſts inſtitution, is a viſible ſign of an inviſible grace, and hath the promiſe of Gods mercy annexed unto it, available to all ſuch as do worthily receive it, and not unworthily worſhip it, as they would have us to do, contrary to Gods commandment. And theſe properties, belonging to Chriſts true Sacraments, cannot be applied unto any one of thoſe five Sacraments which they have invented of their own brain, ſince Antichriſt began to reign, to blind the People withal.

Anno 1556.

What a Sacrament is.

I perceive (dear heart) that upon Friday they do intend to condemn you, and give you your judgment. Therefore I think they will have no great reaſoning with you, but bid you anſwer them directly, either yea, or nay, to all ſuch things as they have to charge you withal, which they have gathered of you ſince you came into their cruel hands. But if they will needs make many words with you, becauſe you are but a ſimple man, and therefore perchance they will be the buſier with you to trouble you with many queſtions, to comber your knowledge, and then ſeem to triumph over you and that Truth that you do hold; if (I ſay) they do this (as perhaps for ſome evil purpoſe they will) then be you ſo plain and as ſhort as you can, ſaying roundly unto them theſe or ſuch like words, as nigh as you can.

He inſtructeth him how and what to anſwer to the Adverſaries.

Be it known unto you, that I in all points do believe as it becometh a true Chriſtian, and as I have been truly taught in the days of that good King *Edward*, of ſuch godly Preachers and Prophets ſent of God, as have ſealed their Doctrine with their Blood, from whom I will diſſent in no point: for I am a poor man without learning, but am commanded of God to follow the counſel of his conſtant Preachers, and ſo do I intend to do, God giving me grace and aſſiſtance thereto.

We are bound to follow our true preachers.

As for you, I know you to be none of Chriſts Shepherds, but ravening Wolves, which come to kill and ſcatter the flock of Chriſt, as the Lord ſaid you ſhould; and doth will us to beware of you and your poyſoned Doctrine, bidding us to Judge you according to your fruits, whereby all men may ſee and know what ye be, that will not be wilfully blind. But the good Shepherds have given their lives for the defence of Chriſts flock; and I am commanded to follow their faithful and godly example, and to confeſs with them one Truth, even to the fire, if God ſhall ſee it good; and this as a true Chriſtian I have hitherto done, and henceforth by Gods grace intend to do.

And if for the ſame God ſhall ſuffer you to take away my life, as you have done theirs, I am contented therewith: his will be done, for that only is good. But of this be you ſure, the Lord will ſhortly call you to account for all the innocent Blood that is ſhed within this Realm; which you have brought into a moſt woful caſe, and made many a heavy heart in the ſame, and more I perceive you will make, ſo long as the Lord for our ſins will ſuffer you to proſper, and until the time that your iniquities ſhall be full ripe. But then be you ſure, the Lord will ſit in judgment upon you, as well as you do now upon his Saints, and will reward you according to your deſervings; to whom with my whole heart I commit my cauſe, and he will make anſwer for me, when the full time of my refreſhing cometh. In the mean ſpace, I will keep ſilence with this that I have ſaid, truſting that I have ſufficiently diſcharged my Conſcience in confeſſing my Faith and Religion to you, declaring of what Church I am, even of the Catholick Church of Jeſus Chriſt, which was well known to be here in *England* in our late good King *Edwards* days, by two ſpecial tokens which cannot deceive me, nor yet ſuffer me to be deceived; that is to ſay, the pure preaching of his holy Word, and the due adminiſtration of his holy Sacraments, which is not to be ſeen in your Romiſh Church,

God will require account of Blood.

The Catholick Church in King *Edwards* days in *England*.

Two ſpecial marks to know the true Church in *England* in King *Edwards* days.

Anno 1556.

Church, and therefore it cannot justly be called the Church and Spouse of Christ. I believe in the holy Trinity, and all the other Articles of the Christian Faith contained in the three Creeds; and finally all the Canonical Scripture to be true in every sentence. And I detest all Sects both of the *Arrians* and *Anabaptists*, or any other that divide themselves from the true Church of Christ, which is his mystical Body, the ground and pillar of Truth, and the very House of the living God. And if for these things you take away my life, and make your selves guilty of my blood, you may; for I am in your hands as the Sheep brought to the shambles, abiding the grace of the Butcher. And be you sure your judgment sleepeth not, but when you cry peace, peace, and all is safe, then shall your plagues begin like the sorrow of a Woman travelling with Child, according to Christs infallible promise.

This kind of Answer, my dear Heart, it shall be best for you to make; and by Gods grace I do intend to take the same order my self in time to come, when the Lord shall vouch me worthy of that great dignity, whereunto he hath called you. And if they shall laugh you to scorn, as I know they will, saying, thou art a Fool, and an unlearned Ass-head, and art able to make answer to nothing, &c. care you not for it, but still commit your cause unto God, who will make answer for you, and tell them that they have been answered again and again of divers godly and learned men; but all will not help: for you have one solution of all manner of questions, even a fair fire and faggots, this will be the end of your disputations. Therefore I pray you to trouble me no more, but do that which you are appointed, when God shall permit the time. I am no better than Christ, his Apostles, and other of my good Brethren that are gone before me.

1 Theff 5. The Papists have one solution for all manner of questions.

This kind of answer will cut their Combs most, and edifie the people that stand by, so that the same be done coldly, with sobriety, meekness and patience; as I heard say our sweet Brethren *Thomas Harland* and *John Oswald* did at *Lewes* in *Sussex*, to the great rejoycing of the Children of God that were in those parts: and I hear say, that they were dissolved from this earthly Tabernacle at *Lewes* on Saturday last, and were condemned but the Wednesday before; so that we may perceive the Papists have quick work in hand, that they make such haste to have us home to our heavenly Father. Therefore let us make our selves ready to ride in the fiery Chariot, leaving these sorry Mantles and old Cloaks behind us for a time, which God shall restore to us again in a more glorious wise.

Of *Thomas Harland* and *John Oswald*, read in the second impression.

4 Reg. 2.

My good Brother *Henry*, you shall understand that bragging *John T.* hath beguiled his Keepers (who trusted him too well) and is run away from them, and hath brought the poor men into great danger by the same. The one of them is cast by the Councils commandment into the *Gate-house* at *Westminster*, the other is fled forth of the Country for fear.

Free-will.

Thus you may see the fruits of our Free-will men, that made so much boast of their own strength. But that house which is not builded surely upon the unmoveable Rock, will not long stand against the boisterous winds and storms, that blow so strongly in these days of trouble.

But, my dearly beloved Brother, blessed be God for you, and such as you be, which have played the parts of wise builders. You have digged down past the sand of your own natural strength, and beneath the earth of your own worldly wisdom, and are now come to the hard Stone and unmoveable Rock Christ, who is your only-Keeper; and upon him alone have you builded your Faith most firmly, without doubting, mistrust or wavering. Therefore neither the storms nor tempests, winds nor weathers that Satan and all his wily workmen can bring against you, with the very gates of Hell to help them, shall ever be able once to move your house, much less to overthrow it; for the Lord God himself, and no man is the builder thereof, and hath promised to preserve and keep the same for ever. Unto his most merciful defence therefore I do heartily commit you and all your good company, desiring him for his sweet Son Jesus Christs sake, to confirm and strengthen you all, that you may be constant unto the very end, that after the final victory is once gotten, you may receive the immarcessible Crown of glory, of Gods free gift, through his great mercy in Jesus Christ our only Saviour. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, thanks, power, rule and dominion for ever and evermore, *Amen*. The blessing of God be with you all.

John Careles.

To my most dear and faithful Brother T.V.

A Letter of *John Careles* written with heavenly power to comfort an afflicted Brother, oppressed with pensiveness and mourning for his sins.

THe everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual joy and comfort of his most pure, holy and mighty Spirit, with the increase of faith, and lively feeling of his mercy, be with you my dear heart in the Lord, and faithful loving Brother *T. V.* to the full accomplishing of that good work which he hath so graciously begun in you, that the same by all means may be to the setting forth of his glory, to the commodity of his poor afflicted Congregation, and to the sweet comfort and quietness of your Conscience in him now and evermore, *Amen*.

With such due honour, love and reverence, as it becometh me to bear unto the sweet Saints and dearly beloved Children of God, I have me most heartily commended unto you my dear Brother *V.* with all earnest and faithful remembrance of you in my daily prayers, thanking God right heartily that you do likewise remember me in yours; assuring you that my poor heart doth daily feel great consolation thereby, God only have the praise for the same and all other his benefits. Ah my dear Heart in the Lord, well is me that ever I was born, that God of his great mercy and infinite goodness hath used me (most miserable wretch) at any time, as his instrument, to minister any thing unto you either by word or writing, that might be an occasion of your joy and comfort in the Lord, and a provoking of you to praise and thanksgiving unto God for the same, as your most loving and godly Letter seemeth to import. Oh, happy am I that the Lord hath appointed me unto so good a ground to sow his seed upon; but much more happy are you, whose heart the Lord hath prepared and made so meet to receive the same so effectuously, giving thereto the sweet showers and heavenly dews of his grace and holy Spirit, that it may bring forth fruit in due season accordingly; the increase whereof we shall shortly reap together with perfect joy and gladness, and that continually.

Therefore, my dear Brother, I say unto you as good *Elizabeth* did to her dear cousin *Mary*, *Luke* 1. Happy are you, and happy shall you be for evermore, because you have believed. The most sweet and faithful promises of your Redeemer Jesus Christ you have surely laid up in the treasury of your heart. His comfortable dealings you have faithfully heard, his faithful admonitions you have humbly obeyed; and therefore you shall never come into judgment: your sins shall never be remembred; for your Saviour hath cast them all into the bottom of the Sea, he hath removed them from you as far as the East is from the West, and hath given you for an everlasting possession, his justification and holiness, so that now no Creature, neither in Heaven nor in Earth, shall be able to accuse you before the Throne of the heavenly King.

Remission of sins. Matth. 7. Psal. 103.

Satan is now judged, he is now cast out from you, he hath no part in you; you are wholly given unto Christ, which will not lose you: your stedfast faith in him hath overcome the sturdy and bragging Prince of the world; Christ hath given you the final victory over him and all his Army, that they shall never hurt you.

What would you have more? Oh my dear heart, how great treasures are laid up in store for you, and how glorious a Crown is already made and prepared for you?

And albeit the Holy Ghost doth bear witness of all these things in your heart, and maketh you more sure and certain thereof, than if you had all the outward Oracles in the world; yet I, being certainly perswaded, and fully assured by the testimony of Gods Spirit in my Conscience of your eternal and sure salvation in our

Testimony of Gods Spirit.

sweet

Anno 1556.

Sweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, have thought it good, yea and my bounden duty, not only at this time to write unto you, and to ſhew you my joyful heart in that behalf, but alſo by the word and commandment of Chriſt to pronounce and affirm in the Name and Word of the heavenly King *Jehovah*, and in the behalf of his ſweet Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, to whom all knees ſhall bow, whom all Creatures ſhall worſhip, and alſo by the impulſion of the Holy Ghoſt, by whoſe power and ſtrength all the faithful be regenerate; I do (I ſay) pronounce to thee my dear Brother *T. V.* that thou art already a Citizen of Heaven.

Practice of the true Keys of the Goſpel.

The Lord thy God in whom thou doſt put all thy truſt, for his dear Sons ſake, in whom thou doſt alſo undoubtedly believe, hath freely forgiven thee all thy ſins, clearly releaſed all thine iniquities, and fully pardoned all thy offences, be they never ſo many, ſo griveous, or ſo great, and will never remember them any more to condemnation. As truly as he liveth, he will not have thee die the death, but hath utterly determined, purpoſed, and eternally decreed, that thou ſhalt live with him for ever. Thy ſore ſhall be healed and thy wounds bound up even of himſelf for his own names ſake. He doth not, nor will he look upon thy ſins in thee; but he reſpecteth and beholdeth thee *in Chriſt*, into whom thou art lively graffed by Faith in his Blood, and in whom thou art moſt aſſuredly elected and choſen to be a ſweet veſſel of *his mercy and ſalvation*, and waſt thereto predeſtinate into him before the foundation of the world was laid. In teſtimony and earneſt whereof he hath given thee his good and holy Spirit, which worketh in thee Faith, Love, and unfained Repentance, with other godly vertues contrary to the corruption of thy nature.

Experience of Chriſt working in his Church.

Alſo he hath commanded me this day (although a moſt unworthy wretch) to be a witneſs thereof by the miniſtry of his holy Word, grounded upon the Truth of his moſt faithfull Promiſes; the which thou believing ſhalt live for ever. Believeſt thou this my dear heart? I know well thou doſt believe. The Lord increaſe thy Faith, and give thee a lively feeling of all his mercies, whereof thou art warranted and aſſured by the teſtimony of the Holy Ghoſt, who confirm in thy Conſcience (to the utter overthrowing of Satan, and thoſe his moſt hurtful dubitations, whereby he is accuſtomed to moleſt and vex the true Children of God) all that I have ſaid; and by Gods grace I will, as a witneſs thereof, confirm and ſeal the ſame with my Blood, for a moſt certain Truth.

Wherefore (my good Brother) praiſe the Lord with a joyful heart, and give him thanks for this his exceeding great mercy, caſting away all dubitation and wavering, yea all ſorrow of heart, and penſiveneſs of mind, : for this, the Lord your God, and moſt dear and loving Father, commandeth you to do by me, nay rather by his own mouth and word pronounced by me. But now my dear Brother, after that I have done my meſſage, or rather the Lords meſſage, indeed I could find in my heart to write two or three ſheets of Paper, declaring the joy I bear in my heart for you, mine own bowels in the Lord: yet the time being ſo ſhort (as you do well know) I am here conſtrained to make an end, deſiring you to pardon my ſlackneſs, and to forgive my great negligence towards you, promiſing you ſtill that ſo long as my poor life doth laſt, my prayer ſhall ſupply that my pen doth want, as knoweth the Almighty God, to whoſe moſt merciful defence I do heartily commit you and all other his dear Children, as well as though I had rehearſed them by name, deſiring them moſt heartily to remember me in their hearty and daily prayers, as I know right well they do; for I feel the daily comfort and commodity thereof, and therefore I neither will nor can forget them, nor you, or any ſuch like. The bleſſing of God be with you all, *Amen*.

Yours for ever unfainedly,
John Careles.

A Letter of Thanks to a faithful Friend of his, by whom he had received much comfort in his inward troubles.

A Letter of *John Careles* to a faithful Friend of his, of Thankſgiving.

BLeſſed be God the Father of all mercy, for the great comfort and Chriſtian conſolation which he hath ſo mercifully miniſtred unto my poor afflicted heart by your means, my moſt dear and faithful Brother. Truly methinketh your words, or rather Gods words by you uttered, have a wonderful power and efficacy working in my heart at the hearing and reading of them. Rejoyce therefore, my dear Brother, and be thankful unto God; for verily he both is and will be mightily magnified in you, and that divers and many ways, both to the ſtrengthning of them that ſtand in his Truth, and alſo to the raiſing up of ſuch as are fallen from the ſame. God make me thankful for you, and on your behalf; for verily great is the goodneſs of God towards me, in giving me acquaintance in faithful love and amity with you; Gods Name be praiſed for ever therefore, and he perform all his merciful promiſes upon you, as I doubt not but he will, for his ſake in whom you truſt.

He giveth him thanks.

* I thank my God moſt heartily, and alſo you, my good Brother, for that you are careful for me in your faithful prayers, remembring my juſt deſerved ſorrows, as though they were your own, and labouring ſo much to ſolace the ſame. Ah my gracious good God, what am I, for whom thou and thy dear Children ſhould be ſo careful? O ſweet Lord, forgive me my great ingratitude and ſin, and grant that I never abuſe thy great benefits. O let the love of thine elect, which love me for thy ſake, be a ſure ſign and token, yea a moſt firm teſtimony and ſeal to my ſinful Conſcience of thine everlaſting love and mercy towards me in Chriſt; as verily it would and ought to be, if mine infidelity did not let it. Oh circumciſe therefore the foreskin of my heart, that I may with lively faith behold thy great love towards me in all thine elect, that I may alwaies be thankful for the ſame, and love thee and them again moſt heartily and unfeignedly.

Ah my dear Heart, how ſweetly and how truly, yea how godly and how comfortably have you rehearſed the ſweet ſaying of *Solomon* concerning proſperity with true and Godly Friends? I will joyn with it the ſentence which goeth a little before, for doubtleſs it may be well verified on you. *A ſure Friend* (ſaith the wiſe man in *Eccleſ. 6.*) *will be unto thee even as thine own ſoul, and deal faithfully with thy houſhold-folk. If thou ſuffer trouble and adverſity, he is with thee, and hideth not his face from thee. A faithful friend is a ſtrong defence: whoſo findeth ſuch an one, findeth a treaſure. A faithful friend hath no peer: the weight of gold is not to be compared to the goodneſs of his faith. A faithful friend is a medicine of life, and they that fear the Lord ſhall find him, &c.* Lo (my dear Heart in the Lord) here is a lively image or deſcription of you; for verily ſuch an one have I alwaies found you unto me, not only ſorrowing for my great ſorrow, but alſo oftentimes making me merry and joyful, with ſuch joys as the world cannot feel. Now let the world brag of his fained friendſhip; but I will boaſt of this true friendſhip in God, and eſteem it a more treaſure then all tranſitory things.

What a treaſure a truſty frie is.

There is no true friendſhip but among godly perſons.

And as for my mourning, dear brother, God hath made you to turn it unto mirth; for God hath put you in ſtead of them to be my comfort, whom he hath in his great mercy taken away. I truſt henceforth to leave the mourning for my great loſs, and to praiſe God for gaining unto himſelf ſo great glory by his choſen Children. God make me a true mourner of *Sion*, both for mine own ſin and wickedneſs, and alſo to ſee his honour defaced, that I may be made meet and apt to bear the joyful and comfortable meſſage that your beautiful feet ſhall bring me. God bleſs thee my dear Heart, and faithful loving Brother, and increaſe his good gifts of grace in thee, as he hath moſt happily begun, that you may daily more effectually feel and lively perceive the certainty of Gods grace wherein you ſtand, and firmly teſtifie the ſame to the converſion or confounding of all gain-ſayers, and to the comfort and confirmation of all Gods dear Children, *Amen*. Farewel mine own ſweet Brother, Farewel as mine own Heart.

Such mourners ſhould we be continually with this and others Gods dear Children, and bleſſed be they that ſo mourn.

Your own in Chriſt,

John Careles.

Anothes

Anno 1556.

Another Letter of John Careles, *to a certain godly faithful Sister, by the name of* E. K.

Another Letter of John Careles to a godly Christian Woman.

THe grace and free mercy of God in Jesus Christ, the sweet consolations of the Holy Ghost, the guide of all Gods dear Children, be with you, strengthen and comfort you my dearly beloved sweet Sister, *E. K.* now and ever, *Amen.*

Albeit (my dearly beloved Sister in Christ) as yet we did never see one another personally to any knowledge, yet by the vertuous report that I have heard of you, and also by the large loving Token that I have received from you, me think that I do even presently see you, and behold your person faithfully walking in the fear and love of God, joying and rejoycing with you in the spirit, as though we were sweetly talking together of Christs verity. The Lord God do I humbly beseech in the Bowels and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that he will strengthen us both with his holy and mighty Spirit, that we may constantly continue in the confession of his Truth unto the end; that like as we now see one another presently in Spirit, we may also see one another personally in the glorious presence of God and his holy Angels, where undoubtedly we shall know one anothers personage, to our great joy, felicity, and endless comfort.

Preparation to the Cross.

And now therefore dear Sister *K.* be strong in the Lord our God, for doubtless the time of tryal is at hand; a great persecution, with cruel murthering of Gods dear Saints is like to be very shortly in this woful wicked Realm of *England.* Therefore (dear Sister) for the love of God prepare you to the Cross with all diligence, and make your self ready to die with Christ, that you may also live with him for ever. There is no remedy, if you will be Christs Disciple, you must needs take up your Cross nnd follow him; for the Disciple must not look to be above his Master, nor the Servant to be better intreated then his Lord. If we were of the world (good Sister) no doubt the world would love us. But forasmuch as Christ hath chosen us out of the world to serve God in Spirit and verity, let us be well assured the world will hate us and persecute us, as it hath done our Lord and Master Christ. But yet let us be of good cheer, for Christ hath overcome the world. The pain is but short that we can feel here, but the pleasure is perpetual that we shall feell else where.

Consolation under the Cross.

Let us set before us the example of Christ, which abode the Cross, and despised the shame, in respect of the joy that was set before him; even so let us consider for whose sake we suffer, whose cause we defend, and what glorious reward we shall have at the day of our victory, and then doubtless the consolation of these things will make sweet all our sufferings, and soon swallow up all the sorrows that we are fowsed in for Gods sake. I could recite divers Texts of the Scriptures to confirm this point. But I need not, for I am well assured that you do know them most perfectly already. The Lord give you strength, and assist you with his holy Spirit, that you may continually walk in all points according to your godly knowledge: And then shall you not do as the most part of our Gospellers do now adaies, the more is the pity.

Against Massing Gospellers.

There are a great many in *England* that do perfectly know, that the Idolatrous Mass is abominable, devillish, and detestable in the sight of God. And yet alas, they be not affraid to pollute and defile their bodies, which ought to be the temples of the Holy Ghost, with being present at it, so sinning against God and their own Conscience.

Exhortation to fly from the Mass.

But dear Sister *K.* do you fly from it both in body and Soul, as you would fly from the very Devil himself. Drink not of the Whore of *Babylons* Cup by any means; for it will infect the body, and Poyson the Soul. Be not partakers of her sins (saith the Angel) lest ye be partakers of the plagues that shall shortly be poured upon her. O what an aray is this, that so many that know Gods Truth will now turn again and defile themselves in the filthy puddle of Antichrists stinking Religion? They go about to save their lives with their double dissimulation; but doubtless, they shall lose everlasting life by it, if they do not repent in time, and turn unto the Lord. But (dear Sister) my trust is, that you do utterly abhor the coming to any such thing. I hope that you will not by any means turn back into *Egypt* now, but that you will boldly venture through the wilderness of trouble and persecution, that you may come into the land that floweth with all kind of heavenly pleasures and joyful delectations, and possess the same for ever.

Let us consider, how that every one of us doth owe unto God a death by nature, and how soon the Lord will require it of us we know not. O how happy are we then, if God of his goodness appoint us to pay natures debt with suffering for his Truth and Gospels sake, and so making us his faithful witnesses with the Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and Confessors, yea, with his dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, to whom he doth here begin to fashion us like in suffering, that we might be like him also in glory. Thus my dearly beloved Sister, I have been bold to trouble you a little with my rude and simple Letter, being made in haste as it doth appear. Yet I desire you to take it in good worth, as a token of my poor zeal unto you, and to accept my good will. And if it please God to spare me life and liberty, I trust hereafter to write unto you more largely. Fare ye well dear Sister, *E. K.* the Lord bless you and all yours, and pour upon you the heavenly dew of his grace. The Lord endue you with plentiful knowledge of his verity, and fill you with his holy and mighty Spirit, that you may continually rejoyce in the comforts of the same now and ever, *Amen.* Pray, pray, pray with stedfast Faith.

Your daily Oratour John Careles,

Prisoner of the Lord.

In the Letters of *William Tyms*, ye heard before much mention made of *Agnes Glascock.* This *Agnes Glascock*, through infirmity, and her Husbands perswasions, was allured to go to Mass. For which cause she falling into great sorrow and repentance, was raised up again by the comfortable Letters of *William Tyms*, and *John Careles*, as before you may read; and after that was constant in the sincere profession of the Verity, and in danger for the same of persecution; unto whom *John Careles* writeth therefore his Letter, as followeth.

A Letter of John Careles *to* Agnes Glascock.

A Letter of John Careles to Mrs. Agnes Glascock.

THe everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual aid, strength, and comforts of his most pure, holy and mighty Spirit be with you my dear and faithful Sister *Glascock*, to the good performance of that good work which God hath so graciously begun in you, to his Glory, the commodity of his poor afflicted Church and to your own eternal confort in him, *Amen.*

In our Lord I have my most humble and hearty commendations unto you, my dear Sister and most faithful Mother *Glascock*, with all remembrance of you in my daily prayers, giving God most hearty laud, praise, and thanks for you, and on your behalf, in that he of his great mercy hath hitherto so mightily strenthened you, constantly to cleave unto your Captain Christ, notwithstanding the great assaults and manifold temptations that you have had to the contrary. Doubtless (dear Heart) it cannot be expressed what joy and comfort it is unto my very Soul, to see how mightily the Lord hath magnified himself in you, and other his dear elect dearelings, whom he will shortly glorifie with himself, as he hath done other of his sweet Saints, that are gone before you. Rejoyce therefore and be glad; for verily you have good cause, if you diligently consider the great dignity that God hath called you unto, even now in your old age, to be one of his worthy witnesses unto the world: and I think you shall with me and other your Brethren in bonds, seal the Lords verity with the testimony of your Blood. Surely (sweet Sister) this is the greatest promotion that God can bring you or any other unto, in this life; and an honour that the highest Angel in Heaven is not permitted to have.

What an high honour it is to suffer for Christ.

Therefore

Therefore happy are you, O faithful Daughter of *Abraham*, that the Lord will now prefer you before many other, yea or any other of your age, that I do know in *England*. Oh faithful and vertuous Matron, which wilt not be moved from the ſure Rock Chriſt, upon whom you have ſo firmly built your houſe, that neither ſtorms nor tempeſts, neither yet Hell-gates, or any other temptations, ſhall ever be able to prevail againſt it. Full well doth it appear by your conſtant continuance, that you have plaid the part of a wiſe Builder, in counting the coſt aforehand, belonging to the finiſhing up of your Tower. And I doubt not but (through Gods gift) you have ſufficient to the performance thereof, that the hypocrites of their part ſhall have no juſt cauſe to triumph againſt you, or to mock you, ſaying, Lo, this woman began to build, but is not able to make an end. Therefore go on boldly and fear not; for God is faithful (as St. *Paul* ſaith) which will not ſuffer you to be tempted above your ſtrength, but either he will give you grace and ſtrength to ſtand unto the death (which is the gate and entrance into life) or elſe he will make ſuch an outſcape for you, as ſhall be to the ſetting forth of his glory; the which above all other things, we that are his choſen Children ought to ſeek, yea even with the loſs of our own lives, being yet well aſſured that the ſame ſhall not be ſhortened one minute of an hour before the time that God hath appointed.

Caſt therefore (dear Siſter) all your care upon the Lord, which (as St. *Peter* ſaith) careth for you. Great is his Providence for you, and mighty is his love and mercy towards you. With his grace he will defend you, and with his holy Spirit he will evermore guide you, wherewith he hath ſurely ſealed you unto the day of redemption; he hath alſo given you the ſame in earneſt for the recovery of the purchaſed poſſeſſion, which he hath prepared for you before the foundation of the world was laid. Be ſtrong therefore, and take a good heart, as I hear ſay you be. God for ever be bleſſed for you, which hath ſo graft his love in your good heart, that nothing is able to ſeparate you from the ſame, but will rather chuſe to ſuffer adverſity with the People of God, than to enjoy the pleaſure of ſin for a little ſeaſon. Oh happy Woman, that canſt find in thy heart to eſteem the rebukes of Chriſt to be greater riches than all the treaſures of the world, as good *Moſes* did. Doubtleſs great is your reward in Heaven; which you ſhall ſhortly receive of his free gift, and not of any deſerving.

He exhorteth her to be ſtrong.

Thus (dear Mother *Glaſcock*) I have been bold to trouble you with my rude and ſimple Letters, deſiring you to take them in good worth, being done in great haſt, as it doth appear, but yet proceeding from a poor heart which floweth over in love towards you, as my daily prayers for you can teſtifie; which I truſt ſhall ſupply that part of my duty towards you, that my Pen now wanteth. I thank you, dear Heart, for all your loving tokens, and for the great kindneſs you have hitherto ſhewed unto my poor Brother *Tyms* and his Wife and Children, with all other of Gods People, to whom you daily do good: the Lord recompence the ſame ſevenfold into your boſom, as I doubt not but he will, according to his unfallible promiſes. I pray you have my hearty commendations unto your Husband. I beſeech the Lord ſtrengthen him in the confeſſion of his Truth (as my truſt is that he will) that we may all joyfully reſt with *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob* in the Kingdom of God; unto the which he bring us, that with his moſt precious Blood hath bought us. The bleſſing of God be with you now and ever, *Amen*.

The charity of Mrs. *Glaſcock* to the priſoned Saints.

Your daily Orator and unfeigned Lover,
John Careles, *Priſoner of the Lord.*
Pray, pray, pray.

A brief Admonition written to Mrs. Agnes Glaſcock, *in a Book of hers, when ſhe came to the Priſon to viſit him.*

THere is nothing that the holy Scripture throughout doth ſo much commend unto us, as true faith and ſtedfaſt truſt in the promiſes of Gods eternal mercies towards us in Jeſus Chriſt. For from the ſame, as forth of the chief fountain and well-ſpring of life, do flow all kind of vertues and godly fruits, ſpecially true love towards God, in the which we ought purely to ſerve him all the days of our life; and alſo Chriſtian charity towards our Neighbours, as well to help them at all needs, as alſo not to hurt them by any means. Therefore pray earneſtly for the increaſe of faith and lively feeling of Gods mercy; for all things are poſſible unto him that can undoubtedly believe. Faith is that thing which aſſureth us of Gods mercy, and whereby we vanquiſh all the fiery darts of the Devil; our victory that overcometh the world; the knife that killeth and mortifieth the fleſh: and finally that which ſetteth us at peace with God, and quieteth our Conſciences always before him, and maketh us merry and joyful under the Croſs, with many more things than I can now expreſs. Pray therefore for Faith, in faith. And for the Lords ſake beware of Popery and Popiſh Idolatry, the Idol of the wicked Maſs, and other Idolatrous ſervice. Make not your Body, which is a member of Chriſt, a member of Antichriſt. Remember that we ſhall receive of God according to that we do in the body, be it good or evil. Therefore glorifie God in your Body which is dearly bought. Betray not the Truth, leſt the Lord deny you. If God be God, follow him. You cannot ſerve two Maſters. I write not this as doubting you, but by the way of admonition. God keep you from all evil.

Anno 1556.

A note or poeſie written in Mrs. *Glaſcocks* Book by John *Careles*.

The effects of Faith.

My Siſter dear, God give you grace,
With ſtedfaſt Faith in Chriſts Name,
His Goſpel ſtill for to embrace,
And live according to the ſame.
To die therefore think it no ſhame,
But hope in God with faithful truſt;
And he will give you praiſe with fame,
When you ſhall riſe out of the duſt.
For which moſt ſweet and joyful day,
To God with Faith your prayer make:
And think on me I do you pray,
The which did write this for your ſake.
And thus to God I you betake,
Who is your Caſtle and ſtrong Rock;
He keep you whether you ſleep or wake,
Farewel dear Mrs. A. Glaſcock.

Another Letter of John Careles *to Miſtreſs* A. G. *to comfort her in her repentance, after ſhe had been at Maſs, fruitful for all them to be read, which have fallen, and are to be raiſed up again.*

THe peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the eternal comforts of his ſweet Spirit be with you, and ſtrengthen and comfort you my dear and faithful Siſter, *Amen*.

Another comfortable Letter of John *Carele* to Mrs. *Agnes Glaſcock* being in great repentance for going to the *Maſs*.

Although the perillous daies be come, whereof Chriſt propheſied, that if it were poſſible the very elect ſhould be deceived; yet let the true faithful Chriſtians rejoyce and be glad, knowing that the Lord himſelf is their Keeper, who will not ſuffer one hair of their heads to periſh without his Almighty good will and pleaſure, neither will ſuffer them to be further tempted then he will give them ſtrength to bear; but will in the midſt of their temptation make a way for them to eſcape out; ſo good and gracious a God is he to all his choſen Children. And though ſometimes he do let his elect ſtumble and fall, yet (no doubt) he will raiſe them up again, to the further increaſe of their comfort, and to the ſetting forth of his glory and praiſe. Which thing (my dear and faithful loving Siſter) I truſt ſhall be well verified on you. For I do hear ſay, that by the manifold allurements, inticements, procurements, yea and inforcements that you dear heart have had, your foot hath chanced to ſlip forth of the way, to the great diſcomfort of your ſoul, and the heavineſs of your heart: But my good Siſter be of good chear, for the Lord will not ſo leave you, but he will raiſe you up again, and make you ſtronger than ever you were; ſo that your fall ſhall turn to his glory and your profit. For if you had not by this proved the experience of your own ſtrength, or rather your own weakneſs,

you

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you would have ſtood too much in your own conceit, or perchance have gloried in your ſelf, and have deſpiſed and condemned other weak perſons that have committed the like offence. Therefore now you may ſee what the beſt of *us* all can do, if God leave us to our ſelves. Which thing ought to move you to be diligent to call earneſtly upon God for his grace and the ſtrength of his Holy Spirit (without the which we are not able to ſtand one hour) and to be moſt thankful for the ſame when you have it, and then to be more circumſpect in time to come.

Therefore (dear Siſter) ſeeing that you have done otherwiſe then the Word of God and your own conſcience would allow; yet dear Heart, do you not think that God therefore will caſt you clean away, but know that he hath mercy enough in ſtore for all them that truly repent and believe in him, although the ſins of them were as many in number as the ſands in the Sea, and as great as the ſins of the whole world. It is a greater ſin to miſtruſt the mercy and promiſes of God, then to commit the greateſt offence in the world. Therefore (good Siſter) beware in any wiſe, that you do not once miſtruſt the promiſes of Gods mercy towards you; but know for a very ſurety, that all your ſins be utterly forgiven you for Chriſts ſake, be they never ſo many, ſo grievous, or ſo great.

To truſt to Gods promiſes.

But now (dear Heart) take heed and beware that you do not cloak that ſin, and increaſe the ſame daily, in communicating with the wicked in their Idolatry, and deviliſh doings at their den of thieves. Do not (I ſay) dear Siſter, come at any of the Antichriſtian Service, leſt by little and little you utterly loſe a good Conſcience and at length eſteem it for no offence; as alas, a great number do at this day, to the great peril of their Souls. The Lord be merciful to them, and give them grace to repent in time and turn to the Lord, and then they ſhall be ſure to find mercy at the Lords hand, as doubtleſs you have done, praiſed be his name therefore.

Cuſtom of ſin a perilous matter.

A. S. inticed by her Husband to go to the maſs.

Ah my dear Siſter, you may now ſee the words of Chriſt verified upon your ſelf, that a mans greateſt foes ſhall be they of his own houſhold; for your husband hath gotten you to do that, which all the Tyrants in the world could never have made you to do. Doubtleſs he may be ſorry for it. God give him grace to repent, or elſe, without doubt, it will be laid to his charge one day, when he would not by his will hear it for all the goods in the world. Well, I think my Brother *Tyms* will write him a Letter ſhortly that ſhall touch his Conſcience, if he have any Conſcience at all.

But now again to you dear Siſter. The thing that is done cannot be undon, and you are not the firſt that hath offended, neither are you ſo good and ſo holy, as hath at a time ſlipt forth of the way. Therefore I would not have you to be ſo much diſcomforted as I hear ſay you be, as though God were not as able to forgive you your offence, as he was to forgive his dear Saints that offended him in times paſt; or as though God were not as merciful now, as ever he was. Whereas in very deed, There is with the Lord (as the Prophet ſaith) mercy and plentiful redemption, and his mercy far ſurmounteth all his works; and he never faileth any that put their whole truſt and confidence in him, how great an offender or how wicked a Treſpaſſer ſoever he be: No, he maketh their falls and backſlidings many times to turn to their profit and commodity, and to the ſetting forth of his glory; as doubtleſs, dear Siſter, yours ſhall do, if you put your whole faith, hope, and truſt onely in his infinite and eternal ſweet mercies.

The raiſing up of a troubled Conſcience after his fall.

God turneth all things to the beſt, to them that be his.

Oh what a ſubtle, crafty, lying Serpent is that Satan our old enemy? that when he ſeeth that he cannot make us to continue in our wickedneſs to do him ſervice, would then bring us into a doubting and miſtruſting of the mercy of God, which is the greateſt offence that can be; yea, infidelity is the root and original of all other ſins. Therefore (my ſweet Siſter) give no place to that cruel Adverſary of mankind, who hath been a liar and a murderer from the beginning, but ſtedfaſtly believe the Lord, who hath ſent you word by me his moſt unworthy ſervant, that all your ſins be pardoned, forgiven, and clean releaſed for Jeſus Chriſts ſake our onely Lord and Saviour. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glory, praiſe, thanks, power, rule, and dominion for ever and for ever, *Amen.* Farewel, my dear Siſter, be of good cheer. Believe in the Lord and you ſhall live for ever: The Lord increaſe your faith, *Amen, Amen.*

Satan when he cannot bring a man to his ſervice, he preſenteth him with diſtruſt of Gods mercy.

Your poor Brother, and daily faithful Orator John Careles, *priſoner of the Lord. Pray for me.*

Another Letter of John Careles *to* A. B. *a faithful Miniſter of the Lord, containing certain fruitful precepts of Matrimony.*

A Letter of Jo. Careles to B. a faithful ſervant of Chriſt.

I Beſeech the ſame everlaſting Lord (my dear and faithful Brother) that bleſſed young *Tobias* with his Wife *Sarah*, and brought them together in due time with reverence and fear, preſerve and bleſs you both, and your ſeed after you that they may increaſe the number of the faithful by thouſands and thouſands. And as the Lord of his great mercy and fatherly providence hath been always careful for you, and now hath for your comfort accompliſhed his good work in coupling you with a faithful mate; ſo ſee that you be thankful for his providence towards you, that it may every way in you be an increaſe of love and godlineſs, yea of Chriſtian Joy and gladneſs in theſe ſorrowful days, but yet ſo, that you mourn with the true Mourners of *Sion*, and be ſorry (yet in meaſure) for the hurt of the ſame. Pray alſo in faith for her proſperity, that the Lord may build up the Walls of *Jeruſalem* again.

Oh that the Lord would turn *Sions* Captivity as the Rivers into the South: Then ſhould our hearts be made glad, and our mouths filled with laughter. Then would the Heathen Hypocrites ſay; The Lord hath done much for them. Oh, the Lord hath done great things for us already, whereof let us heartily rejoyce and praiſe his name therefore. For though we now ſow with tears, yet ſhall we be ſure to reap with gladneſs: and as we now go forth weeping, bearing forth good ſeed, ſo ſhall we come again with joy, and bring our ſheaves full of Corn. Yea the death of the Martyrs (which is moſt precious in his ſight) ſhall be the life of the Goſpel, ſpite of the Papiſts Hearts.

Pſal. 14.

The death of the Martyrs is the life of the Goſpel.

Pray for me (dear Heart) that I may be counted worthy to ſow ſome ſeed amongſt the ſweet Saints of the Lord, that I may reap the ſame again, without ceaſing, at the harveſt. It is now ſowing time of the year, men ſay in the Countrey, and I think I ſhall make an end of ſowing before all *March* be paſt; for I hear ſay that I ſhall prove how my plough will enter into the ſtony ground of the hard hearted Papiſts, within theſe four days. I hope to hold faſt, and not to look back, neither for fear nor flattery, until I have made an end of ſowing, and then will I ſet me down and reſt me, and aſk them all no leave, and look for the lively fruit and increaſe thereof with joy and gladneſs.

A ſowing time in Chriſts Church.

My dear Brother, the time approacheth near (I praiſe God therefore) that I muſt put off this ſinful tabernacle, and go home to my Heavenly Father, where divers of my dear Brethren are already looking and wiſhing for me. I beſeech you therefore that you will help me forward with your faithful prayers, as I know you do, for I do feel the comfort and commodity thereof.

That you have obſerved my ſimple Counſel I am right glad; and I truſt in the Lord God, you ſhall find comfort in the ſame. And that you may ſo do indeed, I have been ſo bold to write theſe few words unto you, becauſe I ſhall ſee you no more in this corruptible life; therefore mark them well. Firſt and above all things you muſt be very circumſpect to keep the band of love, and beware that there never ſpring up the root of bitterneſs between you. If at any time there happen to riſe any cauſe of unkindneſs between you, (as it is unpoſſible always to be free from it) ſee that you weed up the ſame with all lenity, gentleneſs, and patience, and never ſuffer your ſelf, nor your Wife to ſleep in diſpleaſure.

This counſel was that he ſhould marry, notwithſtanding certain lets whereby Satan ſought to hinder his marriage.

The root of bitterneſs to be weeded out with the ſpade of patience.

If you have cauſe to ſpeak ſharply, and ſometimes to reprove, beware that you do not the ſame in the preſence of other, but keep your words until a convenient time (which is the point of a Wiſe Man, ſaith *Solomon*)

How and when the husband ought to reprove.

and then utter them in the Spirit of meekneſs, and the groaning Spirit of perfect love; which you muſt alſo let ſometimes to cover faults, and wink at them if they be not intolerable. Whatſoever loſs and miſchance ſhall happen unto you, take it patiently, and bear it merrily; and though the ſame ſhould come partly through your wives negligence, yet let it rather be a loving warning to take heed in time to come, then a cauſe of ſorrow for that which is paſt and cannot be holpen. I know by mine own experience, that we are in this life ſubject to many inconveniences, and that of nature we are prone to diſpleaſure, and ready to think unkindneſs for every little trifle, and ſpecially with our beſt friends, yea ſooneſt with our loving wives, which be moſt loth to diſpleaſe us.

Faults ſome time muſt be covered with love.

Not to take unkindneſs for every trifle.

But let us beware of this cankered corruption, and conſider that we ought moſt of all in love to bear with them according to Chriſts example towards his congregation, for whom he gave himſelf to cleanſe it, &c. I had thought to have treated this matter at large, but even now I am intermitted and otherwiſe letted. I doubt not but you know your duty therein a great deal better then I can declare it unto you; and as you know it, ſo will do it: but I love to be bold with you. I intend to write to your Wife very ſhortly, and ſo take my laſt farewell of you for ever in this world. And thus in great haſt I am now conſtrained to make an end. The bleſſing of God be always with you.

Your own for ever, John Careles.
Pray, pray, pray with faith.

Another Letter of John Careles, *to* Elizabeth, *Wife of the ſaid* A. B. *containing certain godly precepts of Matrimony perteining to her duty.*

Another Letter of Jo. *Careles* to the wife of the party above ſpecified.

THE everlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the continual aid, ſtrength, and comfort of his moſt holy and mighty Spirit, with increaſe of knowledge, faith, and perfect feeling of Gods eternal mercy, be with you my dear and faithful loving Siſter *E. B.* and with your godly loving Husband and my dear and faithful Brother, to the full performance of that good which he hath ſo graciouſly begun in you, that in all things you may be made rich and bleſſed in him, and your ſeed after you, now and ever, *Amen.*

As I have been long deſirous to write unto you (my dear Heart in the Lord) not onely being thereto bound of duty, but alſo often provoked of him, to whom I owe my ſelf and all that I am able to do (I mean even that bleſſed of the Lords own Mouth, whom God hath joyned with you in that holy and chriſtian ſtate of Matrimony) even ſo at the laſt I have obtained time and occaſion in ſome part to perform that which I have long purpoſed. And foraſmuch as the Lord of his great mercy and fatherly care and providence over you his dear Child, hath now graciouſly accompliſhed that good work amongſt many others, which I (as a friend of the Bridegroom) have full heartily wiſhed and often praied for; I think it good, yea and my bounden duty, to treat of ſuch things as may be profitable to preſerve mutual love and faithful amity between you, which I know Satan will chiefly labour to diminiſh, if he cannot altogether deſtroy the ſame, leſt by many joyful occaſions you ſhould be provoked continually to praiſe God for his good gift, which that enemy hath by all means ſought to hinder from you.

Satan an enemy to all godly affairs.

As for all other things I know you are ſufficiently inſtructed, and alſo have a moſt learned companion, who is well able further to teach you if need do require: But in this thing I know my experience is more then his. Therefore (my good Siſter) firſt and before all things ſee that you do diligently conſider, that as every good and perfect gift pertaining to Soul and Body, is given from above, and cometh from the Father of light: even ſo to whomſoever the Lord dealeth any of his benefits, of them he doth chiefly require always a thankful heart for the ſame; for elſe he will either take away his good gifts again, or turn the ſame to their great diſcommodity, and in the end to the increaſe of their damnation: ſo deteſtable in his ſight is the ſin of ingratitude. But to ſuch as be thankful for his benefits, he doth not onely to the old ever add new, but alſo maketh the commodity of his former gifts ever more and more to increaſe, until by them they are fully perſwaded and throughly certified of his everlaſting love in Chriſt Jeſus, which is eternal life it ſelf: ſo much doth he of his great mercy delight in a thankful heart.

The ſign of ingratitude.

Therefore I do yet once again earneſtly require you, that above all things you be thankful to God for his benefits; not onely for your election, creation, redemption, and preſervation; but alſo for his other temporal gifts, wherewith he hath indued you: amongſt the which chief and moſt excellent is (as teſtifieth the Holy Ghoſt) your good, godly, and faithful loving Husband. For (as the wiſe man ſaith) Goods and Poſſeſſions may come to a man by the death of his friends, but a good Wife is the gift of God, which the Lord will give for a good portion to ſuch as fear him.

Anno 1556.

God loveth a thankful heart.

A good wife is the gift of God.

And the like is of a good Husband, as the Lord hath now given you, praiſed be his name therefore. He hath not given you, an Ignorant, Froward, Churliſh, Brawling, Waſtful, Rioting, Drunken Husband, wherewith he hath plagued many other (as he might alſo have done you) but he hath given you a moſt godly, learned, gentle, loving, quiet, patient, thrifty, diligent, and ſober husband, by whom he will nouriſh, cheriſh, keep, and defend you, inſtruct and teach you, yea care and provide for you and your Children (the which he will alſo by him give you) ſuch things as be neceſſary for you. He hath not dealt ſo with every Body; and yet he hath done this much more for you my dear Siſter, and will thereto increaſe joy and love between you. For as he delighteth in the love and godly agreement of Man and Wife together; ſo is it he onely that maketh them and all the whole houſhold to be of one mind. Unto the which his gracious work he requireth your diligence, and will uſe you as his inſtrument and mean, the more effectuouſly to accompliſh the ſame. And therefore I now require you to obſerve this my ſimple counſel, the which I have here written as a teſtimonial of my good will towards you, becauſe I think in this life I ſhall never more ſee you.

God delighteth in the agreement between man & wife.

Now as I have ſhewed you how you ſhould be thankful unto God for his good gifts, ſo I exhort you, and (as much as in me lieth) charge you to be evermore thankful unto your dear loving husband, who hath given himſelf unto you; which is a more precious jewel in the Church of God, then perchance you are yet aware of. Think your ſelf unworthy to be matched with ſuch a inſtrument of God; and alſo reverence evermore the gifts of God in him, and ſeek with true obedience and love to ſerve him, in recompence of his true and painful heart towards you. Be loath in any wiſe to offend him, yea rather be careful and diligent to pleaſe him, that his Soul may bleſs you. If at any time you ſhall chance to anger him, or to do or ſpeak any thing that ſhall grieve him, ſee that you never reſt until you have pacified him and made him merry again.

The duty of wives toward their husbands.

If at any time he ſhall chance to blame you without a cauſe, or for that you cannot do therewith (which thing hapneth ſometimes to the beſt man living) ſee that you bear it patiently, and give him no uncomely or unkind word for it; but evermore look upon him with a loving and cheerful countenance, and rather take the fault upon you, then ſeem to be diſpleaſed.

Be always merry and cheerful in his company, but not with too much lightneſs. Beware in any wiſe of ſwelling, powting, or lowring, for that is a token of a cruel and unloving heart; except it be in reſpect of ſin, or in the time of ſickneſs.

A cheerful countenance.

Be not ſorrowful for any adverſity that God ſendeth; but beware that nothing be ſpilt or go to waſt through your negligence. In any wiſe ſee that you be quick and cleanly about his meat and drink, and prepare him the ſame according to his diet in due ſeaſon. Go cleanly and well favouredly in your apparel, but beware of pride in any wiſe.

Temerance in apparel.

Finally, in word and deed ſhew your ſelf wiſe, humble, merry, and loving towards him, and alſo towards ſuch as he doth love, and then ſhall you lead a bleſſed life. I could ſpeak of many things, the which I have learned and proved true by experience; but I know that you will do in all things much better then I can teach you, becauſe you have that anointing that teacheth you all things,

Anno 1556.

things, who hath alſo given you an heart to obey, and ſerve him. Yet I truſt you will not be offended for this, which I have written, but rather accept my good will towards you, whom I love in the Lord, as well as I do my Daughter *Judith*.

Thus as mine own Soul I commend you both to God, deſiring him to bleſs you with all manner of ſpiritual bleſſings in heavenly things, and alſo with the dew of Heaven, and Fatneſs of the Earth, that in all things you may be made rich in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and onely Saviour. The Lord increaſe and bleſs the fruit of your Bodies, that your Children may ſtand round about your table, thick, freſh, and luſty, like the Olive Branches. God give you both a long life, that you may ſee and bleſs your Childrens Children, unto the third and fourth Generation, and teach them the true fear and love of God, and that faith for the which they ſhall be accepted in his ſight.

Note that both theſe departed in quiet peace, the one 1565. the other 1568.

God let you ſee the proſperity of *Sion*, for whoſe lying in the duſt let your Hearts mourn. The Lord make perfect your love together in him, and always increaſe the ſame, and bring you both in peace to your graves, at a good age. And now I bid you both moſt heartily Farewel; and I think I ſhall now take my leave of you for ever in this life. I beſeech you both to aid me with your continual prayers, (as I will not forget you in mine) that I may have a joyful Victory through Jeſus Chriſt: To whoſe moſt merciful defence I do moſt heartily for ever commend you to be kept unblameable until his coming. The which I beſeech him to haſten for his mercies ſake.

Your own unfained, John Careles,
priſoner of the Lord.

Here endeth the Letters of *John Careles.*

The Hiſtory and Martyrdom of a learned and vertuous young Man, called Julius Palmer, *ſomtime Fellow of* Magdalen Colledge *in* Oxford, *with two other Martyrs to wit,* John Gwin, *and* Thomas Askin, *burned together in* Newbery, *at a place there called the* Sand pits.

3 Martyrs ſuffering at *Newbery*, Julius Palmer John Gwin, Tho. Askin, Martyrs. July 16.

THe ſame Month of *July*, in which *Careles*, as before is declared, was releaſed out of priſon by death, in ſhort time after, about the ſixteenth day of the ſame Month of *July*, ſuffered theſe three godly and conſtant Martyrs above mentioned, at *Newbery*, in which number was *Julius Palmer*, ſometime ſtudent and Fellow of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*, and afterwards School-maſter in the Town of *Reding*. Concerning whoſe ſtory and Martyrdom here followeth although not ſo much as he deſerveth to have ſaid, yet ſo much as ſufficiently may ſet forth the great working of God in this young man.

Julius Palmer.

The ſtory of Palmer.

AS all Gods works are wondrous, in calling of all ſorts of men to confirm his truth, and to bear witneſs unto his aſſured and infallible word, which the Adverſaries have depraved and corrupted with their falſe gloſſes, to eſtabliſh the fleſhly Kingdom of Antichriſt, and to purchaſe ſecurity in the World, which they ſeek to keep in there poſſeſſion by all means poſſible, rather curſing with the Thunderbolt of Excommunication, burning, hanging, drowning, racking, ſcourging, and perſecuting by ſecret practice, and open violence the ſimple ſheep of our Saviour Chriſt, then that their falſe forged packing ſhould be detected, their eſtimation appaired, their kitchen coled, their rents, revenues, goods, lands and poſſeſſions abated: I ſay, as Gods Works be wonderful, which chuſeth ſome of all ſorts to confeſs his Goſpel; ſo there is no one example, in the whole godly fellowſhip of Martyrs, more to be marked, yea more to be wondred at, then this, that one, which all King *Edwards* days was a Papiſt within the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and ſo obſtinate, as that he did utterly abhor all godly prayer, and ſincere preaching, and almoſt of all them, with whom he lived, was therefore likewiſe abhorred, and (as I may ſay) pointed at with the finger, did yet after in Queen Maries time ſuffer moſt cruel death, at the Papiſts hands at *Newbery* in *Barkſhire*, for the moſt rendy and zealous profeſſion of the bleſſed truth.

Julius Palmer born in *Coventry*.

His Name was *Julius Palmer*, born in *Coventry*, where alſo his parents dwelt. His Father had ſometime been Maior of the City, and occupied Merchandiſe, albeit he was an Upholſter by his myſtery. How he was brought up in his young and tender years, from his firſt entring, we know not, but as we have learned, he was ſometime ſcholar to Mr. *Harley*, which taught the free Scholler of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*; by whoſe diligence, and the goodneſs of his own capacity, he became a toward young ſcholler in proſe and verſe. For he had a very prompt and ready memory, a wit ſharp and pregnant. He ſpake Latin with great facility of utterance, and wanted not competent knowledge in the Greek tongue; inſomuch that divers times he ſupplied the Room of the Greek Reader in his houſe. He was a ſubtle diſputer, both in the publik ſchools, and alſo at home. He uſed to ſay, that he was never ſo pleaſantly occupied, as when he came to the hard debating of profound queſtions in *Philoſophy*; ſo that he hath oftentimes watched and ſpent the whole night in the diſcuſſing and ſearching out the truth of deep and diffuſe queſtions, as *De principiis, de infinito, de vacuo, de tempore, de caſu, & fortuna, &c.* And this uſed he to do ſundry times, with divers of his equals.

Julius Palmer ſcholar to Mr. *Harley* ſchoolmaſter of *Magdalen Colledge*.

Julius Palmer addicted to philoſophy.

Julius Palmer begin neth to apply Divinity.

In familiar talk he greatly delighted, for the exerciſe of his learning, to defend the contrary to that which was affirmed, yet with modeſty, and without all oſtentation. For he greatly abhorred all overthwart cavelling, all frivolous talk, and unſavory brabling. He was not captious, but would reaſon ſo ſoberly, and with ſuch probability, that even his Adverſaries would no leſs marvel at the dexterity of his invention, then at his comely and decent behaviour in proſecuting the ſame.

And although he applied Divinity very lately, it appeareth that he recompenced the ſmal time of his ſtudy with the greatneſs of his diligence beſtowed in the ſame, and his late coming to the truth, with his earneſt and zealous proceeding therein. For by the ſecret inſpiration of Gods Holy Spirit, inwardly working in his heart, he gave an apparent ſignification in his young years, that if God had ſpared his life to age, he would have grown to ſuch maturity and ripeneſs of judgment, as whereby he ſhould have been an ornament to Chriſts Church, and an honour to his Countrey.

The civil behaviour of Julius Palmer.

And ſome what to ſpeak of his Civil behaviour, he was of manners courteous without curioſity, of countenance cheerful, without high looks, of ſpeech pleaſant, without affectation, he was affable and lowly as any Child, and yet quick ſpirited, and vehement in reaſoning. He practiſed no deceit toward any man, for he was of ſuch ſimplicity, that he was apter to be deceived, then to deceive, and he was ſo great a contemner of all reproaches and injuries, that he would ſay, None were to be counted valiant, but ſuch as could deſpiſe injury.

Palmers proverb.

In private ſtudy he was ſo infatigable, that he aroſe ordinarily every morning at four of the clock, and went not lightly to bed before ten at night. Inſomuch that as he grew in years and underſtanding; ſo he came to be a Bacherlor of Art, and at length, for the hope appearing in him, to the preferment of a fellowſhip in *Magdalen Colledge*, where alſo he was admitted to the office of a Reader in *Logick*, *Anno* 1550. Now if he had at the firſt favoured ſincere Religion, ſo much as he followed his book, then had we had the leſs matter to note in him. But indeed he was ſo much (as is aforeſaid) addicted to the Romiſh faith, that his company and converſation in the ſame houſe was altogether with ſuch, as were utter enemies to the Goſpel of Chriſt. If he came to common prayer at any time, it was by violence and compulſion, for otherwiſe he came not. Sermons would he hear none himſelf, nor yet ſuffer his ſcholars to reſort unto them by his good will: for he was fully perſwaded, that they might be better occupied at home. The Preachers themſelves he did both diſdain and deſpiſe, and all ſuch as were ſetters forth of ſound doctrine beſide. For the which contumacy and ſtubbornneſs, he was ſo oft called before the Officers of the Colledge, and puniſhed ſometimes by the purſe, ſometime by the lack of his commons, and otherwhile by certain tasks, and exerciſes of learning, injoyned unto him, that divers ſuppoſed him to have endeavoured,

Palmer fellow of *Magdalen Colledge*.

Palmer Reader of *Logick* in his Colledge.

Palmer an utter enemy to ſound Religion.

Palmer impugner of true Preachers in King *Edwards* time.

of ſet purpoſe, continually to ſeek occaſion, whereby he might be counted a ſufferer for the fantaſied Religion of the Romiſh Church.

Libels ſet up in *Oxford* againſt D. *Haddon* Preſident.

In the end, not long before the death of King *Edward* that godly Prince, certain ſlanderous Libels, and railing Verſes, were privily fixed to the walls and doors in ſundry places of the Colledge againſt the Preſident, which was then Dr. *Haddon*, whereby was miniſtred further matter of trouble to *Palmer*. For whereas it was well known that he, and ſome of his Companions, had a very little while before ſpoken contumelious words againſt the Preſident; it could not be now avoided, but that thereby aroſe a vehement ſurmiſe and ſuſpicion, that he conſpiring with others, had contrived, made and ſcattered abroad the ſaid ſlanderous Writings. Great inquiſition was made in the Colledge, to ſearch out the Author of ſo malicious and deſpiteful a deed, but nothing could be found and proved againſt *Palmer*, or any of his Companions. Now *Palmer*, being hereupon examined by the Officers, did not only with ſtout courage deny the fact to have been his, but alſo ſpake further many reproachful words touching the ſaid Officers, and ſent the ſame to them in writing, whereby he was by them adjudged to be an unworthy Member of that Society. And ſo for this, and other Popiſh pranks (continuing obſtinate ſtill) he was expelled the Houſe.

Julius Palmer expelled the Colledge for Popery.

Jul. Palmer driven to teach Children.

After he was thus diſpatched of his Room, he was fain for his own maintenance to apply himſelf to be a teacher of Children in the houſe of Sir *Francis Knolles*, in the which Trade he continued until the coming in of Queen *Mary*. And when her Viſitors were ſent to *Magdalen* Colledge, under a title of Reformation (whereas all things were better afore) I mean to diſplace divers of the Fellows that were learned, and to put right Catholicks (as they called them) in their rooms; then came this *Julius Palmer*, waiting to be reſtored to his Living again, of which he had been deprived before, thinking by good right to be reſtored of them, whoſe Faith and Religion (as he ſaid) he did to the uttermoſt of his power defend and maintain. And indeed at length he obtained the ſame. Then after he was reſtored again to his Houſe in Queen *Maries* reign, God dealt ſo mercifully with him, that in the end he became of an obſtinate Papiſt, an earneſt and zealous Goſpeller.

Palmer reſtored again to his Colledge.

Concerning whoſe converſion to the Truth, for the more credit to be given to the ſame, we have here put down a Letter written by one Mr. *Bullingham*, Fellow in ſome part of King *Edwards* time with the ſaid *Palmer*, then alſo of the ſame faction of Religion with him, and toward the latter end of the ſaid Kings Reign, a voluntary Exile in *France* for Papiſtry. In Q. *Maries* days, likewiſe a Chaplain unto *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. And after the coming in of Queen *Elizabeth* ſuch an one, as for his obſtinacy was quite and clean diſpatched from all his Livings by her Majeſties Commiſſioners. And yet now (God be praiſed therefore) a moſt conſtant Profeſſor, and earneſt teacher of the Word of God. This Man at the requeſt of a certain Friend of his in *London*, being deſirous to know the certain truth thereof, wrote unto him concerning this *Julius*. The Copy of which Letter we thought good here to inſert, for that the parties being alive can teſtifie the ſame to be true and certain, if any man ſhall doubt thereof.

The Letter of Mr. *Bullingham* is this.

MAſter Bullingham, *I wiſh you and all yours continual health in the Lord. Hitherto have I not written any thing unto you concerning* Julius Palmer, *that conſtant witneſs of Gods Truth, for that his doings and ſayings known unto me, were worn out of my remembrance; and to write an untruth, it were rather to deface and blemiſh, than to adorn and beautifie him. After his converſion to the moſt holy Goſpel, I never ſaw his face. Wherefore the leſs have I to certifie you of. But ſo much as ſeemeth to me to ſerve moſt unto the purpoſe, here I commend unto you; and in witneſs that my ſayings are true, I ſubſcribe my name, willing, praying, and beſeeching you to publiſh the ſame to the whole world, &c. At what time I* Bullingham *intended to forſake* England, *and to flie into* France *for the wicked Popes ſake, (which came to paſs indeed: for in* Roan *I was for a time) this* Julius Palmer *and* Richard Duck, *brought me outwards in my journey till we came to* London: *where on a day* Julius Palmer *and I walked to St.* James *the Queens Palace; and as we leaned at the great Gate of that place,* Palmer *ſpake thus unto me.* Bullingham, *you know in what miſery and calamities we are fallen for the Pope and his Religion. We are young men, abhorred of all men now preſently, and like to be abhorred more and more. Let us conſider what hangeth over our heads. You are departing into a ſtrange Country, both friendleſs and moneleſs, where I fear me you ſhall taſt of ſowrer ſawces then hitherto you have done. And as for me, I am at my wits end. The face of Hell it ſelf is as amiable unto me, as the ſight of* Magdalen *Colledge; For there I am hated as a venemous Toad. Would God I were raked under the Earth. And as touching our Religion, even our Conſcience bear witneſs that we taſt not ſuch an inward ſweetneſs in the profeſſion thereof, as we underſtand the Goſpellers to taſt in their Religion: Yea, to ſay the truth, we maintain we wot not what, rather of will than of knowledge. But what then? Rather than I will yield unto them, I will beg my Bread. So* Palmer *bequeathed himſelf to the wide world, and I paſſed over into* Normandy. *At my return into* England *again, my chance was to meet* Palmer *in* Pauls, *where a Rood was ſet up. (This our meeting was in the beginning of Queen* Maries *reign, and our miſerable departing not long before the end of King* Edwards *days.) Then after our greeting, thus ſaid* Palmer. Bullingham, *is this our god, for whom we have ſmarted? No* Palmer, *quoth I, it is an Image of him. An Image, quoth he? I tell thee plainly* Bullingham, John Calvin *(whoſe Inſtitutions I have peruſed ſince our departure) telleth me plainly by Gods Word that it is an Idol, and that the Pope is Antichriſt, and his Clergy the filthy ſink-hole of Hell, and now I believe it. For I feel it ſenſibly. Oh that God had revealed theſe matters unto me in times paſt. I would have bequeathed this Romiſh Religion or rather irreligion to the Devil of Hell from whence it came. Believe them not* Bullingham. *I will rather have theſe knees pared of, then I will kneel to yonder Jacknapes (meaning the Rood.) God help me, I am born to trouble and adverſity in this World. Well* Palmer, *ſaid I, is the wind in that Corner with you? I warrant you it will blow you to little eaſe at the end. I will never have to do with you again. So I left* Palmer *walking in* Pauls, *who thorow the element of fire is exalted above the elements, where eternal reſt is prepared for perſecuted Martyrs. Thus much is true, and let it be known that I* Bullingham *affirm it to be true. More I have not to ſay. In theſe words and deeds is appeareth that God had elected him. From* Bridgewater, April 26. Anno 1562.

Anno 1556.

Behold the obſtinacy of the Papiſts, which knowing the Truth will not yield.

Behold his earneſtneſs now he is turned to the Truth.

By me *John Bullingham.*

When he was by the Viſitors reſtored to his Colledge, although he began ſomething to ſavour and taſt of Gods Truth, by conference and company of certain godly and zealous men abroad, in time of his expulſion, eſpecially at the houſe of Sir *Francis Knolles:* yet was he not throughly perſwaded, but in moſt points continued for a while either blind, or elſe doubtful. Neither could he chuſe, but utter himſelf in private reaſoning from time to time, both in what points he was fully reſolved, and alſo of what points he doubted. For ſuch was his nature alway, both in Papiſtry and in the Goſpel, utterly to detect all diſſimulation, inſomuch that by the means of his plainneſs, and for that he could not flatter, he ſuffered much wo, both in King *Edwards*, and alſo in Queen *Maries* time. Whereas he might at the firſt have lived in great quietneſs, if he could have diſſembled, and both done and ſpoken againſt his Conſcience, as many ſtirring Papiſts then did. And likewiſe he might have eſcaped burning in Queen *Maries* time, if he would either have ſpoken, or kept ſilence againſt his Conſcience, as many weak Goſpellers did. But *Palmer* could in no wiſe diſſemble.

The converſion of *Palmer* after his reſtoring again into the Colledge.

Plain *Palmer* could never diſſemble with his Conſcience.

Now

Anno 1556.

The firſt occaſion of *Julius Palmers* converſion was by the conſtant death of the *Martyrs*.

Now wihin ſhort ſpace, God ſo wrought in his heart, that he became very inquiſitive, and careful to hear and underſtand, how the Martyrs were apprehended, what Articles they died for, how they were uſed, and after what ſort they took their death. Inſomuch that he ſpared not at his own charges to ſend over one of his ſcholars, in the Company of a Bachelor of that houſe, to *Gloceſter*, to ſee and underſtand the whole order of Biſhop *Hoopers* death, and to bring him true report thereof. Which thing ſome think he the rather did, becauſe he was wont in King *Edwards* time to ſay; that none of them all would ſtand to death for their Religion. Thus he learned with what great, extreme and horrible cruelty the Martyrs of God were tried, and how valiantly they overcame all kind of torments to the end. Whereof he himſelf alſo did ſee more experience afterward, at the examination and death of thoſe holy confeſſors and Martyrs which were burned at *Oxford* before his eyes; inſomuch that the firſt hope, which the godly conceived of him, was at his return from the burning of Bp. *Ridley*, and Biſhop *Latimer*. At what time, in the hearing of divers of his friends, he brake out into theſe words and ſuch like; Oh raging cruelty! Oh tyranny tragical, and more then barbarous!

Note how the Blood of Martyrs worketh.

From that day forward he ſtudiouſly ſought to underſtand the truth, and therefore with all ſpeed he borrowed *Peter Martyrs* Commentaries upon the firſt to the *Corinths*, of one of *Magdalens* yet alive, and other good books of other men. And ſo through hearty prayer and diligent ſearch and conference of the Scriptures, at length he believed and imbraced the truth with great joy; and ſo profited in the ſame, that daily more and more, he declared it both in word and deed: In ſuch ſort, as he never hated the truth more ſtubbornly before, than afterward he willingly imbraced the ſame, when it pleaſed God to open his eyes, and to reveal unto him the light of his word. And now again when he ſhould come to Church, in thoſe dayes of Popery, there to be occupied among the reſt, in ſinging of Reſponds, reading of legends, and ſuch like ſtuff allotted unto him, he had as much pleaſure, he ſaid, to be at them, as a Bear to be baited, and worried with dogs. When he came, it was (as it appeared) more to avoid diſpleaſure and danger, then for any good will, and ready affection.

Palmer fervent in the Goſpels cauſe.

Superſtitious joyes.

At length through Gods grace, he grew up to ſuch maturity and ripeneſs in the truth, that he ſpared not to declare certain ſparks thereof in his outward behaviour and doings. For when he ſhould keep his bowing meaſures at * *Confiteor*, (as the cuſtom there was) in turning himſelf to and fro, ſometime Eaſtward, ſometime Weſtward and afterward knock his breſt at the elevation time, againſt theſe Idolatrous Adorations his heart did ſo vehemently riſe, that ſometime he would abſent himſelf from them, and ſometime being there, he would even at the facring time (as they termed it) get him out of the Church to avoid thoſe ungodly geſtures, and Idolatrous Adoration. To be ſhort, perceiving after a while, that he was greatly ſuſpected and abhorred of the Preſident then being, which was Mr. *Cole*, and of divers others which before were his friends, and therewithal feeling great conflict and Torment of Conſcience daily to grow, with his Converſation with Idolaters; ſeeing alſo that his new life and old living might not well nor quietly ſtand together, he addreſſed himſelf to depart the houſe. For he thought it not beſt to abide the danger of expulſion, as he did at the firſt; ſeeing the weather was now waxed warmer. And being demanded at that time of a ſpecial friend (who would gladly have perſwaded him to ſtay there longer) whither he would go, or how he would live, he made this anſwer, *Domini eſt terra, & plenitudo ejus, i.* The earth is the Lords, and the fulneſs thereof. Let the Lord Work, I will commit my ſelf to God, and the wide World.

* By theſe meaſures he meaneth a certain ceremony of the Colledge, which was this, That in the *Confiteor* time at evenſong, the whole company of the quire (which was there to the number of 8) ſtanding up, and turning their faces firſt to the high Altar, ſhould then turn them to the Preſident, & from the Preſident to the high Altar again, and ſo after turning and returning 3. times together, the Preſident ſhould ſay, *Miſereatur*, which done every man to place himſelf again in his ſtall.

Here I think it expedient, before I write of the painful ſurges that he ſuffered after he came abroad into the perillous gulphs, and deep ſea of this wretched wide world, firſt, to rehearſe one or two examples of his outward behaviour, at ſuch times as he had recourſe to the Colledge, after his laſt departure, whereby the Reader may yet better underſtand of his ſimplicity and plainneſs, and how far wide he was from all cloked diſſimulation in Gods cauſe, which certain godleſs perſons have ſought maliciouſly to charge him withall. Being at *Oxford* a certain time in *Magdalen Colledge*, and having knowledge that the Spaniſh Frier *John* (who ſucceeded D. *Peter Martyr*, in the office of the Divinity Lecture) would preach there that preſent *Sunday*, he would not at the firſt grant to be preſent at it. At length a friend of his, a Fellow of that houſe, perſwaded ſo much with him, that he was content to accompany his ſaid friend to the Church. But ſuddenly as the Frier vehemently inveyed againſt Gods truth, in defending certain Popiſh Hereſies, *Palmer*, having many eyes bent and directed towards him, departed from amongſt the midſt of the auditory, and was found in his friends chamber weeping bitterly. Afterward being demanded why he ſlipt away upon ſuch a ſudden, Oh ſaid he, if I had not openly departed, I ſhould have openly ſtopped mine ears. For the Friers Blaſphemous talk, in diſproving, or rather depraving the verity, made *mine* ears not to glow, but my heart worſe to ſmart, then if mine ears had been cut from my head.

Dr. *John* the Spaniſh Frier ſucceeded Dr. *Peter Martyr* in the Divinity Lecture.

Palmer could not abide the blaſphemous ſermon of Frier John.

It chanced another time, that the ſame friend of his, called Mr. *Shipper*, being then Burſar of the houſe, bade him to dinner in his chamber. *Palmer* not knowing what gheſts were alſo thither invited and bidden, hapned there (contrary to his expectation) to meet with the foreſaid Frier, with whom were preſent Dr. *Smith*, Dr. *Treſham*, and divers other Papiſts, whoſe company *Palmer* could not well bear: and therefore whiſpering his friend in the ear, he ſaid he would be gon, for that was no place for him. I will, ſaith he, to the *Burſars* table in the great Hall. The *Burſar* underſtanding his minde, deſired him of all friendſhip not ſo to depart, alledging that it were the next way to bewray himſelf, and as it were of purpoſe to caſt himſelf into the Briers, with many other perſwaſions, as the ſhortneſs of time would permit. In the end he condeſcended to his requeſt and tarried. Now as he came to the fire ſide, the Frier ſaluted him chearfully in Latine, for he could not ſpeak Engliſh. *Palmer* with an amiable countenance reſaluted him gently: But when the Frier offered him his hand, he caſting his eye aſide, as though he had not ſeen it, found matter of talk to another ſtanding by, and ſo avoided it; which thing was well marked of ſome, not without great grudge of ſtomach.

Palmer refuſeth to take Frier *John* by the hands.

After they were ſet and had well eaten, the Frier with a pleaſant look offering him the cup, ſaid, *Propino tibi, juvenis erudite, i.* I drink to you, learned young man. *Palmer* at that word bluſhing as red as ſcarlet, anſwered, *Non agnoſco nomen, domine, i.* I knowledge no ſuch name O ſir. And therewith taking the cup at his hand, he ſet it down by him, as though he would have pledged him anon after, but in the end it was alſo well marked, that he did it not. When dinner was done, being ſharply rebuked of the ſaid *Burſar* his friend, for his ſo unwiſe, uncivil and unſeemly behaviour (as he termed it) he made anſwer for himſelf, and ſaid, *Oleum eorum non demulcet, ſed frangit caput meum, i.* The oyl of theſe men doth not ſupple, but breaketh my head.

Julius Palmer refuſeth to drink with Frier John.

Another time, which was alſo the laſt time of his being at *Oxford*, not long before his death, one *Barwick* an old acquantance of his, being ſometime Clerk of *Magdalen*, and then Fellow of *Trinity Colledge*, a ranck Papiſt, began to reaſon with him in his friends chamber aforeſaid, and perceiving him to be zealous and earneſt in the defence of the verity, he ſaid unto him in the hearing of Mr. *Thomas Parry*, and others there preſent: Well *Palmer*, well, now thou art ſtout, and hardy in thine opinion, but if thou wert once brought to the ſtake, I believe thou wouldſt tell me another tale. I adviſe thee beware of the fire, it is a ſhrewd matter to burn. Truly, ſaid *Palmer*, I have been in danger of burning once or twice, and hitherto (I thank God) I have eſcaped it. But I judge verily, it will be my end at the laſt, welcome be it, by the Grace of God. Indeed it is a hard matter for them to burn, that have the mind and Soul linked to the Body, as a thiefs foot is tied in a pair of fetters: but if a man be once able, through the help of Gods Spirit, to ſeparate and divide the Soul from the Body, for him it is no more Maſtery to burn, then for me to eat this peece of bread.

Barwicks words to *Palmer*.

Palmers godly anſwer to *Barwick*.

Thus much by the way concerning his plainneſs, without diſſimulation, & how he feared not openly to ſhew himſelf more grieved in heart to hear the Word of God blaſphemed, than to ſuffer any worldly pains. Now let us proceed in our ſtory, and faithfully declare both the occaſion and manner of his death.

Anno 1556.

Ju. *Palmer* placed by patent to be School-maſter at *Reading*.

Within ſhort ſpace after he had yielded up his Fellowſhip in *Oxford*, he was through Gods providence (who never faileth them that firſt ſeek his glory) placed School-maſter by Patent in the Grammar-School of *Reading*, where he was well accepted of all thoſe that feared God, and ſavoured his Word, as well for his good learning and knowledge, as alſo for his earneſt zeal, and profeſſion of the Truth. But Satan the enemy of all godly attempts, envying his good proceedings and proſperous ſucceſs in the ſame, would not ſuffer him there long to be quiet. Wherefore he ſtirred up againſt him certain double faced hypocrites, which by diſſimulation and crafty inſinuation had crept in, to underſtand his ſecrets, under pretence of a zeal to the Goſpel. Which men he (ſuſpecting no deceit) right joyfully imbraced, making them privy of all his doings. For as he himſelf was then fervently inflamed with the love of heavenly Doctrine; ſo had he an incredible deſire by all means poſſible to allure and incourage others to the profeſſion of the ſame.

Palmer circumvented by falſe *Judaſſes*.

Palmers ſtudy ſearched for Books.

Theſe faithful and truſty Brethren, ſo ſoon as they had found good opportunity, ſpared not in his abſence to rifle his ſtudy of certain godly Books and Writings; amongſt the which was his replication to *Morewines* Verſes, touching *Wincheſters* Epitaph, and other Arguments both in Latine and Engliſh, written by him againſt the Popiſh proceedings, and ſpecially againſt their unnatural and brutiſh tyranny, executed toward the Martyrs of God. When they had thus done, they were not aſhamed to threaten him that they would exhibit the ſame to the Council, unleſs he would without delay depart out of their Coaſts, and give over the School to a Friend of theirs. The Truth of this ſtory appeareth in part by a Letter written, with his own hand, out of Priſon eight days before he was burned; which becauſe it is of certain credit, and came to our hands, therefore we are the bolder to avouch it for a Truth.

J. *Palmer* forced to depart the Town of *Reading*.

Thus then was this ſilly young man, for the ſafeguard of his life, forced to depart upon the ſudden from *Reading*, leaving behind him in the hands of his enemies his ſtuff, and one quaters ſtipend, and ſo he took his journey toward *Enſham*, where his Mother then dwelt, hoping to obtain at her hands certain Legacies due to him by his Fathers laſt Will, which he ſhould have received certain years before; and taking his journey by *Oxford* he requeſted certain of his Friends to accompany him thither. His Mother underſtanding his ſtate and errand by Maſter *Shipper* and his Brother (whom he had ſent before to intreat for him) as ſoon as ſhe beheld him on his knees, asking her bleſſing as he had been accuſtomed to do: thou ſhalt, ſaid ſhe, have Chriſts curſe and mine whereſoever thou go. He pauſing a little, as one amazed at ſo heavy a greeting, at length ſaid, Oh Mother, your own curſe you may give me, which God knoweth I never deſerved, but Gods curſe you cannot give me, for he hath already bleſſed me. Nay, ſaith ſhe, thou wenteſt from Gods bleſſing into the warm Sun, when thou was baniſhed for an Heretick out of that worſhipful Houſe in *Oxford*, and now for the like knavery, art driven out of *Reading* too. Alas Mother, ſaith he, you have been miſ-informed. I was not expelled nor driven away, but freely reſigned of mine own accord. And Heretick I am none, for I ſtand not ſtubbornly againſt any true Doctrine, but defend it to my power. And you may be ſure, they uſe not to expel nor baniſh, but to burn Hereticks (as they term them.) Well quoth ſhe, I am ſure thou doſt not believe as thy Father and I, and all our Fore-fathers have done; but as we were taught by the new Law in King *Edwards* days which is damnable Hereſie.

Unnatural words of a Mother may give their own curſe, but Gods curſe they cannot give, much leſs can the Pope.

Indeed I confeſs, ſaid, he, that I believe that Doctrine which was taught in King *Edwards* time, which is not Hereſie but Truth, neither is it new, but as old as Chriſt and his Apoſtles. If thou be at that point, ſaith ſhe, I require thee to depart from my houſe, and out of my ſight, and never take me more for thy Mother hereafter. As for mony and goods I have none of thine, thy Father bequeathed nought for Hereticks. Fagots I have to burn thee, more thou getteſt not at my hands. Mother, ſaith he, whereas you have curſed me. I again pray God to bleſs you, and proſper you all your life long, and with like ſoft talk, ſweet words and abundance of tears trickling down his cheeks, he departed from her, wherewith he ſo mollified her hard heart, that ſhe hurled an old Angel after, him and ſaid, take that to keep thee a true man.

The Father ſhall be divided againſt the Son, the Mother againſt, &c. Luke 12.

Palmer driven from his Mother.

Thus poor *Palmer* being deſtitute of worldy friendſhip, and cruelly repelled of her, whom he took to have been his ſureſt friend, wiſt not which way to turn his face. Soon after, when he had bethought himſelf, it came to his mind to return ſecretly to *Magdalen* Colledge, upon the aſſured truſt and affiance, that he had a privy Friend or two in that houſe. At what time, by the ſute of one *Alane Cope*, then Fellow of the Houſe, he obtained Letters Commendatory, from Maſter *Cole* Preſident there, for his preferment to a School in *Glouceſterſhire*. So he getteth him away, committed by his Friends to Gods divine protection, of whom ſome accompained him as far as *Enſam Ferry*, and ſome to *Burford*.

Alane Cope an helper and ſupporter of *Julius Palmer*.

Afterward as he went alone, muſing and pondering of matters, it came in his head (as he writeth in an Epiſtle to one of his Friends) to leave his appointed journey, and to return cloſely to *Reading*, truſting there by the help of Friends to receive his quarters ſtipend, and convey his ſtuff to the cuſtody of ſome truſty Body. To *Reading* he cometh, and taketh up his lodging at the *Cardinals Hat*, deſiring his Hoſteſs inſtantly to aſſign him a cloſe Chamber, where he might be alone from all reſort of company. He came not ſo cloſely, but that this viperous generation had knowledge thereof. Wherefore without delay they laid their heads together, and conſulted what way they might moſt ſafely proceed againſt him, to bring their old cankered malice to paſs. And ſoon it was concluded, that one Mr. *Hampton* (which then bare too faces in one hood, and under the colour of a Brother played the part of a diſſembling hypocrite) ſhould reſort to him under the pretence of friendſhip, to feel and fiſh out the cauſe of his repair to *Reading*.

Hampton of *Reading*, a diſſembling hypocrite, and a falſe witneſs.

Palmer as he was a ſimple man, and without all wrinkles of cloked colluſion, opened to him his whole intent. But *Hampton* earneſtly perſwaded him to the contrary, declaring what danger might enſue if this were attempted. Againſt his counſel *Palmer* replied very much, and as they waxed hot in talk, *Hampton* flang away in a fury, and ſaid; as he had fiſhed, ſo ſhould he fowl for him. *Palmer* not yet ſuſpecting ſuch pretenſed and deviſed miſchief, as by this crooked and peſtiferous generation was now in brewing againſt him, called for his Supper, and went quietly to bed: But quietly he could not long reſt there. For within ſhort ſpace after, the Officers and their retinue came ruſhing in with Lanterns and Bills, requiring him in the King and Queens name to make ready himſelf and quietly to depart with them. So this ſilly young man perceiving that he was thus *Judaſly* betrayed (without opening his lips) was lead away as a lamb to the ſlaughter, and was committed to ward, whom the Keeper as a ravening Wolf of greedy of his prey, brought down into a vile, ſtinking, and blind dungeon, prepared for thieves and murderers, and there he left him for a time, hanging by the hands and feet in a pair of ſtocks, ſo high, that well-near no part of his Body touched the ground.

Palmer betrayed and apprehended.

In this Cave or Dungeon he remained about ten days under the tyranny of this unmerciful Keeper.

Palmer miſerably uſed in Priſon.

Here by the way, gentle Reader, I have by a little digreſſion to give thee to underſtand, concerning one *Thomas Thackham*, for that the ſaid *Thomas Thackham* in the ſtory of this *Julius Palmer*, was noted and named in our former Book, to be a doer and a worker againſt the ſaid bleſſed Martyr: he therefore being not a little grieved, made his reply again in writing, for purgation and defence of himſelf againſt the falſe information of his ſlanderer. Albeit for his confutation in writing I paſs not much upon, either what he hath written or can write. Only the thing that moveth me moſt is this; For that the ſaid *Thomas Thackham* not long ſince, coming to me himſelf, hath ſo atteſted and depoſed againſt the information, with ſuch ſwearing and deep adjuration, taking the name of the Lord God to witneſs, and appealing to his judgment to the utter perdition of his Soul, if it were not falſe which by information was reported of him, and he faultleſs in the matter. Which being ſo, I could not otherwiſe refuſe, but to give credit to his Oath, and upon the ſame to alter and correct ſo much as appertaineth to the

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the defamation (as he calleth it) of his name, referring the truth of the matter to his own Conſcience, and the judgment of the Lord God, to whom either he ſtandeth if it be true, or falleth if it be falſe.

And now to our ſtory again, concerning the proceſs and accuſation of *Julius Palmer*, omitting by the way the Names of *Thomas Thackham*, and *Downer*.

Here followeth the firſt Examination and accuſation of Julius Palmer *at* Reading.

The firſt examination of *Julius Palmer.*

AFter this he was brought before the Major, and there by the procurement of certain falſe Brethren (the Lord knoweth what they were) who had been converſant with *Palmer*, and robbed his ſtudy, divers grievous and enormous Crimes were laid to his charge, as Treaſon, Sedition, ſurmiſed Murther, and Adultery.

To whom *Palmer* anſwered, that if ſuch Horrible and Hainous Crimes might be proved againſt him, he would patiently ſubmit himſelf to all kind of Torments that could be deviſed. But O ye cruel Blood-ſuckers (ſaith he) ye follow the old practices of your progenitors, the Viperous and Woolviſh generation of Phariſees and Papiſts: but be ye well aſſured, that God already ſeeth your ſubtle devices and crafty packing, and will not ſuffer the outragious fury of your Venemous Tongues and fiery Hearts to eſcape unpuniſhed. All this while no mention was made of Hereſie or Heretical writings.

Their greateſt proofs againſt him were theſe.

Evidence put up againſt *Palmer*

FIrſt, that *Palmer* ſaid, the Queens Sword was not put in her hand to execute Tyranny, and to kill and murder the true Servants of God.

Item, that her Sword was too blunt toward the Papiſts, but toward the true Chriſtians it was too ſharp.

Note the Wopſhipful proceſs of the quarrelling Papiſts.

Item, that certain Servants of Sir *Francis Knolles* and others, reſorting to his lectures, had fallen out among themſelves, and were like to have committed Murther, and therefore he was a ſower of ſedition, and a procurer of unlawful Aſſemblies.

Item, that his Hoſteſs had written a Letter unto him (which they had intercepted) wherein ſhe required him to return to *Reading*, and ſent him her Commendations, by the token that the knife lay hid under the beam, whereby they gathered that ſhe had conſpired with him to murder her Husband.

Item, that they found him alone with his Hoſteſs by the fire ſide in the Hall, the Door being ſhut to them forſooth. When the evidence was given up, the Mayor diſmiſſed them and went to dinner, commanding *Palmer* to the Cage, to make him an open ſpectacle of ignominy to the eyes of the world. And *Thackham*, the better to cover his own ſhame, cauſed it to be bruted, that he was ſo puniſhed for his evil life and wickedneſs already proved againſt him.

Palmer clareth himſelf.

In the afternoon *Palmer* came to his anſwer, and did ſo mightily and clearly deface their evidence, and defend his own Innocency, proving alſo that the ſaid Letters were by themſelves forged, that the Mayor himſelf was much aſhamed that he had given ſuch credit unto them, and ſo much born with them, ſo that he ſought means how they might convey him out of the Country privily.

Note here the fruit of Romiſh Religion.

John Galant, a zealous profeſſor.

But here among other things this is not with ſilence to be paſſed over, that one *John Galant*, a zealous profeſſor of the Goſpel, a little after this came to the priſon and found him ſome what better intreated then before. When he beheld him, O *Palmer*, ſaith he, thou haſt deceived divers mens expectation: for we hear that you ſuffer not for righteouſneſs ſake, but for your own demerits.

Oh Brother *Galant*, ſaith he, theſe be the old practices of that Satanical brood. But be you well aſſured, and God be praiſed for it, I have ſo purged my ſelf, and detected their falſhood, that from henceforth I ſhall be no more moleſted therewith. And there having pen and ink, he did write ſome what whereby part of his ſtory here rehearſed, is well confirmed. But now to theſe Bloody Adverſaries.

New policie deviſed againſt *Julius Palmer.*

After this, when they ſaw the matter frame ſo ill favouredly, fearing that if he ſhould eſcape ſecretly, their doing would tend no leſs to their ſhame and danger, then to the Mayors diſhoneſty; they deviſed a new policy to bring to paſs their long hidden and feſtered malice againſt him, which was by this extreme refuge. For, whereas before they were partly aſhamed to accuſe him of Hereſie, ſeeing they had been counted earneſt Brethren themſelves; and partly afraid, becauſe they had broken up his ſtudy, and committed theft: yet now left their iniquity ſhould have been revealed to the world, they put both fear and ſhame aſide, and began to refricat and rip up the old ſore, the ſcar whereof had been but ſuperficially cured, as you have heard; and ſo to colour their former practices with the pretence of his reformation in Religion, they charged him with the writings that they had ſtolen out of his ſtudy.

Palmer caled before the Mayor of *Reading*, Bird the Official, and two Juſtices.

Thus *Palmer* was once again called out of the priſon to appear before the Mayor, and *Bird* the Official, and two other Juſtices, to render an account of his faith before them; to anſwer to ſuch Articles and Informations, as were laid againſt him. And when they had gathered of his own mouth ſufficient matter to intrap him, they deviſed a certificate, or bill of inſtructions againſt him, to be directed to Doctor *Jeffrey*, who had determined to hold his Viſitation the next *Tueſday* at *Newbery*, which was the ſixteenth of *July*. And thus were the falſe witneſſes and bloody Accuſers winked at, and the innocent delivered to the Lyon to be devoured. When it was therefore concluded that *Palmer* ſhould be ſent over to *Newbery*, the ſaid Letters teſtimonial were conveyed over together with him; the contents whereof ſhall partly appear hereafter; In the mean time I think it good here to rehearſe one example among other, both of charitable affection toward him, and of his modeſty correſpondent to the ſame.

Dr. *Jeffrey*, the Biſhops chancellor of *Sarum.*

Maſter *Rider* of *Reading*, a faithful witneſs of Gods Truth, hearing how cruelly *Palmer* had been dealt withal in the priſon, and pined away for lack of neceſſaries, and how evidently he had proved himſelf innocent before the Officers, of ſuch Crimes as were objected againſt him, he ſent to him his ſervant ſecretly the night before his departure to *Newbery*, with a bowed groat in token of his good heart toward him, requiring him to let him underſtand if he lacked neceſſaries, and he would provide for him. *Palmer* anſwered, the Lord reward your Mr. for his benevolence toward me, a miſerable abject in this world, and tell him that (God be praiſed) I lack nothing.

Mr. *Rider* of *Reading* a faithful favourer of Gods Goſpel

Thom. Askin or *Roberts*, fellow-priſoner with *Julius Palmer.*

In the morning before they took their Journey, *Thomas Askin*, alias *Roberts*, being fellow priſoner with him in Chriſts cauſe, ſitting at breakfaſt, and beholding *Palmer* very ſad, leaning to a window in the corner of the houſe asked why he came not to breakfaſt. Becauſe I lack money (ſaith *Palmer*) to diſcharge the ſhot. Come on man (quoth he) God be praiſed for it, I have enough for us both. Which thing when Mr. *Rider* heard of, it cannot be expreſſed, how much it grieved him that *Palmer* had deceived him with ſo modeſt an anſwer.

Julius Palmer brought to *Newbery.*

Thus to *Newbery* they came on *Monday* night, and forthwith they were committed to the comfortable Hoſtry of the blind houſe, where they found *John Gain*, their faithful Brother in the Lord. Now how they came before the Conſiſtory of Dr. *Jeffrey*, and how *Palmer* was examined, it doth in part appear by this examination hereunto annexed, which although it be not perfectly and orderly penned, as the report goeth it was ſpoken, nor perchance altogether in ſuch form of words, yet as exactly as we are able to compact and diſpoſe it, being gathered out of ſeveral notes of *Richard Shipper*, *John Hunt*, *John Kirry* of *Newbery*, *Richard White* of *Marlborough*, which were *oculati teſtes*, and preſent at the hearing thereof.

Witneſſes to the ſecond part of this ſtory.

The ſecond Examination and accuſation of Julius Palmer *at* Newbery, *in the hearing of more then three hundred perſons.*

The examination of *Palmer* before Dr. *Jeffrey* at Newbery.

IN the year 1556. xvj. of *July*, four or five ſeats were prepared in the Quire of the Pariſh Church of *Newbery* for the Viſitors, whoſe names here enſue. Doctor *Jeffrey* for the Biſhop of *Sarum*, Sir *Richard*

D. Jeffrey, Sir Ri. Abridges Knight, M. Jo. Wimbecom, the Parson of Ingefield, judge against Julius Palmer.

Richard Abridges Knight, and then High-Sheriff of the Shire, Sir *William Ramsford* Knight, Mr. *John Winchcomb* Esquire, and the Parson of *Inglefield*. After the Prisoners were presented, the Commission read, and other things done in order accordingly, Doctor *Jeffrey* called to *Palmer*, and said; Art thou that jolly Writer of three Half-penny Books that we hear of?

Palm. I know not what you mean.

Jeff. Have you taught Latin so long, that now you understand not English?

To this he answered nothing.

Then Dr. *Jeffrey* standing up said, We have received certain Writings, and Articles against you, from the Right worshipful the Mayor of *Reading*, and other Justices, whereby we understand, that being convented afore them, you were convict of certain Heresies.

First, That you deny the Popes Holiness Supremacy.

Next, That there are but two Sacraments.

Thirdly, That the Priest sheweth up an Idol at Mass; and therefore you went to no Mass, since your first coming to *Reading*.

Fourthly, That there is no Purgatory.

Last of all, That you be a sower of Sedition, and have sought to divide the unity of the Queens Subjects.

The Sheriff. You were best see first what he will say to his own handy work.

Jeff. Ye say truth. Tell me *Palmer*, art thou he that wrote this fair Volume? Look upon it.

Palm. I wrote it indeed, and gathered it out of the Scripture.

Jeff. Is this doggish Rhime yours also? Look.

Palm. I wrote this, I deny not.

Jeff. And what say you to these Latin Verses, entituled *Epicedion*, &c. Are they yours too?

Palm. Yea Sir.

Jeff. Art thou not ashamed to affirm it? It came of no good spirit, that thou didst both rail at the dead, and slander a Learned and Catholick man yet alive.

Palm. If it be a slander, he hath slandered himself: for I do but report his own writing, and open the folly therein declared. And I reckon it no railing to inveigh against *Annas* and *Caiphas* being dead.

Jeff. Saist thou so? I will make thee recant it, and wring *peccavi* out of your lying lips, ere I have done with thee.

Palm. But I know, that although of my self I be able to do nothing, yet if you and all mine enemies both bodily and ghostly, should do your worst, you shall not be able to bring that to pass, neither shall ye prevail against Gods mighty Spirit, by whom we understand the Truth, and speak it so boldly.

Jeff. Ah, are you full of the Spirit? are you inspired with the Holy Ghost?

Palm. Sir, no man can believe, but by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Therefore, if I were not a Spiritual man, and inspired with Gods Holy Spirit, I were not a true Christian. *Qui spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus*, i. He that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his.

Jeff. I perceive you lack no words.

Palm. Christ hath promised not only to give us store of words necessary, but with them, such force of matter, as the gates of Hell shall not be able to confound, or prevail against it.

The Holy Ghost shall teach you in that hour what you shall answer. Luke 12.

Jeff. Christ made such a promise to his Apostles, I trow you will not compare with them.

Palm. With the holy Apostles I may not compare, neither have I any affiance in mine own wit or learning, which I know is but small: yet this promise I am certain pertaineth to all such as are appointed to defend Gods Truth against his enemies, in the time of their persecution for the same.

Jeff. Then it pertaineth not to thee.

Palm. Yes, I am right well assured, that through his grace it appertaineth at this present to me, as it shall (I doubt not) appear, if you give me leave to dispute with you before this audience, in the defence of all that I have there written.

A marvel to the Papists, that young men should have the gift of the Holy Ghost.

Jeff. Thou art but a beardless Boy, start up yesterday out of the Schools, and darest thou presume to offer disputation, or to encounter with a Doctor.

Palm. Remember Master Doctor, *Spiritus ubi vult spirat*. And again, *Ex ore infantium*, &c. And in another place, *Abscondisti hæc à sapientibus*, &c. i. The Spirit breatheth where it pleaseth him, &c. Out of the mouth of Infants, &c. And thou hast hidden these things from the wise, &c. God is not tied to time, wit, learning, place, nor person. And although your wit and learning be greater than mine; yet your belief in the Truth, and zeal to defend the same is no greater than mine.

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Gods Spirit not bound to place or person.

Regist. Sir, if you suffer him thus impudently to trifle with you, he will never have done.

Jeffrey Well, ye shall understand, that I have it not in Commission at this present to dispute with you, neither were it meet that we should call again into question such Articles as are already discussed, and perfectly defined by our Mother the holy Church, whom we ought to believe without why, or wherefore, as the Creed telleth us. But the cause why ye be now called hither, is that ye might be examined upon such Articles as are ministred against you, and such matter as is here contained in your hand-writing, that it may be seen whether you will stand to it, or nay. How say you to this?

Note how these men dare not abide disputation.

Palmer. By your holy Church you mean the Synagogue of *Rome*, which is not universal, but a particular Church of shavelings. The Catholick Church I believe, yet not for her own sake, but because she is holy, that is to say, a Church that grounded her belief upon the word of her Spouse Christ.

The Church of *Rome* is but a particular Church.

The Church is not to be believed for her self.

Jeffrey. Leave railing, and answer me directly to my question. Will you stand to your writing, or will you not?

Palmer. If you prove any sentence therein comprized, not to stand with Gods Word, I will presently recant it.

Jeffrey. Thou impudent Fellow, have I not told thee, that I came not to dispute with thee, but to examine thee?

Here the Parson of *Inglefield* pointing to the *Pix*, said, What seest thou yonder?

Palm. A Canopy of silk broidered with gold.

Parson. Yea, but what is within it?

Palmer. A piece of Bread, in a Clout, I trow.

Parson. Thou art as froward an Heretick as ever I talked withal. Here was much spoken of *Confiteor*, and other parts of the Mass.

Parson. Do you not believe that they which receive the holy Sacrament of the Altar, do truly eat Christs natural Body?

Palmer. If the Sacrament of the Lords Supper be ministred, as Christ did ordain it, the faithful Receivers do indeed spiritually and truly eat and drink in it Christs very natural Body and Blood.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

Parson. The faithful Receivers? Ye cannot blear our eyes with such sophistry. Do not all manner of Receivers, good and bad, faithful and unfaithful receive the very natural Body in form of Bread?

Palmer. No Sir.

Parson. How prove you that?

Palm. By this place, *Qui manducat me, vivet propter me*, i. He that eateth me, shall live for me.

The wicked receive not the Lords Body.

Parson. See that fond Fellow, whilst he taketh himself to be a Doctor of the Law, you shall see me prove him a stark foolish Daw. Do you not read likewise, *Quicunq; invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit? id est*, Whosoever invocateth the Name of the Lord, shall be saved? *Ergo*, Do none but the godly call upon him? Therefore you must mark how St. *Paul* answereth you. He saith, that the wicked do eat the true Body to their condemnation.

As *Palmer* was bent to answer him at the full, the Parson interrupted him, crying still, what saist thou to St. *Paul*?

Palm. I say, that St. *Paul* hath no such words.

Parson. See, the impudent Fellow denieth the plain Text. *Qui edit & bibit corpus Domini indigne, reus erit judicii.* i. He that eateth and drinketh the Body of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of judgment.

Palmer. I beseech you lend me your Book.

Parson. Not so.

The Sheriff. I pray you lend him your Book. So the Book was given over to him,

Palmer.

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Palmer. Your own Book ſaith, *Qui manducat hunc panem, &c. i.* He that eateth this Bread.

Parſon. But Saint *Hieromes* Tranſlation hath *Corpus.*

Palmer. Not ſo Mr. *Parſon*, and God be praiſed that I have in the mean ſeaſon, ſhut up your lips with your own Book.

The Parſon confounded with his own Book. The Parſons mouth ſtopped.

Jeffrey. It skilleth no matter whether ye write Bread or Body, for we be able to prove that he meant the Body. And whereas you ſay, they eat it ſpiritually, that is but a blind ſhift of deſcant.

Palmer. What ſhould I ſay elſe?

Jeffrey. As holy Church ſaith, really, carnally, ſubſtantially.

Palmer. And with as good Scripture, I may ſay, groſly or monſtrouſly.

Jeffrey. Thou ſpeakeſt wickedly. But tell me, Is Chriſt preſent in the Sacrament or no?

Palmer. He is preſent.

Jeffrey. How is he preſent?

Preſence in the Sacraments.

Palmer. The Doctors ſay, *modo ineffabili.* Therefore why do ye ask me? Would God ye had a mind ready to believe it, or a tongue able to expreſs it unto you.

Baptiſm of Infants.

Jeffrey. What ſay you to the Baptiſm of Infants?

Palmer. I ſay, that it ſtandeth with Gods Word, and therefore it ought of neceſſity to be retained in the Church.

Jeffrey. Ye have forgotten your ſelf I wis, for ye write that Children may be ſaved without it.

Palmer. So I write, and ſo I ſay.

Children dying before they come to Baptiſm are ſaved, of this it followeth not. *Ergo*, Children that are brought, ought not to be baptized.

Jeffrey. Then it is not neceſſary to be frequented and continued in the Church.

Palmer. Your Argument is not good, Mr. Doctor.

Jeffrey. Will you ſtand to it?

Palmer. Yea, Mr. Doctor, God willing.

Jeffrey. Note it, Regiſter.

More of his Examination in that time and place is not yet come to our hands: whenſoever God ſendeth it, I will impart and communicate the ſame to the Reader. In the mean ſeaſon we are credibly informed of this, that Sir *Richard Abridges*, the ſame day after dinner, ſent for him to his lodging, and there, in the preſence of divers perſons yet alive in *Newbery* and elſewhere, friendly exhorted him to revoke his Opinion, to ſpare his young years, wit, and learning. If thou wilt be conformable, and ſhew thy ſelf corrigible and repentant, in good faith (ſaid he) I promiſe thee before this Company, I will give thee meat and drink, and books, and ten pound yearly, ſo long as thou wilt dwell with me. And if thou wilt ſet thy mind to marriage, I will procure thee a Wife and a Farm, and help to ſtuff and fit thy Farm for thee.

Sir *Richard Abridges* gentle offer to *Palmer*,

How ſayſt thou?

Palmer thanked him very courteouſly, and made him further anſwer concerning his Religion ſomewhat at large, but very modeſtly and reverently, concluding in the end, that as he had already in two places renounced his living for Chriſts ſake, ſo he would with Gods grace be ready to ſurrender and yield up his life alſo for the ſame, when God ſhould ſend time.

Palmer refuſed worldly offers to keep his Conſcience.

When Sir *Richard* perceived that he would by no means relent: Well *Palmer* (ſaith he) then I perceive one of us twain ſhall be damned. For we be of two Faiths, and certain I am there is but one Faith that leadeth to life and ſalvation.

Palmer. O Sir, I hope that we both ſhall be ſaved.

Sir Richard. How may that be?

God calleth at divers times and hours.

Palm. Right well Sir. For as it hath pleaſed our merciful Saviour, according to the Goſpels Parable, to call me at the third hour of the day, even in my flowers, at the age of four and twenty years, even ſo I truſt he hath called, and will call you at the eleventh hour of this your old age, and give you everlaſting life for your portion.

Sir Rich. Sayſt thou ſo? Well *Palmer* well, I would I might have thee but one month in my houſe, I doubt not but I would convert thee, or thou ſhouldſt convert me.

Then ſaid M. *Winchcom*, Take pity on thy golden years, and pleaſant flowers of luſty youth, before it be too late.

Palm. Sir, I long for thoſe ſpringing flowers, that ſhall never fade away.

Winchcom. If thou be at that point, I have done with thee.

Then was *Palmer* commanded again to the Blind-houſe, but the other two ſilly men were led again the ſame After-noon to the Conſiſtory, and there were condemned, and delivered to the Secular power of the Sheriff there preſent, by name Sir *Richard Abridges*.

John Guin, Tho. Askin, Martyrs, condemned. Sir *Richard Abridges*, Sheriff.

It is reported alſo, that Doctor *Jeffrey* offered *Palmer* a good Living if he would outwardly ſhew himſelf conformable, keeping his Conſcience ſecret to himſelf, or at leaſt declare that he doubted which was the trueſt Doctrine. But I cannot affirm it for a Surety.

Palmer required to ſet his hand to his Articles.

The next Morning the 16. of *July*, *Palmer* was required to ſubſcribe to certain Articles, which they had drawn out, touching the cauſe of his Condemnation: In the Front whereof, were heapt together many hainous terms, as horrible, heretical, damnable, deviliſh and execrable Doctrine. To theſe words *Palmer* refuſed to ſubſcribe, affirming that the Doctrine which he profeſſed, was not ſuch, but good and ſound Doctrine.

Jeffrey. Ye may ſee, good People, what ſhifts theſe Hereticks ſeek, to eſcape burning, when they ſee juſtice miniſtred unto them. But I tell thee, this ſtile is agreeable to the Law, and therefore I cannot alter it.

Palm. Then I cannot ſubſcribe to it.

Jeffrey. Wilt thou then crave mercy, if thou like not juſtice, and revoke thy hereſie?

Palmer. I forſake the Pope, and his Popelings, with all Popiſh hereſie.

Jeffrey. Then ſubſcribe to the Articles.

Palmer. Alter the Epithethons, and I will ſubſcribe.

Jeffrey. Subſcribe, and qualifie the matter with thine own Pen. So he ſubſcribed. Whereupon Doctor *Jeffrey* proceeded to read the Popiſh Sentence of his cruel Condemnation, and ſo was he delivered to the charge of the Secular power, and was burned the ſame day in the After-noon, about five of the Clock.

The Popiſh Sentence read againſt *Palmer*.

Within one hour before they went to the place of Execution, *Palmer* in the preſence of many people, comforted his Fellows with theſe words. Brethren (ſaith he) be of good chear in the Lord, and faint not. Remember the words of our Saviour Chriſt, where he ſaith, *Happy are you when men revile you and perſecute you for righteouſneſs ſake. Rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, and be not able to touch the ſoul. God is faithful, and will not ſuffer us to be tempted further than we ſhall be able to bear it.* We ſhall not end our lives in the fire, but make a change for a better life. Yea for Coals, we ſhall receive Pearls. For Gods holy Spirit certifieth our ſpirit, that he hath even now prepared for us a ſweet Supper in Heaven for his ſake which ſuffered firſt for us.

Palmer comforteth his two fellow Martyrs going to their death.

With theſe and ſuch like words, he did not only comfort the hearts of his ſilly Brethren that were with him appointed as Sheep to be ſlain, but alſo wreſted out plentiful tears from the eyes of many that heard him. And as they were ſinging a Pſalm, came the Sheriff Sir *Richard Abridges* and the Bayliffs of the Town, with a great company of harneſſed and weaponed men to conduct them to the fire. When they were come to the place where they ſhould ſuffer, they fell all three to the ground, and *Palmer* with an audible voice pronounced the 31. *Pſalm*, but the other two made their ptayers ſecretly to Almighty God.

Palmer, *Guin*, *Askin*, brought to the place of ſlaughter.

And as *Palmer* began to ariſe, their came behind him two Popiſh Prieſts, exhorting him yet to recant and ſave his Soul. *Palmer* anſwered and ſaid, Away, away, tempt me no longer. Away, I ſay, from me all ye that work iniquity: for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears. And ſo forthwith they put of their rayment, and went to the Stake and kiſſed it. And when they were bound to the poſt, *Palmer* ſaid, Good People, pray for us, that we may perſevere to the end. And for Chriſts ſake beware of Popiſh Teachers, for they deceive you.

The words of *Palmer* to the Popiſh Prieſts.

As he ſpake this, a Servant of one of the Bayliffs, threw a Fagot at his face, that the blood guſhed out in divers places. For the which fact the Sheriff reviled him, calling him cruel Tormentor, and with his walking Staff brake his Head, that the blood likewiſe ran about

The words of theſe Martyrs at their death.] about his ears. When the Fire was kindled, and began to take hold upon their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and quietly and chearly, as though they had felt no ſmart, they cried; Lord Jeſus ſtrengthen us, Lord Jeſus aſſiſt us, Lord Jeſus receive our Souls. And ſo they continued without any ſtrugling, holding up their hands, and knocking their hearts, and calling upon Jeſus until they had ended their mortal lives.

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The Martyrdom of the three godly Saints.

A notable ſpectacle in the Martyrdom of *Julius Palmer.* Among other things this is alſo to be noted, that after their three Heads by force of the raging and devouring flames of Fire, were fallen together in a lump or cluſter, which was marvellous to behold, and that they all were judged already to have given up the Ghoſt, ſuddenly *Palmer*, as a man waked out of ſleep, moved his tongue and jaws, and was heard to pronounce this word *Jeſus*. So, being reſolved into aſhes, he yielded to God as joyful a Soul (confirmed with the ſweet promiſes of Chriſt) as any one that ever was called beſide to ſuffer for his bleſſed Name. God grant us all to be moved with the like ſpirit, working in our hearts conſtantly to ſtand in defence and confeſſion of Chriſts holy Goſpel, to the end, *Amen.*

De martyrio *Palmeri* hexaſticon.

Epitaphium in *Palmerum.*

Palmerus *flammas Chriſti pro dogmate paſſus,*
Impoſitum pondus, ceu bona palma, tulit.
Non retroceſſit, ſed contra audientior ivit,
Illæſam retinens, fortis in igne fidem.
Propterea in cælum nunc Palmifer iſte receptus
Juſtitiæ Palmam non pereuntis habet.

Juſtus ut Palma florebit.

A memorable Story of one Agnes Wardall *in the Town of* Ipſwich, *purſued for the true Faith of Chriſts Goſpel.*

A notable Story of *Agnes Wardall* of *Ipſwich.* D. *Argentine* Schoolmaſter. *Mat. Butler* Conſtable. *Phi. Ulmes, Edm. Leach, J. Steward,* Perſecutors.

ABout the ſaid month of *July*, in this preſent year, 1556. there was one *Richard Argentine*, Doctor of Phyſick, otherwiſe called *Richard Sexten*, with certain other dwelling in the Town of *Ipſwich*, not many in number, but in heart and purpoſe mightily bent to impugn and impeach the growing of Chriſts Goſpel and favourers of the ſame. In the number of whom were *Philip Ulmes*, *Edmund Leach*, *John Steward*, and *Matthew Butler* Apothecary, a curious ſinging Man, a fine player of the Organs, a perfect Papiſt, and a diligent promoter of good men. This *Butler* being then Conſtable in the Town of *Ipſwich*, as he was in the watch by night upon *Cornhil*, cometh to him Doctor *Argentine* in great haſt, giving him intelligence of one *Agnes Wardall*, being then lately come home to her houſe in *Ipſwich*. Whereupon immediately, ſuch a way was contrived between them, that the ſaid *Agnes Wardall* forthwith ſhould be apprehended: but God, in whoſe providence the direction of all things conſiſteth, by whoſe diſpoſition they have their operation, ſo graciouſly provided for his Servant, and ſo prevented their malignant devices, that they came to no great effect in working, although on the contrary part there wanted no good will, as here conſequently you ſhall further underſtand.

This *Agnes Wardall* was a Woman that lived in Gods fear, and was at defiance with their Romiſh traſh, deſiring rather with hard fare and evil lodging to be abroad, than to be at home in her houſe, and among the tents of the ungodly: her Husband alſo being a man living in the fear of God, and for the teſtimony of his Conſcience being alſo hunted, by force of the Law was conſtrained to avoid his houſe, and got into a Crair with an honeſt man, ſerving as a Saylor, a faculty not of him before frequented, nor he a man nimble for that trade, becauſe God had given him an impediment by reaſon of a ſtumped foot, unfit to climb to top and yard; yet ſo it pleaſed God to enable him with his ſtrength, that he was ſtrong and luſty to do good ſervice, as they can well witneſs that were of his company.

Rob. Wardall driven by perſecution to ſerve in a Ship.

The ſaid *Agnes Wardall* chanced on a day to come home to ſee her poor Houſe and Children, which was under the guiding of a young Maid, and being eſpied, news was born to Dr. *Argentine*: who having knowledge thereof, as is aforeſaid, went ſpeedily unto the Apothecary the Conſtable aforeſaid, and informed him what a notable Cure was to be wrought on *Wardals* Wife in the apprehending of her. Which was more like to ſpeed than miſs, had not the mighty providence of God wrought contrary to their expectation.

Agnes Wardall perſecuted by D. *Argentine* and his Mates.

This being known to the Conſtable, the Watch was charged ſpeedily, and each Company ſent to his place. And *Argentine* and *Butler* took unto them a good number,

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Unmerciful ſeekers of a poor womans Blood.

number, and forth they go unto the houſe of this poor woman to lay hands upon her, and beſet the houſe on the foreſide and backſide, lying open in the fields, and otherſome were ſent to the houſe of his Mother, which was not far from his houſe. This done one knockt at the ſtreet door where *Argentine* and *Butler* was, with one of their weapons, and no anſwer was made; the ſecond time ſomewhat harder, but had no anſwer. In the mean time they fearing that ſome conveyance was made knocked the third time more hard then before.

There was not far from the door where they knocked, a certain Day-window, where one might look out and ſpeak: And ſo at the third knocking, a woman who at that time was tenant to *R. Wardall's* Mother, and had but two nights before lyen in the houſe, ſpeaking out hard by their ears, asked who was there?

The Lord bleſs every good man and woman from ſuch wicked ſpirits.

Ah ſirrah, quoth *Argentine*, are you ſo nigh and will not ſpeak? How fortuned it that ye ſpake not at the firſt, being ſo nigh? How fortuned it, quoth the woman? Marry I ſhall tell you; I am but a ſtranger here, and I have heard ſay, that there be ſpirits walking here about, which if a man do anſwer at the firſt call or ſecond, he ſtands in great danger, and I was never ſo afraid of my life. At this her anſwer they laughed, and commanded her to open the door in the Queens name, for they were the Queens watch.

He ſleepeth nor ſlumbreth not that keepeth *Iſrael*. Pſal. 100.

Agnes Wardall being at that time in bed in an inner Chamber, having her Maid with her, and her two Children ſhe being at that time very heavy aſleep, heard not the knocking. Her Maid hearing at the ſecond knock, called and ſhogged her Dame, and with much ado awaked her, and ſaid, The watch is at the door. What? thou lyeſt, ſaid ſhe. Yes truly ſaid the Maid, and hath knockt twice. With that ſhe aroſe with all ſpeed, and put on her cloaths very ſlightly, and took with her a Buckeram Apron, which afterward ſhe caſt on her head, when ſhe was fain to creep in a ditch with nettles, and ſo paſſed down into a Parlour, wherein ſtood a Cupbord with a fair Preſs, into the which the Maid did lock her.

Agnes Wardall hideth her ſelf in a preſs from the hands of her perſecutors.

And immediately went up to a Chamber which was hard by the ſtreet, where ſhe might ſee and ſpeak to the Watch, and ſaid, Who is there? Then they bade her open the door. And ſhe ſaid, We have no Candle. And they ſaid, Open the door, or we will lay it on the floor. With that ſhe came down and opened the door. Then asked they the Maid, who is within? And ſhe ſaid, none but a woman that dwelleth with in us, and two Children. Then ſaid they, where is thy Dame? Truly ſaid ſhe I cannot tell, ſhe is not within, She was here in the evening, ſaid they. Yea ſaid the Maid, but ſhe went forth I know not whither. Notwithſtanding they charged her that ſhe knew where ſhe was, which ſhe denied. Then got they a Candle light at one of the neighbours houſes, and came in, and in the entry met the woman which had anſwered them at the window, and ſaid ſhe was affraid of Sprites. *Argentine* looking upon her, clapt her on the back, and ſaid, Thou art not the woman whom we ſeek for.

Example of a faithful Maid to her Miſtreſs.

The houſe ſearched for *Agnes Wardall*.

So entred they the houſe, and ſearched a Parlour next the ſtreet where the woman lay which was his Mothers Tenant, and a young Child that ſucked on her breaſt, and not only in the bed, turning it down paſt all honeſt humanity, but alſo under the bed, behind the painted Clothes, and in the Chimney, and up into the Chimney, and finding the bed hot, ſaid, Who lay here in the Bed? The woman ſaid I and the Child. And none elſe, quoth they? No ſaid the woman. When they could find nothing there for their purpoſe, from thence they went into an inner Parlour, in the which ſtood the Cupbord wherin ſhe was, and ſearched the Parlour which was but a little one. And one of the Company, laying his hand on the Cupbord, ſaid, This is a fair Cupbord, ſhe may be here for any thing that is done. That is true ſaith another of them. Notwithſtanding, they looked no further, but went from that into the Chamber aloft, wherein ſhe ſaid *Agnes* had lyen with her Maid and Children, with all other rooms and chambers.

Gods marvellous protection working for his Servants.

At length they came down into the Yard, where they found a horſe tied at a pale eating of ſhorn graſs. Then asked they the Maid, whoſe Horſe is this? She anſwered, it is her Horſe indeed, and ſhe came in before night and went abroad again, but I konw not whither. Then were they in good hope to find their prey, and beſtirred them with ſpeed, and went into an out-chamber that was in the Yard, in which was a Boy in bed of 12. or 14. years old. And being in his dead ſleep, they ſuddenly awaked him and examined him for his Dame. Who anſwered, he knew not where ſhe was, and unto that ſtood firmly, although their threats were vehement, not only to the poor ſilly Boy, but alſo to the good ſimple plain Maid. Then cauſed they him to ariſe and dreſs him, and ſent both Maid and Boy up to the Cage, where they put the Maid, but kept the Boy, among their truſty Souldiers, ſo that one of them ſhould not ſpeak with another.

Agnes Wardall in danger to be ſmothered.

Now while ſome were on the Cornhil, and other ſome ſearching the neighbours houſes and backſides, the wife of *Wardal* bing in the Preſs faſt locked up, and almoſt ſmothered for want of breath, deſired the woman her Mothers Tenant, when ſhe heard her in the Parlour, to let her out. She asked her where the Keys were, who anſwered they were in a Hamper, which ſhe found, and aſſayed to unlock the Preſs, and of a long time could not. Then deſired ſhe her to break it open; for (ſaid ſhe) I had rather fall into their hands, then to kill my ſelf. Then went ſhe to her Mothers Tenant and fought for her Husbands Hammer and Chiſel, to break it open, but could not find it, nor any thing elſe to break it open withal, and came again and told her ſhe could find nothing to break it open with.

Gods mereiful help in the time of need.

Then ſaid ſhe, aſſay again to open it, for I truſt God will give you power to open it. And being within in much extremity, ſhe heartily prayed unto God, who heard her prayer and helped her: for at the firſt aſſay and turn of the Key, it opened eaſily. When ſhe came out, ſhe looked as pale and as bleak, as one that were laid out dead by the wall, and as ſhe her ſelf looked afterward when ſhe was dead as the ſame woman reported, which then let her out, and was alſo at her death long after in the Queens Majeſties Reign that now is, and all on a vehement ſweat was ſhe like drops of rain.

Then went ſhe out into the backſide, where was a pale toward the fields for the defence of the garden, wherein was one or two looſe pales, by the which both ſhe and her Husband had divers times uſed to come and go in and out, ſo went ſhe out into the fields. And paſſing one little field, and over a ſtyle, ſhrouded her ſelf in a low ditch with nettles, and covered her head with the Buckeram Apron afore mentioned, and ſo crept low, and lay in the ditch. After long ſearch when they could not find her in the Town, certain of the Watch returned again to the fields ſide; among whom was one *George Manning*, with *John Bate* the Crier of the ſame Town coming together. This *Manning* was a ſimple honeſt plain man, but *Bate* a very enemy, and one that in Queen *Maries* time would have been a Prieſt as it was reported, but that he was married.

Another eſcape of *Agnes Wardal*, by Gods good providence.

Manning eſpying where ſhe lay, gave a hem, and made a noiſe with his Bill, he being before *Bate*; at the which ſhe lay ſtill, and at the laſt they departed to the ſtreet ſide to the Conſtable. All this time the Maid was in the Cage, and the Boy with the other of the watch until perfect daylight. Then went they up, and let out the Maid, and ſent her home, and the Boy alſo; but they made the Maid believe they had found her Dame. Who anſwered, if ye have her, keep her faſt.

On the morrow, *Manning* ſent her word to beware that ſhe ſhould hide her ſelf no more ſo near.

George Manning an honeſt man.

Thus by the might and Power of God was his faithful Servant delivered from their cruelty, and they known to be his Adverſaries, not only at that time, but divers times after and before. Notwithſtanding, the ſaid *Argentine*, at his firſt coming to *Ipſwich*, came in a Servingmans Coat. And then being in the days of K. *Henry* the Eighth, he would accuſtomably uſe the reading of Lectures himſelf; in the which he was well commended at that time. After obtained the office of Uſher of the free Gammar School, and the Maſter being dead, got to be Maſter himſelf. And being married to a very honeſt woman remained there the days of K. *Edward*; And when God took him from us for our juſt deſerved plague,

The doings and Conditions of *Argentine* deſcribed. D. *Argentine* in K. *Edwards* time a Proteſtant.

D. A. genuine in Q. Maries time a foul Papist and a persecutor.

plague, and Queen *Mary* came to her Reign, none more hot in all Papistry and superstition then he, Painting the posts of the Town with *Vivat Regina Maria*, and in every Corner.

Furthermore, after the death of his Wife (which was an honest woman) he was made a Priest, taking upon him divers times to preach (but never without his white Minerver-hood) such Doctrine as was shameful to hear, saying Mass, and carrying about the pix in high processions. Furthermore, leading the Boy S. *Nicholas* with his Minerver-hood about the streets for Apples and Belly-chear. And who so would not receive him, he made them Hereticks, and such also as would not give his Fagot to the Bonfire for Queen *Maries* Child. And thus continued he at *Ipswich* the most part of Queen *Maries* days, molesting their good men, some for not going to the Church, some for not being confessed, some for not receiving, &c. till at length, toward the end of Queen *Mary* he came to *London*, and in this Queens time began to shew himself again a perfect Protestant. And thus much of *Argentine. Ex testimon. Petri Moonæi.*

The trouble of Peter Moon *and his Wife, and of other godly Protestants at Bishop* Hoptons *Visitation in* Ipswich.

IN the year of our Lord God, 1556. the Scene or Visitation being kept before Whitsontide in the Town of *Ipswich* in *Suffolk*, by Dr. *Hopton* being then Bishop of *Norwich*, and *Miles Dunnings*, being then his Chancellor, divers and sundry godly Protestants, through the accusation of evil men, were sore troubled and presented before him: among whom were accused one *Peter Moon* a Taylor, and *Anne* his Wife, for their disobedience to the Law, in not shewing their readiness to come to the Church, and to be partakers of such Romish Observances as at that time were used.

Peter Moon accused to B. *Hopton.*

And first the said *Peter Moon* was commanded to come before the Bishop, where he was examined of three sundry Articles, to wit: 1. Whether the Pope were supream Head: 2. Whether King *Philip* and Queen *Mary* were right Inheritors to the Crown: 3, And whether in the Sacrament of the Altar was the very Body of Christ substantially and really there present.

Unto the which the said *Peter* being timorous and weak, fearing more the face of man then the heavy wrath of God, affirmed, and in manner granted unto their demands. Whereupon the Bishop being in good hope, that although he had not come to the Church, nor received the Sacrament of the Altar, nor been ready to do his duty as the law had commanded; yet there shewing his mind, said, that he liked well the man: for such as have been (said he) earnest in evil things, will also be earnest in that that is good and godly, if once they be won.

3. Articles objected to *Peter Moon.*

Peter Moon cometh to the Bishops Articles through infirmity.

Thus as this spiritual Father was commanding his carnal Child, and rather preferring him to Hell-fire, then unto the sincere Word and Commandments of God, it chanced amongst many others in the Chamber, was one of the Portmen of the same Town, named *Smart*, an earnest member of their Romish Law, doing of a very good Conscience that he did, who after the death of Queen *Mary* lived not many years, but rendred his life in godly repentance, protesting, that if God should suffer him to live, he would never be the man he had been before, what Laws soever should come again: so that before the time of his sickness he frequenting earnestly the Sermons in the same Town, made by divers godly learned men, would weep as it had been a Child, being notwithstanding of courage as stout a man as any was *in Ipswich*. Such is the marvellous mercy of God in calling to his Kingdom, whom, and when he pleaseth.

Commendation of *Smart* of *Ipswich.*

R. Smart of *Ipswich* repenteth his Popery at his death.

Smart accuseth *Moons* Wife.

This Portman aforesaid, perceiving the Bishop thus, as it were, at an end with the said *Moon*, and so he like to be discharged, said unto the Bishop; My Lord, indeed I have good hope in the man and that he will be conformable: but my Lord, he hath a perilous woman to his Wife. For I will tell you my Lord, she never came to Church yet, since the Queens Reign, except it were at Evensong, or when she was Churched. And not then until Mass were done. Wherefore your good Lordship might do a good deed to cause her to come before you, and to see if you could do any good. And therefore I beseech your good Lordship to command him to pray her to come before your Lordship.

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At which words *Moon* was somewhat stirred, in that he said command him to pray her to come before your Ldp. And he said unto him, under my Lords correction I speak, I am as able to command her to come before my Lord, as ye are to command the worst Boy in your house. Yea my Lord, said the other, I cry your Lordships mercy: I have informed your Lordship with an untruth, if this be so. But if he be so able as he saith, he might have commanded her to have come to Church in all this time, if it had pleased him. Well said the Bishop, look you come before me at Afternoon, and bring your Wife with you; I will talk with her.

Peter Moon commanded to bring his Wife before the Bishop.

As my Lords Dinner at that time was serving up, *Moon* departed and tarried not to take part thereof, having such an hard breakfast given him before to digest. At Afternoon *Moon* delayed and waited his time, bethinking when he might most conveniently come, especially when his Accuser and his wives should not have been there. And according to the commandment came with his Wife; which was not so secretly done, but his Accuser had knowledge thereof, and came with all expedition in such post speed, that in manner he was windless entering into the Bishops Chamber.

The Bishop hearing that *Moon* and his Wife were come, called for them, and said to *Moon*; Is this your Wife, *Moon*? Yea, my Lord, said he. O good Lord (said the Bishop) how a man may be deceived in a woman? I promise you a man would take her for as honest a woman, by all outward appearance, as can be. Why, my Lord, said *Moons* Wife, I trust there is none that can charge me with any dishonesty, as concerning my Body; I defie all the world in that respect.

Moon and his Wife brought before the Bishop.

Nay (quoth the Bishop) I mean not as concerning the dishonesty of thy Body: but thou hadst been better to have given the use of thy Body unto twenty sundry men, then to do as thou hast done. For thou hast done as much as in thee lyeth, to pluck the King and the Queens Majesties out of their Royal seats through thy disobedience, in shewing thy self an open enemy unto Gods Laws, and their proceedings.

B. *Hopton* preferreth 20. men committing adultery, before one woman transgressing the Popes Ordinances.

Then began the Bishop to examine the said *Moon* again, with the aforesaid Articles, and his Wife also. And she hearing her Husband relent, did also affirm the same, which turned unto either of them to no small trouble of mind afterward, but, yet neither were they like thus to escape, but that in the mean time *Dunning* the Bishops Chancellor came up in great hast, and brought news to the Bishop, that there were such a number of Hereticks come, of which some came from *Boxford*, some from *Lanham* and about from the Cloth-country, that it would make a man out of his wits to hear them: and there are among them both Hereticks, and Anabaptists, said he. And thus Doctor *Dunning* with his blustering words interrupting *Moons* Examination, went down again as the Devil had driven him, to keep his stir among them, and to take order what should be done with them.

The Bishop beginning to bewail the state of the Country, in that it was so infected with such a number of Hereticks, and rehearsing partly their Opinions to those that were at that time in the Chamber, *Moons* Wife had a young Child, which she her self nursed, and the Child being brought into the yard under the Bishops Chamber, cried, so that she heard it, and then said; My Lord, I trust ye have done with me. My Child crieth beneath, I must go give my Child suck, with such like words. And the Bishop being (as it were) out of wind to talk with them any more, said; Go your way, I will talk with you in the morning; look ye be here again in the morning: with this they both departed.

Moons Child a part of Gods providence in their deliverance from further trouble.

And beneath in the stone-Hall of the same house, the Chancellor *Dunning* being very busie about his bloody business, espyed *Moon* and his Wife coming, and must needs pass by the place where he stood, and said: Nay soft, I must talk with you both; for ye are as evil as any that are here to day. To whom *Moons* Wife answered; My Lord hath had us in examination, and therefore ye shall have nought to do with us. Nay quoth he, ye

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ye ſhall not ſo eſcape, I muſt talk with you alſo. Unto whom *Moone* anſwered, In the preſence of the more, the leſs hath no power: My Lord hath taken order with us, and therefore we are as his Lordſhip hath appointed, and muſt repair again before him again to morrow. At the which he let them go, although he was earneſtly procured by the party above ſpecified to have ſhewed his quality, which was nothing elſe but tyranny.

Moons Anſwer to the Biſhop and his Chancellor.

Moon and his wife eſcaped from the Biſhop and his Chancellor.

So departed *Moone* and his Wife without hurt of body: but afterward when they with *Peter* the Apoſtle beheld the face of Chriſt, they were ſore wounded in their Conſciences, aſhamed of their doings, and alſo at the door of deſperation. Inſomuch, that when the ſaid *Moone* came home to his houſe, and entring into a Parlour alone by himſelf, conſidering his eſtate, and ſeeing where a Sword of his did hang againſt a Wall, he was earneſtly allured by the Enemy Satan to have taken it down, and therewith to have ſlain himſelf: but God, who caſteth not away the penitent ſinner repenting his fall with heart, defended his unworthy Servant from that temptation, and hath (I truſt) left him to the amendment of life by the aſſiſtance of his holy Spirit, and to make him one among the elect that ſhall be ſaved.

Moon and his wife confounded in Conſcience for their denial.

Moon ſeeketh to kill himſelf, but by Gods merciful Providence was preſerved.

The morrow they both remained and kept Houſe with no ſmall grief of Conſcience, waiting and looking with fear, when to beſent for to the Biſhop, rather then offering their diligence to keep the Biſhops appointment: but God ſo wrought, that when the time drew near that they feared calling forth, the Bells rung for the Biſhops departure out of the Town. For the which they were not only glad, but alſo many a good heart in *Ipſwich* rejoyced and gave thanks to God. God for his mercy grant, that our ſin never deſerve to provoke Gods ire, that the like days come again. And if it ſo do, God make them, with all other weaklings, ſtrong and worthy Souldiers to encounter with the ghoſtly Enemies, the World, the Fleſh, and the Devil; and boldly to ſtand to the Confeſſion of Chriſt, and of his Goſpel, ſaying with the Apoſtles, *Whether it be right in the ſight of God, that we ſhould obey you more then God, judge ye.*

Gods providence in ſending away the Biſhop.

Teſtified and recorded by Peter *Moone.*

A tragical, lamentable, and pitiful Hiſtory, full of moſt cruel and tyrannical murther, done by the pretenſed Catholicks, upon three Women and an Infant; to wit, the Mother, her two Daughters, and the Child, in the Iſle of Garnſey, *for Chriſts true Religion, the year of our Lord* 1556. July 18.

The martyrdom of three women with a young infant, burned in the *Iſle of Garnſey.* July 18.

AMongſt all and ſingular Hiſtories touched in this Book before, as there be many pitiful, divers lamentable, ſome horrible and tragical; ſo is there none almoſt either in cruelty to be compared, or ſo far off from all compaſſion and ſenſe of humanity, as this mercileſs fact of the Papiſts, done in the *Iſle of Garnſey*, upon three Women and an Infant, whoſe names be theſe as follow:

Katherine Cawches, the Mother.
Guillemine Gilbert, the Daughter.
Perotine Maſſey, the other Daughter.
An Infant, the Son of *Perotine*.

But before I come to the purpoſe of this Story, it ſhall be neceſſary, for the better explaining of the matter, to begin firſt with the Circumſtances, whereupon the firſt original and occaſion did riſe of this tragical cruelty, the caſe was this:

The firſt occaſion of the trouble of theſe women.

The 17. day of *May*, *Anno* 1556. in the *Iſle of Garnſey*, which is a Member of *England*, in a Town there called S. *Peters Port*, was a naughty woman named *Vincent Goſſet*, who being evil diſpoſed, (went the day aforeſaid) to the houſe of one *Nicholas le Conronney*, dwelling in the Town of the ſaid S. *Peters Port*, about ten of the clock at night, and there taking the Key of the Houſe (lying under the door) entred into a Chamber toward the ſtreet, where ſhe eſpying a Cup of Silver within a Cupboard, took it away, and ſo conveighed her ſelf out of the Houſe again. Who immediately after this fact done (whether by counſel or by what occaſion elſe I have not to ſay) brought the ſaid Cup to one *Perotine Maſſey*, an honeſt woman, dwelling in the ſaid Town, deſiring her to lend her 6 *d.* upon the ſame.

Perotine ſeeing the Cup or Goblet, and ſuſpecting (as truth was) the ſame to be ſtoln, anſwered, that ſhe would not take it: yet nevertheleſs, having knowledge of the owner thereof, took it to reſtore it again to whom it did appertain; and to the end ſhe ſhould not carry it to another, gave her then preſently 6 *d.* Where moreover is to be noted, that *Thomas Effart* ſaith and teſtifieth, that knowledge was given by the ſaid *Perotine* to *Conronney* touching the ſtealing of this piece, who eftſoons upon the miſliking thereof attached the ſaid *Vincent Goſſet* of the Treſpaſs: Who being apprehended and examined upon the ſame, immediately confeſſed the fact, deſiring to have one ſent with her (which was *Collas de Loutre*) with 6 *d.* to fetch again the Goblet, where it was; and ſo did.

Nicholas Cary Conſtable, accuſer.

The next day following, the Kings Officers being informed of the premiſſes by one *Nicholas Cary*, of the ſaid Town, Conſtable, aſſembled the Juſtices there to inquire and examine further, as well upon the fact of *Vincent Goſſet*, as upon other griefs and things there amiſs. So that after declaration made by the Officers and Conſtable before the Juſtice, for that the ſaid Conſtable did report to have found a certain Veſſel of Pewter in the houſe the foreſaid *Perotine Maſſey* (who then dwelt with her Mother *Katherine Cawches*, and her Siſter *Guillemine Gilbert*) the which Veſſel did bear no mark, and eſpecially for that there was a Pewter diſh, whereof the name was ſcraped out, their bodies upon the ſame were attached, and put in priſon, and their moveable goods taken by inventory. *Within a few days after theſe things thus done and* paſt, theſe three ſilly women, abiding thus in durance in the Caſtle, made their Supplication to the Juſtices to have juſtice miniſtred unto them, *viz.* If they had offended the Law, then to let them have the Law; if not, beſeeching to grant them the benefit of Subjects, *&c.* Which Supplication put up, thereupon they were appointed to come to their anſwer the fifth day of *June*, in the year aforeſaid. Upon which day, after ſtreight examining of the matter, and the honeſt anſwering of the cauſe by the ſaid good women, at the laſt they ſubmitted themſelves to the report of their Neighbours, that they were no Thieves, nor evil diſpoſed Perſons, but lived truly and honeſtly, as became Chriſtian women to do, the falſe and untrue report of their Accuſers notwithſtanding.

Katherine with her two daughters impriſoned in the Caſtle.

Katherine with her two daughters ſtand to the judgment of their Neighbours.

So the Cauſe being thus debated, after the inquiry made by the Kings Officers, they were found by the ſaid Neighbours not guilty of that they were charged with, but had lived always as honeſt women among them; ſaving only that to the commandments of holy Church they had not been obedient, *&c.* Upon this Trial and Verdict of their Neighbours, it was in fine adjudged, firſt, that the ſaid *Vincent Goſſet*, being attainted of Felony, and condemned for the ſame, ſhould be whipped, and after her ear being nailed to the Pillory, ſhould ſo be baniſhed out of the Iſle without further puniſhment. And as touching the other three Women, the Mother with her two Daughters, for their not coming to the Church, they were returned Priſoners again into the Caſtle the firſt of *July*. And thus far concerning the true diſcourſe of this matter, with all the circumſtances and appurtenances of the ſame in every point as the caſe ſtood, according to the faithful tenor and teſtimony of the *Garnſey* men, written with their own hands both in the French and Engliſh Tongue. Wherein you ſee what falſe ſurmiſed matter was pretended againſt theſe women, and nothing proved, and how by the atteſtation of their Neighbours they were fully cleared of the fact, and ſhould by the Temporal Court have been diſmiſſed, had not the Spiritual Clergy men, picked matter of Religion againſt them, exerciſed ſuch extremity in perſecuting theſe miſerable Priſoners, that in no caſe they ſhould eſcape their bloody hands, till at length they had brought them (as you ſhall hear) to their final end. For after the time of this declaration above mentioned made by the Neighbours, whereby they were purged of all other things, and being then known of their not coming to the Church, the Bailiffs Lieutenant and the Juſtice thinking the matter not to pertain to them, but to the Clergy, forthwith wrote their Letters or Mandate under their Signets to the Dean, whoſe name was *Jaques Amy*, and Curates of the ſaid Iſle: The Contents whereof here followeth.

These three women quit of theft and diſhoneſty.

New trouble againſt the three women for not coming to the Church.

Jaques Amy Dean of *Garnſey*, Perſecutor.

A Letter sent from the Bayliffs, Lieutenant, and Jurates of St. *Peters Port*, to the Dean and Curates of the Isle of *Garnsey*

A Letter of the Bayliff to the Dean of *Garnsey.*

After Dean and Justices in your Court and Jurisdiction, after all amicable recommendations, pleaseth you to know that we are informed by the disposition of certain honest men, past before us in manner of an inquiry; in the which inquiry Katherine Cawches, *and her two daughters, have submitted themselves in a certain matter criminal: Wherein we be informed that they have been disobedient to the commandments and ordinances of the Church, in contemning and forsaking the Mass, and the ordinances of the same, against the will and commandment of our Sovereign Lord the King and the Queen. Whereof we send you the said matter, forasmuch as the matter is spiritual, to the end you may proceed therein after your good discretions, and as briefly as you can possible, and also that it pertained to your office, recommending you to God, the which give you grace to do that which pertaineth to right and justice. Written the first day of the month of* July, *in the year of our Lord* 1556.

After these Letters and Information thus addressed to *Jaques Amy* Dean, and to other of the Clergy, the said women were again convented before the Justice aforesaid with his Assistants. In the presence of whom they being examined of their Faith, concerning the Ordinances of the Romish Church, made their Answer that they would obey and keep the Ordinances of the King and Queen, and the Commandments of the Church, notwithstanding that they had said and done the contrary in the time of King *Edward* the Sixth, in shewing obedience to his Ordinances and Commandments before. After which Answer taken, they were returned again to Prison, until the other had an answer of their Letter from the Dean and his Complices. During which time, the Dean and Curate gave their Information touching the said women, and delivered the same to the Bayliff and Jurates, condemning and reputing them for Hereticks, the women neither hearing of any Information, neither yet being ever examined at any time before of their Faith and Religion. Whereupon when the said Bayliff and Jurates understood that the said Dean and Curates had not examined the women of their Faith, they would not sit in Judgment on that day, but ordained the women to come first before the Dean and Curates to be examined of their Faith. And so the Officers, at the commandment of the Justices, did fetch and present them before the said Dean and Curates. The which being accomplished and done, they were examined apart severally one from another: After which Examination, they incontinently were returned again into Prison.

Rash Information given, before the cause was heard.

Katherine Cawches, Perotine Massy, Guillemine Gilbert, examined before the Dean and his Fellows.

Then the fourteenth day of the said Month of *July*, in the year aforesaid, after the Examination above specified before *Elier Gosselin* Bayliff, in the Presence of *Thomas Devicke, Pierres Martine, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicholas de Lisle, John Laverchaunt, John le Fever, Pierres Bonamy, Nicholas Martine, John de la March*, Jurates; Sir *Jaques Amy*, Dean, and the Curates, did deliver before the Justice, under the Seal of the Dean, and under the signs of the Curates, a certain Act and Sentence, the sum whereof was, that *Katherine Cawches* and her two daughters were found Hereticks, and such they reputed them, and have delivered them to Justice, to do execution according to the Sentence; of the which the tenor followeth.

The names of the Persecutors which sate upon the death of the three women.

The Sentence.

Katherine Cawches, Perotine Massy, Guillemine Gilbert, wrongfully condemned by the Dean and Justices.

*Anno Domini millesimo, quingentesimo, quinquagesimo sexto, die vero 13. Mensis Julij apud Ecclesiam Divi Petri in portu maris insula promotor. per nos Dominum Decanum inquisitio facta fuit de fide Catholica, & super Sacramenta Ecclesiastica, videlicet super Sacramentum Baptismi, Confirmationis, Pœnitentiæ, Ordinis, Matrimonij, Eucharistiæ, & extremæ Unctionis, nec non super Ceremonias Ecclesiæ, ac de veneratione & honoratione beatæ Mariæ & Sanctorum, & Missa & ejus efficacia, & de Ceremoniis Ecclesiæ, videlicet Katherinæ Cawches, ejusdemq; duarum filiarum Guillelminæ & Perotinæ nuncupatarum, & harum tam conjunctim quam separatim, & via juris. Et quamvis pluries ad veniam petendam, & ad delicta sua cognoscenda * hortavimus & invitavimus quæquidem prædicta omnino negaverunt & negant, quod locutæ fuerunt aliquod verbum inane, inhonestum, ociosum, & vanum contra fidem Catholicam, Sacramenta Ecclesiæ, & alias Ceremonias Ecclesiæ. Quapropter auditis negationibus prædictarum, & attestationibus & depositionibus, testium per nos visis, consideratis, & bene ponderatis, & per opiniones Curatorum & Vicariorum ibidem assistentium super eadem Kather. & Perotinam, nec non & Guellelminam crimine hæreticas invenimus & reputamus. Quapropter coram vobis Domino Balivo omnino remittimus ut antea remisimus. Thomas le Coll de mandato, John Alles, Guillielmus Panquet, Petrus Tardise, & Johannes Manatiel.*

The unjust Sentence of the Dean against the 3. Martyrs.

Anno 1556.

* Solœcismus Catholicus.

When this was done, commandment was given to the Kings Officers to go to the Castle to fetch the said women, to hear the Sentence against them in the presence aforesaid. And they appearing before them, said in the ears of all the Auditory, that they would see their Accusers, and know them that have deposed against them, because they might make Answers to their sayings and personages, and to have their Libel accordingly; for they knew not that they had offended the Majesties, of the King and Queen, nor of the Church, but *intirely* would obey, serve, and keep the Ordinances of the King and Queen, and of the Church, as all good and true Subjects are bound to do. And for any breach of the King and Queens Laws that they had done, they required Justice. All which their Reasons and Allegations notwithstanding, the said poor women were Condemned, and adjudged to be burnt, until they were consumed unto ashes, according to a Sentence given by *Elier Gosselin* Bayliff: of the which Sentence the tenor hereafter followeth.

The three women willing to be conformed to the Queens Ordinances, were notwithstanding Condemned.

The effect of the Sentence in English.

The wilful Sentence and Murther of *Elier Gosselin* Bayliff, against the three innocent women in *Garnsey.*

THE 17. (or some other think the 27.) day of the month of July, 1556. Elier Gosselin *Bayliff, in the presence of* Thomas Devicke, Pierres Martine, Nicholas Cary, John Blondel, Nicholas Devise, John le Marchant, John le Feaver, Pierres Bonamy, Nicholas Martine, *and* John de la March, *Jurates,* Katherine Cawches, Perotine Massey, Guillemine Gilbert, *the said* Perotine *and* Guillemine, *daughters to the said* Katherine, *are all condemned and judged this day to be burned, until they be consumed to ashes in the place accustomed, with the confiscation of all their goods, moveables, and heritages, to be in the hands of the King and Queens Majesties, according and after the effect of a Sentence delivered in Justice by Mr. Dean and the Curates, the 13. day of the month of* July, *in the year aforesaid, in the which they have been approved Hereticks.*

After which Sentence pronounced, the said women did appeal unto the King and Queen, and their honourable Council, saying, That against reason and right they were condemned, and for that cause they made their Appeal; notwithstanding they could not be heard, but were delivered by the said Bailiff to the King and Queens Officers, to see the Execution done on them according to the said Sentence.

The Mother and two daughters made their Appeal to the King and Queen, but could not be heard

The time then being come, when these three good Servants and holy Saints of God, the innocent Mother with her two Daughters should suffer, in the place where they should consummate their Martyrdom were three Stakes set up. At the middle Post was the Mother, the eldest daughter on the right hand, the youngest on the other. They were first strangled, but the Rope brake before they were dead, and so the poor women fell in the fire. *Perotine*, who was then great with Child, did fall on her side, where happened a rueful sight, not only to the eyes of all that there stood, but also to the ears of all true-hearted Christians that shall read this History. For as the belly of the woman burst asunder by the vehemency of the flame, the Infant being a fair Man-child, fell into the fire, and effsoons being taken out of the fire by one *W. House*, was laid upon the Grass.

Then was the Child had to the Provost, and from him to the Bayliff, who gave censure that it should be carried back again and cast into the fire. And so the Infant

baptized

Anno 1556.

Baptized in his own Blood, to fill up the number of Gods innocent Saints, was both born and died a Martyr, leaving behind to the World, which it never ſaw, a ſpectacle wherein the whole World may ſee the *Herodian* cruelty of this graceleſs Generation of Catholick tormentors, *Ad perpetuam rei infamiam.*

Now forſomuch as this ſtory perchaſe, for the horrible ſtrangeneſs of the fact, will be hardly believed of ſome, but rather thought to be forged, or elſe more amplified of me then truth will bear me out, therefore to diſcharge my credit herein, I have not only foretold thee a little before, how I received this ſtory by the faithful re-

A lamentable ſpectacle of three Women, with a ſilly Infant braſting out of the mothers womb, being firſt taken out of the fire, and caſt in again, and ſo all burned together, in the Iſle of Garnſey, 1556 July 18.

lation both of the French and Engliſh, of them which were there preſent witneſſes, and lookers upon; but alſo have hereto annexed the true ſupplication of the ſaid Inhabitants of *Garnſey*, and of the Brother of the ſaid two Siſters, complaining to the Queen and her Commiſſioners, concerning the horribleneſs of the Act; which Supplication, for the more evidence, here under followeth to be ſeen.

To the Right Honourable, and the Queens Highneſs moſt gracious Commiſſioners, for the hearing and determining of matters of Religion and cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.

A Supplication.

MOſt lamentably and wofully complaining, ſheweth unto your gracious and Honourable Lordſhips, your poor and humble Orator *Matthew Cawches*, of the Iſle of *Garnſey*, that where *Jaques Amy* Clerk, Dean of the Iſle aforeſaid, aſſiſted by the Curates there, againſt all Order, Law, and Reaſon, by colour of a Sentence of Hereſie, pronounced againſt *Katherine Cawches*, the Siſter of your Honours ſaid Suppliant, and *Perotine* and *Guillemine* her two Daughters, did cauſe the ſaid *Katherine*, being a poor Widow, and her ſaid two Daughters moſt cruelly to be burned, although the ſaid perſons, nor any of them, did hold, maintain, or defend any thing directly againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Laws then in place, under the Reign of the late Queen *Mary*, but in all things ſubmitted themſelves obediently to the Laws then in force: and yet the cruelty of the ſaid Dean and his Accomplices, in perpetrating ſuch Murther as aforeſaid, raged ſo far, that whereas, whilſt the ſaid perſons did conſume with violent Fire, the womb of the ſaid *Perotine* being burned, there did iſſue from her a goodly Man-Child, which by the Officers was taken up and handled, and after in a moſt deſpiteful manner thrown into the Fire, and there alſo with the ſilly Mother moſt cruelly burnt: In tender conſideration whereof, and forſomuch as this Bloody Murther was not in due order of any Law, or in any manner according to Juſtice, but of meer malicious hatred, as the true Copy of the whole proceedings in this matter, by the ſaid Dean and his Accomplices, here ready to be ſhewed to your Honours, will make very plain and manifeſt: It may therefore pleaſe your good and gracious Lordſhips, of the zeal that you bear to Juſtice, and for our Lord Jeſus Chriſts ſake, to have due conſideration in Juſtice of ſuch horrible Murther, ſo cruelly committed as aforeſaid, according to the right demerit thereof. And that it may pleaſe your Honourable Lordſhips to order and decree alſo, that all the goods of all the ſaid parties, by pretence aforeſaid wrongfully taken as confiſcate, may be delivered your ſaid poor beſeecher, to whom of right they do belong. And your Honors ſaid Suppliant will daily pray to God for your long preſervation, to his glory, and your everlaſting health.

This Supplication being preſented in manner aforeſaid to the Queens Honourable Commiſſioners, in the year 1562. ſuch order therein was taken, that the matter being returned again down to the ſaid Country, further to be examined, the Dean thereupon was committed to Priſon, and diſpoſſeſſed of all his Livings. So that in concluſion, both he, and all other partakers of that Bloody Murther, whether of Conſcience, or for fear of the Law, were driven not long after to acknowledge their treſpaſs, and to ſubmit themſelves to the Queens pardon. The tenor of whoſe ſeveral ſubmiſſion, as they are left in the Rolls, I thought here to publiſh to the World, for a memorial of the more truth of this ſtory.

Jaques Amy the Dean diſpoſſeſſed of his livings.

The ſeveral Submiſſion of certain Garnſey *Men, confeſſing their treſpaſs in the wrongful condemnation of the three Women above ſpecified.*

HElyer Goſſelme, of the Pariſh of St. *Peter le port* in *Garnſey*, Merchant, *Nicholas Cary* the elder, *John Merchant*, *Peter Bunamy*, of the Pariſh of Saint *Martin*, and *Nicholas Martin*, Son of *John*, having humbly ſubmitted themſelves to the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty, acknowledging their erroneous Judgments, as well againſt *Katherine Cawches*, and *Guillemine*, and *Perotine*, her two daughters, and the Infant of the ſaid *Perotine*, executed by Fire for ſuppoſed Hereſie, as alſo

The ſubmiſſion of the *Garnſey* Men, confeſſing their treſpaſs againſt the *Garnſey* Women atore-ſaid.

for the acquitting of *Nicholas Norman*, a wilful Murtherer, and other matters contained in their several Submissions; pray the Queens Majesties pardon for the said crimes and others committed in their several Submissions.

John Blundel the elder, of the Parish of S. *Saviour*, within the *Isle of Garnsey*, upon like Submission and acknowledging of his Offence, prayeth like grace and pardon for his consent given to the execution of the said three women.

Richard Devicke, of the Parish of S. *Peter le port*, Merchant, prayeth like grace and pardon for his consent and judgment given for the acquitting of the said *Norman*, according to his Supplication and Submission late presented by *Peter Bonamy*, the same *Devicke*, and *Peter Pelley*, of the Parish of S. *Peter le port*, Merchants.

The said *Peter Pelley* prayeth the benefit of the said pardon to be extended unto him, according to his Submission in the said Supplication.

Jaques Amy Clerk, prayeth the benefit of the said pardon for his Sentence with the Clergies against the said women, according to his Submission.

Thomas Effart, of the Parish of S. *Peter le port*, humbly prayeth, as Procuror lawfully constituted by the Chapiter, Bayliff and Jurates, that the same pardon may extend to acquite all the Inhabitants of the said Isle, of the Arrearages, *&c.*

The Copy of the Queens Pardon following upon their Submission, as in form here-under followeth.

The Copy of the Queens pardon to them of *Garnsey.*

REgina, omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Sciatis quòd nos de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris pardonavimus, remisimus, & relaxavimus, ac pro nobis, hæredibus & successoribus nostris, per præsentes perdonamus, remittimus, & relaxamus Hillerio Gosseline, de Parochia S. Petri in Portu, infra insulam nostram de Garnsey, *Mercatori; Johanni Blundel de Parochia S. Salvatoris infra prædictam insulam de* Garnsey *seniori, Mercatori; Nicholao Carie seniori de dicta Parochia Sancti Petri in Portu, infra eandem insulam de Garnsey, Mercatori; Joanni Marchant de eadem Parochia & Insula, Generoso; Nicolao Martin filio Johannis de dicta Parochia Sancti Petri in Portu, infra prædictam Insulam de Garnsey, Mercatori; Richardo Devicke de dicta Parochia S. Petri in Portu, infra prædictam insulam de Garnsey, Mercatori;* Petro Pelley *de dicta Parochia S. Petri in Portu, infra prædictam insulam de Garnsey, Mercatori; & Jacobo Amy de Parochia S. Salvatoris, infra dictam insulam de Garnsey, Clerico; & eorum cuilibet, conjunctim & divisim, seu quocunq; alio nomine, sive quibuscunq; aliis nominibus, cognominibus sive additionibus, nominis vel cognominis, officiorum, artium, vel locorum, iidem Hillerius, Nic. Carie, Johannes Nicholaus Martin, Johannes Blundel, Richardus, Petrus, & Jacobus censeantur, vocentur, sive nuncupentur aut nuper censebantur, vocabantur sive nuncupabantur, aut quocunque alio nomine, seu cognomine, aut additione nominis, vel cognominis, dignitatis, officij, artis aut loci, aliqui eorundem Hillerij, Nicolai Carie, Johannis Marchant, Nicolai Martin, Johannis Blundel, Richardi, Petri, & Jacobi, censeantur, vocentur, sive nuncupentur, aut nuper censebantur, vocabantur, sive nuncupabantur, omnia & omnimoda murdra, homicidia, felonias, & felonicas interfectiones Katherinæ Cawches, & Guillemine & Perotinæ filiarum ejusdem Katherinæ & earum cujuslibet, ac accessarias earundem; ac omnia & singula, felonias, insultus, verberationes, vulnerationes, combustiones, transgressiones, offensas, riotas, routas, conventicula illicita, assemblationes, congregationes, insidiationes, conspirationes, accessarias auxiliationes, compercutiones, procurationes, abbettationes, confortationes, & manutentiones, concelamenta, forisfacturas, contemptus, impetitiones, negligentias, & alia malefacta quæcunque, murdra, homicidia & felonicam interfectionem prædictarum Katherinæ, Guillemine & Perotinæ, seu alicujus earum tangen. in aliquo, seu concern. per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carie, Johan. Marchant, Nicolaum Martin, Johan. Blundel, Richardum, Petrum, & Jacobum, seu eorum aliquem vel aliquos, ante præsentem diem, qualitercunque fact. habit. commiss. sive perpetrat. ac omnes & singulas fugam & fugas, quascunque per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carie, Johannem Marchant, Nicolaum Martin, Johannem Blundel, Richardum Devicke, Petrum Pelley, & Jacobum Amy, seu eorum aliquem, sive aliquos, ratione seu occasione murdra, homicidia aut felonicam interfectionem prædictar. fact. sive habit. adeo plenè & integrè, ac in tam amplis. modo, & forma, prout, si quilibet prædictorum Hillerij Gosseline, Nicolai Carie, Johannis Marchant, Nicolai Martin, Johannis Blundel, Richard. Devicke, Petri Pelley, & Jacobi Amy, specialiter literas nostras patentes de perdonatione habuisset.*

Anno 1556.

Perdonavimus etiam, remisimus, & relaxavimus, ac pro nobis, hæredibus & successoribus nostris per præsentes, perdonamus, remittimus, & relaxamus, præfato Hillerio Gosseline, Nicolao Carie, Johanni Marchant, Nicolao Martin, Johanni Blundel, Richardo Devicke, Petro Pelley, & Amy, & eorum unicuique, hæredibus, executoribus, administratoribus, & assign. suis imperpet. omnes & omnimodas intrusiones, infractiones, & ingressus, per ipsos seu eorum aliquem, ejusve aut eorum vel alicujus eorum procuratores, agentes, vel ministros, in omnia & singula maneria, terras, tenementa, possessiones, & hæreditamenta nostra quæcunque, quaruncunque nuper Cantariarum, Gildarum, obit. fraternitat. seu collegiorum nostrorum, aut alicujus seu aliquorum progenitorum nostrorum, infra prædictam insulam de Garnsey existen. ante decimum septimum diem Novemb. Ann. regni nostri primo fact. perpetrat. sive commiss. Ac omnia & singula debita, reddit. us, computa, arreragia, & collectiones, receptiones, detentiones, & non solutiones granorum, & aliorum reddituum, exituum, proficuorum quoruncunque nobis aut alicui progenitorum nostrorum pro eisdem Cantariis, Gildis. Obit. Fraternitatibus, seu Collegiis, sive eorum aliquo vel aliquibus, quovismodo ante prædictum decimum septimum diem Novemb. Decimo Anno regni nostri primo, debit. pertinent. sive spectant.

Perdonavimus, remisimus, & relaxavimus, ac de gratia speciali, ac ex certa scientia, & mero motu nostris prædictis, pro nobis, hæredibus, & successoribus nostris, per præsentes perdonamus, remittimus, & relaxamus præfatis Hillerio Gosseline, Nicolao Carie, Johann: Marchant, Nicolao Martin, & Richardo Devicke, & eorum cuique liberationem, evasionem, escapiam, & voluntar. ad libertatem positionem cujusdam Nicolai Norman. nuper de Parochia Sancti Salvatoris, infra prædictam insulam, Yeoman, de homicidio, sive murdro, nuper judicat. attinct. & convict. existen. pro interfectione sive murderatione, cujusdam Johannis Breghault, de dicta Parochia Sancti Salvatoris, infra insulam prædictam, Husbandman. At omnia & omnimoda, felonias, crimina, offensas, pœnas, mortes, punitiones, forisfactur. contemptus, negligent. ignorantias ac alia delicta & offensas, quæcunque prædictam liberationem, evasionem, escapiam, & ad libertatem positionem prædicti Nicolai Norman tangendi, seu aliquo modo concernen. per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carie, Johannem Marchant, Nicolaum Martin, & Richardum Devicke, seu eorum aliquem, vel aliquos, ante præsentem diem, qualitercunque habit. fact. commiss. sive illapsa.

Perdonavimus etiam, remisimus, & relaxavimus, ac per præsentes, ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris, pro nobis, hæredibus, & successoribus nostris, perdonamus, remittimus, & relaxamus, præfatis Hillerio Gosseline, Nicolao Carie, Johanni Marchant, Nicolao Martin, Johannni Blundel, Richardo Devicke, Petro Pelley, & Jacobi Amy, omnia & omnimoda riotas, routas, illicitas congregationes, & conventicula illicita, in pacis nostræ perturbationem, per præfatos Hillerium, Nicolaum Carie, Johannem Marchant, Nicolaum Martin, Johannem Blundel, Richardum Devicke, Petrum Pelley, & Jacobum Amy, seu eorum aliquem, sive aliquos, antehac qualitercunque infra insulam prædictam habit. commiss. fact. sive perpetrat. &c.

A Defence of this Garnsey *Story against Mr.* Harding.

AND thus have you the true narration of this History, discoursed without corrupting or falsifying any part or sentence thereof, no less faithfully of my part reported, then I received of them, who dwelling in the same Isle, and being present the same time, were best acquainted with the matter, and have given sufficient evidence, not only to me, but also to the Queens Highness Com-

Defence of this Garnsey Story against Mr. Harding.

Anno 1556. Commiſſioners, concerning the ſame, as both by the Letter of the Bailiff, by the Sentence of the Dean, by the Supplication of the Plaintiff, and ſubmiſſion of the Parties, and likewiſe by the Queens pardon granted unto them, may well appear.

By all which proofs and circumſtances thus debated, it remaineth manifeſt for all men to perceive, what cruelty and wrong was wrought againſt theſe poor women above ſpecified, and no leſs matter offered, in a caſe ſo unjuſt, juſtly to expoſtulate, or rather to wonder at the hard hearts of theſe men, but eſpecially of the Catholick Clergy of *Garnſey*, who profeſſing the Goſpel of Peace and Charity, ſhould after the example of Chriſt walk in the ſteps of meekneſs and mercy, and yet contrary, not only to all Chriſtian Charity and Manſuetude, but alſo againſt all order of Equity or Humanity, were ſo extream and rigorous to condemn them to the burning fire, under the pretenſed colour of Hereſie. Who if they had been Hereticks indeed, yet mercy would have corrected the errour, and ſaved life; equity would have conſidered mans weak fragility, at leaſt true juſtice would have heard both the Parties adviſedly, and alſo ſubſtantially have ſurveighed the cauſe, and not have raſhed out the Sentence of Death ſo haſtily as they did: yea, and though they had been Hereticks indeed, yet true Chriſtian Charity would have ſtretched farther, and at leaſt have given them leiſure and reſpite of time to reclaim themſelves. But now what is here to be ſaid? they being no Hereticks at all, as neither it could then, nor yet can be proved. For if King *Edwards* Religion (which was objected to them) were Hereſie, yet were they then no Hereticks, when they revoked the ſame; and if Queen *Maries* Religion were Hereſie, then were they much more Hereticks themſelves, which condemned them of Hereſie.

The cruel dealing of the Garnſey men againſt theſe three women.

But moſt of all we have herein to wonder at Maſter *Harding*, who in his late Rejoynder, written againſt the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, notwithſtanding all theſe evidences and demonſtrations ſo certain and manifeſtly appearing, yet goeth about firſt to deny the ſtory, terming it to be a fable; and afterward being forced to fly *à ſtatu inficiali*, to admit the ſtory, he removeth *ad tranſlationem criminis*; and there ſeeking by all means to clear the Clergy from the ſpot of cruelty, transferreth the whole blame only upon the women that ſuffered; but principally upon poor *Perotine*, whom he ſpecially charged with two Capital Crimes; to wit, Whoredom and Murder.

Mr. Harding in his Rejoynder againſt Mr. Jewel, p. 184.

Two crimes objected againſt Perotine Maſſey.

And firſt, touching his Accuſation of Whoredom, let us hear how he proveth this matter: *Becauſe* (he ſaith) *by ſtory it is granted, that ſhe was with child: and yet the Hiſtoriographer doth not declare* (*neither durſt for ſhame*) *who was her Husband, or Father to the Child, &c.* As though that Hiſtoriographers, being occupied in ſetting forth the Perſecution of Gods People, ſuffering death for Religion and Doctrine of Chriſt, were bound, or had nothing elſe to do but to play the Sumner, and to bring forth who were Husbands to their Wives, and Fathers to their Children; which new found Law of Hiſtory being never required before, nor obſerved of any Story writers. If Mr. *Harding* now ſhall exact of me, firſt let him begin with himſelf, and ſhew us (as wiſe as he is) who was his own Father, if he can. And yet I think not contrary, but his Mother was an honeſt woman. And no leſs alſo do I think of this of *Perotine* aforeſaid; whereof more ſhall be ſaid (God willing) hereafter.

Mr. Harding in his Rejoynder, fol. 184. p. 2.

But in the mean time here cometh in the cavilling Objection of Mr. *Harding*, who beareth the Reader in hand, as though *for ſhame I durſt not, or of purpoſe would not expreſs it, &c.* My anſwer whereunto is this: Firſt, to expreſs every minute of matter in every Story occurrent, what Story-writer in all the world is able to perform it? Secondly, although it might be done, what reaſonable Reader would require it? Thirdly, albeit ſome curious Readers would ſo require, yet I ſuppoſe it neither requiſite, nor convenient to be obſerved. And fourthly, what if it were not remembred of the Author? What if it were to him not known? what if it were of purpoſe omitted, as a matter not material to the purpoſe? Many other cauſes beſides might incur, which the Reader knoweth not of. And ſhall it then by and by be imputed to ſhame and blame, whatſoever in every narration is not expreſſed? or doth Mr. *Harding* himſelf, in all his Sermons, never pretermit any thing that conveniently might be inferred? Who was the Husband of this *Perotine*, the Hiſtoriographer hath not expreſſed; I grant: and what thereof? *Ergo*, Thereupon concludeth he, *that for ſhame I durſt not.* Nay, I may marvel rather, that he durſt for ſhame utter ſuch untidy Arguments, or ſo aſſeverantly pronounce of another mans mind and purpoſe, which is as privy to him, as then it was to me unknown what was her Husbands name. And though it had been known, what was that material in the Story to be uttered? or what had it relieved the cruel parts of them, which burned both the Mother and Infant together, though the Infants Father had been expreſſed? And how then did I for ſhame conceal that which was not in my knowledge at that time (if I would) to expreſs, nor in my ſuſpicion to miſdeem?

Perotine unruly accuſed of Whoredom.

Nevertheleſs, if he be ſo greatly deſirous (as he pretendeth) to know of me, who was this Infants Father, I will not ſtick with Mr. *Harding*, although I cannot ſwear for the matter, yet to take ſo much pain for his pleaſure, to go as near as I may. For preciſely and determinately to point out the right Father, either of this, or any Child; I trow, neither will Mr. *Harding* require it of me, neither is he able peradventure himſelf, being asked, to demonſtrate his own. And yet, as much as I may, to ſatisfie his dainty deſire herein, and partly to help the innocency of the woman, touching this demand, *Who ſhould be the Infants Father:* Who, ſay I, but his own Mothers Husband? the name of which Husband was *David Jores*, a Miniſter, and married to the ſaid *Perotine* in King *Edwards* time, in the Church of our Ladies Caſtle Pariſh at *Garnſey*; the party which married them being called Mr. *Noel Regnet* a Frenchman, and yet alive, witneſs hereunto, and now dwelling in *London* in S. *Martins le grand.*

Mr. Harding requireth of others to do that, which he is not able to do himſelf.

David Jores Husband to Perotine Maſſey. Perotine married, where, and by whom.

Thus then, after my knowledge, I have ſhewed forth, for Mr. *Hardings* pleaſure, the right Husband of this *Perotine*, and what was his name, who was alſo alive, his wife being great with Child, and partaker of the Perſecution of the ſame time, and a Schoolmaſter afterward in *Normandy, &c.* Now if Mr. *Harding* can take any ſuch advantage hereof to diſprove that I have ſaid; or be ſo privy to the begetting of this Child, that he can prove the ſaid *David Jores*, which was the right Husband to this Wife, not to be the right Father to this Infant, let him ſhew herein his cunning by what mighty demonſtrations he can induce us to deem the contrary; and as I ſhall ſee his reaſon, I ſhall ſhape him an anſwer, in ſuch ſort (I truſt) that he will perceive, that Whoredom, whereſoever I may know it, ſhall find no boſſtering by me; I wiſh it might find as little amongſt the chaſt Catholicks of Mr. *Hardings* Church.

From this I proceed now to the ſecond part of his infamous Accuſation, wherein he chargeth her of Murther. A ſtrange Caſe, that ſhe which was murthered her ſelf, with her Child, and died before him, ſhould yet be accuſed to murther the Child. Murther doubtleſs is an horrible iniquity in any perſon; but the Mother to be murderer of her own Infant, it is a double abomination; and more then a Monſter, ſo far diſagreeing from all Nature, that it is not lightly to be ſurmiſed of any, without vehement cauſes of manifeſt probation.

Perotine falſly accuſed of murther.

Wherefore, to try out this matter more thorowly touching this murthering Mother, let us ſee: Firſt, what hand did ſhe lay upon the Child? None. What weapon had ſhe? None. Did ſhe then drown it, or caſt it in ſome pond, as we read of the Strumpets at *Rome*, whoſe Childrens heads were taken up in Pope *Gregories* More by hundreds, what time Prieſts began firſt to be reſtrained of a lawful Wedlock: witneſs the Epiſtle of *Voluſianus*? or elſe did ſhe throw it by the walls into ſome private corner, as I am credibly certified, that in the eighth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, certain Scalps and other young Infants Bones were found and taken out with a ſtick in the hole of a ſtone wall, in *Lenton* Abbey, by certain Gentlemen within the Country of *Nottingham*, *James Baruſſe*, *Richard Loveit*, and *W. Lovelace*

Vide ſupra. A ſtory of young Infants murthered in Lenton Abbey, and found in the eighth year of Queen Elizabeth.

lace walking in the Prior-Chamber; witneſs the ſaid *W. Lovelace*, with other which ſaw the Bones aforeſaid? Or otherwiſe did ſhe take any hurtful drink to impotionate the Child within her, as commonly it is reported few Nunneries to have been in *England*, wherein ſuch a Tree hath not been growing within their ground, meet for practiſing of ſuch a purpoſe? Neither ſo, nor ſo. What then? did ſhe purpoſely and wittingly thruſt her ſelf in jeopardy, to the deſtruction of her Child, when ſhe needed not, as Pope *Jean*, when ſhe might have kept her Bed, would needs adventure forth in Proceſſion, where both ſhe her ſelf, and her Infant periſhed in the open ſtreet?

Pope *Jean* murderer of her child.

Well then, thus much by this hitherto alledged and granted, we have gotten this woman here to be accuſed of murdering her Child, which neither laid hand upon it, nor uſed weapon againſt it; neither uſed any other practiſe in drowning, hanging, breaking, burying, poyſoning, or any other wilful means, whereby to deſtroy it. And how then? by what manner of way was this woman a murderer of her young Babe? Forſooth (ſaith Mr. *Harding*) when ſhe was accuſed and condemned to be burned, ſhe did not claim the benefit of her Belly, whereby the life both of her ſelf for the time might have been delayed, and the Child preſerved.

How and by what reaſon Mr. *Harding* proveth *Perotine* to be a murderer.

Whether ſhe did or no, I have not perfectly to ſay; no more, I ween, hath Mr. *Harding*. Howbeit this is certain, and by witneſs known, that ſhe uttered no leſs to her Ghoſtly Father in Confeſſion. And what if ſhe had opened the ſame to the Judges? They would (ſaith he) have ſpared her life for the time, and ſo the Innocent had been preſerved. And how is Mr. *Harding* ſure of this, more then was the life ſpared of the young Lady, and Miſtreſs ſometime of Mr. *Harding*, who ſuffered, notwithſtanding ſhe was reported of ſome to be with Child; becauſe the Law (ſaith he) is beneficial to women in her caſe, claiming the benefit thereof.

Lady *Jane* thought to be with child at her death. The Law beneficial to women claiming the benefit of their belly.

The Law ſo giveth, I grant. But it followeth not therefore, whatſoever the Law giveth or preſcribeth, the ſame to be put by and by in execution. But many times the Law goeth as it pleaſeth them which have the handling of the Law. As for example; the Law willeth none to be condemned by Sentence of Death for Hereſie, which the firſt time revoke their opinion, and yet contrary to this Law they condemned her unlawfully. Again, the like Law, none to be executed for Hereſie, before the Writ be ſent down *De Comburendo*, and yet contrary to this Law, without any ſuch Writ, (as far as I yet underſtand) they burned her moſt cruelly. And what Law then was here to be looked for of theſe men, who in their doings herein ſeemed neither to obſerve Law, nor to regard Honeſty, nor much to paſs for Charity? And albeit ſhe had claimed never ſo much the priviledge of the Law, what had that availed with thoſe men, whoſe hunting altogether (as by their own proceedings may appear) ſeemeth to be for the houſhold goods of theſe women, which after their death immediately they incroached into their own hands.

Unlawful proceeding in the death of *Perotine*.

But be it admitted, that neither ſhe demanded this benefit of the Law, nor that the Judges would ever have denied her, if ſhe had ſo done; yet it had been the part of a grave Accuſer, before he had been diſcended into ſuch a railing action of murder againſt a poor woman now dead and gone, firſt to have adviſed wiſely with himſelf, whether it might be, that ſhe had no ſuch intelligence what benefit the Law would have given, in caſe it had been required. For not unlike it is, and well may be thought, rather yea, than no, that the ſimple woman, brought up all her life long in her Mothers houſe in an obſcure Iſland, and in ſuch an out-corner of the Realm, far off from the Court, and practiſe of Engliſh Laws, never heard before of any ſuch benefit of the Law; and therefore upon meer ſimplicity, and for lack of skill required it not, becauſe ſhe knew not what to require. Peradventure alſo her Senſes might be ſo aſtonied with the greatneſs and ſuddenneſs of the fear, that it was out of her remembrance. *Certes*, It had been the duty of the Judges, which knew the Law, and having of the woman before them, could not be ignorant of her caſe, to have queſtioned with her thereof, and to have holpen her ſimplicity in that behalf. Or at leaſt, if they had diſdained, yet it had been the Prieſts part, who was her Ghoſtly Father, and made privy thereunto, either to have inſtructed her, or to have ſtayed the execution of her death for ſafeguard of the Child.

Perotine defended by ſimple ignorance.

Lack in the Judges.

Anno 1556.

The Prieſt to blame.

But all this deniceth Mr. *Harding*, and to aggravate the matter, inferreth, that ſhe not of any ſimple unskilfulneſs of the Law, *but only of meer wilfulneſs, for avoiding of worldly ſhame, concealed her own turpitude, and ſo became a murderer of her Babe, &c.* Theſe be the words of Mr. *Harding*, written by him not of any ſure ground, but only upon his Catholick conjecture; for other demonſtration certainly to prove this true, he bringeth none. Wherefore to anſwer conjecture by conjecture, thus I reply to him again, That in caſe ſhe had been asked the queſtion of the Judges and Inquiſitors, whether ſhe had been with child, and then had denied the ſame; or elſe if ſhe, by any other colourable means, had cloaked her being with child, whereby it ſhould not appear, this Accuſer might have ſpoken probable advantage againſt the woman. Now, as ſhe was never demanded of their parts any ſuch queſtion, nor did ever deny any ſuch matter; ſo to anſwer this man with as good probability, I hold, that in caſe they had required that matter of her, ſhe would never have denied it. And therefore whereas ſhe is accuſed for her not uttering of her being with Child; why may ſhe not, by as good reaſon again be defended for not denying the ſame?

Rejoynder, fol. 185. Pa. 1.

Mr. *Hardings* ground only upon conjectures.

Perotine as ſhe did not open her being with child, ſo neither did ſhe ever deny it.

But ſhe ſhould have uttered it, ſaith he. It had been well done, ſay I; and I would ſhe had: but yet that is not the queſtion between him and me, what ſhe ſhould have done, but why ſhe did it not. Mr. *Harding* wandring in his blind ſurmiſes, phantaſieth the cauſe only to be, *for hiding her diſhoneſty, and for that ſhe would not ſhame the Goſpel.* So that *in ſumma*, to this effect tendeth all his Accuſation.

The ſtate of Mr *Hardings* Accuſation.

Perotine being big with child, at her Condemnation did not ſhew it to the Judges:
Ergo, She did it to conceal her turpitude, and becauſe ſhe would not ſhame the Goſpel.

Mr. *Hardings* Argument.

But here this Accuſer muſt underſtand, if he have not forgot his Logick, that ſuch Arguments which do truly hold *à ſignis*, do always preſuppoſe, that the ſigns which go before the things ſignified, muſt be neceſſary, perpetual and firm, as is between cauſes natural and their effects. Otherwiſe, if the ſigns be doubtful, voluntary, or accidental, there is no firm conſequent can proceed thereof.

The Argument anſwered.

Now, if the ſaid Accuſer ſhould be put to his proof, how to juſtifie this his ſequel to be true by evident demonſtration, that ſhe did it only for covering her diſhoneſty; I ſuppoſe verily he ſhould be found to ſay more than he is able to make good, and in concluſion ſhould be brought into the like caſe, as were the Phariſees, who coming to accuſe the Adultereſs before Chriſt, went away mute, with as much ſhame out of the Temple, as the woman her ſelf came in, having not one word to anſwer. For, a man to pronounce aſſuredly upon the ſecret cogitation and intent either of man or woman, farther than by utterance of ſpeech is to him ſignified, paſſeth his capacity, and is to be left only to him, which is *ſcrutans corda & renes Deus*.

Arguments of ſigns and conjectures, how they hold.

But foraſmuch as Mr. *Harding* worketh (as I ſaid) by ſurmiſes, confirming every thing to the worſt, let us ſee what may be ſurmiſed as much again to the contrary, concerning the quality of this ſurmiſed murder: wherein divers things are to be conſidered, as hereunder followeth.

The firſt Conjecture is this, That ſuch manner of women, which for worldly ſhame are diſpoſed to murder their children, have other ways to compaſs that wickedneſs, then by ſilence keeping. Now, as touching this *Perotine* going to be burned, neither could this ſilence ſave her, if ſhe would, from worldly ſhame, neither is it to be thought any ſuch intent ever to be in her, to murder her child; as might well appear in her Mothers houſe, where if ſhe might have continued her whole time out, ſhe intended no leſs but honeſtly to be brought to bed, and to nurſe up her Child, neither caring for ſhame of the world, nor fearing any ſlander to the Goſpel. Whereby may

The firſt Conjecture.

be

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be argued, that no ſuch intent of murder was ever in her thought.

For how is it like that ſhe, which had gone ſo long with Child, almoſt to the full time of her deliverance, and never thought, nor wrought any hurt to the Infant all that while, ſhould now, going to her own death, mind more hurt to her child, then ſhe did before, hoping her ſelf to live?

The ſecond conjecture.

Secondly, how knoweth Maſter *Harding* to the contrary, but that ſhe was known in the Town to be with Child, and went boldly abroad without note of any ſhame, before the time ſhe came in trouble? Which being true, ſhame then could be no cauſe, why ſhe ſhould conceal her Child more now after her Condemnation, then ſhe did before ſhe was condemned.

The third conjecture.

Thirdly, admit the caſe it was not known before, what advantage thereby ſhould riſe to her being now appointed to dye, by concealing her being with Child? She ſhould have eſchewed (ſaith M. *Harding*) the publick ſhame and obloquy of the World, in that none ſhould have known her to be with Child. Firſt, what ſhame was it for a married Wife to be noted to be with Child? Again, what gain had that been to her, to avoid the ſhame and fame of the World, which had not to live in the World, being now condemned to dye?

The fourth conjecture.

Fourthly, how is it like, that for ſhame ſhe meant to conceal that from the World, which both knew ſhe ſhould not live in the World, and alſo ſuffer that kind of death whereby her Child could not be hidden from the ſight of the World, though ſhe had gone about her ſelf never ſo much to conceal it?

The fifth conjecture.

Fifthly, now is it to be thought that any Woman, going to ſuch a ſharp puniſhment of Fire to be conſumed, would let for any Worldly ſhame to reſcue her own Life from ſo bitter torment, at leaſt ſo long as ſhe might, beſide the ſafeguard alſo of her Child, if by any means ſhe had known any remedy.

The ſixth conjecture.

Sixthly, forſomuch as Maſter *Harding* doth ſo hainouſly charge her with the wilful murdering of her own naturas Child, let all indifferent Conſciences this conſider with themſelves, what was the cauſe that moved her ſo willingly to recant as ſhe did, but partly to ſave her own Life, and eſpecially the poor innocent? Whereby it is manifeſt to be underſtood, what a motherly affection ſhe had to ſave her infant, if the Fathers of the ſpirituality had not been ſo cruel, againſt all order of Law to caſt both her and her Child away, all this her ſaid recantation notwithſtanding.

The ſeventh conjecture.

Seventhly and laſtly, when Maſter *Harding* hath enveighed all that ever he can againſt this poor *Perotine*, yet is all the ſame but a by-matter from this principal purpoſe pretended, ſuppoſing thereby, through his depraving of her, to juſtifie and excuſe the Popes Holy Clergy, which wrought her death. Which will not be: For whatſoever her Life was beſides, yet forſomuch as the cauſe of her death and condemnation was neither for theft, whoredom, nor murder, but only and meerly for Religion, which deſerved no death; I therefore having in my ſtory no further to deal, as I ſaid before, ſo do I ſay again, that the cauſe of her condemning was wrongful, her death was cruel, the ſight of the Babe was rueful, the proceeding of the Judges was unlawful, the whole ſtory is pittiful, and of all this the Prieſt and Clergy were the Authors principal. All which being conſidered, and well expended, Maſter *Harding*, I truſt, may ſtand ſufficiently contented. Or if he think murder to be a thing, which ought not (as it ought not indeed) lightly to be paſſed over, let him then find out murder where it is, and tell us truly without affection of partiality, where the true murder lyeth; whether in the poor Woman, which together with her Child was murdered, or in them, which without all Law and Conſcience brought them both to death.

The concluſion of this defence.

Briefly and finally to conclude with this Man, whatſoever the Woman was, ſhe is now gone. To bite ſo bitterly againſt the dead is little honeſty. And though the accuſation had in it ſome truth, yet this accuſation here needed not. Now the ſame being falſe, is is too much unmerciful. At leaſt being doubtful and to him unknown, charity would have judged the beſt. Humanity would have ſpared the dead. And if he could not afford her his good word; yet he might have left her cauſe unto the Lord, which ſhall judge both her and him. To pray for the dead he findeth in his Maſs; but to backbite the dead, he neither findeth in his Maſs, Mattens, nor Evenſong. And no doubt but in his Diridge and Commendations he commendeth many a one, leſs deſerving to be commended then this Woman, let Catholick affection be ſet aſide. And though the merits of her cauſe deſerved not his commendations, yet did ſhe never deſerve at Maſter *Hardings* hand to give her ſuch a *Kirieleſon* (as they ſay) after her departure. Cruelty ſhe ſuffered enough alive, though Maſter *Harding* had not added this cruel invective to her former afflictions: wherein notwithſtanding he hurteth not her, but hurteth peradventure himſelf, neither ſo much diſtaineth her honeſty, as he bleminſheth his own. It hath been the manner of learned Men in time paſt, with their defending Oration ever to be more ready, then to accuſe And if they did at any time accuſe, yet never but inforced; neither did they accuſe any but ſuch only as were alive, and that neither but in ſuch matters, wherein either the Common-Wealth or themſelves were vehemently touched.

Now if this grieve him ſo greatly, that in my ſtory I have termed her to be a Martyr; let him conſider the cauſe wherefore ſhe ſuffered, which was neither for Felony, Murder, nor Whoredom, but only for the Religion in King *Edwards* time received; and when he hath confuted that Religion, I ſhall croſs her out of the Book and fellowſhip of Martyrs. In the mean time my exhortation ſhall be this to Maſter *Harding*.

Firſt, that if he will needs become a writer in theſe ſo furious and outragious days of ours, he will ſeaſon his Vein of writings with more mildneſs and charity, and not give ſuch example of railing to others.

Exhortation to M. *Harding*.

Secondly, that he will moderate his judging and condemning of other with more equity and indifferency, and not to be ſo raſh and partial. For if ſhe be to be accounted a murderer, which ſo carefully went about by recantation to ſave both her ſelf and her Child from the Fire; what is to be ſaid of them which condemned her ſo cruelly, and cauſed both her and the Infant to be burned, notwithſtanding that ſhe for ſafeguard of their Lives had (as I ſaid) recanted. And yet ſo partial is he, that in all this invective, crying out ſo intemperately againſt the Woman and the Child that were burned, he ſpeaketh never a word of their condemners and true murderers indeed.

Murder in the Spiritual Clergy noted.

Thirdly, forſomuch as Maſter *Harding* is here in hand with infanticide, and with a caſting away young Childrens lives, I would wiſh, that as he hath ſifted the doings of this Woman to the uttermoſt, who was rather murdered then a murderer; ſo he would with an indifferent eye look on the other ſide a little upon them of his own Clergy, and ſee what he could find there amongſt thoſe wilful contemners of immaculate marriage. Not that I do accuſe any of incontinency, whoſe lives I know not, but there is one above, that well knoweth and ſeeth all things, be they never ſo ſecret to Man, and moſt certainly will pay home at length with Fire and Brimſtone when he ſeeth his time.

God knoweth what ſpilling and Murdering of Infants there is in the World.

I ſay no more, and not ſo much as I might, following herein the Painters, which when their colours will not ſerve to expreſs a thing that they mean, they ſhadow it with a vail. But howſoever the matter goeth with them, whether they may or may not be ſuſpected touching this crime aforeſaid of infanticide; moſt ſure and manifeſt it is that they are more then worthily to be accuſed of homicide in murdering the Children and Servants of God, both men and women, wives and mayds, old and young, blind and lame, mad and unmad, diſcreet and ſimple innocents, learned with the unlearned, and that of all degrees, from the high Archbiſhop to the Clerk and Sexton of the Church, and that moſt wrongfully and wilfully, with ſuch effuſion of innocent Chriſtian Blood, as crieth up daily to God for vengeance.

And therefore Maſter *Harding*, in my mind ſhould do well, to ſpare a little time from theſe his invectives, wherewith he appeacheth the poor Proteſtants of Murder, whom they have murdered themſelves, and exerciſe his pen with ſome more fruitful matter, to exhort theſe ſpiritual Fathers firſt to ceaſe from murdering of their own Children,

dren, to ſpare the Blood of Innocents, and not to perſecute Chriſt ſo cruelly in his members as they do: And furthermore, to exhort in like manner theſe Agamiſts, and wilful rejecters of Matrimony, to take themſelves to lawful wives, and not to reſiſt Gods Holy Ordinance, nor incounter his Inſtitution with another contrary Inſtitution of their own deviſing, leſt perhaps they prevented by fragility, may fall into danger of ſuch inconveniences above touched: which if they be not in them, I ſhall be glad; but if they be, it is neither their railing againſt the poor Proteſtants, nor yet their ſecret auricular confeſſion, that ſhall cover their iniquities from the face of the Lord, when he ſhall come to reveal *abſcondita tenebrarum, & judicare ſæculum per ignem.*

Agamiſts, of ἀγαμία, *which ſignifieth Men unmarried, or againſt Marriage.*

And thus, for lack of further leaſure, I end with Maſter *Harding*; having no more at this time to ſay unto him, but wiſh him to fear God, to embrace his truth, to remember himſelf, and to forceaſe from this uncharitable railing and brawling, eſpecially againſt the dead, which cannot anſwer him; Or if he will needs continue ſtill to be ſuch a vehement accuſer of other, yet that he will remember what belongeth to the part of a right accuſer: Firſt, that his accuſation be true; ſecondly, that no blind affection of partiality be mixt withal: thirdly, whoſoever taketh upon him to carp and appeach the crimes of other, ought themſelves to be ſincere and upright, and to ſee what may be written in their own foreheads.

The part of a true accuſer.

Whoredom and Murder be grievous offences, and worthy to be accuſed. But to accuſe of Murder the parties that were murdered, and to leave the other perſons untouched which were the true murderers, it is the part of an accuſer, which deſerveth himſelf to be accuſed of partiality.

As verily I think by this Woman, that if ſhe had been a Catholick Papiſt, and a devout follower of their Church, as ſhe was a Proteſtant, ſhe had neither been condemned then alive of them, nor now accuſed, being dead, of M. *Harding*. But God forgive him, and make him a good Man if it be his will.

Three Martyrs burned at Greenſtead *in* Suſſex.

July 18. The Martyrdom of two Men and one Women at Greenſtead in Suſſex.

NEre about the ſame time that theſe three Women with the Infant were burned at *Garnſey*, ſuffered other three likewiſe at *Greenſtead* in *Suſſex*, two Men and one Woman; the Names of whom were *Thomas Dungate*, *John Foreman*, and Mother *Tree*, who for righteouſneſs ſake gave themſelves to death and torments of the fire, patiently abiding what the furious rage of Man could ſay or work againſt them, at the ſaid Town of *Greenſtead* ending their lives, the 18. of the ſaid Month of *July*, and in the year aforeſaid.

The Burning and Martyrdom of Thomas Moor *in the Town of* Leiceſter, June 26. *the year*, 1556.

July 26.

AS the Bloody rage of this perſecution ſpared neither man, woman nor child, wife nor maid, lame, blind nor cripple, and ſo through all Men and Women, as there was no difference either of Age or Sex conſidered, ſo neither was there any condition or quality reſpected of any perſon: but whoſoever he were, that held not as they did on the Pope, and Sacrament of the Altar, were he learned or unlearned, wiſe, or ſimple innocent, all went to the fire, as may appear by this ſimple poor Creature and innocent Soul, named *Thomas Moor*, retaining as a Servant to a Mans Houſe in the Town of *Leiceſter*, about the age of 24. and after manner of an Husbandman, who for ſpeaking certain words, that his Maker was in Heaven, and not in the Pix, was thereupon apprehended in the Country, being with his friends. Who coming before his Ordinary, firſt was asked, whether he did not believe his Maker there to be, pointing to the high Altar. Which he denied.

The burning of Tho. Moor a ſimple innocent, at Leiceſter.

Tho. Moor examined before the Biſhop.

Then asked the Biſhop, How then, ſaid he, doſt thou believe?

The young Man anſwered again; as his Creed did teach him.

To whom the Biſhop ſaid; And what is yonder that thou ſeeſt above the Altar? He anſwering, ſaid; Forſooth I cannot tell what you would have me to ſee. I ſee there fine Clothes, with Golden Taſſels, and other gay geer hanging about the Pix, what is within I cannot ſee.

Why? Doſt thou not believe, ſaid the Biſhop, Chriſt to be there, Fleſh, Blood, and Bone? No, that I do not, ſaid he.

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Whereupon the Ordinary making ſhort with him, read the Sentence, and ſo condemned the true and Faithful Servant of Chriſt to death, in Saint *Margarets* Church in *Leiceſter*; who was burnt, and ſuffered a joyful and glorious Martyrdom, for the teſtimony of righteouſneſs, in the ſame Town of *Leiceſter*, the year from our Lord above mentioned, 1556. *about the* 26. *of June.*

The condemnation and Martyrdom of Tho. Moor. Ex Regiſt. Epiſc. Lincoln.

To this *Thomas Moore*, we have alſo annexed the Anſwers and Examination of one *John Jackſon*, before Doctor *Cook*, one of the Commiſſioners, for that it belongeth much unto the ſame time.

The Examination of John Jackſon, *had before Doctor* Cook, *the* 11. *day of* March, *Anno* 1556.

FIrſt, when I came before him, he railed on me, and called me Heretick. I anſwered and ſaid, I am no Heretick.

Examination of John Jackſon before Doctor Cook.

Cook. Yes quoth he. For M. *Read* told me, that thou waſt the rankeſt Heretick of all them in the *Kings Bench.*

Jackſon. I ſaid, I knew him not.

Cook. No, quoth he? Yes, he examined thee at the *Kings Bench.*

Jack. I anſwered him, and ſaid, he examined five other, but not me.

Cook. Then anſwer me: what ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar? tell me.

Jack. I anſwered, it is a diffuſe queſtion, to ask me at the firſt daſh, you promiſing to deliver me.

Cook. What an Heretick is this, quoth he?

Jack. I ſaid, it is eaſier to call a Man Heretick, then to prove him one.

Cook. Then he ſaid, What Church art thou of?

The Church.

Jack. What Church, quoth I? I am of the ſame Church that is builded on the Foundation of the Prophets and the Apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt being the head corner ſtone.

Cook. Thou art an Heretick, quoth he.

Jackſon. Yea, quoth I? how can that be, ſeeing that I am of that Church? I am ſure that you will not ſay that the Prophets and Apoſtles were Hereticks.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Cook. No, quoth he. But what ſayeſt thou to the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar again? Tell me.

Jackſon. I anſwered him and ſaid, I find it not written.

Cook. No, quoth he? Keeper away with him.

Jack. Yet I tarried there long, and did talk with him, and I ſaid; Sir, I can be content to be tractable, and obedient to the Word of God.

Cook. He anſwered and ſaid to me, that I knew not what the Word of God meant, nor yet whether it were true or not.

Jackſon. I anſwered, and ſaid to him, yea that I do.

Cook. Whereby, quoth he?

Jackſon. Hereby, ſaid I. Our Saviour Chriſt ſaith; *Search the Scriptures; for in them you think to have eternal life. For they be they that teſtifie of me.*

Cook. This is a wiſe proof, quoth he.

Jack. Is it ſo, quoth I? What ſay you then to theſe words that the Prophet *David* ſaid? *Whatſoever he be that feareth the Lord, he will ſhew him the way that he hath choſen: his Soul ſhall dwell at eaſe, and his ſeed ſhall poſſeſs the land. The ſecrets of the Lord are among them that fear him, and he ſheweth them his covenant.*

Cook. Well, quoth he, you ſhall be rid ſhortly one way or other.

Jack. Then I ſaid to him, my life lieth not in mans hands; therefore no Man ſhall do more unto me then God will ſuffer him.

Although they call you Papiſts, yet they judge you not to death.

Cook. No, quoth he? Thou art a ſtubborn and naughty fellow.

Jack. You cannot ſo judg of me, quoth I, except you did ſee ſome evil by me.

Cook. No, quoth he? Why may not I judge thee, as well as thou and thy fellows judge us, and call us Papiſts?

Jack. Why, quoth I? that is no Judgment: but

Chriſt

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Christ saith; *If you refuse me, and receive not my word, you have one that judgeth you. The word that I have spoken unto you now, shall judge you in the last day.*

Head of the Church.

Cook. I pray thee tell me, who is the Head of the Congregation?

Jack. I answered, and said, Christ is the Head.

Cook. But who is Head in Earth?

Jack. I said, Christ hath Members here in Earth.

Cook. Who are they, quoth he?

Jack. They, quoth I, that are ruled by the Word of God.

Cook. You are a good fellow, quoth he.

Jack. I am that I am, quoth I.

Cook. Then he said to my Keeper, Have him to Prison again.

Jack. I am contented with that, quoth I; and so we departed. I answered no further in this matter, because I thought he should not have my Blood in a corner. But I hope in the living God, that when the time shall come, before the Congregation I shall shake their building after another manner of fashion. For they build but upon the sand, and their walls be dawbed with untempered mortar, and therefore they cannot stand long.

The build of the Papists be but dawbed walls.

Therefore (good Brothers and Sisters) be of good cheer: for I trust in my God, I and my other prison-fellows shall go joyfully before you, praising God most heartily, that we are counted worthy to be witnesses of his truth. I pray you accept my simple answer, at this time, committing you unto God.

Of this *John Jackson*, besides these his foresaid Answers and Examination before D. *Cook* one of the Commissioners, no more as yet came unto our hands:

The Examination of John Newman, *Martyr, which is to be referred to his Story before.*

John Newman was first apprehended in *Kent*, dwelling in the Town of *Maidstone*, and there was examined before D. *Thornton* Suffragan and others, at *Tenterden*. From thence he was brought to *Boner*, and there condemned with Master *Denley* and *Packingham* and burned at *Saffron Walden*, as is before storied. But because his Examinations and Answers before the Suffragan came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to bestow them, rather then they should utterly be suppressed. And first what his answers were by writing to the said Suffragan after his apprehension, you shall hear by the tenor of his own words, as follow.

The copy of Jo. Newmans words in writing to D. Thornton.

I T may please you to understand, that for the space of all the time of King Edwards *Reign, we were diligently instructed with continual Sermons, made by such Men, whose faith, wisdom, learning, and vertuous living was commended unto all Men, under the Kings hand and Seal, and under the hands of the whole Council. These Men taught diligently a long time, perswading us by the allegations of Gods Word, that there was no Transubstantiation, nor corporal presence in the Sacrament. Their Doctrine was not believed of us suddenly, but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual Prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived, but if it were true that God would incline our hearts unto it; and if it were not true, that we might never believe it.*

We weighed that they laboured with Gods Word, and we asked the advice of our friends; neither could we find that they Preached false Doctrine. We considered also, as we did learn, that the Kings Grace and his Council, and the most part of all the whole Realm, believed as they taught, because no Man Preached the contrary. Also we know, that the Preachers were commanded by the King, and the Laws of the Realm, to Preach unto us such Doctrine, as was to the Authority of Gods Word agreeable, and none other. And by their diligent setting forth of it, by the Kings Commandment, and the consent of the whole Council, and by the Authority of the Parliament, we embraced it, and received it, as a very infallible truth taught unto us, for the space of seven years. Wherefore until such time as our Consciences are otherwise taught and instructed by Gods Word, we cannot with safeguard of our Consciences take it, as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God, that the Queens merciful Highness; neither yet her most Honourable Council, will in a matter of faith use compulsion or violence, because faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of Man, neither of Mans Laws, neither at such time as Men require it, but at such time as God giveth it.

The Examination and Answers of John Newman, *Martyr, before Doctor* Thornton, *and others.*

The Examination and Answers of Jo. Newman.

FIrst, one of the Doctors, or one of the Bench, either the Archdeacon, or *Fauced*, or some other, whose Name *John Newman* doth not express, beginneth, asking in this wise.

Doctor. How say you to this? *This is my Body, which is given for you.*

Newman. It is a figurative speech, one thing spoken, and another meant, as Christ saith, *I am a vine, I am a door, I am a stone, &c.* Is he therefore a material stone, a vine, or a door?

Doct. This is no figurative speech. For he saith; *This is my Body, which is given for you.* And so saith he not of the stone, vine, or door; but that is a figurative speech.

This cup is the New Testament, is a figurative speech.

New. Christ saith, *This cup is the New Testament in my Blood.* If ye will have it so meant, then let them take and eat the Cup.

Doctor. Nay, that is not so meant; so it is a common phrase of speech among our selves: We say to our friend, Drink a Cup of drink, and yet we mean he should drink the drink in the Cup.

New. Why, if ye will have the one so understood, ye must so understand the other.

Doct. Nay, it is a common use of speech, to say drink a Cup of Ale or Beer: and therefore it is no figurative speech.

What is a figurative speech.

New. The often using of a thing, doth not make that thing otherwise then it is: but whersoever one thing is spoken, and another meant, it is a figurative speech.

Doct. Well, we will not stand here about. How say ye by the Real Presence? is not Christs Natural Body there that was born of the Virgin *Mary*?

New. No, I do not so believe, neither can I so believe; for the Soul of Man doth not feed upon natural things, as the Body doth.

Doct. Why, how then doth it feed?

New. I think the Soul of Man doth feed as the Angels in Heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God; and so the Soul of Man doth feed and eat, through faith, the Body of Christ.

Collins reasoneth with Newman.

Collins. Yea, but if the Body do not feed upon natural things, the Soul cannot continue with the Body: therefore the Body must needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together.

New. I grant it to be true: but yet the Soul doth live otherwise then the Body, which doth perish; therefore natural things do but feed the Body only. I pray you what did *Judas* receive at the Supper?

Collins. Marry, *Judas* did receive the very Body of Christ, but it was to his damnation.

Whether Judas received the Body of Christ, or no.

New. Why? was the Devil entred into him before? Then he had both the Devil and Christ in him at one time.

Collins. Nay, the Devil did enter into him afterward.

New. Yea, and before too: what do you think? had he but one Devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of Devils at the latter end.

Collins. Well, put case it be so, what say you to that?

New. Marry, if Christ and the Devil were both in *Judas* at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?

Collins. We grant they were both in *Judas* at that time; for Christ may be where the Devil is, if he will: but the Devil cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ.

New. Christ will not be in an unclean person that hath the Devil.

D. Thornton reasoneth with John Newman.

Thornton. Why, will ye not believe that Christ was in Hell? yet ye will grant that the Devil is there; and so might he be in *Judas* if it pleased him.

New. Christ would not suffer *Mary Magdalen* to touch

touch him, which ſought him at his Grave, and did love him intirely; much leſs he will ſuffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body.

Thornton. Yes, ſeeing God may do all things, he may do what he liſt, and be where he will: And doth not the Pſalmiſt ſay, He is in Hell, and in all places? Why ſhould we then doubt of his being there?

New. Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not ſufficient to prove that his Humanity is in all places.

Thorn. No? Do you not believe that God is Omnipotent, and may do all things?

New. I do believe that God is Almighty, and may do all that he will do.

The Omnipotency of Chriſt doth not prove him to be really in the Sacrament.

Thorn. Nay, but if he be Omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing unpoſſible for him to do.

New. I know God is Almighty, and can do all that he will; but he cannot make his Son a Lyar, he cannot deny himſelf, nor can he reſtore Virginity once violated and defiled.

Thorn. What is that to your purpoſe? God doth not defile Virginity; we ſpeak but of things that God doth.

New. Why? will ye have the Humanity of Chriſt in all places, as the Deity is?

Abſurdity in the Popes Doctrine.

Thorn. Yea, he is in all places, as the Deity is, if it pleaſe him.

New. I will promiſe you that ſeemeth to me a very great Hereſie; for Heaven and Earth are not able to contain the Divine Power of God: for it is in all places, as here and in every place; and yet ye will ſay, that whereſoever the Deity is, there is alſo the Humanity; and ſo ye will make him no body, but a phantaſtical body, and not a body indeed.

Thorn. Nay, we do not ſay he is in all places, as the Deity is; but if it pleaſe him, he may be in all places with the Deity.

The Humanity of Chriſt may not be in all places.

New. I promiſe you that ſeemeth to me as great an Hereſie as ever I heard of in my life, and I dare not grant it, leſt I ſhould deny Chriſt to be a very Man, and that were againſt all the Scriptures.

Thorn. Tuſh, what ſhall we ſtand reaſoning with him? I dare ſay he doth not believe that Chriſt came out of his Mother, not opening the Matrice. Do you believe that Chriſt roſe from death, and came thorow the ſtone?

New. I do believe that Chriſt roſe from death, but I do not believe that he came thorow the ſtone, neither doth the Scripture ſo ſay.

Thorn. Lo, how ſay you? he doth not believe that Chriſt came thorow the ſtone: And if he doth not believe this, how ſhall he believe the other? If he could believe this, it were eaſie for him to believe the other.

Note the groſs ignorance of this Suffragan.

New. The Scripture doth not ſay he went thorow the ſtone, but it ſaith the Angels of God came down, and rolled away the ſtone, and for fear of him the Keepers became even as dead men.

Thorn. Ah fool, ah fool! that was becauſe the women ſhould ſee that he was riſen again from death.

New. Well, the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you, and more too.

Thorn. Well, let us not ſtand any longer about him. Back again to the Real Preſence. How ſay ye? is the Body of Chriſt really in the Sacrament, or no?

New. I have anſwered you already.

Thorn. Well, do ye not believe that he is there really?

New. No, I believe it not.

Thorn. Well, will ye ſtand to it?

New. I muſt needs ſtand to it, till I be perſwaded to a further truth.

Thorn. Nay, ye will not be perſwaded, but ſtand to your own Opinion.

New. Nay, I ſtand not to mine own Opinion, God I take to witneſs, but only to the Scriptures of God, and that can all thoſe that ſtand here witneſs with me, and nothing but the Scriptures: and I take God to witneſs, that I do nothing of preſumption, but that which I do is only in regard of my Conſcience; and if there be a further truth than I ſee, except it appear a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And ſeeing Faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man (for it is not you that can give me Faith, nor any man elſe) therefore I truſt ye will bear the more with me, ſeeing it muſt be wrought by God; and when it ſhall pleaſe God to open a further truth to me, I ſhall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it. Anno 1556.

Thornton had many other queſtions, which I did not bear away; but as I do underſtand, theſe are the chiefeſt: as for taunts, fooliſh and unlearned, he lacked none. Praiſe God for his gifts, and God increaſe in us ſtrength.

The Argument of John Newman.

Argument in the ſecond figure.

If the Body of Chriſt were *really* and bodily *in the Sacrament*, then whoſoever received the Sacrament, received alſo the Body.
The wicked, receiving the Sacrament, receive not the Body of Chriſt:
Ergo, The Body of Chriſt is not *really in the Sacrament.*

Argument.

Ca- They which eat the Fleſh, and drink the Blood of Chriſt, dwell in him, and he in them.
meſ- The wicked dwell not in Chriſt, nor he in them:
tres. *Ergo*, The wicked eat not the Fleſh, nor drink the Blood of Chriſt.

Argument.

Ca- They that have Chriſt dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit. *John* 15. *He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit, &c.*
meſ- The wicked bringeth forth no fruit of goodneſs:
tres. *Ergo*, They have not Chriſts Body dwelling in them

Argument.

Argument in the third figure.

Da- Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the abſence thereof.
ti- Remembrance of Chriſts Body is in the Sacrament; *Do this in remembrance of me, &c.*
ſi. *Ergo*, Chriſts Body there is imported to be abſent.

Marry they will ſay, We ſee him not with our outward eyes; but he is commended under the Forms of Bread and Wine: and that that we ſee, is nothing but a Quality or an Accident. But let them ſhew me a Quality or an Accident without a Subſtance, and I will believe them. And thus much concerning *Newman's* Examinations and Arguments, whoſe Martyrdom is before expreſſed.

The Martyrdom of Joan Waſte, *a blind woman, in the Town of* Derby.

Auguſt 1. Joan Waſte a blind woman and Martyr.

THe firſt day of *Auguſt*, in the year above ſpecified, ſuffered likewiſe at the Town of *Derby* a certain poor honeſt godly woman, being blind from her birth, and unmarried, about the Age of 22. named *Joan Waſte*, of the Pariſh of *Alhallows*. Of them that ſate upon this innocent womans blood, the chiefeſt was *Ralph Baine* Biſhop of the Dioceſs, Dr. *Draicot* his Chancellor, Sir *John Port* Knight, *Henry Vernon* Eſquire, *Peter Finch* Official of *Derby*, with the aſſiſtance alſo of divers other, *Richard Ward*, and *William Bembridge* the ſame time being Bayliffs of the Town of *Derby*, *&c.* Firſt, after the above-named Biſhop and Doctor *Draicot* had cauſed the ſaid *Joan Waſte* to be apprehended in the Town of *Derby*, ſuſpecting her to be guilty of certain Hereſies, ſhe was divers times privily examined, as well in Priſon as out of Priſon, by *Finch* the Official aforeſaid: After that, brought to publick Examination before the Biſhop; at laſt, was there burnt in *Derby*, as is aboveſaid. Touching whoſe life, bringing up, and converſation, ſomewhat more amply we mind to diſcourſe, as by faithful relation hath come to my hands.

The life and converſation of Joan Waſte.

Firſt, This *Joan Waſte* was the daughter of one *William Waſte*, an honeſt poor man, and by his Science a Barber, who ſometimes alſo uſed to make Ropes. His Wife had the ſame *Joan* and one other at one birth, and ſhe was born blind. And when ſhe was about

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12. or 14. years old, ſhe learned to knit hoſen and ſleeves, and other things, which in time ſhe could do very well. Furthermore, as time ſerved, ſhe would help her Father to turn ropes, and do ſuch other things as ſhe was able, and in no caſe would be idle. Thus continued ſhe with her Father and Mother, during their lives. After whoſe departure, then kept ſhe with one *Roger Waſte* her Brother, who in the time of King *Edward* the fixth, of bleſſed memory, gave her ſelf daily to go to the Church to hear Divine Service read in the vulgar Tongue. And thus by hearing Homilies and Sermons, ſhe became marvellouſly well affected to the Religion then taught. So at length having by her labour gotten and ſaved ſo much money as would buy her a New Teſtament, ſhe cauſed one to be provided for her. And though ſhe was of her ſelf unlearned, and by reaſon of her blindneſs unable to read, yet for the great deſire ſhe had to underſtand, and have printed in her memory the ſayings of the Holy Scriptures contained in the New Teſtament, ſhe acquainted her ſelf chiefly with one *John Hurt*, then Priſoner in the Common Hall of *Derby* for debts.

John Waſte drawn by the Spirit of God, to the love of Religion.

The earneſt deſire of Joan Waſte to learn the Scriptures. John Hurt and John Pemerton readers to Joan Waſte.

The ſame *John Hurt* being a ſober grave Man, of the Age of threeſcore and ten years, by her earneſt entreaty, and being Priſoner, and many times idle and without company, did for his exerciſe daily read unto her ſome one Chapter of the New Teſtament. And if at any time he were otherwiſe occupied or letted through ſickneſs, ſhe would repair unto one *John Pemerton* Clerk of the Pariſh Church of *All-Saints* in the ſame Town of *Derby*, or to ſome other perſon which could read, and ſometime ſhe would give a penny or two (as ſhe might ſpare) to ſuch perſons as would not freely read unto her, appointing unto them aforehand how many Chapters of the New Teſtament they ſhould read, or how often they ſhould repeat one Chapter upon a price.

A notable gift of God in a blind Woman.

Joan Waſte both blind and unlearned, yet was perfect in the Scriptures.

Moreover, in the ſaid *Joan Waſte* this was notorious, that ſhe being utterly blind, could notwithſtanding, without a guide, go to any Church within the ſaid Town of *Derby*, or at any other place or perſon, with whom ſhe had any ſuch exerciſe. By the which exerciſe ſhe ſo profited, that ſhe was able not only to recite many Chapters of the New Teſtament without Book, but alſo could aptly impugn, by divers places of Scriptures, as well ſin, as ſuch abuſes in Religion, as then were too much in uſe in divers and ſundry Perſons.

As this Godly Woman thus daily increaſed in the knowledge of Gods Holy Word, and no leſs in her life expreſſed the vertuous fruits and exerciſe of the ſame: Not long after, through the fatal death of bleſſed King *Edward* followed the woful ruin of Religion, in the Reign of Queen *Mary* his ſiſter. In which alteration, notwithſtanding the general backſliding of the greateſt part and multitude of the whole Realm into the old Papiſm again, yet this poor blind Woman, continuing in a conſtant Conſcience, proceeded ſtill in her former exerciſe, both being zealous in that ſhe had learned, and alſo refuſing to communicate in Religion with thoſe which taught contrary Doctrine to that ſhe before had learned in King *Edwards* time, as it is above declared.

For the which ſhe was called and convented before the foreſaid Biſhop and Doctor *Draicot*, with divers other called in to bear witneſs.

Articles miniſtred unto her.

The Articles objected againſt Joan Waſte.

THe Articles miniſtred unto her, and wherewith ſhe was charged, were theſe: Firſt, that ſhe did hold the Sacrament of the Altar to be but only a memory or repreſentation of Chriſts Body, and material Bread and Wine, but not his Natural Body, unleſs it were received. And that it ought not to be reſerved from time to time over the Altar, but immediately to be received, &c.

Item, That ſhe did hold, in receiving of the Sacrament of the Altar, ſhe did not receive the ſame Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and ſuffered upon the Croſs for our redemption, &c.

Item, She did hold, that Chriſt at his laſt Supper did not bleſs the Bread that he had then in his hands, but was bleſſed himſelf, and by the vertue of the words of Conſecration, the ſubſtance of the Bread and Wine is not converted & turned into the ſubſtance of the Body & Blood of Chriſt.

Item, That ſhe did grant that ſhe was of the Pariſh of *All-Hallows* in *Derby*, &c.

Item, That all and ſingular the premiſſes are true and notorious by publick report and fame, &c.

The Anſwer of Joan Waſte to the Articles.

Whereunto ſhe anſwered, that ſhe believed therein ſo much as the Holy Scripture taught her; and according to that ſhe had heard Preached unto her by divers learned Men. Whereof ſome ſuffered Impriſonment, and other ſome ſuffered death for the ſame Doctrine. Amongſt whom ſhe named, beſide other, Dr. *Taylor*, who ſhe ſaid, took it of his Conſcience, that that Doctrine which he taught was true, and asked of them, if they would do ſo in like caſe for their Doctrine: which if they would not, ſhe deſired them for Gods ſake not to trouble her, being a blind, poor, and unlearned Woman, with any further talk, ſaying (by Gods aſſiſtance) that ſhe was ready to yield up her Life in that Faith, in ſuch ſort as they ſhould appoint.

Well argued. Becauſe Chriſt is omnipotent, Ergo, there is no Bread in the Sacrament.

And yet notwithſtanding being preſt by the ſaid Biſhop and Doctor *Draicot*, with many Arguments of Chriſts omnipotency, as, why was not Chriſt able as well to make the Bread his Body, as to turn Water into Wine, raiſe *Lazarus* from the dead? and ſuch other like Arguments; and many times being threatned with grievous impriſonments, torments, and death: The poor Woman thus being, as it were, half aſtonied through their terrors and threats, and deſirous (as it ſeemed) to prolong her Life, offered unto the Biſhop then preſent, that if he would before that company, take it upon his Conſcience, that that Doctrine which he would have her to believe concerning the Sacrament was true, and that he would at the dreadful day of Judgment anſwer for her therein (as the ſaid Doctor *Taylor* in divers of his Sermons did offer) ſhe would then further anſwer them.

The Biſhop and his Chancellor durſt not take upon their conſcience to anſwer before God for their Doctrine.

Whereunto the Biſhop anſwered, he would. But Doctor *Draicot* his Chancellor, hearing that, ſaid, My Lord, you know not what you do, you may in no caſe anſwer for an Heretick. And immediately he asked the poor Woman whether ſhe would recant or no, and ſaid ſhe ſhould anſwer for her ſelf. Unto whoſe ſayings the Biſhop alſo reformed himſelf.

Sentence pronounced againſt Joan Waſte.

The poor Woman perceiving this, anſwered again, that if they refuſed to take of their Conſcience that it was true they would have her to believe, ſhe would anſwer no further, but deſired them to do their pleaſure, and ſo after certain circumſtances, they pronounced Sentence againſt her, and delivered her unto the Bailiffs of the ſaid Town of *Derby* aforenamed. Who after they had kept her about a Month or five weeks, at length there came unto them a Writ *De hæretico comburendo*; by vertue whereof they were appointed by the ſaid Biſhop to bring her to the Pariſh Church of *All-Saints* at a day appointed, where Doctor *Draicot* ſhould make a Sermon.

The Writ brought down for the burning of Joan Waſte.

When the day and time was come that this Innocent Martyr ſhould ſuffer, firſt cometh to the Church Doctor *Draicot*, accompanied with divers Gentlemen, as M. *Thomas Powthread*, Maſter *Henry Vernon*, Maſter *Dethick* of *Newal*, and divers other. This done, and all things now in a readineſs, at laſt the poor blind creature and Servant of God was brought and ſet before the Pulpit, where the ſaid Doctor being entred into his Sermon, and there inveighing againſt many matters, which he called Hereſies, declared unto the people that that Woman was condemned for denying the Sacramens of the Altar to be the very Body and Blood of Chriſt really and ſubſtantially, and was thereby cut off from the Body of the Catholick Church; and ſaid, that ſhe was not only blind of her bodily eyes, but alſo blind in the eyes of her Soul. And he ſaid, that as her Body ſhould be preſently conſumed with material fire, ſo her Soul ſhould be burned in Hell with everlaſting fire, as ſoon as it ſhall be ſeparated from the Body, and there remain world without end, and ſaid, it was not lawful for the people to pray for her: and ſo with many terrible threats he made an end of his Sermon, and commanded the Bayliffs and thoſe Gentlemen to ſee her executed. And the Sermon thus ended, eftſoons the Bleſſed Servant of God was carried away from the ſaid Church, to a place called the Windmil pit, near unto the ſaid Town, & holding the forſaid *Roger Waſte* her Brother by the hand ſhe prepared her ſelf, and deſired

D. Draicots railing Sermon againſt Joan Waſte.

Bleſſed are you when Men ſhall revile you, and ſay all evil againſt you for my Names ſake. Matth. 5.

Joan waſte brought to the place of Execution.

The Martyrdom of *Joan Waſte.*

fired the people to pray with her; and ſaid ſuch Prayers as ſhe before had learned, and cried upon Chriſt to have mercy upon her, as long as Life ſerved. In this mean ſeaſon, the ſaid Doctor *Draicot* went to his Inn, for great ſorrow of her death, and there laid him down, and ſlept, during all the time of her execution. And thus much of *Joan Waſte.*

Now, foraſmuch as I am not ignorant (Faithful Reader) that this, and other Stories more, ſet forth of the Martyrs, ſhall not lack carpers and markers enow, ready to ſeek all holes and corners how to defame the memory of Gods good Saints, and to condemn theſe Hiſtories, of lies and untruths, eſpecially Hiſtorics wherein they ſee their ſhameful acts and unchriſtian cruelty detected and brought to light, therefore for better confirmation of this Hiſtory above written, and to ſtop the Mouths of ſuch Momes, this ſhall be to admoniſh all and ſingular readers hereof, that the diſcourſe of this poor blind womans life and death, in ſuch ſort as is above prefixed, hath been confeſſed to be very true, by divers perſons of worthy credit, and yet living; and alſo hath been ſpecially peruſed and examined by W. *Bainbridge*, before mentioned, Bayliff then of *Darby*; who as well of his own knowledge, as by ſpecial inquiry and conference by him made, with divers others, hath certified us the ſame to be undoubted; beſide the teſtimonial of *John Cadman*, Curate of the ſaid Town, and of other alſo, upon whoſe honeſty well known, and their report herein nothing differing from ſuch as were beſt acquainted with that matter, I have been here the more bold to commit this Story to poſterity, for all good Men to conſider, and judge upon.

Edward Sharp.

Septemb. 8. The Martyrdom of *Edw. Sharp* at *Briſtow.*

ABout the beginning of the next Month following, which was September, a certain godly, aged, devout perſon, and zealous of the Lords glory, born in *Wiltſhire*, named *Edward Sharp*, of the age of forty years or thereabout, was condemned at *Briſtow* to the like Martyrdom, where he conſtantly and manfully perſiſting in the juſt quarrel of Chriſts Goſpel, for miſliking and renouncing the Ordinances of the Romiſh Church, was tried as pure Gold, and made a lively Sacrifice in the Fire: in whoſe death, as in the death of all his other Saints, the Lord be glorified and thanked for his great grace of conſtancy; to whom be praiſe for ever, Amen.

Four ſuffered at Mayfield.

Septemb. 24 The Martyrdom of 4. at *Mayfield* in *Suſſex.*

NExt after the Martyrdom of *Edward Sparp*, above ſaid, followed four, which ſuffered at *Mayfield*, in *Suſſex*, the 24. day of *September*, *Ann.* 1556. of whoſe Names, two we find recorded, and the other two we yet know not, and therefore according to our Regiſter, hereunder they be ſpecified, as we find them.

John Hart.
Thomas Ravenſdale.
A Shoomaker.
And a Currier.

Which ſaid four, being at the place where they ſhould ſuffer, after they had made their prayer, and were at the Stake ready to abide the force of the Fire, they conſtantly and joyfully yielded their *Lives* for the teſtimony of the Glorious Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, unto whom be praiſe for ever and ever, Amen.

Septemb. 25. The Martyrdom of a Carpenter at *Briſtow.*

The day after the Martyrdom of theſe forſaid at *Mayfield*, which was the 25. of *September*, *Annn.* 1556. was a young man (which by ſcience was a Carpenter, whoſe Name we have not) put to death, for the like teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, at *Briſtow*, where he yielding himſelf to the torments of the Fire, gave up his Life into the hands of the Lord, with ſuch joyful conſtancy and triumph, as all the Church of Chriſt have juſt cauſe to praiſe God for him.

The Martyrdom of John Horn *and a Woman.*

Anno 1556.

NOw not long after the death of the ſaid young man at *Briſtow*, in the ſame Month were two more Godly Martyrs conſumed by Fire at *Wotton Underhedge* in *Gloceſterſhire*, whoſe Names are above ſpecified, which died very gloriouſly in a conſtant Faith, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the Godly. So gloriouſly did the Lord work in them, that death unto them was Life, and Life with a blotted Conſcience was death.

Septemb 27. The Martyrdom of *John Horn*, and a Woman at *Wotton Underhedge* in *Gloceſterſhire.*

A pittiful Story concerning the unmerciful handling of William Dangerfield, *and* Joan *his Wife being in Child-Bed, taken out of her Houſe, with her ſucking Infant of fourteen days old, and laid in the common jayl amongſt thieves and murtherers.*

The cruel handling of *W. Dangerfield* and *Joan* his Wife.

WHen I had written and finiſhed the Story of the *Garnſey* Women, with the young Infant there with them burned, and alſo had paſſed the burning of the poor blind woman *Joan Waſte* at *Darby*, I well hoped I ſhould have found no more ſuch Stories of unmerciful cruelty ſhewed upon ſilly Women with their Children and young Infants: but now coming to the perſecution of *Gloceſterſhire* about the parts of *Briſtow*, I find another Story of ſuch unmercifulneſs ſhewed againſt a Woman in Child-Bed, as far from all charity and humanity, as hath been any other Story yet hitherto rehearſed, as by the ſequel hereof may appear.

In the Pariſh of *Wotton Underhedge*, not far from *Briſtow*, was dwelling one *W. Dangerfield*, a right honeſt and godly poor Man, who by *Joan Dangerfield* his Wife had nine Children, and ſhe now lying in Child-Bed of the tenth. This *William* after he had been abroad from his houſe a certain ſpace, for fear of perſecution hearing that his Wife was brought to Bed, repaired home to viſit her, as natural duty required, and to ſee his Children, ſhe being now delivered four days before.

The return of this Man was not ſo ſoon known to ſome of his unkind and uncharitable Neighbours, but they incenſed with the Spirit of Papiſtry, eſtſoons beſet the houſe about, and there took the ſame *William Dangerfield*, and carried him to priſon, and ſo at length he was brought to the Biſhop, being then *Brooks*, in whoſe cruel handling he remained a certain ſpace, ſo long, till his Legs almoſt were fretted off with Irons.

W. Dangerfield apprehended in his own houſe.

No charity in Popery to be noted.

After the apprehenſion of the Husband, the Wife likewiſe was taken, with her young born Child, being but fourteen days old (as is ſaid) out of her Child-Bed, and carried into the Common Jayl, and there placed amongſt thieves and murtherers, where both ſhe and her poor innocent found ſo ſmall charity amongſt the Catholick Men, that ſhe never could come to any Fire, but was driven to warm the clothes that ſhe ſhould put about the Child in her boſom.

Joan the Wife of *W. Dangerfield* taken with her young infant out of Child-Bed, and had to priſon.

In the mean ſeaſon while they lay thus incloſed in ſeveral Priſons, the Husband and the Wife, the Biſhop beginneth to practiſe not with the Woman firſt, as the Serpent did with *Eve*, but with the Man, craftily deceiving his ſimplicity with fair glozing words, falſly perſwading him that his Wife had recanted, and asking him, wherefore he ſhould more ſtand in his own conceit, then ſhe being as well learned as he, and ſo ſubtlely drew out a form of recantation, wherewith he deceived the ſimple Soul. Whereunto after that he had once granted that he would conſent, although he had not yet recanted they ſuffered him to go to his Wife, where ſhe lay in the Common Jayl,

Dangerfield made to believe falſly, that his Wife had recanted.

Dangerfield upon hope of his Wives recantation, conſenced to the Biſhop.

Then they with melting hearts opening their minds one to another, when he ſaw his Wife not releaſed, and perceiving that he had not done well, he declared unto her the whole matter, how falſly he was circumvented by the ſubtle flatterings of the Biſhop, bearing him in hand, that certainly ſhe had recanted: and thus deceiving me (ſaid he) brought this unto me, and ſo plucked out of his boſom the Copy of the recantation, whereunto he had granted his promiſe. At the ſight whereof the Wife hearing what her Husband had done, her heart clave a ſunder, ſaying, Alack, thus long have we continued one, and hath Satan ſo prevailed, to cauſe you to break your firſt vow made

Anno 1557. made to Christ in Baptism? And so departed the said *William* and *Joan* his wife, with what hearts the Lord knoweth. Then began he not a little to bewail his promise made to the Bishop, and to make his Prayer to Almighty God, desiring him that he might not live so long as to call evil good, and good evil; or light darkness, or darkness light; and so departed he home toward his house: where, by the way homeward (as it is affirmed) he took his death, and shortly after departed, according to his prayer, after he had endured in Prison twelve weeks.

The prayer of *Dangerfield* to God. The death of the Husband.

After this, *Joan* his wife continued still in Prison with her tender Infant, till at last she was brought before that Bishop to be examined. Whereunto what her Answers were, it is not certainly known. Howbeit most like it is whatsoever they were, they pleased not the Bishop, as appeared by his ire increased against the poor woman, and her long continuance in the Prison, together with her tender Babe, which also remained with her in the Jayl, partaker of her Martyrdom, so long as her milk would serve to give it suck, till at length the child, being starved for cold and famine, was sent away when it was past all remedy, and so shortly after died: And not long after the Mother also followed. Besides, the old woman, which was Mother of the Husband, of the age of eighty years and upward, who being left in the House after their apprehension, for lack of comfort there perished also.

The young Infant famished in Prison. The martyrdom of the Mother.

The death of the old Woman.

And thus have ye in one Story the death of four together; first of the old Woman, then of the Husband, after that of the innocent Child, and lastly of the Mother. What became of the other nine Children, I am not perfectly sure, but that I partly understand, that they were all undone by the same.

This Story is reported and testified as well by others, as namely by Mrs. *Bridges*, dwelling in the same Town, and partaker then of the like Afflictions, and hardly escaped with her life.

A Shoo-maker suffering in Northampton.

Octob. 11. The martyrdom of a Shoo-maker of *Northampton.*

IN the Month of *October* following, was burned at the Town of *Northampton* a Shoo-maker, a true Witness and Disciple of the Lord, who according to the grace of God given unto him, cleaving fast to the sound Doctrine and preaching of Gods Word, renounced the untrue and false coloured Religion of the Romish See, wherein many a good man hath been drowned.

Octob. 18. Three died in the Castle of *Chichester*, Confessors. *John Hooke* Martyr.

After whom, not long after in the same Month of *October*, died also in the Castle of *Chichester* three godly Confessors, being there in Bonds for the like cause of Christs Gospel, who also should have suffered the like Martyrdom, had not their natural death, or rather (as it is to be suspected) the cruel handling of the Papists, made them away before, and afterward buried them in the field.

I read moreover that in this present year, to wit, *Anno* 1556. was burnt one called *Hooke*, a true Witness of the Lords truth at *Chester*.

Five famished in Canterbury *Castle, by the unmerciful tyranny of the Papists, about the beginning of* November.

Bp. Boner, *Nich. Harpsfield*, D. *Dunning*, three fore Persecutors.

AS among all the Bishops, *Boner* Bishop of *London*, principally excelled in persecuting the poor Members and Saints of Christ; so of all Archdeacons, *Nicholas Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *Canterbury* (as may by mans sight appear) was the forest, and of least Compassion (only *Dunning* of *Norwich* excepted) by whose unmerciful Nature and agrest Disposition, very many were put to death in that Dioceis of *Canterbury*, not only in the bloody time of that Queen, but some also in the blessed beginning of this our most renowned Queen that now is, as by the grace of Christ hereafter shall appear.

Persecution in *Kent.*

Of those that suffered in Queen *Maries* time within the aforesaid Dioceis of *Canterbury*, some be recited already, with the order and form set down of such Articles as then were most commonly ministred to the Examinates by *Thornton*, Suffragan of *Dover*, and the said *Nicholas Harpsfield*, and others, as before in the Volume of this History may appear.

Now to proceed in order and course of time where we left, next followeth the Month of *November*.

15. Martyrs and Confessors together prisoners in *Canterbury.*

In the beginning whereof were together in the Castle of *Canterbury* fifteen godly and innocent Martyrs, of which number not one escaped with their life, but either were burned, or else famished in Prison. Of the which two sorts, which is the easier death, God knoweth, it is hard to judge. Notwithstanding, the truth is, that of these fifteen, ten were burned and suffered in the fire, of whom in the next Book more shall follow hereafter, the Lord willing. The other five were pined and famished most unmercifully in the streight Prison, of whom we have here presently to intreat. Whose names were these:

Five Confessors and Martyrs famished in Prison.

1. *John Clark.*
2. *Dunston Chittenden.*
3. *William Foster* of *Stone.*
4. *Alice, Potkins* wife of *Staplehurst.*
5. *John Archer* of *Crambroke*, Weaver.

Which two were yet uncondemned.

These were condemned to be burned.

Mr. *Foster*, *Alice Potkin*, *John Archer*, died after their Condemnation.

Of these five Prisoners, the first two were uncondemned, the other three last were condemned, and should have been burned, but suffered no less torments then if they had abided the fire, being macerate and pined to death by Famine. What their Articles and Answers were, I need not here to recite, seeing all they, in the time of Queen *Mary*, commonly suffered for one manner and sort of cause, that is, for holding against the seven Sacraments, against the Reality of Christs being in his Supper, for speaking against the Church of *Rome*, and determinations of the same, against Images set up and worshipped in the Church, for not coming to Church, and other like, *&c.*

W. *Foster* Martyr. His Answer to the Articles.

First, *William Foster*, answering to these and like Articles, said, That he believed well in all the Articles of the Creed; but to believe that there be more Sacraments then two, and to pray to Saints either to profit us, or to pray for Souls in Purgatory to profit them, that Faith and Works do justifie, or to allow the Popish Ceremonies in the Church, that he denied. Moreover he said, to carry Candles upon *Candlemas-day*, were as good for him, as to carry a Dung-fork, and that it is as necessary to carry the Gallows about, if his Father were hanged, as the Cross. To come to the Church he cannot, said he, with a safe Conscience. Concerning Fish-days and Flesh-days, he granted it good to put difference therein, except where necessity required the contrary.

Carrying about the Cross. Necessity always excused in matters indifferent.

W. *Foster* apprehended by Sir *Tho. Moyle.*

This *William Foster* was a Labouring man, of the age of fourty years. He was apprehended and imprisoned by Sir *Thomas Moyle* Kt.

Mother *Potkins*, Martyr, troubled by W. *Roberts.*

Alice Potkins for the like Confession, was condemned to be burned, for that she was not, neither would be confessed to the Priest, for that she received not the Sacrament of the Altar, because she would not pray to Saints, nor creep to the Cross, *&c.* Being demanded of her age, she said that she was 49. years old, according to her old age; and according to her young age, since she learned Christ, she was of one years age, and was committed by Mr. *Roberts* to Prison.

Alice Potkins in Christ but one year old.

The Answer of *John Archer*, Martyr.

The Answer and Confession of *John Archer* of *Crambroke* was much in like sort. And although certain of these upon ignorant simplicity swerved a little in the number of Sacraments, some granting one Sacrament, that is, the body of Christ hanging upon the Cross, some more, some less, *&c.* yet in the principal matter touching the Doctrine of Salvation for Faith to stay upon, and in disagreeing from the dreaming determinations of the Popish Church, they most agreed. Concerning the not praying to Saints; and for the Dead in Purgatory; for not creeping to the Cross, for Faith only to justifie; for taking of an Oath, and other such like, he granted as the other had done. This Father *Archer*, by his Occupation a Weaver of the Town of *Crambroke*, of the age of fifty years, was attached and imprisoned by Sir *John Gilford* Kt. And thus have ye the Cause and Imprisonment of these five godly Prisoners. Now as touching the cruelty of their death, that ye shall not surmise the suspicion or relation thereof to proceed of my self, you shall hear their own testimony and certification by their own Letter, thrown out of the Prison, concerning the unmerciful dealing of the Catholick Tyrants in famishing them, as is aforesaid. The Words and Copy of their Letter is this.

Sir *John Gilford* committed Father *Archer* to Prison.

The Copy of a Letter written and caſt out of the Caſtle of *Canterbury* by the Priſoners there in Bonds for Gods Word, declaring how the Papiſts went about to famiſh them to death; of the which Company five were famiſhed among them already.

The Priſoners Letter, declaring how they were handled and famiſhed in Priſon.

BE it known to all men that ſhall read, or hear read theſe our Letters, that we the poor Priſoners of the Caſtle of Canterbury *for Gods Truth, are kept and lye in cold Irons, and our Keepers will not ſuffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheeſe, or any other food, the ſaid Keeper will charge them that ſo bring us any thing, except mony or rayment, to carry it them again; or elſe if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himſelf, and he and his ſervants do ſpend it, ſo that we have nothing thereof; and thus the Keeper keepeth away our victuals from us. Inſomuch that there are four of us Priſoners there for Gods Truth, famiſhed already, and thus is it his mind to famiſh us all: and we think he is appointed thereunto by the Biſhops and Prieſts, and alſo of the Juſtices, ſo to famiſh us, and not only us of the ſaid Caſtle, but alſo all other Priſoners in other Priſons for the like cauſe to be alſo famiſhed: notwithſtanding we write not theſe our Letters, to that intent we might not afford to be famiſhed for the Lord Jeſus ſake, but for this cauſe and intent, that they, having no law ſo to famiſh us in Priſon, ſhould not do it privily, but that the Murtherers hearts ſhould be openly known to all the world, that all men may know of what Church they are, and who is their Father.* Out of the Caſtle of Canterbury.

The trouble and vexation of good people in the Dioceſs of Lichfield.

Dr. Baine, Dr. *Draicut*, his Chancellor in *Lichfield*, cruel Perſecutors.

THeſe foreſaid Months of *September*, *November*, and *December*, as they were troubleſome to divers other places, and eſpecially to the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, by reaſon of the Archdeacon above named; ſo likewiſe they brought no little buſineſs in the Country to *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, by a cruel Biſhop there, called *Ralph Baine*, and a more cruel Chancellor named Doctor *Draicot*, through the fierce Inquiſition of whom great ſtir was there among the People, being called to examination of their Faith, and many cauſed to bear Fagots. Who, although they were not put to the torment of death, yet becauſe it may appear what a number there is in the Countries of *England* abroad, which in their hearts have a miſliking of the Popes Romiſh Laws and Religion, if for fear they durſt utter their minds, I thought to make a rehearſal of their names, which in the foreſaid Dioceſs of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, were taken in ſuſpicion, and examined for their Religion.

The names of them that bare Fagots in the Dioceſs of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*.

And firſt amongſt them that were detected and enjoyned to the Popiſh Penance, that is, to bear a Fagot, Candle, and Beads about in Proceſſion, were *Agnes Foreman*, detected, examined, and by witneſs convicted, and bare a Fagot the 12th of *September*. Likewiſe *Margery Kirry*, *Thomas Norris*, *Tho. Stiffe*, *Will. Kaime*, *Robert Katrenes*, *Tho. Smith*, *John Borſley* the younger. *Item*, *John Waterhouſe*, againſt whom came in witneſs and accuſers *Richard Caterbanke*, *J. Edge*, *William Smith*, *Robert Cooke*, laying againſt him for ſeldom coming to the Church, for giving no reverence at the elevation of the Sacrament, but looking upon his Book, for not kiſſing the Pax, &c. *Robert Biſſel*, *Leonard Weſt*, *Richard Baily* of the Pariſh of *Whiteacre*.

Theſe were deprived.

Nicholas Cartwright, Doctor.
Richard Jurdian, Prieſt.
Edmund Crokel, Prieſt.
Thomas Whitehead, Prieſt.
William Taylor, Prieſt.
Anſelme Sele, Prieſt.
Richard Slavy, Prieſt married.
Edward Hawkes, Prieſt married.
Robert Aſton, Prieſt deprived.
Henry Tecka, Prieſt deprived.
Robert Moſſey, Prieſt, married and deprived.

Beſide theſe were divers other, which in like ſort were detected, accuſed and examined, although they bare no Fagot, but were diſmiſſed; as *Richard Kempe*, *John Frankling*, *William Marler*, *Julitis Dudley*, *Euſtache Byſacre*, *William Shene*, *Antony Afterwhittle*, *Thomas Steilbe*, *Henry Birdlim*, *William Moſley*, *John Leach*, *John Richardſon*, *Antony Jones*, alias *Pulton*; *Thomas Wilſon*, *Thomas Lynacres*, and *Hugh Lynacres* his Son; *Iſabel Parker*, *Martin Newman*, *William Enderby*, *Cicely Preſton*, *Tho. Saulter*, *John Stamford* Shoomaker, *Richard Woodburne*, *Thomas Arnal* Shoomaker, *John Robinſon*, *Hugh Moore* Shoomaker, *John Adale*, *Thomas Arch*, *Frances Ward*, *John Avines*, *Richard Foxal*, *Thomas Underdonne*, *Richard Weaver*.

Anno 1557. The names of them which were troubled there, and bare no Fagots.

The next Month following, being *October*, came under examination *Joyce Lewes* Gentlewoman, of whom we defer to ſpeak until the next year, at what time ſhe was burned.

Joyce Lewes Martyr, read hereafter.

Theſe forenamed perſons, with many more following in the next year after, although they did ſubſcribe and relent through fear of death; yet for this cauſe I do here recite them, that by them it might appear, what a number there were, not only in the Country of *Lichfield*, but alſo in other parts, in heart ſet againſt the Popes proceedings, if that Fear rather than Conſcience had not compelled them to the contrary.

The Concluſion of this Eleventh Book, with a brief Story of Sir John Cheeke, *&c.*

The Concluſion of the 11th Book.

AND thus have ye the whole Perſecution of this year declared, which was the year of our Lord 1556, and the fourth of Queen *Maries* Reign, with the Names and Cauſes of all them which ſuffered Martyrdom within the compaſs of the ſaid year: the number of all which, ſlain and martyred in divers places of *England* at ſundry times this year, came to above 84. Perſons, whereof many were Women, Wives, Widows, and Maidens; beſides them which otherwiſe by ſecret practiſe were made away, or driven out of Goods and Houſes, or out of the Realm, or elſe within the Realm were put to Penance and coacted by forcible violence to Recant, ſave only that I have omitted the Story of Sir *John Cheeke*, Kt. and Schoolmaſter ſometime of K. *Edward*. The worthineſs of which man deſerveth much to be ſaid of him; but his fall would rather be covered in ſilence and oblivion. Only to note a word or two of a few things to the preſent Story moſt principally appertaining, it ſhall ſuffice.

84. Martyrs and above in this year 1556. put to death in this Realm.

A brief declaration of Mr. Cheeks Recantation.

Firſt Mr. *Cheeke* being in the Country of *Germany*, out of all danger of Perſecution, with many more of his own Country-men and Acquaintance, was not only in Safety, but alſo with Reputation accordingly eſteemed among the Germans, and alſo well placed in the City of *Strausbourge*. Where if he had contented himſelf to have remained, rather giving place to time, then to preſume upon Adventures, peradventure it had been better with him. But what fatal inſtigation wrought in his mind I know not. In the end ſo it fell, that he would needs take his Journey with Sir *Peter Carew*, from *High Germany* unto *Bruxels*, and that (as I have credibly heard of them which knew ſomewhat) not without the forecaſting of his adventured Journey by the conſtellation of the Stars, and diſpoſition of the Heavens above. For as he was a man famouſly expert, and travelled in the knowledge of ſundry Arts and Sciences; ſo was he a little too much addicted to the curious practiſing of this Star Divinity, which we call Aſtrology. But howſoever it was, or whatſoever it was that the Stars did promiſe him, truth was, that men here in earth kept little promiſe with him. For having (as it is ſaid) King *Philips* ſafe conduct to paſs and repaſs, and that by the means (as I find) of the Lord *Paget*, and Sir *John Maſ.* pledging for his ſafeguard King *Philips* fidelity, he came to *Bruxels* to ſee the Queens Ambaſſadors: and having brought the Lord *Paget* on his way toward *England*, in the return between *Bruxels* and *Antwerp* he was taken with Sir *Peter Carew* by the Provoſt Marſhal, ſpoiled of their Horſes, and clapped into a Cart, their Legs, Arms and bodies tied with Haltars to the body of the Cart, and ſo ſhipped being blindfold under the Hatches, and ſo brought to the *Tower* of *London*.

Aſtrology.

Mr. Cheeke and Sir Peter Carew apprehended in their Journey to Antwerp.

Thus

Anno 1557.

Thus the good man being intrapped, and in the hands now of his Enemies, had but one of these two ways to take, either to change his Religion, or to change his life, other remedy with those holy Catholicks there was none. Neither could his Conscience excuse him, nor Truth defend him, nor Learning help him.

Mr. Fecknam speaketh for Mr. Cheeke.

Albeit Mr. *Fecknam*, whether by the Queen suborned, or upon his own Devotion or Friendship toward his old Acquaintance, took upon him the Defence and Commendation of Mr. *Cheek*, speaking in his behalf: yet no Mercy could be had with the Queen, but he must needs Recant, and so did he. The Copy of whose Recantation prescribed unto him, because it is known and in the hands of divers, it needeth not here to be expressed.

The death and repentance of Sir John Cheeke.

Then after this Recantation, he was through the crafty handling of the Catholicks, allured first to dine and company with them, at length drawn unawares to sit in place, whereas the poor Martyrs were brought before *Boner* and other Bishops to be condemned; the remorse whereof so mightily wrought in his heart, that not long after he left this mortal life. Whose fall, although it was full of Infirmity, yet his rising again by Repentance was great, and his end comfortable, the Lord be praised.

THE TWELFTH BOOK:

CONTAINING

The bloody Doings and Persecutions of the Adversaries, against the faithful and true Servants of Christ, with the particular Processes and Names of such as were put to slaughter from the beginning of *January* 1557. and the fifth year of Queen *Mary*.

The order and manner of the Cardinals Visitation in Cambridge, *with the condemning, taking up, and burning the Bones and Books of* Bucer *and* Paulus Phagius, Anno 1557. January 9.

Visitation of Cambridge, with the burning of Martin Bucer's & Paulus Phagius's bones.

CArdinal *Poole*, three years after his return into *England*, having somewhat withdrawn his mind from other Affairs of the Realm, and having in all points established the Romish Religion, began to have an eye to the University of *Cambridge*, which place among other, specially seemed to have need of Reformation out of hand. To perform this charge were chosen *Cuthbert Scot*, not long before consecrated Bishop of *Chester*, *Nicholas Ormanet* an Italian, Arch-priest of the People of *Bodolon*, in the Diocese of *Vernon*, professed in both the Laws, and bearing the name of the Popes Datary, *Thomas Watson*, elected Bishop of *Lincoln*, *John Christopherson*, elected Bishop of *Chichester*, and *Henry Cole* Provost of the College of *Eaton*. There was good cause why the matter was especially committed to these persons. For as touching *Ormanet*, it is well known that he was a man of much estimation with *Julius* the third, at that time Bishop of *Rome*, and was appointed to come into *England* with Cardinal *Poole*, because without his knowledge (as in whom he put his chief trust and confidence) the Bishop would have nothing done that was of any importance or weight.

The Inquisitors.

These persons thus appointed (in the mean while as the Visitors were addressing themselves to their Journey) sent their Letters with the Cardinals Citation before to Doctor *Andrew Pern*, Vice-Chancellor then of *Cambridge*, with the other Commissioners associate, commanding him to warn all the Graduates of the University, in their Name, to be in a readiness against the 11th day of *January*, betwixt eight and ten of the Clock, in the Church of S. *Mary* the Virgin: willing him especially to be there himself in Presence, and also to set forward all the residue, to whose charge it belonged, that they should search out all Statutes, Books, Priviledges, and Monuments appertaining to the University, or to any of the Colledges, or finally to any of themselves, and these to present the same before them at the day appointed, and every man to appear there personally: for they would not fail, but be there at the same time, to lay before them such things as should seem necessary to this charge of reforming the University, and further to give charge of all such things as should seem most for the profit and behoof of the same, together with such things as were to be done on their part, according as should seem most agreeable to the Decrees of the Canon Law.

A Citation sent before to Dr. *Andrew Pern*, Vice-Chancellor.

This Citation of the Cardinal, being brought to *Cambridge* by Mr. *Bullock*, was first exhibited in the Convocation House of Regents, and there openly read by the Orator of the University the 11. of *December*.

Preparation in *Cambridge* toward the Visitation.

After this, upon the 24. of *December*, which was *Christmas-Even*, the Vice-Chancellor with the Heads of the Houses, meeting together in the Schools, it was there concluded, that the Visitors charges should be born by the University and Colledges (which then cost the University an hundred pound thick) and also that no Master of any Colledge should suffer any of the Fellows, Scholars, or Ministers to go forth of the Town, but to return before the Visitation.

On *Friday* the eighth of *January*, the Queens Commissioners, *videlicet*, Dr. *Perne* Vice-Chancellor, Dr. *Segewicke*, Dr. *Harvy*, Mr. *Franck*, *Kust*, and another who is here nameless, and also Sir *James Dyer*, the Recorder, Mr. *Chapman*, *Evered* sitting together in the Hall, certain were there called by the appointment of *L. Hawes*, and charge given what should be done. And first the Commission was read. Then were all the High-Constables called to bring in their Precepts, and sworn. Also two of every Parish of ten or twelve hundreds, were sworn to inquire of Heresie, Lollardy, Conspiracy, Seditious Words, Tales, and Rumours against the King and Queen. *Item*, For Heretical and Seditious Books, for negligences and misdemeanor in the Church, for observation of Ceremonies, for Ornaments, and Stock of the Church.

The cause why the Reformation was taken in hand.

We said at the first, that the Cardinal thought the University to have need of Reformation. The reason why he should think so, was this; either because the same of long continuance since any man could remember, had cast off the yoke of the Bishop of *Rome*, and cleaved to the wholesom Doctrine of the Gospel; or else by reason that both for the late Schism, not yet worn out of memory, and for the Doctrine of *Martin Bucer*, who not long before openly in the said University interpreted holy Scripture, they saw many so sore corrupted and spotted with this infection, that (even as when fire is spread in a Town) unless a speedy remedy were adhibited out of hand, it were not possible to their thinking, to quench it many years after. Who also feared (if it were not looked to in time) lest this mischief should take root, and by little and little infect all the Members next unto it, which yet were whole and sound.

Anno 1556.

This was the year of our Lord 1556. To the intent therefore to make a salve for this sore, the Inquisitors, of whom we spake before, came unto *Cambridge* the ninth day of *January*. And as they were yet in their Journey, and far from the Town, divers of the Masters and Presidents of the Colledges met them, and brought them courteously, first into the Town, and after to their Lodgings. They were entertained in *Trinity Colledge* by Mr. *John Christopherson* Master of the same House, and lately before elected Bishop of *Chichester*. Notwithstanding they were delired, some to one place, and some to another, as occasion served, either to do their duties, or to shew their good wills: *Cole* to the *Kings Colledge*, and Doctor *Watson* to S. *Johns*. But whether it were for the acquaintance of *Christopherson*, or for the largeness of the House, which seemed most convenient for their purpose, they all took up their Lodgings in the said Colledge with Mr. *Christopherson*.

The coming of the Inquisitors, and of their entertainment.

Mr. Christopherson Master of Trinity Colledge, Bp. elect of Chichester.

At their coming thither an Oration was made by a Fellow of the House, who in the name of all the rest, with long protestation declared that they were most heartily welcome thither, and that He and his Fellows gave them great thanks, that it had pleased their Lordships to have so good opinion of them, as to chuse their house especially to lodge in, whereby they had both incouraged them to stand in hope of some further Benevolence towards them, and also done great worship to their Colledge by their being there: wherefore they should look at their hand again for as much duty and reverence, as lay in their power to perform.

An Oration gratulatory at their coming thither.

To this Oration *Watson* made answer, That this forward and earnest good wills and minds of theirs, in doing such courtesie, was right thankfully taken, both of him, and his, exhorting them to continue stedfastly in the same, and to proceed also when need should require: for it was so far from any of their thoughts, to stop them in this their race, that they would rather haste them forward to run through more speedily, being not without good cause perswaded to conceive good hope of their Benevolence towards them, in as much as they would do for them, whatsoever might turn to their profit and commodity.

Watson answereth to the Oration.

This day, for so much as it was toward Evening e're they came, and the Sun was going down, was nothing else done. The next day, being the Tenth of *January*, they bestowed in recreating themselves after their Journey, and in letting other things at a stay. Nevertheless, to the intent the same should not escape altogether without doing somewhat, they interdicted the two Churches, namely S. *Maries*, where Mr. *Bucer*, and S. *Michaels*, where *Paulus Phagius* lay buried.

Jan. 9, 10. S. Maries and S. Michaels interdicted because of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius Burial.

These men were dead a good while before, *Paulus Phagius* had scarce yet shewed the proof of his Wit and Learning, when he departed to God, 1549. *Bucer* lived but a little after. During which time somewhat by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly (wherein the old man, being painful in the Word of God, never spared himself, nor regarded his health) he brought all men into such admiration of him, that neither his Friends could sufficiently praise him, neither his Enemies in any point find fault with his singular Life and sincere Doctrine. A most certain Token whereof may be his sumptuous Burial, solemnized with so great assistance and gladness of all the Degrees of the University, that it was not possible to devise more to the setting out and amplifying of the same. The whole manner and order of the doing whereof being written by Mr. *Nicholas Carre*, a Learned man, in a little Treatise to Sir *John Cheeke* Kt. with an Epistle full of Consolation, as concerning his departure added thereunto, was sent afterward unto *Peter Martyr*, then abiding at *Oxford*.

Commendation of Martin Bucer.

From the Burial of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, unto the coming of these Visitors, were passed about three or four years more or less. And from the time that that blessed King *Edward* the Sixth, deceased, unto that day, the Priests never ceased to celebrate their Masses, and other kind of Ceremonies in those places, and that without scruple of Conscience, as far as men could perceive. But after the time that these Commissioners came thither, those things that before were accounted for sacred and holy, began to be denounced for prophane and unholy. For they commanded that all those Assemblies that should hereafter be made for the executing of holy Ceremonies, should be removed to the *Kings Chappel*, which is a place far more stately than all the other.

Now was come the 11. day, in the which the Vice-Chancellor of the University, with the Masters and Presidents of Colledges, and all the other Graduates of every House, were commanded to appear before the said Commissioners in their Habits. It was commanded that the Scholars also should come in their Surplices, but that was not done. They assembled in great number to *Trinity Colledge*, having the University Cros born before them, and in the *Gatehouse* a Fourm was set and covered, with Cushions and Carpet on the ground for the Visitors. Where the Vice-Chancellor, having on a Tisshew Cope, sprinkled Holy-water on them, and purposed to cense them, but they refused it there, which notwithstanding afterward in the *Queens Colledge*, and elsewhere, they refused not.

January 11.

There Mr. *John Stokes*, common Orator of the University, made an Oration in the Name of all the rest. The Copy whereof I thought good here to exemplificate in Latin, as it was pronounced.

Mr. Stokes *Oration to Queen* Maries *Visitors at* Cambridge An. 1557. January 11.

The Oration of Mr. Stokes publick Orator of the University.

Academia, Reverendi Patres, in expectatione adventus vestri sollicita aliquandiu fuit, nunc præsentiæ dominationum vestrarum valde recreata libentissime vultus vestros intuetur, & ad apertam voluntatis suæ testificationem ecce universa se suasq; opes effudit. Convenit in hunc locum tota Cantabrigiæ frequentia, adsunt omnes ordines, de quorum certa mihi & explorata ad hanc rem voluntate illud publica fide, apud dominationes vestras affirmo, eos, & separatim singulos, & conjunctim omnes; optatissimum hunc adventum mirificis studiis, & consentientibus animis gratulari. Illud enim omnium animis habemus persuasum, & negotium hoc quod hodierno die, favente Deo, excellentia vestra auspicatur, ad Academiæ rationes fore accommodum, neq; in re ad communem salutem tam necessaria operam aliquando vestram nobis defuturam. Permulta sunt ad hanc opinionem confirmandam, sed cætera non persequor: ea tantum oratione attingam, quæ ita intime cum præsenti negotio cohærent, ut divelli ab eo disjungiq; nulla ratione possint. Atq; sunt illa quidem numero certa & finita; verum re & virtute ita immensa, ut nullâ dicendi facultate mea plenè comprehendi possint: quoniam tamen ut antea sum professus summam esse Academiæ lætitiam, eamq; justis de causis in adventu vestro susceptam, quæso à vobis ut dum eas breviter recenseo faciles mihi aures præbeatis.

Reverendiss. in Christo Pater Cardinalis Polus, Legatus, qui religionem oppressam restituit, patriæ ruinas sustulsit, leges & decreta quasi postliminio reduxit, iste inquam, iste Polus Anglus & vere noster Moses, legationis vestræ autor est, a cujus excellenti virtute in omnes suæ patriæ partes plurima commoda dimanarunt. Quo vinculo necessitudinis, etsi omnibus temporibus optima ab illo sperare liceret, quod ex corpore simus ipsius Reipub. arctior est tamen & interior causa, quæ nobis cum dominatione illius separatim intercedit. Superiore anno Academiæ procurationem in se humaniss. recepit, quam liberari custodia ita cœptam tenere se velle literis significavit, ut non solum incommoda dimoveret, quibus studia nostra affligerentur, sed ut ornamenta adjiceret ea, quorum splendore augeri dignitas Academiæ aut maxime illustrari posset. Quæ res & spem antea nostram confirmavit, et nunc in eam cogitationem nos adduxit, ut omnem illius humanitatem in hanc unam visitationem esse collectam putemus, in qua quidem ea a vobis expectamus omnia, quæ summi Cancellarii nostri insignis amor, præter communem charitatem Academiæ, quasi pupillæ suæ propriæ pollicetur. Atq; utinam quidem ipse fine Reipublicæ detrimento hoc tempore adesse posset, & Academiam suam è tenebris & profunda nocte emersam ipse suis radiis veræ religionis splendore illustraret: verum optioni nostræ publica utilitas repugnat, qua valde impeditus sanctissimæ sedis Apost. legatus vos vicarios substituit; quorum naturas propter providentiam, personas propter dignitatem, voluntates propter educationem aptissimas ad hanc rem esse judicavit. Itaque illud verè & ex animis istorum omnium affirmare possum, vos eos esse viros quorum religionem amamus, virtutem colimus, voluntatem, fidem, & consilium ad publicam salutem

Card. Pole.

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ſalutem impendimus. Poſt quam enim ſingulari & præſtantiſſima virtute Cardinalis Poli, Legati, è ſuperiorum temporum caligine, & tenebris, lucem in republica reſticere cœpimus, una certè graviſſima etiam ſuperioris ætatis mala ſenſimus, quibus profecto infinitis & miſerrimis etſi antea premeremur, tamen ad calamitatis noſtræ magnitudinem acceſſit ejuſdem ignoratio, ut (mea quidem opinione) eo magis ſimus miſerabiles judicandi, quòd tam turbulenta tempeſtate jactati ne moveri quidem nos, tam gravi & periculoſo hæreſis morbo oppreſſi, aut ægrotare mentes noſtras intelleximus. Valde enim periculoſa eſt ægrotatio illa, quæcunque ſine doloris ſenſu naturam conficit, & affectos ſæpe prius extinguit, quam ægrotare ſe fateantur. Ejuſmodi morbo Academia laborabat, quæ ad alias fortaſſe res ſatis ingenioſa & ſolers, in hac Religionis cauſa, propter caput Eccleſiæ læſum, unde omnis ſentiendi vis eſt, omnino hebes, ſtupida, & ſine mente fuit, quoad tertio ante hunc anno divina ſanctiſſimi Patris Julij Clementia Angliæ fere emortuæ miſerata, iterum nos Eccleſiæ inſerit, corpus ſenſuſq; recreat, cujus ope convaleſcens Britannia, quam certa gehennæ pericula effugerit quivis facile intelligit. Idem Academia cernit acutius, neq; quicquam mali uſpiam accidiſſe putat, quo noſtra regio in hac religionis vaſtitate & peſtilentia miſerius fuerit afflicta. Non eſt opus recenſere in hoc loco everſa Monaſteria, ſpoliata Templa, ſtrages Sacerdotum, ædes Nobilium, motus & tumultus populi, totius regni egeſtatem, quæ etſi aliunde accidere poſſunt, tamen cum gravia ſint ut opprimant, ultionis & vindictæ potius quam probandi cauſa in malos & nocentes inſligi putamus. Sed ſunt iſta fortunæ ludibria; Graviora ſumus paſſi religionis & conſcientiæ detrimenta. Pietas in Deum omnis evanuerat, virginalis ſacerdotum profeſſio ad libidinem ſoluta eſt, animus quaſi conſopitus jacebat, quem nullæ Ceremoniæ excitabant, ipſa mens opinionum veritate ita diſtricta, ita ſibi ipſi diſſentiens, ut infinitis erroribus implicaretur. In his erant duo præcipue fontes, ex quorum rivulis & hauſiſſe Academiam paulo liberalius, & illa potione ferme inebriatam confitemur.

Prior ortum habebat ex illa noſtri violenta divulſione à Catholicæ Eccleſiæ unitate, re non diſſimili illius pugnæ, quam olim Menenius Agrippa, in inteſtina civium diſcordia, de corpore humano memorabat. Poſterior ex immenſa palude & cæno Wicleviano emanavit: quem celebris apud nos imo miſerabilis de Sacramento Altaris patefecit. De cujus rei veritate plerique ſuo ſenſu abundantes pro arbitrio quiſque ſuo ſtatuerat. Nos Philoſophos, nec illos quidem optimos, imitati ex Epicureorum ſchola ad ſcripturæ lumen aliquid attulimus. Quod enim Chriſtus omnino, præciſe, & ſine exceptione, de vera & perpetua ſui corporis præſentia affirmarat, (in cujus verbi veritate fundamentum fidei noſtræ collocatur) id nos ita ſumus interpretati, ut mancam & alienam Chriſti vocem judicaremus, niſi illa Epicuri propria particula (quaſi) adderetur, & quod Chriſtiani corpus & ſanguinem, id nos quaſi corpus & ſanguinem diceremus. Sed non eſt iſtius temporis præterita nimium meminiſſe, quæ utinam æterna oblivione obrui poſſent, neque ulla tantæ labis memoria ad poſteros noſtros propagetur; tamen fuerunt attingenda generatim quidem, quod erranti confeſſio ſalutaris ſit: membratim vero, quod Academia his vulneribus à Cenſoria poteſtate confecta, à Cenſoria medicina ad ſalutem reduci poſtulat. Ipſa vero pro ſe & ſuis ſpondet omnes in authoritate veſtra futuros, quos aſſiduis concionibus adeo ad pœnitentiam edocuit, ut & eos ad ſanam religionem fidiſſime tranſiſſe, & in eadem diligenti præſentis vitæ uſu ſuperioris ætatis damna ſarcituros putetis. Nam qui primi in hoc curſu ſunt, acerrimè contendunt in eo, quod tam voluntariè ſeſceperunt: & qui pigrius egreſſi quaſi pomeridianis horis ad hoc certamen acceſſerunt, ea certè præbent jam immutatæ voluntatis indicia, ut quomodo temere & juveniliter à ſana religione defecerunt, ita non niſi maturi & cum judicio ab hæreſi deſciviſſe videantur. Univerſis vero ſimul reſtituta & deſiderata religio magis placere videtur, quam ſi aſſidue præcepta, neque ad tempus obſcurata fuiſſet.

Quapropter Academia ſupplex & proſtrata primum à Deo immortali pacem & veniam petit, precaturque ab eo, ut hodiernum diem ad ſuorum ſalutem conſervandam & Rempubl. hanc conſtituendam illuxiſſe patiatur. Deinde pro ſe, pro ſuis, pro univerſis, pro ſingulis, hanc petitionem ad celſitudines veſtras affert, ut ſuperiorum temporum offenſas ex errore & injuſtitia profectas præſenti hominum induſtriæ condonetis. De reliquis vero pro ſumma prudentia veſtra, & ſingulari in nos amore, eam ſententiam feratis, ut ſuorum cauſas vel juſtitiæ veſtræ bonas inveniat, vel clementia bonas eſſe faciat. In utroque par erit beneficium, ſive Academiam pro cauſarum æquitate judicaveritis, ſive pro amoris veſtri abundantia innocentem eam eſſe volueritis. Nos pro referenda gratia ſummam in ſacris modeſtiam, aſſiduam in litteris operam, perpetuum veræ religionis amorem, ſempiternam veſtri beneficij memoriam repromittimus.

The Anſwer of Mr. Scot, Bp. of *Cheſter*, to the Oration of *John Stokes*.

When he had made an end of ſpeaking, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* anſwered thereunto, that they took in right good part, that the Mother the Univerſity had made ſo open a declaration of her good will toward them: for the which he gave moſt hearty thanks, deſiring her to perform in deed, and in her works, the things that ſhe had ſo largely promiſed of her ſelf in words and communication.

The Commiſſion ſigned by the Cardinal, and why?

AS concerning their good wills, there was no cauſe to miſtruſt. For their coming thither was not to deal any thing roughly with ſuch as fell to the amendment: but both the Cardinal himſelf, and they alſo, were fully minded to ſhew favour, deviſing how to bring all things to peace and tranquillity, deſiring nothing more earneſtly, then that they which have erred and gone aſtray, ſhould return into the right path again. The right Reverend Father, the Lord Cardinal, whom he wiſhed to have been preſent, wiſhed the ſelf ſame thing alſo, deſiring nothing ſo much as he with his own hands to ſuſtain and hold up, now ready to fall, or rather to raiſe up already fallen to the ground, the Univerſity of his Ward: for he gladly taketh upon him the name and duty of her Guardian, whom it greatly grieved, that the infections of the times paſt had ſpread abroad ſo grievous Diſeaſes, that even the Univerſity it ſelf was touched with the contagious Air thereof. For he would gladlier have come hither to viſit and ſalute it, then to correct it, if the weighty affairs of the Realm would have permitted it. But now ſeeing he could not ſo do, he had appointed this Commiſſion, in the which he had aſſigned them to be his Deputies, which (becauſe they knew him to ſet ſo much ſtore by the Univerſity) ſhould extend the more favour to it, and (becauſe they themſelves had been there brought up) would the more earneſtly imbrace it. The chief matter that they came for, tended to this end, that ſuch as had erred ſhould confeſs their faults, and return into the right way again. For they were in good forwardneſs of healing, that acknowledged themſelves to have offended. And therefore it was wiſely propounded on his part, that he would not altogether excuſe the faults of the Univerſity, nor of other men, but confeſs and acknowledge the Crime, as that there were many things had need to be corrected and amended.

The Cauſes declared.

The cauſe why they were ſent thither, was to raiſe up them that were faln, and to receive into favour ſuch as were ſorry and would amend, wherein, if (contrary to their expectation) they ſhould not be able to do ſo much with ſome men as they would: yet notwithſtanding, according to their duty, they would ſhew themſelves ſo diligent for their part, as that no lack might be found in them. For it was more openly known, then that it could be denied, that many men did divers things of a froward wilfulneſs, and took ſtoutly upon them: wherewith as they were greatly moved and grieved (as reaſon was) ſo they coveted to remedy the miſchief. Againſt whom, if any thing ſhould ſeem hereafter to be ſtreightly determined, it was to be imputed to their own deſerts, and not to the wills of them. Neither ought ſuch as are whole and found to be moved at the Chaſtiſement of others, for ſo much as it pertained not only to the wiping out of the foul blot which now ſticked on the Univerſity, but alſo to the health of many others which had taken much hurt by the infection of them. For their own parts they more inclined unto mercy than rigor. Howbeit, conſidering that ſo great diſeaſes could not by gentle medicines be healed, they were driven of neceſſity to uſe ſtronger. And yet if they would be contented to be brought

Mercy more commended of all men, but rigor moſt commonly in acts of moſt men expreſſed.

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again to their right minds, which thing they chiefly covered (for they wished that all should amend and be led by wholesom counsel) and would yet at length wax weary of their Errors, and instead of them frequent again the ancient Customs of themselves, and of their Forefathers, they might boldly look for all kind of Humanity and Gentleness at their hands, in all this their business of Reformation, which they had now entred and begun, requesting no more of the University, but to do as became them: which being performed, he promised that their benevolence, neither in any publick nor in any private persons case, should in any wise be behind hand.

A Mass at the *Kings Colledge*.

These things being finished, they were brought *processionaliter* to the *Kings Colledge*, by all the Graduates of the University, where was sung a Mass of the Holy Ghost with great solemnity, nothing wanting in that behalf that might make to the setting forth of the same. In this place it was marked that *Nicholas Ormanet*, commonly firnamed *Datary*, (who albeit he were inferiour in estate unto *Chester* being a Bishop, yet was superiour to them all in Authority) while the Mass was celebrating, eft standing, eft sitting, and sometime kneeling on his knees, observed certain Ceremonies, which afterward were required of all others to be observed, as in process hereof was to be seen.

Ormanet Datary.

From thence they attended all upon the Legates to St. *Maries* Church, which we declared before to have been interdicted. In the which place, for so much as it was suspended, although no Mass might be sung, yet there was a Sermon made in open Audience by Master *Peacock* in the Latin Tongue, preaching against Heresies and Hereticks, as *Bilney*, *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, &c. The which being ended, they proceeded eftsoons to the Visitation: Where, first Dr. *Harvy* did in the Cardinals name exhibit the Commission to the Bishop of *Chester* with a few words in Latin. Which being accepted, and by Master Clerk openly read to the end, then the Vice-Chancellor with an Oration did exhibit the Certificate under his Seal of Office with the Cardinals Citation annexed, containing every mans name in the University and Colledges, with the Officers and all the Masters of Houses. Among whom was also *Robert Brassey* Master of *Kings Colledge*, a worthy old man, both for his Wisdom and his Hoar-hairs: Who hearing his own name recited next after the Vice-chancellors, said, He was there present as all the other were: nevertheless, forsomuch as the Reformation of his House was wholly reserved to the discretion of the Bishop of *Lincoln*, not only by the Kings Letters Patents, but also by grant of Confirmation from the Bishop of *Rome* himself, under a Penalty, if he should suffer any Strangers to intermeddle, he openly protested in discharge of his duty, that unless their Commission gave them Authority and Jurisdiction upon the Colledge, either by expres words or manifest sense, he utterly exempted himself from being present. This his Exception they took all in great displeasure; alledging that they were fully authorised for the order of the matter by the Cardinal, out of whose Jurisdiction, no place nor persons was exempted: wherefore he had done evil to call into question their Authority, so well known to all men. *Chester* seemed to be more moved with the matter then all the other; and that was because *Brassey* had a little before obtained the worship of that room, even utterly against his will, and maugre his head, he doing the worst he could against him.

Peacock preacheth at S. *Maries*.

The Citation of the Masters of the Colledge.

Rob. Brassey's exception.

Altercation betwixt Dr. Brassey and Dr. Scot.

After the formal Solemnity of these things thus accomplished, the Commission being read, and the Citation exhibited, all the Masters of Houses being openly cited, every man for a while departed home to his own House, with commandment to be at the Common Schools of the said *University* at one of the Clock the same day. When the Degrees of the University, commonly called Regents and Non-Regents, were assembled thither, they spent the rest of the day in reading over of Charters, granted to the University by Kings and Princes, in searching out of Bulls and Pardons from the Pope, and in perusing of other Monuments pertaining to the University.

Inquisition at the common Schools

January 12. *Inquisition at the Kings Colledge.*

The next day following, being the 12. of *January*, they resorted to the *Kings Colledge* to make Inquisition, either because the same for the worthiness thereof was chief and sovereign of all the residue, or else because that that House specially before all others had been counted, time out of mind, never to be without an Heretick (as they termed them) or twain. And at that present time, albeit that many now of late had withdrawn themselves from thence, yet they judged there were some remaining still. The order and manner how they would be entertained of every Colledge, when they should come to make inquisition, they themselves appointed, which was in this sort.

The manner of receiving the Inquisitors when they went to make Inquisition.

They commanded the Master of every House, together with the residue, as well Fellows as Scholars, apparelled in Priest-like Garments (which they call Habits) to meet them at the uttermost gate of their House towards the Town. The Master himself to be dressed in like Apparel as the Priest when he harnesseth himself to Mass, saving that he should put on uppermost his Habit, as the rest did. The order of their going they appointed to be in this wise: The Master of the House to go foremost; next unto him, every man in his order as he was of degree, seigniority, or of years. Before the Master should be carried a Cross and Holy-water to sprinkle the Commissioners withal, and then after that the said Commissioners to be censed. And so after this meeting, and mumbling of a few Devotions, they determined with this Pomp and Solemnity to be brought to the Chappel.

Note the ambitious pomp of these Papists.

The Commissioners represent the Pope.

Many thought they took more honour upon them then belonged to the state of man. Otherwhile (forasmuch as at that time they not only pretended the Jurisdiction of the Cardinal; but also represented the Power and Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* himself, who was accounted to be more than a mortal man) said; it was far less then of duty appertained to his Holiness, in that the honour that was done to his Legates, was not done to them but to his Holiness. Now was the hour come, at which they appointed to meet: and being entered the *Kings Colledge* Gate, where they looked for the Master and Fellows of the House, seeing no man came to meet them, they proceeded forth to the Church door, where they stayed. There perceiving how the Master and the rest of the House were dressing themselves as fast as they could, in such order as was appointed before, they came in suddenly upon them, before they had set out any foot out of their places.

Here was a foul fault committed, that these men came in without the Procession.

Dr. Brassey excuseth himself for the slackness of this Procession.

Then the Master first excused himself, that he was *ready no sooner, acknowledging that it had been his duty to have been in a readiness. Secondly, he said he was* very glad of their coming, promising first in his own name, and after in the name of all the rest, as much reverence as might be, in all matters concerning their common utility, the which he doubted not but should be performed at their hands, according to his expectation. But like as he had done the other day in S. *Maries* Church, the same exception he made to them now also; the which his doing he besought them not to be offended withal. For seeing he did it only for the discharge of his duty, he had juster cause to be held excused.

Mr. Brassey maketh exception again.

He had scarcely yet finished his Tale, but the Bishop of *Chester* with a frowning look and an angry countenance interrupting him of his talk, said, he needed not to repeat the things he had protested before, nor they to make answer any more to those things wherein they had sufficiently informed him before. He rather feared that their quarrel was not good, that they made such ado about it, and sought such starting holes. For so were diseased persons oftentimes wont to do, when for the pain and grief they are not able to abide a strong Medicine. As though that any man were able to grant so strong a priviledge, as to withstand the Popes Authority. As for the Popes Letters, he said, must needs make on his side, and with such as were with him, and could not in any wise be alledged against him. Therefore he admonished him to desist from his unprofitable altercation, and to conform himself and his to such things as then were in doing.

Dr. Scots answer to Mr. Brassey.

The Popes Authority swalloweth up all other Priviledges.

After this they went to Mass. Which finished, with great solemnity, first they went to the high Altar of the Church, and having there saluted their god, and searching whether all were well about him or no, they walked thorow all the inner Chappels of the Church. The Church Goods, the Crosses, the Chalices, the Mass-Books, the Vestments,

The Legates saluting first their god.

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ments, and whatſoever Ornaments were beſides; were commanded to be brought out unto them. When they had ſufficiently viewed all things, and had called forth by Name every Fellow and Scholar of the Houſe, they went to the Maſters Lodging, where firſt and formoſt ſwearing them upon a Book to anſwer to all ſuch Interrogatories as ſhould be propounded unto them (as far as they knew) they examined firſt the Maſter himſelf, and afterward all the reſidue, every Man in his turn. But there were ſome that refuſed to take this Oath, becauſe they had given their Faith to the Colledge before, and alſo becauſe they thought it againſt all right and reaſon to ſwear againſt themſelves: For it was contrary to all Law, that a Man ſhould be compelled to bewray himſelf, and not to be ſuffered to keep his Conſcience free, when there is no manifeſt proof to be laid to his charge, but much more unjuſt it is, that a Man ſhould be conſtrained perforce to accuſe himſelf. Nevertheleſs theſe perſons alſo, after ſuch altercation, at length (conditionally, that their Faith given before to the Colledge were not impeached thereby) were contented to be ſworn.

The Oath refuſed of ſome in the Kings Colledge, and why.

The conſultation of Maſters upon the taking up of *M. Bucer.*

Three days long laſted the Inquiſition there. This was now the third day of their coming, and it was thought that the caſe of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, was delayed longer then needed. For they looked to have had much altercation and buſineſs about the matter. Now, foraſmuch as the preſent ſtate of the caſe required good deliberation and adviſement, the Vicechancellor and the Maſters of the Colledges aſſembled at the common Schools, where every Man gave his verdict what he thought meet to be done in this matter of *Bucer*. After much debating, they agreed all together in this Determination; that foraſmuch as *Martin Bucer*, whiles he lived, had not only ſowed pernicious and erroneous Doctrine among them, but alſo had himſelf been a Sectary and famous Heretick, erring from the Catholick Church, and giving others occaſion to fall from the ſame likewiſe: a Supplication ſhould be made to the Lord Commiſſioners, in the Name of the whole Univerſity, that his dead Carkaſs might forthwith be digged up (for ſo it was needful to be done) to the intent that Inquiſition might be made as touching his Doctrine, the which being brought in Examination, if it were not found to be good and wholeſom, the Law might proceed againſt him. For it was againſt the rule of the Holy Canons, that his Body ſhould be buried in Chriſtian Burial. Yea, and beſides that it was to the open derogation of Gods Honor, and the violating of his Holy Laws, with the great peril of many Mens Souls, and the offence of the Faithful, eſpecially in ſo difficult and contagious a time as that was. Wherefore it was not to be ſuffered, that they, which utterly diſſented from all other Men in the trade of their living, Laws, and Cuſtoms, ſhould have any part with them in the honor of Burial. And therefore the Glory of God firſt and before all things ought to be defended, the infamy (which through this thing riſeth on them) with all ſpeed put away, no room at all left unto thoſe Perſons to reſt in, who even in the ſame places where they lay, were injurious and noyſom to the very Elements, but the place ought to be purged, and all things ſo ordered as might be to the ſatisfying of the Conſciences of the weak. In executing whereof ſo notable an example ought to be given to all Men, that no Man hereafter ſhould be ſo bold to attempt the like.

Inquiſition to be made of *M. Bucers* Doctrine.

Martin Bucers burial againſt the Holy Canon Laws.

Cauſes why *M. Bucer* and *Paulus Phagius* Bodies ought to be taken up.

They gave the ſame Verdict by common aſſent upon *Phagius* alſo. Unto this Writing they annexed another, by the which they lawfully Authoriſed *Andrew Perne* the Vicechancellor, to be the common Factor for the Univerſity. He was a Man meeteſt for the purpoſe, both for the Office that he bare, and alſo becauſe that by the teſtimony of *Chriſtopherſon* he was deemed to be the moſt Catholick of all others. This Supplication, confirmed by the conſent of all the Degrees of the Univerſity and ſigned with their Common Seal, the next day, which was the 13. of *January*, the Vicechancellor put up to the Commiſſioners. Note here, good Reader, what a feat of conveyance this was, to ſuborn the Univerſity under a colourable pretence to deſire this thing of them by way of Petition. As who ſhould ſay, if they had not done ſo, the other would never have gone about it of themſelves.

Andrew Perne Vicechancellor, made factor for the Univerſity in the caſe of *M. Bucer* and *Phagius*.

M. Chriſtopherſons teſtimony of *Perne.*

A Supplication put up to the Commiſſioners by the Univerſity.

Note this feat of conveyance.

But this gloſe was ſoon found out. For the Commiſſioners had given the Vicechancellor Inſtructions in writing before. But now peradventure they thought by this means to remove the envy of this Act from themſelves.

Thus the Vicechancellor came unto the Commiſſioners, according to the appointment made the day before, about ſeven of the clock in the morning. He had ſcarce declared the cauſe of his coming, but that he had not only obtained his ſute, but alſo even at the very ſame time received the Sentence of Condemnation, for taking up *Bucer* and *Phagius*, fair copied out by *Ormanet Datary* himſelf. This was to be confirmed by the conſent of the Degrees of the Univerſity. Whereupon a Solemn Convocation, called *Congregatio Regentium & non Regentium*, for the ſame purpoſe was appointed to be at nine of the Clock; where the Graduates being aſſembled together, the demand was propounded concerning the Condemnation of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, and the Grace asked, which was this: Pleaſeth it you that *Martin Bucer*, for the Hereſies now recited, and many other by him written, preached, and taught, wherein he died without repentance, and was buried in Chriſtian Burial, may be exhumate and taken up again? &c. After this Grace eſtſoons being granted, then was the Sentence of Condemnation, drawn by the Datary, openly read, and immediately another Grace asked, that the ſame might be Signed with the Common Seal. The which requeſt was very lightly and eaſily obtained. And it was no marvel.

The Sentence of Condemnation againſt *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Phagius*, copied out by the Datary.

Grace asked in the Congregation for the taking up of *M. Bucer.*

For now after the death of King *Edward*, ſince the time that the Government of the Realm came to the hand of Queen *Mary*, all ſuch perſons being driven away as had rejected the Romiſh Religion (in whom well nigh alone reſted whatſoever Wit and Learning was in the whole Univerſity beſides) ſuch a ſort of Raſcals were put in their room, that all places now ſwarmed with unlearned and unnurtured Chaplains: To whom nothing was greater pleaſure, then to cauſe all Men to ſpeak ſlander and reproach of *Bucer*. There were divers yet left among them to ſpeak againſt their demands. But they (becauſe, as it commonly cometh to paſs, that Might overcometh Right) could nothing avail. For this is a common cuſtom in all ſuch matters and Ordinances, that look what the greater number decreeth, is publiſhed in the name of all: and that which the better part diſallowed, ſeemeth as though no Man at all diſallowed it.

The next day being the 14. of *January*, all the Viſitors (only *Chriſtopher* Son elect of *Chicheſter*, excepted) came to the *Kings Colledge* Where, firſt going into the Church, and there making their Prayers at the Greeſings, they ſo proceeded into the Stalls, there ſitting all the Maſs time, the company ſtanding in their Copes, and ſinging a Solemn Reſpond in honor of the Viſitors. After the Reſpond done, the Provoſt in the beſt Cope made to them his proteſtation, unto whom the Biſhop of *Cheſter* made Anſwer alſo in Latin, declaring that he could not perceive to what purpoſe his proteſtation was, notwithſtanding they would accept it and bear with him. Then went they to Maſs, which ended, the Catholick Viſitors approached up to the Altar, and took down the Sacrament, and ſearched the Pix, but firſt the two Biſhops cenſed the Sacrament.

January 14.

Then they went unto the *Reveſtry*, and opened the Chalices, Corporas Caſes, and Chryſmatory, and viewed all thoſe things. And ſo returning into the Provoſts Chamber, divided themſelves in Examination of the Provoſt, Viceprovoſt, and the reſt of the company. The ſame day Doctor *Bacon* Maſter of *Gonvil-Hall*, bade the Vicechancellor, D. *Young*, D. *Harvy*, *Swineborne*, *Maptide*, with others, home to dinner. Theſe Men immediately after dinner, cauſed the Common Seal of the Univerſity to be put to the foreſaid Inſtrument of Condemnation, according as was determined the day before by the general conſent of the Graduates of the Univerſity. And by and by after, they carried the ſame to the Commiſſioners to their Lodging. The which when they had received, foraſmuch as after more diligent peruſing thereof, it liked them not in all points, ſome things they raſed out, ſome they enterlined, otherſome they changed; ſo that in fine, they were fain to take the pain to ingroſs it new again.

The Sentence is ſigned with the Common Seal of the Univerſity.

The Sentence engroſſed new again.

To

January 15. To the ſigning whereof, a Congregation was eftſoons called of all the Graduates of the Univerſity againſt the next day, which there being read over, a new Grace again was asked and granted for ſetting the Seal. Then were the Graduates diſmiſſed, with commandment to reſort forthwith to S. *Maries* Church, whither the Commiſſioners alſo repaired. When they had taken their places, Doctor *Harvy* preſented *to* them before all the company, a new Commiſſion to make inqueſt upon Hereſie then newly ſent from the Cardinal, which was read immediately by *Vincent* of *Noally*, *Ormanets* Clerk. This done, Doctor *Perne*, who, as ye heard, was Factor for the Univerſity, exhibited to the Commiſſioners in the Name of the Univerſity the Sentence of the foreſaid Condemnation. The Copy and Tenour whereof, hereafter (God willing) ſhall follow. This Condemnation, being openly read, then Doctor *Perne* aforeſaid deſired to ſend out proceſs to cite *Bucer* and *Phagius* to appear, or any other that would take upon them to plead their cauſe, and to ſtand to the order of the Court againſt the next *Monday*: to the intent that when they had exhibited themſelves, the Court might the better determine what ought to be done to them by Order of Law.

D. *Harvy* preſenteth a mandate from the Cardinal.

D. *Perne* maketh petition that *Bucer* and *Phagius* may be cited to the Court.

The Commiſſioners condeſcended to his requeſt, and the next day proceſs went out to cite the offenders. This Citation *Vincent* of *Noally* their Common Notary, having firſt read it over before certain witneſſes appointed for the ſame purpoſe, cauſed to be fixed up in places convenient, to wit, upon S. *Maries* Church door, the door of the Common Schools, and the Croſs in the Market ſtead of the ſame Town. In this was ſpecified, that whoſoever would maintain *Bucer* and *Phagius*, or ſtand in defence of their Doctrine, ſhould at the eighth day of the ſame Month, ſtand forth before the L. Commiſſioners in Saint *Maries* Church, which was appointed the place of Judgment, and there every Man ſhould be ſufficiently heard what he could ſay. This commandment was ſet out with wany words.

M. *Bucer* and *Phagius* cited out of their graves to appear, or any other that would anſwer for them.

January 17. Witneſſes ſworn againſt M. *Bucer*.

Shortly after, the matter drew toward Judgment. Therefore the next day before the day limited, which was the xvij. of *January*, the Vicechancellor called to him to *Peterhouſe* (whereof he was Maſter) D. *Young*, D. *Segiſwike*, and with them *Bullock*, *Taylor*, *Parker*, and *Redman*, *Whitlock*, *Mitch*, and certain others. Theſe Men caſt their Heads together how they might bear witneſs againſt *Bucer* and *Phagius*, to convince them of Hereſie. For ſeeing the matter was brought in face of open Court, and becauſe it might ſo come to paſs, that ſome Patrons of their cauſe would come out, they thought it needful to have witneſſes to diſpoſe to depoſe of their Doctrine. What came of this their conſultation, it is not perfectly known.

January 18. The eighteenth day, the Vicechancellor, going to the Inquiſitors ſitting at the *Kings Colledge*, did put them in remembrance, that the ſame was the day, in the which, by their Proceſs ſent forth the xvj. day before, they had commanded to appear in S. *Maries* Church, ſuch as would take upon them to defend *Bucer* and *Phagius* by the Law. He deſired therefore that they would vouchſafe to ſit there, if perchance any Man would try the adventure of the Law. They lightly condeſcended thereunto. When the Vicechancellor had brought them thither, he exhibited unto them the Proceſs of the Citation which he had received of them to publiſh a little before, ſaying, that he had diligently executed whatſoever the contents of the ſame required. After that they had taken their places, and that no Man put forth himſelf to anſwer for the Offenders, the Judges call aſide Doctor *Young*, Doctor *Segiſwike*, *Bullock*, *Taylor*, *Maptide*, *Hunter*, *Parker*, *Redman*, above mentioned. Alſo *Brown*, *Gogman*, *Rud*, *Johnſon*, *Mitch*, *Raven*, and *Carre*, who had before written out the Burial of *Bucer*, with a ſingular commendation of him, and ſent it to Sir *John Cheek* Knight. Theſe Men taking firſt their Oath upon a Book, were commanded to bear witneſs againſt the Hereſies and Doctrine of *Bucer* and *Phagius*. The 22. day of the ſame Month was limited to this Jury to bring in their Verdict.

Other witneſſes ſworn againſt M. *Bucer*.

In the mean while, *Ormanet* and Doctor *Watſon* abode at home in their lodging to take the depoſition of them whom we ſhewed you before to have been called to *Peterhouſe* and to have communicated with the Vicechancellor as concerning that matter, whoſe Depoſitions (as I told you) never came to light. The Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and Doctor *Cole* this day viſited them of *Katherine Hall*, where, as farr as could be learned, no-nothing was done worthy of rehearſal.

Anno 1556.

A Relick given by *Ormanet* to *Trinity Colledge*.

As *Ormanet* the Popes Datary was ſitting at *Trinity Colledge*, *John Dale* one of the *Queens Colledge* came to him, whom he had commanded before to bring with him the Pix, wherein the Biſhop of *Romes* God of Bread is wont to be incloſed. For *Ormanet* told them he had a precious Jewel; the ſame was a linnen clout that the Pope had conſecrated with his own hands, which he promiſed to beſtow upon them for a gift. But *Dale* miſunderſtanding *Ormanet*, inſtead of the Pix brought a Chalice and a ſinging cake called the Hoſt, the which he had wrapped up and put in his Boſom. When he was come, *Ormanet* demanded if he had brought him the thing he ſent him for. To whom he anſwered, he had brought it. Then give it me, quoth he. *Dale* pulled out the Chalice, and the ſinging Cake. When *Ormanet* ſaw that, he ſtepped ſomewhat back as it had been in a wonder, calling him block-head, and little better then a mad man, demanding what he meant by thoſe things, ſaying; he willed him to bring none of that gear, and that he was unworthy to enjoy ſo high a benefit: yet notwithſtanding, foraſmuah as he had promiſed before to give it them, he would perform his promiſe. Whereupon with great reverence and ceremony, he pulled out the linnen cloth and laid it in the Chalice, and the Bread with it, commanding them both for the Holineſs of the thing, and alſo for the Author of it, to keep it among them with ſuch due reverence as belonged to ſo holy a Relique.

Ormanet in a pelting chafe with M. *Dale*.

About the ſame time the Commiſſioners had given commandment to the Maſters of the Colledges, that every Man ſhould put in writing what Books he had, with the Authors Names. And to the intent that every Man ſhould execute it without deceit, they took a corporal Oath of them. This commandment ſome executed exactly and diligently; otherſome, foraſmuch as they deemed it wrongfully, executed it ſlack enough.

A commandment for bringing in of Heretical Books.

We declare before that the xviij. day was limited for the day of Judgment. When the day came, and that neither *Bucer* nor *Phagius* would appear at their call in the Court, nor that any put forth himſelf to defend them; yet the courteous Commiſſioners would not proceed to Judgment, which nevertheleſs, for their contumacy, in abſenting themſelves, they might have done, conſidering how that day was peremptory. But theſe Men, being bent altogether to equity and mercy, had rather ſhew ſome favour, then to do the uttermoſt they might by the Law. Whereupon *Vincent* publiſhed the ſecond Proceſs, and ſet it up in the ſame places, as in manner before. The meaning thereof varied not much from the firſt, but that it put off the Judgment day unto the 26. of the ſame Month. Upon the which day the Vicechancellor was ſent for to their lodging, with whom they agreed concerning the order of publiſhing the Sentence. And becauſe there ſhould want no Solemnity in the matter, they commanded him further to warn the Major of the Town to be there at the day appointed with all his Burgeſſes, which the Vicechancellor did ſpeed with all readineſs.

Graciouſly conſidered.

January 26. This day (as I ſaid) was the twenty ſixth of *January*, which being now come, firſt all Degrees of the Mother Univerſity were aſſembled. And to fill up this Pageant, thither came alſo the Major and his Townſmen, and all met together in Saint *Maries* Church, to behold what there ſhould be determined upon theſe Men. After long attendance, at length the Commiſſioners came forth, and went up to a Scaffold that was ſomewhat higher then the reſidue, prepared for the ſame purpoſe. When they had taken their places, Doctor *Perne* the Vicechancellor, the Player of this Enterlude faſhioning his countenance with great gravity, reached to them the proceſs that was lately publiſhed, to cite them,

An high matter in a low Houſe.

ſaying

Anno 1556.

saying theſe words; I bring forth again (quoth he) to you right reverend Father, and Commiſſioners of the moſt reverend my Lord Cardinal *Pool* (painting out the reſt of his ſtile) this Citation executed according to the purport and effect of the ſame; omitting nothing for his part that might make to the commendation of this matter. When he had thus finiſhed his tale, by and by the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, after he had a little viewed the people, began in manner as followeth.

The Oration of Doctor Scot *Biſhop of* Cheſter, *before the Condemnation of* Bucer *and* Phagius.

The Oration of D. *Scot* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, before the pronouncing of the Sentence of Condemnation.

YE ſee (quoth he) how ſore the Univerſity preſſeth upon us, how earneſt interceſſion it maketh unto us, not only to denounce *Bucer* and *Phagius*, which theſe certain years paſt have ſpread moſt pernicious Doctrine among you, to be Hereticks (as they be indeed) but alſo that we will command their dead carkaſſes, which unto this day have obtained honourable burial among you, to be digged up, and as it is excellently ordained by the Canon Law, to be caſt into Fire, or whatſoever is more grievous then Fire, if any can be. For the Degrees of the Univerſity deal not ſlightly nor ſlackly with us in this caſe, but do ſo preſs upon us, and follow the ſute ſo earneſtly, that they ſcarce give us any reſpite of delay. And I aſſure you, albeit this caſe of it ſelf be ſuch, as that even the unworthineſs of thoſe perſons though there were no further cauſe, ought to induce us to the doing thereof, much the rather moved with theſe ſo wholeſom petitions; it is meet and convenient we ſhould grant it. For howſoever we of our ſelves are enclined to mercy in our hearts (then the which we proteſt there is nothing under the Sun to us more dear and acceptable) yet notwithſtanding the very Law riſeth up to revengement; ſo that the Common Salvation of you all, which the Law provideth for, muſt be preferred before the private charity of our minds. Neither ought any ſuch negligence to overtake us for our parts, that we, being ſcarce yet eſcaped out of the ſhipwrack of our former calamity, ſhould now ſuffer this unexpiable miſchief, to diſquiet any longer the Conſciences of the weak.

What diſſembling is here in theſe Pope Holy Catholicks.

Tyranny covered with the viſor of mercy.

Satan transforming himſelf into an Angel of light.

Moreover, it is but reaſon that we ſhould do ſomwhat at ſo earneſt intreatance and ſute of the Univerſity. I need not to ſpeak much of our ſelves. For if we had been deſirous to enterpriſe this matter, it had been lawful after the firſt Citation, to have proceeded to Judgment: but becauſe we were willing that their defendours ſhould be heard, and that the matter ſhould be denounced and tried by Law, we ſent out the ſecond proceſs.

O LordGod, as though this were the doing of the Univerſity, and not your own?

The Wolf pretendeth to be a Lamb.

If we had deſired revengement, we might have ſhewed cruelty upon them that are alive: of the which (alas the more pitty) there are too many that embrace this Doctrine. If we thirſted for Blood, it was not ſo to be ſought in withered Carkaſſes and dry Bones. Therefore ye may well perceive, it was no part of our wills that we now came hither; but partly induced at the intreaty of the Univerſity, partly moved with the unworthineſs of the caſe it ſelf: but eſpecially for the care and regard we have of your health and ſalvation, which we covet by all means to preſerve.

As though the Cardinal ſent you not down, before you came to the Univerſity.

For you your ſelves are the cauſe of this buſineſs: you gave occaſion of this confeſſion, among whom this day ought to be a notable example, to remain as a memorial to them that ſhall come after, as in that which ye may learn not only to ſhake off the filth which ye have taken of theſe perſons; but alſo to beware hereafter that ye fall no more ſo ſhameful as ye have done. But I truſt, God will defend you, and give you minds to keep your ſelves from it.

Bucer and *Phagius* falſly accuſed of Hypocriſie by falſe Hypocrites.

As concerning the parties themſelves, whoſe caſe now hangeth in Law, they bear about the Name of the Goſpel, whereas indeed they wrought nothing elſe then thevery and deceit. And ſo much the wickeder were they, in that they ſought to cover ſo ſhameful acts, with the cloak of ſo fair and holy a Name. Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that God will puniſh this deſpite, of it ſelf wicked, to you pernicious, but the Authors thereof ſhameful and abominable.

But if God, as he is ſlow to wrath and vengeance, will wink at it for a time, yet notwithſtanding if we, upon whom the charge of the Lords Flock leaneth, ſhould permit ſo execrable crimes to eſcape unpuniſhed, we ſhould not live in quiet one hour.

When he had thus ſpoken, he recited the Sentence out of a ſcroll, and Condemned *Bucer* and *Phagius* of Hereſie; the form and Tenor of which Sentence, framed after the barbarous rude ſtile of that Church, thus followeth.

The Sentence of Condemnation againſt Martin Bucer, *and* Paulus Phagius.

The Sentence of Condemnation againſt Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius.

NOs Curbertus Dei & Apoſtolicæ ſedis gratia Epiſcopus Ceſtrenſis, Nicolaus Ormanetus Archiepiſcopus plebis Bodolini Veronen. dioceſis infra ſcripti, Reverendi Domini Cardinalis & Legati auditor, Thomas Watſon Decanus Dunelmenſ. & Henricus Cole, Præpoſitus Collegij Etonenſ. ad Univerſitatem ſtudij generalis oppidi Cantabrigien. Elin. dioceſ. viſitand, nec non ad in quibuſcunque cauſis in eodem oppido Cantabrigiæ & locis ei adjacent. commorantes perſonas, motis, & movendis inquirendum & quomodolibet procedendum, & expreſſe ad eorum, qui in hæreſi deceſſerint, memoriam damnandum, per literas illuſtriſſim. ac reverendiſſim. in Chriſto patris, D. Reginaldi Mariæ in Coſmedin, S. Romanæ Eccleſiæ Preſbyteri Cardinalis Poli nuncupati, ſanctiſſim. Domini noſtri Papæ & ſedis Apoſtolicæ ad Sereniſſim. Philippum ac Sereniſſim. Mariam Angliæ Regem & Reginam, & univerſum Angliæ regnum de latere Legati, Commiſſarij, ſive delegati ſpecialiter deputati, & ad hujuſmodi peragendum ſufficienti facultate muniti Salvatoris & Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti nomine invocato, pro tribunali ſedend. & ſolum Deum qui juſtus eſt Dominus præ oculis habentes, per hanc noſtram definitivam ſententiam, quam de ſacræ Thologiæ, & Juriſperitorum conſilio ferimus, in his ſcriptis, in cauſa & cauſis, quæ coram nobis inter Vicecancellarium & Univerſitatem Cantabrigien. denunciatores ex una, & iniquitatis filios quondam Martinum Bucerum & Paulum Phagium, natione Germanos, & in hoc oppido olim commorantes & decedentes, reos denunciatos de et ſuper crimine hæreſis notorie per eos, dum vixerint, incurſo, rebuſque aliis in actis cauſæ et cauſarum hujuſmodi latius deductis, ex altera, partibus in prima verſæ fuerunt & vertuntur inſtantia, pronunciamus, ſententiamus, decernimus, et declaramus prædictos.

Againſt Martin Bucer.

Martinum quidem Bucerum contra regulas et dogmata ſanctorum patrum, nec non Apoſtolicas Romanæ Eccleſiæ, et ſacrorum conciliorum traditiones, Chriſtianæque religionis, hactenus in Eccleſia conſuetos ritus ac proceſſus (qui ſingulis annis die cœnæ Domini per Romanos Pontifices celebrari et legi conſueverunt, in quibus, inter alia, Wickleffiſtæ & Lutherani, & omnes alii hæretici damnati, & amathematizati fuerunt) de Sacramentis Eccleſiæ, preſertim circa illorum numerum, aliter quam ſancta mater Eccleſia prædicat & obſervat, ſentiendo, & docendo, ac ſanctæ ſedis Apoſtolicæ, & ſummi Pontificis primatum, & authoritatem negando, & publicè damnando, & præſertim hunc articulum:

Quod Eccleſia erret in fide & moribus.

Hunc in publicis comitiis expreſſe defendendo, & illum verum eſſe definiendo, & determinando, ac multa alia tam per damnatæ memoriæ Johannem Wickleffe, & id maxime.

Omnia fato & abſoluta neceſſitate fieri.

Et per Martinum Lutherum & alios hereſiarchas propoſita & damnata, quam à ſe etiam inventa & fabricata, falſa & hæretica dogmata credendo, & ſequendo, ac deſuper etiam libros ſcribendo & imprimis faciendo, impreſſoſque publicando, in illiſque ſcripta etiam hic publicè legendo, & in publicis diſputationibus defendendo, ac in pertinacia & obſtinatione hujuſmodi permanendo, & decedendo, notorium non ſolum hæreticum, ſed hæreſiarcham.

Againſt Paulus Phagius for commending Oecolampadius, Bucer, Melancthon, and Brentine, condemned.

Paulum verò Phagium, qui præter alia, quæ hæreſim ſapiunt, ab eo in ſuis ſcriptis prolata, impiæ memoriæ Johannem Oecolampadium, ac Martinum Bucerum prædictum, nec non Philippum Melancthonem, & Johannem Brentium, notorios & inſignes hæreſiarchas, & eorum doctrinam, & in ejus ſcriptis impreſſis & vulgo editis, non ſolùm probando, ſed ſummis laudibus attollendo, ſe non ſolum

hæreticis

hæreticis favere, ſed eorum falſis dogmatibus aſſentire, & ea credere, & probare, ad eaque credenda alios inducere, aliti manifeſtè ſe oſtendit, & hic pro hæretico communiter & notoriè habitus & reputatus in hujuſmodi errore impœnitens deceſſit, non ſolum hæreticorum fautorem, ſed hæreticum fuiſſe, nec non eoſdem Martinum Bucerum, & Paulum Phagium excommunicationis & anathematis, ac alias quaſcunque contra hujuſmodi perſonas, tam de jure communi, quàm per literas, proceſſum, prædictorum ſtatutas ſententias, cenſuras et pœnas damnabiliter incidiſſe et incurriſſe; et eorum memoriam condemnandum eſſe, et condemnamus, ac eorum corpora et oſſa quæ hoc tempore pernicioſiſſimi

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How Bucers bones, and Paulus Phagius bones were put into two new Coffins, and ſo bound to a ſtake and burnt with their books.

ſchiſmatis, et aliarum hæreſium, in hoc regno vigentium, Eccleſiaſticæ fuerunt temere tradita ſepulturæ, quatenus ab aliis fidelium corporibus, et oſſibus diſcerni poſſunt juxta canonicas ſanctiones, exhumanda, et procul ab Eccleſia projicienda, et exhumari et projici mandamus, et eorum libros ac Scripturas, ſi quæ hic reperiantur, publicè comburend. et comburi præcipimus: ac eoſdem libros et Scripturas quibuſcunque, tam hujus Univerſitatis, quam oppidi, et locorum eis adjacentium perſonis ſub pœnis, tam ex jure communi, quàm literis proceſſuum prædictorum, ſeu quomodolibet alias contra habend. et legend. libros hæreticos ſtatutis, interdicimus.

After the Sentence thus read, the Biſhop commanded their Bodies to be digged out of their graves, and being degraded from holy Orders, delivered them into the hands of the Secular Power. For it was not lawful for ſuch innocent perſons as they were, abhorring from all Bloodſhed, and deteſting all deſire of Murther, to put any Man to death.

The effect of Doctor Pernes *Sermon againſt* Martin Bucer.

Perns Sermon againſt Bucer.

OVer and beſides this Oration and Sentence of Dr. *Scot*, came in alſo *Perne* Vicechancellor, with his Sermon tending to the ſame effect, to the depraving of Maſter *Bucer*, taking for his theam the place of the 132. *Pſalm, Behold how good and pleaſant a thing it is*, &c.

Where beginning firſt with the commendation of concord, and of the mutual knitting together of the minds, he alledged, that it was not poſſible to hold together, unleſs the concord were derived out of the head, the which he made to be the Biſhop of *Rome*, and that it alſo reſted in the ſame.

After he had made a long proteſtation hereof he paſſed forth to *Bucer*, upon whom he made a ſhameful railing, ſaying, that his Doctrine gave occaſion of diviſion in the Common-Wealth, and that there was not ſo grievous a miſchief, which by his means had not been brought into the Realm.

Although all Men might perceive by the Books he had compiled, what manner of Doctrine it was; yet notwithſtanding (he ſaid) he knew it more perfectly himſelf, then any did, and that he had learned it apart at the Authors hand himſelf.

D. Perni accuſation againſt Martin Bucer.

For at ſuch time as they had communication ſecretly among themſelves, *Bucer* (ſaid he) would oftentimes wiſh he might be called by ſome other Name, then by the Name he had; for this purpoſe, as though knowing himſelf guilty of ſo grievous a crime, he might by this means eſcape unknown to the World, and avoid the talk that went among Men of him.

A foreHereſie noted of Dr. Perne.

Moreover, among other things he told how *Bucer* held opinion (which thing he ſhould confeſs to him his own ſelf) that God was the Author and wellſpring, not only of good, but alſo of evil; and that whatſoever was of that ſort flowed from him, as from the head-ſpring and maker thereof. The which Doctrine he upheld to be ſincere; howbeit, for offending divers Mens Conſciences, he durſt not put it into Mens heads.

Shameful railing of D. Perne againſt Martin Bucer.

Many other things he patched together of like purport and effect, as of the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, of the marriage of Prieſts, of divorcements and of ſhameful uſury alſo, as though he had deemed the ſame lawful to be uſed among Chriſtian people, with divers other of the like ſort.

In all which his allegations, conſidering how lewdly, without all ſhame, he lied upon *Bucer* (as his writings evidently declare) he did not ſo much hinder his Name with railing upon him, as win unto himſelf an inexpiable infamy, by forging ſo ſhameful leaſings upon ſo worthy a Man.

But what needeth witneſs to prove him a lyar? his own Conſcience ſhall make as much againſt him, as a number of Men.

It was reported for a truth, and that by his own familiar friends teſtified, that the ſaid Doctor *Perne* himſelf, either immediately after his Sermon, or elſe ſomwhat before he went to it, ſtriking himſelf one the breaſt, and

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in manner weeping, wiſhed at home at his houſe with all his heart, that God would grant his Soul might even then preſently depart and remain with *Bucers*. For he knew well enough that his Life was ſuch, that if any Mans Soul were worthy of Heaven, he thought his in eſpecial to be moſt worthy.

D. Perne ſpeaketh againſt his own Conſcience in railing againſt M. Bucer.

Whiles he was thus talking to the people, in the mean time the leaves of the Church doors were covered over with Verſes, in the which the young Men to ſhew their folly, which ſcarce knew him by ſight, blazed *Bucers* Name with moſt reproachful Poetry.

Verſes againſt M. Bucer and Phagius.

Theſe things being diſpatched, *Perne* (as though he had ſped his matter marvellouſly well) was for his labour, of curteſie bidden to dinner to *Trinity Colledge* by the Commiſſioners. Where, after the Table was taken up, they cauſed the Sentence of Condemnation to be copied out with all ſpeed: which being ſigned with the Biſhop of *Cheſters* Seal, the next day following was for a triumph ſent to *London*, with divers of thoſe Verſes and ſlanderous Libels.

The Sentence of condemnation ſent to *London* with the Commiſſioners Letters.

Beſides this, they ſent alſo their own Letters, wherein they both advertiſed the Cardinal how far they had proceeded in that matter, and alſo deſired his Grace, that he would cauſe to be ſent out of hand to *Smith* the Major of the Town, the Commandment, commonly called a Writ, for the burning of *Hereticks*. For unleſs he had the Queens Warrant to ſave him harmleſs, he would not have to do in the matter: and that which remained to be done in that caſe, could not be diſpatched till that Warrant came.

A Writ for burning of Hereticks.

Whiles this Purſivant went on his journey, they willed to be brought unto them the Books that they commanded before to be ſearched out. For they determined to throw them into the Fire with *Bucer* and *Phagius*.

About the ſame time Doctor *Watſon* taking occaſion upon the day, becauſe it was a high feaſt, in the which was wont to be celebrated the memorial of the Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin, made a Sermon to the people upon that Pſalm, *We have received thy mercy (O Lord) in the midſt of thy Temple, &c.* In the which Sermon he ſpake much reproach of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, and of their Doctrine.

Watſons Sermon upon Candlemas day.

He ſaid, that theſe men, and all the Hereticks of our time that were of the ſame opinion (the which for the moſt part, he ſaid, we budded out of *Germany*) among other things which they had perniciouſly put into mens heads, taught to caſt away all Ceremonies. Whereas notwithſtanding the Apoſtle himſelf commanded all things to be done in due order.

And upon that deed of the Bleſſed Virgin and *Joſeph*, which was done by them as upon that day, it was manifeſtly apparent, that they with our Saviour, being then a little Babe, obſerved theſe Rites and Ceremonies for Catholick Men to teach. For he ſaid, that they came to the Temple the ſame time with wax candles in their hands, after the manner of Proceſſion (as they term it) in good order with much reverence and devotion, and yet we were not aſhamed to laugh and mock at theſe things with the Hereticks and Schiſmaticks.

Mary and *Joſeph* went a proceſſion with wax candles, or elſe D. Watſon lieth falſe.

As he was telling his tale of Chriſt, *Mary*, and *Joſeph*, one of them that heard him, a pleaſant and merry conceited fellow, turning himſelf to him that ſtood next him; And if it be true (quoth he) that this Man Preacheth, which of them I pray you (if a Man might ſpur him a queſtion) bare the Croſs before them? for that might not be miſſing in ſuch Solemn Ceremonies. Not only this Man jeſted at the Preachers folly, but divers other alſo laughed at his manifeſt unſhamefaſtneſs, in Preaching theſe ſo vain and fooliſh Superſtitions.

A queſtion to be ſpurred to D. Watſon.

The ſudden ſwoon of Chriſtopherſon.

While he was thus talking to his Audience, *John Chriſtopherſon* elected Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, being ſtricken with a ſudden ſickneſs, fell down in a ſwoon among the preſs: and with much ado, being ſcarce able a good while to come to himſelf again, in the mean time babbled many things unadviſedly, and as though he had been out of his wits. Some thought it came upon this occaſion, becauſe he had been greatly accuſed before the Commiſſioners for miſ-ſpending and miſ-ordering the goods of the Colledge; and therefore was grieved with the matter, knowing that they had been offended with him, by that that *Ormanet* had cancelled before his face a Leaſe of his, by the which he had let to farm to his Brother in Law a certain Manor of that Colledge, becauſe the covenants ſeemed unreaſonable.

By this time was returned again the Purſivant; who (as we before told) was ſent to *London* with the Commiſſioners Letters, and brought with him a Warrant for the burning of theſe Men.

The day aſſigned for burning M. *Bucer*, and *Paulus Phagius* Bones.

Upon the receit whereof, they appointed the ſixth day of *February* for the accompliſhment of the matter. For it had hanged already a great while in hand.

Therefore when the ſaid day was come, the Commiſſioners ſent for the Vicechancellor, demanding of him in what caſe things ſtood, whether all things were in a readineſs for the accompliſhment of this buſineſs, or no. Underſtanding by him that all things were ready, they commanded the matter to be broached out of hand.

The taking of M. *Bucer* and *Paulus Phagius*.

The Vicechancellor therefore taking with him *Marſhal* the Common Notary, went firſt to St. *Michaels* Church where *Phagius* was buried. There he called forth *Andrew Smith*, *Henry Sawyer*, and *Henry Adams*, Men of the ſame Pariſh, and bound them with an Oath, to dig up *Phagius* Bones, and to bring them to the place of execution. *Marſhall* took their Oaths; receiving the like of *Roger Smith* and *William Haſell* the Town Sergeants, and of *John Caper*, Warden of the ſame Church, for doing the like with *Bucer*. *Smith* the Major of the Town, which ſhould be their executioner (for it was not lawful for them to intermeddle in caſes of Blood) commanded certain of his Townſ-Men to wait upon him in harneſs, by whom the dead Bodies were guarded; and being bound with Ropes, and laid upon Mens Shoulders (for they were incloſed in Cheſts, *Bucer* in the ſame that he was buried, and *Phagius* in a new) they were born into the midſt of the Market ſtead, with a great train of people following them.

The burning of M. *Bucer* and *Paulus Phagius*.

This place was prepared before, and a great poſt was ſet faſt in the ground to bind the Carkaſſes to, and a great heap of Wood was laid ready to burn them withal.

When they came thither, the Cheſts were ſet up on end with the dead Bodies in them, and faſtned on both ſides with Stakes, and bound to the poſt with a long Iron Chain, as if they had been alive. Fire being forthwith put to, as ſoon as it began to flame round about, a great ſort of Books that were condemned with them, were caſt into the ſame.

The talk of the Country folk of the burning of M. *Bucer* and *Paulus Phagius*.

There was that day gathered into the Town a great multitude of country folk (for it was Market day) who ſeeing Men born to execution, and learning by inquiry that they were dead before, partly deteſted and abhorred the extream cruelty of the Commiſſioners toward the rotten Carkaſſes, and partly laughed at their folly in making ſuch preparative. For what needeth any weapon, ſaid they? As though they were afraid that the dead Bodies, which felt them not, would do them ſome harm: Or to what purpoſe ſerveth that Chain wherewith they are tyed, ſince they might be burnt looſe without peril? for it was not to be feared that they would run away.

Thus, every Body that ſtood by found fault with the cruelneſs of the deed, either ſharply or elſe lightly, as every Mans mind gave him. There were very few that liked their doing therein.

The purpoſe of D. Watſons *Sermon againſt* Martin Bucer.

Watſons Sermon at the burning of *Bucer* and *Phagius*.

IN the mean time that they were a roſting in the Fire, *Watſon* went into the Pulpit in Saint *Maries* Church, and there before his Audience railed upon their Doctrine, as wicked and erroneous, ſaying, that it was the ground of all miſchief that had happened of a long time in the common-weal. For behold (ſaid he) as well the proſperity as the adverſity of theſe years that have enſued, and ye ſhall find that all things have chanced unluckily to them that have followed this new found faith; as contrarily all things have happened fortunately to them that have eſchewed it. What robbing and polling (quoth he) have we ſeen in this Realm, as long as Religion was defaced with Sects, the common treaſure (gathered for the maintenance of the whole publick weal) and the goods of the Realm ſhamefully ſpent in waſte for the maintenance of a few folks luſts, all good order broken, all diſcipline caſt aſide, Holidays appointed

As though in theſe days of Queen *Mary* had been raiſed no Subſidies at all.

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to the ſolemnizing of Ceremonies neglected; and that more is, the places themſelves beaten down, Fleſh and other kind of prohibited ſuſtenance eaten every where upon days forbidden, without remorſe of Conſcience, the Prieſts had in deriſion, the Maſs rayled upon, no honour done to the Sacraments of the Church; all eſtates and degrees given to ſuch a licentious liberty, without check, that all things may ſeem to draw to their utter ruin and decay.

Watſon ſlanderouſly depraveth the Doctrine of the Proteſtants.

And yet in the mean time, the Name of the Goſpel was pretended outwardly, as though that for it Men ought of duty to give credit to their erroneous opinions; whereas indeed there is nothing more diſcrepant, or more to the ſlander of Gods word then the ſame. For what other thing taught they to remain in that moſt Bleſſed and Myſtical Sacrament of the Body of our Lord, than bare unleavened Bread? And what elſe do the remnant of them teach unto this day? whereas Chriſt by expreſs words doth aſſure it to be his very Body. How perillous a Doctrine is that which concerneth the fatal and abſolute neceſſity of Predeſtination? And yet they ſet it out in ſuch wiſe, that they have left no choiſe at all in things. As who ſhould ſay, it skilled not what a Man purpoſed of any matter, ſince he had not the power to determine otherwiſe then the matter ſhould come to paſs. The which was the peculiar opinion of them, that made God the Author of evil, bringing Men through this perſwaſion into ſuch a careleſs ſecurity of the everlaſting eternity, that in the mean ſeaſon it made no matter either toward Salvation, or Damnation, what a Man did in this Life. Theſe errours (which were not even among the Heathen Men) were defended by them with great ſtoutneſs.

Theſe and many ſuch other things he ſlanderouſly and falſly alledged againſt *Bucer*, whoſe Doctrine (in ſuch ſort as he himſelf taught it) either he would not underſtand, or elſe he was minded to ſlander. And yet he was not ignorant, that *Bucer* taught none other things then the very ſame whereunto both he and *Scot*, in the Reign of King *Edward* the ſixth, had willingly aſſented, by ſubſcribing thereto with their own hands. While he talked in this wiſe before the people, many of them that had written Verſes before, did ſet up other new, in the which, like a ſort of Water Frogs, they ſpued out their venemous malice againſt *Bucer* and *Phagius*. This was the laſt Act of this Enterlude, and yet there remained a few things to be done, among the which was the reconciling of two Churches, of our Lady, and of St. *Michael*, which we declared to have been interdicted before.

Watſon and *Scot* had both ſubſcribed to the Doctrine of the Goſpel in the Reign of King *Edward* the ſixth.

The reconciling of the Churches that were interdicted.

This was done the next day following, by the aforeſaid Biſhop of *Cheſter*, with as much Ceremonial Solemnity as the Law required. But that impanate God, whom *Bucers* Carcaſs had chaled from thence, was not yet turned thither again; neither was it lawful for him to come there any more, unleſs he were brought thither with great Solemnity: As I ſuppoſe, during all the time of his abſence, he was entertained by the Commiſſioners at *Trinity Colledge*, and there continued as a ſojourner. For thither came all the Graduates of the Univerſity, the 8. of *February* of gentleneſs and curteſie, to bring him home again. Amongſt the which number, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* (worthy for his eſtate to come neareſt to him, becauſe he was a Biſhop) took and carried him clad in a long Rochet, and a large Tippet of Sarcenet about his neck; wherein he wrapped his Idol alſo. *Ormanet* Datary had given the ſame a little before to the Univerſity, for that and ſuch like purpoſes.

A Solemn Proceſſion of the Univerſity and of the Townſmen.

When this Idol ſhould return home, he went out the ſtraiteſt and neareſt way as other folks are wont to go, but he fetched a compaſs about the moſt part of the Town, and rored through ſo many of the ſtreets, that it was a large hour and more, ere he could find the way into this Church again. I believe the ancient Romans obſerved ſuch cuſtom not much unlike this in their Proceſſion, when they made Supplications at the Shrines of all their Gods. The order of which Proceſſion was this; The Maſters Regents went before, ſinging with a loud voice; *Salve feſta dies*, *&c.* Next them followed the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, about him went *Ormanet* and his fellow Commiſſioners, with the Maſters of the Colledges, bearing every Man a long Taper light in his hand. *After whom, a little ſpace off, followed other Degrees* of the Univerſity. Laſt behind came the Major and his Townſmen. Before them all went the Beadles, crying to ſuch as they met, that they ſhould bow themſelves humbly before the Hoſt: If any refuſed ſo to do, they threatned to ſend them forthwith to the *Tolbooth*. Their God being led with this pomp, and pacified with great ſacrificed Hoſts of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, at length ſetled himſelf again in his accuſtomed room.

The order of Proceſſion in *Cambridge*.

Scot of *Cheſter* Prayed with many words, that that day might be lucky and fortunate to himſelf, and to all that were preſent, and that from that day forward (now that Gods wrath was appeaſed, and all other things ſet in good order) all Men ſhould make themſelves conformable to peace and quietneſs, namely, in matters appertaining to Religion. After this, they beſtowed a few days in puniſhing and amercing ſuch as they thought had deſerved it. Some they ſuſpended from giving voices either to their own preferment, or to the preferment of any other. Some they forbade to have the charge of Pupils, leſt they ſhould infect the tender youth (being pliable, to take what print ſoever ſhould be laid upon them) with corrupt Doctrine and Hereſie, others they chaſtiſed wrongfully without any deſert, and many a one they puniſhed, contrary to all right and reaſon.

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Certain of the Univerſity amerced and puniſhed.

The Decrees of the Inquiſitors.

Laſt of all they ſet forth certain Statutes, by the which they would have the Univerſity hereafter ordered. Wherein they enacted many things as concerning the election of their Officers of the Univerſity, of keeping and adminiſtring the Goods of the Univerſity, and of many other things. But eſpecially they handled the matter very circumſpectly for Religion. In the which they were ſo ſcrupulous, that they repleniſhed all things either with open Blaſphemy, or with ridiculous Superſtition. For they preſcribed at how many Maſſes every Man ſhould be day by day, and how many *Pater noſters* and *Aves* every Man ſhould ſay when he ſhould enter into the Church, and in his entrance, after what ſort he ſhould bow himſelf to the Altar, and how to the Maſter of the houſe, what he ſhould do there, and how long he ſhould tarry, how many, and what Prayers he ſhould ſay, what, and how he ſhould ſing, what meditations others ſhould uſe while the Prieſt is in his *Memento*, mumbling ſecretly to himſelf, what time of the Maſs a Man ſhould ſtand, and when he ſhould ſit down, when he ſhould make curteſie, when excluſively, when incluſively, and many other ſuperſtitious toyes they decreed, that it was a ſport then to behold their Superſtitions, and were tedious now to recite them.

Moreover theſe Maſters of good order, for faſhions ſake, ordained that every Man ſhould put on a Surpleſs, not torn nor worn, but clean, forbidding them in any wiſe to wipe their Noſes thereon.

Theſe things thus ſet at a ſtay, when the Commiſſioners were now ready to go their ways, the Univerſity for ſo great benefits (which ſhe ſhould not ſuffer to fall out of remembrance many years after) coveting to ſhew ſome token of curteſie towards them again, digniſied *Ormanet* and *Cole* with the degree of Doctorſhip for all the reſidue, ſaving *Chriſtopherſon*, who now, by reaſon he was elected Biſhop, preventing that degree, had received that order before. Thus at length were ſent away theſe peace-makers, that came to pacifie ſtrifes and quarrels, who through provoking every Man to accuſe one another, left ſuch gaps and breaches in Mens hearts at their departure, that to this day they could never be cloſed nor joyned together again.

Ormanet and *Cole* proceeded Doctors.

The departing of the Inquiſitors.

Theſe Commiſſioners, before they departed out of the Univerſity, gave commandment, that the Maſters of every Houſe ſhould copy out their Statutes, the which beſides common Ordinances, contained in them certain rules of private order, for every Houſe particularly. Swinborn (who as I ſaid, was Maſter of *Clarehall*) being demanded whether he would have thoſe things ingroſſed in Parchment or in Paper, anſwered, that it made no matter wherein they were written: For the Paper, or ſleighter thing that were of leſs continuance then Paper, would ſerve the turn well enough. For he ſaid, a ſlenderer thing then that would laſt a great deal longer then thoſe decrees ſhould ſtand in force. Neither was the Man de-

Swinborn ſaying as concerning the decrees of the Inquiſitors.

ceived

Anno 1557.

Swinborne laying as concerning the decrees of the Inquiſitors.

ceived in his conjecture; for within two years after, God beholding us with mercy, called Queen *Mary* out of this life the 17. of *November*, *Anno* 1558. After whom her Sister *ELIZABETH* ſucceeding in the Kingdom, raiſed to life again the True Religion. Whereupon, as the Church of Chriſt began by little and little to flouriſh; ſo the memory of *Bucer* and *Phagius* (although their bones were burnt by Cardinal *Pool*) was reſtored again by this godly Qu. *ELIZABETH*, who gave then in Commiſſion to *Matthew Parker* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and to *Edmund Grindal* then Biſhop of *London*, to Maſter *Gualter Haddon* and others: For the performance of which Commiſſion, the ſaid reverend Biſhops addreſſed their Letters to the Vicechancellour, &c.

The Oration of Mr. Acworth, *Oratour of the Univerſity, at the reſtitution of* Martin Bucer, *and* Paulus Phagius.

The Oration of Mr. Acworth.

I Am in doubt, whether I may intreat of the praiſe and commendation of ſo great a Clerk (for the celebrating whereof, this aſſembly and concourſe of yours is made this day) or of the vices and calamities, out of the which we be newly delivered, or of them both, conſidering the one cannot be mentioned without the other. In the which times ye felt ſo much anguiſh and ſorrow (my right dear Brethren) that if I ſhould repeat them, and bring them to remembrance again, I fear me, I ſhould not ſo much work a juſt hatred in us towards them, for the injuries received in them, as renew our old ſorrow and heavineſs. Again, men muſt needs account me unadviſed and fooliſh in my doing, if I ſhould think my ſelf able to make him which hath lived before our eyes in praiſe and eſtimation, more famous and notable by my Oration which he by his living and converſation hath oftentimes poliſhed. But the wickedneſs of the times, which endeavored to wipe clean out of Remembrance of Men the name that was ſo famous and renowned in every mans mouth, did much profit him. Inſomuch, that both in his life time all things redounded to his continual renown, and in eſpecial after his deceaſe, nothing could be deviſed more honorable, then with ſo ſolemn furniture and ceremonies, to have gone about to have hurt the memorial of ſuch a worthy Man, and yet could not bring to paſs the thing that was ſo ſore coveted; but rather brought that thing to paſs, which was chiefly ſought to be avoided. For the deſire that men have of the dead hath purchaſed to many men everlaſting fame, and hath not taken away immortality, but rather amplified and increaſed the fame. By means whereof it cometh to paſs, that he that will intreat of thoſe things that pertain to the praiſe of *Bucer* after his death, cannot chuſe but ſpeak of the crabbedneſs of the times paſt, upon the which riſeth a great increaſe and augmentation of his praiſe. But his life ſo excellently ſet forth, not onely by the writings of the Clerks, *Cheeke* and *Carre*, and by the lively voice of the right famous Doctor *Haddon*, uttered in this place to the great admiration of all the Hearers, when his Body ſhould be laid into his grave to be buried; and after his burial, by the godly and moſt holy Preachings of the right reverend Father in Chriſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* that now is, and of Dr. *Redman*, the which for the worthineſs and excellency of them, ought to ſtick longer in our minds unwritten, then many things that are penned and put in print; but alſo by the great aſſembly of all the degrees of the Univerſity the ſame day, in bringing him to his grave and the next day after by the induſtry of every man that was endued with any knowledge in the Greek or Latin tongues; of the which, there was no man but ſet up ſome Verſes, as witneſs of his juſt and unfained ſorrow upon the walls of the Church: that neither at that time any reverence or duty which is due to the dead departing out of this life, was then overſlipped, or now remaineth undone, that may ſeem to pertain either to the celebrating of the memorial of ſo holy or famous a perſon, or to the conſecrating of him to everlaſting memory. We at that time ſaw with our eyes this Univerſity flouriſhing by his inſtitutions, the love of ſincere Religion not onely ingendred, but alſo confirmed and ſtrengthened through his continual and daily preaching. Inſomuch, that at ſuch time as he was ſuddenly taken from us, there was ſcarce any man that for ſorrow could find in his heart to bear with the preſent ſtate of this life, but that either be wiſhed with all his heart to depart out of this life with *Bucer* into another, and by dying to follow him into immortality, or elſe endeavoured himſelf with weeping and ſighing to call him again, being diſpatched of all troubles, into the priſon of this Body, out of the which he is eſcaped, leſt he ſhould leave us as it were ſtanding in battel without a Captain, and he himſelf as one caſhiered, depart with his wages, or as one diſcharged out of the Camp, withdraw himſelf to the everlaſting quietneſs and tranquillity of the Soul. Therefore all men evidently declared at that time, both how ſore they took his death to heart, and alſo how hardly they could away with the miſture of ſuch a man. As long as the ardent love of his Religion (wherewith we were inflamed) flouriſhed, it wrought in our Hearts an incredible deſire of his preſence among us. But after the time that the godly man ceaſed to be any more in our ſight, and in our eyes, that ardent and burning love of Religion by little and little waxed cold in our minds, and according to the times that came after (which were both miſerable, and to our utter undoing) it began not by little and little to be darkened, but it altogether vaniſhed away, and turned into nothing. For we fell again into the troubleſomneſs of the Popiſh Doctrine; the old Rites and Cuſtoms of the Romiſh Church were reſtored again, not to the garniſhment and beautifying of the Chriſtian Religion (as they ſurmiſed) but to the utter defacing, violating, and defiling of the ſame. Death was ſet before the eyes of ſuch as perſevered in the Chriſtian Doctrine that they had learned before. They were baniſhed the Realm that would not apply themſelves to the time, and do as other men did: ſuch as remained, were enforced either to diſſemble, or to hide themſelves, and creep into corners, or elſe as it were by drinking of the charmed cup of *Circe*, to be turned and altered, not onely from the nature of Man into the nature of brute Beaſts, but (that far worſe and much more monſtrous is) from the likeneſs of God and his Angels, into the likeneſs of Devils. And all *England* was infected with this malady. But I would to God the corruption of thoſe times, which overwhelmed all the whole Realm, had not at leaſt wiſe yet pierced every part and member thereof. Of the which there was not one, but that (beſides the grief that it felt, with the reſidue of the Body, by reaſon of the ſickneſs and contagion ſpread into the whole) had ſome ſorrow and calamity peculiarly by it ſelf. And to omit the reſt (of the which to intreat, this place is not appointed, nor the time requireth ought to be ſpoken) this dwelling place of the *Muſes* (which we call the Univerſity) may be a ſufficient witneſs what we may judge of all the reſt of the Body. For certainly, my Brethren, the thing is not to be diſſembled, that cannot be hidden. We, applying our ſelves to thoſe moſt filthy times, have moſt ſhamefully yielded, like faint-hearted cowards, which had not the ſtomachs to ſuſtain the Adverſities of poverty, Baniſhment, and Death. Which in our living and converſation kept neither the conſtancy taught us by Philoſophy, nor yet the patience taught us by Holy Scripture, which have done all things at the commandment of others. And therefore that which the Poet (although in another ſenſe) hath trimly ſpoken, may well be thought to have been truly propheſied upon us:

The times and ſeaſons changed be:
And changed in the ſame are we.

Divers of them that were of a pure and ſincere judgment as concerning Religion, being driven from hence and diſtroubled, the reſt that remained taſted and felt of the inhumanity of them in whoſe hands the Authority of doing things here conſiſted; although to ſay the truth, I have uſed a gentler term then behoved. For it is not to be acounted inhumanity, but rather immanity and beaſtly cruelty: the which when they had ſpent all kinds of Torments and Puniſhments upon the quick, when they had cruelly taken from ſuch as conſtantly perſevered, life, from others riches, honours, and all hope of promotion, yet they could not be ſo ſatisfied, but that incenſed and ſtirred with a greater fury, it began to

outrage even againſt the dead. Therefore whereas in every ſingular place was executed a ſingular kind of cruelty, inſomuch, that there was no kind of cruelneſs that could be deviſed, but it was put in ure in one place or other, this was proper or peculiar to *Cambridge*, to exerciſe the cruelty upon the dead, which in other places was extended but to the quick. *Oxford* burnt up the right reverend Fathers, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer* the noble witneſſes of the clear light of the Goſpel. Moreover, at *London* periſhed theſe two Lanterns of light, *Rogers* and *Bradford*: In whom it is hard to ſay, whether there were more force of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holineſs of life and converſation. Many other without number, both here and in other places were conſumed to aſhes for bearing record to the Truth. For what City is there that hath not flamed I ſay not with burning of houſes and buildings, but with burning of holy Bodies? But *Cambridge*, after there were no more left alive upon whom they might ſpue out their bitter poyſon, played the mad *Bedlam* againſt the dead. The dead men, whoſe living no man was able to find fault with, whoſe Doctrine no man was able to reprove, were by falſe ſlanderous Accuſers indicted, contrary to the Laws of God and man, ſued in the Law, condemned, their Sepulchres violated and broken up, their Carkaſſes pulled out and burnt with fire. A thing ſurely incredible, if we had not ſeen it with our eyes, and a thing that hath not lightly been heard of. But the hainouſneſs of this wicked act was ſpread abroad as a common talk in every mans mouth, and was blown and diſperſed through all *Chriſtendom*. *Bucer* by the excellency of his wit and Doctrine known to all men, of our Country-men in manner craved, of many others intreated and ſent for, to the intent he might inſtruct our *Cambridge* men in the ſincere Doctrine of the Chriſtian Religion, being ſpent with age, and his ſtrength uttterly decayed, forſook his own Country, refuſed not the tedioufneſs of that long journey, was not afraid to adventure himſelf upon the Sea, but had more regard of the dilating and amplifying of the Church of Chriſt, then of all other things. So in concluſion he came, every man received and welcomed him: afterward he lived in ſuch wiſe, as it might appear he came not hither for his own ſake, but for ours. For he ſought not to drive away the ſickneſs that he had taken by troubleſome travel of his long journey: and albeit his ſtrength were weakened and appalled, yet he regarded not the recovery of his health, but put himſelf to immoderate labour and intolerable pain, only to teach and inſtruct us. And yet toward this ſo noble and worthy a perſon, while he lived, were ſhewed all the tokens of humanity and gentleneſs, reverence and courteſie that could be; and when he was dead, the moſt horrible cruelty and ſpight that might be imagined. For what can be ſo commendable, as to grant unto the living, houſe and abiding place, and to the dead, burial? Or what is he that will find in his heart to give entertainment, and to cheriſh that perſon in his houſe with all kind of gentleneſs that he can deviſe, upon whom he could not vouchſafe to beſtow burial when he is dead? Again, what an inconſtancy is it, with great ſolemnity, and with much advancement and commendation of his vertues to bury a man honourably, and anon after to break up his Tomb, and pull him out ſpitefully, and wrongfully to ſlander him being dead, who during his life time alway deſerved praiſe? All theſe things have happened unto *Bucer*, who whilſt he lived had free acceſs into the moſt gorgeous buildings and ſtately palaces of the greateſt Princes, and when he was dead, could not be ſuffered to enjoy ſo much as his poor grave. Who being laid in the ground nobly to his eternal fame, was afterward, to his utter defacing, ſpitefully taken up and burned. The which things albeit they did no harm to the dead (for the dead carkaſſes feel not pain, neither doth the fame of godly perſons depend upon the report of vulgar People, and the light rumours of men, but upon the rightful cenſure and juſt judgment of God) yet it reproveth and extream cruelneſs and unſatiable deſire of revengment in them which offer ſuch utter wrong to the dead. Theſe perſons therefore whom they have pulled out of their graves and burned, I believe (if they had been alive) they would have caſt out of houſe and home, they would have driven out of all mens Company, and in the end with moſt cruel torments have torn them in pieces, being nevertheleſs Aliens, being ſtrangers, and being alſo fetched hither by us out of ſuch a Country, where they not only needed not to fear any puniſhment, but contrarywiſe were always had in much reputation, as well among the noble and honorable, as alſo among the Vulgar and common People. But yet how much more gentle then theſe men was Biſhop *Gardiner*, otherwiſe an earneſt defender of the Popiſh Doctrine? who againſt his own Country-men, let paſs no cruelty whereby he might extinguiſh with fire and ſword the light of the Goſpel: and yet he ſpared forraigners, becauſe the right of them is ſo holy, that there was never Nation ſo barbarous, that would violate the ſame. For when he had in his power the renowned Clerk *Peter Martyr*, then teaching at *Oxford*, he would not keep him to puniſh him, but (as I have heard reported) when he ſhould go his way, he gave him wherewith to bear his charges. So that the thing which he though he might of right do to his Country-men, he judged unlawful to do to ſtrangers. And whom the Law of God could not withhold from the wicked murdering of his own Country-men, him did the Law of man bridle from killing of ſtrangers, the which hath ever appeaſed all barbarous beaſtlineſs, and mitigated all cruelty. For it is a point of humanity for man and man to meet together, and one to come to another, though they be never ſo far ſeparated and ſet aſunder, both by Sea and by Land, without the which acceſs there can be no intercourſe of merchandiſe, there can be no conference of wits, which firſt of all ingendred learning, nor any commodity of ſociety long to continue. To repulſe them that come to us, and to prohibite them our Countries, is a point of inhumanity. Now to entertain them evil, that by our ſufferance dwell among us, and have increaſe of houſhold and houſhold-ſtuff, it is a point of wickedneſs. Wherefore this cruelty hath far ſurmounted the cruelty of all others, the which, to ſatisfie the unſatiable greedineſs thereof, drew to execution not only ſtrangers, brought hither at our intreatance and ſending for, but even the withered and rotten Carkaſſes digged out of their graves; to the intent that the immeaſurable thirſt which could not be quenched with ſhedding the Blood of them that were alive, might at the leaſt be ſatisfied in burning of dead mens Bones. Theſe (my Brethren) theſe, I ſay, are the juſt cauſes which have ſo ſore provoked the wrath of God againſt us, becauſe that in doing extream injury to the dead we have been prone and ready; but in putting the ſame away we have been ſlow and ſlack. For verily I believe (if I may have liberty to ſay freely what I think) (ye ſhall bear with me, if I chance to caſt forth any thing unadviſedly in the heat and haſty diſcourſe of my Oration) that even this place, in the which we have ſo oftentimes aſſembled, being defiled with that new kind of wickedneſs, ſuch as man never heard of before, is a let and hinderance unto us, when we call for the help of God, by means whereof our prayers are not accepted, which we make to appeaſe the Godhead, and to win him to be favourable unto us again.

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The Blood of *Abel* ſhed by *Cain*, calleth and crieth from the earth that ſucked it up: likewiſe, the undeſerved burning of theſe Bodies, calleth upon Almighty God to puniſh us, and crieth, that not only the Authors of ſo great a wickedneſs, but alſo the miniſters thereof are unpure, the places defiled, in which theſe things were perpetrated, the Air infected which we take into our Bodies, to the intent that by ſundry diſeaſes and ſickneſſes we may receive puniſhment for ſo execrable wickedneſs. Look well about ye (my dear Brethren) and conſider with your ſelves the evils that are paſt? and ye ſhall ſee how they took their beginning at *Bucers* death, following one in anothers neck even unto this day. Firſt and formoſt, when we were even in the chiefeſt of our mourning, and ſcarcely yet comforted of our ſorrow for his death, the ſweating ſickneſs lighted upon us, the which paſſed ſwiftly thorow all *England*, and as it were in haſte diſpatched an innumerable company of men. Secondly, the untimely death of our moſt noble King *Edward* the ſixth (whoſe life in vertue ſurmounted the opinion of all men, and ſeemed worthy of immortality) happed

contrary

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contrary to mens expectation in that age, in which unleſs violence be uſed, few do die. The converſion of Religion, or rather the everſion and turning thereof into Papacy: The incurſion and domination of ſtrangers, under whoſe yoke our necks were almoſt ſubdued: The importunate cruelty of the Biſhops againſt the Chriſtians, which executed that wickedneſs, for making ſatisfaction whereof we are gathered together this day. Theſe are the things that enſued after his death; but after his burning enſued yet grievouſer things: Namely, new kinds of plagues, and contagious diſeaſes, unknown to the very Phyſicians, whereby either every mans health was impaired, or elſe they were brought to their graves, or elſe very hardly recovered. Bloody battels without victory, whereof the profit redounded to the enemy, and to us the ſlaughter with great loſs. The which things do evidently declare, that God is turned from us, and angry with us, and that he giveth no ear to our prayers, and that he is not moved with our cries and ſighs, but that he looketh that this our meeting and aſſembly ſhould be to this end, that foraſmuch as we have violated their Corps, we ſhould do them right again; ſo that the memorial of theſe moſt holy men may be commended unto poſterity unhurt and undefamed. Wherefore amend yet at length (my Brethren) which hitherto, by reaſon of the variableneſs and unconſtancy of the times, have been wavering and unſtedfaſt in your hearts; ſhew your ſelves cheerful and forward in making ſatisfaction for the injury you have done to the dead, whom with ſo great wickedneſs of late ye indammaged and defiled; not cenſing them with the perfumes of thoſe odours and ſpices now worn out of ure, and put to flight, but with a true and unfained repentance of the heart, and with prayer, to the intent that the heavenly Godhead, provoked by our doings to be our enemy, may by our humble ſubmiſſion be intreated to be favourable and agreeable to all our other requeſts.

When *Acworth* had made an end of his Oration, Mr. *James Pilkington* the Queens Reader of the Divinity Lecture, going up into the Pulpit made a Sermon upon the 112. *Pſal.* the beginning whereof is, *Bleſſed is the man that feareth the Lord.*

Where intending to prove, that the remembrance of the juſt man ſhall not periſh, and that *Bucer* is bleſſed, and that the ungodly ſhall fret at the ſight thereof, but yet that all their attempts ſhall be to no purpoſe, to the intent this ſaying may be verified, (I will curſe your bleſſings, and bleſs your curſings,) he took his beginning of his own perſon; That albeit he were both ready and willing to take that matter in hand, partly for the worthineſs of the matter it ſelf, and eſpecially for certain ſingular vertues of thoſe Perſons, for whom that Congregation was called, yet notwithſtanding, he ſaid, he was nothing meet to take that charge upon him.

For it were more reaſon, that he which before had done *Bucer* wrong, ſhould now make him amends for the diſpleaſure. As for his own part, he was ſo far from working any evil againſt *Bucer*, either in word or deed; that for their ſingular knowledge almoſt in all kind of learning, he imbraced both him and *Phagius* with all his heart. But yet he ſomewhat more favoured *Bucer*, as with whom he had more familiarity and acquaintance. In conſideration whereof, although that it was ſcarce convenient, that he at that time ſhould ſpeak, yet notwithſtanding he was contented for friendſhip and courteſie ſake, not to fail them in their buſineſs. Having made this Preface, he entred into the pith of the matter, wherein he blamed greatly the barbarous cruelty of the Court of *Rome*, ſo fiercely extended againſt the dead. He ſaid it was a more haynous matter then was to be born with, to have ſhewed ſuch extreme cruelneſs to them that were alive; but for any man to misbehave himſelf in ſuch wiſe toward the dead, was ſuch a thing as had not lightly been heard of: Saying that he affirmed this cuſtom of excommunicating and curſing of dead bones, to have come firſt from *Rome*. For *Evagrius* reporteth in his writings, that *Eutychius* was of the ſame opinion, induced by the example of *Joſias*, who ſlew the Prieſts of *Baal*, and burnt up the Bones of them that were dead, even upon the Altars. Whereas, before the time of *Eutychius* this kind of puniſhment was well near unknown, neither afterward uſurped of any man (that ever he heard of) until nine hundred years after Chriſt. In the latter times (the which how much the further they were from the Golden-age of the Apoſtles, ſo much the more they were corrupted) this kind of cruelneſs began to creep further. For it is manifeſtly known, that *Stephen* the ſixth Pope of *Rome* digged up *Formoſus*, his laſt Predeceſſor in that See, and ſpoiling him of his apparrel, buried him again in a lay-mans apparrel (as they call it) having firſt cut off and thrown into *Tyber* his two fingers, with which according to their accuſtomed manner, he was wont to bleſs and conſecrate. The which his unſpeakable tyranny uſed againſt *Formoſus*, within ſix years after, *Sergius* the third increaſed alſo againſt the ſame *Formoſus*. For taking up his dead Body, and ſetting it in a Popes Chair, he cauſed his Head to be ſmitten off, and his other three fingers to be cut from his hand, and his Body to be caſt into the River of *Tyber*, abrogating and diſannulling all his Decrees, which thing was never done by any man before that day. The cauſe why ſo great cruelty was exerciſed (by the report of *Nauclerus*) was this; Becauſe that *Formoſus* had been an adverſary to *Stephen* and *Sergius* when they ſued to be made Biſhops.

This kind of cruelty (unheard of before) the Popes awhile exerciſed one againſt another. But now, ere ever they had ſufficiently felt the ſmart thereof themſelves, they had turned the ſame upon their necks. Wherefore it was to be wiſhed, that ſeeing it began among them, it might have remained ſtill with the Authors thereof, and not have been ſpread over thence unto us. But ſuch is the nature of all evil, that it quickly paſſeth into example, for others to do the like. For about the year of the Lord 1400. *John Wickliff* was in like manner digged up, and burnt into aſhes, and thrown into a Brook that runneth by the Town where he was buried. Of the which ſelf-ſame ſawce taſted alſo *William Tracy* of *Glouceſter*, a man of a worſhipful houſe, becauſe he had written in his laſt will, that he ſhould be ſaved only by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and that there needed not the help of any man thereto, whether he were in Heaven or in Earth; and therefore bequeathed no Legacy to that purpoſe, as all other men were accuſtomed to do. This deed was done ſince we may remember, about the 22. year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, in the year of our Lord, 1530.

Now ſeeing they extended ſuch cruelty to the dead, he ſaid it was an eaſie matter to conjecture what they would do to the living. Whereof we have had ſufficient trial by the examples of our own men, theſe few years paſt. And if we wonld take the pains to peruſe things done ſomewhat longer ago, we might find notable matters out of our own Chronicles. Howbeit, it was ſufficient for the manifeſt demonſtration of that matter, to declare the beaſtly butchery of the French King, executed upon the *Waldenſes* at *Cabrier*, and the places near thereabout, by his Captain *Miner*, about the year of our Lord, 1545. than the which there was never thing read of more cruelty done, no not even of the barbarous Pagans. And yet for all that, when divers had ſhewed their uttermoſt cruelty both againſt theſe and many others, they were ſo far from their purpoſe, in extinguiſhing the light of the Goſpel, which they endeavoured to ſuppreſs, that it increaſed daily more and more. The which thing *Charles* the fifth (then whom all Chriſtendom had not a more prudent Prince, nor the Church of Chriſt almoſt a ſorer Enemy) eaſily perceived; and therefore when he had in his hand *Luther* dead, and *Melanchthon* and *Pomeran* with certain other Preachers of the Goſpel alive, he not only determined not any thing extremely againſt them, nor violated their graves, but alſo intreating them gently, ſent them away, not ſo much as once forbidding them to publiſh openly the Doctrine that they profeſſed. For it is the nature of Chriſts Church, that the more that Tyrants ſpurn againſt it, the more it increaſeth and flouriſheth. A notable proof aſſuredly of the providence and pleaſure of God in ſowing the Goſpel, was that coming of the *Bohemians* unto us, to the intent to hear *Wickliff*, of whom we ſpake before, who at that time read openly at *Oxford*;

and alſo the going of our men to the ſaid *Bohemians* when perſecution was raiſed againſt us. But much more notable was it, that we have ſeen come to paſs in theſe our days; that the *Spaniards*, ſent for into the Realm of purpoſe to ſuppreſs the Goſpel, as ſoon as they were returned home repleniſhed many parts of their Country with the ſame Truth of Religion, to the which before they were utter enemies. By the which examples it might evidently be perceived, that the Princes of this World labour in vain to overthrow it, conſidering how the mercy of God hath ſown it abroad, not only in thoſe Countries that we ſpake of, but alſo in *France*, *Pole*, *Scotland*, and almoſt all the reſt of *Europe*. For it is ſaid, that ſome parts of *Italy* (although it be under the Popes noſe) yet do they of late incline to the knowledge of the heavenly Truth: Wherefore ſufficient argument and proof might be taken by the ſucceſs and increaſement thereof, to make us believe that this Doctrine is ſent us from Heaven, unleſs we will wilfully be blinded. And if there were any that deſired to be perſwaded more at large in the matter, he might adviſedly conſider the voyage that the Emperour and the Pope with both their powers together, made joyntly againſt the *Bohemians*. In the which the Emperour took ſuch an unworthy repulſe of ſo ſmall a handful of his enemies, that he never almoſt in all his life took the like diſhonour in any place. Hereof alſo might be an eſpecial example of the death of *Henry*, King of *France*, who the ſame day that he had purpoſed to perſecute the Church of Chriſt, and to have burned certain of his Guard whom he had impriſoned for Religion, at whoſe execution he had promiſed to have been himſelf in proper perſon, in the midſt of his triumph at a Tourney, was wounded ſo ſore in the head with a Spear by one of his own Subjects, that ere it was long after he died. In the which behalf, the dreadful judgments of God were no leſs approved in our own Country-men. For one that was a notable ſlaughter-man of Chriſts Saints rotted alive, and ere ever he died, ſuch a rank ſavour ſteamed from all his Body, that none of his Friends were able to come at him, but they were ready to vomit. Another, being in utter deſpair well nigh of all health, howled out miſerably. The third ran out of his wits. And divers other that were enemies to the Church periſhed miſerably in the end. All the which things were moſt certain tokens of the favour and defence of the divine Majeſty towards his Church, and of his wrath and vengeance towards the Tyrants. And foraſmuch as he had made mention of the *Bohemians*, he ſaid it was a moſt apt example that was reported of their Captain *Ziſca*; who, when he ſhould die, willed his Body to be flayed, and of his skin to make a parchment to cover the head of a Drum. For it ſhould come to paſs, that when his enemies heard the ſound of it, they ſhould not be able to ſtand againſt them. The like counſel (he ſaid) he himſelf now gave them as concerning *Bucer*. That like as the *Bohemians* did with the Skin of *Ziſca*, the ſame ſhould they do with the Arguments and Doctrine of *Bucer*. For as ſoon as the Papiſts ſhould hear the noiſe of him, their gew-gaws would forthwith decay. For ſaving that they uſed violence to ſuch as withſtood them, their Doctrine contained nothing that might ſeem to any man (having but mean underſtanding in holy Scripture) to be grounded upon any reaſon. As for thoſe things that were done by them againſt ſuch as could not play the mad-men as well as they, ſome of them ſavoured of open force, and ſome of ridiculous fooliſhneſs. For what was this firſt of all? Was it not frivolous, that by the ſpace of three years together, Maſs ſhould be ſung in thoſe places where *Bucer* and *Phagius* reſted in the Lord, without any offence at all? and as ſoon as they took it to be an offence, ſtraitway to be an offence, if any were heard there? or that it ſhould not be as good then as it was before, as if that then upon the ſudden it had been a hainous matter to celebrate it in that place, and that the fault that was paſt ſhould be counted the grievouſer, becauſe it was done of longer time before. Moreover, this was a matter of none effect, that *Bucer* and *Phagius* only ſhould be digged up, as who ſhould ſay, that he only had embraced the Religion which they call Hereſie. It was well known how one of the Burgeſſes of the Town had been minded toward the Popiſh Religion. Who when he ſhould die, willed neither ringing of Bells, Diriges, nor any other ſuch kind of trifles to be done for him in his Anniverſary, as they term it, but rather that they ſhould go with inſtruments of muſick before the Mayor and Council of the City, to celebrate his memorial, and alſo that yearly a Sermon ſhould be made to the People bequeathing a piece of mony to the Preacher for his labour. Neither might he omit in that place to ſpeak of *Ward* the Painter, who albeit he were a man of no reputation, yet was he not to be deſpiſed for the Religion ſake which he diligently followed. Neither were divers other more to be paſſed over with ſilence, who were known of a certainty to have continued in the ſame Sect and to reſt in other Church-yards in *Cambridge*, and rather through the whole Realm, and yet defiled not their Maſſes at all. All the which perſons (foraſmuch as they were all of one Opinion) ought all to have been taken up, or elſe all to have been let lie with the ſame Religion; unleſs a man would grant, that it lieth in their power to make what they liſt lawful and unlawful at their own pleaſure. In the condemnation of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, to ſay the truth, they uſed too much cruelty, and too much violence. For howſoever it went with the Doctrine of *Bucer*, certainly they could find nothing whereof to accuſe *Phagius*, inaſmuch as he wrote nothing that came abroad, ſaving a few things that he had tranſlated out of the *Hebrew* and *Caldee* Tongues into Latin. After his coming into the Realm he never read, he never diſputed, he never preached, he never taught; for he deceaſed ſoon after, ſo that he could in that time give no occaſion for his Adverſaries to take hold on, whereby to accuſe him whom they never heard ſpeak. In that they hated *Bucer* ſo deadly, for the allowable marriage of the Clergy, it was their own malice conceived againſt him, and a very ſlander raiſed by themſelves. For he had for his defence in that matter (over and beſides other helps) the teſtimony of Pope *Pius* the ſecond, who in a certain place ſaith, that upon weighty conſiderations Prieſts Wives were taken from them, but for more weighty cauſes were to be reſtored again. And alſo the Statute of the Emperour, they call it the *Interim*, by the which it is enacted, that ſuch of the Clergy as were married, ſhould not be divorced from their Wives.

Stephen Gardiner of Wincheſter.

Anno 1557.

Fande ſometime Mayor of the Town.

Thus turning his ſtyle from this matter to the Univerſity, he reproved in few words their unfaithfulneſs towards theſe men. For if the Lord ſuffered not the Bones of the King of *Edom*, being a wicked man, to be taken up and burnt without revengment (as ſaith *Amos*) let us aſſure our ſelves he will not ſuffer ſo notable a wrong done to his godly Preachers unrevenged. Afterward, when he came to the condemnation (which we told you in the former action was pronounced by *Perne* the Vicechancellor, in the name of them all) being ſomewhat more moved at the matter, he admoniſhed them how much it ſtood them in hand, to uſe great circumſpectneſs, what they decreed upon any man by their voices, in admitting or rejecting any man to the promotions and degrees of the Univerſity. For that he which ſhould take his Authority from them, ſhould be a great prejudice to all the other multitude, which (for the Opinion that he had of their Doctrine, judgment, allowance, and knowledge) did think nothing but well of them. For it would come to paſs, that if they would beſtow their promotions upon none but meet perſons, and let the unmeet go as they come, both the Common-wealth ſhould receive much commodity and profit by them, and beſides that, they ſhould highly pleaſe God. But if they perſiſted to be negligent in doing thereof, they ſhould grievouſly endammage the common-weal, and worthily work their own ſhame and reproach. Over and beſides that, they ſhould greatly offend the Majeſty of God, whoſe commandment (not to bear falſe witneſs) they ſhould in ſo doing break and violate. In the mean while that he was ſpeaking theſe and many other things before his audience, many of the Univerſity, to ſet out and defend *Bucer* withal, beſet the walls of the Church and Church-porch on both ſides with Verſes; ſome in Latin, ſome in Greek, and ſome in Engliſh, in the which they made a manifeſt declaration how they were minded both toward *Bucer* and *Phagius*. Finally, when his Sermon was ended, they made common ſupplica-

Anno 1556. ſupplication and prayers. After thanks rendred to God for many other things, but in eſpecial for reſtoring of the true and ſincere Religion, every man departed his way.

Foraſmuch as mention hath been made of the death of the worthy and famous Clerk, *Martin Bucer*, and of the burning of his Bones after his death, it ſhall not be unfruitful, as the place here ſerveth, to induce the Teſtimony or Epitaph of Dr. *Redman*, which came not yet in print, upon the deceaſe of that man.

The Epitaph or Funeral Verſe of Dr. *Redman*, upon the death of Mr. *Bucer*.

ET tu livor edax procul hinc abſcede, maligna
faceſſito invidentia,
Et procul hinc Nemeſis, *procul hinc &* Momus *abeſto,*
labes lueſque mentium,
Dæmonibus ſimiles homines quæ redditis, almam
fœdatis atque imaginem
Quam noſtro impreſſit generi pater ille ſupremus,
ſimiles ſui dum nos creat:
Contemptrix odii & mendacis neſcia fuci
Adeſto ſancta Veritas.
Dicito quis qualiſque, elatum funere nuper
quem vidimus tam flebili?
Eſt inquam miſera hac defunctus luce Bucerus,
lux Literati & dux Chori,
Doctrinæ radios qui totum ſolis ad inſtar
miſit per orbem ſplendidos.
Hunc diræ nuper ſublatum vulnere mortis
lugubre flet Gymnaſium.
Et pullata gemit mœrens ſchola Cantabrigenſis
orbata claro ſydere,
Ergo, quaſi obſtructo doctrinæ fonte querelas
preceſque nunc fundit.
Agnoſcit nunquam ſe talem habuiſſe magiſtrum
ex quo ſit olim condita.
Non unquam Cathedræ gaviſa eſt præſide tanto,
tam nobili & claro duce:
Cujus & ingenii & doctrinæ munera, ſummum
virtutis ornaverat decus,
Integritas morum, gravitas, prudentia, ſermo
ſemper Dei laudem ſonans,
Et ſale conditus, qualem vult eſſe piorum
Apoſtoli ſententia.
Acceſſit zelus fervens & præſule dignus,
peccata ſemper arguens.
Nunquam deſidiæ, aut languori deditus, ullum
indulſit otium ſibi.
Credibile eſt nimio fatum acceleraſſe labore,
prodeſſe cunctis dum ſtudet.
Sed fruſtra laudes anguſto carmine nitor
tam copioſas claudere.
Ergo Bucere, *ſcholæ & ſuggeſtus gloria ſacri,*
valeto etiam vel mortuus.
Æternum in ſuperis fœlix jam vivito regnis,
exutus etſi corporis
Terrenis ſpoliis, hujus miſeri atque caduci:
Quod eſt ſepulchro conditum
Chriſtus depoſitum reddit cum fœnore magno,
Judex bropi quum venerit.

The deſpightful handling and madneſs of the Papiſts toward Peter Martyrs *Wife at* Oxford; *taken up from her grave at the commandment of* Cardinal Pool, *and after buried in a dunghil.*

AND becauſe the one Univerſity ſhould not mock the other, like cruelty was alſo declared upon the dead Body of *Peter Martyrs* Wife at *Oxford*, an honeſt, grave and ſober Matron, while ſhe lived, and of poor People always a great helper, as many that be dwelling there can right well teſtifie. In the year of our Lord 1552. ſhe departed this life; with great ſorrow of all thoſe needy perſons, whoſe neceſſities many times and often ſhe had liberally eaſed and relieved. Now when *Brooks* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, *Nicholas Ormanet* Datary, *Robert Morwen* Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge, *Cole* and *Wright* Doctors of the Civil Law, came thither as the Cardinals Viſitors, they among other things had in Commiſſion to take up this good Woman again out of her grave, and to conſume her Carkaſs with fire, not doubting but that ſhe was of the ſame Religion that her Husband had profeſſed before, when he read the Kings Lecture there. And to make a ſhew that they would do nothing diſorderly, they called all thoſe before them that had any acquaintance with her or her Husband. They miniſtred an Oath unto them, that they ſhould not conceal whatſoever was demanded. In fine, their anſwer was, that they knew not what Religion ſhe was of, by reaſon they underſtood not her language.

Commendation of Peter *Martyrs* Wife.

Jurates ſworn againſt Peter *Martyrs* Wife.

To be ſhort, after theſe Viſitors had ſped their buſineſs they came for, they gate them to the Cardinal again, certifying him that upon due inquiſition made, they could learn nothing upon which by the Law they might burn her. Notwithſtanding the Cardinal did not leave the matter ſo, but wrote down his Letters a good while after to *Marſhall*, then Dean of *Frideſwides*, that he ſhould dig her up, and lay her out of Chriſtian burial, becauſe ſhe was interred nigh unto St. *Frideſwides* Relicks, ſometime had in great reverence in that Colledge. Doctor *Marſhall* like a prety man, calling his Spades and Mattocks together in the Evening, when he was well whitled, cauſed her to be taken up and buried in a Dunghill.

Cardinal *Pool* earneſt in burning dead mens Bodies.

D. *Marſhal* Dean of *Frideſwides*.

Howbeit, when it pleaſed God under good Queen *Elizabeth* to give quietneſs to his Church, long time perſecuted with priſon and death, then Dr. *Parker*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Edmund Grindall* Biſhop of *London*, *Richard Goodrick*, with divers others her Majeſties high Commiſſioners in matters of Religion (nothing ignorant how far the Adverſaries of the Truth had tranſgreſſed the bounds of all humanity, in violating the Sepulchre or Grave of that good and vertuous Woman) willed certain of that Colledge, in which this uncourteous touch was attempted or done, to take her out of that unclean and diſhoneſt place where ſhe lay, and ſolemnly in the face of the whole Town to bury her again in a more decent and honeſt Monument. For though the Body being once dead, no great eſtimation were to be had, how or where the Bones were laid; yet was ſome reverence to be uſed toward her for Sex and Womanhood ſake. Beſides, to ſay the truth, it was great ſhame, that he which had travelled ſo far at King *Edwards* requeſt, from the place wherein he dwelt quietly and had taken ſo earneſt pains, being an Old man, in reading and ſetting forth the Truth all he could, with learning to teach and inſtruct, and ſo well deſerved of that Univerſity; ſhould with ſo ungentle a recompence of ingratitude be rewarded again, as to have his Wife that was a godly woman, a ſtranger, good to many, eſpecially to the poor, and hurtful to none, either in word or deed, without juſt deſerving, and beſide their own Law, not proceeding againſt her according to the order thereof, ſpitefully to be laid in a ſtinking Dung-hill.

Peter Martyrs wives Bones again reduced out of the Dung-hill, and laid in a decent Monument.

Great ingratitude ſhewed to *Peter Martyr*.

To all good natures the fact ſeemed odious, and of ſuch as be indued with humanity, utterly to be abhorred. Wherefore Mr. *Calfield*, then Sub-dean of the Colledge, diligently provided, that from *Marſhals* Dung-hill ſhe was reſtored and tranſlated to her proper place again, yea, and withal coupled her with *Frideſwides* Bones, that in caſe any Cardinal will be ſo mad hereafter to remove this Womans Bones again, it ſhall be hard for them to diſcern the Bones of her from the other. And to the intent the ſame might be notified to the minds of men the better, the next day after, which was Sunday, Mr. *Rogerſon* preached unto the People, in which Sermon by the way he declared the rough dealing of the Adverſaries, which were contented to practice their cruelty againſt the living, but that they muſt alſo rage againſt one that was dead, and had lain two years in her grave. God grant them once to ſee their own wickedneſs, *Amen*.

Mr. *Jamil Calfield*.

The Bones of *Peter Martyrs* Wife coupled with the Bones of *S. Frideſwide*.

The King upon Peter *Martyrs* Wives Bones.

And thus much touching the noble acts and ſtrangeneſs of this worthy Cardinal in both the Univerſities; whereunto it ſhall not be impertinent, here alſo conſequently to adjoyn and ſet forth to the eyes of the world the blind and bloody Articles ſet out by Cardinal *Pool*, to be inquired upon, within his Dioceſs of *Canterbury* whereby it may the better appear what yoaks and ſnares of fond and fruitleſs traditions were laid upon the poor flock of Chriſt, to intangle and oppreſs them with loſs of life and liberty. By the which, wiſe men have to ſee what godly fruits proceeded from that Catholick Church and See of *Rome*. In which, albeit thou ſeeſt (good Reader) ſome good Articles inſparſed withal, let that nothing move thee; for elſe how could ſuch Poyſon be miniſtred, but it muſt have ſome hony to reliſh the Readers taſt.

Here follow the Articles ſet forth by Cardinal Pool, *to be enquired in his ordinary viſitation, within his Dioceſs of* Canterbury.

Touching the Clergy.

Articles of the Cardinal to be inquired in his viſitation of Kent.

1 FIrſt, whether the Divine Service in the Church at times, days, hours, be obſerved and kept duly, or no.

2 *Item*, whether the Parſons, Vicars, and Curates do comely and decently in their manners and doings behave themſelves, or no.

3 *Item*, whether they do reverently and duely miniſter the Sacraments or Sacramentals, or no.

4 *Item*, whether any of their Pariſhioners do die without miniſtration of the Sacraments, through the negligence of their Curates, or no.

5 *Item*, whether the ſaid Parſons, Vicars, or Curates, do haunt Taverns or Alehouſes, increaſing thereby infamy and ſlander, or no.

6 *Item*, whether they be diligent in teaching the Midwives how to Chriſten Children in time of neceſſity, according to the Canons of the Church, or no.

7 *Item*, whether they ſee that the Font be comely kept and have Holy Water always ready for Children to be Chriſtened.

8 *Item*, if they do keep a Book of all the names of them that be reconciled to the duty of the Church.

9 *Item*, whether there be any Prieſts, that late unlawfully had Women under pretenſed Marriage, and hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwelling places.

10 *Item*, whether they do diligently teach their Pariſhioners the Articles of the Faith, and the ten Commandments.

11 *Item*, whether they do decently obſerve thoſe things that do concern the Service of the Church, and all thoſe things that tend to a good and Chriſtian Life, according to the Canons of the Church.

12 *Item*, whether they do devoutly in their prayers pray for the proſperous eſtate of the King and Queens Majeſties.

13 *Item*, whether the ſaid Parſons and Vicars do ſufficiently repair their Chancels, Rectories, and Vicarages, and do keep and maintain them ſufficiently repaired and amended.

14 *Item*, whether any of them do preach or teach any erroneous Doctrine, contrary to the Catholick Faith and Unity of the Church.

15 *Item*, whether any of them do ſay the Divine Service, or do miniſter the Sacraments in the Engliſh tongue, contrary to the uſual order of the Church.

16 *Item*, whether any of them do ſuſpiciouſly keep any Women in their houſes, or do keep company with Men ſuſpected of Hereſies, or of evil Opinion.

17 *Item*, whether any of them that were under pretence of lawful Matrimony married, and now reconciled, do privily reſort to their pretenſed Wives, or that the ſaid Women do privily reſort unto them.

18 *Item*, whether they do go decently apparrelled, as it becometh ſad, ſober, and diſcreet Miniſters, and whether they have their crowns and beards ſhaven.

19 *Item*, whether any of them do uſe any unlawful games, as dice, cards, and other like, whereby they grow to ſlander and evil report.

20 *Item*, whether they do keep reſidence and hoſpitality upon their Benefices, and do make charitable contributions, according to all the Laws Eccleſiaſtical. Anno 1557.

21 *Item*, whether they do keep the Book of Regiſters of Chriſtenings, Buryings, and Marriages, with the names of the Godfathers and Godmothers.

Touching the Lay-people.

Articles of Cardinal Pool to be inquired upon touching the Laity.

1 FIrſt, whether any manner of perſon, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he be, do hold, maintain, or affirm any Hereſies, Errours, or erroneous Opinions, contrary to the Laws Eccleſiaſtical, and the Unity of the Catholick Church.

2 *Item*, whether any perſon do hold, affirm, or ſay that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar there is not contained the real and ſubſtantial preſence of Chriſt; or that by any manner of means do contemn and deſpiſe the ſaid bleſſed Sacrament, or do refuſe to do reverence or worſhip thereunto.

3 *Item*, whether they do contemn or deſpiſe by any manner of means any other of the Sacraments, Rites, or Ceremonies of the Church, or do refuſe or deny Auricular Confeſſion.

4 *Item*, whether any do abſent or refrain, without urgent and lawful impediment, to come to the Church, and reverently to hear the Divine Service upon Sundays and Holy days.

5 *Item*, whether being in the Church, they do not apply themſelves to hear the Divine Service, and to be contemplative in Holy Prayer, and not to walk, jangle, or talk, in the time of the Divine Service.

6 *Item*, whether any be Fornicators, Adulterers, or do commit Inceſt, or be Bawds, and receivers of evil perſons, or be vehemently ſuſpected of any of them.

7 *Item*, whether any do blaſpheme and take the Name of God in vain, or be common ſwearers.

8 *Item*, whether any be perjured, or have committed Simony or Uſury, or do ſtill remain in the ſame.

9 *Item*, whether the Churches and Church Yards be well and honeſtly repaired and incloſed.

10 *Item*, whether the Churches be ſufficiently garniſhed and adorned with all Ornaments and Books neceſſary, and whether they have a Rood in their Church of a decent ſtature, with *Mary* and *John*, and an Image of the Patron of the ſame Church.

11 *Item*, whether any do with-hold, or doth draw from the Church any manner of mony or goods, or that do with-hold their due and accuſtomed Tithes from their Parſons and Vicars.

12 *Item*, whether any be common Drunkards, Ribalds, or men of evil living, or do exerciſe any lewd paſtimes, eſpecially in the time of Divine Service.

13 *Item*, if there be any to do practiſe or exerciſe any arts of Magick, or Necromancy, or do uſe or practiſe any Incantations, Sorceries, or Witchcraft, or be vehemently ſuſpected thereof.

14 *Item*, whether any be married within the degrees of Affinity, or Conſanguinity, prohibited by the Laws of holy Church, or that do marry, the Banes not asked, or do make any privy Contracts.

15 *Item*, whether in the time of *Eaſter* laſt, any were not confeſſed, or did not receive the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, or did irreverently behave themſelves in the receiving thereof.

16 *Item*, whether any do keep any ſecret Conventicles, preachings, lectures, or readings, in matter of Religion, contrary to the Laws.

17 *Item*, whether any do now not duely keep the faſting and embring days.

18 *Item*, whether the Altars in the Churches be conſecrated, or no.

19 *Item*, whether the Sacrament be carried devoutly to them that fall ſick, with light, and with a little Sacring bell.

20 *Item*, whether the common Schools be well kept, and that the Schoolmaſters be diligent in teaching, and be alſo Catholick, and men of good and upright judgment, and that they be examined and approved by the Ordinary.

21 *Item*,

Anno 1557.

21. *Item*, whether any do take upon them to adminiſter the goods of thoſe that be dead, without authority from the Ordinary.

22. *Item* whether the poor People in every Pariſh be charitably provided for.

23. *Item*, whether there do burn a Lamp or a Candle before the Sacrament. And if there do not, that then it be provided for with expedition.

24. *Item*, whether Infants and Children be brought to be confirmed in convenient time.

25. *Item*, whether any do keep, or have in their cuſtody any erroneous or unlawful Books.

26. *Item*, whether any do withhold any mony or goods bequeathed to the amending of the highways, or any other charitable deed.

27. *Item*, whether any have put away their wives or any wives do withdraw themſelves from their huſbands, being not lawfully divorced.

28. *Item*, whether any do violate or break the Sundays and Holy-days, doing their daily labours and exerciſes upon the ſame.

29. *Item*, whether the Taverns or Alehouſes, upon the Sundays and Holy-days, in the time of Maſs, Mattins, and Evenſong, do keep open their doors, and do receive People into their houſes to drink and eat, and thereby neglect their duties in coming to the Church.

30. *Item*. whether any have or do deprave or contemn the authority or juriſdiction of the Popes Holineſs, or the See of *Rome*.

31. *Item*, whether any Minſtrels, or any other perſons do uſe to ſing any Songs againſt the holy Sacraments, or any other rites and ceremonies of the Church.

32. *Item*, whether there be any Hoſpitals within your Pariſhes, and whether the foundations of them be duly and truly obſerved and kept: and whether the charitable contributions of the ſame be done accordingly.

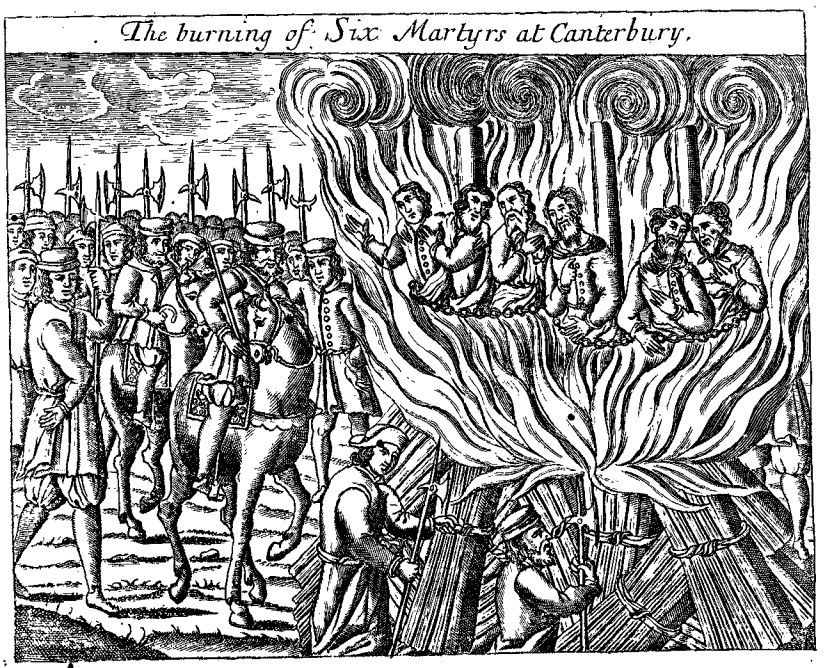
33, *Item* whether any goods, plate, jewels, or poſſeſſions be taken away, or withholden from the ſaid Hoſpitals, and by whom.

A Hiſtory of ten Martyrs condemned and burned within the Dioceſs of Canterbury, *for the Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, and Truth of his Goſpel.*

MEntion was made a little before of the perſecution in *Kent*. Wherefore we declared, that 15. were in the Caſtle of *Canterbury* impriſoned and condemned for Gods Word. Of the which 15. moreover we ſhewed and declared 5. to be famiſhed unto death within the ſaid Caſtle, and buried by the high-way, about the beginning of *November*. The other ten, in the firſt month of the next year following, which was the year of our Lord, 1557. were committed unto the fire, and there conſumed to aſhes, by *Thornton*, called Biſhop or Suffragan of *Dover*, otherwiſe called *Dick* of *Dover*, and by *Nicholas Harpsfield* the Archdeacon of the ſaid Province. January 15. The martyrdom of ten burned in the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*.

The names of theſe ten godly and Chriſtian Martyrs be theſe: The Names of the Martyrs.

John Philpot of *Tenterden*.
William Waterer of *Beddingden*.
Stephen Kempe of *Norgate*.
William Hay of *Hithe*.
Thomas Hudſon of *Salenge*.
Matt. Bradbridge of *Tenderden*.
Thomas Stephens of *Bedingden*.
Nich. Final of *Tenderden*.
William Lowick of *Cranbroke*.
William Prowting of *Thornham*.



The martyrdom of *Waterer*, *Hay*, *Hudſon*, *Kemp*, *W. Lowick*, *W. Prowting*, at *Canterbury*, Anno 1557. January 15. The other four were burned at the ſame time. Two at *Wye*, and two at *Aſhford*.

Of theſe ten godly Martyrs of Chriſt, ſix were burned at *Canterbury*, about the 15. of *January*, that is, *Kemp*, *Waterer*, *Prowting*, *Lowick*, *Hudſon*, and *Haie*. Other two, that is, *Stephens* and *Philpot*, at *Wye*, about the ſame month. Other two, which were *Final* and *Bradbridge*, were burned both together at *Aſhford*, the 16th of the ſame.

Concerning their Articles read before.

What the ordinary Articles were, commonly objected to them of *Canterbury* Dioceſs, is before rehearſed, ſave only that to ſome of theſe, as to them that follow after, as the time of their perſecution did grow, ſo their Articles withal did increaſe to the number of two and twenty, containing ſuch like matter as ſeemed to the maintenance of the Romiſh See.

To theſe Articles what their anſwers were likewiſe, The cauſe of their martyrdom. needeth here no great rehearſal, ſeeing they all agreed together, though not in the ſame form of words, yet in much like effect of purpoſes: firſt granting the Church of Chriſt, and denying the Church of *Rome*, denying the ſeven Sacraments, refuſing the Maſs, and the hearing of Latin Service, praying to Saints, juſtification of Works, &c. And though they did all anſwer uniformly in ſome ſmaller things, as their learning ſerved them, yet in the moſt principal and chiefeſt matters they did not greatly diſcord, &c.

The

Examples how Kings and Princes, and the power of the world bend themſelves againſt Chriſt and his word, and yet could never prevail.

The next Month following, which was *February*, came out another bloody Commiſſion from the King and Queen, to kindle up the fire of perſecution, as though it were not hot enough already; the contents of which Commiſſion I thought here not to pretermit: not for lack of matter, whereof I have too much; but that the Reader may underſtand how Kings and Princes of this world, like as in the firſt perſecutions of the Primitive Church under *Valerianus*, *Decius*, *Maximian*, *Diocleſian*, *Licinius*, &c. ſo now alſo in theſe latter perillous days, have ſet out all their main force and power, with Laws, Policy, and Authority to the uttermoſt they could deviſe againſt Chriſt and his bleſſed Goſpel. And yet notwithſtanding all theſe Laws, Conſtitutions, Injunctions, and terrible Proclamations provided againſt Chriſt and his Goſpel, Chriſt yet ſtill continueth, his Goſpel flouriſheth, and Truth prevaileth; Kings and Emperors in their own purpoſes overthrown, their deviſes diſſolved, their Counſels confounded; as examples both of this and of all times and ages do make manifeſt. But now let us hear the intent of this Commiſſion, in Tenor as followeth.

A Bloody Commiſſion given forth by King Philip *and Queen* Mary, *to perſecute the poor Members of Chriſt.*

A terrible Proclamation of K. *Philip* and Q. *Mary*, againſt the poor ſervant & members of Chriſt.

Perſecutors.

Philip and *Mary* by the Grace of God King and Queen of *England*, &c. To the right reverend Father in God our right truſty and welbeloved Counſellor *Thomas* Biſhop of *Ely*, and to our right truſty and welbeloved *William Windſore* Knight, Lord *Windſore*, *Edw. North* Knight, Lord *North*, and to our truſty and welbeloved Counſellor, *J. Bourn* Knight, one of our chief Secretaries, *J. Mordaunt* Knight, *Francis Engleſield* Knight, Mr. of our Wards and Liveries, *Edw. Walgrave* Knight, Maſter of our great Wardrope, *Nicholas Hare* Knight, Maſter of the Rolls, and our high Court of Chancery, and to our truſty and welbeloved *Thomas Pope* Knight, *Roger Cholmley* Knight, *Richard Rede* Knight, *Rowland Hill* Knight, *William Raſtal* Sergeant at Law, *Henry Cole* Clerk, Dean of *Pauls*, *William Roper* and *Ralph Cholmley*, Eſquires, *William Cook*, *Thomas Martin*, *John Story*, and *John Vaughan*, Doctors of the Law, greeting.

The meaning of the Goſpellers falſly reported and ſlandered.

Foraſmuch as divers divelliſh and ſlanderous perſons have not onely invented, bruted and ſet forth divers falſe Rumors, Tales, and ſeditious Slanders againſt Us, but alſo have ſown divers Hereſies, and Heretical Opinions, and ſet forth divers ſeditious Books within this our Realm of *England* meaning thereby to ſtir up diviſion, ſtriſe, contention, and ſedition, not onely amongſt our loving Subjects, but alſo betwixt Us and our ſaid Subjects, with divers other outragious miſdemeanors, enormities, contempts, and offences, daily committed and done, to the diſquieting of Us and our People, We, minding the due puniſhment of ſuch offendors, and the repreſſing of ſuch like offences, enormities, and miſbehaviours from henceforth, having ſpecial truſt and confidence in your fidelities, wiſdoms and diſcretions, have authoriſed, appointed and aſſigned you to be our Commiſſioners, and by theſe preſents do give full Power and Authority unto you, and three of you, to enquire as well by the Oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witneſſes and all other means and politick ways you can deviſe, of all and ſingular Heretical Opinions, Lolardies, Heretical and Seditious Books, Concealments, Contempts, Conſpiracies, and all falſe Rumors, Tales, Seditious and Slanderous words or ſayings, raiſed, publiſhed, bruted, invented, or ſet forth againſt Us, or either of Us, or againſt the quiet governance and rule of our People and Subjects, by Books, Lies, Tales, or otherwiſe, in any County, Key, Bowing, or other place or places, within this our Realm of *England* or elſewhere, in any place or places beyond the Seas, and of the Bringers in, Utterers, Buyers, Sellers, Readers, Keepers, or Conveyers of any ſuch Letter, Books, Rumor and Tale, and of all and every their Coadjutors, Counſellors, Comforters, Procurers, Abettors, and Maintainers, giving unto you and three of you full Power and Authority by vertue hereof, to ſearch out and take into your hands and poſſeſſions, all manner of Heretical, and Seditious Books, Letters, and Writings, whereſoever they or any of them ſhall be found, as well in Printers Houſes and Shops, as elſewhere, willing you, and every of you to ſearch for the ſame in all places according to your diſcretions.

What watch is here to keep down Chriſt? but yet he will riſe.

Anno 1556.

And alſo to enquire, hear and determine all and ſingular Enormities, Diſturbances, Misbehaviours, and Negligences committed in any Church, Chappel, or other hallowed place within this Realm, and alſo for and concerning the taking away or withholding any Lands, Tenements, Goods, Ornaments, Stocks of Mony, or other things belonging to every of the ſame Churches and Chappels, and all Accounts and Reckonings concerning the ſame.

Enormities or miſbehaviours.

And alſo to enquire and ſearch out all ſuch perſons as obſtinately do refuſe to receive the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, to hear Maſs, or to come to their Pariſh Churches, or other convenient places appointed for Divine Service, and all ſuch as refuſe to go on Proceſſion, to take Holy Bread, or Holy Water, or otherwiſe do miſuſe themſelves in any Church or other hallowed place, whereſoever any of the ſame offences have been, or hereafter ſhall be committed within this our ſaid Realm.

Not coming to the Church-Service.

Neverthleſs, our will and pleaſure is, that when, and as often as any perſon or perſons, hereafter being called or convented before you, do obſtinately perſiſt, or ſtand in any manner of Hereſie, or Heretical Opinion, that then ye, or three of you do immediately take order, that the ſame perſon or perſons, ſo ſtanding or perſiſting, be delivered and committed to his Ordinary, there to be uſed according to the Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Laws.

Hereticks to be committed to their Ordinary.

And alſo we give unto you, or three of you, full Power and Authority, to enquire and ſearch out all Vagabonds, and Maſterleſs Men, Barettours, Quarrellors, and ſuſpect Perſons, abiding within our City of *London*, and ten miles compaſs of the ſame, and all aſſaults and affraies done and committed within the ſame City and compaſs.

Vagabond, or Maſterleſs Men.

And further to ſearch out all waſts, decays, and ruines of Churches, Chancels, Chapples, Parſonages and Vicarages in the Diocels of the ſame, being within this Realm, giving you and every of you full Power and Authority by vertue hereof to hear and determine the ſame, and all other offences and matters above ſpecified and rehearſed, according to your Wiſdoms, Conſciences, and Diſcretions, willing and commanding you or three of you, from time to time, to uſe and deviſe all ſuch politick ways and means, for the trial and ſearching out of the premiſſes, as by you or three of you ſhall be thought moſt expedient and neceſſary: and upon enquiry and due proof had, known, perceived and tried out, by the confeſſion of the parties, or by ſufficient witneſſes before you, or three of you, concerning the premiſſes or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requiſite, to give and award ſuch puniſhment to the offendors, by fine, impriſonment or otherwiſe, and to take ſuch order for redreſs and reformation of the premiſſes, as to your wiſdoms, or three of you ſhall be thought meet and convenient.

Decay of Churches and Chapels.

Further willing and commanding you and every three of you, in caſe you ſhall find any perſon or perſons obſtinate or diſobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you at your calling or aſſignment, or elſe in not accompliſhing, or not obeying your Decrees, Orders and Commandments in any thing or things, touching the premiſſes or any part thereof, to commit the ſame perſon or perſons ſo offending to Ward, there to remain, till by you or three of you he be diſcharged or delivered, &c. And ſo forth with other ſuch like matter, as followeth, ſee in our firſt edition, pag. 1563.

Priſoning of the obſtinate.

The apprehenſion of two and twenty Priſoners ſent up together for Gods Word, to London, *from Colcheſter.*

After this bloody Proclamation or Commiſſion thus given out at *London*, which was *February* 8. the third and fourth years of the King and Queens Reign, theſe new Inquiſitors, eſpecially ſome of them began to ruffle, and to take upon them not a little; ſo that all quarters were full of perſecution, and Priſons almoſt full of Priſoners, namely, in the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, whereof (by the leave of Chriſt) we will ſay more anon.

In the mean time, about the Town of *Colcheſter*, the wind of perſecution began fiercely to riſe; inſomuch that three and twenty together, Men and Women, were apprehended

Perſecution about Colcheſter.

Ann. 1557.

apprehended at one clap; of the which twenty three, one eſcaped: the other twenty two were driven up like a flock of Chriſtian Lambs to *London*, with two or three Leaders with them at moſt, ready to give their skins to be pluckt off for the Goſpels ſake. Notwithſtanding the Biſhops, afraid belike of the number, to put ſo many at once to Death, fought means to deliver them, and ſo they did, drawing out a very eaſie ſubmiſſion for them, or rather ſuffering them to draw it out themſelves; Notwithſtanding divers of them afterward were taken again and ſuffered, as hereafter ye ſhall hear (God willing) declared. Such as met them by the way coming up, ſaw them in the Fields ſcattering in ſuch ſort, as that they might eaſily have eſcaped away. And when they entred into the Towns, their Keepers called them again into aray, to go two and two together, having a band or line going between them, they holding the ſame in their hands, having another cord every one about his Arm, as though they were tied. And ſo were theſe fourteen Men and eight Women carried up to *London*, the People by the way praying to God for them, to give them ſtrength. At their entring into *London*, they were pinioned, and ſo came into the City, as the picture here ſhortly after following with their Names alſo ſubſcribed, doth deſcribe. But firſt let us declare concerning their taking and their Attachers, contained in the Commiſſaries Letter written to *Boner*; then, the Indenture made between the Commiſſioners and the Popiſh Commiſſary. The Letter of the Commiſſary is this.

Twenty two for Gods Word apprehended.

The aray and order of theſe 22. priſoners coming up to *London*.

The Letter of the Commiſſary called Jo. Kingſton *Written to Biſhop* Boner.

Lord of *Oxford* L. *Darcy*, H. *Tyrel*, Anthony *Brown*, W. *Bendlowes*, Edm. *Tyrel*, *Rich. Weſton*. *Roger Appleton*, Jo. *Kingſton* Commiſſary, perſecutors.

AFter my duty done in receiving and accompliſhing your Honourable and moſt loving Letters, dated the 7. of *Auguſt*: Be it known unto your Lordſhip, that the 28: of *Auguſt*, the Lord of *Oxenford*, Lord *Darcy*, *H. Tyrel*, *A. Brown*, *W. Bendlows*, *E. Tyrel*, *Rich. Weſton*, *Roger Appleton*, publiſhed their Commiſſion, to ſeiſe the Lands, Tenements and Goods of the Fugitives, ſo that the owners ſhould have neither uſe nor commodity thereof, but by Inventory remain in ſafe keeping, until the cauſe were determined.

And alſo there was likewiſe proclaimed the Queens Graces Warrant for the reſtitution of the Church Goods within *Colcheſter* and the hundreds thereabout, to the uſe of Gods Service. And then were called the Pariſhes particularly, and the Hereticks partly committed to my examination. And that divers perſons ſhould certifie me of the Ornaments of their Churches, betwixt this and the Juſtices next appearance, which ſhall be on *Michaelmas* even next. And the Pariſhes which had preſented at 2. ſeveral times, to have all Ornaments with other things in good order, were exonerated for ever, till they were warned again, and others to make their appearance from time to time. And thoſe names blotted in the Indenture, were indicted for Treaſon, Fugitives, or Diſobedients, and were put forth by Mr. *Browns* Commandment. And before the ſealing, my Lord *Darcy* ſaid unto me apart and Maſter *Bendlows*, that I ſhould have ſufficient time to ſend unto your Lordſhip, yea, if need were the Hereticks to remain in durance till I had an anſwer from you, yea till the Lord Legates Graces Commiſſioners come into the Country.

And Mr. *Brown* came unto my Lord *Darcies* Houſe and Parlour belonging unto Mr. *Barnaby*, before my ſaid Lord and all the Juſtices, and laid his hand on my Soulder, with a ſmiling Countenance, and deſired me to make his hearty Commendations to your good Lordſhip, and asked me if I would: and I ſaid, Yea, with a good will. Wherefore I was glad, and thought that I ſhould not have been charged with ſo ſudden carriage.

But after dinner, the Juſtices counſelled with the Bayliffs, and with the Jaylers, and then after took me unto them, and made collation of the Indentures, and ſealed them; and then Mr. *Brown* commanded me this afternoon; being the 30. of *Auguſt*, to go and receive my Priſoners by and by. And then I ſaid, it is an unreaſonable commandment, for that I have attended on you here theſe three days, and this *Sunday* early I have ſent home my men. Wherefore I deſire you to have a convenient time appointed, wherein I may know whether it will pleaſe my Lord my Maſter to ſend his Commiſſioners hither, or that I ſhall make carriage of them unto his Lordſhip. Then Mr. *Brown*; We are certified, that the Council have written to your Maſter, to make ſpeed, and to rid theſe priſoners out of hand: therefore go receive your priſoners in haſt. Then I: Sir, I ſhall receive them within theſe ten days. Then Mr. *Brown*: The limitation lieth in us, and not in you, wherefore get you hence.

Mr. Brown a hot and haſty Juſtice in perſecuting Gods People.

Sir, ye have indicted and delivered me by this Indenture, whoſe Faith or Opinions I knew not, truſting that ye will grant me a time to examine them, leſt I ſhould puniſh the Catholicks: Well, ſaid Mr. *Brown*, for that cauſe ye ſhall have time betwixt this and *Wendeſday*. And I ſay unto you Mr. Bailiffs, if he do not receive them at your Hands on *Wedneſday*, ſet open your Door, and let them go.

Then I: My Lord, and Maſters all, I Promiſe to Diſcharge the Town and Countrey of theſe Hereticks, within ten days. Then my Lord *Darcy* ſaid; Commiſſary, we do and muſt all agree in one. Wherefore do ye receive them on or before *Wedneſday*.

Then I: My Lord, the laſt I carried, I was going betwixt the Caſtle and Saint *Katherines Chappel*, two hours and a half, and in great preaſe and danger: Wherefore this may be to deſire your Lordſhip, to give in commandment unto my Mr. *Sayer*, Bailiff, here preſent, to aid me thorow his liberties, not onely with Men and Weapons, but that the Town-clerk may be ready there with his Book to write the Names of the moſt buſy Perſons, and this upon three hours warning, all which both my Lord and Mr. *Brown* commanded.

What ado is here with the Butchers to bring the poor Lambs to the Shambles?

The 31. of *Auguſt*, *William Goodwin* of *Muchbirch* Husbandman, this bringer, and *Tho. Alſey* of *Copford* your Lordſhips apparator of your Conſiſtory in *Colcheſter*, covenanted with me, that they ſhould hire two other Men at the leaſt, whereof one ſhould be a Bow-man, to come to me the next day about two of the clock at afternoon, ſo that I might recite this bargain before Mr. Archdeacon, and pay the Money, that is, 46. Shillings 8 pence. Wherefore they ſhould then go forth with me unto *Colcheſter*, and on *Wedneſday* before three of the clock in the morning receive there at my hand within the Caſtle and Mote-hall, fourteen Men and eight Women, ready bound with gyves and hemp, and drive, carry, or lead and feed with meat and drink, as Hereticks ought to be found continually, unto ſuch time that the ſaid *William* and *Thomas*, ſhall cauſe the ſaid two and twenty Perſons to be delivered unto my Lord of *Londons* Officers, and within the ſafe keeping of my ſaid Lord, and then to bring unto me again the ſaid gyves, with a perfect token of or from my ſaid Lord, and then this covenant is void, or elſe, &c.

Thomas Alſey of *Copford* Apparator to B. *Boner*.

Twenty two poor priſoners in bonds for Chriſt and his word.

Maſter *Bendlows* ſaid unto me in my Lord of *Oxenfords* Chamber at the Kings Head, after I had ſaid Maſs before the Lords, that on the morrow after Holy Rood day, when we ſhall meet at *Chelmesford* for the Diviſion of theſe Lands, I think Mr. Archdeacon, you, and Mr. *Smith*, ſhall be fain to ride with certain of the Jury to thoſe portions and manors in your part of Eſſex, and in like caſe divide your ſelves, to tread and view the ground with the Queſt or elſe I think they will not labour the matter, and ſo do you ſay unto Mr. Archdeacon.

Alice the Wife of *William Walley* of *Colcheſter*, hath ſubmitted here ſelf, abjured her Erroneous Opinions, asked abſolution, promiſed to do her ſolemn penance in her Pariſh Church at S. *Peters* on *Sunday* next, and to continue a Catholick and a faithful Woman, as long as God ſhall ſend her life. And for theſe Covenants, her Huſband ſtandeth bound in five pounds. Which *Alice* is one of the nine Women of this your Indenture; and ſhe is big with Child. Wherefore ſhe remaineth at home, and this done in the preſence of the Bailiffs, Aldermen, and Town-clerk. And for that Mr. *Brown* was certified, there was no Curate at *Lexdon*, he enquired who was the former. The anſwer was made, Sir *Francis Jobſon*. Who is the Parſon? They of the Queſt-men anſwered, Sir *Roger Gloſſlow*. When was he with you? Not theſe fourteen years. How is your Cure ſerved? Now and then.

Alice Walley big with Child, one of the nine Women promiſeth to recant.

A Cure well ſerved.

Who

Who is the Patron? My Lord of *Arundel*. And within ſhort time after, Sir *Francis Jobſon* came with great courteſie unto my Lord *Darcies* place. And of all Gentlemen about us, I ſaw no more come in: Sir *Robert Smith* Prieſt, ſometime Canon of *Bridlington*, now Curate of *Appledoore* in the Wild of *Kent*, came to *Colcheſter* the 28. day of *Auguſt*, with his wife big with Child, of late divorced, taken on ſuſpicion, examined of the Lords, and Mr. *Brown* told me that they have received Letters from the Council for the attachment of certain perſons, and eſpecially of one Prieſt, whoſe name is *Pullen* (but his right name is *Smith*) doubting this Prieſt to be the ſaid *Pullen*, although neither he nor his wife would confeſs the ſame.

Mr. *Pullen* laid for.

Wherefore he lieth ſtill in Priſon, but ſurely this is not *Pullen*. If it pleaſe your Lordſhip to have in remembrance, that the houſholders might be compelled to bring every man his own wife to her own ſeat in the Church in time of Divine Service, it would profit much. And alſo there be yet ſtanding Hoſpitals, and other of like foundation about *Colcheſter*, which I have not known to appear at any viſitation, as the Maſters and Lazars of *Mary-Magdalen* in *Colcheſter*, the Proctor of St. *Katherines* Chappel in *Colcheſter*, the Hoſpital or Breadhouſe of the foundation of the Lord *H. Harney* in *Laremarny*, the Hoſpital and Beadman of little *Horkſley*. Thus preſuming of your Lordſhips goodneſs, I am more than bold ever to trouble you with this worldly buſineſs, beſeeching Almighty God to ſend your honourable Lordſhip a condign reward.

Anno 1557

From Eaſtthorp *this preſent* 30. *day of* Auguſt.

We found a Letter touching the marriage of Prieſts in the hands of the foreſaid Sir *Robert Smith*. Alſo I deſired Mr. *Brown*, the doer of all things, to require the Audience to bring in their unlawful Writings and Books; Who asked me, if I had proclaimed the Proclamation. I ſaid, Yea. Then he ſaid openly upon the Bench, that they ſhould be proclaimed every quarter once. And then take the Conſtables and Officers, and they alone take and puniſh the offendors accordingly.

Mr. *Brown* doer of all things.

By your poor Beadman, John

Kingſton, *Prieſt*.

An Indenture made between the Lords and the Juſtices within ſpecified, and Boners *Commiſſary, concerning the delivery of the Priſoners above-named.*

Indenture between the Juſtices and *Boners* Commiſſary, for receiving of Priſoners.

THis Indenture made the 19. day of *Auguſt*, in the third and fourth years of the Reigns of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, *Philip* and *Mary*, by the grace of God King and Queen of *England*, *Spain*, *France*, both *Cicils*, *Jeruſalem* and *Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith, Archdukes of *Auſtria*, Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Millain* and *Brabant*, Counties of *Hasburgh*, *Flanders* and *Tirel*, between the right honourable Lord *John de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, Lord high Chamberlain of *England*, *Thomas* Lord *Darcy* of *Chich*, *Henry Tirel* Kt. *Anthony Brown* the King and Queens Majſties Sergeant at Law, *William Bendelows* Sergeant at Law, *Edmund Tirel*, *Richard Weſton*, *Roger Appleton* Eſquires, Juſtices of Oyer and Determiner, and of the Peace within the ſaid County of *Eſſex*, to be kept of the one party, and *John Kingſton* Clerk, Batchelor at Law, Commiſſary to the Biſhop of *London*, of the other party, witneſſeth, that *Ro. Colman* of *Walton* in the County of *Eſſex* Labourer, *Joan Winſeley* of *Horſeley Magna* in the ſaid County Spinſter, *Stephen Glover* of *Rayly*, in the County aforeſaid, Glover, *Rich. Clerke* of *Much Holland* in the ſaid County, Mariner, *Wil. Munt* of *Much Bentley* in the ſaid County, Husbandman, *Thomas Winſeley* of *Much Horſeley* in the ſaid County, Sawyer, *Margaret Field* of *Rameſey* in the ſaid County, Spinſter, *Agnes Whitlack* of *Dovercourt* in the ſaid County, Spinſter, *Alice Munt* of *Much Bentley* in the ſaid County, Spinſter, *Roſe Allin* of the ſame Town and County, Spinſter, *Richard Bongeor* of *Colcheſter* in the ſaid County, Corier, *Richard Atkin* of *Halſtead* in the ſaid County, Weaver, *Robert Barcock* of *Wiſton* in the County of *Suffolk*, Carpenter, *Richard George* of *Weſtbarhoult* in the County of *Eſſex*, Labourer, *Richard Folley* of *Colcheſter* in the ſaid County Mariner, *Tho. Feereſanne* of the ſame Town and County, Mercer, *Robert Debnam* late of *Dedham* in the ſaid County, Weaver, *Ciceley Warren* of *Cockſall* in the ſaid County, Spinſter, *Chriſtian Pepper* Widow, of the ſame Town and County, *Allin Simpſon*, *Ellen Euring*, *Alice* the wife of *Wil. Wallis* of *Colcheſter*, Spinſter, and *William Bongeor* of *Colcheſter* in the ſaid County, Glaſier, being indicted of Hereſie, are delivered to the ſaid *John Kingſton* Clerk, Ordinary to the Biſhop of *London*, according to the Statute in that caſe provided.

The Names of Chriſts Priſoners perſecuted.

In

Anno 1556. In witneſs whereof to the one part of this Indenture remaining with the ſaid Earl, Lord, and other the Juſtices, the ſaid Ordinary hath ſet to his hand and ſeal, and to the other part remaining with the ſaid Ordinary, the ſaid Earl, Lord, and other the Juſtices have ſet to their ſeveral hands and ſeals, the day and year above written.

The names of the perſecutors.

Oxenford.	*William Bendelows.*
Thomas Darcy.	*Edmund Tyrell.*
Henry Tyrel.	*Richard Weſton.*
Anthony Brown.	*Roger Appleton.*

The xxii. aforeſaid priſoners thus ſent from *Colcheſter* to *London*, were brought at length to Biſhop *Boner*. As touching the order and manner of their coming and bringing, the ſaid *Boner* himſelf writeth to Cardinal *Pool*, as you ſhall hear.

A Letter of Bp. Boner *to Cardinal* Pool.

B. *Boners* Letter to Cardinal *Pool*, concerning the priſoners aforeſaid.

MAy it pleaſe your good Grace with my moſt humble obedience, reverence, and duty, to underſtand, that going to *London* upon *Thurſday* laſt, and thinking to be troubled with Mr. *Germaines* matter onely, and ſuch other common matters as are accuſtomed, enough to weary a right ſtrong Body, I had the day following to comfort my ſtomach withal, Letters from *Colcheſter*, that either that day, or the day following, I ſhould have ſent thence 22. Hereticks, indicted before the Commiſſioners, and indeed ſo I had, and compelled to bear their charges as I did of the other, which both ſtood me above twenty Nobles, a ſum of money that I thought full evil beſtowed. And theſe Hereticks, notwithſtanding they had honeſt Catholick Keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, and in all the way from *Colcheſter* to *Stradford* of the *Bowe* did go quietly, and obediently, yet coming to *Stratford* they began to take heart of grace, and to do as pleaſed themſelves, for they began to have their guard, which generally increaſed till they came to *Algate*, where they were lodged *Friday* night.

And albeit I took order that the ſaid Hereticks ſhould be with me very early on *Saturday* morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me; yet it was between ten and eleven of the clock before they would come, and no way would they take, but thorow *Cheapſide*, ſo that they were brought to my houſe with about a thouſand perſons. Which thing I took very ſtrange, and ſpake to Sir *John Greſſam* then being with me, to tell the Mayor and the Sheriffs that this thing was not well ſuffered in the City. Theſe naughty Hereticks all the way they came thorow *Cheapſide*, both exhorted the People to their part, and had much comfort *è promiſcua plebe*, and being entred into my houſe, and talked withal, they ſhewed themſelves deſperate, and very obſtinate; yet I uſed all the honeſt means I could, both of my ſelf and other, to have won them, cauſing divers learned men to talk with them; and finding nothing in them but pride and wilfulneſs, I thought to have had them all higher to *Fulham*, and here to give Sentence againſt them: Nevertheleſs, perceiving by my laſt doing that your Grace was offended, I thought it my duty before I any thing further proceeded herein, to advertiſe firſt your Grace hereof, and know your good pleaſure, which I beſeech your Grace I may do by this truſty bearer. And thus moſt humbly I take my leave of your good Grace, beſeeching Almighty God always to preſerve the ſame. At *Fulham*, *poſtridie Nativ.* 1556.

Your Graces moſt bounden Bedeſman and Servant, Edmund Boner.

B. *Boners* cruelty ſomewhat ſtayed by the Cardinal.

By this Letter of Biſhop *Boner* to the Cardinal, is to be underſtood, what good will was in this Biſhop to have the Blood of theſe men, and to have paſt with ſentence of condemnation againſt them, had not the Cardinal ſomewhat (as it ſeemed) ſtayed his fervent headineſs. Concerning the which Cardinal, although it cannot be denied by his Acts and writings, but that he was a profeſſed enemy, and no otherwiſe to be reputed but for a Papiſt: yet again it is to be ſuppoſed, that he was none of the Bloody and cruel ſort of Papiſts, as may appear, not onely by ſtaying the rage of this Biſhop, but alſo by the ſolicitous writing, and long Letters written to *Cranmer*, alſo by the complaints of certain Papiſts accuſing him to the Pope, to be a bearer with the Hereticks, and by the Popes Letters ſent to him upon the ſame, calling him up to *Rome*, and ſetting Frier *Peto* in his place, had not Queen *Mary* by ſpecial intreaty, kept him out of the Popes danger. All which Letters I have (if need be) to ſhew: and beſides alſo, that it is thought of him that toward his latter end a little before his coming from *Rome* to *England*, he began ſomewhat to favour the doctrine of *Luther*, and was no leſs ſuſpected at *Rome*: Yea, and furthermore, did there at *Rome* convert a certain learned Spaniard from Papiſm to *Luther's* ſide; notwithſtanding the pomp and glory of the world afterward carried him away to play the Papiſt thus as he did. But of this Cardinal enough.

Card. *Pool* half ſuſpected for a *Lutheran* at *Rome*.

Card. *Pool* a Papiſt, but no Bloody Papiſt.

To return now to this godly company again, firſt how they were brought up in bands to *London*, ye have heard: Alſo how *Boner* was about to have read the ſentence of death upon them, and how he was ſtayed by the Cardinal, ye underſtand. As touching their confeſſion, which they articled up in writing, it were too tedious to recite the whole at length. Briefly touching the Article of the Lords Supper (for the which they were chiefly troubled) thus they wrote, as here followeth.

The Supper of the Lord.

Their opinion & judgment of the Lords Supper.

WHereas Chriſt at his laſt Supper, took Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid, *Take, eat, this is my Body.* And likewiſe took the cup and thanked, &c. We do underſtand it to be a figurative ſpeech, as the moſt manner of his language was in parables and dark ſentences that they which are carnally minded, ſhould ſee with their eyes, and not perceive, and hear with their ears, and not underſtand, ſignifying this, that as he did break the Bread among them, being but one loaf, and they all were partakers thereof, ſo we through his Body, in that it was broken, and offered upon the Croſs for us, are all partakers thereof, and his Blood cleanſeth us from all our ſins, and hath pacified Gods wrath towards us, and made the attonement between God and us, if we walk henceforth in the light, even as he is the true light.

Chriſts language to ſpeak in parables.

The cauſe why the Bread and cup was given in the Supper.

And in that he ſaid further, *Do this in remembrance of me*, it is a memorial and token of the ſuffering and death of Jeſus Chriſt: and he commanded it for this cauſe, that the Congregation of Chriſt ſhould come together to ſhew his death, and to thank and laud him for all his benefits, and magnifie his Holy Name, and ſo to break the Bread, and drink the Wine, in Remembrance that Chriſt had given his Body, and ſhed his Blood for us.

Thus you may well perceive, though Chriſt called the Bread his Body, and the Wine his Blood, yet it followeth not, that the ſubſtance of his Body ſhould be in the Bread and Wine; as divers places in Scripture are ſpoken by Chriſt and the Apoſtles in like phraſe of ſpeech, as in *John* 15. *I am the true vine.* Alſo in John 10. *I am the Door.* And as it is written in the 9. to the *Hebr.* and in *Exod.* 24. how *Moſes* took the Blood of the calves, and ſprinkled both the book and all the People, ſaying, *This is the Blood of the covenant or Teſtament.* And alſo in the 5. Chapter of *Ezek.* how the Lord ſaid unto him concerning the third part of his hair, ſaying, This is *Jeruſalem &c.*

How the Scriptures ought to be examined.

Thus we ſee the Scriptures how they are ſpoken in figures, and ought to be ſpiritually examined, and not as they would have us to ſay, that the Bodily preſence of Chriſt is in the Bread, which is a Blaſphemous underſtanding of the godly word, and is contrary to all Holy Scriptures. Alſo we do ſee that great Idolatry is ſprung out of the Carnal underſtanding of the Words of Chriſt, *This is my Body*, and yet daily ſpringeth, to the great Diſhonour of God; ſo that men worſhip a piece of Bread for God, yea, and hold that to be their maker.

Idolatry in worſhipping the Sacramental Bread and wine.

After this confeſſion of their faith and doctrine being written and exhibited, they alſo deviſed a Letter withal, in manner of a ſhort ſupplication, or rather an admonition to the Judges and Commiſſioners, requiring that juſtice

juſtice and Judgment, after the rule of Gods word, might be miniſtred unto them. The Copy of which their Letter I thought here alſo to ſhew unto the Reader in form as followeth.

A Letter or Supplication of the Priſoners to the Judges.

A Letter of requeſt of the Priſoners to the Judges.

TO the right honorable audience, before whom theſe our ſimple Writings, and the Confeſſion of our Faith ſhall come to be heard or ſeen, we poor Priſoners being faſt in bonds upon the trial of our Faith, which we offer to be tried by the Scriptures, pray moſt heartily, that foraſmuch as God hath given you power and ſtrength over us as concerning our Bodies, under whom we ſubmit our ſelves as obedient ſubjects in all things due, ye being Officers and Rulers of the People, may execute true Judgment, keep the Laws of Righteouſneſs, govern the People according to right, and hear the poor and helpleſs in Truth, and defend their cauſe.

God for his Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake, give you the wiſdom and underſtanding of *Solomon*, *David*, *Ezekias*, *Moſes*, with divers other moſt vertuous Rulers, by whoſe wiſdom and moſt godly underſtanding, the People were juſtly ruled and governed in the fear of God, all wickedneſs was by them overthrown and beaten down and all godlineſs and vertue did flouriſh and ſpring. O God which art the moſt higheſt, the Creator and maker of all things, and of all men both great and ſmall, and careſt for all alike, which doſt try all mens works and imaginations, before whoſe judgment ſeat ſhall come both high and low, rich and poor; we moſt humbly beſeech thee to put into our Rulers hearts the pure love and fear of thy Name, that even as they themſelves would be judged, and as they ſhall make anſwer before thee, ſo they may hear our cauſes, judge with mercy, and read over theſe our requeſts and confeſſions of our Faith, with deliberation and a godly judgment.

And if any thing here ſeemeth to your honourable audience to be erroneous or diſagreeing to the Scripture, if it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhips to hear us patiently, which do offer our ſelves to the Scriptures, thereby to make anſwer, and to be tried, in ſo doing we poor ſubjects being in much captivity and bondage are moſt bound to pray for your noble eſtate and long preſervation.

The requeſt of theſe men being ſo juſt, and their Doctrine ſo ſound, yet all this could not prevail with the Biſhop and other Judges, but that Sentence ſhould have proceeded againſt them incontinent, had not the goodneſs of the Lord better provided for his Servants, then the Biſhop had intended. For as they were now under the edge of the Ax, ready to be condemned by Sentence, it was thought otherwiſe by the Cardinal, and ſome other wiſer heads; fearing belike, leſt by the death of ſo many together, ſome diſturbance might riſe peradventure among the People; and ſo it was decreed among themſelves, that rather they ſhould make ſome ſubmiſſion or confeſſion, ſuch as they would themſelves, and ſo be ſent home again, as they were indeed; howbeit divers of them afterward were apprehended and put to death. But in the mean ſpace as touching their ſubmiſſion which they made, this it was, as in form here followeth.

The ſubmiſſion or Confeſſion of theſe aforeſaid Priſoners.

An eaſie ſubmiſſion of the Priſoners.

BEcauſe our Saviour Chriſt at his laſt Supper took Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto his Diſciples, and ſaid, *Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me*; Therefore according to the words of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, we do believe in the Sacrament to be Chriſts Body. And likewiſe he took the Cup, gave thanks, and gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid, *This is my Blood of the New Teſtament which is ſhed for many.*

Therefore likewiſe we do believe that it is the Blood of Chriſt, according as Chriſts Church doth miniſter the ſame. Unto the which Catholick Church of Chriſt we do in this like as in all other matters ſubmit our ſelves, promiſing therein to live as it becometh good Chriſtian men, and here in this Realm to uſe our ſelves, as it becometh faithful Subjects unto our moſt gracious King and Queen, and to all other Superiours both ſpiritual and temporal, according to our bounden duties. Anno 1557.

The names of them which ſubſcribed to this ſubmiſſion, were theſe, *John Atkin*, *Alyn Symſon*, *Richard George*, *Thomas Firefanne*, *Willam Munt*, *Richard Foly*, *Richard Gratwicke*, *Thomas Winſley*, *Richard Rothe*, *Richard Clark* *Stephen Glover*, *Robert Colman*, *Thomas Merſe*, *William Bongeor*, *Robert Bercock*, *Margaret Hide*, *Elyn Euring*, *Chriſtian Pepper*, *Margaret Feld*, *Alice Munt*, *Joan Winſly*, *Cyſly Warren*, *Roſe Alyn*, *Ann Whitelocke*, *George Barker*, *John Saxby*, *Thomas Locker*, *Alice Locker*.

A Story of five other godly Martyrs, burned at one Fire in Smithfield, *the Twelfth day of* April.

TO proceed further in this Story of perſecuted Martyrs, next in order follow five other burned at *London* in *Smithfield* in the foreſaid year of the Lord 1557. *April* 12. whoſe names were theſe:

Thomas Loſeby.	*Margaret Hide,*	Five Martyrs.
Henry Ramſey.	and	
Thomas Thirtel.	*Agnes Stanley.*	

Who being, ſome by the Lord *Rich*, ſome by other Juſtices of Peace, and Conſtables (their own Neighbours) at the firſt accuſed, and apprehended for not coming to their Pariſh Churches, were in the end ſent unto *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, and by his commandment the 27. day of *January* were examined before Dr. *Darbiſhire*, then Chancellor to the ſaid Biſhop, upon the former general Articles mentioned. Touching theſe Articles, read before.

Anſwers to the Articles

WHoſe Anſwers thereunto were, that as they confeſſed there was one true and Catholick Church, whereof they ſtedfaſtly believed, and thought the Church of *Rome* to be no part or member: ſo in the ſame Church they believed there were but two Sacraments, that is to ſay, Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord. Howbeit ſome of them attributed the title and honour of a Sacrament, to the holy eſtate of Matrimony, which undoubtedly was done rather of ſimple ignorance then of any wilful opinion, and are thereof to be adjudged as before is admoniſhed. Their anſwers to the Articles. Two Sacraments only.

Moreover, they acknowledged themſelves to be baptized into the Faith of that true Church, as in the third Article is ſpecified. And here in reading as well of theſe Articles, as alſo of thereſt, mark I beſeech you the craftie ſubtilty of theſe Catholick Companions, who intermixing certain points of Faith, and of the true Church with the idolatrous and ſuperſtitious maumetry of their Romiſh Synagogue, cauſe the poor and ſimple People, for lack of knowledge, oftentimes to fall into their crafty nets.

For after they have made them grant a true Church with the Sacraments of the ſame, though not in ſuch number as they would have them, and alſo that they were chriſtened into the Faith thereof, that is, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, they craftily now in the other their objections, deſcending as it were from the Faith of the Trinity, unto their idolatrous Maſs and other ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, would make them grant, that now in denying thereof they have ſevered themſelves from the Faith of the true Church, whereunto they were baptized; which is moſt falſe. For though the true light of Gods Goſpel and holy Word, was marvellouſly darkened, and in a manner utterly extinguiſhed: yet the true Faith of the Trinity, by the merciful providence of God, was ſtill preſerved, and into the Faith thereof were we baptized, and not into the belief and profeſſion of their horrible Idolatry and vain Ceremonies. Craſty dealing of the Papiſts. Simple ignorance deceived.

Theſe things not throughly weighed by theſe poor, yet faithful, and true members of Chriſt, cauſed ſome of them ignorantly to grant, that when they came to the years of diſcretion, and underſtood the light of the Goſpel, they did ſeparate themſelves from the Faith of the Church, meaning none other but only to ſeparate themſelves

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themſelves from the admitting or allowing of ſuch their Popiſh and Erroneous Traſh as they now had defiled the Church of Chriſt withall, and not from their Faith received in Baptiſm, which in expreſs words in their Anſwers to the other Articles they conſtantly affirmed, declaring the Maſs and Sacrament of the Altar, to be moſt wicked Blaſphemy againſt Chriſt Jeſus, and contrary to the Truth of his Goſpel, and therefore utterly they refuſed to aſſent unto and to be reconciled again thereunto.

They which ſeparate themſelves from certain traſh brought into the Church, do not ſeparate themſelves from the Church.

Theſe anſwers in effect of them thus taken by the ſaid Chancellor, they were for that time diſmiſſed; but the Biſhop, taking the matter into his own Hands, the ſixt day of *March*, propounded unto them certain other new Articles: the copy whereof followeth.

Other Articles objected by Boner, *Biſhop of* London, *againſt* Thomas Loſeby, Henry Ramſey, Thomas Thirtell, Margaret Hide, *and* Agnes Stanley, *the ſixth day of* March, *being the ſecond time of the Examination.*

Other new Articles propounded to them by B. *Boner*

1 FIrſt, that thou haſt thought, believed, and ſpoken, within ſome part of the City and Dioceſs of *London*, that the Faith, Religion, and Eccleſiaſtical Service here obſerved and kept, as it is in the Realm of *England*,

Maſs and ſeven Sacraments.

is not a true and a laudable Faith, Religion, and Service, eſpecially concerning the Maſs, and the ſeven Sacraments, nor is agreeable to Gods Word and Teſtament, and that thou canſt not find in thy Heart without murmuring, grudging, or ſcruple to receive and uſe it, and to conform thy ſelf unto it, as other Subjects of this Realm cuſtomably have done and do.

Engliſh Service.

2 *Item*, that thou haſt thought, &c. that the Engliſh Service ſet forth in the time of K. *Edward* the ſixth, here in this Realm of *England*, was and is good and godly, and Catholick in all points, and that it alone ought here in this Realm to be received, uſed, and practiſed, and none other.

Coming to Church.

3 *Item*, likewiſe thou haſt thought, &c. that thou art not bound to come to thy Pariſh Church, and there to be preſent, and hear Mattins, Maſs, Evenſong, and other Divine Service, ſung or ſaid there.

4 *Item*, thou haſt thought, &c. that thou art not bound to come to Proceſſion to the Church, upon days and times appointed, and to go in the ſame with others of the Pariſh ſinging or ſaying then the accuſtomed Prayers uſed in the Church, nor to bear a Taper or Candle on *Candelmas* day, nor take Aſhes upon *Aſhwedneſday*, nor bear Palmes upon *Palme Sunday*, nor to creep to the Croſs upon days accuſtomed, nor to receive and kiſs the pax at Maſs time, nor to receive Holy Water or Holy Bread, nor to accept and allow the Ceremonies and Uſages of the Church, after the Manner and Faſhion, as they are uſed in this Realm.

Aſhes, Palmes, creeping to the Croſs, Holy Bread, Holy Water, &c.

Confeſſion.

5 *Item*, thou haſt thought, &c. that thou art not bound at any time to confeſs thy Sins to any Prieſt, and to receive Abſolution at his Hands, as Gods Miniſter, nor to receive at any time the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, eſpecially as it is uſed in this Church of *England*.

6 *Item*, thou haſt thought, &c. that in matters of Religion and Faith, thou muſt follow and believe thine own Conſcience onely and not give credit to the Determination and common Order of the Catholick Church, and the See of *Rome*, nor to any member thereof.

Abſolute neceſſity.

7 *Item* thou haſt thought, &c. that all things do chance of an abſolute and preciſe meer Neceſſity, ſo that whether Man do well or evil, he could not chooſe but do ſo, and that therefore no Man hath any free will at all.

Chriſtening of Infants.

8 *Item*, thou haſt thought, &c. that the Faſhion and Manner of Chriſtening of Infants, is not agreeable to Gods Word, and that none can be Effectually Baptized, and thereby ſaved, except he have years of Diſcretion to believe himſelf, and ſo willingly accept or refuſe Baptiſm at his Pleaſure.

Praying for the dead.

9 *Item*, thou haſt thought, &c. that Prayers to Saints, or Prayers for the Dead, are not availeable, and not allowable by Gods Word, or profitable in any wiſe, and that the Souls departed do ſtraightways go to Heaven or Hell, or elſe do ſleep till the day of doom, ſo that there is no place of Purgation at all.

10 *Item*, thou haſt thought, &c. that all ſuch as in the time of *King Henry* the 8. or in the time of Queen *Mary* in *England*, have been burned as Hereticks were no Hereticks at all, but faithful and good Chriſtian People; eſpecially *Barnes*, *Garret*, *Jerome*, *Frith*, *Rogers*, *Hooper*, *Cardmaker*, *Latimer*, *Taylor*, *Bradford*, *Philpot*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and ſuch like, and that thou didſt and doſt allow, like, and appove all their Opinions, and doſt miſlike their Condemnations and Burnings.

Martyrs that ſuffered.

11 *Item*, thou haſt thought, &c. that faſting, and prayers uſed in this Church of *England*, and the appointing of days for faſting, and the abſtaining from fleſh upon faſting days, and eſpecially in the time of *Lent*, is not laudable or allowable by Gods Word, but is Hypocriſie and Fooliſhneſs: and that Men ought to have liberty to eat at all times all kinds of meat.

Faſting days

12 *Item*, thou haſt taught, &c. that the Sacrament of the Altar is an Idol, and to reſerve and keep it, or to honor it, is plain Idolatry and Superſtition: and likewiſe of the Maſs and Elevation of the Sacrament.

Sacrament of the Altar

13 *Item*, thou haſt thought, &c. that thou or any elſe, converſted before an Eccleſiaſtical Judge concerning matters of Belief and Faith, are not, nor is bound to make anſwer at all, eſpecially under an Oath upon a Book.

Taking of an Oath.

Their Anſwers to the Articles before objected.

THeir Anſwers to theſe Objections were, that as touching the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth, they generally granted unto, ſaving that they denied the Souls of the departed to ſleep till the day of Judgment, as is mentioned in the ninth Article.

Their Anſwers to the Articles before objected.

And as concerning the ſixth Objection, they thought themſelves bound to believe the True Catholick Church, ſo farr forth as the ſame doth inſtruct them according to Gods Holy Word, but not to follow the Determinations of the Erroneous and *Babylonical* Church of *Rome*.

As for the ſeventh, eighth, and thirteenth, they utterly denied, that ever they were of any ſuch abſurd Opinions as are contained therein, but they granted that Man of himſelf without the help and aſſiſtance of Gods Holy Spirit, hath no power to do any good thing acceptable in Gods ſight.

True faſting

To the eleventh they ſaid, that true faſting and prayer, uſed according to Gods Word, are allowable and available in his ſight, and that by the ſame word every faithful Man may eat all meats at all times, with thankſgiving to God for the ſame.

After this, the firſt day of *April*, they were again convented before the Biſhop in his Palace at *London*, where little appeareth to be done, except it were to know whether they would ſtand to their Anſwers, and whether they would recant or no. But when they refuſed to recant and deny the received and Infallible Truth, the Biſhop cauſed them to be brought into the open Conſiſtory, the third day of the ſame Month of *April*, in the forenoon, where firſt underſtanding by them their immutable conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſs, he demanded particularly of every one what they had to ſay, why he ſhould not pronounce the Sentence of Condemnation.

Tho. Loſeby's words to the Biſhop.

To whom *Thomas Loſeby* firſt anſwered, God give me Grace and Strength to ſtand againſt you, and your Sentence, and alſo againſt your Law, which is a devouring Law, for it devoureth the flock of Chriſt. And I perceive there is no way with me but Death, except I would conſent to your devouring Law, and believe in that Idol the Maſs.

Tho. Thirtel words to *Boner.*

Next unto him anſwered *Thomas Thirtel*, ſaying, My Lord, I ſay thus, if you make me an Heretick, then you make Chriſt and all the twelve Apoſtles Hereticks: for I am in the true Faith and right Belief, and I will ſtand in it, for I know full well I ſhall have eternal Life therefore.

Henry Ramſeys words to *Boner.*

The Biſhop then asked the like queſtion of *Henry Ramſey*: who ſaid again, My Lord, will you have me to go from the Truth that I am in? I ſay unto you, that my Opinions be the very Truth, which I will ſtand unto, and not go from them: and I ſay unto you further, that there are two Churches upon the Earth, and we (meaning himſelf and other True Martyrs and Profeſſors of Chriſt) be of the True Church, and ye be not.

Margaret Hides words to *Boner.*

Unto this queſtion next anſwered *Margaret Hide*, ſaying, My Lord, you have no cauſe to give Sentence againſt me. for I am in the True Faith and Opinion, and will never forſake it; and I do wiſh that I were more ſtrong in it then I am.

Agnes Stanleys words to *Boner.*

Laſt of all anſwered *Agnes Stanley*, and ſaid, I had rather every hair of my head were burned, if it were never ſo much worth, then that I will forſake my Faith and Opinion, which is the True Faith.

The time being now ſpent, they were commanded to appear again at afternoon in the ſame place: which Commandment being obeyed, the Biſhop firſt called for *Loſeby*, and after his accuſtomed manner willed his Articles and Anſwers to be read: in reading thereof, when mention was made of the Sacrament of the Altar, the Biſhop with his Colleagues put off their Caps. Whereat *Loſeby* ſaid, My Lord, ſeeing you put off your Cap, I will put on my Cap, and therewithal did put on his Cap. And after, the Biſhop continuing in his accuſtomable Perſwaſions, *Loſeby* again ſaid unto him, My Lord, I truſt I have the Spirit of Truth, which you deteſt and abhor, for the Wiſdom of God is Fooliſhneſs unto you. Whereupon the Biſhop pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation againſt him. And delivering him unto the Sheriff, called for *Margaret Hide*, with whom he uſed the like order of Exhortations.

Loſebys words to *Boner.*

Sentence given againſt *Loſeby.*

The words of *Margaret Hide* to the Biſhop.

To whom notwithſtanding ſhe ſaid, I will not depart from my ſayings till I be burned: and my Lord (quoth ſhe) I would ſee you inſtruct me with ſome part of Gods Word, and not to give me Inſtructions of the Holy Bread and Holy Water, for it is no part of the Scripture. But he, being neither himſelf, nor any of his, able rightly to accompliſh her requeſt, to make ſhort work, uſed his final Reaſon of Convincement, which was the Sentence of Condemnation. And therefore leaving her off, called for another, *viz. Agnes Stanley*, who upon the Biſhops like perſwaſions made this Anſwer.

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The words of *Agnes Stanley* to the Biſhop.

My Lord, where you ſay I am an Heretick, I am none; neither yet will I believe you, nor any Man that is wiſe will believe as you do. And as for theſe that ye ſay be burnt for Hereſie, I believe are True Martyrs before God: therefore I will not goe from my Opinion and Faith as long as I live.

The words of *Tho. Thirtell* to the Biſhop.

Her talk thus ended, ſhe received the like reward that the other had. And the Biſhop then turning his tale and manner of enticement unto *Thomas Thirtell*, received of him likewiſe this final anſwer, My Lord, I will not hold with your Idolatrous ways, as you do: for I ſay, the Maſs is Idolatry, and will ſtick to my Faith and Belief, ſo long as the Breath is in my Body. Upon which words he was alſo Condemned as an Heretick.

Tho. Thirtell Condemned.

The anſwer & Condemnation of *Hen. Ramſey.*

Laſt of all, was *Henry Ramſey* demanded if he would (as the reſt) ſtand unto his anſwers, or elſe recanting the ſame, come home again, and be a member of their Church. Whereunto he anſwered, I will not go from my Religion and Belief as long as I live; and my Lord (quoth he) your Doctrine is naught, for it is not agreeable to Gods Word.

The burning of five Martyrs in Smithfield.

The Martyrdom of *Tho. Loſeby, Henry Ramſey, Tho. Thirtell, Margaret Hide Agnes Stanley* in *Smithfield, Anno 1557. April.* 12.

After theſe words, the Biſhop (to conclude) pronouncing the Sentence of Condemnation againſt him and the reſt (as ye have heard) charged the Sheriffs of *London* with them: who being thereunto commanded, the twelfth day of the ſame month of *April*, brought them into *Smithfield*, where all together in one fire, moſt joyfully and conſtantly they ended their temporal Lives, receiving therefore the Life eternal.

Three burned in Saint Georges-fields *in Southwark.*

May. W. Morant, Ste. Gratwick one *King*, Martyrs.

After theſe moreover in the Month of *May* followed three other that ſuffered in St. *Georges-field* in *Southwark*, *William Morant*, *Stephen Gratwick*, with one *King*.

The ſtrange dealing of the Biſhops with *Stephen Gratwick*, Martyr.

Among other Hiſtories of the perſecuted and condemned Saints of God, I find the Condemnation of none more ſtrange nor unlawfull then of this *Stephen Gratwick*: who firſt was condemned by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, which were not his Ordinaries.

Secondly, when he did appeal from theſe incompetent Judges to his right Ordinary, his appeal could not be admitted.

Thirdly, when they had no other ſhift to colour their inordinate Proceedings withal, they ſuborned one of the Prieſts to come in for a counterfait and a falſe Ordinary, and ſit upon him.

Fourthly, being openly convinced and overturned in his own Arguments, yet the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Dr. *White*, neither would yield to the force of truth, nor ſuffer any of the Audience aſſiſtant once to ſay, God ſtrengthen him.

Fifthly, as they brought in a falſe Ordinary to ſit upon him; ſo they pretended falſe Articles againſt him which were no part of his Examinations, but of their deviſing, to have his Blood.

Sixthly

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Sixthly and lastly, having no other ground nor just matters against him, but only for saying these words; *That which I said, I have said*, they read the sentence of death upon him.

And this was the dealing of these men, which needs will be reputed for Catholick Fathers of the Spiritualty, Succeeders of the Apostles, Disciples of Christ, pillars of the holy Church, and leaders of the People. Of whose doings and proceedings, how agreeable they are to the example of Christ and his Apostles, I leave to discuss, referring the judgment hereof to them, which know the Institution of Christs Religion and Doctrine.

Now least peradventure the disordered misrule of these *Christmas* Lords, will not be credited upon the simple narration of the story, ye shall hear the whole discourse of this process registred by the hand of the Martyr himself, who as he could tell best what was done; so I am sure would not testifie otherwise then the Truth was, according as you shall hear by his own declaration here following.

The inordinate handling of St. *Gratwick* written and testified by his own record.

The declaration of Stephen Gratwick *concerning his own Story and Condemnation.*

The Story and Examination of St. *Gratwick* Martyr, under the B. of *Winchester* and *Rochester*, &c.

Upon the 25. day of *May*, in the year of our Lord, 1557. I *Stephen Gratwick* came before the Bishop of *Winchester*, Dr. *White*, into St. *Georges Church* in *Southwark* at 8. of the Clock in the morning, and then he called me before him, and said unto me.

B. Winch. Stephen Gratwick, how standeth the matter with thee now? Art thou contented to revoke thy Heresies, the which thou hast maintained and defended here within my Dioces, oftentimes before me; and also upon Sunday last ye stood up in the face of the whole Church maintaining your Heresies, so that yon have offended within the liberty of my Dioces: and now I being your Ordinary you must answer to me directly, whether you will revoke them ornot; the which I have here in writing, and if so be that you will not revoke them, then I will excommunicate you, and therefore note well what you do, for now I read here the Articles against you.

And so when he had ended, he bade me answer unto them.

Grat. My Lord, these Articles which you have here objected against me, are not mine, but of your own making. For I never had any of mine Examinations written at any time, and therefore these be the Objections that you lay against me as snare to get my Blood.

St. Gratwick appealeth from the B. of *Win.* to his own Ordinary.

Wherefore I desire your lawful favour, to allow my lawful appeal unto mine Ordinary: for I have nothing to do with you. And whereas you do burden me, that I have offended within your Dioces, it is nothing so: for I have not enterprised either to preach or teach within your Dioces, but was apprehended by mine own Bishop and sent Prisoner into your Dioces, by the consent of the Council and mine own Ordinary, and therefore I so being in your Dioces, you have no cause to let my lawful appeal.

The B of *Rochester* cometh.

Catholick conveyance among these Bishops.

And with that there came the Bishop of *Rochester*, and was received at the Bishop of *Winchesters* hands with much gladness, according, to their determinate purpose before invented. And so followed the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*. And then the Bishop again start up as a man half ravished of his wits for joy, embracing him with many gentle words, and said, that he was very glad of his coming, making ignorant thereof, as he thought it should appear to me. Then said *Winchester*.

St. Gratwick not of *Roch.* Dioces.

B. *Winch.* Sir, I am very glad of your coming. For here I have one before me, who hath appealed unto you being his Ordinary. Then said the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*.

Arch. Can. I know this man very well. He hath been divers times before me. And then I answered and said:

Gratw. My Lord, I am not of his Dioces, not by five miles: for his Dioces reacheth on that part but to the Clifts of *Lewes*, and I dwelled at *Bright Hempston*, five miles beyond, in the Dioces of the Bishop of *Chichester*; and therefore I am not of his Dioces.

Then the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, and the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, cast their heads together, and laughed: and then they said, my Ordinary would be here by and by, and so they sent forth for a counterfeit instead of mine Ordinary, and then I saw them laugh, and spake unto them and said:

The Bishops counterfeit a false Ordinary against St. *Gratwick*.

Grat. Why do ye laugh? are ye confederate together for my Blood, and therein triumph? you have more cause to look weightily upon the matter: for I stand here before you upon life and death. But you declare your selves what you are: for you are lapped in Lambs apparel, but I would to God ye had Coats according to your assembly here, which is Scarlet Gowns, for I do here perceive you are bent to have my Blood.

See what care these men have of poor mens Blood.

And then came rushing in that counterfeited Bishop, who was the hired Servant to deliver me into the hands of the High Priest; and the Bishop hearing him come, with hast inquired of his man, who was there: and he said, My Lord of *Chichester*. Then the Bishop with hast rose up and said.

Here cometh in the vice in the play.

Winch. Ye are most heartily welcom, and required him to sit down; and then said the Bishop of *Winchester* to me, Lo here is your Ordinary, What have you now to say unto him?

Grat. I have nothing to say unto him. If he have nothing to say unto me, I pray you let me depart. Then answered my Counterfeit Ordinary and said,

Counterf. Here you stand before my Lords and me in trial of your Faith, and if you bring the Truth, we shall by compulsion give place unto you, as it is to be proved by the Word. And your Doctrine to be heard and embraced for a Truth.

Grat. Then I demanded of him whether he meant by Authority, or by the judgment of the Spirit of God in his members.

And he answered me, by Authority as well as by the Spirit.

Christ bringing the Truth could not be heard of the Scribes and Pharisees.

Grat. Then I said. Now will I turn your own argument upon you: for Christ came before the High Priests, Scribes, and Pharisees, bringing the Truth with him, being the very Truth himself, which Truth cannot lie, yet both he and his Truth was condemned, and took no place with them: And also the Apostles, and all the Martyrs that died since Christ: therefore I turn your own Argument upon you, answer it if you can.

Counterf. Then he with a great heat of choler, said unto the Bishop of *Winchester*, Object some Articles against him, for he is obstinate, and would fain get out of our hands, therefore hold him to some particular: so that other answer could I not have of his Argument.

Objections of the Bishops own making.

Winch. Then the Bishop of *Winchester* began to read his Objections of his own making against me, and bade me answer unto them. And I said:

Grat. No, except you would set the Law apart, because I see you are mindful of my Blood.

Winch. Now you may see he will not answer to these, but as he hath aforesaid. Then spake the Counterfeit Ordinary again, and said.

Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

Counterf. My Lord, ask him what he saith to the Sacrament of the Altar. Then the Bishop asked me, as my Counterfeit Ordinary required him.

Grat. My Lord, I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord truly ministred in both kinds, according to the institution of Christ, unto the worthy Receiver, he eateth mystically by faith the Body and Blood of Christ. Then I asked him if it were not the Truth. And he said, Yes. Then said I, Bear witness of the Truth.

The Sacrament of the Altar no Sacrament.

Winch. Then the Bishop of *Winchester*, whose head being subtilest to gather upon my words, said, my Lord, see you not how he creepeth away with his Heresies, and covereth them privily? Note how he here separateth the Sacrament of the Altar from the Supper of the Lord, meaning it not to be the true Sacrament, and also how he condemneth our ministration in one kind, and alloweth that the unworthy receiver doth not Eat and Drink the Body and Blood of Christ; which be sore matters truly weighed, being covered very craftily with his subtile shifts and sophistry, but he shall answer directly or ever he depart.

The wicked eat not the Body of the Lord.

Grat. My Lord, that is but your gathering of my words, for you before confessed the same sayings to be the Truth, and this you catch at me, and fain would have a vantage for my Blood: but seeing you judge me not to mean the Sacrament of the Altar, now come to the probation of the same Sacrament, and prove it to be the true Sacrament, and I am with you; or else if you can prove your Church to be the true Church, I am also with you.

But then he called to memory the last probation of the Church and Sacraments, how he before was driven to forsake the Scriptures, and to shew me by good reason how they might minister the Sacrament in one kind: and his reason was this, Like as a man or woman dyeth on a sudden, and so when we have given him the Body of Christ, in the mean time the party dieth, and so he eateth the Body of Christ, and not drinketh his Blood. And this was his simple shift in the proving of their Sacraments: so that he was now half abashed to begin that matter again.

The Bishop of Winchester's reason to prove the Sacrament in one kind.

But yet a little shift he brought in, and said:

Winch. What sayst thou by the administration of the Priests every day for themselves, and they minister in both kinds?

To that I answered, you have two administations, for I am sure at *Easter* you minister but in one kind, and therefore it is not according to the Institution of Christ, but after your own imaginations.

Winch. Why, then what saist thou to these words, *Take, Eat, this is my Body.* These are the words of Christ. Wilt thou deny them?

Grat. My Lord, they are the words of Scripture, I affirm them, and not deny them.

Rochester. Why, then thou dost confess in the Sacrament of the Altar to be a Real presence, the self same Body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and is ascended up into Heaven.

Grat. My Lord, what do you now mean? do you not also mean a visible Body? for it cannot be, but of necessity, if it be a Real presence, and a Material Body, it must be a visible Body also.

Winch. Nay, I say unto thee, it is a Real presence, and a Material Body, and an Invisible Body too.

The Catholicks make a fantastical Body in the Sacrament.

Grat. My Lord, then it must needs be a Fantasttical Body, for if it should be a Material and Invisible as you affirm, then it must needs be a Fantastical Body, : for it is apparent, that Christs humane Body was visible and seen.

Winch. Then the Bishop brake out and said, when didst thou see him? I pray thee tell me.

Grat. To that I answered and said, a simple argument it is; Because our corporal eyes cannot comprehend Christ, doth it prove or follow, that he is invisible, because we cannot see him?

Winch. And with that the Bishop began to wax weary of his Argument, and removed his talk to *Judas* in eating the Sacrament, and said, He eat him wholly, as the Apostles did.

Grat. And then I asked him, if he meant Christs flesh and Blood, the which he speaketh of in the sixth of *John* and saith, *He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal life in me.*

Winch. To that he answered and said, Yea.

If the wicked do eat the Body of Christ, they must needs be saved: and if Infants eat him not, they must be condemned by the Popes Doctrine.

Grat. Then said I, of necessity *Judas* must needs be saved, because he did eat the flesh, and drink the Blood of Christ, as you have affirmed, and also all the ungodly that die without repentance, because they have eaten your Sacrament, which you say is the flesh and Blood of Christ: therefore of necessity they shall receive the benefit thereof, that is, eternal life. Which is a great absurdity to grant, and then of necessity it must follow, that all that eat not, and drink not of your Sacrament, shall finally perish and be damned; for Christ saith, *Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my Blood, you can have no life in you.* And you have aforesaid that of your Sacrament, which you say is the same flesh and Blood that Christ, speaketh of: and here I prove, that all Children then that die under age to receive the Sacrament, by your own Argument must be damned, which is horrible blasphemy to speak. Now here I turn your own Argument upon you, answer it if you can.

Winch. My Lord, do you not see what deceitful Arguments he bringeth in here against us, mingled with sophistry, and keepeth himself in vantage, so that we can get no hold upon him? But I say unto thee, thou perverse Heretick, I see now, thou art a perverse Fellow. I had a better Opinion of thee, but now I see we lose our time about thee, yet I answer thee, St. *Paul* doth open the sixth of *John* plainly, if thou wilt see: for he saith, *They eat Christs Body, and drink his Blood unworthily,* and that was the cause of their damnation.

Anno 1557.

Falsehood in alledging the Scriptures.

Grat. My Lord, take heed ye do not add unto the Text, for he that addeth unto the Text, is accursed of God, and I am sure here you have brought more then *Paul* hath spoken: for he saith not, because they have eaten his Body and drank his Blood unworthily; but St *Paul* saith, *Whosoever shall eat of this Bread, and drink of the Cup unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ.* Note my Lord, he saith not as you have affirmed, but clean contrary. And with that they were all in a great rage.

The Bishops failed of their purpose, and are in a rage.

Winch. And the Bishop of *Winchester* said, I belied the Text.

Grat. And then I called for the Text.

Winch. And he said, I asked thee even now if thou understoodst Latin, and thou saidst, whether I can or no, the People shall bear witness in English.

Grat. And so I called again for the Testament, whether it were Latin or English for the trial of the Text.

Winch. And then when the Bishop of *Winchester* saw that I cared not whether of the translations I had, he stood up, thinking to beguile some simple man that had a Book there, and bade him that had an English Testament to bring it in, that he might get some hold at him that should bring a Testament: but God disappointed him thereof, and so he flew away from his matter, and began to rail upon me, and said my subtile Arguments should not serve: for if I would not answer directly, I should nevertheless be excommunicated. For (said he) I see a mad Toy in thine head; thou glorieſt much in thy talk, and thinkest now the People are come about thee, that thou shalt incourage them with thy constant Heretical Opinion. For the last day when thou wast before me upon Sunday in St. *Mary Overies* Church, thou there reprovedst my Sermon, and hadst a thousand by thee at the least, to bid God strengthen thee: but now let me see him here that dare open his mouth to bid God strengthen thee; he shall die the death that thou shalt die.

No English Testament durst be brought.

The Bishop of Winch. reproved of Gratwick in his Sermon.

The Bishop of Winch. threatneth them that pray to God to strengthen Gratwick.

Grat. To that I answered, My Lord, I know your cruelty doth extend more largely then your pity. Good experience so I have to say, for you keep men in Prison a year or two, taking their Books from them, permitting them not so much as a Testament to look upon for their Souls comfort, the which all men ought to have: and so you intreat them more like brute Beasts then Christian men.

The cruelty of Catholicks upon Christian Prisoners.

Winch. No Sir, we will use you as we will use the Child: for if the Child will hurt himself with the knife, we will keep the knife from him. So because you will damn your Souls with the word, therefore you shall not have it.

A popish Similitude well applied.

Grat. My Lord, a simple Argument you bring to maintain and cover your fault. Are you not ashamed to make the word the cause of our damnation? I never knew any man but only you that did not affirm our sins to be the cause of our damnation, and not the word as you say: and therefore if your Argument be good, then this is good also; Because that some men do abuse drink, therefore the benefit of drink should be taken from all men, or any other such like good gift.

Winch. overthrown in his own Similitude.

Winch. My Lords, here we lose much time, for this Fellow is perverse, speaking nothing but sophistry and perverse Questions: so that we can get no advantage upon him.

Then spake my Counterfeit Ordinary, as one half asleep all this while; yet somewhat with haſt when he was awaked he began to tell his tale, and said:

Counterf. Read these Articles against him once more, and if he will not answer them, take him upon his first words; That which I said, that I have said.

Winch. Then the Bishop of *Winchester* began to read them again.

Grat.

Anno 1557

Grat. But I said unto him, I would not answer them, because they were none of mine Examinations, but Objections of their own making, because they would have my Blood. But yet I said, if they would set the Law apart, I would talk my Conscience freely to them.

Counterf. Then my Counterfeit Ordinary began to speak again, charging me with the saying of St. *Peter*, that I should render account of such hope as was in me.

Grat. So can I do, and, yet I shall not please you, for here I now render my hope as St. *Peter* willeth me: I believe only in Jesus Christ to have my salvation in him, by him, and through him; but I perceive you would have me render my Faith in such sort, as you may have my Blood and therfore you bring good Scriptures and evil apply them.

These Catholicks will not be contented with confessing of Christ only.

Winch. Why, this Fellow is perverted, and we shall get no more at his hands then we have already; therefore let us pronounce Sentence against him, for we do but lose our time.

Grat. Nay good my Lord, seeing you will needs have my Blood, let me say a little more for my self.

The railing Sermon of *Winch.* against good men.

Upon Sunday last, when I was before you, you preached this which was a truth, and agreeable to the Doctrine of the Apostle St. *James*, and said, *If any man think himself a religious man, and in the mean time seduce his Tongue or his heart, the same mans Religion is a vain Religion*; and so my Lord, you standing there in the Pulpit, in the mean time seduced your Tongue to slander us poor Prisoners being there present in Iron bonds, burdening us with the Sect of *Arrians*, and with the Sect of *Herodians*, and with the Sect of *Anabaptists*, and with the Sect of *Sacramentaries*, and with the Sect of *Pelagians*.

Winch. preacheth against himself.

True Christians not suffered to purge themselves.

And when we stood up to purge our selves thereof, you said you would cut out our Tongues, and cause us to be pulled out of the Church by violence. But there you gave your self a shrewd blow, for your Tongue in the mean time slandered your neighbour. For I, my Lord, will give my life against all these Heresies, the which you there burdened us withal, even as I will give my life against that wherein I now stand before you. And with that he was raging angry, and caught my Condemnation, and said.

He meaneth against the Real presence.

Winch. Thou wilt grant here no more, but this word, that I have said, I have said: and here I gather matter enough to condemn thee, for this is a confirmation of all that thou hast heretofore said.

Grat. Then I answered, If you can prove that ever any of mine Examinations were written, it were enough: but you have nothing against me, but Objections of your own making.

Winch. Have at thee now. If thou wilt not yield, I will pronounce Sentence against thee, and so he proceeded forth onward apace, cursing and banning in Latin; so that I told him, If the People might hear it in English, they would think you an uncharitable Bishop.

Winch. condemneth S. *Gratwick*, and why.

S. *Gratwick* condemned against order, both of temporal and Spiritual Law

Grat. And then I said, stay my Lord, and note what you do: for you have neither temporal Law nor spiritual here against me in any cause.

Then stepped forth a Gentleman, and said unto my Lord, Take heed what ye do: for he doth here say, that you have no title nor cause why you should condemn him.

Then the Bishop looked about him again, and asked me if I would recant.

I asked him, whereof I should recant.

Then said the Bishop. Are you there? Nay then I know what I have to do: and so he proceeded forth in reading my Condemnation. And there was another Gentleman which began to snap and snatch at me: and then said I, I would God I had known this ere ever I had come from home, I would surely have put on breeches, and not had my Skin thus torn. And all this while the Bishop read forth still.

At last his Chaplains cried, Stop, stop, my Lord: for now he will recant. And then the Bishop asked me again.

S. *Gratwick* constant in Christ and his death.

And I answered and said, My Lord, my Faith is grounded more stedfastly, then to change in a moment, it is no process of time can alter me, unless my Faith were as the waves of the Sea: and so the Bishop made an end, and delivered me into the hands of the Sheriff, to be carried Prisoner to the *Marshalsey* again. And when I was condemned, I desired God with a loud voyce, that he would not lay my Blood to their charge, if it were his good will, and so then they refused my prayer, and sent me away. Then I began to talk as I went, and they cried, Cut out his Tongue, or stop his mouth: and so I was brought to the *Marshalsey*, and lapped in Iron bands. Therefore I pray unto God that they unto whom this present writing shall come, may take example by my death and souldier-fare. So be it.

Gratwick after his condemnation prayeth for his enemies.

By me Stephen Gratwick, *condemned for Gods everlasting Truth.*

S. *Gratwick* to the reader.

HEre for want of time, I have left out many matters, because the Lord hath hastned the time, so that I have written but the briefness of the matter in probation of Faith, and the reward of Faith, the which the Bishop of Rochester, *and I debated upon; the which matter I would have been very glad to have set down in writing.*

Also much more talk there was, that the Bishop of Winchester *and I had concerning my worldly friends and personal Estate: for he plaied Satan with me, he carried me up to the mountains and there told me, my learning was good, and my eloquence, and also my knowledge, save that I did abuse it, said he; and then he fell to praising of my person, that it was comly, and worthy to serve a Prince. Thus Satan flattered with me, to make me answer unto such Objections as he would lay against me, that I might fall into his Dioces.*

Winch. attempteth S. *Gratwick* with flattering and praising.

Thus *Stephen Gratwick* this Christian Martyr, being wrongfully condemned by the Bishop of *Winchester* (as ye have heard) was burned with *W. Moraunt*, and one *King*, in St. *Georges-field*, about the latter end of *May*.

Seven godly Martyrs, five Women and two Men burned at Maidstone *for the Word of Truth, and professing the sincere Religion of Christ.*

June 18.

I Shewed a little before, how after the universal Proclamation was sent and set forth by the King and Queen in the month of *February* last, the storm of Persecution began in all places to rise (whereof some part also is declared before:) but yet in no place more then in the Country and Dioces of *Canterbury*, by reason of certain the aforesaid Inquisitors, being now armed with Authority, but especially by reason of *Richard Thornton* Suffragan of *Dover*, and the Archdeacon of *Cant.* who of their own nature were so furious and fiery against the harmless flock of Christ, that there was no need of any Proclamation to stir up the Coals of their burning cruelty, by reason whereof many a godly Saint lyeth slain under the Altar; as in divers places of this Book well may appear.

R. *Thornton. Nich. Harpsfield*, persecutors.

And now to return to the said Dioces of *Canterbury* again, in the next month following, being the month of *June*, 18. day of the same, were seven Christian and true faithful Martyrs of Christ burned at *Maidstone*, whose names here follow:

Joan Bradbridge of *Staplehurst.*
Walter Appleby of *Maidstone.*
Petronil his Wife.
Edmund Allin of *Frytenden.*
Katherine his Wife.
John Mannings Wife of *Maidstone.*
Elizabeth a blind Maiden.

The names of the Martyrs.

As concerning the general Articles commonly objected to them in the publick Consistory, and the order of their Condemnation, it differeth not much from the usual manner expressed before, neither did their answers in effect much differ from the other that suffered under the same Ordinary in the foresaid Dioces of *Canterbury*.

Now as touching their Answers and manner of apprehension, and their private conflicts with the Adversaries, I find no great matter coming to my hands, save only of *Edmund Allin* some intimation is given

me, how his troubles came, what was his cauſe and anſwers before the Juſtices, as here conſequently ye ſhall underſtand.

The Examination of Edmund Allin.

The ſtory of *Edmund Allin*, with his trouble and examination before Sir *John Baker*.

THis *Allin* was a Milner, of the Pariſh of *Frytenden* in *Kent*, and in a dear year, when as many poor People were like to Starve, he fed them, and ſold his Corn better cheap by half then others did; and did not that onely, but alſo fed them with the Food of Life, reading to them the Scriptures, and Interpreting them. This being known to the Popiſh Prieſts thereabout dwelling, by the procurement of them, namely, of *John Tailor* Parſon of *Frytenden*, and *Thomas Henden* Parſon of *Staplehurſt*, he was eſtſoons complained of to the Juſtices, and brought before Sir *John Baker* Knight; who firſt ſending for them, committed both him and his Wife to Ward, but not long after they were let out, I know not how, and ſo went over unto *Calice*. Where after that he had continued a certain ſpace, he began to be troubled in Conſcience, and there meeting with one *John Webbe*, of the ſame Pariſh of *Frytenden* (who was likewiſe fled from the Tyranny of Sir *John Baker*, and Parſon *Tailor*) ſaid unto him, that he could not be in quiet there, whatſoever the cauſe was; for God (ſaid he) had ſomething to do for him in *England*: and thus ſhortly he returned home again to the Pariſh of *Frytenden*, where was a cruel Prieſt, there Parſon, called *John Tailor*.

Edmund Allin went to Calice.

Edmund Allin returneth again from *Calice*, and is apprehended.

This Parſon *Tailor*, being informed by his Brother Sexton, that *Edmund Allin* the Milner and his Wife were returned, and were not at Maſs time in the Church; as he was the ſame time in the midſt of his Maſs, upon a *Sunday*, a little before the Elevation (as they term it) even almoſt at the lifting up of his Romiſh God, he turned him to the People in a great Rage, and commanded them with all ſpeed to go unto their Houſe, and apprehend them, and he would come to them with as much haſte as might be poſſible. Which promiſe he well performed. For he had not ſo ſoon made an end of *Ite, miſſa eſt*, and the Veſtments off his Back, but by and by he was at the Houſe, and there laying hand of the ſaid *Allin*, cauſed him again to be brought to Sir *John Baker*, with a grievous complaint of his exhorting and reading the Scriptures to the People, and ſo was he and his Wife ſent to *Maidſtone* Priſon. Witneſſed by *Richard Fletcher* Vicar of *Crambroke*, and *John Webbe* of *Frytenden*.

Mark what a holy Maſs ſaying was here, and what a charitable Religion is this.

Witneſſes to the ſtory.

They were not ſo ſoon in Priſon, but Mr. *Baker* Immediately ſent unto their Houſe certain of his Men, *John Dove*, *Thomas Beſt*, *Thomas Linley*, *Percivall Barber*, with the aforeſaid *John Tailor* Parſon of *Frytenden*, and *Thomas Henden* Parſon of *Staplehurſt*, to take an Inventory of all the Goods that were in the houſe. Where they found in the bedſtraw a caſket locked with a padlock and ſo cutting the wiſt thereof, opened it, and found therein a ſackcloth bag of mony, containing the ſum of thirteen or fourteen pound, partly in gold, and partly in ſilver. Which mony after they had told, and put in the bag again, like good carvers for themſelves, they carried it away with them.

John Dove, Tho. Beſt, Tho. Linſey, Percival. Barber. perſecutors.

Beſides alſo they found there certain Books, as Pſalters, Bibles, and other writings. All which Books with the mony, were delivered to the foreſaid Prieſt *Thomas Henden*, Parſon of *Staplehurſt*, and after in the Reign of this Queen, *Anno 5. Reg. Eliz. ab.* was by right Law recovered from him again, as in records remaineth to be ſeen.

Tho. Henden Prieſt perſecutor.

Thus good *Edmund Allin* and his Wife, being maliciouſly accuſed, wrongfully impriſoned, and cruelly ſpoiled and robbed of all their goods, were brought (as is aforeſaid) before Sir *John Baker* the Juſtice, to be examined; who taunting and reviling him without all mercy and pity, asked him if thoſe were the Fruits of his Goſpel, to have Conventicles to gather People together, to make Conſpiracies to ſow Sedition and Rebellion; and thus he began with him to reaſon.

The talk or reaſoning between Sir John Baker, Collins *his Chaplain, and* Edmund Allin.

The examination of *Edm. Allin* before Sir *John Baker.*

BAker. Who gave thee Authority to Preach and interpret? Art thou a Prieſt? Art thou admitted thereunto? Let me ſee thy Licence.

Mart. Collins. Sir *John Bakers* Schoolmaſter ſaid, ſurely he is an arrant Heretick, and worthy to be burned.

Anno 1557.

Allin. And it may pleaſe your honour to give me leave to anſwer in the cauſe of my Faith, I am perſwaded that God hath given me this Authority, as he hath given to all other Chriſtians. Why are we called Chriſtians, if we do not follow Chriſt, if we do not read his Law, if we do not Interpret it to others that have not ſo much underſtanding? Is not Chriſt our Father? ſhall not the Son follow the Fathers Steps? is not Chriſt our Maſter? and ſhall the Scholar be inhibited to learn and Preach his Precepts? is not Chriſt our Redeemer? and ſhall not we praiſe his name, and ſerve him that hath redeemed us from Sin and Damnation? Did not Chriſt being but twelve years of age diſpute with the Doctors, and interpret the Prophet *Iſaiah*? and yet notwithſtanding he was neither of the Tribe of *Levi*, which were Prieſts, but of the Royal Tribe of *Juda*, neither had taken any outward Prieſthood; wherefore if we be Chriſtians, we muſt do the ſame.

Private reading or expounding of the Scriptures forbidden to no man.

Luke 4.

Collins. And it ſhall like your Honour, what a Knave is this, that compareth himſelf with Chriſt?

Baker. Let him alone, he will pump out anon an infinite heap of Hereſies. Haſt thou any more to ſay for thy ſelf?

Allin. Yea that I have. *Adam* was Licenced of God, and *Abraham* was Commanded to Teach his Children and poſterity, and ſo *David* Teacheth in divers *Pſalms*: and *Solomon* alſo Preached to the People, as the Book of the Preacher proveth very well, where he Teacheth that there is no immortal felicity in this life, but in the next. And *Noah* taught them that were diſobedient in his days, and therefore is called *the eighth Preacher of Righteouſneſs*, in the ſecond *Epiſtle* of *Peter*. Alſo in the 11 of *Numbers*, where *Moſes* had choſen ſeventy Elders to help him to Teach and Rule the reſt, *Eldad* and *Medad* Preached in the tents, wherefore *Joſhua* being offended, complained to *Moſes*, that *Eldad* and *Medad* did Preach without Licence. To whom *Moſes* anſwered, and wiſhed that all the People could do the like. What ſhould I be long? moſt of the Prieſts were not of the Tribe of *Levi* and *Aaron*.

Preaching without licence in the Old Teſtament.

Col. Theſe are Authorities of the Old *Teſtament*, and therefore abrogated; but thou art a fool, and knoweſt no School points. Is not the Law divided into the Law Ceremonial, Moral, and Judicial?

Allin. I grant that the Ceremonies ceaſed when Chriſt came, as St. *Paul* proveth to the *Hebrews*, and to the *Coloſſians*, where he ſaith, *Let no man judge you in any part of the* Sabbath *day, new Moon, or other Ceremonies, which are figures of things to come: for Chriſt is the Body.*

Coloſ. 2.

Col. And are not the Judicials abrogated by Chriſt?

Allin. They are confirmed both by Chriſt in the fifth of *Matthew*, and by *Paul* in the 1. *Epiſtle* to *Timoth.* 4. The Law, ſaith he, is not ſet forth for the vertuous and godly, but for Men-ſlayers, perjured, Adulterers, and ſuch like.

Col. * Thou art an Heretick. Wilt thou call the Judicials of *Moſes* again? wilt thou have Adultery puniſhed with Death? Diſobedient Children to their Parents to be ſtoned? Wilt thou have *Legem talionis*? But thou art an Aſſe. Why ſhould I ſpeak Latine to thee thou Erroneous Rebel? ſhall we now ſmite out eye for eye, tooth for tooth? thou art worthy to have thy teeth and tongue plucked out.

* Albeit the poſitive law of *Moſes* Judicials do not bind the Gentiles with the ſame neceſſity abſolutely to every condition, as it did the Jews, to whom it was peculiarly given: yet may the Gentiles borrow out of the ſame law ſuch things that ſhall be expedient for their regiment, neither can they borrow any laws better then out of *Moſes*.

Allin. If we had that Law, we ſhould neither have Diſobedient Children, neither Adulterers, neither falſe witneſs bearers, neither ruffians.

Baker. Maſter *Collins*, let us return to our firſt matter. Why didſt thou Teach the People, whom thou ſaidſt didſt feed both bodily and ſpiritually, being no Prieſt?

Allin. Becauſe that we are all Kings to Rule our affections, Prieſts to Preach out the vertues and Word of God, as *Peter* writeth, and lively ſtones to give light to other. For as out of Flint ſtones cometh forth that, that is able to ſet all the world on fire; ſo out of Chriſtians ſhould ſpring the beams of the Goſpel, which ſhould inflame all the world. If we muſt give a reckoning of our Faith to every Man, and now to you demanding it, then muſt we

ſtudy

Anno 1557.

In time of publick corruption, and in want of true teachers it is not forbidden to any man to teach.

ſtudy the Scriptures, and practiſe them. What availeth it a man to have meat, and will eat none; and apparrel, and will wear none; or to have an occupation, and to teach none; or to be a Lawyer, and utter none? Shall every Artificer be ſuffered, yea and commended to practiſe his faculty and ſcience, and the Chriſtian forbidden to exercile his? Doth not every Lawyer practiſe his Law? Is not every Chriſtian a follower of Chriſt? Shall Ignorance, which is condemned in all Sciences, be practiſed of Chriſtians? Doth not Saint *Paul* forbid any mans Spirit to be quenched? Doth he prohibite any man that hath any of theſe gifts, which he repeateth, 1. Cor. 14. to practiſe the ſame? Onely he forbiddeth Women, but no Man. The Jews never forbade any. Read the Acts of the Apoſtles. And the reſtraint was made by *Gregory* the ninth Pope of that name, as I heard one, a learned Man, Preach in King *Edwards* days.

Pope Gregory the ninth firſt reſtrained lay-men to teach and inſtruct others in Scriptures.

Collins. This villaine (and it like you Honour) is mad. By my Prieſthood, I believe that he will ſay, that a Prieſt hath no more Authority then another man. Doth not a Prieſt bind and looſe?

Sin bindeth, repentance looſeth, God forgiveth, man exhorteth. How man remitteth ſin, or retaineth.

Allin. No, my ſin bindeth me, and my repentance looſeth. God forgiveth ſin onely, and no Prieſt. For every Chriſtian, when he ſinneth, bindeth himſelf, and when he repenteth, looſeth himſelf. And if any other be looſed from his ſin by my Exhortation, I am ſaid to looſe him; and if he perſevere in ſin, notwithſtanding my Exhortation, I am ſaid to bind him, although it is God that bindeth and looſeth, and giveth the increaſe. Therefore ſaith Chriſt, *Matth.* 18. *Whereſoever two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midſt of them, & whoſeſoever ſins they forgive they are forgiven; & they retain, they are retained.* Neither hath the Pope any Keyes ſave the Keys of Errour; for the Key that openeth the lock to Gods Myſteries and to Salvation, is the Key of Faith and Repentance. And as I have heard learned men reaſon, Saint *Auſtine* and *Origen*, with other are of this opinion. Then they reviled him, and laid him in the Stocks all the night. Wherewith certain that were better minded, being offended with ſuch Extremity, willed *Allin* to keep his Conſcience to himſelf, and to follow *Barucks* Counſel in the ſixth chapter. *Whereforé when ye ſee the multitude of people worſhipping them, behind and before ſay ye in your hearts, O Lord, it is thou that ought onely to be worſhipped.*

The Popes Keyes be the Keyes of Error.

Wherewith he was perſwaded to go to hear Maſs the next day, and ſuddenly before the facring went out, and conſidered in the Church-yard with himſelf, that ſuch a little cake between the Prieſts fingers could not be Chriſt, nor a material Body, neither to have Soul, Life, Sinews, Bones, Fleſh, Legs, Head, Arms, nor Breaſt, and lamented that he was ſeduced by the Place of *Baruck*, which his Conſcience gave him to be no Scripture, or elſe to have another meaning: and after this he was brought again before Sir *John Baker*, who asked why he did refuſe to worſhip the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar.

Allin brought again before Sir *John Baker*.

Talk of the Sacrament.

Allin. It is an Idol.

Col. It is Gods Body.

Allin. It is not.

Col. By the Maſs it is.

Allin. It is Bread.

Col. How proveſt thou that?

Allin. When Chriſt ſate at his ſupper, and gave them Bread to Eat.

Col. Bread, knave?

Allin. Yea Bread, which you call Chriſts Body. Sate he ſtill at the table, or was he both in their Mouths, and at the table? If he were in their Mouths, and at the table, then had he two Bodies, or elſe had a Fantaſtical Body; which is an abſurdity to ſay it.

This Papiſt granteth that Chriſt had a glorified body at his Supper.

Baker. Chriſts Body was glorified, and might be in more places then one.

Allin. Then he had more Bodys then one, by your own placing of him.

Col. Thou Ignorant Aſs, the Schoolmen ſay, that a glorified Body may be every where.

Allin. If his Body was not glorified til it roſe again, then was it not glorified at his laſt ſupper; and therefore was not at the table, and in their Mouths by your own reaſon.

Col. A glorified Body occupieth no place.

Allin. That which occupieth no place, is neither God, nor any thing elſe: but Chriſts Body, ſay you, occupieth no place; therefore it is neither God, nor any thing elſe. If it be nothing, then is your Religion nothing. If it be God, then have we four in one *Trinity*, which is the perſon of the Father, the perſon of the Son, the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt, the humane nature of Chriſt. If Chriſt be nothing, which you muſt needs confeſs, if he occupieth no place, then is our ſtudy in vain, our Faith fruſtrate, and our hope without reward.

The Papiſts make four perſons in one *Trinity*.

Col. This Rebel will believe nothing but Scripture. How knoweſt thou that it is the Scripture but by the Church? and ſo ſaith St. *Auſtin.*

How the Scripture is known to be Scripture.

Allin. I cannot tell what St. *Auſtin* ſaith, but I am perſwaded, that it is Scripture by divers Arguments: Firſt, that the Law worketh in me my condemnation. The Law telleth me that of my ſelf I am damned; and this damnation, Mr. *Collins*, you muſt find in your ſelf, or elſe you ſhall never come to repentance. For as this grief and ſorrow of Conſcience, without Faith, is deſperation; ſo is a glorious and Romiſh Faith, without the lamentation of a mans Sins, Preſumption.

The ſecond is the Goſpel, which is the Power and Spirit of God. *This Spirit* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *certified my Spirit, that I am the Son of God*, and that theſe are the Scriptures.

The third are the wonderful Works of God, which cauſe me to believe that there is a God; though we glorifie him not as God, *Rom.* 1. The Sun, the Moon, the Stars and other his works (as *David* diſcourſeth in *Pſal* 19.) declare that there is a God, and that theſe are the Scriptures becauſe that they teach nothing elſe but God and his Power, Majeſty, and Might; and becauſe the Scripture teacheth nothing diſſonant from this preſcription of nature. And fourthly, becauſe that the Word of God gave Authority to the Church in Paradiſe, ſaying, that the ſeed of the Woman ſhould break down the Serpents Head. This ſeed is the Goſpel; this is all the Scriptures, and by this we are aſſured of eternal life; and theſe words, *The ſeed of the Woman ſhall break the Serpents Head*, gave Authority to the Church, and not the Church to the Word.

Baker. I heard ſay, that you ſpake againſt Prieſts and Biſhops.

The revenues of Biſhops and Prelates in *England*.

Allin. I ſpake for them; for now they have ſo much living, and eſpecially Biſhops, Archdeacons, and Deans, that they neither can nor will teach Gods Word. If they had a hundred pounds a piece, then would they apply their ſtudy; now they cannot for their affairs.

Col. Who will then ſet his Children to ſchool?

Allin. Where there is now one ſet to ſchool for that end, there would be fourty, becauſe that one Biſhops living divided into thirty, or fourty parts, would find ſo many as well learned men as the Biſhops be now, who have all this living, neither had *Peter* or *Paul* any ſuch revenue.

Baker. Let us diſpatch him; he will marr all.

Col. If every man had a hundred pounds, as he ſaith, it would make more learned Men.

Baker. But our Biſhops would be angry, if that they knew it.

Allin. It were for a Common-wealth to have ſuch Biſhopricks divided, for the further increaſe of learning.

Baker. What ſayſt thou to the Sacrament?

Allin. As I ſaid before.

Baker. Away with him. And thus was he carried to Priſon, and afterward burned. And thus much touching the particular ſtory of *Edmund Allin* and his Wife. Who with the five other Martyrs above named, being ſeven, to wit, five Women and two Men, were altogether burned at *Maidſtone*, the year and Month aforementioned, and the 18. day of the ſame Month.

The Martyrdom of five Women and two Men at *Maidſtone*. *Anno* 1557. *June* 18.

Another ſtory of like cruelty, ſhewed upon other ſeven Martyrs, burnt at Canterbury, *three Men, and four Women.*

June 19. The ſtory of 7 other Martyrs.

AMong ſuch infinite ſeas of Troubles in theſe moſt dangerous days, who can withhold himſelf from bitter tears, to ſee the madding rage of theſe pretenſed Catholicks, who being never ſatiſfied with Blood to maintain their

their carnal Kingdom, preſume ſo highly to violate the preciſe Law of Gods Commandments, in ſlaying the ſimple poor Lambs of the glorious Congregation of Jeſus Chriſt, and that for the true Teſtimony of a good Conſcience, in confeſſing the immaculate Goſpel of their Salvation? What Heart will not lament the murdering miſchief of theſe Men? who for want of work do ſo wrack their tine on ſilly poor Women, whoſe weak imbecillity the more ſtrength it lacketh by natural imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at leaſt pitied, and not oppreſſed of Men that be ſtronger, and eſpecially of Prieſts that ſhould be charitable.

Unmerciful cruelty of the Catholicks againſt poor Women.

But bleſſed be the Lord Omnipotent, who ſupernaturally hath indued from above ſuch weak Creatures with ſuch manly ſtomach and fortitude, ſo conſtantly to withſtand the uttermoſt extremity of theſe pitileſs perſecutors: as he did before ſtrengthen the Mother of the ſeven Sons in the *Macchabees*, and as he hath done ſince with divers and ſundry other godly Women in theſe our later days, partly before mentioned, and partly to be mentioned hereafter, as here preſently may appear by the Martyrdom of ſeven hereunder following, of the which were four Women and three Men, burnt together at *Canterbury* the 30. of the ſaid Month of *June*: in the year aforeſaid, whoſe Names are theſe:

John Fiſhcock. — *Bradbridges* Widow.
Nicholas White. — *Wilſons* Wife.
Nicholas Pardue. — *Bendens* Wife.
Barbara Final, Widow.

This *Bradbridges* Wife was thought to be with Child.

As it were too tedious exactly and particularly to proſecute the ſeveral ſtory of every one of theſe godly Martyrs; ſo I cannot paſs over untouched the cruel and unchriſtian handling of *Alice Benden* during her Impriſonment, according as I have received by the faithful Relation of them which beſt were acquainted with her, and partly alſo ſome doers in the matter, being her own natural Brethren. The ſtory is thus.

Roger and *Tho. Hall*, two godly Brethren of *Alice Benden*

The order of the Impriſonment and tragical handling of Alice Benden, *Wife of* Edward Benden *of the Pariſh of* Staplehurſt, *in the County of* Kent, *for the Teſtimony of Chriſts Goſpel.*

The Impriſonment of *Alice Benden*, and manner of her handling. *Mr. Roberts* of *Crambrok* perſecutor.

FIrſt *Alice Benden* was brought before one Mr. *Roberts* of *Crambroke*, in ſaid County, the 14. day of *October*, in the year of our Lord, 1556. of whom ſhe was demanded why ſhe would not go to the Church. And ſhe anſwered, that ſhe could not ſo do with a good and clear Conſcience, becauſe there was much Idolatry committed againſt the glory of God. For the which with many mocks and taunts ſhe was ſent to Priſon, where ſhe lay fourteen days. For on the 20. day of *October* her Husband required his neighbours, the wealthy Men of *Staplehurſt*, to write to the Biſhop of *Dover*, who had the Chief Government of the tyrannical ſword in *Kent* for thoſe days, which they did, deſiring him to ſend her home.

Alice Benden imprisoned for not coming to the Church.

Alice Benden delivered by ſute of her neighbours.

Wherefore the Biſhop called her before him, and asked her if ſhe would go home, and go to the Church. Whereunto ſhe anſwered; If I would have ſo done, I need not to have come hither. Then wilt thou go home, and be ſhriven of thy Pariſh Prieſt? And ſhe ſaid, No, that would ſhe not.

Well, ſaid he, go thy ways home, and go to the Church when thou wilt. Whereunto ſhe anſwered nothing. But a Prieſt that ſtood by, ſaid; She ſaith, ſhe will my Lord. Wherefore he let her go, and ſhe came forthwith home.

The Huſband procureth the trouble and impriſonment of his Wife.

On the *Saturday* following, her Husband willed her to go to the Church; which ſhe both then and elſe when refuſed to do. Wherefore on the *Sunday* fourteen days after, he going to the Church, came into the company of divers Inhabitants of the ſame Pariſh; among whom, through his fond talk and behaviour, he procured her to be ſent to Sir *John Gilford*, who commanded her to Priſon again: yea, and the more to utter his own ſhame, they ſaid her Husband took money of the Conſtable to carry her to priſon, *the price of his Wives Blood*, meaning indeed to carry her to Priſon himſelf. But ſhe having much more care of his honeſt and good report, then he had regard (as it is eaſie to ſee) of his own infamy, and no leſs aſhamed of his ſo rude and unnatural doings, choſe rather to commit her ſelf willingly into the hands of her enemies, then that the world ſhould witneſs againſt her Husband of ſo facinorous a fact. Wherefore ſhe went to the Conſtable, deſiring him to go with her. But he anſwered that he could not ſo do, but granted her his Boy to go with her, with whom ſhe went to Priſon, namely, the Caſtle of *Canterbury*, according to the Commandment given. Anno 1557.

Sir J. *Gilford* commandeth *Alice Benden* to the Caſtle of *Canterbury*.

The ſpare diet of *Alice Benden* and *Potkin* wife in *Canterbury* Caſtle

Where this one thing is worthy to be noted, that while ſhe was in this Priſon, ſhe practiſed with a Priſonfellow of hers, the Wife of one *Potkin*, to live both of them with two pence half-penny a day, to try thereby how well they could ſuſtain penury and hunger, before they were put to it. For they had heard, that when they ſhould be removed from thence to the Biſhops Priſon, there livings ſhould be but three farthings a piece a day, and did indeed both ſo live for fourteen days ere ſhe was from thence removed.

The 22. day of *January* following, her Husband went again to the Biſhop, deſiring him to deliver his Wife out of Priſon: but he ſaid ſhe was an obſtinate Heretick, and would not be reformed; and therefore ſaid that he could not deliver her.

The Husband complaineth of his wives Brother *Roger Hall*.

Then ſaid he; My Lord, ſhe hath a Brother, whoſe Name is *Roger Hall*, that reſorteth unto her. If your Lordſhip could keep him from her, ſhe would turn; for he comforteth her, giveth her mony, and perſwadeth her not to return or relent.

Alice Benden removed from the Biſhops priſon.

This occaſion was not ſo ſoon given, but it was as quickly taken, and as cruelly put in execution. For the Biſhop commanding her upon the ſame to a Priſon called *Mondays* hole, there alſo he gave a ſtrait charge, that if at any time her Brother came, he ſhould be taken and apprehended.

The Biſhops priſon deſcribed.

This priſon was within a Court where the Prebends Chambers were, being a vault beneath the ground, and being before the Window incloſed with a pale, of height, by eſtimation, four foot and a half, and diſtant from the ſame three foot, ſo that ſhe looking from beneath, might onely ſee ſuch as ſtood at the pale. After this, her Brother ſought often for her, with no leſs danger of life then diligence. But for the unknown ſituation of the place, it being alſo but rarely uſed for a Priſon, and the matter as cloſy kept, as it was ſecretly done, he could never come to underſtand of her being there, until through Gods merciful will and unſearchable providence, he coming thither very rathe in the morning, her Keeper being then gone to the Church to ring (for he was a Bellringer) chanced to hear her voice, as ſhe powred out unto God her ſorrowful complaints, ſaying the *Pſalms* of *David*:

Example of Gods merciful providence in relieving his Saints.

and there could he no otherwiſe relieve her, but by putting money in a Loaf of Bread, and ſticking the ſame on a Pole, and ſo reached it unto her; for neither with Meat nor Drink he could ſuſtain her. And this was five weeks after her coming thither. All the which time no creature was known to come at her, more then her Keeper.

Alice Benden kept in the Biſhops priſon nine weeks with Bread and water.

Her lying in that Priſon was onely upon a little ſhort ſtraw between a pair of Stocks and a ſtone wall; being allowed three farthings a day, that is, half penny Bread, and a farthing Drink, neither could ſhe get any more for her Money. Wherefore ſhe deſired to have her whole allowance in Bread, and uſed water for her Drink. Thus did ſhe lie nine weeks. During all which time ſhe never changed her apparel; whereby ſhe became at the laſt a moſt pitious and loathſome Creature to behold.

The affliction of *Alice Benden* at her firſt coming to priſon.

After firſt coming into this place, ſhe did grievouſly bewail with a great ſorrow and lamentation, and reaſoned with her ſelf; why her Lord God did with his ſo heavy juſtice ſuffer her to be ſequeſtred from her loving fellows into ſo extreme miſery.

Alice Benden receiveth comfort of the Lord in the midſt of her miſeries.

In theſe dolorous mournings did ſhe continue, till on a night as ſhe was in her ſorrowful ſupplications, rehearſing this verſe of the *Pſalm*; *Why art thou ſo heavy O my Soul?* And again, *The Right Hand of the moſt high can change all*: ſhe received comfort in the midſt of her miſeries, and after that continued very joyful until her delivery from the ſame.

Alice Benden called before the Biſhop.

About the 25. day of *March*, in the year of our Lord, 1557. ſhe was called before the Biſhop, who demanded of her, whether ſhe would now go home, and to the Church or no, promiſing her great favour, if ſhe would be reformed and do as they did.

To

Anno. 1557.

The anſwer of *Alice Benden* to the Biſhop.

Alice Benden from the Biſhops Priſon ſent to *Weſtgate*.

Alice Benden condemned and ſent to the Caſtle in *Canterbury*.

To whom ſhe anſwered, I am throughly perſwaded by the great extremity, that you have already ſhewed me, that you are not of God, neither can your doings be godly; and I ſee, ſaith ſhe, that you ſeek my utter deſtruction, ſhewing how lame ſhe then was of cold taken, and for lack of food, while ſhe lay in that painful Priſon; whereby ſhe was not able to move her ſelf without great pain.

Then did the Biſhop deliver her from that filthy hole, and ſent her to *Weſtgate*, where after ſhe had been changed, and for a while been clean kept, her Skin did wholly ſo pill and ſcale off, as if ſhe had been with ſome mortal venom poyſoned. Here ſhe continued till the latter end of *April*. At which time they called her before them, and with others condemned her, committing her then to the Priſon called the *Caſtle*. Where ſhe continued till the ſlaughter-day, which was the nineteenth day of *June*, when by terrible fire they took away her life.

When ſhe was at the Stake, ſhe caſt her Handkerchief unto one *John Banks*, requiring him to keep the ſame in memory of her, and from about her middle ſhe took a white Lace, which ſhe gave to the Keeper, deſiring him to give the ſame to her Brother *Roger Hall*, and to tell him that it was the laſt band that ſhe was bound with, except the Chain. A ſhilling alſo of *Philip* and *Mary* ſhe took forth, which her Father had bowed and ſent her when ſhe was firſt ſent to Priſon, deſiring that her ſaid Brother ſhould with obedient ſalutations render the ſame to her Father again, and ſhew him that it was the firſt piece of mony that he ſent her after her troubles began, which (as ſhe proteſted) ſhe had kept, and now ſent him to do him to underſtand, that ſhe never lacked mony while ſhe was in Priſon.

With this *Alice Benden* were burned alſo the reſidue of the other bleſſed Martyrs above named, being ſeven in number. Who being brought to the place where they ſhould ſuffer for the Lords cauſe at *Canterbury*, undreſſed themſelves joyfully to the fire; and being ready thereto, they all (like the communion of Saints) kneeled down, and made their humble prayers unto the Lord, with ſuch zeal and affection, as even the enemies of the Croſs of Chriſt could not but like it. When they had made invocation together, they roſe and went to the Stake, where being compaſſed with horrible flames of fire, they yielded their Souls and lives glorioufly into the hand of the Lord.

The burning of ſeven Martyrs at Canterbury.

The Martyrdom of three Men and four women at *Canterbury*. Anno 1557. June 19.

This *Bradbridges* Wife, when ſhe was condemned of the Biſhop to be burned, had two Children named *Patience* and *Charity*. Who then ſaid to the Biſhop, that if he would needs burn her, yet he truſted, that he would take and keep *Patience* and *Charity*, meaning her two Children. Nay, quoth the Biſhop, by the Faith of my Body, I will meddle with neither of them both.

The Biſhop will neither keep Patience nor Charity.

The Troubles and Examinations of Matthew Plaiſe.

Matthew Plaiſe.

UNto theſe holy Martyrs of *Kent* above ſpecified, whereof ſeven ſuffered at *Maidſtone*, and ſeven at *Canterbury*, I thought not unmeet here alſo to be adjoyned the Examination of *Matthew Plaiſe*, a Weaver of the ſame County of *Kent*, and a faithful Chriſtian. Who being apprehended and impriſoned likewiſe for the teſtimony of a good Conſcience, in the Caſtle of *Canterbury*, was brought to Examination before the Biſhop of *Dover*, and *Harpſfield* the Archdeacon, as here is to be read and ſeen.

The Examination and Anſwers of Matthew Plaiſe, *Weaver, of the Pariſh of* Stone, *in the County of* Kent, *before* Thornton *Biſhop of* Dover, Harpſfield *Archdeacon*, Collins *Commiſſary*, *and other Inquiſitors* Anno 1557.

Examination of *Matthew Plaiſe*, before the Biſhop of *Dover*, *Harpſfield* Archdeacon, and *Collins* Commiſſary, &c.

FIrſt, when I came before the Biſhop, he asked me whether I were not of that Dioceſs, and where I dwelt; for that was my firſt Article.

Anſ. I anſwered, I was of the Pariſh of *Stone* in *Kent*, and ſubject unto the King and Queen of *England*.

Biſhop. Then he ſaid, I was indited by twelve men at *Aſhford*, at the Seſſions, for Hereſie.

Anſ. I ſaid, that was ſooner ſaid then proved.

Biſh. Then he ſaid, it was the Truth that he had ſpoken to me, for he had whereby to prove.

Anſ. Then I deſired him to let me hear it, and I would anſwer to it.

Biſh. But he ſaid he would not do ſo, but I ſhould anſwer to my Article, yea or nay.

Anſ. I ſaid, he could not; for I was not at *Aſhford*, and therefore he had nothing to lay to my charge. But now I perceive you go about to lay a net to have my Blood.

Arch. After many words betwixt the Biſhop and me, the Archdeacon ſaid; Peace, peace, we do not deſire thy Blood, but we are glad to hear that thou art no Heretick, with many flattering words, and ſaid, yet I was ſuſpected

Anno 1557.

ſuſpected of Hereſie; and if I would be content to confeſs how I did believe as concerning thoſe Articles, they would gladly teach me.

Anſ. But I ſaid, I do not think ſo, for I talked with one of your Doctors, and after long talk, he would needs know how I did believe in the Sacrament, and I recited unto him the Text, and becauſe I would not make unto him an expoſition, he would teach me nothing: yet I prayed him for my learning to write his mind; and if it were the truth, I would believe him; and this I did deſire him for the love of God, but it would not be.

Arch. Then ſaid he, it was not ſo, he durſt ſwear upon a Book.

Anſ. I ſaid, it would be ſo proved.

Arch. Then he ſtood up with a long proceſs, and ſaid, he would tell me the truth, and was ſure that the ſame Doctor did believe as he did.

Anſ. I asked him how he knew that, ſeeing St. *Paul* doth ſay, that no man knoweth what is in man, but the ſpirit which dwelleth in him: but if you wiſt what Chriſt meant by theſe words, *I require mercy and not ſacrifice, Matth.* 12. you would not kill Innocents.

Biſhop. The Biſhop began with me again, and charged me in the King and Queens Name, and the Lord Cardinals, to anſwer yea or nay to the Articles that followed.

Anſ. Then I commanded in his Name that ſhould come in flaming fire with his mighty Angels to render vengeance to the diſobedient, and to all thoſe that believed not the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which ſhould be puniſhed with everlaſting damnation, that he ſhould ſpeak nothing but the truth grounded upon Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and then I would anſwer him, or elſe not.

Biſh. Then he was very angry, and ſaid, If I would not anſwer, he would condemn me indeed, unleſs I would anſwer every Article.

Anſ. Well, ſaid I, if you do, you ſhall be guilty of my Blood, and prove your ſelf a Murtherer.

Archd. Then the Archdeacon took the Articles in his hand, and read the ſecond Article, which was, that I was a Chriſtian man, and did believe in their Mother the Catholick Church, and the determination thereof.

The Catholick Church.

Anſ. I ſaid, I was a Chriſtian man indeed, and therefore they had nothing againſt me.

Archd. Then ſaid he, what ſaiſt thou to the Catholick Church, which hath ſo long continued, except it were nine or ten years, that this Hereſie hath ſprung up here in this Realm?

Anſ. I ſaid, no man can accuſe me of any thing ſpoken againſt the Catholick Church of Chriſt.

Biſh. Then ſaid the Biſhop, doſt thou not believe the Creed?

Anſ. Yes verily, I believe my Creed, and all that is written in the Teſtament of Chriſt, with the reſt of the Scriptures.

Biſhop. Then, ſaith he, thou doſt confeſs that there is a Catholick Church, I am glad of that; but tell me, is the King and Queen of that Church, or no?

The Article of the King and Queen is no Article of his Catholick Church.

Anſ. Well, ſaid I, now I perceive, you go about to be both mine Accuſer and alſo my Judge, contrary to all right. I confeſs Chriſt hath a Church upon Earth, which is built upon the Apoſtles and Prophets, Chriſt being the Head thereof, and as touching the King and Queen, I anſwer, I have nothing to do with any mans Faith but mine own: neither came I hither to judge; for I judge not my ſelf, but the Lord muſt judge me.

And yet he ſaid before that he went not about to ſeek his Blood.

Biſh. Then ſaid he: Is there no part of that Church here in *England*?

Anſ. Well, I perceive you would fain have ſomething to lay to my charge. I will tell you where. Chriſt ſaith, Where two or three be gathered together in his name, there is he in the midſt among them.

Then the Arch-deacon ſtood up with his mocks, to put me out of countenance, and ſaid to the People, that I had no wit, but that I thought all they were deceived ſo long time, and that half a dozen of us ſhould have the Truth in a corner, and that all they ſhould be deceived, with ſuch like taunts and mocks; but would not ſuffer me to ſpeak one word.

Judgment without truth.

Arch. Then he read the Article of the Sacrament, and ſaid, I did deny the Real preſence to be in the Sacrament after it was once conſecrated, and that I ſaid, Chriſts Body was in Heaven, and no where elſe, and that the Bread was nothing but a ſign, token, or remembrance.

Anſ. Then I ſaid, you have to ſhew where and what my words were, and hereof we talked a great while.

Biſh. At the laſt the Biſhop was ſo angry, that he charged me in the Kings, Queens, and Cardinals name before the Mayor and his Brethren, taking them to witneſs, if I did not ſay yea or nay, he would condemn me.

Anſ. Then I ſaid, ſeeing you have nothing to accuſe me of, wherefore ſhould I ſo anſwer?

Archd. Then the Archdeacon ſaid, I was guilty; and ſaid I was like a thief at the Bar, which would not confeſs his fault, becauſe his Accuſers were not preſent; with a great many words, and would not let me open my mouth againſt him.

Anſ. Then I ſaw whereabout they went, granting to anſwer them by the word, or elſe I think they would have condemned me for holding of my peace; and this was my beginning, I believe that Chriſt took Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid, *Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me.*

Mat. Thew confeſſeth his mind of the Sacrament.

Arch. Doſt thou believe that Chriſt meant even as he ſaid?

Anſ. I ſaid, Chriſt was no diſſembler, but he ſpake the very truth.

Archd. Thou haſt very well ſaid, we will make the beſt of thy words. Then he praiſed me with many words, going about to prove it his Body real and ſubſtantial, and ſaid, Chriſt called himſelf Bread: and this to prove, when Chriſt ſaid, *This is my Body*, the Bread was his Body, ſaid he, indeed, real and ſubſtantial, not ſo long and ſo big as it hung on the Croſs, as the *Capernaites* did think; but we eat it, as mans weak nature can eat Chriſt. Therefore when he had ſaid, *This is my Body*, the Bread was his Body in very deed.

Capernaical Doctrine.

Anſ. Then I asked him, what Chriſt meant by theſe words, *Which is given for you?*

Arch. He ſaid, Chriſt ſpake that by the Bread alſo; but it was not written in *Matthew*, but *Luke* had thoſe words.

Anſ. Then I asked him, if Chriſts Body were made of Bread, whether that was given for our redemption, or whether the Bread was crucified for us, or not?

Arch. Then he ſaid, No, by St. *Mary*, I ſay not ſo.

Anſ. You have ſaid the truth indeed, and even as I believe.

Arch. Then he ſtood up with a great many of words, and ſaid, that I did think it but bare Bread ſtill, as other Bread is; but he was ſure Chriſt called it his Body, and then it was his Body indeed; for he would believe Chriſt.

Chriſt called it his Body: *Ergo*, he made it his Body. It followeth not: For a thing may be called, and yet no nature changed.

Anſ. When he had ſpoken his pleaſure by me, thinking to have condemned me by their Law, I ſaid, he had not judged right of me, for I had not ſo ſpoken, but did believe the words of Chriſt as well as he, and as much as he could prove by the Word.

Arch. Then he would hear what I did ſay it was.

Anſ. I ſaid, I did believe it was that he gave them.

Arch. Then he asked me, what was that he gave them.

Anſ. I ſaid, that which he brake.

Arch. Then he asked me, what was that he brake?

Anſ. I ſaid, that he took.

Arch. What was it that he did take?

Anſ. I ſaid, the Text ſaith, he took Bread.

Arch. Well then, thou ſaiſt it was but Bread that his Diſciples did eat, by thy reaſon.

Anſ. Thus much, I ſay, Look what he gave them, they did eat it indeed.

Arch. Why, then was not that his Body that they did eat?

Anſ. It was that which he brake.

Arch. Well, ſaid he, I perceive thy meaning well enough; for thou doſt think it is but Bread ſtill, and that he was not able to make it his Body.

Anſ. That is your expoſition upon my mind.

Arch. Then ſaid he, what didſt thou receive when thou didſt receive laſt?

Anſw.

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Anſw. I ſaid, I do believe, that I did eat Chriſts fleſh, and drink his blood. For he ſaith. *My fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.*

Arch. Then he ſaid, I had well anſwered, thinking to have had ſome advantage at my hand, and prayed me to tell him, how I did eat his fleſh and drink his blood.

Anſ. Then he ſaid, I muſt anſwer you by the word which Chriſt ſaith; *He that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.*

Arch. Then he faced out the matter with Sophiſtry, and ſaid I did eat Chriſt, as that Church was in his eye, with many ſuch mocks, but would not let me anſwer one word.

Commiſſ. Then the Commiſſary did ask me, if I did not remember St. *Paul*, which did rebuke the *Corinths* for their evil behaviour, and becauſe they made no difference of the Lords Body, and brought in to prove his matter, how he called himſelf Bread in the ſixth of *John*. So *Paul* ſaith; *So oft as ye eat of this Bread* (meaning Chriſts Body) *unworthily, ye eat and drink your own damnation, becauſe ye make no difference of the Lords Body.* For thus ſaith Chriſt, *The bread that I will give you is my fleſh.* Now it is no Bread, but it is his Fleſh. And thus he alledged every Scripture falſe, to make up the matter.

False alledging of Scriptures.

Anſ. Then I ſaid, I did believe the words of St. *Paul* very well, even as he had ſpoken them. For thus he ſaith, *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lords Body.*

Commiſſ. What is the cauſe that he eateth his own damnation?

Anſ. I ſaid, St. *Paul* declareth it plainly with theſe words, *If ye had judged your ſelves, ye ſhould not have been judged of the Lord.*

They ſaid, that Chriſt called it his Body, but they ſaid, that it was his Body.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon ſaid, he marvelled why I would not ſay, that he called the Bread his Body, ſeeing *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Latimer*, with many other, ſaid he, called it his Body.

Anſ. I ſaid, you have condemned them as Hereticks, and you would have me ſay with them, becauſe you would kill me.

Arch. Then he ſaid, In that they ſaid it was his Body, they did ſay the truth.

Anſ. I asked wherefore they were killed, ſeeing they ſaid the Truth.

Biſh. Then ſaid the Biſhop, that he had all their Anſwers, and that they did not believe as they ſaid. For they ſaid, Chriſt called it his Body, but it was not his natural Body: but thou ſhalt anſwer me by and by, whether it be his Body or not, or elſe I will anger thee.

Anſ. Then I ſaid, I had anſwered him by the Word already, and did believe it alſo; therefore if he did condemn me for that, my Life was not dear unto me, and I was ſure he ſhould not ſcape unpuniſhed: for God will be revenged upon ſuch Murderers.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon intreated me to be ruled by him, and take mercy while it was offered; for if I were condemned, I muſt needs be burned. Yet he would not ſay but my Soul might be ſaved; with many more words, and deſired me that I would believe him, for he would ſpeak the truth: beginning how Chriſt fed five thouſand People with four Loaves, and how he turned the Water into Wine, even ſo Chriſt took Bread and bleſt it, and when he had done, he brake it and ſaid, *This is my Body*, and then he commanded them to eat it: and therefore it muſt needs be his Body.

Anſ. Then I deſired him to ſpeak the Text right, or elſe I would not believe him.

Arch. Then he ſtood up, and put off his Cap, and thanked me for teaching of him, and ſaid, I was a ſtubborn Fellow, and took ſcorn to be be taught.

Anſ. I ſaid, I ought to hold him accurſed, if he taught Doctrine contrary to Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

Then he asked me, whether I did believe that Chriſt did give that he took, or not?

Comparison between ſtrowing Moſes Rod and the Breaking Chriſts Body, not like.

Anſw. I ſaid, I do believe as much as can be proved by the Scripture, and more I will not believe.

Arch. Then he began with *Moſes* Rod, how God commanded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a Serpent. Seeing that this was by *Moſes* being but a man, how much more Chriſt being both God and Man took one thing, and gave to his Diſciples another?

Anſ. I ſaid, his compariſon was nothing like, for *Moſes* Rod when it was laid down, he ſaw that it was turned into a very Serpent indeed; but in this Sacrament no man can ſee either quality or yet quantity to be changed.

Biſh. Then ſaid the Biſhop, that mine Opinion and Faith was like unto the *Capernaites*.

The Opinion of the Papiſts much like to the *Capernaites*.

Anſ. I ſaid, theirs was more like their Opinion than mine.

Arch. The Archdeacon asked me, whether Chriſt took not one thing, and gave another?

Anſ. I ſaid, look what he brake he gave unto them, and bade them eat; and other anſwer I will make none, contrary to the Word.

Arch. Then he ſaid, he marvelled why I would not believe them, ſeeing this learning had continued this fifteen hundred years; neither yet did ſay, as other had before, how Chriſt did call it his Body.

Anſ. Then I ſaid, when *Cranmer*, which was here Biſhop, was in authority, he ſaid, that he did hold the truth, and commanded us to believe him, and he hath given his life for his Opinion, and would you have me to believe you, becauſe you ſay, that you hold the Truth? and that which makes me believe chiefly, is the Scripture, which I am ſure is the Truth indeed.

Biſh. The Biſhop ſaid, he had ſpoken the truth, and that I would not believe.

Anſ. I ſaid, if he did not now ſpeak the truth, I was ſure he had ſpoken the truth; for he had preached before Doctrine clean contrary unto this.

Then were the reſt of my Articles read; which I anſwered, and in every Article he had up this Breaden God. And they ſent for a Candle-light, and I thought they would have condemned me, but God would not ſuffer their cruel hearts to have their pleaſure that time: bleſſed be his Name for evermore, *Amen*.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon was angry, and began to chide with me, becauſe I would not deſire a day of the Biſhop, and ſaid, I was a naughty ſtubborn Fellow, and ſaid, it had been my duty to have deſired him to have been good to me, that I might have a day.

Anſ. Then I ſaid, I have ſpoken the truth; and therefore I would ask him no day, except he would give me a day of his own mind.

Commiſ. Then ſaid the Commiſſary, Doſt thou not think that thou maiſt be deceived, ſeeing he may be deceived that hath gone to ſtudy all the days of his life?

Anſ. I ſaid, Yea, I might be deceived in that I was a man; but I was ſure Gods Word could not be deceived.

Commiſ. Then he prayed me to be content, and confeſſed that I might learn, and ſaid, they would be glad to teach me.

Anſ. And I ſaid, I would be as glad to learn as any man. And thus they roſe up and went away, ſaying nothing.

What became of this *Matthew Plaiſe* after, whether he died in Priſon, or was executed, or delivered, I have as yet no certain knowledge.

The Hiſtory of Ten true godly Diſciples and Martyrs of Chriſt, burnt together in one Fire at Lewes, *Anno* 1557. June 22.

IN the Town of *Lewes* were Ten faithful Servants of God put in one fire, the 22. day of *June*, whoſe Names follow: June 22.

1. *Richard Woodman.*
2. *George Stevens.*
3. *W. Mainard.*
4. *Alexander Hoſman*, his Servant.
5. *Thomaſin a Wood*, *Mainard's* Maid.
6. *Margery Moris.*
7. *James Moris*, her Son.
8. *Denis Burgis.*
9. *Aſhdons* Wife.
10. *Groves* Wife.

Ten godly Martyrs.

Of the which number *Richard Woodman* was the firſt. Concerning whoſe apprehenſion, firſt by his Enemies, and of his deliverance out of Biſhop *Boners* hands, then of his ſecond taking again by the procurement of his

his Father, Brother, Kinsfolks, and Friends, alſo of his ſundry Examinations and couragious Anſwers before the Biſhops: and laſtly of his Condemnation, and of his Letters ſent to his faithful Friends, here followeth to be declared by his own words and relation reported. Which *Richard Woodman*, by his occupation was an *Iron-maker* dwelling in the Pariſh of *Warbleton*, in the County of *Suſſex*, and Dioceſs of *Chicheſter* of the age of thirty years and ſomewhat more. The occaſion of his firſt apprehenſion was this:

Fairebanke Preaching contrary to him ſelf.

There was one *Fairebanke*, who ſometimes had been a married Prieſt, and ſerved the Cure of *Warebleton*, where he had often perſwaded the People not to credit any other Doctrine, but that which he then preached, taught and ſet forth in King *Edwards* days. And afterward in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, the ſaid *Fairebanke*, turning head to tail, preached clean contrary to that which he had before taught.

Whereupon *Richard Woodman*, hearing him in the Church of *Warbleton* ſo to preach contrary to himſelf, admoniſhed him of his inconſtancy, how before time he had taught them one thing, and now another, and deſired him to teach them the Truth. For the which words he was apprehended, and brought before Maſter *John Aſhbornham*, Maſter *Tonſton*, and Maſter *Culpepper*, and Maſter *Roberts*, Juſtices of Peace in the County of *Suſſex*, and by them committed to the *Kings Bench*, where he continued from *June*, the ſpace almoſt of a year and half; and from thence was transferred by Doctor *Story* into *Boners* Colehouſe, where he remained the ſpace of a month before he came to Examination.

Juſtices of *Suſſex*, troublers of R. Woodman, and what were their names.

R. *Woodman* delivered out of his firſt trouble.

R. *Woodman* again apprehended, and by whoſe means.

At length, the ſame day when Maſter *Philpot* was burned, which was the 18. of *December*, he with four other Priſoners was delivered and ſet at liberty by *Boner* himſelf. Notwithſtanding, ſhortly after he was ſought for again, and at laſt found out and taken by means of his Father, Brother, and certain other his acquainted Friends, and ſo was ſent up again to *London* to Biſhop *Boner*, where he remained in the *Colehouſe* eight weeks. He was there ſix times examined, and twenty ſix times before, ſo that his Examinations were in all thirty two, from his firſt apprehenſion to his condemnation. Touching the whole diſcourſe whereof, forſomuch as the matter is ſomething ſtrange, and will peradventure ſcarce find credit upon my narration, with them which deny all things that like them not to believe, ye ſhall hear himſelf ſpeak and teſtifie both of the manner of his Troubles, and alſo his own Examinations by himſelf recorded, in order as followeth.

32. Examinations of R. *Woodman*.

A true Certificate written by Richard Woodman, *of his taking, and how he was brought to the Sheriffs the 15. of* March. 1556. *and how long he was in Priſon and how he was there uſed, till he was brought before the Biſhop of* Chicheſter *at* Black-Friers *in* London, *with the order of his Examinations following after the ſame.*

The Certificate of R. *Woodman* concerning the truth of his own ſtory and trouble.

GEntle Reader, here you ſhall perceive how the Scriptures be partly fulfilled on me, being one of the leaſt of his poor Lambs. Firſt, you ſhall underſtand, that ſince I was delivered out of the Biſhop of *Londons* hands, which was in the year of our Lord 1555. and the ſame day that Mr. *Philpot* was burned, which was the 18. of *December*, I lay in his Cole-houſe eight Weeks lacking but one day: and before that I was a year and a half almoſt in the *King's Bench* after my firſt apprehenſion, for reproving a Preacher in the Pulpit, in the pariſh of *Warbleton*, where I dwelt. Wherfore I was at two Seſſions before I was ſent to Priſon, and carried to two more Seſſions while I was in Priſon, twice before the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and five times before the Commiſſioners; and then ſent to *Londons* Cole-houſe, and many times called before him, as it appeareth by my Examinations which I have wrote, the which Examinations the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* now hath, for they were found in my houſe when I was taken, wherein is contained all the talk which I had before them aforenamed. Alſo there be in *London* that had Copies of the ſame of me, when I was in the Cole-houſe.

The firſt apprehenſion of R. *Woodman*.

And it pleaſed God to deliver me with 4. more out of the Butchers hands, requiring nothing elſe of us but that we ſhould be honeſt men, and members of the true Catholick Church that was builded upon the Prophets and Apoſtles, Chriſt being the head of the true Church, the which all we affirmed that we were members of the true Church, and purpoſed by Gods help therein to die. And hereupon we were delivered; but he willed us many times to ſpeak good of him. And no doubt he was worthy to be praiſed, becauſe he had been ſo faithful an aid in his Maſter the Devils buſineſs. For he had burnt good Maſter *Philpot* the ſame morning, in whoſe Blood his heart was ſo drunken (as I ſuppoſed) that he could not tell what he did, as it appeared to us both before and after. For but two days before, he promiſed us that we ſhould be condemned that ſame day that we were delivered, yea, and the morrow after that he had delivered us, he ſought for ſome of us again, yea and that earneſtly. He waxed dry after his great drunkenneſs, wherefore he is like to have Blood to drink in Hell as he is worthy, if he repent it not with ſpeed. The Lord turn all their hearts, if it be his will.

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R. *Woodman* delivered out of *Boners* hands with four more. What the Biſhop required at their delivirance.

Biſhop *Boner* Blood thirſty.

This have I written, chiefly to certifie all People how we were delivered, becauſe many carnal Goſpellers and Papiſts have ſaid, that it was preſcribed that we ſhould be ſo delivered, becauſe they think that God is ſubject to man, and not man to God. For if they did, they would not blaſpheme him as they do, or if they thought they ſhould give account for it. Have not many of them read how God delivered *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*? *Daniel* out of the Lions Den? *Sydrach*, *Miſaach*, and *Abednago*, out of the burning Oven? with divers other ſuch like examples; yea, God is the ſame God that he was then. He is no older, nor leſs in power, as ſome count him in wondring at his works. Now to the matter.

Woodman purgeth himſelf of falſe ſlander.

After I was delivered, the Papiſts ſaid that I had conſented to them, whereof they made themſelves glad; the which was the leaſt part of my thought (I praiſe God therefore) as they well perceived and knew the contrary within a while. For I went from Pariſh to Pariſh, and talked with them, to the number of 13. or 14. and that of the chiefeſt in all the Country; and I angred them ſo, that they with the Commiſſioners complained on me to my Lord Chamberlain that was then to the Queen, Sir *John Gage*, ſhewing him that I baptized Children, and married Folks, with many ſuch lies, to bring me into their hands again. Then the Commiſſioners ſent out certain Citations to bring me to the Court. My Lord Chamberlain had directed out four or five Warrants for me, that if I had come there, I ſhould have been attached and ſent to Priſon ſtraight-way. Which was not Gods will; for I had warning of their laying await for me, and came not there, but ſent my deputy and he brought me word that the Bayliffs waited for me there, but they miſt of their prey for that time, whereupon they were diſpleaſed.

Falſe ſurmiſes againſt R. *Woodman*.

Woodman complained of to Sir *John Gage*, Lord Chamberlain.

Warrants ſent out to attach *Woodman*.

L. Chamberlain ſendeth to take *Woodman* at his Plough.

Then within three days after, my Lord ſent three of his men to take me, whoſe names were *Deane*, *Jeffrey*, and *Frances*. I being at plough with my Folks, right in the way as they were coming to my houſe, leaſt miſtruſting them of all other, came to them and ſpake to them, asking them how they did. And they ſaid, they arreſted me in the King and Queens Name, and that I muſt go with them to their Maſter the Lord Chamberlain. Which words made my fleſh to tremble and quake, becauſe of that ſudden. But I anſwered them, that I would go with them. Yet I deſired them, that they would go to my Houſe with me, that I might break my Faſt, and put on ſome other gear, and they ſaid, I ſhould. Then I remembred my ſelf, ſaying in my heart; Why am I thus affraid? they can lay no evil to my charge. If they kill me for well doing, I may think my ſelf happy. I remembred how I was contented gladly before to die in that quarrel, and ſo had continued ever ſince; and ſhould I now fear to die? God forbid, that I ſhould; for then were all my labour in vain.

Woodman arreſted.

Fear coming upon *Woodman* at his firſt taking.

Woodman comforted in his Spirit after his fear.

So by and by I was perſwaded, I praiſe God conſidering it was but the frailty of my fleſh, which was loth to forgo my Wife and Children, and goods: for I ſaw nothing but preſent death before mine eyes. And as ſoon as I was perſwaded in my mind to die, I had regard of nothing in this world, but was as merry and glad, and joyful, I praiſe God, as ever I was. This battle laſted

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laſted not a quarter of an hour; but it was ſharper than death it ſelf for the time, I dare ſay.

Woodman asketh for their Warrant.

So when I had my breakfaſt, I deſired them to ſhew me their Warrant, thinking thereby I ſhould have ſeen wherefore I was arreſted, to the intent I might the better anſwer for my ſelf, when I came before their Maſter. And one of them anſwered, they had not their Warrant there. Which words made me aſtonied, and it was put in my mind by God, that I need not go with them, unleſs they had their Warrant. Then ſaid I to them, That is marvel that you will come to take a man without a Warrant. It ſeemeth to me, that you come of your own mind to get thank of your Maſter; for indeed I heard ſay (ſaid I) that there was four or five Warrants out for me, but they were called in again, becauſe I had certified my Lord and the Commiſſary, by a Letter that I had ſent to the Commiſſary's Court, that I was not faulty in that they laid to my charge, which was for baptizing of Children, and marrying of Folks: the which I never did; for I was never Miniſter appointed to do any ſuch thing: wherefore ſet your hearts at reſt, I will not go with you (ſaid I) unleſs you will carry me by force, and if you will do ſo, at your own adventures. And ſo I roſe from the board, and ſtepped into my Chamber, meaning to go from them if I could poſſible, ſeeing God had made the way ſo open for me. I meant to play *Peters* part with them, but God would not it ſhould be ſo, but ſent a fear amongſt them, that as ſoon as I was gone into my Chamber, e're ever I could come out again, they were gone out of my Houſe.

How God worketh for his Servants.

The unorderly doings of the Papiſts in attaching men without any Warrant.

Woodman refuſeth to go with them, unleſs they ſhew their Warrant.

When I ſaw that, I knew it was Gods doing, to ſet me at libert y once again. Yet I was compelled to ſpeak to them, and ſaid, If you have a Warrant, I deſire you for Gods ſake to ſhew it me, and I will go with you with all my heart: if not, I deſire you to depart in Gods Peace and the Kings: for ſurely I will not go with you without the order of the Law; for I have been too ſimple in ſuch things already. For before I was ſent to Priſon firſt, I went to the Juſtices to two Seſſions, without any Warrant or Commandment, but had word by one of their men, and I went juſtly to them, and they ſent me to Priſon, and kept me there almoſt a year and three quarters, without all right or equity, as it is openly known, not hearing my cauſe gently, debated. And it ſeemeth ſtrange to me, that I ſhould be thus evil handled; and therefore I will go to none of them all henceforth, without the extremity of the Law.

Gods great work, how the Perſecutors which came to take Woodman went away without him.

Then one of them anſwered me, and ſaid, We have not the Warrant here, but it is at home at my Houſe; the worſt is, you can but make us fetch it. Then I ſaid, Fetch it if you will; but if you come in my Houſe before you have it, at your own adventure be it. So I ſhut my door, and went my way out at the other door. So they got help to watch my Houſe, whilſt one of them fetcht the Conſtable and many more, thinking to have had me in my Houſe, and to have taken me in my Houſe, and carried me away with a licence; but I was gone before, as God would have it. Notwithſtanding they ſought every corner of my Houſe, but could not prevail. I miſtruſted they would ſearch it again that night, and kept me abroad; and indeed there came ſeven of his men and the Conſtable, and ſearched my Houſe.

Woodman eſcaped the hands of his takers.

Woodmans houſe again ſearched for him.

And when they ſaw that they could not meet with me, they were ready to rent their Coats, that I had eſcaped them ſo, knowing they ſhould have ſuch a check of their Maſter. When I heard that they had ſought ſo for me again, I perceiving that they were greedy of their prey, came home, and my Wife told me all things.

Then I ſuppoſed that they would lay all the Country for me, and the Sea-coaſt, becauſe I ſhould not go over, and then I thought that they would not miſtruſt that I would dare be nigh home. So I told my Wife, that I would make my lodging in a Wood not paſt a ſlight ſhot from my Houſe, as I did indeed, even under a Tree, and there had my Bible, my Pen, and mine Ink, and other neceſſaries, and there continued ſix or ſeven weeks, my Wife bringing me meat daily as I had need. Yea, I thought my ſelf bleſſed of God, that I was counted worthy to lye in the Woods for the Name of Chriſt. Then there came word into the Country, that I was ſeen and ſpoken to in *Flanders*; whereupon they left laying in wait for me: for they had laid all the Country for me, and the Sea-coaſt from *Portſmouth* to *Dover*, even as God put in my mind they would.

Woodman lodged ſix weeks in a wood.

All the Country and Sea-coaſt laid for Woodman.

So when all was huſht, I went abroad among our Friends and Brethren, and at length I went beyond the Sea both into *Flanders* and in *France*; but I thought every day ſeven year or ever I were at home again. So I came home again as ſoon as it was poſſible. I was there but three weeks, but as ſoon as I was come home, and it was once known among *Baal's* Prieſts, they could not abide it, but procured out Warrants againſt me, cauſing my Houſe to be ſearched ſometimes twice in a week. This continued from S. *James* tide to the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*. Otherwhile I went privily, otherwhile openly, otherwhile I went from home a fortnight or three weeks, otherwhiles I was at home a month or five weeks together, living there moſt commonly and openly, doing ſuch works as I had to do; and yet all mine enemies could lay no hands on me, till the hour was full come: and then by the voice of the Country, and by manifeſt proofs, mine one Brother, as concerning the fleſh, delivered me into their hands, by that he knew that I was at home.

Woodman delivered by his own brother into his enemies hands.

For my Father and he had as much of my goods in their hands, as I might have 56 l. for by the year clear, and thereunto prayed. It was a Lordſhip and an Honor, and half an Honor that I had delivered into their hands to pay my debts, and the reſt to remain to my Wife and Children. But they had reported that it would not pay my debts; which grieved me ſore. For it was 200 l. better than the debts came to. Which cauſed me to ſpeak to ſome of my Friends, that they would ſpeak to them to come to ſome reckoning with me, and to take all ſuch mony again of me as they were charged with, and to deliver me ſuch Writings and Writs as they had of mine again, or to whom I would appoint them.

Auri ſacra fames, quid non mortalia cogis pectora? Virgil.

So it was agreed betwixt my Father and me, that I ſhould have it again, and the day was appointed that the reckoning ſhould be made and ſent to me that ſame day that I was taken; my Brother ſuppoſing that I ſhould have put him out of moſt of all his occupying, that he was in: for it was all mine in a manner that he occupied, as all the Country can, and do well know. Whereon (as it is reported) he told one *Cardillar*, my next Neighbour, and he told ſome of Mr. *Gages* men, or to Mr. *Gage* himſelf: and ſo he ſent to his Brother, and his Brother ſent twelve of his men (he being Sheriff) in the night before I was taken, and lay in the Buſhes not far from my Houſe, till about 9. of the clock, even the hour that was appointed amongſt themſelves; for about the ſame time they thought to have had me within my Houſe.

Brother bewraieth the Brother.

They had taken a Man of mine, and two of my Children that were abroad in the Land, and kept them with them till their hour was appointed to come in; and then a little Girl, one of my Children, ſaw them come together, and came running in, and cried, Mother, Mother, yonder cometh twenty men. I ſitting in my Bed, and making of Shoo-thongs, heard the words, and ſuſpected ſtreightway that I was betrayed, I ſtir'd out of my Bed and whipt on my Hoſe, thinking to have gone out of the doors or ever they had been come. My Wife being amazed at the Childs words, looked out at the door, and they were hard by. Then ſhe clapped to the door, and barred it faſt, even as I came out of my Chamber into the Hall, and ſo barred the other: So the Houſe was beſet round ſtreightway, and they bade open the doors, or elſe they would break them in pieces. Then I had no ſhift, but either I muſt ſhew my ſelf openly, or make ſome other remedy.

Woodmans houſe again beſet and ſearched.

So there was a place in my Houſe that was never found, which was at the leaſt, I dare ſay, twenty times, and ſometimes almoſt of twenty men ſearched at once, both by night and by day. Into which place I went: And as ſoon as I was in, my Wife opened the door, whereby incontinent they came, and asked for me; and ſhe ſaid I was not at home. Then they asked her wherefore ſhe ſhut the door, if I were not at home. She ſaid, becauſe ſhe had been made afraid divers times with ſuch as came to ſearch us; and therefore ſhe ſhut the door. For it is reported (ſaith ſhe) that whoſoever can take my Husband, ſhall hang him or burn him ſtreightway; and therefore I doubt they will ſerve me or my Children ſo; for I think they may do ſo

Woodman put to his ſhifts.

The part of a truſty wife to her huſband.

unto us as well as to him, she said. Well; said they, we know he is in the House, and we must search it, for we be the Sheriffs men; let us have a Candle. It is told us, there be many secret places in your House. So she lighted a Candle, and they sought up and down in every corner that they could find, and had given over, and many of them were gone out of my House into the Church-yard, and there talking with my Father, and with some that he had brought with him.

This belike was his brother.

Now when they could not find me, one of them went to him that gave them word that I was at home, and said, we cannot find him. Then he asked them whether they had sought over a window that was in the Hall (as it was known afterward) for that same place I had told him of my self. For many times when I came home, I would send for him to bear me company; yet as it chanced, I had not told him the way into it. Then they began to search anew. One looked up over the window, and spied a little Loft, with three or four Chests, and the way went in betwixt two of the Chests, but there could no man perceive it. Then he asked my wife which was the way into it. Here is a place that we have not sought yet. When she thought they would see it by one means or other, she said, the way was into it out of a Chamber they were in even now. So she sent them up, and cried, Away, away. Then I knew there was no remedy, but made the best shift for my self that I could. The place was boarded over, and fast nailed, and if I had come out that way that I went in, I must needs come amongst them all in the Hall: Then I had no shift, but set my shoulders to the boards that were nailed to the Rafters to keep out the rain, and brake them in pieces, which made a great noise, and they that were in the other Chamber, seeking for the way into it, heard the noise, and looked out of a window, and spied me, and made an out-cry. But yet I got out, and leaped down, having no shoes on.

Woodman at length, after long seeking, found out.

So I took down a Lane that was full of sharp sinders, and they came running after, with a great cry, with their Swords drawn, crying, Strike him, strike him. Which words made me look back, and there was never a one nigh me by an hundred foot: and that was but one, for all the rest were a great way behind. And I turned about hastily to go my way, and stepped upon a sharp sinder with one foot, and saving of it, I stepped into a great miry hole, and fell down withal, and e're ever I could arise and get away, he was come in with me. His name is *Parker* the wild, as he is counted in all *Sussex*. But if I had had on my shoes, they had been like to have gone away errandless, if there had been five hundred more, if I had caught the plain ground once, to the which I had not a stones cast: But it was not Gods will; for if it had, I should have escaped from them all, if there had been ten thousand of them.

Parker in Sussex a bloody Persecutor of Woodman.

Then they took me and led me home again to put on my shoes, and such gear as I had need of. Then said *John Fauconer*, Now your Master hath deceived you. You said, you were an Angel, and if you had been an Angel, why did you not flee away from us? Then said I, what be they that ever heard me say that I was an Angel? It is not the first lye by a thousand that they have made of me. Angels were never begotten of men, nor born of women; but if they had said, they had heard me say, that I do trust I am a Saint, they had not said amiss. What, do you think to be a Saint? Yea that I do, and am already in Gods sight, I trust in God; for he that is not a Saint in Gods sight already, is a Devil. Therefore he that thinketh scorn to be a Saint, let him be a Devil. And with that word they had brought me to mine own door; where met with me my Father, and willed me to remember my self.

Woodman taken of his enemies. John Fauconer a blasphemous Persecutor.

Every true Christian man is a Saint in Gods sight.

To whom I answered, I praise God, I am well remembred whereabout I go. This way was appointed of God for me to be delivered into the hands of mine enemies, but wo unto him by whom I am betrayed. It had been good for that man, that he had never been born, if he repent not with speed. The Scriptures are now fulfilled on me; *For the father shall be against the son, and the brother shall deliver the brother to death*, as it is this day come to pass. Then said one, He doth accuse his father; a good child indeed. I accuse him not, but say my mind; for there was no man knew me at home, but my father, my brother, and one more, the which I dare say would not hurt me for all the good in this Town.

Woodman betrayed either by his own father, or by his own brother.

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There was one *George Beching* that married one of my sisters, and he thought that I had meant him, that he had betrayed me; and he said, Brother, I would you should not think that I was the cause of your taking. To whom I answered, that I meant him not; I meant one that was nearer of my blood than he was. Then said one of *Lause*, that I had been a Gospeller, and stood from them when I was brought to a Sessions to *Lause*, and he said, I thought you would have been an honest man when you were at *Lause*, and I offered *Hussey* the Sheriff to be bound for you, that you should go home to your wife, and come to him again. Then I remembred what he was, and said, Be you the Pewterer? And he said, Yea. Then said I; It is happened to you according to the true Proverb, as saith S. *Peter*, *The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the sow that is washed, to wallow in the mire*; and the end of all such will be worse than the beginning. Then his mouth was stopped, so that he had nothing to say.

George Beching brother in law to Woodman.

A Pewterer of Lause a turncoat.

All this while I stood at my door without; for they would not let me go in. So I put on my shoes and my cloaths, then they put on an harness about my arms made of a dogs slip, which rejoyced my heart, that I was counted worthy to be bound for the Name of God. So I took my leave of my wife and children, my father, and other of my friends, never thinking to see them more in this world. For it was so thought of all the Country, that I should not live six days after my taking; for they had so reported. But yet I knew it was not as they would, unless God would grant it, I know what God can do; but what he will do, I know not: but I am sure he will work all things for the best for them that love and fear him. So we drank and went our way, and came to *Firle* about three of the clock. And thus much touching the causes and effect of the troubles of *Richard Woodman*. Now let us see his Examinations, which follow in this order.

Woodman rejoyceth to be bound for the name of Christ.

Woodman taketh his leave of his wife and children.

The name of this place so far as we could gather by the copy was Firle.

The first Examination of Richard Woodman, *before Dr.* Christopherson *Bishop of* Chichester, *Dr.* Story, *Dr.* Cooke, *and others.*

FIrst, you shall understand, that I was sent from the Sheriffs to *London*, the 12. day of *April*, in the year of our Lord 1557. and afterward upon the 14. day of the same Month I was brought before the Bishop of *Chichester*, and Dr. *Story*, and Dr. *Cooke*. So the Sheriffs men delivered my Warrant and me to the Bishop. Then the Bishop asked me what my name was. My name (quoth I) is *Richard Woodman*.

Rich. Woodman brough before the B. of Chichester, Dr. Story, and Dr. Cooke.

Chich. I am sorry for you, and so are all the worshipful men of your Country. For it hath been reported to me, that you have been a man of good estimation of all the Country, amongst the poor and rich, till now of late. Wherefore look well upon your self, your wife and children, your father, and other of your friends, and be ruled. Think not your self wiser then all the Realm. Be informed, and you shall have their favours all, as much us ever you had.

Wood. You have charged me with many things wherein I have never offended: as, if you will give me leave, I will shew you.

Chich. Yes, I pray you say your mind.

Wood. If it please you, you have charged me as though I made my self wiser than all the Realm; God doth know, I stand to learn of every man that will or can teach me the truth: And whereas you say, I have been well esteemed both of the poor and rich, God doth know, I know not that I have given any just offence, either to rich or poor. And as for my wife and children, God doth know how I love them in him, and my life also. My life, my wife, and my children are all in Gods hands, and I have them all as I had them not, I trust according to S. *Pauls* words. But if I had ten thousand pounds of gold, I had rather forego it all, then them, if I might be in choice, and not displease God.

R. Woodman preferreth the Kingdom of Christ before life, or wife, and all worldly respects.

Chich. The Sheriff took pains to come to me of love, he said, which he bare to you, as to himself; and said you were desirous to speak with me.

Wood. I thought it meet to appeal to mine Ordinary. For they go about to shed my blood unrighteously. For they have laid many unjust things to my charge.

Woodman appealed to his Ordinary.

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Wherfore I thought it meet to appeal to you, that if you can find any fault in me meet to be reformed by Gods Word, I ſtand to be reformed; and likewiſe if my blood ſhall be ſhed unrighteouſly, that it might be required at your hands, becauſe you have taken upon you to be the Phyſician of our Country.

Story. Is not this a perverſe Fellow, to lay to your charge, that his blood ſhall be required at your hands? Thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt be put to death unjuſtly, that thy blood ſhould be required? No, if he ſhould condemn an hundred ſuch Hereticks as thou art: I helped to rid a good ſort of you. And I promiſe thee, I will help to rid thee too, the beſt that I can.

Dr. *Story* a great ſpiller of blood by his own confeſſion.

Wood. Then I would have anſwered him, but the Biſhop deſired us both to give him place.

Chich. Well, Neighbour *Woodman*, I call you Neighbour, becauſe ye be one of my Dioceſs; and you are ſent to me, that I ſhould give you ſpiritual counſel: for I am your ſpiritual Paſtour. Therefore hear what I ſhall ſay to you.

Wood. Firſt, I deſire you to hear me a few words. You have ſaid, you will give me ſpiritual counſel. Be you ſure that you have the Spirit of God?

The Papiſts in doubt whether they have the Spirit of God.

Chich. No, I am not ſure of that.

Wood. No? be you not ſure of that?

Chich. No, by S. *Mary*, I dare not be ſo bold to ſay ſo; I doubt of that.

Wood. Then you be like the Waves of the Sea, as ſaith S. *James*, that be toſſed about with the wind, and be unſtable in all your ways, and can look for no good thing at the Lords hand: Yea, ye are neither hot nor cold, and therefore God will ſpue you out of his mouth, as ſaith S. *John*. Then they were in a great fury, eſpecially Dr. *Story*, ſaying:

Dr. *Story* in a fury.

Story. What a perverſe Fellow is this? He hath the Devil within him, and is mad. He is worſe than the Devil. Now I perceive that it is true that is reported by thee, and it is the pride of all ſuch Hereticks to boaſt themſelves.

Chich. Yea ſurely, he is ſent to me to learn, and taketh upon him to teach me.

Wood. I ſeeing their blindneſs and blaſphemy, it made my heart melt, and mine eyes guſh out with tears, ſaying; The Jews ſaid to Chriſt, he had the Devil, and was mad, as you have ſaid here by me. But I know the Servant is not above his Maſter. And God forbid, that I ſhould learn of him that confeſſeth that he hath not the Spirit of God.

Chich. Why, do you think that you have the Spirit of God?

Wood. I believe verily that I have the Spirit of God.

Chich. You boaſt more than ever *Paul* did, or any of the Apoſtles, the which is great preſumption.

He is no true Chriſtian that hath not the Spirit of God.

Wood. I boaſt not in my ſelf, but in the gift of God, as *Paul* did; for he ſaid, he believed verily that he had the Spirit of God, making thereof no doubts, in 1 *Cor.* 7.

Chich. It is not ſo, you bely the Text.

Wood. If it be not ſo, let me be burned to morrow.

Story. Thou ſhalt not be burned to morrow, but thou ſhalt be burned within theſe ſix days, I promiſe thee.

Chich. If it be ſo, it is wrong tranſlated, as it is in a thouſand places more.

Whether *Paul* was ſure to receive the Spirit of Chriſt.

Wood. Then one looked in a Latin Teſtament, and another in a Greek Teſtament, and they ſaid it was in them both that *Paul* ſuppoſed that he had the Spirit of God, but he was not ſure.

Chich. Even ſo I hope and ſuppoſe that I have the Spirit of God, but I am not ſure.

Wood. If that place be wrong tranſlated, and ſo many places of the Bible as you ſay, then I may ſay with Chriſt; it cannot be avoided, but offences muſt be given; but woe unto them by whom they come. I may ſay woe unto falſe Tranſlators: For curſed are they that add or take away. But take you heed that you bely not the Tranſlators. I believe they had the fear of God more before their eyes than you report of them. And yet if that place be wrong tranſlated, I can prove by places enough, that *Paul* had the Spirit of God, as I my ſelf, and all Gods Elect have.

Chich. How prove you that?

Wood. No man can believe that Jeſus is the Lord; but by the Holy Ghoſt, firſt to the *Corinthians* the ſeventh Chapter. I do believe that Jeſus Chriſt is my Redeemer, and that I ſhall be ſaved from all my ſins by his death and bloodſhedding, as *Paul* and all the Apoſtles did, and as all faithful people ought to do, which no man can do without the Spirit of God. And as there is no damnation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus; ſo is there no ſalvation to them that are not in Chriſt Jeſus. *For he that hath not the Spirit of Chriſt, is none of his,* but is a Caſt-away, as he ſaith in the ſame Text. And again, *We have not received the ſpirit of bondage, to fear any more, but we have received the ſpirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba Father. The ſame Spirit certifieth our ſpirits, that we are the Sons of God.* Here are proofs enough, that *Paul* was ſure that he had the Spirit of God. Alſo S. *John* ſaith, *He that believeth not that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is an Antichriſt, and denieth both the Father and the Son:* which is ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, which ſhall never be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come. Beſide all this, *He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him.* So it is impoſſible to believe in God, unleſs God dwell in us. Oh good God! what more injury can be done unto thee, then to miſtruſt that we have received thy holy Spirit by thy gift? Thus may all men ſee their blindneſs, and whoſe Servants they be, as they do declare themſelves, both by their words and deeds.

Rom. 8. Rom. 8. Gal 4. 2 Tim 4 6.

The Papiſts bewray their own blindneſs.

Story. Oh my Lord, what an Heretick is this ſame? Why hear you him? Send him to Priſon to his Fellows in the *Marſhalſey*, and they ſhall be diſpatched within theſe twelve days.

Wood. When I heard him ſay ſo, I rejoyced greatly in my heart, deſiring God, if it were his will, to keep him in that mind. For I looked ſurely to have gone to the Biſhop of *London*'s Colehouſe, or *Lollards Tower*, yea, I thought my ſelf happy, if I might have gone to *Lollards Tower*: but it pleaſed God to put in the hearts of them to ſend me to the *Marſhalſey* amongſt our Brethren and my old Priſon-Fellows: So merciful hath God dealt with me in eaſing of my burden, that I looked for. So when they perceived that I feared not Impriſonment, but rather rejoyced, as they well perceived: Then ſaid the Biſhop, Methinks he is not afraid of the Priſon.

Rich. Woodman glad to go to the *Marſhalſey*.

Wood. No, I praiſe the living God.

Story. This is an Heretick indeed. He hath the right terms of all Hereticks; the living God, I pray you be there dead Gods, that you ſay the living God?

The living God is a point of Hereſie among the Catholicks.

Wood. Be you angry with me, becauſe I ſpeak the words which are written in the Bible?

Story. Bibble babble, bibble babble. What ſpeakeſt thou of the Bible? There is no ſuch word written in all the Bible.

Story ſcorneth at the holy Bible.

Wood. Then I am much to blame, if it be not ſo written; *Behold, for the offences that you have done, you ſhall be carried away captive by* Nebuchodonoſor *to* Babylon, *and there ye ſhall be ſeven Generations: and when you be there, you ſhall ſee Gods of gold, of ſilver, of wood, and of ſtone, born before you and behind you upon mens ſhoulders, to caſt out a fear among the Heathen. When you ſhall ſee all theſe abominations, then ſay in your heart: It is the living God that ought to be worſhipped.* Here I prove my ſaying true, both that there is a living God, and that there be dead gods. Alſo *David* ſaith in the *Pſalms*; *My ſoul hath a deſire and longing to enter into the Courts of the Lord: My heart and my fleſh rejoyce in the living God*; with divers other places that I could recite. Wherefore I marvel that you rebuke me for ſpeaking the truth.

Baruch 6.

Dr. *Story* ſet to School in the Scriptures.

Chich. I do not deny but it is written, and is the truth, and I know it as well as you; but ſuch is the ſpeech of all Hereticks.

If the living God in heaven do make an heretick, what maketh them the dead god on the Altar? Stories rule to know an heretick, that is a true Chriſtian.

Story. My Lord, I will tell you how you ſhall know an Heretick by his words, becauſe I have been more uſed to them than you have been; that is, they will ſay (the Lord) and (we praiſe God) and (the living God.) By theſe words you ſhall know an Heretick.

Wood. All theſe words are written for our learning, and we are commanded of the Prophets to uſe them daily, as this; *The Lords Name be praiſed from the riſing up*

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of the Sun, unto the going down of the same. Also, *as many as fear the Lord, say always, the Lord be praised.*

When Dr. *Story* cannot confute them by learning, he confuteth them by imprisonment.

Story. My Lord, send him to Prison, you shall do no good with him. I will go to Church, and leave you here. This is an old Heretick. Wast thou never before me e're now?

Wood. Yes forsooth, that I have.

Story. Yea, I trow so; and I sent thee to the Bishop of *London*, and he released thee, and thou promisedst him to be an honest man, and that thou wouldst be of the true Catholick Church, which thou hast not fulfilled.

Wood. I promised him nothing but I have fulfilled it. No man shall be able to prove the contrary.

Story. Well, it will be tried well enough. My Lord, I will take my leave, I fear me you shall do this man no good.

No, but if he should say, The Sacrament of the Altar worshipped might be he, then he were a perfect Catholick. The Lord, heretical: Our Lord, Catholick with the Papists.

Chich. I would not have you to use such speeches as you do, as the Lord be praised, and the living God, with such like words. Can you not say as well, Our Lord, or our God, as otherwise?

Wood. I marvel why you should reprove me therefore, seeing they be the words of God. I do not refuse to say our God, or our Lord, when I talk of the Scripture where it is written. If I should, it must follow, that I denied the words of God, and must needs be an Heretick; but I do not. Wherefore, I marvel what you mean to find fault therein. It seemeth to me, that you mistrust that I believe not as you do.

Chich. Yea, that is my meaning indeed.

Wood. I believe in the living God, if you do not so, then our beliefs be not alike indeed. But if it please you to examin me upon any particular matter, now, or at any other time, I will make you answer thereto by Gods help.

Fallacia æquivoci. He that erreth from the Church, which Church erreth not in the right Faith, his Faith cannot be good indeed.

Chich. Though you believe in God, I can prove you believe not as you ought to do, as I can shew you by your hand writing. You have denied the Catholick Church. Wherefore he that erreth from the Church, it cannot be said that his Faith is good. Wherefore be ruled by the Church, from the which ye have erred. I can shew you perillous things of your writing, if it should be known, but ye shall not be hurt for me, if you will come to any good order. But I promise you I would not for three thousand pounds some had so much against me, as I can shew against you of your own hand writing, which you cannot deny.

Wood. I will not deny my hand by Gods help. For I know well, I have written nothing at any time but the truth. There may be things written against me, reporting it to be mine, and yet be not: but my hand cannot well be counterfeited, there be enough that know my hand.

Chich. Do you know it your self if you see it?

Wood. Yea, that I do. Then he arose and fetcht a great bundle of Writings, and opened them, and bade me come see. I looked on them, and it was my hand indeed.

Woodman charged with his own writings.

Chich. How say you, is it not your own writing?

Wood. Yes surely it is.

Chich. How say you to this, is not this your hand also?

Wood. I looked, and it was. And I said, Yes verily is it.

Chich. Well, you know what it meaneth I dare say.

Wood. Yea, I know it very well; here is a great deal, the which I had thought had been in my House, but I thank God that it is here: for in this you shall try whether it be true or not. For in this is contained all the talk that was betwixt the Commissioners and me, when I was before them five times, and also before the Bishop of *London* divers times: and I am sure, neither you nor they shall find any words false therein written: and I think the Sheriffs men, when they searched my House for me, when I was taken, found this, and carried it with them, but I never knew it before now. But I am not sorry for it, but am rather glad: For herein you may see all the wrong that I received at their hands, and how long I was in Prison, and how I was tossed up and down, and how I was delivered at length, and by this you may try whether it be so or not. I dare say they that found it, and they that brought it to you, had thought it would have turned me to displeasure; but in very deed all things work for the best to them that fear God.

Rich. Woodman five times before the Commissioners.

Chich. Indeed, I find no great fault in this; but here is perillous gear, here is sedition. This was set up upon the Church door, you know it well enough.

Rich. Woodmans child, being baptized by the Midwife, was brought out of the house by the Papists, and confirmed in the Church.

Wood. Indeed I wrote it to the Priest, and to others that took upon them to fetch my Child out of my House without my leave, and used it at their pleasure, when they knew it was baptized already, as they were well certified before. Wherefore my Conscience compelled me to shew them my mind in writing, wherein is contained nothing but the Scriptures of God, rebuking them for their folly.

Chich. Yea, but it is terribly meant, and uncharitably. It is such gear coupled together I promise you, as I never saw the like. But I promise you, I will make the best of it. And I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own soul and body. Be contented to be reformed. God hath done his part on you. Cast not your self away. Remember your Wife and Children, and the Poor that lack your occupying. Mean to follow your Vocation. Remember you are not called to be a Teacher nor a Preacher. *S. Paul* saith, *Let every man walk wherein he is called, and therein abide.* Remember you are called to another Vocation, for Gods sake walk therein. It is not your Office to do as you have done. You might do as much good by the report of worshipful men, as any man might do in all the Country by your example, and if you would follow the Laws of the Catholick Church, it would be an occasion to bring a great many into the true Church, that are out, as you are.

Dr. *Christopherson* Bp. of *Chichester* beginneth with fair words to perswade Woodman from his doctrine.

Wood. I would not that you should say, that I am out of the Church of God, for I am not, but do allow the Church of God according to his Word. Yea, if I were abroad, if I could win any into the true Church, that be out, by any means that I could use, I would be very glad. For God knoweth I love, all people as my self. And where you say I have been a Preacher, it is not so. I never took any such thing upon me, as it is well known. But as for teaching I cannot deny: for it becometh every man to teach and instruct his Houshold in the fear of God, and all other (as far as he can) that desire it of him. And whereas you have blamed me for reading the Scripture, and leaving my Vocation (as you say) I left not my Vocation in reading the Scripture. For I trust I followed my Vocation the better therefore. And the greatest cause that I was compelled to read the Scriptures, was, becaus the Preachers and Teachers were so changeable.

Woodman not out of the Church.

A man may teach, though he be no Priest. Reading the Scripture letteth no man to walk in his vocation, but rather doth further him.

Chich. No? did you not preach at a Fair?

Wood. No surely, but it was so reported. I was at a Fair indeed. Whiles I was in Prison, I had leave of the Council to go home to pay my Debts, and then I went to a Fair to sell Cattle, and there met with me divers poor men that I had set awork, and of love asked me how I did, and how I could away with Imprisonment. And I shewed them how God had dealt with me, and how he would deal with all them that put their trust in him; and this they called preaching. And since that it hath been reported that I have baptized Children, and married Folks, the which I never did; for I was never Minister. Wherefore if I had so done, I had done contrary to the order of the Apostles, as God forbid I should.

Lies and slanders.

Chich. I am well apaid, if you be faultless in those things: for I have heard say the contrary.

Wood. I have shewed you the truth, and that no man living shall be able to prove the contrary.

Chich. You said you do not disallow the true Catholick Church.

Wood. No, that I do not.

Woodman disalloweth not the Catholick Church.

Chich. Why do you not then go to the Church? You come not there, it is informed me.

Wood. I trust I am in the true Church every day. But to tell you the truth, I come not at the Church where the most do resort. For if I should, I should offend, and be offended. For at the last time that I was there I offended many, and was offended my self. Wherefore for Conscience sake I would not come there. For I was sent to Prison for my coming there, and now I am sent to you for biding thence. So they will not be pleased any way with me, for they seek my life. Wherefore look you to it, for I am now in your hands, and you ought to be an house

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of defence againſt mine Enemies. For if you ſuffer them to kill me, my blood ſhall be required at your hands. If you can find any juſt cauſe in me worthy of death by Gods Word, you may condemn me your ſelf, and not offend God: wherefore look to it, the matter is weighty, deliver me not into their hands, and think ſo to be diſcharged.

The Biſhop charged with his office.

Chich. I tell you truth, I can do little in the matter. For I have not full Authority as yet of mine Office: but I will ſend for you and talk with you, if I wiſt I ſhould do you any good.

Wood. I would be glad to talk with you, and to ſhew you my mind in any thing that you ſhall demand of me, now, or at any other time.

The Biſhop biddeth *Woodman* to dinner.

Chich. So then he deſired the Sheriffs men to tarry dinner with him; that this man (ſaid he) may dine with me alſo: for it is poſſible that he may have no great ſtore of meat whither he ſhall go.

Wood. So we tarried dinner with him, and had no further talk, neither how to prove where the true Church of God is, nor of the Sacraments, nor of any other thing pertaining to me-ward, not for the ſpace of two hours or more: but he entred in talk with me, how I underſtood many Scriptures, and for Biſhops and Prieſts marriages, and whether *Paul* had a Wife or not. To whom I anſwered; It is a thing that I have little to do with, as concerning marriages: but I am very well content to talk with you in the matter, as far as my poor learning will ſerve. So when he had talked with me of divers Scriptures, he liked my talk well. He asked me how I ſaid by S. *Paul*, whether he were married or not? To whom I anſwered, I can prove by the Scriptures that he was never married.

Talk between *Rich. Woodman* and the Bp. about Prieſts marriage.

Chich. How prove you that?

Paul, if he were not married, yet he had power to marry as well as other had.

Wood. I will prove it well enough by Gods help. But yet I will prove that *Paul* might have had a Wife, as well as the other Apoſtles had.

Chich. Why, had the Apoſtles Wives?

1 Cor. 9.

Wood. Yes, all, ſaving *Paul* and *Barnabas*, as I underſtand it. For theſe are *Pauls* words in the firſt to the *Corinthians*, the ninth Chapter. *Am I not an Apoſtle? am I not free? have I not ſeen Jeſus Chriſt? Are not ye my work in the Lord? And if I be not an Apoſtle to others, yet to you I am an Apoſtle: For you are the ſeal of my Apoſtleſhip in the Lord. Mine anſwer to them that ask me, is this; Have we not power to eat and to drink? either have we not power to lead about a ſiſter to wife, as well as the other Apoſtles have, and as the Brethren of the Lord? Either have not* Barnabas *and I power thus to do?* So this Text proveth, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* were unmarried. But *Paul* declareth that the reſt had wives, and that they had power likewiſe ſo to have, but they found no need thereof. But *Paul* declareth in the ſeventh Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, that he that hath no power over his own fleſh, may marry: *For it is better to marry then to burn. Wherefore to avoid Fornication* (ſaith he) *let every man have his wife.* He ſaith, *Let every man have his wife, and every woman her husband.* By this place of Scripture I underſtand, that Biſhops and Prieſts may have wives, becauſe they are men, rather than burn, or commit Fornication. But I think verily, he that can abſtain, having power of his own will, doth beſt; but if he marrieth, he ſinneth not.

1 Cor. 7.

Prieſts ought to have wives rather then to burn, by S. *Pauls* doctrine.

So then he debated the Scriptures with me divers ways, that a Biſhop or a Prieſt ought not to have a wife: but I proved by divers Scriptures both in the old Law and in the new, that women were at firſt made for the help of men, the which was ſpoken generally to all men. Wherefore (ſaid I) every man may have a woman, and ſin not, in honeſt Matrimony, as well Biſhops and Deacons, as other men, which you call Prieſts, if they be true Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, and of that Order that Biſhops and Deacons were in *Pauls* time. For *Paul* declareth to *Timothy*, firſt and the third, *That a Biſhop ſhould have the husband of one wife*, and how they ſhould be honeſtly apparelled, and how they ſhould bring up their Children, and likewiſe the Deacons. This (ſaid I) proveth more plainly, that both Biſhops and Deacons had wives in the Apoſtles time, the which he could not deny. But then he alledged, that no Biſhop nor Prieſt might take a wife, after he had taken upon him that office, but if he had a wife before he took the office, tried meet for the purpoſe for his life and for his learning, he might keep his wife, and bring up his Children according to S. *Pauls* meaning to *Timothy*, or elſe might they have no wives.

Gen. 2. 1 Tim. 3. Biſhops and Deacons were married in the Apoſtles time.

Papiſts hold, that Biſhops and Deacons having wives before, might keep them ſtill: but not having before, might not afterward marry.

Then ſaid I, I think *Pauls* meaning in that place, was, that a man that hath had two wives might not be made a Biſhop nor a Deacon, if he had never ſo much learning. But that place maketh not that a Biſhop or a Deacon may not marry after they be made Biſhops and Deacons. For I am ſure that *Paul* was in the State of a Biſhop, when he ſaid, *He had power to lead about a ſiſter to wife, as well as the other Apoſtles had.* Here *Paul* declareth, that it was in his power to have a wife, after he had the office of a Biſhop, which was not in his power, if he had been forbidden of God.

Paul confeſſeth himſelf after his Apoſtleſhip to have power to marry.

Thus have I ſhewed you my mind in this behalf, both of *Paul*, and alſo for the Marriages of Biſhops and Prieſts, as I underſtand the Scriptures. Howbeit, it is a thing the which I have little to do withal: but as you required me to ſay my mind in that matter, ſo I have done.

Chich. Marry, I am glad that you have ſaid as you have done. Many do affirm boldly, that *Paul* had a wife, and yet cannot prove whether he had or had not, by the Scriptures: but you have ſaid very well. I am glad that ye are contented to be ruled by Gods Word. And if you will be contented likewiſe in other matters, no doubt you ſhall do well: therefore gentle goodman *Woodman* be ruled. God hath given you a good wit. I proteſt before God, I would you ſhould do as well as mine own ſoul and my body, and ſo would (I dare ſay) all the worſhipful men in the Country, as they have reported to me.

The Biſhops fair words to *Rich. Woodman.*

Wood. Why, my Lord, I take God to record (whom I truſt to ſerve) that I would be as glad to live in reſt and peace, as any man in all the World, if I might. And I ſtand to learn, and am contented to be reformed of any thing that I hold, if it can be proved that it be not agreeable to Gods Word. And the truth is ſo, I have talked with a dozen Prieſts at the leaſt, ſince I was delivered out of Priſon, of certain matters, and they have not been able to certifie me in any thing that I have asked them: and therefore they have complained on me to the Sheriff, and Juſtices, making tales and lies on me, to turn me to diſpleaſure, as much as in them lieth. I promiſe you, there be as many unlearned Prieſts in your Dioceſs, as in any one Dioceſs in *England* I think; the more it is to be lamented.

Rich. Woodman complained of by unlearned Prieſts which could not certifie him in matters of Religion.

Chich. I promiſe you, I do much lament it my ſelf: for I hear ſay no leſs, but it is true that you ſay. I would I could remedy it, but I cannot: but I will do the beſt that I can, when I come into the Country, and I will be glad to talk with you ſome other time, when I am ſomewhat better at eaſe. You ſee I am very tender now, as I have been this half year and more. Come to dinner; our dinner is ready. I cauſed you not to tarry for any great chear that you ſhall have, nor would I you ſhould think that I go about to win you with my meat. But you be welcome with all my heart. Come ſit down.

A Biſhop like dinner without any talk of Scriptures.

Wood. I thanked him, and went to dinner; and there dined with him, a Merchant man, one of the Sheriffs men, and I, and no more, and we had good chear, God be praiſed therefore. We had no talk of the Scriptures all the dinner while: but when dinner was done, the Biſhop ſaid,

Chich. Now call Mr. *Stories* man. For the Commiſſioners have committed you to Priſon: but I will ſend for you or ever it be long, and I pray God I may do you good. I would be very glad of it.

Dr. *Story* a man without reaſon.

Wood. If it pleaſe you to ſend for me, I would be very glad to talk with you, for I like your talk well. And then if it pleaſe your Lordſhip to examin me upon any particular matter, I will ſhew you my mind therein, by Gods grace, without diſſimulation. But I pray you let me have nothing to do with Mr. *Story*, for he is a man without reaſon, me think.

Chich. Well, or ever you go, how ſay you to the ſeven Sacraments? Let me hear what you ſay to them, that I may be the willinger to ſend for you again.

Seven Sacraments denied.

Wood. I know not ſeven Sacraments.

Chich. Then what ſhall I talk with you? How many do you know?

Two only Sacraments.

Wood. I know but two; one the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the other the Supper of the Lord. But if you can juſtly prove by Gods Word, that there be more then two, I ſtand to be reformed.

Chich. If I prove not ſeven by Gods Word, then believe me not: and ſo he bade me farewel.

Then the Sheriffs two men, and one of Dr. *Stories* men, carried me to Dr. *Cooks* Houſe, which Dr. *Cook* commanded them to carry me to the Sheriffs Priſon in *Southwark*, ſaying, he ſhall be called before us again ſhortly and all his fellows, and we ſhall diſpatch them for troubling the Country any more.

Rich. Woodman carried to the *Marſhalſey.*

And ſo I was brought to the *Marſhalſey*, where I now am merry (God be praiſed therefore) looking for judgment of my fleſh: for they intend to diſpatch me ſhortly, if God will give them leave: but God hath their hearts in his hands, and they can do nothing to me, but as God will give them leave. Wherefore I commit my cauſe to God only, and I am ſure there ſhall not one hair of my head periſh without my heavenly Fathers will, although I bide never ſo much trouble. *Job* periſhed not for all his trouble, although God gave the Devil leave to trouble and try him divers and many ways, as God hath ſuffered his Members to trouble and try me divers and many ways, I praiſe God. They ſhall as little prevail againſt my Faith (I have no miſtruſt) as the Devil prevailed againſt *Job*, whatſoever they do with my Goods, Life, or Body. For he that kept *Job* in all his trouble, neither ſlumbreth nor ſleepeth, but keepeth me, and all his elect, that whether we live or dye, it ſhall be to the praiſe and glory of God. For if we live, we live at the Lords will, and if we dye, we dye to the Lords will: ſo, whether we live or dye, we are the Lords, bleſſed be his Name therefore.

Luke 22. The Devils members Perſecutors of the Chriſtians.

Job. Pſal. 121. Rom 14.

Rich. Woodman to the faithful brethren.

Wherefore, dear Brethren and Siſters, to whom this my writing ſhall come, be of good chear, and fear not what man can do unto you. For they can but kill the body: but fear him that hath power to kill both body and ſoul. And yet once again I bid you be of good chear. For the Sheriff, with divers other Gentlemen and Prieſts, whilſt I was at the Sheriffs Houſe, ſaid to me, that all the Hereticks in the Country hung on me, as the People did in times paſt upon S. *Auguſtine* or S. *Ambroſe*, or ſuch like. Wherefore ſaid they, look well on it, you have a great thing to anſwer for. To the which I anſwered; I pray God lay nothing more to my charge, than he will do for Hereſie, as I am ſure he will not. For he hath ſet my ſins as far from me, as it is from the Eaſt to the Weſt: ſo that I am ſure they ſhall never come near to me any more. Yea, and that they call Hereſie, we ſerve God withal. And I am ſure there is no man nor woman that hangeth on me, but on God. But yet that is their imaginations and thoughts, that if they might win me to them, they ſhould win a great many likewiſe: and thinking to kill me, if they cannot win me, as I truſt in God, and am ſure they ſhall never by Gods grace, if it were poſſible for them to kill me ten times. For I am ſo linked to Chriſt in a chain by Faith, that it is unpoſſible for men to looſe us aſunder, neither for life nor death, I praiſe my Lord God therefore. And no doubt their full intent and purpoſe is to kill me, thinking thereby to make other afraid. Which death of my Body were beſt of all for me, if God were ſo pleaſed. But if I may live for the comfort of other, his name be praiſed therefore. I know what he can do; but what he will do I know not. But if death be offered me, ſo that I cannot refuſe it without diſpleaſing of God, I truſt in God I ſhall not offend my Brethren in receiving of death, but ſhall be rather an occaſion of the ſtrengthening of their Faith, by chooſing and receiving of it, and that with joy. For as Chriſt hath given his life for us, ſo ought we to give our lives for the defence of the Goſpel, and comfort of our Bretbren. And whereas the Biſhop ſaith, he will prove ſeven Sacraments, be you out of doubt he ſhall never be able to do it, no more than he hath proved other Arguments with me already.

Pſal. 103

Thoſe that fear God hang not on man.

The inſeparable knot of love between Chriſt and his Members.

Chriſtians ought to give their lives for defence of the Goſpel, if they be thereto called.

Thus fare ye well, from the *Marſhalſey*, where I now am, as a Sheep appointed to be ſlain, God be praiſed therefore.

The ſecond Examination of Richard Woodman *before the Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *two of his Chaplains; and Dr.* Story *at the laſt came to us, the twenty ſeventh day of* April.

The ſecond Examination of Rich. Woodman, before Dr. *Chriſtopherſon*, Bp. of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Story*, &c.

FIrſt, I was ſent for to the *Marſhalſey* by Dr. *Story*, and was carried to his Houſe beſides S. *Nicholas Shambles*; and when I had ſpoken to him, he ſent me to the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and ſaid he would come to him his ſelf ſtreightway: and when we were in the Biſhops Hall, we had not tarried long, but the Biſhop ſent for me: and when I came before him, I did my duty to him as much as I could.

Chich. Then ſaid the Biſhop, You be welcome; how do you now?

Wood. Well, I praiſe God, thanking your Lordſhip for the gentle talk that you had with me at my laſt departing from you.

Chich. Well, goodman *Woodman*, I have ſent for you of love and good will, that I bear to you, to talk with you, and I would have you to tell me your mind in few words. For indeed the laſt time that I talked with you, our talk was ſo long, that I fell into a great drought thereby, and have been the worſe in my body ever ſince. Wherefore I pray you ſhew me your mind briefly in thoſe particular matters that I ſhall demand of you, according to your promiſe that you made when you were with me the laſt time! How ſay you, will you?

Wood. Yea forſooth, I will anſwer to any thing that you ſhall demand of me (by Gods help) as well as I can.

Chich. How ſay you by the ſeven Sacraments? for there we left off, and there we will begin again. You ſaid then there were but two. How ſay you now to it? will you deny all ſaving two?

Proving of ſeven Sacraments.

Wood. I ſay now, as I ſaid then. You ſaid, there be ſeven Sacraments; and I ſaid, I knew but two: but if you could approve ſeven by Gods Word, when I came before you again, I muſt needs grant them. And you ſaid, if you could not prove them by Gods Word, I ſhould not believe them: and now I am come to ſee how well you can prove them. Herewith he was moved and all his Chaplains.

Chich. By God and my troth, I ween he thinketh I cannot prove them. How ſay you to the Sacrament of Matrimony?

Dr. *Chriſtopherſon* Bp. of *Chicheſter* reproved for ſwearing.

Wood. Why, my Lord, S. *Paul* ſaith to *Timothy*, A Biſhop ſhould be faultleſs, and you uſe much ſwearing; which is a great fault in a Biſhop, of all other, that ſhould be an example to the Flock. Then he and his Prelats were in a great rage with me, becauſe I reproved him for his ſwearing.

Chich. What, I perceive this man is worſe then he was the laſt day: what, he taketh upon him to teach me to ſpeak, as though I could not tell what I had to do?

Prieſt. So me thinketh, my Lord, he is a ſtout fellow indeed, as we have ſeen.

Swearing not to be born with.

Wood. Yea, I am ſtout, becauſe I do that I am commanded. I dare not for my life hold my peace: for I ſhould bear your ſin, the which I will not do for any of you all, I tell you plainly.

Chich. Where find you that you are commanded to reprove me?

Wood. If thou ſee thy Brother ſin, reprove him: if he repent, thou haſt won thy Brother. But you repent it not, me thinketh, but rather go about to maintain the ſame. Chriſt ſaith, *He that breaketh one of the leaſt of my Commandments, and teacheth men ſo, ſhall be called leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven*; and you go about to teach men ſo, ſo far as I ſee.

Prieſt. Why my Lord, this man is paſt cure. I ſee no hope in him.

Chich. No, ſo me thinketh. I will never talk with him more. Go call Mr. *Story*; let him do with him what he will. He hath been with his Fellows in the *Marſhalſey*, and now he is worſe than he was before. I had ſome hope in him the other day, but now I ſee none.

Chriſtopherſon becauſe he was reproved for ſwearing, giveth him over to Dr. Story.

Wood. No, I praiſe God, my Faith hangeth upon no men, but upon God.

Prieſt.

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Priest. Nay, my Lord, I think he is not the worſe for them: but I fear me they be the worſe for him. I know this Man of old, before mine old Lord.

Wood. Well my Lord, look well to it: will you deliver me to other Men, to ſhed my Blood, and ſo think to waſh your hands of me, as *Pilate* did by Chriſt? Nay, you cannot be ſo diſcharged.

Chich. I have nothing to do with you: but of my gentleneſs I have ſent for you, becauſe you ſaid, you would declare your mind in any particular matter I would demand of you.

Wood. Why, I do not deny but I will do ſo, if you do demand it of me. But you go about to deliver me to other to kill me: and I know that there is none that hath to do with me but you.

Chich. I am not conſecrated yet: wherefore my Lord *Cardinal* may examine you, and condemn you, or my Lord of *London*: for you are now in his Dioceſs.

Christopherſon not yet conſecrated, refuſeth to take the examination of Woodman.

Wood. Yea my Lord, is the matter even ſo? Then I perceive whereabout you go. Nay, I will talk no more with you then, if you be at that point. Ask me what you will: but I will ſhew you nothing of my mind. I promiſe you I will not anſwer in particular matters, and ſo you to accuſe me to other, and they to kill me.

Chich. I go not about to kill you, but would be glad to hear your mind in the Sacraments, and if you underſtand them not aright, I would be glad with all my heart to ſhew you my mind how I underſtand them. For I would you ſhould do as well as mine own ſelf.

Wood. If you would talk with me to do me good, I would be content to hear you, and ſhew you my mind; otherwiſe I would be loath.

Whether Matrimony be a Sacrament.

Chich. Nay, I will promiſe you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harm: for if I meant to do you harm, I would lay your own hand-writing againſt you, but I will not: wherefore be in no doubt of me. How ſay you to the Sacrament of Matrimony? is it a Sacrament or no? How think you by it?

Wood. I think it is an Holy Inſtitution ordained of God in Paradiſe, and ſo to continue to the Worlds end.

Chich. Lo, now you ſhall ſee how you be deceived in that, as you be in all the reſt. Come hither. You can read Latin I am ſure.

Wood. Yea I can read Latin, but I underſtand very little.

Ephes. 5.

Chich. Come to me, you ſhall ſee that *Paul* calleth it a Holy Sacrament. For theſe be the words, *For this cauſe ſhall a Man leave Father and Mother, and ſhall be joyned to his Wife: and two ſhall be made one Fleſh:* This is a great Sacrament.

S. Pauls words be theſe: This Myſtery is great, &c.

Wood. I remember ſuch a ſaying, but Saint *Paul* calleth it not a Sacrament. But he ſaith, *It is a great myſtery.*

Chich. Where ſaith he ſo?

Wood. I am not ſure in what Text it is, but I am ſure theſe be St. *Pauls* words, and that he calleth it not a Sacrament in all his writings.

Chich What, the laſt day ye were full of Scriptures; here it is written, and there it is written? What, we can rehearſe the Scriptures as well as you. Wherefore, if we be ſure it is written, it is no great matter for the place. Come hither, I will ſhew you the place, I think, that you mean.

In the Greek Text St. Paul calleth it myſterium. What is a Myſtery, and what difference there is between a Myſtery and a Sacrament.

Wood. I looked, and it was written *Sacramentum.* I know it is a great Myſtery, in the Engliſh Tranſlation.

Chich. I permit it to be a Myſtery. What it is a Myſtery?

Wood. A Myſtery is (I take it) unſeen: for he ſaith, he ſpeaketh betwixt Chriſt and the Congregation: So the great Myſtery that he ſpeaketh of, I take to be the Faith of them that be married, which is hid in Chriſt, the which we ſee not, but Chriſt. But the deed which is in the Congregation, which is the outward marriage we ſee, but the inward marriage of the heart we ſee not. Wherefore *Paul* calleth it a Myſtery. And therefore if it be a Sacrament, it is inviſible to us: it is not ſeen, as other Sacraments be.

Chich. Nay, I tell you it is a viſible Sacrament, ſeen as the other be: for is not the marriage ſeen? is not the Man and Woman ſeen?

Wood. My Lord, I pray? you what is a Sacrament.

Chich. It is the ſign of a Holy thing.

Wood. Me thinks you have certified me very well. There need not be a ſign of a holy thing, where the holy thing is it ſelf. Then his Chaplains would have interrupted me, but I deſired my Lord I might ſay out my mind in the matter. So with much ado he bade me ſay what I could.

Argumentum.

A thing ſignified and a thing ſignifying cannot be at one time, in reſpect of it ſelf, in one Subject.

Matrimony is an holy thing it ſelf, ſignified.

Ergo, Matrimony cannot be a Sacrament ſignifying anything.

There need not to be a ſign of a thing, where the thing is it ſelf. Matrimony is an holy thing it ſelf, and is ended outwardly, and need no more ſigns but themſelves: Wherefore it cannot be a Sacrament as other be.

The Hoſe in an Hoſiers ſtall may be a ſign, ſignifying more Hoſe to be within; but it is not ſignifying ſign of it ſelf. Neither again is every ſign of another thing to be called a Sacrament.

Chich. Lo, how much you ſpeak againſt your ſelf. And for an example, I come by an Hoſier, and there hangeth a pair of Hoſe, the which be Hoſe, and be a ſign of Hoſe that be to ſell within.

Prieſt. How ſay you to this? Now my Lord hath hit you home indeed.

Wood. He hath hit me perilouſly, I tell you, with Sophiſtry to blind mine eyes withal. I marvel you be not all aſhamed of it. I can anſwer that to all your ſhames, if I might be juſtly heard; I tell you plainly.

Prieſt. What, you be angry me thinks.

Chicheſter proveth Matrimony to be a Sacrament by a pair of Hoſe.

Wood. I am not angry, but I am earneſt, I tell you, to ſee your blindneſs and folly. I talked of the Scriptures that be written, and it is Gods word, to prove my matter true by, and you will prove your matter true by a pair of Hoſe. And as well can you prove it by that, as by Gods Word.

Prieſt. Why, is there nothing true, but that is written in the Bible?

Wood. Saint *Paul* ſaith to the *Galathians* the firſt Chapter, *If an Angel come from Heaven and preach any other Doctrine then may be proved by Gods Word, hold him accurſed*: and ſo do I, I tell you plainly.

Letters written in the Book, ſpeaking properly, be one thing: the Teſtament and word of God is another thing.

Prieſt. Here is a Teſtament in my hand, if I hurl him in the Fire and burn him, have I burned Gods Word, or not? I will buy a new one for xvi. pence.

Wood. I ſay, you have burned Gods Word, and I believe, he that will burn a Teſtament willingly, would burn God himſelf, if he were here, if he could: for he and his word are all one.

And yet by uſe of ſpeech the Book of the Teſtament is called the Teſtament, as Bread and Wine be called the Body and Blood of the Lord.

Then they made a great laughing at it.

Wood. Laugh on, quoth I. Your laughing will be turned to weeping, and all ſuch joy will be turned to mourning, if you repent it not with ſpeed.

Chich. Then the Biſhop began to cloak the Prieſts folly, ſaying, Why, if my Counting houſe were full of Books, and if my houſe ſhould be on Fire by chance, and ſo burned, were Gods Word burned?

Wood. No, my Lord, becauſe they were burned againſt your will: but yet if you ſhould burn them willingly, or think it well, and not be ſorry for it, you burn Gods Word as well as he. For he that is not ſorry for a ſhrewd turn, doth allow it to be good.

Heb. 13.

Chich. Follow your Vocation; you have a little learning. *We have an Altar, whereof you may not eat.* What meaneth Saint *Paul* thereby?

Wood. There is no Man ſo fooliſh to eat Stones I trow.

Chich. What Mockers and Scorners be you, to ſay no Man will be ſo fooliſh to eat Stones? it is a plain mock.

Wood. Why, my Lord, you ſaid I had no learning, nor knowledge, nor underſtanding. Wherefore it becometh you to make things more plain to me, and not to ask me ſuch dark queſtions, and yet blame me too; me think it is too much.

Chicheſt. I dare ſay, you know what it meaneth well enough. The moſt fool in my houſe will underſtand my meaning better then you do.

Wood. There ſtood ſome of his Men not far off, talking together beſide a Window. He called one of them by his Name.

Chich.

Chich. Come hither. I ſay to thee, thou ſhalt not eat of this Table. What do I mean thereby?

The Biſhop of *Chicheſter* rightly anſwered of his Man according to his queſtion.

The Man. Forſooth, my Lord, you would not have me eat of this Table, laying his hand thereupon. With this anſwer he made all them in the houſe to fall on laughing, and I could not hold it in, but burſt out with laughter, and ſaid.

Wood. He hath expounded the matter almoſt as well as I.

Chich. he meaneth well enough, if you would underſtand him.

Anſwer me again, to make it more plain. I ſay to thee, thou ſhalt not eat of this Table. What mean I thereby?

The Man. Forſooth you would not have me eat this Table.

Wood. Theſe words made them all laugh: Wherewith the Biſhop was almoſt angry, becauſe the anſwer proved no better, and ſaid.

Chich. He meaneth that I would not have him eat any of the meat that is ſet upon this Table. How ſaiſt thou, doſt thou not mean ſo?

The Man. Yes forſooth my Lord, that was my meaning indeed.

Wood. Yea, my Lord, now you have told him what you mean, he can ſay ſo too: and ſo could I have done (as little wit as I have) if you had ſaid, *Paul* meant that no Man might eat of that which was offered upon the Altar, but the Prieſts.

Chich. Yea, I perceive you underſtand the meaning of *Paul* well enough, but that you liſt to cavil with me.

Wood. Why my Lord, do you thing I underſtand ſuch dark places of the Scripture, without learning? you ſaid even now, I had no knowledge nor learning, wherefore I anſwered you, as you judged of me.

Sacrament of the Altar.

Chich. Well, let this matter paſs, and let us turn to the principal again. How ſay you by the Sacrament of the Altar?

Wood. You mean the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

Chich. I mean the Sacrament of the Altar, and ſo I ſay.

Wood. You mean Chriſt to be the Altar, do you not?

Chich. I mean the Sacrament of the Altar in the Church. What, is it ſo ſtrange to you?

The Altar how it is to be taken and where it is.

Wood. It is ſtrange to me indeed, if you mean the Altar of ſtone.

Chich. It is that Altar that I mean.

Wood. I underſtand not the Altar ſo.

Chich. No, I think ſo indeed: and that is the cauſe that you be deceived. I pray you, how do you underſtand the Altar then?

Wood. If you will give me leave till I have done, I will ſhew you how I underſtand the Altar, and where it is.

Chich. Yes, you ſhall have leave to ſay your mind, as much as you will.

Wood. It is written, Matth. 18. *That whereſoever two or three be gathered together in Chriſts Name, there is he in the midſt among them: and whatſoever they ask the Father upon Earth, it ſhall be granted them in Heaven.* Agreeing to the fifth of *Matth.* ſaying, *When thou comeſt to offer thy gift at the Altar, and there remembreſt that thy brother hath ought againſt thee, leave there thy offering, and go firſt and be reconciled to thy brother, and then offer thy gift.* The Prieſts would have interrupted me, but the Biſhop bade them let me alone.

Matth. 5.

Chicheſter. You ſhall hear a pretty concluſion anon.

Chriſt the true and only Altar.

Wood. I pray yet let me make an end, and then find fault with me if you can. Now to the matter. In theſe two places of Scripture, I prove that Chriſt is the true Altar, whereon every Chriſtian Man and Woman ought to come and offer their gifts. Firſt, whereſoever the people are gathered together in Chriſts Name, there is he in the midſt; and where he is, there is the Altar, ſo that we may be bold to come and offer our gift, if we be in love and charity: if we be not, we muſt leave there our offering, and go firſt and be reconciled to our Brother, and agree with him quickly, and ſo forth, and then come and offer the gift. Some will ſay, how ſhall I agree with my adverſary, when he is not nigh by a hundred miles? may I not pray till I have ſpoken with him? To all ſuch I anſwered; if thou preſume to pray among the Faithful, wiſhing any evil to any Man, Woman, or Child, thou askeſt vengeance upon thy ſelf. For no ſuch asketh any thing elſe of the Lord in his Prayer. Wherefore agree with thy adverſary, that is, make thy Life agreeable to Gods Word. Say in thy heart without diſſimulation, that thou askeſt God and all the World forgiveneſs from the bottom of thy heart, intending never to offend them any more. Then all ſuch may be bold to come and offer their gift, their Prayer on the Altar, where the people of God be gathered together. Thus have I ſhewed you my mind, both of the Altar, and of the offering, as I underſtand it.

The place of Matth. 5. expounded.

Chich. Do you underſtand the offering and the Altar ſo? I never heard any Man underſtand it ſo, no not *Luther* the great Heretick, that was condemned by a General Council, and his picture burned.

Wood. If he were an Heretick, I think he underſtood it not ſo indeed: but I am ſure all Chriſtians ought to underſtand it ſo.

Chich. Oh what vain glory is in you, as though you underſtood all things, and other Men nothing? Hear me; I will ſhew you the true underſtanding, both of the Altar, and the offering on the Altar. *We have an Altar* (ſaid *Paul*, *Heb.* 13. *that ye may not eat of.* Meaning thereby, that no Man might eat of that which was offered on the Altar, but the Prieſt. For in *Pauls* time all the living that the Prieſt had, the people came and offered it on the Altar, Money or other things: and when the people came to offer it, and then remembred that they had any thing againſt their Brother, then they left their offering upon the Altar, and went and were reconciled to their Brother; and they came again and offered their gift, and the Prieſt had it. This is the true underſtanding of the place that you have rehearſed: wherefore you be deceived.

Wood. My Lord, that was the uſe in the Old Law. Chriſt was the end of that. But indeed I perceive by *Pauls* words, the Sacrifice was offered in *Pauls* time: yet that maketh not that was well done, but he rebuked it. Wherefore, it ſeemeth to me that you be deceived.

The Catholicks will not have the word to judge.

Chich. Who ſhall be Judges betwixt us in this matter?

Wood. The 12. of *John* declareth who ſhall be Judge in the laſt day.

Chich. You mean the Word ſhall judge the Word. How can that be?

Wood. Saint *Peter* ſaith, *The Scripture hath no private interpretation*: But one Scripture muſt be underſtood by other.

Chich. You will underſtand it one way, and I will underſtand it another way: and who ſhall be Judges betwixt us then?

Woodman referreth himſelf to the true Church.

Wood. The true Church of God is able to diſcuſs all doubts: to whom I refer it.

Chich. I am glad you ſay ſo, if you will ſay ſo indeed.

Wood. My Lord, I never meant otherwiſe.

Chich. The Church of God doth allow the Sacrament of the Altar.

Wood. What do you offer now upon the Altar?

Doctrine prejudicial to Chriſts paſſion to ſay, that the Sacrament of the Altar doth paciſie the Wrath of God.

Chich. We offer up in the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, the Body of Chriſt to paciſie the Wrath of God the Father; and therewith they put off their capps all to the abominable Idol.

The Catholicks make themſelves Prieſts, not after the order of *Aaron*, but of *Melchiſedech.*

Wood. Saint *Paul* ſaith to the *Hebrews*, in the tenth Chapter, *We are ſanctified by offering of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt upon the Croſs once for all*: and every Prieſt is daily miniſtring, and oftentimes offereth one manner of offering, which can never take away Sins; and that is the offering that you uſe to offer. As far as I can ſee, you be Prieſts after the order of *Aaron*, that offered up Sacrifice for their own Sins, and the Sins of the people.

Chich. Nay, *Aarons* Sacrifice was with Blood which ſignifieth the death of Chriſt, the which was ended upon the Croſs by his Blood-ſhedding: but we are Prieſts

Anno 1557.

Anno 1557.

Priests after the order of *Melchisedech*, the which offereth Bread to the King in remembrance, and signifieth the giving of Christs Body in Bread and Wine at the last Supper, the which he gave to his Disciples, and commanded it to be used to the end of the World. This is the Sacrifice that we offer, according to his word.

Wood. Me think you have made the matter very plain to me, that as Christ was the end of all Sacrifices, so was he the beginning of the Sacraments, willing them to be used in the remembrance of him, to the Worlds end.

The Catholicks make the Sacrament both a sign signifying, and the thing it self signified.

Chich. What in remembrance of him, and not himself, as his word saith, *Take, eat, this is my Body?* It is not the sign only, but the thing it self. How say you? It it not his Body, after the words be spoken by the Priest? How say you? go briefly to work, for I cannot long tarry with you.

Wood. My Lord, if you will answer me to one Sacrament, I will answer you to another.

Chich. Yes I am very well content with that.

Whether the words only make the Sacrament of Baptism, without the Child there to be Baptized.

Wood. If you say the words of Baptism over the Water, and there be no Child there, is there true Baptism?

Chich. No, there must be the Water, the Word and the Child, and then it is Baptism.

Wood. Very well. Then if a Child be Baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, it is not truly Baptized.

Chich. No: the Child must be Baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and the Holy Ghost, or else it is not truly Baptized.

Wood. Then there may be nothing added, nor taken away from the Sacraments: may there?

Chich. No, said the Bishop.

Wood. Now my Lord, I will answer to you, if it please you.

Chich. Well, how say you, *Take, eat, this is my Body*: is it not Christs Body, as soon as the words be said?

Wood. My Lord, I will answer you by your own words, that you answered me, which is true: the Water, the Word, and the Child, all these together make Baptism; the Bread, Wine, and the Word make the Sacrament; and the Eater, eating in true Faith, maketh it his Body. Here I prove it is not Christs Body, but to the faithful receiver. For he said, *Take, eat, this is my Body.*

The word, Water and Child make Baptism: So the word, Bread, and the Receiver, make the Sacrament of the Lords Body.

He called it not his Body before eating, but after eating. And S. *Augustine* saith, *Crede & manducasti, Believe and thou hast eaten.* And Saint *John* saith, *He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him*: Wherefore it is impossible to dwell in God, and to eat his Body, without a true Faith.

The Faith of the Receiver maketh it the Body.

Priest. Then the Faith of the receiver maketh it his Body, and not his word, by your saying. I pray you what did *Judas* eat?

Wood. Judas did eat the Sacrament of Christ, and the Devil with all.

Priest. He eat the Body of Christ unworthily, as S. *Paul* saith.

Wood. Nay, St. *Paul* saith no such thing. He speaketh not of eating of his Body unworthily, but of the Sacrament unworthily. For he saith, *Whosoever eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own Damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lords Body*: and not because he eateth the Lords Body. If *Judas* had eat Christs Body, it must needs follow, that *Judas* is saved. For Christ saith in the sixth of *John*, *Whosoever eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up again at the last day.*

If *Judas* did eat the Body of Christ, then must he be saved.

Priest. My Lord, this Man is an interpreter after his own mind.

The true confession of *Rich. Woodman* touching the Sacrament.

Chich. I see it is but folly to talk with you: it is but lost labour. How say you? Do you not believe that after the words be said, there remaineth neither Bread nor Wine, but the very Body of Christ really? make me a plain answer, for I will talk no more with you.

Wood. I will make you a direct answer, how I believe of the true Sacrament. I do believe, that if I come to receive the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ truly ministred, believing that Christ was born for me, and that he suffered death for me, and that I shall be saved from my Sins by his Blood-shedding, and so receive the Sacrament in that remembrance, then I believe I do receive wholly Christ, God and Man, mystically by Faith: this is my belief.

Chich. Why, then it is no Body without Faith Gods word is of no force as you count it?

Wood. My Lord, I have told you my mind without dissimulation, and more you get not of me, without you will talk with me by the Scriptures: and if you will do so, I will begin a new with you, and prove it more plainly three or four manner of ways, that you shall not say nay to that I have said, your self.

Then they made a great laughing, and said, This is an Heretick indeed, it is time he were burned. Which words moved my Spirit, and I said to them, Judge not, lest you be judged. For as you judge me, you shall be judged your selves. For that you call Heresie, I serve God truly with, as you all shall well know, when you shall be in Hell, and have Blood to drink, and shall be compelled to say for pain, This was the Man that we jested on, and whose talk we thought foolishness, and his end to be without honor: but now we may see how he is counted among the Saints of God, and we are punished. These words shall you say, being in Hell, if you repent not with speed, if you consent to the shedding of my Blood: wherefore look to it, I give you Counsel. Sap. 5.

Priest. What? you be angry, me thinks, Now I will say more to you, then I thought to have done. You were at *Baxill* a twelvemonth agone, and sent for the Parson and talked with him in the Churchyard, and would not go into the Church: for you said, it was the Idols Temple. Yea I was with mine old Lord, when he came to the *Kings Bench* to you, and you said many stout words to him.

Woodman. That I said, I said: and where you said I was angry, I take God to my Record, I am not, but am zealous in the truth, and speak out of the Spirit of God with chearfulness. The zeal of Gods Spirit in R. Woodman.

Priest. The Spirit of God? hough, hough, hough: think you that you have the Spirit of God?

Woodman. I believe surely that I have the Spirit of God, I praise God therefore: and you be deceivers, mockers, and scorners before God, and be the Children of Hell, all the sort of you, as far as I can see. And therewith came in Doctor *Story*, pointing at me with his finger, speaking to the Bishop in Latin, saying at the length.

Story. I can say nothing to him, but he is an Heretick. I have heard you talk this hour and a half, and can hear no reasonableness in him. Doctor *Story* cometh in.

Wood. Judge not, lest you be judged: for as you judge, you shall be judged your self.

Story. What, be you a Preaching? you shall Preach at a Stake shortly with your fellows. My Lord, trouble your self no more with him.

With these words, one brought word that the Abbot of *Westminster* was come to dine with the Bishop, and many other Gentlemen and Women. Then there was rushing away with speed to meet him. Then said Doctor *Story* to my Keeper.

Story. Carry him to the *Marshalsee* again, and let him keep close, and let no Body come to speak with him. Doctor *Story* commandeth R. Woodman again to the *Marshalsee*.

Wood. And so they departed. Then one of the Priests began to flatter with me, and said, For Gods sake remember your self. God hath given you a good wit: You have read the Scriptures well, and have born them well in memory. It were great pity you should do amiss.

Wood. What a flatterer be you, to say my wit is good, and that I have read the Scriptures well? and but even now you said I was an Heretick and despised me. If I be an Heretick, I can have no good wit as you have confessed. But I think your own Conscience doth accuse you. God give you Grace to repent, if it be his will.

Priest. I call it a good wit, because you are expert in all questions.

Wood.

Wood. You may call it a wicked wit, if it agree not with Gods Word. then one cried, Away, away, here come ſtrangers. So we departed, and I came again to the *Marſhalſey* with my Keeper.

The third Examination of Richard Woodman (*copied with his own hand*) *before Doctor* Langdale, *Parſon of* Buxted *in* Suſſex, *and Chaplain to my Lord* Mountague, *and M.* James Gage, *at my Lord* Mountagues *Houſe, beſides S.* Mary Overies *in* Southwark, *the* 12. *day of* May *Anno* 1557.

The third examination of R. Woodman, before D. Langdale, and M. James Gage, May 12.

THe twelfth day of *May* the Marſhal came to the *Marſhalſey*, and ſent for me to ſpeak with him. When I came before him, and had done my duty, he asked my Name, and what Countryman I was; I ſhewed him both. Then he asked me when I was abroad in the City. To whom I anſwered, if it ſhall pleaſe your Maſterſhip I was abroad in the City on *Monday* was ſevennight.

Marſhal. What made you abroad?

Wood. The Biſhop of *Chicheſter* ſent for me to talk with me at home at his houſe beſide St. *Nicholas Shambles.*

Marſh. Were you abroad no otherwiſe then ſo?

Wood. No forſooth: I was never abroad ſince I was ſent hither, but then. For I have nothing to do abroad, unleſs they ſend for me.

False lies and lewd reports.

Marſh. This is a marvellous matter. I promiſe you I was not ſo rebuked theſe ſeven years, as I was for you within theſe three days. It is reported that you were abroad in the City at certain Taverns, and ſpake ſeditious words both in the Taverns and Streets as you went.

Wood. Sir, the truth is, I was in never a Houſe or Tavern, whiles I was abroad, but in the Biſhops Houſe, as my Keeper can, and will (I am ſure) teſtifie: nor did I ever talk with any Man in the Streets as I came, but with my Keeper, ſaving with one Man indeed, of the Pariſh of *Framfield* in *Suſſex*, where Mr. *James Gage* dwelleth. His Name is *Robert Smith*, being one of my moſt enemies; who ſtood in a wain as we came by, and was unloading of Cheeſe (me thought) but a little way from the *Marſhalſey*. Indeed I bade him God ſpeed, and asked him how he did: and he ſaid, well he thanked me: and he asked me, how I did: and I ſaid, well, I praiſe God; and that was all the talk that we had: and theſe words were ſpoken as I came by him. I promiſe you, Sir, I ſtood not ſtill while I ſpake them, as my Keeper can tell: and I think theſe words were not ſeditious words, but might be ſpoken well enough (I think) or elſe it were very ſtrait.

Woodman warned to appear.

Marſh. Then is it to be thought, that that Man reported otherwiſe then it was. I am glad it is as you ſay. Well, make you ready: for you muſt go forth ſtraightway, where you ſhall be examined of that and of other things, where you ſhall anſwer for your ſelf. Go make haſte, for I will tarry till you be ready.

Woodman taketh his leave of his fellows.

Wood. So I departed from him, and went to my Priſon fellows, and took my leave of them, deſiring them to pray for me, for I thought verily to come no more to them. For I ſuppoſed I ſhould have gone before the Council, becauſe the Marſhal ſaid, he would tarry for me himſelf: and eſpecially becauſe he ſaid, it was reported that I had ſpoken ſeditious words, it made me think it is poſſible that there may be ſome falſe things imagined upon me, to bring me to my end. I remember what Chriſt ſaid, *The Servant is not above his Lord.* Seeing the Jews brought falſe witneſs againſt Chriſt, I thought they would do much more, or at the leaſt do ſo to me, if God would ſuffer them, which made me caſt the worſt. But I was, and am ſure (I praiſe my Lord God) that all the World is not able to accuſe me juſtly of any ſuch thing. Which thing conſidered, made me merry and joyful: and I was ſurely certified, that they could do no more againſt me, then God would give them leave. And ſo I bade my Priſon Fellows farewel, and went into the *Porters Lodge* to the Marſhal, and he delivered me to one of his own Men, and to one of my Lord *Mountagues* Men, and bade me go with them: and they carried me to my L. *Mountagues* place in *Southwark*, not far from S. *Mary Overies*, and brought me into a Chamber in my L. *Mountagues* Houſe; and there was one D. *Langdale*, Chaplain to my Lord. My Keepers ſaid to the Doctor, This is the Man that we went for.

Woodman delivered to one of the Lord Mountagues Men.

Anno 1557.

Lang. Is your Name *Woodman*?

Wood. Yea forſooth, that is my Name.

Lang. Then he began with a great circumſtance, and ſaid, I am ſorry for you, that you will not be ruled, but ſtand ſo much in your own conceit, diſpleaſing your Father and other, judging that all the Realm doth evil, ſave a few that do as you do: with many ſuch words, which be too long to rehearſe; but I will declare the ſubſtance of them.

Religion eſteemed by Anceſtors and Grandfathers, and by Place.

Lang. What think you of them that died long agone, your Grandfather, with their Fathers before them? You judge them to be damned, and all other that uſe the ſame that they did throughout all Chriſtendom, unleſs it be in *Germany* and here in *England* a few years, and in *Denmark*; and yet they are returneed again. Thus we are ſure this is the truth, and I would you ſhould do well. Your Father is an honeſt Man, and one of my Pariſh, and hath wept to me divers times, becauſe you would not be ruled: and he loveth you well, and ſo doth all the Country, both rich and poor, if it were not for thoſe evil opinions that you hold; with many ſuch like tales of *Robin Hood.*

Wood. I pray you give me leave to ſpeak a few words to you.

Lang. Yes, ſay your mind.

Wood. You have told a great tale and a long, as it were againſt me (as you think) ſaying, I hold this and that; I judge my Father and my Grandfather, and almoſt all the World, without it be a few that be of our Sect. But I judge no Man. But the 12. of *John* declareth, who it is that judgeth, and ſhall judge in the laſt day. The Father ſhall not bear the Sons offences, nor the Son the Fathers offences: but *that Soul that ſinneth ſhall dye*, as ſaith the Prophet. And again, we may not follow a multitude to do evil, as ſaith the Prophet: for they moſt go the wrong way. And Chriſt ſaith in the 12. of *Luke*, that his flock is a little flock. Here be places enow to diſcharge me, although I do not as the moſt do. But can any Man ſay that I do not as I ought to do: where be my accuſers?

Multitude not to be followed in doing evil.

To do as moſt Men do, and to do as a Man ought to do, are two things.

Lang. What, you be full of Scriptures me think, and call your accuſers, as though you were affraid to utter your mind to me. But I would have you not be afraid to talk with me. For I mean no more hurt to you, then I do to my ſelf, I take God to be my record.

Hard truſting any Man in this World.

Wood. I cannot tell, It is hard truſting of fair words. When a Man cannot truſt his Father nor Brother, nor other that have been his familiar friends, but they deceive him, a Man may lawfully follow the example of Chriſt towards them that he never ſaw before, ſaying, *Be as wiſe as Serpents, and as innocent as Doves. Beware of Men, for they go about to betray you.* And it maketh me to ſuſpect you much, becauſe you blame me for anſwering with the Scriptures. It maketh me to doubt that you would take vantage of me, if I ſhould ſpeak mine own words. Wherefore I will take as good heed as I can, becauſe I have been deceived already by them I truſted moſt. Wherefore blame me not though I anſwer circumſpectly. It ſhall not be ſaid, by Gods help, that I will run wilfully into mine enemies hands, and yet I praiſe God, my Life is not dear to my ſelf, but it is dear with God: Wherefore I will do the uttermoſt that I can to keep it.

Woodman blamed for anſwering with Scriptures.

D. Langdales talk with R. Woodman, upon what occaſion, and by whoſe procurement.

Lang. You be affraid where no fear is, for I was deſired of Maſter Sheriff and his Brother, and of other of your friends, to talk with you, and they told me that you were deſirous to talk with me, and now ye make the matter as though you had nothing to do with me, and as though you were ſent to Priſon for nothing: for your call for your accuſers, as though there were no Man to accuſe you. But if there were no Man to accuſe you, your own hand writing did accuſe you enough, that you ſet upon the Church door (if you be remembred) and other Letters that you let fall abroad, ſome at one place and ſome at another. Wherefore you need not to call for your accuſers. Your own hand will accuſe you enough, I warrant you; it is kept ſafe enough. I would not for two hundred pounds there were ſo much againſt me.

Woodman charged with his own hand writing.

Wood.

Anno 1557.

Wood. I will not deny mine own hand, by Gods help. For it cannot be lightly counterfeited. I do not deny but I wrote a Letter to the Prieſt and other of the Pariſh, declaring to them their folly and preſumption, to come into *my* Houſe without my love or leave, and fet out my Child, and uſe it at their pleaſures. Which moved me to write my mind to them: and becauſe I could not tell how to convey it to them, I ſet it on the Church door. Which Letter my Lord of *Chicheſter* hath: for he ſhewed it me when I was before him: wherein is contained nothing but the very Scriptures, to their reproach. Let it be laid before me when you or he will, I will anſwer to it by the help of God, to all their ſhames that I wrote it to. And as for any other Letters, I wrote none, as you ſaid I did, neither had I wrote that, if they had done like honeſt neighbours. Wherefore if they be offended with me for that, I will anſwer them with Chriſts words, in the 18. of *Matthew*, Woe unto themſelves, becauſe they gave me the occaſion.

R Woodmans writing ſet upon the Church door, upon what occaſion.

And whereas you ſaid, I was deſirous to ſpeak with you, and that Maſter Sheriff and his Brother, and other of my friends willed you to talk with me, and that I fare now as though I had nothing to do with you, and as though I were ſent to priſon for nothing: the truth is, I know no more wherefore I am ſent to Priſon, then the leaſt Child in this Town knoweth. And as for me, I deſired not Maſter Sheriff to ſpeak with you: but indeed he deſired me that I would ſpeak with you, and utter my Faith to you. For he ſuppoſed that I did not believe well, and he reported you to be learned. But I refuſed to talk with you at the firſt. For I remembred not that you were the Parſon at *Buxted*: wherefore, I ſaid to him, I would not utter my Faith to any but to the Biſhop. I ſaid, he is mine Ordinary: wherefore I appeal unto him. I am commanded by Saint *Peter* in the firſt Epiſtle, the third Chapter, to render account of my hope that I have in God, to him that hath Authority: wherefore I will talk with none in that matter, but with him. *Wherefore ſend me to him, if you will, or elſe there ſhall no Man know my Faith I tell you plainly.*

Woodman required of M. Sheriff and other his friends to talk with D. Langdale. D. Langdale Parſon of Buxſted, where Woodmans Father dwelt.

Woodmans friends deſirous to hear him and Doctor Langdale talk together.

Theſe words then made the Sheriff angry, and he went his way: and when he was gone from me, I remembred that it was you that he would have me to talk with, and then I remembred that I had made a promiſe to my Father and goodman *Day* of *Vefield*, not paſt a fortnight before I was taken, that whenſoever you came into the Country, I would ſpeak with you by Gods help, becauſe they praiſed you ſo much, that ye were learned, and they would fain hear us talk.

So all theſe things called to remembrance, I deſired my Keeper, which was the Sheriffs Man, to ſhew his Maſter, that I would fain ſpeak with him: for I had remembred things that were not in my mind before, when I ſpake to him. So he went to his Maſter, and ſhewed him the matter, and he came to me; and then I told him my mind, and what promiſe I had made: and he ſaid, he would ſend for you on the morrow, as he did, and the meſſenger brought word you could not come; you Preached before the Queen, he ſaid. Whereupon the Sheriff came up himſelf, and ſpake to the Biſhop that he ſhould come down, but he was ſick. So when he came home again, he ſent me to the Biſhop, and I have talked with him twice already, and I am ſure he can find no fault in me, if he ſay juſtly: and yet I know not wherefore *I* was ſent to Priſon. For *I* was not guilty of that which was laid to my charge, that *I* had Baptized Children, the which *I* never did, as God knoweth: wherefore *I* had wrong to be thus handled.

This Biſhop was D. *Chriſtopherſon*. Woodman ſent to Priſon, not knowing wherefore.

D. Lang. Indeed it hath been reported, that you have Chriſtned Children; and that you Chriſtned your own Child: but ſince *I* heard ſay, you would not have the Child Chriſtned, which is a damnable way, if you deny Baptiſm: and they ſaid, your Child was not Chriſtned in a fortnight or three weeks after it was born, and the chiefeſt of the Pariſh were fained to fetch it out of your Houſe againſt your will. Wherefore you wrote railing words againſt the Prieſt and them for their good will: the which declareth that you allow not Baptizing of Children. And if the Child had died, it had been damned, becauſe it was not Chriſtned, and you ſhould have been damned: becauſe you were the let thereof.

R. Woodmans falſly ſlandered for denying Baptizing of Children.

Wood. What abominable lies have you told? Be you not aſhamed to ſpeak ſuch words as you have done? Firſt you ſay, *I* Chriſtned mine own Child, and by and by you ſaid, *I* denied Baptizing of Children, and that my Child was a fortnight or three weeks old ere it was Baptized. What abominable lies be theſe? *I* neither Baptized my Child my ſelf, neither held againſt the Baptizing of it, but did moſt gladly allow it: for it was Baptized as ſoon as it was born, and *I* was glad thereof; therefore you be to blame to report ſo of me.

Lang. I pray you, who Baptized it? ſome unthrift of your providing.

Wood. Nay ſurely, the Midwife Baptized it.

Lan. But it was your mind that it ſhould be ſo.

Wood. Nay ſure; I was not nigh home by almoſt 20. miles, nor heard that my Wife was brought to bed four days after the Child was Chriſtned. But it was not like to live: and therefore the Midwife Baptized it.

Woodmans Child Baptized by the Midwife. Woodman falſly belied. D. Langdale too curious an Inquiſitor.

Lang. Would you have had it to Church to have been Chriſtned, if it had not been Chriſtned?

Wood. That is no matter what *I* would have done. *I* am ſure you cannot deny but it is ſufficiently done, if the Midwife do it; and *I* hold not againſt the doing of it, neither did *I* it my ſelf, as you ſaid *I* did.

Lang. Wherefore were you diſpleaſed with them that ſet it to Church?

Wood. Firſt tell me whether the Child were not truly Baptized by the Midwife?

Lang. Yes, it was truly Baptized, if ſhe Baptized it in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

Wood. Yes, that *I* am ſure ſhe did, and you grant that was ſufficient: and the cauſe that *I* blamed them for, was becauſe they did more to it then need was, by your own ſaying. Yea, they ſet it out of my Houſe without my leave: the which was not well done.

Woodman troubled without juſt cauſe.

Lang. They had it to Church to confirm that was done.

Wood. Yea, but that was more then needs. But God forgive them, if it be his will. But let that matter paſs. But *I* would you ſhould not ſay, that *I* hold againſt Baptizing of Children: For *I* do not, *I* take God to record; but do allow it to be moſt neceſſary, if it be truly uſed. But me thought you ſpake words even now that were uncomly to be ſpoken; if a Child dye, and be not Baptized, it is damned. How think you? be all damned that receive not the outward ſign of Baptiſm?

Lang. Yea, that they be.

Wood. How prove you that?

Lang. Go ſaith Chriſt, and Baptize in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, and he that believeth, and is Baptized, ſhall be ſaved: and he that believeth not ſhall be damned. Theſe be the words of Chriſt, which are my warrant.

All Children be damned by D. Langdale, which dye without Baptiſm.

Wood. Then by your ſaying, *Baptiſm bringeth Faith*, and all that be Baptized in the Water ſhall be ſaved: ſhall they? how ſay you?

Lang. Yea, that they ſhall: if they dye before they come to diſcretion, they ſhall be ſaved every one of them; and all that be not Baptized ſhall be damned every one of them.

All Children being Baptized by D. Langdale ſhall be ſaved.

Wood. Then my Spirit was moved with him to reprove him ſharply, becauſe *I* had manifeſt Scriptures freſh in my mind againſt his ſaying. Then ſaid *I*:

O Lord God! how dare you ſpeak ſuch Blaſphemy againſt God and his Word, as you do? how dare you for your life take upon you to Preach, and teach the people, and underſtand not what you ſay? For *I* proteſt before God you underſtand not the Scriptures, but as far as natural reaſon can comprehend. For if you did, you would be aſhamed to ſpeak as you do.

R. Woodman chargeth D. Langdale with ignorance in the Scriptures.

Lang. Wherein have *I* ſpoken amiſs; take heed, you have a toy in your head will make you deſpair: *I* dare ſay you cannot tell what you ſay. Wherefore reprove you me as you do?

Wood. Becauſe you Blaſpheme God: and as for deſpairing, take heed to your ſelf. For *I* cannot ſee but you be out of your wit already: and as for me, *I* praiſe God, *I* can tell what *I* ſay, and what you have ſaid: the which ſhall turn to your ſhame, if you will talk by the Scriptures with me.

So,

So, when he perceived that I spake earnestly and challenged him to talk by the Word, his colour began to change, and his Flesh began to tremble and quake. And I said:

Prove your sayings true, if you can: for I will prove them false by Gods help. You said, All Children, or other that be not Baptized with Water, shall be damned. I dare not say so for all the good in the World. And you brought in the saying of Christ for your Warrant. In the 16. of *Mark* it is written, *Whoso believeth, and is Baptized, shall be saved*: which words be very true: *and whoso believeth not, shall be damned.* Which words be very true also. He saith, *He that believeth not, shall be damned.* Yea, Saint *John* saith, *He that believeth not, is condemned already, because he believeth not.* But neither of these two Scriptures, nor any other Scripture in all the New Testament saith, That he that is not Baptized shall be damned, or is damned already. *But if he believe not, he shall be damned, and is damned already*, as is aforesaid. Then he would have interrupted me, and would have laid to my charge, that I was an Anabaptist. But I would give him no place to speak, but said:

Let me make an end, and then say what you can. You shall have as much to do, by Gods help, with this matter, as ever you had to answer thing in your life. You know (I am sure) it is no manners to pluck a tale out of a Mans Mouth, nor is it the order of reasoning, as you know that better then I can tell you. Then D. *Langdale* bade me say on.

Faith, not Baptism saveth. Not lack of Baptism, but lack of Faith condemneth.

Woodman. My saying was, that they that believe not shall be damned, and be damned already. But I dare not say for all the goods under Heaven, that all they that receive no material Baptism by the Water shall be damned, as you have said: yet I would you should not gather of these words, that I deny Baptism, as you were about to lay to my charge, ere ever I had half told out my tale. But I would not have you, nor any Man so rash in Judgment, to condemn the thing that they are not able to prove by the word, and to make it seem to the simple, that the outward washing of the water were the cause of Faith.

Lang. Why, is it not so? will you deny it? How say you? Will you deny it? I say, the Child hath no Faith before it is Baptized: and therefore the Baptizing bringeth the Faith. How say you to it? Make me a plain answer to this question.

Baptizing of Water is not the cause of Faith. The Catholicks do hold the contrary.

Woodman. Now I perceive you go about nothing else, but to take vantage of my words. But by Gods help, I will answer you so, that you shall well see your sayings untrue. And yet I will not speak mine own words, but the words of the Holy Ghost, out of the Mouth of the Prophets and Apostles: and then ask them whether they will deny it.

A Catholick paradox.

You said, that Faith cometh by Baptism, had by the use of material water. I must be so bold to ask you where *Jacob* was Baptised before he had Faith. Saint *Paul* saith in the ninth Chapter to the *Romans*, *Ere ever the Children were born, ere ever they had done either good or bad, that the purpose of God, which is by election, might stand, not by the reason of works, but by the Grace of the caller, the elder shall serve the younger.* Jacob *have I loved, and* Esau *have I hated.* How think you, had this Child Faith or ever he were born, or no? answer to this if you can.

The purpose of Gods election standeth by Grace, and not by reason of works.

Lang. What: you speak of the old Law. *Jacob* was not Christened, but circumcised. I speak of Baptism, and you are gone from Baptizing to the time of circumcision: answer me to the Baptizing. And me think by your talk, you deny Original sin, and free will, by the words that you brought in of Saint *Paul.*

D. *Langdale's* Argument. Children dying without Baptism may be saved. *Ergo* Children have no original sin.

For if Children can be saved without Baptism, then it must needs follow, that Children have no Original sin, the which is put away in the Baptizing. But I think you know not what Original sin is, nor free will neither, Me think by your talk.

Wood. Yes, I praise God (I think) I can tell them all better then you can, me think even by your words. First I pray you what Free will hath Man to do good of himself? tell me this first, and then I will answer to all other your questions that you have objected against me.

Lang. I say, that all Men have as much Free will now, as *Adam* had before his fall. Anno 1557.

Wood. I pray you how prove you that?

Absurd Doctrine.

Lang. Thus I prove it, that as sin entred into the World, and by the means of one that sinned all Men became sinners, the which was by *Adam*: so by the obedience of one Man, righteousness came upon all Men that had sinned, and set them as free as they were before the fall, the which was by Jesus Christ, *Rom.* 5.

Answer. The righteousness by Jesus Christ cometh upon all Men, not in taking away imperfections of nature, but in not imputing the imperfections of Man to damnation.

Woodman. Oh Lord, what an overthrow have you given your self here in Original sin, and yet cannot see it? For in proving that we have Free will, you have denied quite Original sin. For here you have declared that we be set as free by the death of Christ, as *Adam* was before his fall, and I am sure that *Adam* had no Original sin before his fall. If we be as free now as he was then, I marvel wherefore *Paul* complained thrice to God, to take away the sting of it, God making him answer, and saying, *My Grace is sufficient for thee.*

Original sin. We are made free by the death of Christ not from falling, but from damnation due by the Law for our falling.

These words with divers other, prove Original sin in us; but not that it shall hurt Gods elect people, but that his Grace is sufficient for all his. But you say in one place, it is not without Baptism; and in another place, you put it away quite by the death of Christ; and in very deed you have spoken truer in the matter then you are aware of. For all that believe in Christ are Baptized in the Blood of Christ that he shed on the Cross, and in the water that he swet for pain, and putting away of our sins at his death. And yet I say with *David* in the 51. *Psal. In sin was I born, and in sin hath my Mother conceived me:* but in no such sin that shall be imputed, because I am born of God by Faith, as Saint *John* saith, *John* 3. Therefore I am blessed, as saith the Prophet, *Psal.* 23. *Because the Lord imputeth not my sin*, and not because I have no sin; but because God hath not imputed my sins. Not of our own deserving, but of his free mercy he hath saved us. Where is now your Free will become that you speak of? If we have free will, then our Salvation cometh of our own selves, and not of God; the which is a great Blasphemy against God and his word.

Perfect Doctrine.

For S. *James* saith, James 1. *Every good gift and every perfect gift cometh from above, from the Father of light, with whom is no variableness, neither is he changed into darkness. Of his own will he begat us. For the wind bloweth where it listeth, and we hear the sound thereof*, as saith Saint *John, Chap.* 3. *but we cannot tell from whence it cometh, neither whither it goeth: Even so is it with every one that is born of God.* For Saint *Paul* saith, *Phil.* 2. *It is God that worketh in us the will, and also the deed, even of good will.* Seeing then that every good and perfect gift cometh from above and lighteneth upon whom it pleaseth God, and that he worketh in us both the will and the deed; me think all the rest of our own will is little worth, or nought at all, unless it be wickedness. So me think here be places enow to prove that a Man hath no free will to do good of himself, with a hundred places more that I could recite, if time did serve. And as for Original sin, I think I have declared my mind therein, how it remaineth in Man; which you cannot deny, unless you deny the word of God. Now, if you will suffer me, I will prove my saying of *Jacob* and *Esau*, that I brought in to prove that Faith was before Baptism, and you refused it, because (you said) *Jacob* was not Baptized. If you will give me leave, you shall see what I can say therein: for me think you think my talk long. this I said, because I saw he was sore offended at my sayings.

Adam free-will nothing. Faith was before Baptism.

Lang. Say what you can. For it availeth me to say nothing to you. For I was desired to send for you, to teach you, and there will no words of mine take place in you: but you go about to reprove me. Say what you will, for me.

D. *Langdale* seemeth to be put to silence.

Wood. I take not upon me to teach you, but to answer to such things as you lay to my charge: and I speak not mine own mind, but the mind of the Holy Ghost, written by the Prophets and Apostles. Will you give me leave to answer briefly in that matter, that you may report to other what I hold? And he said he was contented. But I think it was for nothing but to have caught vantage of my words.

Wood.

Anno 1557.

Children dying without baptiſm are not therefore damned, ſpeaking abſolutely. Children bear not the offences of their Fathers.

Wood. Firſt, If you be remembred, you ſaid, that if my Child had died without Baptiſm, if I had been the cauſe that it had not been baptized, the Child ſhould have been damned, and I too. How ſay you?

Lang. Yea that you ſhould.

VVood. That is moſt untrue. For the Prophet ſaith, *The Father ſhall not bear the Childs offences, nor the Child the Fathers offences: but the Soul that ſinneth ſhall die.* What could the Child have done withal, if it had died without Baptiſm? the Child could not do withal. How ſay you unto this? And I am ſure, that which I brought in, in the old Law, to prove that Faith is before Baptiſm, is not diſagreeable unto the word. For Circumciſion was a Figure of Baptiſm. And that I may bring to prove Baptiſm by, as well as S. *Peter* did: for he brought in *Noahs* Flood, which was a long time before *Jacob* and *Eſau*, to prove Baptiſm, ſaying, *VVhile the Ark was a preparing, wherein few* (that is to ſay) *eight Souls were ſaved by water, like as Baptiſm alſo now ſaveth us, not in putting away of the filth of the fleſh, but there is a good Conſcience conſenting to God.*

1 Pet. 3.

Gen. 6.

Here *Peter* proveth, that Water had not ſaved *Noah* and the other ſeven, no more than it ſaved all the reſt, if it had not been for their Faith, which Faith now ſaveth us; not in putting away of the filthy ſoil of the fleſh, by the waſhing of the water, but by a good Conſcience conſenting unto God.

But you ſaid, If they be baptized with the water, if they dye before they come to the years of diſcretion, they be all ſaved: the which S. *Peter* is clean againſt, unleſs you grant that Children have Faith before they be baptized.

Now I ask you what conſent of Conſcience the Children have, being Infants. For you ſay, they believe not before they be baptized: *Ergo*, then they conſent not to be baptized, becauſe they believe not. And by this it followeth, that none ſhall be ſaved, although they be baptized. I would fain ſee how you can anſwer this.

Lang. You are the moſt perverſe man that ever I knew. You wot not what you ſay. The Children are baptized in their * Godfathers and Godmothers Faith, and that is the good Conſcience that S. *Peter* ſpeaketh of: and the Chriſtning is the keeping of the Law, that S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of, ſaying, Neither is Circumciſion, any thing worth, nor Uncircumciſion any thing worth, but keeping of the Law is all together. Like as the Circumciſion was the keeping of the old Law, ſo is Baptiſm the keeping of the new Law.

* Nay rather in the faith of their Parents. Neither is it the faith of the Godfathers and Godmothers that ſanctifieth the Child, but their diligence may help him in ſeeing him Catechiſed.

VVood. Ah, me-thought if you would talk with me, you ſhould be fain to bring in the old Law to maintain your ſayings by (for all that you refuſed it) when I brought it in. But yet it ſerveth not for your purpoſe, ſo much as you think for. For here you have confeſſed, that neither Circumciſion availeth, nor Uncircumciſion; the which you your ſelf have coupled with Baptiſm, proving that none of them both prevaileth, but keeping of the Law is all together: the which Law is kept (you ſay) by the outward ſigns; the which is nothing ſo: for *Abraham* believed God, and that was counted to him for righteouſneſs, and this was before he was circumciſed. So the Children believe before they be either circumciſed or baptized, according to my firſt ſaying of *Jacob* and *Eſau*, Jacob *I loved, but* Eſau *I hated.* Theſe words declare, that *Jacob* had faith in his Mothers Womb. And *John Baptiſt* was ſanctified in his Mothers Womb, and therefore it was counted to them for righteouſneſs: and I am ſure, if they had died before they had either received Circumciſion or Baptiſm as concerning the outward deed, they ſhould have been ſaved. For Gods gifts and callings are ſuch, that he cannot repent him of them. But by your ſaying he doth both repent and change. For you ſay, keeping of the outward Law is all together. But a bad excuſe is as good as none at all. And where you ſaid, the Children be baptized in their Godfathers and Godmothers Faith, they being all unbelievers, in what Faith is that Child baptized then? in none at all, by your own ſaying. Which words made him ſtamp and ſtare.

Lang. What? then you would count that there were very few Believers, if there be not one of three that believeth. You enter into judgment againſt the People. Belike you think there be none that believe well, unleſs they be of your mind. Indeed then Chriſts Flock were a very little Flock.

VVood. Indeed theſe be Chriſts words in the twelfth of *Luke*, the which we may ſee to be very true. Yea, you ſaid, if there were not one amongſt three, that were very few. But there is not one amongſt three hundred, for any thing that I can ſee. For if there were, there would not be ſo many that would ſeek their Neighbours Goods and Lives as there be.

Lang. Is the Flock of Chriſt ſuch a little Flock as you ſpeak of? You may call it a great Flock. How many be there of them, can you tell me?

VVood. A pretty queſtion, I promiſe you, it is that you ask me: as though I did make my ſelf equal with God.

No, no, you ſhall catch no ſuch vantage of my words, nor do I know how many there be. But I will tell you as nigh as I can. For therefore you look. I am ſure that I ſhould enter into judgment.

Lang. Yea, I pray you tell me as much as you can, ſeeing you be ſo cunning.

Gods election ſtandeth not by the moſt part, but by the feweſt.

VVood. You ſhall ſee my judgment in it by and by. Firſt the Prophet ſaith, *Follow not a multitude to do evil, for they muſt go the wrong way.* For the moſt go the wrong way. There is one point to know them.

Then Chriſt ſaith in the ſeventh of *Matthew*, *Broad is the way, and wide is the gate that leadeth into deſtruction, and many there be that go in thereat: and ſtrait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.* And in the twelfth of *Luke*, it is written (which words were ſpoken of Chriſt) *Come you little Flock, it is my Fathers will to give you a Kingdom.* The third point is this, in the third of *Mark* and ſecond of *Matthew*, *You* (ſaith Chriſt) *ſhall know the Tree by the fruits. A good Tree bringeth forth good fruits, and a bad Tree bringeth forth bad fruits.* So by Fruits I know them: For every Tree that bringeth not forth good Fruits, muſt be hewen down, and caſt into the fire (into Hell I think Chriſt meant) and your fruits declare that you be one of them. Thus have I proved four ways, that the People that ſhall be ſaved is but a ſmall Company in compariſon of the reſt. But if that be not enough, for the proof thereof, I have twenty ways more to prove it by, and you were never the nearer of your purpoſe.

Four Arguments proving Chriſts flock to be a ſmall number.

Lang. What a naughty man are you? you would make the patienteſt man in the World angry with you. I think your talk is nothing but pride and vain-glory, with frumps, and mocks, and deſpiſing and judging of men. It was time ſuch a Fellow were taken indeed. Such a one is enough to trouble a whole Country. I think he is bleſt of God that took you: for you are not meet to be in a Commonwealth.

Dr. *Langdale* raileth againſt *Woodman* without cauſe.

VVood. With divers other ſuch like words that I cannot recite, they came out ſo thick, with ſtamping and ſtaring and chafing, as though he had been out of his wit. I held my peace, until he had made an end of his Tormentors talk, and then I ſpake.

Wherein have I ſaid amiſs? or have I not anſwered you unto every queſtion that you have demanded of me? What fault can you find in one word that I have ſaid? I dare ſay you can find none. I marvel why you take on thus againſt me, having no cauſe ſo to do.

Lang. No, no, you have not anſwered me to Original ſin, you deny Original ſin.

VVood. With theſe words came in at the door Mr. *James Gage*: and I think he ſtood at the door a good while before he came in, and that Dr. *Langdale* ſaw him: for his face was to the door-ward, and my face was from it.

Mr. *James Gage* entreth talk with *Woodman.*

Gage. Ah *VVoodman*, me-think Mr. Doctor and you cannot agree.

VVood. Yes Sir, me-think we agree very well.

Lang. Without doubt, Sir, he is the naughtieſt man that ever I talked with in all my life: for he will have his own way in all things.

Gage. VVoodman leave that pride. Do not truſt too

much to your own wit. Hearken to this man, this is a Learned man, I tell you. He is known to be learned. For else he should not be allowed to preach before the Queens Majesty: and I dare say, he will tell thee nothing, nor will thee to do any thing, but that he will do himself: and I dare say, he will not go to the Devil to bring thee thither. How say you Mr. Doctor? Thou mightest think us mad, if we would hurt our selves to hurt thee. No I promise thee, my Brother, neither I, nor any Gentleman in the Country, I think of my Conscience, but would thou shouldest do as well as their own Bodies and Souls, as a great many of them have said to thy face whilst thou wast at my Brothers, and which thou canst not deny.

Wood. Sir, I can say none otherwise but I was gently intreated at your Brothers, both with meat and drink and gentle words, both of you and him, and divers other Gentlemen: and I am sure neither you nor they can say, that you found me unreasonable at any time. For I said, I was contented to learn of them that were able to teach me, and so I am, as God knoweth: and here Mr. Doctor (I think) can say no otherwise; for I dare say he can find no fault in the talk that we have had.

Dr. *Langdale* complaineth to Mr. *Gage* of *Woodman* causeless. *Woodman* falsly belied.

Lang. No marry, I can find nothing else in you. I promise you, Mr. *Gage*, if you had been here, you would have said so your self. He took me up indeed, and said, he marvelled how I durst preach. For he said, I understood not the Scripture, but as far as Natural Reason comprehended: as though he understood all, and I nothing. With divers other such like words he made a great complaint to him on me, and said to Mr. *James Gage*, he would make you believe that I could find no fault in him. Yes, I wis: he denieth Original sin.

Gage. Yea; doth he so? by S. *Mary* that is a great matter: *Woodman*, leave that pride. That pride will come to naught. Can ye live without sin?

Wood. Sir, now I perceive he will soon lye on me behind my back, when he will not stick to lye before my face.

Dr. *Langdale* denieth Original sin, yet accuseth *Woodman* for the which he is culpable himself.

He saith, I denied Original sin; and it was he himself, as I will let you be Judge in the matter. For as he went about to prove, that man hath Free-will, he said, we were set as free by the Death of Christ, as *Adam* was before his fall: which words prove plainly, that we have no Original sin: And I took him withal, and said, Had *Adam* Original sin before his fall? and then he could not tell what to say, but cavilled with words, and said he meant not so: and therefore I marvel he is not ashamed to make such lies to my face. These words made them both astonied.

Gage. Mr. Doctor, he said even now you could find no fault in all his talk. I will bid you ask him a question, and I will warrant you, you will find fault enough. I pray you ask him, how he believeth in the Sacrament of the Altar. I think he will make but a bad account thereof.

Wood. Yes, I will make account good enough of that, by Gods help.

Lang. Well, how say you to the Sacrament of the Altar?

Wood. I say, I know no such Sacrament, unless Christ be the Altar that you mean.

Gage. Lo, I told you, you should soon find fault in him, if you came to that point with him. You should have begun with that first, and never have talked with him about other things. What? know you not the Sacrament of the Altar?

Woodman knoweth no Sacrament of the Altar, unless they take Christ to be the Altar.

Wood. No sure, I know no such, unless Christ be the Altar that you mean; for Christ is the Altar of all goodness. And if you mean Christ to be the Altar of the Sacrament you speak of, you shall soon hear my mind and belief therein.

Lang. Well, we mean Christ to be the Altar. Say your mind, and go briefly to work; for I think it almost dinner time.

Gage. I pray you go roundly to work, that you may make an end before dinner.

Woodmans judgment of the Sacrament.

Wood. Yes, you shall soon hear my mind therein, by Gods help. I do believe, that whensoever I come to receive the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, being truly ministred according to Christs institution, I believing that Christ was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and that he was crucified on the Cross, and shed his blood for the remission of my sins, and so take and eat the Sacrament of Bread and Wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive whole Christ, God and Man, mystically by Faith. This is my belief of the Sacrament, the which no man is able to disprove. Anno 1557.

Gage. By S. *Mary*, I can find no fault in this. Now say you Mr. Doctor?

Dr. *Langdale* seeketh a knot in a rush.

Lang. Sir, you see not so much as I do. For he goeth craftily to work, I tell you as I have heard. For though he hath granted that the faithful receiver receiveth the Body of Christ, God and Man, yet he hath not granted that it is the Body of Christ before it be received, as you shall see by and by, I warrant you, by his own words. How say you? Is it the Body of Christ as soon as the words be spoken by the Priest, or not? for these words will try him more than all the rest.

Whether the Sacrament be the Body of Christ before it be received.

Wood. Doth the Word say that it is his Body before it is received? if it do, I will say so too.

Gage. Why? then we shall agree well enough, if you will be tried by the Word.

Wood. Yes forsooth, that I will; God forbid else.

Gage. Why? the Word saith it is his Body before it is eaten.

Wood. Those words would I fain hear; but I am sure they be not in the Bible.

Lang. No? that you shall see by and by (Mr. *Gage*, quoth he) and turned to the 22. of *Luke*, and there he read, *When supper was done, Christ took bread, gave, thanks, and brake it, and gave to his Disciples, and said; Take, eat, this is my Body:* Then they spake both at once Here he saith it is his Body.

Luke 22. Eating goeth before the words of Consecrating.

Wood. Mr. *Gage*, I do not deny but he called it his Body, but not before eating, as I said before. Wherefore I pray you mark the words. Christ said, *Take, eat:* I pray you Sir mark these words that he said, *Take and eat*, and then he said, *it was his Body*. So you see, eating goeth before. For he said, *Eat, this is my Body*. So according to the very word, I do believe it is his Body. Which words made them both astonied.

Dr. *Langdale* driven to his shifts.

Lang. Why, then by your saying, *Judas* eat not the Body of Christ. How say you? Did he not?

Wood. Nay, I ask you. Did he?

Lang. I ask you.

Wood. And I ask you.

Lang. And I ask you.

Wood. Marry I ask you. And I bid you answer if you dare for your life. For whatsoever you answer, unless you say as I have said, you will damn your own Soul. For Mr. *Gage*, I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own Soul and Body; and it lamenteth my heart to see how you be deceived with them; they be deceivers all the sort of them. He cannot answer to this, but either he must prove *Judas* to be saved, or else he must prove that it is no Body before it be received in Faith, as you shall well perceive, by Gods help, if he dare answer the question.

Gage. Yes, I dare say he dareth. What? you need not to threaten him so.

Wood. Then let him answer if he can.

Then he said he knew what I would say to him; therefore he was much in doubt to answer the question.

Lang. Mr. *Gage*, I will tell you in your ear what words he will answer me, or ever I speak to him.

Dr. *Langdale* afraid to answer to R. *Woodman*.

Wood. Then he told Mr. *Gage* a tale in his ear, and said:

Lang. I have told Mr. *Gage* what you will say.

Gage. Yea, and I will speak the truth for both parties.

The Catholicks hold that *Judas* did eat the Body of Christ.

Wood. Well, how say you? Did *Judas* eat the Body of Christ, or not?

Argument. Whosoever eateth the flesh of Christ, hath everlasting life, *John* 6. *Judas* did eat the flesh of Christ: *Ergo, Judas* hath everlasting life.

Lang. Yea, I say *Judas* did eat the Body of Christ.

Wood. Then it must needs follow, that *Judas* hath everlasting life. For Christ saith in the sixth of *John*, *Whoso eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day.* If *Judas* did eat Christs Body, I am sure you cannot deny but that he did both eat his Flesh, and drink his Blood, and then is *Judas* saved by Christs own words. Therefore now you are compelled to say that it was

not

Anno 1557.

not Christs Body, or else that *Judas* is saved.

Gage. Surely these be the very words that Master Doctor told me in mine ear, that you would say to him.

Wood. Well; let us see how well he can avoid this Argument.

Lang. *Judas* is damned, and yet he eat the Body of Christ; but he eat it unworthily: and therefore he is damned.

Wood. Where find you that *Judas* did eat the Body of Christ unworthily?

1 Cor. 11. *Lang.* They be Saint *Pauls* words, 1 *Cor.* Chap. 11.

Saint *Pauls* words misalledged by D. *Langdale.* *Wood.* Master *Gage*, I desire you for Gods sake mark my words well what I say. If Saint *Paul* speak any such words there, or in any other place; if there be any such words written in all the whole Bible, that ever any Man eat the Body of Christ unworthily, then say that I am the falsest Man that ever you heard speak with Tongue. But indeed, these be the words of Saint *Paul*, *Whoso eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lords Body*; that is, because he presumeth to eat the Sacrament of the Lords Body without Faith, making no difference betwixt the Sacrament and other Bread and Drink. And that is Saint *Pauls* meaning, and not that any Man doth or can eat the Body of Christ * unworthily. For whosoever eateth the Body of Christ, hath everlasting life, as is aforesaid in the sixth of *John*; with these words one came for them to dinner in all hast.

Making no difference betwixt the Lords Body expounded.

* Christ speaketh of eating his Flesh simply, without any determination of unworthiness: that is, simply whosoever believeth in Christ, he shall be saved, neither is any unworthiness in believing in Christ.

Gage. I am sorry, I would fain hear more of this talk, but we shall have another day well enough.

Lang. Nay, Master *Gage*, I will never talk with him more; for he is the unreasonablest Man that ever I talked with in all my life.

Wood. Then Master *Gage* put off his cap, and desired him that he would not refuse to talk with me, and that it might not be grievous to him. For he said, we will seek all the means possible to make him an honest Man, and to keep him from burning, if we could. For if my Brother and I had not been, he had been burned ere this time. Then there was great curtesie betwixt them.

Note well the working of this Mans charity; to do for a Man more at request, then for any compassion of the party.

Lang. Sir, for your sake, and for my Master your Brothers sake, and for his Fathers sake, and other of his friends sakes, that have spoken to me many times with weeping tears, I will do the best to him that I can; but for no love nor favour that I bear to him, I tell you truth.

Gage. Woodman, you hear what Master Doctor saith: When will you come again?

Wood. Even when you will send for me: For I am a Prisoner, and cannot come when I would. Or if I should desire to come, it will cost me Money, and I have none to give: but if you send for me, it shall cost me none.

Gage. Well, I will send for you on *Friday* or *Saturday*, at the farthest; for to morrow I must ride forth of Town, and I would fain hear your talk.

Wood. Sir, I would be very glad you should hear our talk alway, and I trust in God you shall hear me say nothing, but the Word of God shall be my Warrant. So Mr. *Gage* took his leave, and went his way to his lodging, which was right in my way as I went unto Prisonward again; and when he came without my Lord *Mountagues* gates, there we met with one *Hood* of *Bursted*, a Smith. Then said Master *Gage*:

Gage. Woodman, I had forgot one thing, that *Hood* hath brought me in remembrance of as soon as I saw him; for he heard when the tale was told me.

Gage. Hood, did not you hear when *Smith* of *Framfield* told me that he saw *Woodman* abroad in the City at liberty.

Hood. Yea forsooth that I did.

Gage. Yea surely, and I was very glad, for I had well hoped you had been conformable. But I heard otherwise afterward again, that you had leave of the Keeper to go abroad and speak openly in the Streets, as you went up and down.

Lewd tales and false lies raised upon *Woodman.* *Wood.* Indeed so the Marshal told me to day. But indeed I was never abroad since I came to Prison, but when I was sent for; and indeed the same time I was abroad with my Keeper, coming from the Bishop, and as I was coming, even not far from the *Marshalsey*, I saw Goodman *Smith* stand in a Wain unloding of Cheese, and I asked him how he did, even as I went by, and never stayed for the matter, and thereupon it did rise. So I departed from them, with my Keeper to the *Marshalsey* again, where I now am merry, I praise God therefore, as a sheep appointed to be slain.

The Fourth Examination of Richard Woodman, *had before the Bishop of* Winchester, *the Bishop of* Rochester, *and a certain Doctor, with divers other Priests and Gentlemen, the 25. day of* May, *Anno* 1557.

Woodman.

The fourth Examination of R. Woodman before the B. of Winchester, &c.

I Was set from the *Marshalsey* to the said Bishops and Priests, sitting in St. *Georges* Church in *Southwark*, by one of the Marshals Men and one of the Sheriffs Men. When I came before them, and had done my duty to them as nigh as I could, then said the Bishop of *Winchester.*

Winch. What is your Name?

Wood. My Name is *Richard Woodman* forsooth.

Winchester. Ah *Woodman*, you were taken and apprehended for Heresie about three years agone, and were sent to Prison in the *Kings Bench*, and there remained a long time. Mine old Lord of *Chichester*, being a learned famous Man, well known in this Realm of *England*, and almost throughout all Christendom, I think came to Prison to you, and there, and at other places, called you before him divers times, travelling and perswading with you many times (because he was your Ordinary) to pluck you from your Heresies that you held, but he could by no means advertise you.

The old Bishop of *Chichester* was Doctor *Day.*

Whereupon you were delivered to the Commissioners, and they could do no good with you neither. Then they sent you unto my Lord of *London*. My Lord of *London* calling you before him divers times, labour was made unto him of your friends, that you might be released. My Lord having a good hope in you, that you would become an honest Man, because he had heard so of you in times past, yea and you your self promising him, that you would go home and recant your Heresies that you held, delivered you; sending also a Letter of your recantation to the Commissary, that he should see it done. But as soon as you were out of his hands, you were as bad as ever you were, and would never fulfil your promise, but have hid your self in the woods, bushes, dens, and caves, and thus have you continued ever since, till it was now of late. Then the Sheriff of that shire (being a worshipful Man) hearing thereof, sent certain of his Men, and took you in a wood, and so carried you to his House. I cannot tell his Name. What is your Sheriffs Name?

Untrue. For Bishop Boner delivered him of his own accord to the burning of Bishop upon other causes.

False and untrue.

Wood. Forsooth, his Name is Sir *Edward Gage.*

Winchester. Well, you were apprehended for Heresie, and being at Master *Gages* three weeks or more, ye were gently intreated there; he and other Gentlemen perswading with you divers times, little prevailed.

Sir *Edward Gage* Sheriff of *Sussex.*

Then you appealed to the Bishop of *Chichester* that now is. The Sheriff like a worshipful Man, sent you to him, and he hath travelled with you, and other also, and can do no good with you, whereupon we have sent for you.

Wood. Then I spake to him. For I thought he would be long, before he would make an end. I thought he was a year in telling of those lies that he had told there against me already. Yea, I kept silence from good words, but it was great pain and grief unto me (as *David* said.)

At length the Fire was so kindled within my heart, that I could not chuse but speak with my Tongue; for I feared lest any of the company should have departed or ever I had answered to his lies, and so the Gospel to have been slandered by my long silence keeping. So I spake, I praise God therefore, and said; my Lord, I pray you let me now answer for my self, for it is time.

Winch. I permit you to answer to these things that I have said.

Wood. I thank God therefore. And I think my self happy (as *Paul* said, when he was brought before King *Agrippa*) that I may this day answer for my self. My Lord, I promise you there is never a word of your sayings true that you have alledged against me.

Winch. I cannot tell, but thus it is reported of you. As for me, I never did ſee you before this day; but I am ſure it is not all lies that I have ſaid, as you report.

Wood. Yes, my Lord, there is never a true word of that you have ſaid. And further, where you ſaid you never ſaw me before this day, you have both heard me, and ſeen me, I dare ſay, before this day.

Winch. I think I heard you indeed on *Sunday*, where you plaid the malapart Fellow; but I cannot tell that I ſaw you. But I pray you, were you not taken in the woods by the Sheriffs men?

Wood. No ſure, I was taken beſides my Houſe, I being in my Houſe when they came, wherefore that is not true.

Winch. Were not you at the Sheriffs three weeks?

Wood. Yes that I was, a Month juſt, and was gently intreated of him, I can ſay no otherwiſe; for I had meat and drink enough, and fair words.

Winch. Ah, I am well apaid; it is not all lies then, as it chanced. For I ſpake but of three weeks, and you confeſs a Month your ſelf.

Wood. Yet your tale is never the truer for that. For you ſaid, I was there three weeks for Hereſie, the which is not ſo. For I was not apprehended for Hereſie at the firſt, neither did mine old Lord of *Chicheſter* travel with me to pull me from Hereſie, as you ſaid; for I held none then, neither do I now, as God knoweth, neither was I ſent to the Commiſſioners, nor to the Biſhop of *London* for Hereſie, neither was I delivered to him for any ſuch thing, nor promiſed him to recant, as you ſaid I did. Wherefore I marvel you be not aſhamed to tell ſo many lies, being a Biſhop, that ſhould be an enſample to other.

Winchester ſwift in judging.

Winch. Lo, what an arrogant Heretick this ſame is. He will deny God; for he that denieth his own hand, denieth God.

Wood. My Lord, judge not leſt you be judged your ſelf. For as you have judged me, you ſhall be judged, if you repent not. And if I have ſet my hand to any Recantation, let it be ſeen to my ſhame, before this Audience: For I will never deny mine own hand, by Gods help.

R. *Woodman* cleareth himſelf of Recantation.

Winch. It is not here now, but I think it will be had well enough; but if it cannot be found, by whom will you be tried?

Wood. Even by my Lord of *London*; for he dealt like a good man with me in that matter that I was ſent to Priſon for. For it was upon the breach of a Statute, as Maſter Sheriff here can tell: For he was Sheriff then, as he is now, and can tell how I was toſſed up and down from Seſſions to Seſſions; and becauſe I would not conſent that I had offended therein, they ſent me to Priſon again.

The honeſt dealing of Bp. *Boner* with *Woodman* herein.

This was Dr. *Day*.

Then my Lord of *Chicheſter* being mine Ordinary, and I being his Tenant, came to me, to perſwade with me that I ſhould have conſented to them, and to find my ſelf in fault, where I was in none. To the which I would not agree, but I deſired him that he would ſee me releaſed of my wrong; but he ſaid he could not, but willed me or my Friends to ſpeak to the Commiſſioners for me, becauſe it was a Temporal matter: and when I came before them, they ſent me to my Lord of *London*, and my Lord of *London* was certified by the hands of almoſt thirty men, both Eſquires, Gentlemen and Yeomen, the chiefeſt in all the Country where I dwelt, that I had not offended in the matter that I was ſent to Priſon for. Whereupon he delivered me, not willing me to recant Hereſies, for I held none (as God knoweth) neither do I now: nor do I know wherefore I was ſent to Priſon, no more then any man here knoweth; for I was taken away from my work.

The cauſe and manner how *Woodman* was delivered by Bp. *Boner*.

Winch. No? wherefore appealed you then to my Lord of *Chicheſter*, if it were not for Hereſie?

Wherefore *Woodman* appealed to his Ordinary.

Wood. Becauſe there was laid to my charge that I had baptized Children, and married Folks, the which I never did, for I was no where Miniſter. Wherefore I appealed to mine Ordinary, to purge my ſelf thereof, as I have. Wherefore if any man have any thing againſt me, let them ſpeak; for I came not hither to accuſe my ſelf, neither will I.

Winch. Maſter Sheriff, can you tell upon what breach of Statute he was ſent to Priſon firſt?

The Sheriff. Yea forſooth, my Lord, that I can.

Wood. My Lord, if you will give me leave, I will ſhew you the whole matter.

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Winch. Nay, Maſter Sheriff, I pray you tell the matter, ſeeing you know it.

The Sheriff. My Lord, it was for ſpeaking to a Curate in the Pulpit, as I remember.

The cauſe why *Woodman* was firſt apprehended.

Winch. Ah, like enough, that he would not ſtick to prove a Curate. For did you not ſee how he faſhioned himſelf to ſpeak to me in the Pulpit on *Sunday*? he played the malapart fellow with me; and therefore it was no great marvel though he played that part with another.

Rich. Woodman and his fellow Priſoners falſly accuſed and belied of the Biſhop of *Winchester* in the Pulpit.

Wood. Why, you will not blame me for that, I am ſure. For we ſpake for no other cauſe, but to purge our ſelves of thoſe Hereſies that you laid to our charge. For theſe were your words; Good people, theſe men that be brought before us, being here, deny Chriſt to be God, and the Holy Ghoſt to be God, (pointing to us with your left hand) the which might ſeem to the whole Audience, that you meant us all. Wherefore to clear our ſelves thereof, we ſpake, and ſaid we held no ſuch thing. And you ſaid you would cut out our Tongues. But I am ſure you have no ſuch Law.

Winch. Yes that we have, if you blaſpheme, and as it chanced, I found ſuch amongſt you.

Wood. Indeed after we ſpake, you declared who they were, but not before; for you ſpake generally. Wherefore we blaſphemed not, but purged our ſelves.

Speaking to the Curate in the Pulpit made Hereſie.

Winch. But I pray you, how can you purge your ſelf for ſpeaking to the Curate, that it is not Hereſie?

Woodman cleareth himſelf from breach of the Statute.

Wood. Forſooth theſe be the words of the Statute; Whoſoever doth interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authorized by the Queens Majeſty, or by any other lawful Ordinary, that all ſuch ſhall ſuffer three Months impriſonment, and furthermore be brought to the Quarter Seſſions, there (being ſorry for the ſame) to be releaſed upon his good abearing one whole year. But I had not ſo offended as it was well proved: For he that I ſpake to was not lawfully authorized, nor had put away his wife. Wherefore it was not lawful for him to preach by your own Law; and therefore I brake not the Statute, though I ſpake to him.

Note the pretty ſhift of this Catholick Prelate.

Winch. I am glad, I perceive this man ſpeaketh againſt Prieſts marriages; he is not contented with Prieſts that have wives. He is an honeſter man than I took him for, Maſter Sheriff, have him away. I am glad he loveth not Prieſts marriages.

Wood. Then I would have anſwered to his ſayings, but he would in no wiſe hear me, but bade the Sheriff have me away. So the Sheriff took me by the hand, and plucked me away, and would not let me ſpeak, but going out of the Chancel door, I ſaid; I would ſhew him the whole matter, if he would have given me leave, but ſeeing he will not, if he will let me go ſo, they ſhall ſee whether I will not go home to my wife and children, and keep them, as my bounden duty is, by the help of God. So I was ſent to the *Marſhalſey* again, where I now am merry, I praiſe God therefore, as a Sheep appointed to be ſlain.

Moreover, I was credibly informed by one of our Brethren that heard our talk, that the Biſhop ſaid when I was gone, that they would take me whilſt I was ſomewhat good. Which words ſeemed to many of the people that were there, that I ſpake againſt Prieſts marriages, but I did not, but did only anſwer to ſuch queſtions as he asked me, as you ſhall perceive well by the words, if you mark them, which words were theſe:

Woodman falſly taken to ſpeak againſt Prieſts marriage.

How can you purge your ſelf from Hereſie, for talking to the Curate in the Pulpit, and not offend the Statute, ſaid the Biſhop? meaning thereby, I think, to have taken vantage of my words; but it was not Gods will that he ſhould at that time. For I anſwered him by the words of the Statute, which words be as hereafter followeth, (that is) Whoſoever doth interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authorized by the Queens Majeſty, or by any other lawful Ordinary, that all ſuch ſhall ſuffer three Months impriſonment. But I proved that this man was not lawfully authorized to preach (by their own Law) becauſe he had not put away his wife. For their Law is, that no Prieſt may ſay Maſs, nor preach with the Maſs, but he muſt firſt

be

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be ſeparated from his wife. That is, becauſe honeſt marriages be good and commendable, and theirs naught and abominable; therefore they cannot dwell together.

A Prieſt keeping his wife, yet would needs fall again with Papiſtry.

Now I give you all to underſtand, that I did not reprove this Prieſt, becauſe he had a wife, but becauſe he taught falſe Doctrine, which grieved my ſoul, becauſe he had been a fervent Preacher againſt the Maſs, and all the Idolatry thereof, ſeven years before, and then came and held with it again; for the which cauſe I reproved him in the Pulpit. And the words that I ſpake to him, are written in divers of my Examinations at my firſt impriſonment for that ſame. But in very deed, I knew not of the Statute when I reproved him. But be-

R. Woodman ſaving himſelf from his enemies by their own Law.

cauſe I was ſent to Priſon upon the breach of it, I bought a Statute Book, and when I had peruſed it, I perceived I had not offended by their own Law; and therefore ſtill when I was called to anſwer, I anſwered them with their own law. But yet they kept me in Priſon a year and almoſt three quarters or ever I was releaſed. I was at mine anſwer for that eighteen times. If any think I do not allow Biſhops and Prieſts marriages, let them look in my firſt Examination before the Biſhop of *Chichester* that now is, during this my impriſonment, and there they ſhall find what I have ſaid in the matter. The truth is, I looked to be condemned with my brother that ſame day: But we may all ſee that they can do nothing but as God will permit them to do. But when the time is full come, I truſt in God I ſhall run that joyful race that my brethren have done. Thus I commit you all into the hands of God, who is the preſerver, defender, and keeper of all his Elect for evermore, Amen.

The fifth Examination of Richard Woodman, *had before the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *the Archdeacon of* Canterbury, *Dr.* Langdale, *with a fat headed Prieſt, and others, whoſe names I know not, with certain alſo of the Commiſſioners, at S.* Mary Overies *Church in* Southwark, *in the preſence of three hundred people at the leaſt, the 15th day of* June, Anno 1557.

The fifth Examination of Rich. Woodman before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and divers others. June 15. Anno 1557.

Wincheſter. WOodman, you were before us the laſt day, and would not be known in any wiſe that you were ſent to Priſon for Hereſie, and called for your Accuſers, and ſtood ſtoutly in defending of your ſelf, and in your departing I had thought you had ſpoken againſt Prieſts marriages, thinking by your words we ſhould have found you an honeſt man, and conformable, when we had called you before us again. You told ſuch a fair tale for your ſelf, as though you had been free from all that was laid to your charge. For you ſaid it was all lies that I told againſt you; but ſince I have proved the contrary, as here is your own hand to ſhew. By the which I have proved, that you reproved not the Prieſt for lacking of Authority, and becauſe he had not put away his wife, but becauſe you liked not his preaching. For indeed I took it, that you reproved him becauſe he was not lawfully authorized, but I have proved the contrary ſince.

Wood. I told you not that I did either reprove him for lack of Authority, or becauſe I liked not his preaching, but I told you wherefore I was firſt ſent to Priſon. For you ſaid I was ſent to Priſon for Hereſie, and made a long tale againſt me. And indeed I told you that there was never a word of your ſayings true, but was all lies, as it was indeed. For I never was ſent to Priſon for Hereſie, neither held I any then, nor do now, I take Heaven and Earth to witneſs; but I told you I was ſent to Priſon upon the breach of a Statute, which was for ſpeaking to a Prieſt in the Pulpit, and for that cauſe the Juſtices of that Country had thought I had offended the Statute, and called me before them, and would have had me to have been bound to my good abearing, and becauſe I refuſed it, they ſent me to Priſon. And theſe be the words of the Statute, as I told you the laſt day. *If*

The words of the Statute.

any man do interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authoriſed by the Queens Majeſty, or by any other lawful Ordinary, that then every party that ſo offendeth, ſhall ſuffer three months impriſonment, and furthermore be brought to the Quarter Seſſions, and there being ſorry for the ſame, and alſo bound for his good abearing one whole year, to be releaſed, or elſe to remain to Priſon again.

No breach of the Statute, & why.

And when I was in Priſon, I bought a Statute Book, which when I had peruſed over, I found by the words thereof that I had not offended, becauſe he was not lawfully authoriſed, as the Biſhop of *London* was certified by the hands almoſt of thirty men, both Eſquires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen, the chiefeſt in all that Country. For he had not put away his wife, and therefore the Statute took no place on me, as I told you the other day. Wherefore my Lord of *London*, ſeeing me have ſo much wrong, did like a good man to me in that matter, and releaſed me. Now when I had told you this matter, you bade the Sheriff have me away; You ſaid you were glad I held againſt Prieſts marriages, becauſe I anſwered to the queſtion you asked me.

The Prieſt ſcanneth upon the meaning of Woodman.

The fat Prieſt. My Lord, do you not hear what he ſaith by my Lord of *London*? He ſaith he is a good man in that he releaſed him, but he meaneth that he is good in nothing elſe.

Wood. What? can you tell what I mean? let every man ſay as he findeth; he did juſtly to me in that matter. I ſay, if he be not good in any thing elſe, as you ſay, he ſhall anſwer for it, and not I; for I have nothing to do with other mens matters.

See how nearly theſe men ſeek matter againſt him, whereby to trap him.

Winch. Well, how ſay you? how liked you his preaching? I pray you tell us.

Wood. That is no matter how I liked it. Howſoever I liked it, I offended not the Statute. Wherefore you have nothing to ſay to me for that I am ſure.

Winch. Well, how like you this then? Here is your own hand writing. I am ſure you will not deny it. Will you look on it?

Wood. It is mine own handy work indeed, the which by Gods help I will never deny, nor ever did yet, I praiſe God therefore.

Winch. And here is good gear I tell you. I pray you hearken well to it; theſe be the words before the Commiſſioners. How ſay you? Do not you believe as ſoon as the words be ſpoken by the Prieſt, that there remaineth neither Bread nor Wine, but only the very Body of Chriſt, both fleſh and blood, as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*? theſe were the words of the Commiſſioners.

Luke 22. Woodman charged with his anſwers before the Commiſſioners at his laſt Examination.

And then thou ſaidſt, thou durſt not ſay otherwiſe than the Scripture ſaith. I cannot find (ſay you) that it is the Body of Chriſt before it is received by Faith, bringing in the 22. of *Luke*, ſaying, Chriſt ſaid, *Take, eat, this is my Body.* So I cannot prove it is his Body before it be eaten. Then ſaid the Commiſſioners, Did not *Judas* eat Chriſts Body? And if you can prove that *Judas* is ſaved (ſaid you) I muſt grant that he eat his Body. For Chriſt ſaith in the ſixth of *John, Whoſo eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raiſe him up at the laſt day*; which words prove, ſaid you, that if *Judas* eat the Body of Chriſt, he muſt needs be ſaved. How ſay you now? Did *Judas* eat the Body of Chriſt, or not?

Dr. White B. of Wincheſter, bent to have the blood of Woodman.

Wood. Then I perceived he went about nothing but to catch words of me in his Dioceſs, to condemn me with. Though I ſhould confound him never ſo much, I perceived that he was fully bent thereto. To whom I anſwered and ſaid:

I will anſwer you to no ſuch thing, for I am none of your Dioceſs; wherefore I will not anſwer to you.

Winch. Thou art within my Dioceſs, and thou haſt offended within my Dioceſs; and therefore I will have to do with thee.

R. Woodman appealeth from the B. of Wincheſter to his Ordinary.

Wood. Have to do with me if you will; but I will have nothing to do with you, I tell you plainly. For though I be now in your Dioceſs, I have not offended in your Dioceſs; if I have, ſhew me wherein.

Winch. Marry here is thine own hand writing, the which thou affirmedſt in my Dioceſs.

Wood. I do not deny but it is mine own hand writing; but that proveth never the more that I have offended in your Dioceſs: for that doth but declare what talk there was betwixt the Commiſſioners and me, the which you have nothing to do withal.

Winch. No? hold him a Book, and thou ſhalt ſwear whether thou holdeſt it now, or not, and whether thou wroteſt it not in my Dioceſs, as I think thou didſt; Lay thy hand on the Book.

Woodman refuſeth to ſwear or anſwer before VVinchester, being nor his Ordinary.

Wood. I will not be ſworn for you; for I am not of your Dioceſs; and therefore you have nothing to do with me. And as for the writing of the ſame, I never wrote word of it in your Dioceſs.

Lang. No, did you not? my Lord, let me ſee; I will find where you wrote it.

Wood. Then he took it and looked on it, and anon he found that I was ſent for out of the *Kings Bench*, to come before the Commiſſioners.

Lang. My Lord, here you may ſee it was in the *Kings Bench*, the which is in your Dioceſs.

Wood. Although I were fetcht out of the *Kings Bench*, that proveth not that I wrote it there, nor did I, I promiſe you truly.

The fat Prieſt. Where wrote you it then?

Wood. Nay, I owe you not ſo much ſervice as to tell you; find it out as well as you can: For I perceive you go about to ſhed my blood.

Winch. It is no great matter where it was written; it is here, and he denieth not but he wrote it. You ſhall hear more of it. Here the Commiſſioners asked you, whether *Judas* did eat any more than bare Bread, and you anſwered, that he eat more than bare Bread.

VVoodman in a great burning of Conſcience, for fear leſt he had granted too much to the Commiſſioners before, ſaying, that Judas did eat more then bare bread.

Whereupon they ſent you away back to the *Kings Bench* again, and asked you not what more, for the which cauſe (as you have written here) you had a Hell burning in your Conſcience. For you had thought they would have ſent a Diſcharge to the *Kings Bench*, and ſo let me go (ſaid you) and regiſter my name in their Books, that I had granted that *Judas* did eat the Body of Chriſt, and ſo the Goſpel ſhould have been ſlandered by me. For the which Cauſe I was in ſuch caſe, I could ſcantly eat, drink, or ſleep for that ſpace, as all my Priſon-fellows can teſtifie. If all you, I ſay, that go to the Church of Satan, and there hear the deteſtable Doctrine, that they ſpit and ſpue out in their Churches and Pulpits, to the great diſhonour of God, if all you, I ſay, that come there, had ſuch a Hell burning in your Conſcience for the time, as I had till I came before them again, and had uttered my Conſcience more plainly, I dare ſay you would come there no more. All this is your writing; is it not? How ſay you?

Wood. I do not deny but it was mine own deed.

Winch. And I pray you, where is there ſuch ſpitting and ſpuing out of falſe Doctrine as you ſpeak of?

Wood. In the Synagogue of Satan, where God is diſhonoured with falſe Doctrine.

Winch. And I pray you, where is one of them?

Wood. Nay, that judge your ſelf; I came not hither to be a Judge.

Winch. Well, here you have affirmed, that *Judas* (your Maſter) eat more than Bread; but yet he eat not the Body of Chriſt, as you have declared by your words. For, you had a Hell burning in your Conſcience, becauſe you were in doubt, that the Commiſſioners underſtood by your words, that *Judas* had eaten the Body of Chriſt, becauſe you ſaid, he eat more than bare Bread. Therefore thou hadſt a great ſort of Devils in thee; for if Hell be many Devils: and therefore the Devil and *Judas* is thy Maſter, by thine own words.

Wood. Nay, I defie *Judas* and the Devil, and his Servants; for they be your Maſters, and you ſerve them, for any thing that I can ſee, I tell you truth.

The Biſhops Argument.

The Devil is Maſter in Hell.
VVoodman felt a burning Hell in his Conſcience: *Ergo*, the Devil was VVoodmans Maſter.

Winch. Nay, they be thy Maſters. For the Devil is Maſter where Hell is, and thou ſaidſt thou hadſt a burning Hell in thee. I pray thee tell me, how thou canſt avoid it, but that the Devil was in thee by thine own ſaying?

Anſwer.

Hell is taken in Scripture two wayes; either for the place where damned ſpirits and ſouls be tormented for ever out of this life: or elſe for Gods correction and anguiſh of the ſoul in this life, which ſometime is felt ſo ſharp, that it is reſembled to Hell it ſelf: As where we read, The Lord bringeth to Hell, and bringeth out again, &c. Tob. 13. The pains of Hell have found me, &c. Pſal. 114.

Wood. The Hell that I had, was the loving correction of God toward me, to call me to Repentance, that I ſhould not offend God and his People in leaving things ſo dark, as I left that. For the which cauſe my Conſcience bare me record, I had not done well, as at all times I have felt the ſting of it, when I have broken the Commandments of God by any means, as all Gods People do, I dare ſay, and it is the loving kindneſs of God towards them, to drive them to repentance. But it is to be thought, that your Conſcience is never troubled, how wickedly ſoever you do. For if it were, it ſhould not be ſo ſtrange to you as you make it, which declareth plainly whoſe Servant you be.

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Winch. What a naughty fellow is this? This is ſuch a perverſe Villain as I never talked with in all my life. Hold him a Book, I will make him ſwear, to anſwer directly to ſuch things as I will demand of him; and if he will not anſwer, I will condemn him.

Wood. Call you me a Fellow? I am ſuch a Fellow, I tell you, that will drive you all to Hell, if you conſent to the ſhedding of my blood, and you ſhall have blood to drink, as ſaith S. *John* in his *Revelation*, the ninth Chapter, and being in Hell, you ſhall be compelled to ſay for pain of Conſcience; This is the man that we have had in deriſion, and thought his life madneſs, and his end to be without honour; but now we may ſee how he is counted among the Saints of God, and we are puniſhed. This ſhall you ſee in Hell, if you repent it not, if you do condemn me. This you ſhall find in the fifth Chapter of the Book of *Wiſdom*: and therefore take heed what you do, I give you counſel.

Winch. Wiſdom? What ſpeakeſt thou of Wiſdom? thou never hadſt it; for thou art as very a fool as ever I heard ſpeak.

Wood. Do you not know, that the fooliſh things of this world muſt confound the wiſe things? Wherefore it grieveth me not to be called a fool at your hands. 1 Cor. 15

Winch. Nay, thou art none of thoſe fools; thou art an obſtinate fool, and an Heretick. Lay hand on the Book, and anſwer to ſuch things as I will lay againſt thee.

VVoodman again refuſeth to ſwear or anſwer before the Biſhop, being not his Ordinary.

Wood. I will lay hand on the Book for none of you all. You be not my Biſhop; and therefore I will have nothing to do with you.

Winch. I will have to do with you. This man is without Law, he careth not for the King nor Queen, I dare ſay; for he will not obey their Laws. Let me ſee the Kings Commiſſion. I will ſee whether he will obey that, or not.

Wood. I would you loved the King and Queens Majeſty no worſe than I do, if it pleaſed God: You would not do as you do then.

Winch. Hold him a Book, he is a rank Heretick. Thou ſhalt anſwer to ſuch things as I will demand of thee.

Wood. I take Heaven and Earth to record I am no Heretick, neither can I tell wherefore I am brought to Priſon, no more then any man here can tell, and therewith I looked round about on the People, and ſaid to the Biſhop, If you have any juſt cauſe againſt me worthy of death, lay it againſt me, and let me have it; for I refuſe not to dye (I praiſe God) for the Truths ſake, if I had ten lives. If you have no cauſe, let me go home, I pray you, to my Wife and Children to ſee them kept, and other poor Folk that I would ſet awork by the help of God. I have ſet on work an hundred perſons ere this, all the year together, and was unjuſtly taken from them; but God forgive them that did it, if it be his will.

A charitable Commandment of a Catholick Prelate under pain of Excommuniation. No man to ſay, God ſtrengthen him.

Winch. Do you not ſee how he looketh about for help? But I would ſee any man ſhew thee a chearful countenance, and eſpecially you that be of my Dioceſs. If any of you bid God ſtrengthen him, or take him by the hand, or embrace him, or ſhew him a chearful countenance, you ſhall be excommunicated, and ſhall not be received in again, till you have done open Penance; and therefore beware of it.

Wood. I look for no help of men, for God is on my ſide, I praiſe him therefore; and therefore I need not to care who be againſt me, neither do I care.

Then they cried, Away with him, and bring us another. So I was carried again to the *Marſhalſey*, where I am now merry (I praiſe God therefore) as a Sheep appointed to be ſlain. But for lack of time, I have left out much of our talk; but this is the chiefeſt of it.

The

Anno 1557.

The ſixth and laſt Examination of *Richard Woodman*, written and copied with his own hand.

BE it known unto all Men by this preſent writing, that I Richard Woodman, *ſometime of the Pariſh of* Warbleton, *in the County of* Suſſex, *was condemned for Gods everlaſting truth, Anno* 1557. July 16. *by the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *in the Church of Saint* Mary Overies *in* Southwark, *there ſitting with him the ſame time the Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *the Archdeacon of* Canterbury, D. Langdale, *M.* Roper, *with a fat headed Prieſt, I cannot tell his Name. All theſe conſented to the ſhedding of my Blood, upon this occaſion, as hereafter followeth.*

I affirmed, that Judas *received the Sacrament with a ſop and the Devil withal; and becauſe I would not be ſworn upon a Book, to anſwer directly to ſuch Articles as he would declare to me; and becauſe I would not believe that there remained neither Bread nor Wine after the words of Conſecration, and that the Body of Chriſt could not be received of any but of the Faithful: For theſe Articles I was Condemned, as hereafter ſhall follow more at large, by the help of God.*

The ſixth Examination of Rich. Woodman before the B. of Wincheſter, and diverſother, in the Church of S. Mary Overies.

FIrſt, the Biſhop ſaid when I came before him:

Wincheſter. You were before us on *Monday* laſt paſt; and there you affirmed certain Hereſies. How ſay you now? Do you hold them ſtill, or will you revoke them?

Wood. I held no Hereſies then, neither do I now, as the Lord knoweth.

Winch. No? did you not affirm, that *Judas* received Bread? which is an Hereſie, unleſs you tell what more then Bread.

VVood. Is it Hereſie to ſay, *Judas* received no more then Bread? I ſaid he received more then bare Bread for he received the ſame Sacrament that was prepared to ſhew forth the Lords death, and becauſe he preſumed to eat without Faith, he eat the Devil withal, as the words of Chriſt declare; after he eat the Sop, the Devil entred into him, as you cannot deny.

VVinch. Hold him a Book. I will have you anſwer directly, whether *Judas* did eat the Body of Chriſt or no.

R. Woodman again refuſeth Winch. to be his Judge.

VVood. I will anſwer no more, for I am not of your Diocеſs; wherefore I will have nothing to do with you.

VVinch. No, you be in my Dioceſs, and you be of my Dioceſs, becauſe you have offended in my Dioceſs.

VVood. I am not of your Dioceſs, although I am in your Dioceſs; and I was brought into your Dioceſs againſt my will: and I have not offended in your Dioceſs, if I have, tell me wherein.

Truth taken for Hereſie.

VVincheſt. Here in your own hand writing, the which is Hereſie. Theſe be the words: I cannot find, ſay you, that it is the Body of Chriſt to any, before it is received in Faith. How ſay you? is not this your own hand-writing?

VVood. Yea, I do not deny but it is mine own hand-writing; but when, or where was it written, or where were the words ſpoken?

M. Roper Commiſſioner, and witneſs againſt VVoodman.

Before the Commiſſioners, and here is one of them; Maſter *Roper*, the words were ſpoken before you. Were they not?

Roper. Yes indeed that they were, *VVoodman*, I am ſure you will not deny them; for you have written the words even as you ſpake them.

VVoodman. No Sir, indeed I will not deny but that I ſpake them, and I am glad that you have ſeen it. For you may ſee by that whether I lye, or not.

VVoodmans hand-writing brought in againſt him.

Roper. Indeed the words be written word by word as ye ſpake them.

VVincheſter. Well, here you affirm, that it is your own deed. How ſay you now? will you be ſorry for it, and become an honeſt Man?

VVood. My Lord, I truſt no Man can ſay, but that I am an honeſt Man; and as for that, I marvel that you will lay it to my charge, knowing that my Lord of *London* diſcharged me of all matters that were laid againſt me, when I was releaſed of him.

VVoodman firſt releaſed, and yet called to account again againſt all good order.

VVinch. You were releaſed, and it might fortune, it was not laid to your charge then; therefore we lay it to your charge now, becauſe you be ſuſpected to be an Hereticke: and we may call you before us, and examine you upon your Faith upon ſuſpicion.

VVood. Indeed St. *Peter* willeth me to render account of my hope that I have in God, and I am contented ſo to do, if it pleaſe my Biſhop to hear me.

Chich. Yes I pray you let us hear it.

VVood. I do believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and of Earth, and of all things viſible and inviſible, and in one Lord Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour, very God, and very Man. I believe in God the Holy Ghoſt, the comforter of all Gods elect people, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe the true Catholick Church, and all the Sacraments that belong thereto. Thus have I rendred account of my hope that I have of my Salvation.

Sacrament of the Altar.

VVinch. And how believe you in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar? And with that word they all put off their Caps to that abominable Idol.

VVood. I pray you be contented, for I will not anſwer to any more queſtions; for I perceive you go about to ſhed my Blood.

VVoodman made an Anabaptiſt, becauſe he will not ſwear before him that is not his Ordinary.

VVinch. No? hold him a Book. If he refuſe to ſwear, he is an Anabaptiſt, and ſhall be Excommunicated.

VVoodman. I will not ſwear for you, Excommunicate me if you will. For you be not meet to take an Oath; for you laid Hereſies to my my charge in yonder Pulpit, the which you are not able to prove; wherefore you be not meet to take an Oath of any Man. And as for me, I am not of your Dioceſs, nor will have any thing to do with you.

VVinch. I will have to do with thee, and I ſay thou art a ſtrong Heretick.

All truth is Hereſie with theſe Men.

VVood. Yea, all truth is Hereſie with you; but I am content to ſhew you my mind, how I believe on the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, without flattering. For that you look for, I am ſure. But I will meddle no further, but what I hold my ſelf of it. I will not meddle of any other Mans belief on it.

N. Harpſ. Why? I am ſure all Mens Faith ought to be alike.

VVood. Yea, I grant you ſo, that all true Chriſtians Faith ought to be alike. But I will anſwer for my ſelf.

N. Harpſ. Well, let us hear what you ſay to it.

VVoodmans confeſſion of the Sacrament.

Wood. I do believe, that when I come to receive the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, if it be truly miniſtred according to Chriſts Inſtitution, I coming in Faith, as I truſt in God I will whenſoever I come to receive it, I believing that Chriſt was born for me, and that he ſuffered death for the remiſſion of my Sins, and that *I* ſhall be ſaved by his death and Blood-ſhedding, and to receive the Sacrament of Bread and Wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive whole Chriſt, God and Man, myſtically by Faith, this is my belief on the Sacrament.

Myſtically.

Then they ſpake all at once, ſaying myſtically by Faith?

The fat Prieſt. What a fool art thou, myſtically by Faith? thou canſt not tell what myſtical is.

VVood. If *I* be a fool, ſo take me: But God hath choſen ſuch fools of this World to confound ſuch wiſe things as you are.

1 Cor. 1.

The fat Prieſt. I pray thee what is myſtically?

VVood. I take myſtically to be the Faith that is in us, that the World ſeeth not, but God only.

What is myſtically.

VVincheſter. He cannot tell what he ſaith. Anſwer to the Sacrament of the Altar, whether it be not the Body of Chriſt before it be received, and whether it be not the Body of Chriſt to whomſoever receiveth it? Tell me, or elſe *I* will Excommunicate thee.

VVoodman again appealeth to his Ordinary.

VVood. *I* have ſaid as much as *I* will ſay? Excommunicate me if you will. *I* am none of your Dioceſs. The Biſhop of *Chicheſter* is mine Ordinary. Let him do it, if you will needs have my Blood, that it may be required at his hands.

M. Chriſtopherſon Biſh. of Chicheſter. his Ordinary, not yet conſecrated.

Chich. *I* am not Conſecrated yet, *I* told you when you were with me.

VVood. No indeed, your Kine bring forth nothing but Cow-Calves, as it chanceth now; meaning thereby he had not his Buls from *Rome*.

VVoodman for his fervent ſpeech rebuked.

Then they were all in a great rage with me, and called me all to naught, and ſaid *I* was out of my wits, becauſe *I* ſpake fervently to every Mans queſtion; all the which I cannot remember, but *I* ſaid:

So *Feſtus* ſaid to *Paul*, when he ſpake the words

of

of ſobernes and truth out of the Spirit of God, as I do. But as you have judged me, you be your ſelves. You will go to Hell all the ſort of you, if you condemn me, if you repent it not with ſpeed.

Wood. Then my Keeper, and the Sheriffs deputy *Fuller*, rebuked me, becauſe I ſpake ſo ſharply to them. And I ſaid, I pray you let me alone; I muſt anſwer for my Life.

Then there was much ado that I ſhould keep ſilence, and ſo I held my peace. Then ſpake the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, ſaying; We go not about to condemn thee, but go about to ſave thy Soul, if thou wilt be ruled, and do as we would have thee.

Wood. To ſave my Soul? nay, you cannot ſave my Soul. My Soul is ſaved already. I praiſe God therefore. There can no Man ſave my Soul, but Jeſus Chriſt; and he it is that hath ſaved my Soul, before the Foundation of the World was laid.

This fat Prieſt well ſeen in the Scriptures.

The fat Prieſt. What an Hereſie is that my Lord? here is an Hereſie. He ſaith his Soul was ſaved before the Foundations of the World were laid. Thou canſt not tell what thou ſayeſt. Was thy Soul ſaved before it was?

Wood. Yes, I praiſe God, I can tell what I ſay, and I ſay the truth. Look in the firſt of the *Epheſians*, and there you ſhall find it, where *Paul* ſaith, *Epheſians* 1. *Bleſſed be God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which hath bleſſed us with all manner of ſpiritual bleſſings in Heavenly things, by Chriſt, according as he hath choſen us in himſelf before the Foundation of the World was laid, that we ſhould be holy and without blame before him, through love, and thereto were we predeſtinated.*

Jeſus Chriſt only Saviour of Mans Soul, and not Man.

These be the words of *Paul*, and I believe they be moſt true. And therefore it is my Faith, in and by Jeſus Chriſt, that ſaveth, and not you, or any Man elſe.

The fat Prieſt. What? Faith without works? St. *James* ſaith, Faith without works is dead, and we have free will to do good works.

Good works not diſallowed.

Wood. I would not that any of you ſhould think, that I diſallow good works. For a good Faith cannot be without good works. Yet not of our ſelves, but it is the gift of God, as ſaith St. *Paul* to the *Philippians*, the ſecond Chapter, *It is God that worketh in us both the will and alſo the deed, even of good will.*

Phil. 2.

The Archdeacon of *Canterbury* made Ordinary by the Cardinal to examine *R. Woodman.*

Winch. Make an end; anſwer to me. Here is your Ordinary, the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*; he is made your Ordinary by my Lord *Cardinal*, and he hath authority to examine you of your Faith upon a Book, to anſwer to ſuch Articles as he will lay to you. And I pray you refuſe it not: for the danger is great if you do. Wherefore we deſire you to ſhew your ſelf a Subject in this matter.

Then they ſpake all, and ſaid; Loe, my Lord deſireth you gently to anſwer to him, and ſo we do all. For if you refuſe to take an Oath, he may excommunicate you. For my Lord *Cardinal* may put whom he will in the Biſhops Office, until he is conſecrated.

Wood. I know not ſo much. If you will give me time to learn the truth of it (if I can prove it to be as you ſay) I will tell you my mind in any thing that he ſhall demand of me, without any flattering.

Prieſt. My Lord and all we tell thee it is true; and therefore anſwer to him.

R. Woodman challengeth his Judges to be all turn-coats and changlings.

Wood. I will believe none of you all, for you be turn-coats and changelings, and be wavering minded, as ſaith St. *James*; you be neither hot nor cold, as ſaith S. *John*, therefore God will ſpue you out of his Mouth. Wherefore I can believe none of you all, I tell you truth.

Winch. What? be we turn-coats and changelings, what meaneſt thou by that?

Wood. I mean, that in King *Edwards* time you taught the Doctrine that was ſet forth then, every one of you, and now you teach the contrary; and therefore I call you turn-coats and changelings, as I may well enough. Which words made the moſt part of them to quake.

Winch. Nay, not all as it chanced.

Wood. No? I pray where were you then?

Winch. I was in the *Tower*, as the Lieutenant will bear me record.

Wood. If you were in the *Tower*, it was not therefore, I dare ſay, it was for ſome other matter.

Then they all took heart of Grace, and ſaid; My Lord, he cometh to examine you, we think if he will not anſwer to the Articles, you were beſt to Excommunicate him. Anno 1557.

Wincheſter. He is the naughtieſt varlet Heretick that ever I knew. I will read the Sentence againſt him.

The free ſpeech of the Biſhops and Prieſts.

Wood. Then they ſpake all at once, and I anſwered them as faſt as I could. But I cannot remember it all, the words came out ſo thick, I ſpared them not, I praiſe God therefore; for I ſpake freely.

Then they that ſtood by rebuked me, and ſaid; You cannot tell to whom you ſpeak I think.

Wood. No? Think you ſo? they be but Men. I am ſure I have ſpoken to as good as they be, and better then they will ever be, for any thing that I can ſee, if they repent not with ſpeed.

Winceſt. Give ear; for I will read Sentence againſt you.

Winchester about to read the Sentence.

Wood. Will you ſo? wherefore will you? you have no juſt cauſe to Excommunicate me; and therefore if you do condemn me, you will be condemned in Hell, if you repent not: and I praiſe God, I am not affraid to dye for Gods ſake, if I had a hundred lives.

Winceſter. For Gods ſake? nay, for the devils ſake. Thou ſayſt thou art not affraid to dye; No more was *Judas* that hanged himſelf, as thou wilt kill thy ſelf wilfully, becauſe thou wilt not be ruled.

Woodman. Nay, I defie the Devil, *Judas* and all their members. And *Judas* Fleſh was not affraid, but his Spirit and Conſcience was affraid, and therefore deſpaired and hung himſelf. But I praiſe God, I feel no lothſomneſs in my Fleſh to dye, but a joyful Conſcience, and a willing mind thereto. Wherefore my Fleſh is ſubdued to it, *I* praiſe God; and therefore *I* am not affraid of death.

Chich. Woodman, for Gods ſake be ruled. You know what you ſaid to me at my Houſe. *I* could ſay more, if *I* would.

Read in the firſt Examination of *Woodman*, pag. 2176. in the ſecond edition.

Wood. Say what you can; the moſt fault that you found in me was, becauſe *I* praiſed the living God, and becauſe *I* ſaid, I praiſe God, and the Lord; which you ought to be aſhamed of, if you have any Grace; for I told you where the words were written.

Winceſt. Well, how ſay you? will you confeſs that *Judas* received the Body of Chriſt unworthily? tell me plainly.

No Man can receive the Body of Chriſt unworthily.

Wood. My Lord, if you, or any of you all can prove before all this audience, *in all the Bible*, that any Man ever eat the Body of Chriſt unworthily, then I will be with you in all things that you will demand of me; of the which matter I deſire all this people to be witneſs.

Prieſt. Will you ſo? that we ſhall agree well enough. St. *Paul* ſaith ſo.

Wood. I pray you where ſaith he ſo? rehearſe the words.

Prieſt. In the 11. of the firſt to the *Corinthians* he ſaith; *Whoſo eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lords Body.*

The place of S. Paul. 1. Cor. 11. expounded.

Wood. Do theſe words prove that *Judas* eat the Body of Chriſt unworthily? I pray you let me ſee them. They were contented. Then ſaid I, theſe be the words even that you ſaid: Good people hearken well to them. *Whoſo eateth of this Bread and drinketh of this Cup unworthily:* He ſaith not, Whoſo eateth of this Body unworthily, or drinketh of this Blood unworthily: But he ſaith; *Whoſo eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily* (which is the Sacrament) *eateth and drinketh his own damnation*, becauſe he maketh no difference between the Sacrament which repreſenteth the Lords Body, and other Bread and drink. Here (good people) you may all ſee they are not able to prove their ſayings true. Wherefore I cannot believe them in any thing that they do.

What it meaneth to make no difference of the Lords Body.

Winch. Thou art a rank Heretick indeed. Art thou an expounder? Now I will read Sentence againſt thee.

Woodman. Judge not leſt you be judged. For as you have judged me, you be your ſelf. Then he read the Sentence. Why, ſaid I; Will you read the Sentence againſt me, and cannot tell wherefore?

Winceſter readeth Sentence againſt *Woodman*, and cannot tell wherefore.

Winch. Thou art an Heretick, and therefore thou ſhalt be Excommunicated.

Wood.

Anno 1557.

Wood. I am no Heretick, I take Heaven and Earth to witneſs, I defie all Hereticks; and if you condemn me, you will be damned, if you repent not. But God give you Grace to repent all, if it be his will; and ſo he read forth the Sentence in Latin, but what he ſaid, God knoweth, and not I. God be judge between them and me. When he had done, I would have talked my mind to them, but they cried; Away, away with him. So I was carried to the *Marſhalſey* again, where I am, and ſhall be as long as it ſhall pleaſe God; and I praiſe God moſt heartily, that ever he hath elected, and predeſtinated me to come to ſo high dignity, as to bear rebuke for his Names ſake; his Name be praiſed therefore, for ever and ever; Amen.

R. Woodman condemned and carried to the Marſhalſey, being not ſuffered to ſpeak.

And thus you have the Examinations of this Bleſſed *Woodman*, or rather *Goodman*; wherein may appear as well the great Grace and Wiſdom of God in that Man, as alſo the groſs ignorance and barbarous cruelty of his adverſaries, eſpecially of Doctor *White* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Now followeth likewiſe the effect of his Letter.

A Godly Letter of Richard Woodman, *written to a Chriſtian Woman, Miſtreſs* Roberts *of* Hawkhurſt.

GRace, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father, and from his Son our alone Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, by the operation and working of the Holy Ghoſt, be multiplied plentiouſly upon you dear Siſter *Roberts*, that you may the more joyfully bear the Croſs of Chriſt that ye are under, unto the end, to your only comfort and conſolation, and to all our Brethren and Siſters that are round about you, both now and ever, Amen.

In my moſt humble wiſe I commend me unto you, and to all our Brethren and Siſters in thoſe parts, that love our Lord unfainedly, certifying you, that I and all my Brethren with me are merry and joyful, we praiſe God therefore, looking daily to be diſſolved from theſe our mortal Bodies, according to the good pleaſure of our Heavenly Father, praiſing God alſo for your conſtancy, and gentle benevolence, that you have ſhewed unto Gods elect people, in this troubleſom time of perſecution, which may be a ſure pledge and token of Gods good will and favour towards you, and to all other that hear thereof. For bleſſed are the merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy. Wherefore the fruits declare alway what the tree is. For a good Man or Woman, out of the good treaſure of their heart, bring forth good things.

Phil. 2.

Matth. 5.

Matth. 24.

Wherefore (dear Siſter) it is not as many affirm in theſe days (the more is to be lamented) that ſay God asketh but a Mans heart; which is the greateſt injury that can be deviſed againſt God and his Word. For St. *James* ſaith; Shew me thy Faith by thy deeds, and I will ſhew thee my Faith by my deeds, ſaying; the Devils have Faith, and tremble for fear, and yet ſhall be but Devils ſtill, becauſe their minds were never to do good. Let us not therefore be like them, but let our Faith be made manifeſt to the whole World by our deeds, and in the midſt of a crooked and perverſe nation, as St. *Paul* ſaith, let our light ſhine as in a dark place.

God asketh more then the Heart only.

James 2.

Phil. 2.

Oh dear hearts, now is the Goſpel of God overwhelmed with many black and troubleſom clouds of perſecution, for the which cauſe very few go about to have their eyes made clear by the true light of the Goſpel, for fear of looſing of their treaſures of this World, which are but vain, and ſhall periſh.

Matth. 7.

Let not us therefore be like unto them which light their candle, and put it under a buſhel; but let us ſet our candle upon a candleſtick, that it may give light unto all them that are in the Houſe: that is to ſay, let all the people of the houſhold of God ſee our good works, in ſuffering all things patiently that ſhall be laid upon us for the Goſpels ſake, if it be death it ſelf. For Chriſt died for us, leaving us an Example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps; and as he hath given his life for us, ſo ought we to give our lives for the defence of the Goſpel, to the comfort of our Brethren.

How is it then that ſome will ſay, *that their Faith is* good, and yet they do all the deeds of Antichriſt the Devil, and be not aſhamed to alledge *certain Scriptures* to maintain their wickedneſs? Saint *Paul* ſaith; To believe with the heart juſtifieth, and to confeſs with the mouth maketh a Man ſafe. Oh good God, here may all Men ſee, that no Man or Woman can have a true Faith, unleſs they have deeds alſo; and he that doubteth, is like the waves of the Sea toſſed about of the wind, and can look for no good thing at the Lords hands. May not a Man judge all ſuch to be like thoſe which St. *John* ſpeaketh of, that be neither hot nor cold; and therefore God will (he ſaith) ſpue them out of his Mouth? If we judge evil of ſuch, have not they given us occaſion? had it not been better for them to have had a Milſtone tied about their necks, and to have been caſt into the Sea, then they ſhould give ſuch offences to Gods elect people in condemning them as they do, in going to the Synagogues of Satan, and there to receive the mark of the Beaſt, in that they ſee and hear God Blaſphemed there, and hold their peace? Doth not that declare to the whole World, that they allow their doings to be good? and theſe do not only defile themſelves, but alſo be an occaſion to confirm the Papiſts in their Papiſtry, and ſo be an occaſion of our weak Brothers falling, the which will be all required at their hands; which will be too heavy a burden for them to bear, if they repent it not with ſpeed. For they that know their Maſters will, and do it not, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes. Oh, do not we perceive, that now is the acceptable time that Chriſt ſpeaketh of? yea even now is the Axe put to the roots of the trees, ſo that every tree that bringeth not forth good fruits now, muſt be hewen down, and caſt into the Fire.

Rom. 10. Confeſſing with the mouth and believing in heart muſt go together.

Apoc. 1.

Matth. 18.

Apoc. 13.

Slanderers of the Goſpel.

Luke 12.

Matth. 3.

Now is the Lord come with his Fan in his hand; to try the Wheat from the Chaff. The Wheat will he gather into his barn, and the Chaff he will burn as is aforeſaid. Now is the time come that we muſt go meet the Bridegroom with oyl in our lamps. We are alſo bidden to the feaſt, let us make no excuſes. Yea our Maſter hath delivered his talents unto us, God give us Grace to occupie them well, that at his coming he may receive his own with vantage. Yea, now is the Lord come to ſee if there be any fruit upon his trees; ſo that if the Lord come and find none, he will ſerve us as he did the wild figg-tree, that is, never fruit ſhall grow on him more; Alſo, if we go to meet the Bridegroom without oyl in our Lamps, and ſhould go to buy, the doubt is, we ſhould be ſerved as were the fooliſh Virgins; that was, God ſaid to them, depart, I know you not. Or if we ſhould make excuſes to come to the Feaſt, other ſhall be bidden in our rooms; If we occupy not our Talents well, they ſhall be taken from us and given to other, and all ſuch unprofitable ſervants ſhall be caſt into Priſon in Hell, where ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.

Matth. 24.

Luke 14.

Mat. 5.

Oh good God! what a ſort of fearful ſayings are here contained? what Chriſtian heart will not hearken diligently hereto? Oh, may not all people well perceive now that this is the time that our Maſter Chriſt ſpeaketh of, that the Father ſhould be againſt the Son, and the Son againſt the Father, and one Brother againſt another; that the Brother ſhall deliver the Brother to death: yea, and that the wicked ſhall ſay all manner of wicked ſayings againſt us for his Names ſake? the which *I* have well found by experience, *I* praiſe God therefore, that hath given me ſtrength to bear it. For *I* think there can be no evil deviſed but it hath been imagined againſt me, and that of my familiar friends, as *David* ſaith: but *I* praiſe my Lord God, they are not able to prove any of their ſayings true, but that they go about to find fault in them that God hath choſen, becauſe they themſelves liſt not to take up their Croſs and follow Chriſt; and therefore they ſpeak evil of the thing that they know not, the which ſhall give account for it before him that is ready to judge both the quick and the dead.

Mat. 10.

Mat. 5.

R. Woodman vexed of his own friends.

But my truſt is, that all the people of God will be ruled by the Counſel of St. *John*, ſaying; My Sheep will hear my voice, ſtrangers they will not hear: meaning thereby, that ye ſhould not believe ſtrangers, counting them ſtrangers that go about to ſubvert the Goſpel. Wherefore mark well what they be, and try them well or ever you give credit to them, according to St. *Johns* Counſel in his Epiſtle, ſaying; Believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits whether they be of God, or not; meaning thereby; that they that be not of God, will ſpeak good of none but of them that be as they be. Wherefore (dear Siſter)

John 10.

1 John 4. 1

be

be of good cheer, and give no credit to ſuch People, whatſoever ye hear them ſay. For I have no miſtruſt by Gods help, but that all the world ſhall ſee and know that my blood ſhall not be dear in mine own ſight, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to give my Adverſaries leave to ſhed it. I do earneſtly believe, that God which hath begun this good work in me, will perform it to the end, as he hath given me grace and will alway, to bear this eaſie yoke and light burden; the which I have always found, I praiſe my Lord God.

The manifold troubles which *Woodman* hath paſſed through.

For when I have been in Priſon, wearing one while bolts, otherwhile ſhackles, otherwhile lying on the bare ground, ſometime ſitting in the Stocks, ſometime bound with cords, that all my Body hath been ſwoln, much like to be overcome for the pain that hath been in my fleſh, ſometime fain to lye without in the Woods and Fields, wandring to and fro, few I ſay, that durſt keep my Company for fear of the Rulers, ſometime brought before the Juſtices, Sheriffs, Lords, Doctors, and Biſhops, ſometime called Dog, ſometime Devil, Heretick, Whoremonger, Traitor, Thief, Deceiver, with divers other ſuch like; yea, and even they that did eat of my Bread, that ſhould have been moſt my Friends by nature, have betrayed me: Yet for all this I praiſe my Lord God that hath ſeparated me from my Mothers womb, all this that hath happened unto me hath been eaſie, light, and moſt delectable and joyful of any Treaſure that ever I poſſeſſed; for I praiſe God they are not able to prove one jot or tittle of their ſayings true. But that way that they call Hereſie, I ſerve my Lord God, and at all times before whomſoever I have been brought, God hath

Woodman comforted in his troubles.

given me mouth and wiſedom, where-againſt all my Adverſaries have not been able to reſiſt, I praiſe God therefore. Anno 1557.

Wherefore (dear Siſter) be of good comfort with all your Brethren and Siſters, and take no thought what you ſhall ſay, for it ſhall be given you the ſame hour, according to the promiſes, as I have always found, and as you and all other of Gods Elect ſhall well find, when the time is full come. And whereas I and many other have hoped, that this Perſecution would have been at an end e're this time, now I perceive, God will have a further trial to root out all diſſemblers, that no man ſhould rejoyce in himſelf, but he that rejoyceth, ſhall rejoyce of God. Luke 21. Matth. 10. Experience of the Lord to keep promiſe with his

Wherefore if Prophecy ſhould fail, and Tongues ſhould ceaſe, yet love muſt endure. For fear hath painfulneſs, but a perfect love caſteth out all fear: which love I have no miſtruſt but God hath poured it upon you ſo abundantly, that nothing in the world ſhall be able to ſeparate you from God. Neither high nor low, rich nor poor, life nor death, ſhall be able to put you from Chriſt, but by him I truſt you ſhall enter into new *Jeruſalem*, there to live for ever, beholding the glory of God with the ſame eyes that you now have, and all other faithful people that continue to the end. Give all honour and glory to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons and one God, to be honoured now and ever, Amen. 1 Cor. 13. Rom. 8.

After theſe Examinations thus had and commenced between *Richard Woodman* and the Biſhops, he was (as is afore told) judged by Sentence of Condemnation, and

The burning of 10. Martyrs at Lewes.

The martyrdom of ten godly Martyrs of Chriſt at *Lewes*, Anno 1557. *June* 22.

ſo deprived of his life; with whom alſo was burned nine other, to wit, five men and four women, which were taken not paſt two or three days before their Judgment. The names of all which being alſo before expreſſed, here again follow in this order. *Richard Woodman*, *George Stevens*, *William Maynard*, *Alexander Hoſman* his Servant, *Thomaſine a Wood* his Maid, *Margery Moris*, *James Moris* her Son, *Denis Burgis*, *Aſhdowne's* Wife, *Grove's* Wife.

Theſe Perſons here above-named, and bleſſed Martyrs, were put to death at *Lewes* the 22. of *June*.

Of the which number the eight laſt were apprehended (as is ſaid) either the ſame day, or the ſecond or third day before, and ſo with the ſaid *Woodman* and *Stevens*, were together committed to the fire; in which ſpace no Writ could come down from *London* to the Juſtices, for their burning. Wherefore what is to be ſaid to ſuch Juſtices, or what reckoning they will make to God and to the Laws of this Realm, I refer that to them that have to do in the matter. The like whereof is to be found alſo of other Juſtices, who without any lawful Writ of diſcharge or order of Law, have unlawfully and diſorderly burnt the Servants of Chriſt (whoſe blood the Law both may and alſo ought to revenge;) eſpecially at *Salisbury*, and at *Canterbury*, and *Garnſey*. But concerning theſe matters, though mans Law do wink, or rather ſleep at them, yet they ſhall be ſure Gods Law will find ſuch Murderers out at length. I pray God the doers may repent betime.

Certain Juſtices charged for burning of Chriſts people without any lawful Warrant or Writ.

One

Anno 1557.

One Ambrose died in Maidstone Prison.

Ambrose died in Prison confessor.

AFter these ten above named burnt at *Lewes*, about the same time and Month, one *Ambrose* died in *Maidstone* Prison, who else should have been burned in the like cause and quarrel as the other were.

The Condemnation and Martyrdom of Richard Lush.

The Condemnation of R. Lush.

IN the Registers of *Gilbert* Bishop of *Bathe* and *Wells*, I find a Certificate made to King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, of one *Richard Lush*, there condemned and given to the Secular Power to be burned for the cause of Heresie, whose Affirmations in the said Certificate be expressed in tenour and effect, as followeth.

His Articles.

1. FIrst, for denying the verity of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar.

2. *Item*, for denying auricular confession to be made to the Priest.

3. *Item*, for affirming only to be three Sacraments; to wit, of Baptism, of the Supper, and of Matrimony.

4. *Item*, for refusing to call the Lords Supper by the Name of the Sacrament of the Altar.

5. *Item*, for denying Purgatory, and that prayer and almes profit not the dead Body.

6. *Item*, that Images are not to be suffered in the Church, and that all that kneel to Images at the Church, be Idolators.

7. *Item*, that they which were burnt of late for Religion, died Gods Servants and good Martyrs.

8. *Item*, for condemning the single life of Priests, and other votaries.

9. *Item*, for denying the Universal and Catholick Church, meaning belike the Church of *Rome*.

The Martyrdom of Rich. Lush in the Diocess of Bathe and Wells.

For these Assertions, as there are expressed, he was condemned and committed to the Sheriffs, and also a Certificate directed by the Bishop aforesaid, to the King and Queen. Whereby we have apparantly to understand, that the said *Richard Lush*, thus condemned by Bishop *Brown*, was there burnt and executed, unless peradventure in the mean season he died, or was made away in the Prison; whereof I have no certainty to express.

A note of John Hullier *Minister and Martyr, burned at* Cambridge.

Refer this Story of J. Hullier Martyr, to that which is before said of him. The Story of J. Hullier with more matter inlarged.

COncerning the Story of *John Hullier* Martyr, partly mentioned before, for the more full declaration of the death and Martyrdom of that good Man, because the Story is but rawly and imperfectly touched before; for the more perfecting thereof, I thought thereunto to add that which since hath come to my hand, as followeth.

John Hullier first Scholar at Eaton.

First, *John Hullier* was brought up at *Eaton Colledge*, and after, according to the Foundation of that House, for that he was ripe for the University, he was elected Scholar in the *Kings Colledge*, where also not tarrying full three years of probation, before he was fellow of the Colledge, he after a little season was one of the ten Conducts in the *Kings Colledge*, which was *Anno* 1539. Then at length in process of time, he came to be Curate of *Babram*, three miles from *Cambridge*, and so went afterward to *Lynn*; where he, having divers conflicts with the Papists, was from thence carried to *Ely*, to Doctor *Thurlby*, then Bishop there; who after divers Examinations, sent him to *Cambridge* Castle, where he remained but a while.

John Hullier Conduct in the Kings Colledge.

Hullier brought from Lynn to the Bishop of Ely.

Hullier prisoned in the Tolbooth.

From thence he was conveighed to the Town Prison, commonly called the *Tolbooth*, lying there almost a quarter of a year, while at length he was cited to appear at great Saint *Maries* on *Palmsunday* Eve, before divers Doctors, both Divines and Lawyers, amongst whom was chiefest Doctor *Shaxton*, also Doctor *Young*, Doctor *Sedgewike*, Doctor *Scot*, *Mitch*, and others. Where after Examination had, for that he would not recant, he was first condemned, the Sentence being read by Doctor *Fuller*.

Then consequently he was degraded after their Popish mannner, with scraping crown and hands. When they had degraded him, he said chearfully; This is the joyfullest day that ever I saw, and I thank you all, that ye have delivered and lightned me of all this paltry.

Hullier degraded.

In the mean time whilst it was doing, one standing by, asked *Hullier* what Book he had in his hand. Who answered, a Testament. Whereat this Man in a rage took it and threw it violently from him. Then was he given over to the Secular Powers, *Brasey* being Major, who carrying him to Prison again, took from him all his Books, writings, and papers.

Brasy Major of Cambridge.

On *Maundy Thursday* coming to the Stake, he exhorted the people to pray for him, and after holding his peace, and praying to himself, one spake to him, saying; The Lord strengthen thee. Whereat a Sergeant, named *Briesly*, stayed and bade him hold his Tongue, or else he should repent it.

Brisly Sergeant, persecutor.

Nevertheless *Hullier* answered and said (either thus or very like, the effect was all one) Friend, I trust that as God hath hitherto begun, so also he will strengthen me, and finish his work upon me. I am bidden to a *Maundy*, whither I trust to go, and there to be shortly. God hath laid the Foundation, as I by his aid will end it.

Hullier stedfast trust in God.

Then going to a stool (prepared for him to sit on) to have his hosen plucked off, he desired the people to pray for him again, and also to bear witness that he died in the right Faith, and that he would Seal it with his Blood; certifying them, that he died in a just cause, and for the testimony of the verity and truth, and that there was no other Name but Jesus Christ to build upon, under whose banner he fought, and whose Souldier he was; and yet speaking, he turned himself about toward the *East*, and exhorted the people there likewise.

Hullier prepared himself to the Stake.

Now it chanced on a bank to stand three arch Papists, *George Boyes*, *Henry Barley*, and *Gray*, all three of *Trinity Colledge*. This *Boyes* was one of the Proctors of the University that year. To whom Master *Gray* spake, saying; Hear ye not Master Proctor, what Blasphemy this fellow uttereth? surely it is evil done to suffer him.

Three notorious Papists in Trinity Colledge.

At whose words, this *Boyes* spake with a loud voice; Master *Major*, what mean ye? if ye suffer him thus to talk at liberty, I tell ye the Council shall hear of it, and we take you not to be the Queens friend. He is a pernicious person, and may do more harm then you wote of. Whereat simple *Hullier*, as meek as a Lamb, taking the matter very patiently, made no answer, but made him ready, uttering his prayer. Which done, he went meekly himself to the Stake, and with Chains being bound, was beset with Reed and Wood, standing in a pitch barrel, and the Fire being set to, not marking the wind, it blew the flame to his back. Then he feeling it, began earnestly to call upon God. Nevertheless his friends perceiving the Fire to be ill kindled, caused the Sergeants to turn it, and Fire it to that place where the wind might blow it to his face.

Boyes, Proctor of Cambridge.

The Martyrdom of John Hullier.

That done, there was a company of Books which were cast into the Fire, and by chance a Communion Book fell between his hands, who received it joyfully, opened it, and read so long till the force of the flame and smoak caused him that he could see no more; and then he fell again to prayer, holding his hands up to Heaven, and the Book betwixt his Arms next his Heart thanking God for sending him it: and at that time the day being a very fair day and a hot, yet the wind was somwhat up, and it caused the Fire to be the fiercer, and when all the people thought he had been dead, he suddenly uttered these words; Lord Jesus receive my Spirit, dying very meekly.

Books burned with Hullier.

The last words of J. Hullier at his death.

The place where he was burned, is called *Jesus Green*, not far from *Jesus Colledge*. *Seagar* gave him certain Gunpowder, but little to the purpose; for he was dead before it took fire. All the people prayed for him, and many a tear was shed for him. Which the Papists seeing, cried, he was not to be prayed for, and being but a damned Man, it could profit him nothing: nevertheless they continued praying, Whereat the Papists fell into such a rage that they menaced them with terrible threatnings to ward. His Flesh being consumed, his bones stood upright even as if they had been alive. Of the people, some took what

Papists of Cambridge forbid the people to pray for Hullier.

what they could get of him, as pieces of Bones. One had his Heart, the which was distributed so far as it would go; one took the Scalp and looked for the Tongue, but it was consumed except the very root.

One rounded him in the ear, and desired him to be constant to the end; at which he spake nothing, but shewed a joyful countenance, and so continued both constant and joyful to the end.

A note of Thomas Rede.

Refer this to Tho. Rede Martyr, before.

THomas *Rede* who was burned at *Lewes*, as it appeareth above, before he was in Prison, determined with himself to go to Church. The night following he saw a vision, a company of tall young men in white, very pleasant to behold; to whom he would have joyned himself, but it would not be.

Then he looked on himself, and he was full of spots, and therewith waked, and took hold, and stood to the truth; God be thanked therefore, and so constantly was burned with his fellows, as is above specified.

Simon Miller *and* Elizabeth Cooper *burnt at* Norwich.

July 13. Simon Miller a Merchant, Martyr.

IN the Month of *July* next ensued the Martyrdom of *Simon Miller* and *Elizabeth Cooper*. This *Simon* dwelling in the Town of *Lynn*, a Godly and zealous Man in the knowledge of the Lord and of his Truth, detesting and abhorring the contrary enforced Religion then set forth, came from *Lynn* to *Norwich*, where he standing in the press and hearing of the people coming out the same time from their Popish Service ended in the Church, began to ask them coming out of the Church, where he might go to have the Communion. At which words, divers much marvelling to hear and see his boldness, one that was an evil disposed Papists, hearing the same, said, that if he would needs go to a Communion, he would go bring him thither where he should be sped of his purpose. Whereupon shortly after he was brought to the Chancellor of *Norwich* (whose Name was *Dunning*) who after a few words, and small talk passed with this examinate, committed him to ward.

The words of Simon Miller to the people. The cause why Simon Miller was taken.

Simon Miller examined before Doctor Dunning.

In the mean while as he was in Examination, he had in his shoe, his Confession, written in a certain paper, whereof a piece appearing above his shoe, was spied and taken out. The Chancellor asking if he would stand to the Confession of the same Faith therein contained, he constantly affirmed the same. Whereupon, as is said, he was committed. Thus the said *Simon* being in the Bishops House, under custody of the Keeper there called Master *Felow*, how it hapned it is not certain, whether by gentleness of the Keeper (who was somwhat gentle that ways) or by leave given of the Bishop, or else whether he had condescended of a purpose to their Articles, he was dismissed, and went home to his House at *Lynn*. Where he continued a certain space, while he had disposed and set there all things in order.

Simon Miller's Confession espied in his shoe.

Simon Miller dismissed to his House at Lynn.

Simon Miller returneth again to his confession, and is condemned.

That done, he returned again to the Bishops House to his Prison and Keeper, till the time at length, he constantly abiding in his professed purpose, and defence of Gods truth, was by the said Bishop and his Chancellor, condemded and committed to the Fire about the 13. day of *July*.

Elizabeth Cooper, *Martyr.*

Eliz. Cooper Martyr.

WIth this *Simon Miller* also was burnt one *Elizabeth Cooper* (as is aforesaid) a Pewterers Wife, dwelling in S. *Andrews* Parish in *Norwich*, where she had before recanted, and being unquiet for the same, and greatly troubled inwardly, at the last she came into the said Saint *Andrews* Church, the people being at their Popish Service, and there standing in the same, said she revoked her recantation before made in that place, and was heartily sorry that ever she did it, willing the people not to be deceived, neither to take her doings before for an example, &c. These or such like words she spake in the Church.

Eliz. Cooper revoketh her recantation in the open Church.

Then cried one *Bacon* of the said Parish, laying his Arms abroad, saying; Master Sheriff, will you suffer this? and repeating the same, urged him to go from the Church to her House, at whose knocking she came down, and was taken and sent to Prison.

Anno 1557.

The Sheriff against his will enforced to [illegible] upon Eliz. Cooper.

The Sheriff (named Master *Thomas Sutton*) and she had been Servants together before in one House, and for the friendship he bare unto her, and the more for the Gospels sake he was very loath to do it, but that he was enforced by those other persons (before specified) much against his own Conscience, which he now earnestly repenteth.

This good Woman being condemned, and at the Stake with *Simon Miller* to be burnt, when the Fire came unto her, she a little shrunk thereat, with a voice crying, ha. When the said *Simon Miller* heard the same, he put his hand behind him toward her, and willed her to be strong and of good chear: For good Sister (said he) we shall have a joyful and a sweet supper. Whereat she being, as it seemed, thereby strengthened, stood as still and as quiet as one most glad to finish that good work which before most happily she had begun. So in fine she ended her life with her companion joyfully, committing her Soul into the hands of Almighty God.

Eliz. Cooper strengthened at the Stake by Sim. Miller.

The Martyrdom of ten faithful and blessed Martyrs, five Men and five Women burnt at Colchester, *five in the forenoon, and five in the afternoon, for the testimony and witness of Christ Jesus and his glorious Gospel.*

August 2. The Martyrdom of ten Godly Martyrs, five Men and five Women at Colchester.

AS it is no new thing in those whom we call Prelates and Priests of the Church, to be raisers up of Persecution against Christ and his poor Flock: so it is much to be marvelled or rather lamented, that Noble Persons, and Men of Honour and Worship, would be made such Ministers, to serve the affections of these tyrants, as commonly, as well in all the sorrowful days of the late Queen *Mary*, as namely in this present Story is to be marked.

And first thou remembrest (gentle Reader) how mention was made a little before of xxii. which were sent up Prisoners together from *Colchester* to *London* by the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Darcy*, Master *Tyrrel* of Saint *Osithes*, and other Commissioners and Justices, &c. The which xxii. (as is aforesaid) through a gentle submission put unto them, were afterward released and delivered.

In the number of these foresaid 22. was one *William Munt* of *Muchbentley* in *Essex*, Husbandman, with *Alice* his Wife, and *Rose Allen* Maid, the daughter of the said *Alice Munt*; which coming home again to their House at *Muchbentley* aforesaid, refrained themselves from the unsavory Service of the Popish Church, and frequented the company of good Men and Women which gave themselves diligently to reading, invocating, and calling upon the Name of God through Christ: whereby they so fretted the wicked Priest of the Town, called Sir *Thomas Tye*, and other like unto him, that casting their heads together, they made a pestilent Supplication to the Lord *Darcy*, in the Name of the whole Parish: the tenor whereof hereafter followeth.

W. Munt, Alice his Wife, Rose Allen her daughter.

Tho. Tye Priest a wicked Promoter.

The manner of a Supplication to the Lord Darcy, *and by him delivered to Sir* John Kingston *Priest and Commissary.*

A Supplication of the Persecutors to the Lord Darcy.

PLeaseth in your Honourable Lordship to be advertised that we confess, whilst your good Lordship lay here in the Countrey, the people were stayed in good order, to our great comfort: but since your Lordships departure, they have made digression from good order in some places, and namely in the Parish of *Muchbentley*, by reason of three Seditious persons, *William Munt* and his Wife, and *Rose* her daughter, who by their colourable submission (as it doth appear) were dismist and sent down from the Bishop of *London*, and since their coming home they have not only in their own persons shewed manifest signs and tokens of disobedience, in not coming to the Church, nor yet observing other good orders, but also most maliciously and seditiously have seduced many from coming to the Church, and from obeying all other good orders; mocking also those that frequent the Church, and calling them Church Owls, and Blasphemously calling the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar a blind God, with divers such like Blasphemies. In consideration whereof,

Anno 1557.

whereof, may it pleaſe your Honour, (for the love of God, and for the tender zeal your good Lordſhip beareth to Juſtice, and the common Peace and quietneſs of of the King and Queens Majeſties loving Subjects) to award out your warrant for the ſaid *VVilliam Munt*, his Wife, and *Roſe* her Daughter, that they being attached and brought before your good Lordſhip, we truſt the reſt will fear to offend (their Ring-Leaders of Sedition being apprehended) to the quietneſs of their Obedient Subjects.

Cruel Perſecutors.

Mr. Tye a Father, and a Bloody Perſecutor.

Your daily Orators, the Pariſhioners of Muchbently, Thomas Tye *Prieſt*, John Carter, Thomas Candler, John Barker, Richard Mere, J. Painter, Will. Harris John Richard, *with other.*

This being done, the ſaid Sir *Thomas Tye* bethought with himſelf, where the perſecuted did reſort. For in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, for a Twelvemonth and more he came not to the Church, but frequented the Company of godly men and women, which abſtained from the ſame, and as they thought, he laboured to keep a good Conſcience, but the ſequel ſhewed him to be a falſe Brother.

Now (as I ſaid) he partly knowing the places of refuge for honeſt men, did further inquire of other men about the ſame: and being thereof ſufficiently (as he thought) inſtructed to his purpoſe, immediately about the time the Supplication above ſpecified was exhibited to the ſaid Lord *Darcy*, wrote ſecretly a Letter to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, wherein he maketh his account how he had beſtowed his time, and complained of divers honeſt men, among which was the ſaid *William Munt* and his Company: The tenor of which Letter hereafter followeth.

A Letter ſent to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, from Sir *Thomas Tye*, Prieſt.

Right honourable Lord, after my bounden duty done in moſt humble wiſe, theſe ſhall be to ſignifie unto your Lordſhip the ſtate of our parts concerning Religion. And firſt ſince the coming down of the twenty two rank Hereticks diſmiſſed from you, the deteſtable ſort of Schiſmaticks were never ſo bold ſince the King and Queens Majeſties Reign, as they are now at this preſent. In Muchbently *where your Lordſhip is Patron of the Church, ſince* William Munt, *and* Alice *his Wife, with* Roſe Allin *her Daughter came home, they do not only abſent themſelves from the Church, and ſervice of God, but do daily allure many other away from the ſame, which before did outwardly ſhew ſigns and tokens of Obedience.*

Tyes Letter to B. Boner

They aſſemble together upon the Sabbath day in the time of Divine Service, ſometimes in one houſe, ſometime in another, and there keep their Privy Conventicles and Schools of Hereſie. The Jurates ſay, the Lords Commiſſion is out, and they are diſcharged of their Oath. The Queſt-men in your Archdeacons Viſitation alledged, that foraſmuch as they were once preſented and now ſent home, they have no more to do with them nor any other. Your Officers ſay, namely Mr. Boſwel, *that the Council ſent them not home without a great conſideration. I pray God ſome of your Officers prove not favourers of Hereticks. The Rebels are ſtout in the Town of* Colcheſter.

The Miniſters of the Church are hemd at in the open ſtreets, and called Knaves. The bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar is blaſphemed and rayled upon in every Houſe and Tavern. Prayer and Faſting is not regarded. Seditious talks and news are rife, both in Town and Country, in as ample and large manner, as though there had no honourable Lords and Commiſſioners been ſent for reformation thereof. The occaſion riſeth partly by reaſon of John Love *of* Colcheſter Hieth *(a perverſe place;) which* John Love *was twice indicted of Hereſie, and thereupon fled with his Wife and houſhold, and his goods ſeiſed within the Town of* Colcheſter, *to the King and Queens Majeſties uſe. Nevertheleſs the ſaid* John *is come home again, and nothing ſaid or done to him. Whereupon the Hereticks are wonderfully encouraged, to the no little diſcomfort of good and Catholick People, which daily pray to God for the proſit, unity, and reſtauration of his Church again: which thing ſhall come the ſooner to paſs, through the Travel and pains of ſuch honourable Lords and Reverend Fathers as your Lordſhip is, unto whom I wiſh long life and continuance, with encreaſe of much honour. From* Colcheſter *the* 18. *of* December.

Your humble Bedeſman,
Thomas Tye, Prieſt.

When *Judaſly* this wicked Prieſt had thus wrought his malice againſt the People of God, within a while after the ſtorms began to ariſe againſt thoſe poor perſecuted, *William Munt* and his Company, whereby they were enforced to hide themſelves from the heat thereof. And continuing ſo a little ſpace, at laſt, the ſeventh day of *March*, *Anno* 1557. being the firſt Sunday in *Lent*, and by two of the Clock in the Morning, one Mr. *Edmund Tyrrel* (who came of the houſe of thoſe *Tyrrels* which murdered King *Edward* the fifth and his Brother) took with him the Bayliff of the hundred called *William Simuel*, dwelling in *Colcheſter*, and the two Conſtables of *Muchbently* aforeſaid, named *John Baker* and *VVilliam Harris*, with divers other a great number; and beſetting the houſe of the ſaid *VVilliam Munt* round about, called to them at length to open the Door: which being done, Mr. *Tyrrel* with certain of his Company went into the Chamber where the ſaid Father *Munt* and his Wife lay, willing them to riſe: for (ſaid he) you muſt go with us to *Colcheſter-Caſtle*. Mother *Munt* hearing that, being very ſick, deſired that her Daughter might firſt fetch her ſome Drink; for ſhe was (ſhe ſaid) very ill at eaſe.

W. Simuel, J. Baker W. Harris Perſecutors.

The taking of W. Munt, his Wife, and R. Allin their Daughter.

Then he gave her leave and bade her go. So her Daughter the forenamed *Roſe Allin*, Maid, took a ſtone Pot in one hand, and a Candle in the other, and went to draw drink for her Mother: and as ſhe came back again thorow the houſe, *Tyrrel* met her, and willed her to give her Father and Mother good counſel, and adverтiſe them to be better Catholick People.

Roſe. Sir, they have a better Inſtructer then I. For the Holy Ghoſt doth teach them, I hope, which I truſt will not ſuffer them to err.

Tyr. Why, ſaid Maſter *Tyrrel*, art thou ſtill in that mind, thou naughty Huſwife? Marry it is time to look upon ſuch Hereticks indeed.

Roſe. Sir, with which you call Hereſie, do I worſhip my Lord God, I tell you troth.

Tyr. Then I perceive you will burn, Goſſip, with the reſt, for Companies ſake.

Talk between *Tyrrel* and *Roſe Allin.*

Roſe. No Sir, not for Companies ſake, but for my Chriſts ſake, if ſo I be compelled, and I hope in his mercies if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it.

Tyr. So he turning to his Company, ſaid, Sirs, this Goſſip will burn: do you not think it? Marry Sir, quoth one, prove her, and you ſhall ſee what ſhe will do by and by.

Tyrrel burneth R. *Allins* hand.

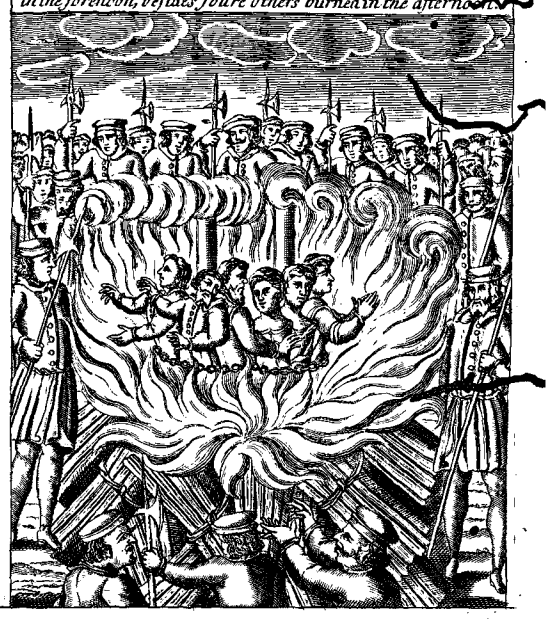
Then that cruel *Tyrrel*, taking the Candle from her, held her Wreſt, and the burning Candle under her hand, burning croſſ-wiſe over the back thereof, ſo long, till the very Sinews crackt aſunder. Witneſs hereof *VVillam Chandler* then dwelling in *Muchbently*, who was there preſent and ſaw it. Alſo Mrs. *Bright* of *Romford*, with *Ann Starkey* her Maid, to whom *Roſe Allin* alſo both declared the ſame, and the ſaid Mrs. *Bright* alſo miniſtred ſalve for the curing thereof, as ſhe lay in her houſe at *Romford* going up towards *London* with other Priſoners.

In which time of his tyranny, he ſaid often to her; Why Whore, wilt thou not cry? Thou young Whore, wilt thou not cry? Unto which always ſhe anſwered that ſhe had no cauſe, ſhe thanked God, but rather to rejoyce. He had (ſhe ſaid) more cauſe to weep, then ſhe if he conſidered the matter well. In the end, when the Sinews (as I ſaid) brake that all the houſe heard them, he then thruſt her from him violently, and ſaid, A ſtrong Whore, thou ſhameleſs beaſt, thou beaſtly Whore, &c. with ſuch like vile words. But ſhe quietly ſuffering his rage for the time, at the laſt ſaid, Sir, have ye done what ye will do? And he ſaid, yea, and if thou think it be not well, then mend it.

The patience of the Faithful.

The burning of Roſe Allins hand, by Edmund Tyrell, as ſhe was going to fetch drink for her Mother, lying ſick in her bed.

The Martyrdome of three men and three women at Colcheſter, burned in the forenoon, beſides foure others burned in the afternoon. 1557.



The Devil payeth the Perſecutors their wages.

Roſe. Mend it? nay, the Lord mend you, and give you repentance, if it be his will. And now if you think it good, begin at the Feet, and burn the Head alſo. For he that ſet you awork, ſhall pay you your wages one day, I warrant you: and ſo ſhe went and carried her Mother drink as ſhe was commanded. Furthermore after the ſearching of the houſe for more Company, at the laſt they found one *John Thurſton* and *Margaret* his Wife there alſo, whom they carried with the reſt to *Colcheſter-Caſtle* immediately.

She revengeth not evil for evil.

And this ſaid *Roſe Allin* being Priſoner, told a Friend of hers this cruel act of the ſaid *Tyrrel*; and ſhewing him the manner thereof, ſhe ſaid while my own hand (quoth ſhe) was a burning, I having a Pot in my other hand, might have laid him on the Face with it, if I had would: for no man held my hand to let me therein. But I thank God (quoth ſhe) with all my heart, I did it not.

Alſo being asked of another, how ſhe could abide the painful burning of her hand, ſhe ſaid, at firſt it was ſome grief to her, but afterward, the longer ſhe burned, the leſs ſhe felt, or well near none at all.

And becauſe Mr. *Tyrrel* ſhall not go alone in this kind of Cruelty, you ſhall hear another like example of a blind Harpers hand burnt by Biſhop *Boner*, as is teſtified by the relation of *Valentine Dingley*, ſometime Gentleman to the ſaid Biſhop, who declared before credible witneſs, as followeth: How the ſaid B. *Boner*, having this blind Harper before him, ſpake thus unto him, That ſuch blind abjects which follow a ſort of Heretical preachers, when they come to the feeling of the Fire, will be the firſt that will fly from it.

To whom the blind man ſaid, that if every joynt of him were burnt, yet he truſted in the Lord not to fly. Then *Boner* ſignifying privily to certain of his men about him what they ſhould do, they brought to him a burning Coal. Which Coal being put into the poor mans hand, they cloſed it faſt again, and ſo was his hand pitiouſly burned. Amongſt the doers whereof was the ſaid Mr. *Valentine Dingley*, witneſs and reporter hereof, as is declared.

We read in the Story of *Titus Livius* of King *Porſenna*, who after the burning of the right hand of *Marcus Scævola*, which came purpoſely to kill him, being only contented therewith, ſent him home to *Rome* again. But thus to burn the hand of poor Men and Women which never meant any harm unto them, and not yet contented with that, but alſo to conſume their whole Bodies without any juſt cauſe, we find no example of ſuch barbarous Tyranny, neither in *Titus Livius* neither in any other ſtory amongſt the Heathen.

But to return to our *Colcheſter* Martyrs again, as touching *William Munt* and his Wife, and burning of their Daughter *Roſe Allins* hand, ſufficient hath been declared. With the ſaid *William Munt* and his Family, was joyned alſo in the ſame Priſon at *Colcheſter* another Faithful Brother, named *John Johnſon, alias Aliker*, of *Thorp* in the County of *Eſſex* Labourer, of the age of four and thirty years, having no Wife alive, but three young Children, who alſo was with them indicted of Hereſie, and ſo all theſe four lay together in *Colcheſter Caſtle*.

The other ſix Priſoners lay in *Mote-Hall* in the ſaid Town of *Colcheſter*, whoſe names were:

Firſt, *William Bongeor*, of the Pariſh of S. *Nicholas* in *Colcheſter*, Glaſier, of the age of ſixty years.

2. *Thomas Benold* of *Colcheſter*, Tallow Chandler.

3. *W. Purcas* of *Bocking* in the County of *Eſſex Fuller*, a young man, of the age of twenty years.

4. *Agnes Silverſide, alias Smith*, dwelling in *Colcheſter*, Widow, of the age of forty years.

Helene Ewring apprehended the ſecond time.

5. *Helen Ewring*, the Wife of *John Ewring* Miller, dwelling in *Colcheſter*, of the age of 45. years or thereabouts, who was one of the 22. Priſoners mentioned before, ſent up in bands from *Colcheſter* to *London*, and after being delivered with the reſt, repaired home to *Colcheſter* again to her Husband, where notwithſtanding ſhe enjoyed her liberty not very long: for ſhortly after her return, met with her one *Robert Maynard* then Bayliff of *Colcheſter*, a ſpecial enemy to Gods Goſpel, who ſpying her, came to her, and kiſſed her, and bade her welcom home form *London*. Unto whom ſhe conſiderately anſwered again, and ſaid, that it was but a *Judas* kiſs. For in the end, quoth ſhe, I know you will betray me, as indeed it came to paſs: for immediately after that talk ſhe was apprehended by him again, and there lodged withe the reſt in the Town Priſon (as is aforeſaid) called the *Mote-Hall*.

Rob. Maynard a great Enemy to the Goſpel.

6. The ſixth of this Company was *Elizabeth Folks*, a young Maid, and Servant in *Colcheſter*, of the age of twenty years. Theſe ſix were imprioned in the Town Priſon of *Colcheſter*, called *Mote-Hall*, as the other four, above ſpecified, were in the Caſtle.

Divers

Anno 1557. Divers Examinations theſe good men had at ſundry times before divers Juſtices, Prieſts, and Officers, as Mr. *Roper*, *John Kingſton*, Commiſſary, *John Boſwel* Prieſt and *Boners* Scribe, and others more, whereof the ſaid *Boſwel* made relation to Biſhop *Boner*, certifying him of their depoſitions, as is to be read in our firſt Book of Acts and Monuments. Laſt of all they were examined again in *Mote-Hall* the twenty fourth day of *June*, by Mr. *Chadſey*, *John Kingſton* Commiſſary, with other Prieſts, and *Boſwel* the Scribe, in the preſence of the two Bayliffs of *Colcheſter*, *Robert Brown* and *Robert Maynard*, with divers other Juſtices both of the Town and Country, and other Gentlemen a great ſort: at which time and place, and before the ſaid perſons, they had Sentence of Condemnation read againſt them, chiefly for not affirming the Real preſence of the Sacrament in their Altar. The effect of their words therein, was this, or ſuch like, as here followeth.

Firſt the Lords faithful Priſoners in Mote-Hall.

William Bongeor of the Pariſh of St. *Nicholas* in *Colcheſter* Glaſier, ſaid, that the Sacrament of the Altar was Bread, is Bread, and ſo remaineth Bread, and for the Conſecration it is not the holier, but rather the worſe. To this he did ſtand, as alſo againſt all the reſt of their Papiſtical Doctrine: and ſo had Sentence read againſt him.

T. Benolt. *Tho. Benold* of *Colcheſter*, Tallow Chandler, affirmed the like in effect that the ſaid *William Bongeor* did: and ſo had Sentence alſo read againſt him.

W. Purcas condemned. *W. Purcas* of *Bocking* ſaid, that when he received the Sacrament, he received Bread in an holy uſe, that preacheth the remembrance that Chriſt died for him. To this he ſtood, and againſt other their Popiſh matters: and ſo alſo had Sentence read againſt him.

Ag. Silverſide condemned. *Agnes Silverſide*, alias *Smith*, ſaid, that ſhe loved no Conſecration. For the Bread and Wine is rather worſe then better thereby, ſhe ſaid. This good old Woman anſwered them with ſuch ſound judgment and boldneſs, to every thing they asked her, that it rejoyced the hearts of many, and eſpecially to ſee the patience of ſuch a reverend old age, againſt the taunts and checks of her Enemies. To this ſhe alſo ſtood, and had Sentence read againſt her in like manner.

Helene Ewring condemned. *Helene Ewring* anſwered the like in effect as the other did, clearly denying all the Laws ſet forth by the Pope, with her whole heart. This good Woman was ſomewhat thick of hearing, but yet quick in underſtanding the Lords matters, his name therefore be praiſed. Againſt her alſo there was Sentence read.

Eliz. Folks condemned *Elizabeth Folks* the young Maiden, being Examined whether ſhe believed the preſence of Chriſts Body to be in the Sacrament ſubſtantially and really, or no; anſwered that ſhe believed that it was a ſubſtantial Lie, and a real Lie. At which words the Prieſts and others chafed very much, and asked her again, whether after the Conſecration there remained not the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament. And ſhe anſwered, that before Conſecration and after, it is but bread, and that man bleſſeth without Gods Word, is curſed and abominable by the Word, &c. Then they examined her of Confeſſion to the Prieſt, of going to Church to hear Maſs, of the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, &c. Unto all which ſhe anſwered, that ſhe would neither uſe nor frequent any of them all, by the grace of God, bnt utterly deteſt and abhor them from the bottom of her heart, and all ſuch trumpery.

A ſubſtantial lie, A real lie.

D. Chadſey wept. Then read they the Sentence of Condemnation againſt her. In which time Doctor *Chadſey* wept, that the tears trickled down his Cheeks. So the Sentence being read, ſhe kneeled down on both her knees, lifting up her hands and eyes unto Heaven, with fervent prayer in audible voyce praiſing God that ever ſhe was born, to ſee that moſt bleſſed and happy day, that the Lord would count her worthy to ſuffer for the Teſtimony of Chriſt: and Lord, ſaid ſhe (if it be thy will) forgive them that this have done againſt me, for they know not what they do. Then riſing up, ſhe exhorted all thoſe on the Bench to repentance, eſpecially thoſe who brought her to Priſon, as *Robert Maynard* the Bayliff, and ſuch like; which *Maynard* commonly, when he ſate in judgment upon life and death, would ſit ſleeping on the Bench many times, ſo careful was his mind on his Office.

Eliz. Folks praiſeth God at her own Condemnation.

Eliz. Folks prayeth for her enemies.

Further ſhe willed halting Goſpellers to beware of Blood, for that would crie for vengeance, &c. And in the end ſhe told them all, laying her hand upon the Barr, if they did not repent their wicked doings therein, that undoubtedly the very Barr would be a witneſs againſt them at the day of judgment, that they had that day ſhed innocent Blood.

Sleeping Maynard. This *Elizabeth Folks*, the day before ſhe was condemned, was examined only upon this Article, Whether ſhe believed that there was a Catholick Church of Chriſt or no. Unto which ſhe anſwered, Yea. Then was ſhe immediately (by *Boſwels* means the Scribe) delivered unto her Uncle *Holt* of the ſame Town of *Colcheſter* to keep, who carried her home unto his houſe: and ſhe being there, might have departed thence many times, if ſhe had would: for there were means offered to convey her away. But ſhe hearing that ſome doubted that ſhe had yielded to the Pope (although it was moſt untrue) would in no wiſe content her ſelf, but wept, and was in ſuch anguiſh of mind and terror of Conſcience, that (no remedy) ſhe would to the Papiſts again, for any perſwaſions that could be. And coming before them at *Coſins* Houſe at the *White-Hart* in *Colcheſter*, ſhe was at utter defiance with them and their Doctrine: and ſo had, as you have heard, in the end a Papiſtical reward, as the reſt of her Brethren had.

Eliz. Folks might have eſcaped, and would not.

The Lords faithful Priſoners in Colcheſter *Caſtle.*

W. Munt condemned. *William Munt* of *Muchbently* in *Eſſex* of the age of ſixty one years, ſaid, that the Sacrament of the Altar was an abominable Idol, and that if he ſhould obſerve any part of their Popiſh proceedings, he ſhould diſpleaſe God, and bring his Curſe upon him, and therefore for fear of his vengeance he durſt not do it. This good Father was examined of many things: but God be thanked, he ſtood to the Truth, and in the end therefore had Sentence of Condemnation read againſt him.

J. Johnſon condemned. *John Johnſon* of *Thorp* in *Eſſex*, Widower, of the age of thirty four years, was examined as the reſt, and made anſwer in ſuch ſort, as the Papiſts counted him none of theirs, and therefore condemned him with their Bloody Sentence, as they had done the reſt before. This *John Johnſon* affirmed, that in the receiving of the Sacrament, according to Chriſts inſtitution, he receiveth the Body of Chriſt ſpiritually, &c.

Alice Munt condemned. *Alice Munt*, the Wife of the ſaid *William Munt*, of the age of one and fourty years, being alſo examined as the reſt, ſaid and confirmed the ſame in effect as her Huſband did, and was therefore alſo condemned by their Bloody Sentence in like manner.

Roſe Allin condemned. *Roſe Allin* Maid the Daughter of the ſaid *Alice Munt*, of the age of twenty years, being examined of auricular Confeſſion, going to the Church to hear Maſs, of the Popiſh ſeven Sacraments, &c. anſwered ſtoutly, that they ſtank in the face of God, and ſhe durſt not have to do with them for her life, neither was ſhe (ſhe ſaid) any member of theirs: for they were the members of Antichriſt, and ſo ſhould have (if they repented not) the reward of Antichriſt. Being asked further, what ſhe could ſay of the See of the Biſhop of *Rome*, whether ſhe would obey his Authority or no: ſhe anſwered boldly, that ſhe was none of his. As for his See (quoth ſhe) it is for Crows, Kites, Owls, and Ravens to ſwim in, ſuch as you be: for by the grace of God I ſhall not ſwim in that See, while I live, neither will I have any thing to do therewith. Then read they the Sentence of Condemnation againſt her, and ſo ſent her unto Priſon again unto the reſt, where ſhe ſung with great joy, to the wonder of many.

Roſe Allin anſwers.

Thus theſe poor condemned Lambs, being delivered into the hands of the Secular power, were committed again every one unto the Priſon from whence they came, where they remained with much joy and great comfort (in continual reading, and invocating the name of God) ever looking and expecting the happy day of their diſſolution. In which time the cruel Papiſts left not their miſchievous attempts againſt them (although they would ſeem now to have no more to do with them:) For Bloody *Boner*, whoſe Throat never cried ho, ſhortly after got a Writ for

the burning of the foreſaid then good Creatures; and to ſhew the more diligence in the cauſe, he ſent his own truſty man down with it, named *Edward Coſin*, and with him alſo his Letter for the furtherance of the matter, the 30. day of *July*, the next month after the Condemnation.

The Writ being thus received of the ſaid Bayliffs, and they having then no leaſure thereabouts, appointed the day of the execution thereof, to be the ſecond day of *Auguſt* next following. And becauſe the faithful Souls were in two ſeveral Priſons, as the Caſtle, was for the Country, and *Mote-Hall* for the Town: therefore it was agreed among them, that they in *Mote-Hall* ſhould be burnt in the forenoon, and thoſe at the Caſtle, by the Sheriff of the Shire, in the afternoon, as here thou mayſt ſee it more plain how it come to paſs accordingly.

The ſecond day of *Auguſt*, 1557. betwixt ſix and ſeven of the Clock in the morning, was brought from *Mote-Hall* unto a plat of ground, hard by the Town-wall of *Colcheſter* on the outward-ſide, *William Bongeor*, *William Purcas*, *Thomas Benold*, *Agnes Silverſide*, *Alias Smith*, *Helene Ewring* and *Elizabeth Folks*, aforenamed; which being there, and all things prepared for for their Martyrdom, at the laſt theſe ſaid conſtant Martyrs kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to God, but not in ſuch ſort as they would, for the cruel Tyrants would not ſuffer them: eſpecially one Maſter *Clere* among the reſt (who ſometime had been a Goſpeler ſhewed himſelf very extream unto them; the Lord give him repentance (if it be his good will) and grace to be a better man. When they had made their prayers, they roſe, and made them ready to the fire. And *Elizabeth Folks*, when ſhe had plucked off her Petticoat, would have given it to her Mother (which came and kiſt her at the Stake, and exhorted her to be ſtrong in the Lord) but the wicked there attending, would not ſuffer her to give it. Therefore taking the ſaid Petticoat in her hand, ſhe threw it away from her, ſaying, Farewel all the world, farewel Faith, farewel Hope, and ſo taking the Stake in her hand, ſaid, Welcom Love, &c. Now ſhe being at the Stake, and one of the Officers nailing the Chain about her, in the ſtriking of the Staple, he miſt the place, and ſtrake her with a great ſtroke of the hammer on the ſhoulder Bone: whereat ſhe ſuddenly turned her head, lifting up her eyes to the Lord, and prayed ſmilingly, and gave her ſelf to exhorting the People again.

The Martyrdom of W. *Bongeor*, W. *Purcas*, Tho. *Benold*, *Agnes Silverſide*, *alias Smith*, *Helene Ewring*, *Eliz. Folks*, at *Colcheſter* in the Forenoon. Anno 1557. Auguſt 2.

When all the ſix were alſo nailed likewiſe at their ſtakes, and the Fire about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the Fire, that the ſtanders by (which were by eſtimation thouſands) cried generally almoſt; The Lord ſtrengthen them, the Lord comfort them, the Lord pour his mercies upon them, with ſuch like words, as was wonderful to hear.

Thus yielded they up their Souls and Bodies into the Lords hands, for the true teſtimony of his Truth. The Lord grant we may imitate the ſame in the like quarrel (if he ſo vouch us worthy) for his mercies ſake, *Amen*.

W. *Munt*, *Alice* his Wife, *Roſe Allin* their Daughter, J. *Johnſon*, burnt the ſame day at afternoon, Aug. 2.

In like manner the ſaid day in the Afternoon, was brought forth into the *Caſtle-Yard*, to a place appointed for the ſame, *William Munt*, *John Johnſon*, *Alice Munt* and *Roſe Allin* aforeſaid: which godly Conſtant perſons, after they had made their prayers, and were joyfully tied to the Stakes, calling upon the name of God, and exhorting the People earneſtly to flee from Idolatry, ſuffered their Martyrdom with ſuch triumph and joy, that the People did no leſs ſhout thereat to ſee it, then at the other that were burnt the ſame day in the Morning.

The age of theſe Ten made the ſum of 406. years.

Thus ended all theſe glorious ten Souls that day, their happy lives unto the Lord, whoſe ages all did grow to the ſum of four hundred and ſix years, or thereabouts. The Lord grant we may well ſpend our years and days likewiſe to his glory, *Amen*.

J. *Thurſton* a Confeſſor of Chriſt.

John Thurſton *died in* Colcheſter Caſtle.

BEfore you have heard of the taking of *John Thurſton* at *Muchbentley*, in the houſe of one *William Munt* of the ſame Town; which ſaid *John Thurſton* afterward about the month of *May*, in the year aforeſaid, died in *Colcheſter-Caſtle*, a conſtant Confeſſor of Jeſus Chriſt.

Anno 1557.

The ſtory and Death of George Eagles, *otherwiſe termed* Trudgeover, *a moſt painful Traveller in Chriſts Goſpel, who for the ſame Goſpel moſt cruelly was Martyred by the Cruel Papiſts.*

G. Eagles

AMong other Martyrs of ſingular vertue and conſtancy, one *George Eagles* deſerveth not the leaſt admiration, but is ſo much the more to be commended, for that he, having little learning or none, moſt manfully ſerved and fought under the banner of Chriſts Church. For oftentimes the will and pleaſure of God is, to beautifie and adorn his Kingdom with the weak and ſimple Inſtruments of this world; ſuch as in the old Teſtament *Amos* was, who with many other of obſcure and unknown names, were called from the heards and folds to the honor of Prophets; as likewiſe we read of the Apoſtles that were called from Fiſhermens craft, and put into Churches. Wherefore this *George Eagles* is not to be neglected for his baſe occupation, whom Chriſt called thence to ſet forth and declared abroad his Goſpel. Rather we ought to glorifie God the more thereby in his holineſs, which in ſo blind a time inſpired him with the gift of preaching, and conſtancy of ſuffering: who after a certain time he had uſed the occupation of a Taylour, being eloquent and of good utterance, gave and applied himſelf to the Profit of Chriſts Church.

Which man, as before in thoſe moſt bright and clear days of King *Edward* the ſixth, he had not unfruitfully ſhewed and preached the power and force of the Lord, ſo afterward in the tempeſtuous time and fall of the Church (at what time the Confeſſors of Chriſt and his Goſpel were turmoiled, divers of them murdered, part baniſhed, and otherſome conſtrained for fear not to ſhew their heads) he expreſſed and uttered his manly ſtomack. For he, wandring abroad into divers and far Countries where he could find any of his Brethren, did there moſt earneſtly encourage and comfort them, now tarrying in this Town, and ſometime abiding in that certain months together, as occaſion ſerved, lodging ſometime in the Country, and ſometime for fear living in Fields and Woods, who, for his immoderate and unreaſonable going abroad, was called *Trudgeover*. Oftentimes he did lie abroad in the night without covert, ſpending the moſt part in devout and earneſt prayer.

The painful travel of G. Eagles.

His diet was ſo above meaſure ſpare and ſlender, that for the ſpace of three years, he uſed for the moſt part, to drink nothing but very Water, whereunto he was compelled through neceſſity of the time of perſecution: and after when he perceived that his Body by Gods providence proved well enough with this diet, he thought beſt to inure himſelf therewithal againſt all neceſſities.

Now when he had profited Chriſts Church in this ſort, by going about and preaching the Goſpel a year or two, and eſpecially in *Colcheſter*, and the quarters thereabout; that privy Enemy which envieth always the ſalvation and bleſſed eſtate of the good, lurked and laid wait by all means poſſible for him, ſo that there were divers Spies ſent out, who had in commandment, whereſoever they found him, to bring him either quick or dead.

But when this their attempt could not prevail, but all was in vain (the ſaid *Eagles* with his Brethren keeping in cloſe, and hiding themſelves in out and dark places, as in Barns, Thickets, Holes, and privy Cloſets) his Adverſaries went about another way to compaſs this their enterpriſe of taking him.

For in the Queens name a grievous Edict was proclaimed thorowout four Shires, *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, *Kent*, and *Norfolk*, promiſing the party that took him, twenty pounds for his pains; doubtleſs a worthy hire to entice any Jew to treachery. For being inflamed with greedy deſire of the mony, they deviſed and invented all ways and reaſons they could poſſible to be enriched with the hurt and deſtruction of this ſilly man.

At length it came to paſs, that this *George* being ſeen by chance at *Colcheſter* upon *Mary Magdalens* day, at which time they kept a Fair in the Town, ſhould have forthwith been delivered to his Adverſaries, if he perceiving the ſame (as God would have it) had not conveighed himſelf away as faſt as he could, a great multitude purſuing after, and ſeeking diligently for him.

Who

Ann. 1557. Who firſt hid himſelf in a grove, and then from thence he ſtole into a Corn-field thereby, and ſo lay ſecretly couched from the violence of his enemies, inſomuch as they were all, ſaving one, paſt hope of taking him, and therefore ready to depart their way.

This one, having more ſubtilty and wicked craft in his head then the reſt, would not depart thence with his fellows, but climed up into a high tree, there to view and eſpy if he might ſee *Eagles* any where ſtir or move.

Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri ſacra fames?

The poor man thinking all ſure enough, by reaſon that he heard no noiſe abroad, roſe up on his knees, and lifting up his hands, prayed unto God. And whether it were for that his head was above the Corn, or becauſe his voyce was heard, the lurker perceiving his deſired prey that he hunted after, forthwith came down, and ſuddenly laying hands on him, brought him as Priſoner to *Colcheſter*. Notwithſtanding the greedy and *Judas* Knave, which had ſomuch promiſed him, was fain to be contented with a very ſmall reward, and glad to take that too, leſt he ſhould have had nothing at all.

This *George*, not without great lamentation of divers good men, and great lack unto the Church of God (of which to his power he was a worthy Inſtrument) was committed to Priſon there, and from thence within four days after conveyed to *Chelmsford*, where he abode all that night in devout Prayer, and would not ſleep, neither would eat or drink but Bread and Water. The next day he was carried to *London* to the Biſhop or the Counſel, and there remained a certain time, and then was brought down to *Chelmsford* to the Seſſions, and there was indicted and accuſed of Treaſon, becauſe he had aſſembled Companies together, contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm in that caſe provided. For ſo it was ordained a little before, to avoid ſedition, that if men ſhould flock ſecretly together, above the number of ſix, they ſhould be attached of Treaſon: which ſtrait Law was the caſting away of the good Duke of *Somerſet* before mentioned.

And albeit it was well known, that poor *Eagles* did never any thing ſeditiouſly againſt the Queen, yet to cloak an honeſt matter withal, and to cauſe him to be the more hated of the People, they turned Religion into a Civil offence and crime, and though he defended his cauſe ſtoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his Religion, or Faith before the Judges: yet could he not bring it to paſs by any means, but that he muſt needs be indicted (as is ſaid) of Treaſon; whoſe indictment did run much after this faſhion.

George Eagles indictment.

George Eagles, thou art indicted by the name of *George Eagles*, otherwiſe *Trudgeover the Word*, for that thou didſt ſuch a day make thy prayer, that God ſhould turn Queen *Maries* heart, or elſe take her away.

He denied that he prayed that God ſhould take her away, but he confeſſed, he prayed that God would turn her heart in his prayer. Well, notwithſtanding he was condemned for a Traitor, although the meaning thereof was for Religion.

This thing done, he was carried to the New-Inn, called the ſign of the *Crown* in *Chelmsford*, by the beaſtly *Bayliffs* which ſome of them were they that before did their beſt to take him; and being in the *Inn*, one *Richard Potto* the Elder, an Inn-holder, dwelling at the ſign of the *Cock* in the ſame Town, did much trouble him, in perſwading him to confeſs he had offended the Queen in his prayer, which he was condemned for, and to ask her forgiveneſs.

R. Potto Inholder at the Cock in Chelmsford.

To whom he ſaid, he had not offended her Grace in that behalf. So in proceſs of time, he was laid upon a Sled, with an hurdle on it, and drawn to the place of execution, being faſt bound, having in his hand a Pſalm-Book, of the which he read very devoutly all the way with a loud voyce, till he came there: and being on the Ladder this foreſaid *Potto* did much trouble him with the matter aforeſaid, when he would have uttered other things, till ſuch time as the Sheriff commanded *Potto* to hold his peace, and trouble him no more.

So he made his confeſſion, and ſtood very conſtant ſtill; then he was, turned off the Ladder. With him were caſt certain Thieves alſo, and the next day, when they were brought out to be executed with him, there happened a thing that did much ſet forth and declare the innocency and godlyneſs of this man. For being led between two Thieves to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, when as he exhorted both them and all other to ſtand ſtedfaſtly to the Truth, one of theſe turned the counſel he gave, into a jeſting matter, and made but a flout at it.

Why ſhould we doubt to obtain Heaven, ſaith he, for aſmuch as this holy man ſhall go before us, as Captain and leader unto us in the way. We ſhall flee thither ſtraight as ſoon he hath once made us the entry.

In this *George Eagles* and that other did greatly reprove him, who on the other ſide gave good heed to *Georges* exhortation, earneſtly bewailing his own wickedneſs, and calling to Chriſt for mercy. But the more that the firſt was bid to be ſtill, and to leave off his ſcoffing the more perverſe he did continue in his fooliſhneſs, and his wicked behaviour. At length he came to the Gallows, where they ſhould be hanged, but *George* was carried to another place thereby to ſuffer. Between the two it was the godliers chance to go the foremoſt, who being upon the Ladder, after he had exhorted the People to beware and to take heed to themſelves, how they did tranſgreſs the Commandments of God, and then had committed his Soul into Gods hands, he ended his life after a godly and quiet manner.

An example to be noted of a Thief rejecting and deriding wholſome and godly preaching.

The mockers turn cometh next, which would have ſaid likewiſe ſomewhat, but his Tongue did fumble and faulter in his head, that he was not able to ſpeak a word. Fain would he have uttered his mind, but he could not bring it out. Then did the Under-ſheriff bid him ſay the Lords Prayer, which he could not ſay neither but ſtutteringly, as a man would ſay, one word to day and another to morrow. Then one did begin to ſay it, and ſo bade him ſay after.

Such as were there, and ſaw it, were very much aſtonied, eſpecially thoſe that did behold the juſt puniſhment of God againſt him that had mocked ſo earneſt a matter. *George Eagles* in the mean time, after he had hanged a ſmall time, having a great check with the halter, immediately one of the Bayliffs cut the halter aſunder, and he fell to the ground being ſtill alive, although much amazed with the check he had off the Ladder.

W. *Swallow* tormentor of *George Eagles.*

Then one *William Swallow* of *Chelmsford* a Bayliff, did draw him to the Sled that he was drawn thither on, and laid his neck thereon, and with a Cleaver, ſuch as is occupied in many mens Kitchins, and blunt, did hackle off his head, and ſometime hit his neck, and ſometime his Chin, and did fowly mangle him, and ſo opened him. Notwithſtanding this bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt abode ſtedfaſt and conſtant in the very midſt of his torments, till ſuch time as this tormentor *William Swallow* did pluck the heart out of his Body. The Body being divided in four parts, and his Bowels burnt, was brought to the foreſaid *Swallows* door, and there laid upon the Fiſh-ſtals before his door, till they had made ready a horſe to carry his quarters, one to *Colcheſter*, and the reſt to *Harwich*, *Chelmsford*, and S. *Rouſes*.

His Head was ſet up at *Chelmsford* on the Market-Croſs on a long Pole, and there ſtood, till the Wind did blow it down, and lying certain days in the ſtreet tumbled about, one cauſed it to be buried in the Church yard in the night. Alſo a wonderful work of God was it that he ſhewed on this wicked Bayliff *Swallow*, who within ſhort ſpace after this was ſo puniſhed, that all the hair went well near off his head, his eyes were as it were cloſed up, and could ſcantly ſee, the nails of his fingers and toes went clean off. He was in ſuch caſe of his Body as though he had been a Leper, and now in his laſt age almoſt a very beggar, and his Wife, which he a little after married, God hath puniſhed with the Falling-ſickneſs, or a diſeaſe like unto that: which may be a warning or glaſs for all men and women to look in, that be enemies to Gods true Servants.

Gods juſt judgment upon a cruel Perſecutor.

W. *Swallows* Wife puniſhed with the Falling-ſickneſs.

No leſs token of his marvellous judgment did God ſhew upon the foreſaid *Richard Potto*, which did ſo much trouble this *George Eagles* in the Inn, and at the place of execution, as is above ſpecified. He lived till the

Gods judgment upon *R. Potto*, another Perſecutor of *George Eagles.*

beginning of Q. *Elizabeths* Reign, all which time he little joyed, and being on a time in a great chafe with two or three of his neighbours in his own houſe, feeling himſelf not well, he ſaid to one of his Servants, Go with me in to the Chamber, and when he came there, he fell down on a low Bed, as heavy as in had been Lead, and lay there foming at the mouth, and could never ſpeak after, neither yet underſtand what was ſaid to him, as by all means was tryed by his neighbours with ſigns to him made, but lay as ſenſe-leſs as if had bin a very dumb Beaſt, and within three or four days dyed. God grant that this token ſent of God, with many more like, may be a warning to us ever hereafter, while we ſhall live unto the worlds end.

Beſides this, God hath wonderfully ſhewed his work. For at a time when they laid great wait for this *George Eagles*, ſo that it was thought that it was unpoſſible, but that he ſhould be taken being ſo beſet; his Friends did put him into Apprentice apparel, *viz.* Watchet-hoſe as there manner is, and an old Cloak, and ſet him on a Pack of Wool, as though he had ridden to carry Wool to the Spinners, ſo he rode amongſt the midſt of his Adverſaries, and eſcaped them all for that time. Another troubler of the ſaid *George Eagles*, was alſo Juſtice *Brown* who enjoyed not his cruelty many years after, &c.

Alſo when he was at the Seſſions at *Chelmsford*, there was a rumor raiſed, that he had accuſed divers honeſt men that did keep him in their houſes, and was converſant with him, and all to diſcredit him; which rumor was very falſe and utterly untrue. Witneſs one *Raynold*, with divers other dwelling in *Chelmsford*.

The Martyrdom, and Examination of Richard Crashfield *of* Wymundham, *condemned to death for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.*

Auguſt 5. ABout this time ſuffered at *Norwich*, a godly man and a conſtant Martyr of Chriſt, called *Richard Craſhfield*, whoſe Examinations before the Chancellor, named *Dunning*, as he penned them with his own hand, ſo have we faithfully recorded the ſame.

The Examination of R. *Craſhfield*, before *Dunning*, Chancellor of *Norwich*.

How ſay you Sirrah, ſaid the Chancellor, to the Ceremonies of the Church?

Then ſaid I, What Ceremonies?

He ſaid unto me, do you not believe that all the Ceremonies of the Church were good and godly?

My anſwer was, I do believe ſo many as are grounded in the Teſtament of Jeſus Chriſt.

Sacrament of the Altar.

Tuſh, ſaid he, Do you believe in the Sacrament of the Altar?

I ſaid, I knew not what it was,

Then ſaid he, Do you not believe that Chriſt took Bread, gave thanks, brake it, and ſaid, *Take, eat, this is my Body?*

Yes verily, ſaid I, and even as Chriſt did ſpeak, ſo did he perform the work.

Tuſh, ſaid he, Do you not believe this, that after the words be ſpoken by the Prieſt, there is the ſubſtance of Chriſts Body, Fleſh and Blood? How ſay you, do you not believe this? ſpeak man.

I do believe that Chriſts Body was broken for me upon the Croſs, and his Blood ſhed for my redemption, whereof the Bread and the Wine is a perpetual memory, the pledge of his mercy, the Ring and Seal of his promiſe, and a perpetual memory for the Faithful unto the end of the world. So then I was commanded into Priſon until the next day.

Another Examination of Richard Crashfield

Another Examination of *Craſhfield*.

THe day following I was brought forth. Then the Chancellor ſaid unto me, *Richard*, how ſay you? Are you otherwiſe minded than you were yeſterday? He rehearſing all the words that we had afore ſaid, Are not theſe your words? Whereunto I anſwered, Yes.

Worſhipping of Images.

Then ſaid he, How ſay you, can you not find in your heart, when you come to the Church, to kneel down before the Rood, and make your Prayer?

I anſwered and ſaid, No; rehearſing the Commandment of God forbidding the ſame.

He ſaid, Have you not read or heard, that God commanded an Image to be made?

I anſwered, What Image? Anno

He ſaid, The brazen Serpent. 1557.

I ſaid, Yes, I have heard it read, how that God did command it to be made, and likewiſe to be broken down.

Then Doctor *Bridges* ſaid, Wherefore did God command the *Seraphins* and *Cherubins* to be made?

I ſaid, I could not tell; I would fain learn.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, But how ſay you to this? can you find in your heart to fall down before the Picture of CHRIST, which is the Rood?

I ſaid, no, I fear the curſe of God: for it is written, that God curſeth the hands that make them, yea and the hands that make the tools wherewith they are carved.

Then Dr. *Bridges* raged and ſaid, Liſt now what a piece of Scripture he hath here gotten to ſerve his purpoſe, for he will not allow but where he liſteth.

Confeſſion to the Prieſt

Then ſaid the Chancellor, How ſay you to Confeſſion to the Prieſt? when were you confeſſed?

I ſaid, I confeſs my ſelf daily unto the eternal God, whom I moſt grievouſly offend.

Then the Chancellor ſaid. Do you not then take Confeſſion to the Prieſt to be good?

I anſwered, No, but rather wicked.

Playing on the Organs.

Then the Chancellor ſaid, How ſay you by yonder gear, yonder ſinging and yonder playing on the Organs? is it not good and godly?

I ſaid, I could perceive no godlineſs in it.

Then he ſaid, Why, is it not written in the Pſalms, *That we ſhould praiſe God with hymns and Spiritual Songs?*

I ſaid, Yes ſpiritual Songs muſt be had: but yonder is of the Fleſh, and of the Spirit of error. For to you it is pleaſant and glorious, but to the Lord it is bitter and odious.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, Why, is it not written, *My houſe is an houſe of Prayer?*

Eſay. 56. Luke 19.

I ſaid, Yes. It is written alſo, *That you have made my houſe of prayer a Den of Thieves.*

With that, the Chancellor looked and ſaid have we? I anſwered and ſaid, Chriſt ſaid ſo. Then was I commanded to ward.

Another Examination of R. *Craſhfield*.

Then *Thurſday* next following, was Dr. *Bridges* ſent to mee to examine mee of my Faith. And he ſaid, Country-man, my Lord Biſhop (for love hee would have you ſaved,) hath ſent me unto you, becauſe to morrow is your day appointed: therefore my Lord hath thought it meet, that you ſhould declare unto me your Faith. For to morrow my Lord will not have much ado with you.

I anſwered and ſaid, Hath my Lord ſent you? It is not you, to whom I am diſpoſed to ſhew my mind.

Then he ſaid to me, I pray you ſhew me your mind concerning the Sacrament of the Altar.

I anſwered, Are you ignorant what I have ſaid?

He ſaid, No for it was well written, Except you believe, ſaith he, as the Church hath taught you are damned both Body and Soul.

I anſwered, and ſaid, Judge not, leſt you be judged: condemn not, leſt you be condemned.

And he ſaid, Lo, we ſhall have a traytor as well as an Heretick: for he will diſallow the Kings Judgment.

I ſaid, No, I do not diſallow the Kings Judgment, but yours I do diſallow. For I pray you tell me, how came you by this Judgment?

He anſwered and ſaid, by the Church: for the Church hath power to ſave and condemn: for if you be condemned by the Church, be ye ſure, that you be damned both Body and Soul.

The Popes Church takes Chriſts Office out of his hand.

Then I anſwered, if you have this power, I am ſore deceived. For I believe that Chriſt ſhall be our judge. But now I perceive that you will do much for him, that you will not put him to the pain.

Then he ſaid, ſtand nearer Country-man: why ſtand ye ſo far off?

I ſaid, I am near enough, and a little too near.

Then he ſaid, Did not Chriſt ſay, *Is not my Fleſh meat, and my Blood Drink indeed?*

I ſaid, To whom ſpake Chriſt thoſe words?

He ſaid, To his Diſciples.

I (intending to rehearſe the Text) ſaid, whereat did Chriſts Diſciples murmure inwardly?

He

Anno 1557.

He said, No, they did not murmure, but they were the Infidels (saith he) for the Disciples were satisfied with these words.

I said, did not Christ say thus, as he taught at *Capernaum?* whereas his Disciples murmured, saying, *This is an hard saying. Who can abide the hearing of it? Jesus perceiving their thoughts, said, doth this offend you?*

Note here the ignorance of the Catholick men in the Scriptures.

Then he raged and said, Oh, thou wrestest the Text for thine own purpose. For the Disciples did never murmure, but the unbelievers, as thou art.

I said, Yes, but I perceive you know not the Text.

Then said he, with much raging, I will lay my head thereon, it is not so.

Then said I, I have done with you.

Then said he, What shall I tell my Lord of you?

If you have nothing to tell him, your errand shall be sooner done said I. And so he departed.

Another examination of R. Crasfield.

Then on *Friday* I was brought forth to receive judgment. Then the Chancellor said unto me, Are you a new Man, or are you not?

I answered and said, I trust I am a new Man Born of God.

God give Grace you be so, said he. So he rehearsed all my examination, and said, How say you, are not these your words?

I said, Yes, I will not deny them.

Then he said to Dr. *Pore*, standing by, I pray you talk with him. Then he alledging to me many fair flattering words, said, *Take, eat, this is my Body.* How say you to this? Do you not believe that it is Christs Body? speak.

I said, Have you not my mind? Why do you trouble me?

He said, What did Christ give you? was it Bread, or was it not?

I said, Christ took Bread, and gave thanks, and gave it, and they took Bread, and did Eat. And St. *Paul* maketh it more manifest, where he saith, *So oft as ye shall Eat of this Bread, and Drink of this Cup, ye shall shew forth the Lords Death until he come.* St. Paul saith not here as you say: for he saith, *So oft as ye shall Eat of this Bread.* He doth not say, Body. So they intending that I should go no further in the Text, said, *Tush*, you go about the bush. Answer me to the first question. Let us make an end of that.

1 Cor. 10.

What say you to the Bread that Christ gave? Let me have your mind in that.

I answered, I have said my mind in it.

Then the Chancellor said, No, we will have your mind in that.

I answered, I have said my mind in it.

Then said the Chancellor, No, we will have your mind more plainly. For we intend not to have many words with you.

I said, my Faith is fully grounded and stablished, that Christ Jesus the *Easter* Lamb hath offered his blessed Body a Sacrifice to God the Father, the price of my redemption. For by that onely sacrifice are all the faithful sanctified, and he is our only Advocate and Mediator, and he hath made perfect our redemption. This hath he done alone, without any of your daily oblations.

Then Dr. *Bridges* start up, and said, Truth, your Words are true indeed. You take well the literal sense: but this you must understand, that like as you said that Christ offered his Body upon the Cross, which was a bloody sacrifice, and a visible sacrifice: so likewise we daily offer the self same Body that was offered upon the Cross, but not bloody and visible, but invisible, unto God the Father.

Unbloody Sacrifice of the Mass.

Do you offer Christs Body, I said? Why then Christs Sacrifice was not perfect. But Christ is True, when all Men shall be Lyars.

Then he said, Thou shalt not fear him that hath power to kill the Body: but thou shall fear him that hath power to kill both Body and Soul.

I answered and said, It is not so. But the Text is thus, *Thou shall not fear them that have power to kill the Body, and then have done what they can. But thou shalt fear him that hath power to kill both Body and Soul, and cast them both into Hel-fire, and not them.*

He answered and said, Yes: for it is the Church.

I answered and said, Why, Christ saith, *I give my life for the redemption of the world. No man taketh my life from me* (saith he) *but I give it of my own power, and so I have power to take it again.* Therefore Christ the Son of God did offer his Body once for all. And if you will presume to offer his Body daily, then your power is above Christs power. With that he chafed and said, What, shall we have Doctrine? Ye are not hereto appointed.

Then the Chancellor stood up, and said, Wil ye turn from this wicked error, and be an example of goodness, as you have been an example of *evil* (for by your wicked reading, you have perswaded simple Women to be in this error) and ye shall have mercy.

And I said, it is of God that I do crave mercy, whom I have offended, and not you.

Then said the Chancellor, When were you at your Parish Church? These two years and more have you stood Excommunicate. Wherefore you are condemned. And so I was condemned.

Thus hast thou (gentle Reader) the Examinations of this godly young Man, set forth and written with his own hand, who, not long after his condemnation, was by the Sheriffs and Officers there, brought to the stake, where with much patience and constancy he entred his blessed Martyrdom. At the burning of which Christian Martyr, one *Thomas Carman* the same time was apprehended, by what occasion, it is not yet to us fully certain, whether it was for words, or for praying with him, or for pledging him at his burning, concerning which *Thomas Carman*, his story hereafter followeth in his order and place, further to be seen.

The Martyrdom of *Rich. Crashfield.* Anno 1557. *Aug.* 5.

One Fryer, *and a certain godly Woman burned at* Rochester, *who was the Sister of* George Eagles.

ABout the same time and Month, one named *Fryer*, with a Woman accompanying him, who was the Sister of *George Eagles*, in the like cause of righteousness, suffered the like Martyrdom by the unrighteous Papists, whose Tyranny the Lord of his mercy abate and cut short, turning that wicked generation, if it be his will, to a better mind.

Augus 20, One Frier, & the Sister of *Geor. Eagles* burned at Rochester.

The apprehension and Death of Mistress Joyce Lewes, *the Wife of* Thomas Lewes, *of* Manceter, *most constantly suffering for Gods Word at* Lichfield.

MIstress *Joyce Lewes*, a Gentlewoman born, was delicately brought up in the pleasures of the world, having delight in gay apparel, and such like foolishness with the which follies the most part of the Gentlefolks of *England* were then, and are yet infected, who was married first to one called *Appleby*, and afterward to *Thomas Lewes* of *Manceter*. In the beginning of Queen *Mary's* time she went to the Church and heard Mass as others did, but when she heard of the burning of that most godly and learned Martyr, *Laurence Sanders*, who suffered in *Coventry*, she began to take more heed to the matter, and enquired earnestly of such as she knew feared God, the cause of his Death: and when she perceived it was because he refused to receive the Mass, she began to be troubled in Conscience, and waxed very unquiet. And because her house was even hard by Mr. *John Glovers* house, of whom mention was made before, a Man of Blessed Memory, and a singular example of his unfained godliness and manifold troubles which he suffered for the Gospel, she did oftentimes resort to him, and desired him to tell her the faults that were in the Mass, and other things that at that time were urged as necessary to salvation.

The story of Mistress Joyce Lewes, Martyr.

Now he perceiving both her unquiet mind, and also the desire she had to know the truth, did most diligently instruct her in the ways of the Lord, approving unto her out of Gods Holy Word, that the Mass, with all other papistical inventions, was odious in Gods sight; and besides this, reproved her, for that she delighted in the vanities of this world so much. By the which godly counsel given by him, it happened that she began to wax weary of the world, throughly sorrowful for her sins, being inflamed with

with the Love of God, deſirous to ſerve him according to his word, purpoſing alſo to flee from thoſe things the which did diſpleaſe the Lord her God. And becauſe ſhe had learned the Maſs to be evil and abominable, ſhe began to hate it. And when at a time ſhe was compelled by the furiouſneſs of her Husband to come to the Church, at the ſame time when the Holy Water was caſt, ſhe turned her Back towards it, and ſhewed her ſelf to be diſpleaſed with their Blaſphemous Holy Water, injurious to the Blood of Chriſt. Whereupon ſhe was accuſed before the Biſhop for the deſpiſing of their Sacramentals.

Immediately, a Citation was ſent for her to her Husbands Houſe, to appear before the *Biſhop* incontinently. The Sumner that brought the Citation delivered it to her Husband, who looking upon it, and perceiving that it was moved with anger, willing the Sumner to take the Citation with him again, or elſe he would make him to eat it. The Sumner refuſed to take it again, for he thought no Man durſt have been ſo bold to trouble him. But in the end *Lewes* compelled the ſaid Sumner to eat the Citation indeed, by ſetting a Dagger to his Heart; and when he had eaten it, he cauſed him to drink to it, and ſo ſent him away. But immediately after, the ſaid *Lewes* with his Wife were commanded to appear before the Biſhop, where the ſaid *Lewes* by and by ſubmitted himſelf, and deſiring the Biſhop to be good to him, excuſing himſelf after the beſt Faſhion he could. Whereupon the Biſhop was content to receive his ſubmiſſion, with condition that his Wife ſhould ſubmit her ſelf alſo. But ſhe ſtoutly told the *Biſhop*, that by refuſing of the Holy Water ſhe had neither offended God, nor any part of his *Laws*. At the which words the Biſhop being grievouſly offended, yet becauſe ſhe was a Gentle Woman, he would not take her at the worſt (as he ſaid) he gave her one Months reſpite, binding her Husband in an hundred pound to bring her again unto him at the Months end, and ſo they were both let go.

When they came to their own Houſe, the ſaid Miſtreſs *Joyce Lewes* gave her ſelf to moſt diligent prayer, and invocating of the name of God, reſorting continually to the abovenamed Man of God, Maſter *John Glover*, who did moſt diligently inſtruct her with Gods Word, willing her in any caſe not to meddle with that matter in reſpect of vaine glory, or to get her ſelf a name, ſhewing her the great dangers ſhe was like to caſt her ſelf in, if ſhe ſhould meddle in Gods matter otherwiſe than Chriſt doth teach.

Miſtreſs Lewes inſtructed by Mr. John Glover.

When the Month was now almoſt expired, and the time at hand that ſhee ſhould be brought before the ſaid Biſhop her Husband being advertiſed by the ſaid Mr. *John Glover* and others, not to carry her to the Biſhop, but to ſeek ſome ways to ſave her, or if the worſt ſhould come, to be content to forfeit ſo much Money, rather than to caſt his own Wife into the fire: He anſwered, he would not looſe or forfeit any thing for her ſake: and ſo, like a murtherer of his own Wife, he carried her to the bloody Bp. where ſhee was examined, and found more ſtout, than ſhe was before Death was threatned. And to begin withal, ſhe was ſent to ſuch a ſtinking priſon, that a certain maid, which was appointed to keep her company, did ſwoon in the ſame priſon.

Miſtreſs Lewes impriſoned.

Being thus kept in priſon, and oftentimes examined, and ever found ſtout, at the length ſhe was brought in judgment, and pronounced an Heretick worthy to be burned. When the Biſhop reaſoned with her, why ſhe could not come to the Maſs, and receive the Sacraments and Sacramentals of the Holy Ghoſt: ſhe anſwered, Becauſe I find not theſe things in Gods Word, which you ſo urge and magnifie, as things moſt needful for mens Salvation. If theſe things were in the ſame Word of God commanded, I would with all my Heart, receive, eſteem, and believe them. The Biſhop anſwered, If thou wilt believe no more than is in the Scripture, concerning matters of Religion, thou art in a Damnable caſe. At which words ſhe was wonderfully amazed, and being moved by the Spirit of God, told the Biſhop, that his words were ungodly and wicked.

After her condemnation, ſhe continued a whole twelf Month in priſon, becauſe ſhe was committed to the Sheriff that was of late choſen, who could not be compelled to put her to Death in his time, as he affirmed: for the which things, after her Death, he was ſore troubled and in danger of his Life. All that time ſhe was in priſon, her behaviour was ſuch both in words and deeds, that all they, that had any ſpark of godlineſs or honeſty, did greatly lament her caſe, that ſhe ſhould be put to Death.

Miſtreſs Lewes a Year in priſon after her condemnation.

Anno 1557.

Now when the time did draw near the which God had appointed for her Deliverance, the Writ *De comburendo* (as they term it) being brought down from *London*, ſhe deſired certain of her Friends, to come to her with whom when they came, ſhe conſulted how ſhe might behave her ſelf, that her Death might be more glorious to the Name of God, Comfortable to his People, and alſo moſt Diſcomfortable unto the Enemies of God. As for Death (ſaid ſhe) I do not greatly paſs: when I behold the amiable Countenance of Chriſt my dear Saviour the Ougleſome Face of Death doth not greatly trouble mee. In the which *time alſo ſhe reaſoned moſt comfortably* out of Gods Word, of Gods election and reprobation.

In the evening, before the day of her ſuffering, two of the Prieſts of the cloſe of *Lichfield*, came to the under Sheriffs Houſe where ſhe lay, and ſent word to her by the Sheriff, that they were come to hear her Confeſſion: for they would be ſorry ſhe ſhould die without. She ſent them word again, ſhe had made her Confeſſion to Chriſt her Saviour, at whoſe hands ſhe was ſure to have forgiveneſs of her ſins. As concerning the cauſe for the which ſhe ſhould die, ſhe had no cauſe to confeſs that, but rather to give unto God moſt humble praiſe, that he did make her worthy to ſuffer Death for his Word: And as concerning that Abſolution that they were able to give unto her, being authorized by the Pope, ſhe did defie the ſame, even from the bottom of her Heart. The which thing when the Prieſts heard they ſaid to the Sheriff, Well, to morrow her ſtoutneſs will be proved and tryed. For although perhaps ſhe hath now ſome Friends that whiſper her in her ears, to morrow we will ſee who dare be ſo hardy as to come near her: and ſo they went their ways with anger, that their confeſſion and abſolution was nought ſet by.

Miſtreſs Lewes refuſeth to be confeſſed of the Prieſts.

All that night ſhe was wonderfully cheerful and merry, with a certain gravity, in ſo much that the Majeſty of the Spirit of God did manifeſtly appear in her, who did expel the fear of Death out of her Heart, ſpending the time in prayer, reading, and talking with them that were purpoſely come unto her, to comfort her with the Word of God.

About three of the clock in the morning, Satan (who never ſleepeth, eſpecially when Death is at hand) began to ſtirr himſelf buſily, ſhooting at her that fiery dart the which he is wont to do againſt all that are at defiance with him, queſtioning with her, how ſhe could tell that ſhee was choſen to eternal Life, and that Chriſt dyed for her. I grant that he dyed, but that he dyed for thee how canſt thou tell; with this ſuggeſtion when ſhe was troubled, they that were about her did counſel her to follow the example of *Paul*, *Galathians* 2. where he ſaith, *Which hath loved me, and given himſelf for me.* Alſo, that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of Gods Word, was a manifeſt token of Gods love towards her, eſpecially that ſame Holy Spirit of God working in her Heart, that love and deſire towards God to pleaſe him, and to be juſtified by him through Chriſt, &c. By theſe and like perſwaſions, and eſpecially by the comfortable promiſes of Chriſt, brought out of the Scripture, Satan was put to flight, and ſhee comforted in Chriſt.

Temptations of Miſtreſs Lewes before her death and Martyrdom.

Joyce Lewes comforted in her temptations

About eight of the clock, Mr. Sheriff came to her into her Chamber, ſaying theſe words, Miſtreſs *Lewes*, I am come to bring you tidings of the Queens pleaſure, the which is, that you ſhall live no longer but one hour in this world: therefore pepare your ſelf thereunto, it ſtandeth you in hand. At which words, being ſo groſſly uttered, and ſo ſuddenly by ſuch an officer as he was ſhee was ſomwhat abaſhed. Wherefore one of her Friends and acquaintance ſtanding by, ſaid theſe words, Miſtreſs *Lewes*, you have great cauſe to praiſe God, who will vouchſafe ſo ſpeedily to take you out of this world, and make you worthy to be a witneſs of his truth, and to bear record unto Chriſt, that he *is* the onely Saviour.

After the which words ſpoken thus, ſhee ſaid, Maſter Sheriff your meſſage is welcome to me, and I thank my God

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God that he will make me worthy to Adventure my Life in his quarrel. And thus Mr. Sheriff departed: and within the ſpace of one hour he came again, *cum gladis & fuſtibus*; and when he came up into the Chamber, one of her Friends deſired him to give him leave to go with her to the ſtake, and to comfort her, the which the Sheriff granted at that time, but afterwards he was ſore troubled for the ſame, when ſhe was dead.

Joyce Lewes brought to the place of Martyrdom.

Now when ſhe was brought through the Town with a number of Bill-men, a great multitude of People being preſent, ſhe being led by two of her Friends (which were Mr. *Michael Reniger*, and Mr. *Auguſtine Bernher*) ſhe was brought to the place of execution: and becauſe the place was far off, and the throng of the People great, and ſhe not acquainted with the fleſh ayre (being ſo long in priſon) one of her Friends ſent a meſſenger to the Sheriffs Houſe for ſome drink; and after ſhe had prayed three ſeveral times, in the which prayer ſhe deſired God moſt inſtantly to aboliſh the Idolatrous Maſs, and to deliver this Realm from Papiſtry (at the end of the which prayers the moſt part of the people cryed *Amen*, yea, even the Sheriff that ſtood hard by her, ready to caſt her in the fire for not allowing the Maſs, at this her prayer ſaid with the reſt of the the people, *Amen*;) when ſhe had thus prayed, ſhe took the Cup into her Hands, ſaying; I drinke to all them that unfainedly love the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and with for the aboliſhment of Papiſtry. When ſhe had drunk, they that were her Friends drank alſo. After that a great number, ſpecially the Women of the Town did drink with her; which afterward were put to open penance in the Church by the cruel Papiſts, for drinking with her.

Her prayers.

Women put to penance for pledging Joyce Lewes.

When ſhe was tied to the ſtake with the Chain ſhe ſhewed ſuch a chearfulneſs, that it paſſed mans reaſon, being ſo well coloured in her face, and being ſo patient, that the moſt part of them that had honeſt hearts did lament, and even with tears bewayl the Tyranny of the Papiſts. When the fire was ſet upon her, ſhe neither ſtruggled nor ſtirred, but onely lifted up her hands towards Heaven, being dead very ſpeedily: for the Under-Sheriff at the requeſt of her Friends had provided ſuch ſtuff, by the which ſhe was ſuddenly diſpatched out of this miſerable world.

The Martyrdom of Miſtreſs Joyce Lewes.

This amongſt other things may not be fogotten, that the Papiſts had appointed ſome to rail upon her openly, and to revile her, both as ſhe went to the place of execution, and alſo when ſhe came at the ſtake. Amongſt others there was an old Prieſt, which had a pair of writing Tables to note both the names of the Women that drank of her Cup (as before you heard,) and alſo deſcribed her Friends by their apparel, for preſently he could not learn their names, and afterwards enquired for their names: and ſo immediately after Proceſs was ſent out for them, both to *Coventry* and other places: but God whoſe providence ſleeps not, did defend them from the hands of theſe cruel tyrants. Unto the which God, with the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, be honour and glory for ever, *Amen*.

The Martrydom of Ralph Allerton, James Auſtoo, Margery Auſtoo, *and* Richard Roth, *burned at* Iſlington.

Septemb. 17. The ſtory of Ralph Allerton.

IN ſearching out the certain number of the faithful Martyrs of God that ſuffered within the time and Raign of Queen *Mary*; I find, that about the ſeventeenth day of *Septemb.* were burned at *Iſlington*, nigh unto *London*, theſe four conſtant Profeſſors of Chriſt, *Ralph Allerton*, *James Auſtoo*, *Margery Auſtoo*, his Wife, and *Richard Roth*. Among the which, it firſt appeareth that this *Ralph Allerton* was, more then a year before his condemnation, apprehended and brought before the Lord *Darcy* of *Chich.* and was there accuſed, as wel for that he would not conſent and come unto the Idolatry and Superſtition which then was uſed, as alſo that he had by preaching enticed others to do the like.

Being then hereupon examined, hee confeſſed that he coming into his Pariſh of *Bentley*, and ſeeing the People ſitting there, either gazing about, or elſe talking together, he exhorted them that they would fall unto prayer, and meditation of Gods moſt Holy Word, and not ſit ſtill idlely. Whereunto they willingly conſented. Then after prayer ended, he read unto them a Chapter of the New Teſtament, and ſo departed.

In the which exerciſe he continued until *Candlemas*, and then being informed that he might not ſo do by the Law (for that he was no Prieſt or Miniſter) he left off, and kept himſelf cloſe in his houſe until *Eaſter* then next after. At what time, certain Sworn Men for the inquiry of ſuch matters came unto his houſe, and attached him for reading in the Pariſh of *Welley*.

Ralph Allerton attached.

But when they underſtood that he had read but once, and that it was of obedience (whereunto he earneſtly moved the People) they let him for that time depart. Notwithſtanding for fear of their cruelty, he was not long after conſtrained to forſake his own houſe, and keep himſelf in Woods, Barns, and other ſolitary places, until the time of his Apprehenſion.

After this examination, the Lord *Darcy* ſent him up to the Councel; but they (not minding to trouble themſelves with him unto *Boner* who by threatnings and other ſubtle means, ſo abuſed the ſimple and fearful heart of this Man (as yet not throughly ſtayd upon the ayd and help of God) that within ſhort time he won him to his moſt wicked will, and made him openly at *Pauls* Croſs to revoke and recant his former profeſſion, and thereupon ſet him at liberty of Body. Which yet brought ſuch a bondage and Terrour of Soul and Conſcience, and ſo caſt him down, that except the Lord (whoſe mercies are immeaſurable) had ſupported and lift him up again; he had periſhed for ever.

But the Lord, who never ſuffereth his elect Children utterly to fall, caſting his pitiful eyes upon his loſt ſheep, with his merciful and Fatherly Chaſtiſements, did (with *Peter*) raiſe him up again, giving unto him not onely hearty and unfained repentance, but alſo a moſt conſtant boldneſs to profeſs again (even unto the Death) his moſt holy name and glorious Goſpel, Wherefore at the procurement of one *Thomas Tye* Prieſt, ſometime an earneſt profeſſor of Chriſt, but now a fierce Perſecutor of the ſame (as appeareth more at large before in the hiſtory of *William Munt* and his wife) he was again apprehended, and ſet up again unto *Boner*, before whom he was the eighth day of *April*, and ſundry other times elſe examined. The report of which examination, written by his own hand with Blood for lack of other ink, hereafter followeth.

Tho. Tye. Prieſt, perſecutor and promoter.

The Examination of Ralph Allerton *at his ſecond apprehenſion, appearing before the Biſhop of* London *at* Fulham, *the eighth day of* April, Anno 1557. *written by himſelf, with his own Blood,*

The examination of Ralph Allerton.

BOner. Ah ſirrah, how chanceth it that you are come hither again on this faſhion? I dare ſay thou art accuſed wrongfully.

Ralph. Yea my Lord ſo I am. For if I were guilty of ſuch things as I am accuſed of, then I would be very ſorry.

Boner. By Saint *Mary* that is not well done. But let me hear, Art thou an honeſt Man? for if I can prove no Hereſie by thee, then ſhall thine Accuſers do thee no harm at all. Go to, let me hear thee: for I did not believe the tale to be true.

Ralph. My Lord, who did accuſe me? I pray you let me know, and what is mine accuſation, that I may anſwer thereunto.

Boner. Ah, wilt thou ſo? Before God if thou haſt not diſſembled, then thou needeſt not be afraid, nor aſhamed to anſwer for thy ſelf. But tell me in Faith, haſt thou not diſſembled.

Ralph. If I cannot have mine accuſers to accuſe me before you, my Conſcience doth conſtrain me to accuſe my ſelf before you: For I confeſs that I have grievouſly offended God in my diſſimulation at my laſt being before your Lordſhip, for the which I am right ſorry, as God knoweth.

Boner. Wherein I pray thee, didſt thou diſſemble, when thou waſt before me?

Ralph. Forſooth my Lord, if your Lordſhip remember, I did ſet my hand upon a certain writing, the contents whereof (as I remember) were, That I did believe in all things as the Catholick Church teacheth, &c. In the which I did not diſcloſe my mind, but ſhamefully diſſembled, becauſe I made no difference between the True Church and the untrue Church.

Boner,

Boner. Nay, but I pray thee let me hear more of this gear. For I fear me thou wilt ſmell of an Heretick anon. Which is the True Church, as thou ſayeſt? Doſt thou not call the Hereticks Church the True Church, or the Catholick Church of Chriſt? Now which of theſe two are the True Church, ſayſt thou? Go to, for in Faith I will know of thee ere I leave thee.

Ralph. As concerning the Church of Hereticks, I utterly abhor the ſame, as deteſtable and abominable before God, with all their enormities and Hereſies: and the Church Catholick is it that I onely embrace whoſe Doctrine is ſincere, pure and true.

Boner. By S. *Auguſtine*, but that is well ſaid of thee. For by God Almighty, if thou hadſt allowed the Church of Hereticks, I would have burned thee with fire for thy labour.

Morton. Then ſaid one *Morton* a Prieſt, My Lord, you know not yet what Church it is that he calleth Catholick. I warrant you he meaneth naughtily enough.

Boner. Think you ſo? Now by our bleſſed Lady, if it be ſo, he might have deceived me. How ſay you, ſirrah, which is the Catholick Church?

Ralph. Even that which hath received the wholſome ſound, ſpoken of *Eſay*, *David*, *Malachy*, and *Paul*, with many other more. The which ſound, as it is written, hath gone throughout all the Earth in every place, and unto the ends of the world.

Boner. Yea, thou ſaieſt true before God. For this is the ſound that hath gone throughout all Chriſtendom, and he that believeth not the ſound of the Holy Church, as St. *Cyprian* ſaith, doth err. For he ſaith, that whoſoever is out of the Church, is like unto them that were out of *Noahs* ſhip when the flood came upon all the whole world; ſo that the *Ark* of *Noah* is likened unto the Church: and therefore thou haſt well ſaid in thy confeſſion. For the Church is not alone in *Germany*, nor was here in *England* in the time of the late Schiſms, as the Hereticks do affirm. For if the Church ſhould be there alone, then were Chriſt a lyar. For he promiſed that the Holy Ghoſt ſhould come to us, lead us unto all truth, yea, and remain with us unto the end of the world. So now if we will take Chriſt for a true ſayer, then muſt we needs affirm, that the way which is taught in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Denmark*, *Scotland*, and all Chriſtendom over, muſt needs be the True Catholick Church.

Ralph. My Lord, if you remember, I ſpake of all the world, as it is written, and not of all Chriſtendom only, as me thinks your Lordſhip taketh it, the which kind of ſpeaking you do not find in all the Bible. For ſure I am, that the Goſpel hath been both preached and perſecuted in all Lands: Firſt, in *Jewry* by the Scribes and Phariſees, and ſince that time by *Nero*, *Diocleſian*, and ſuch like, and now here in theſe our days by your Lordſhip knoweth whom. For truth it is that the Church which you call Catholick, is none otherwiſe Catholick then was figured in *Cain*, obſerved of *Jeroboam*, *Ahab*, *Jezabel*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, *Antiochus*, *Herod*, with innumerable more of the like: and as both *Daniel* and *Eſdras* make mention of theſe laſt days by a plain prophecy, and now fulfilled, as appeareth, and affirmed by our Saviour Chriſt and his Apoſtles, ſaying; There ſhall come grievous Wolves to devour the flock.

He meaneth belike Boner and his fellows.

Boner. Now, by the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, Mr. *Morton*, he is the rankeſt Heretick that ever came before me. How ſay you? have you heard the like?

Morton. I thought what he was my Lord at the firſt, I.

Boner. Now by all Hallowes thou ſhalt be burnt with fire for thy lying, thou whoreſon varlet and prick-louſe thou. Doſt thou find a prophecy in *Daniel* of us? Nay, you knave, it is of you that he ſpeaketh of, and of your falſe pretenſed holineſs. Go to, let me hear what is the ſaying of *Eſdras*, and take heed ye make not a lie, I adviſe you.

Ralph. The ſaying of *Eſdras* is this; *The heat of a great multitude is kindled over you, and they ſhall take away certain of you, & feed the Idols with you, and he that conſenteth unto them, ſhall be had in deriſion, laughed to ſcorn, and troden under foot: yea they ſhall be like Mad Men, for they ſhall ſpare no Man; they ſhall ſpoil and waſte ſuch as fear the Lord, &c.*

4. *Eſdras* 16.

Boner. And have you taken this thing to make your Market good? Ah ſirrah, wilt thou ſo? by my Faith a pretty inſtruction, and a neceſſary thing to be taught among the People. By my troth I think there be more of this opinion. I pray thee tell me: Is there any that underſtandeth this Scripture on this faſhion? Before God, I think there be none in all *England*, but thou.

Anno 1557.

Ralph. Yes, my Lord, there are in *England* three Religions.

Three ſorts of Religion in *England*.

Boner. Sayeſt thou ſo? which be thoſe three?

Ralph. The firſt is that which you hold, the ſecond is clean contrary to the ſame; and the third is a Neuter, being indifferent: that is to ſay, obſerving all things that are commanded outwardly, as though he were of your part, his heart being ſet wholly againſt the ſame.

Boner. And of theſe three which art thou? for now thou muſt needs be one of them.

Ralph. Yea, my Lord, I am of one of them; and that which I am of, is even that which is contrary to that which you teach to be believed under pain of Death.

Boner. Ah ſir, you were here with me at *Fulham*, and had good chear, yea and mony in your purſe when you went away, and by my Faith I had a favour unto thee, but now I ſee thou wilt be a naughty knave. Why, wilt thou take upon thee to read the Scripture, and canſt underſtand never a word? For thou haſt brought a text of Scripture, the which maketh clean againſt thee. For *Eſdras* ſpeaketh of the multitude of you Hereticks, declaring your hate againſt the Catholick Church, making the ſimple or idle people believe, that all is Idolatry that we do, and ſo entice them away until you have overcom them.

Ralph. Nay, not ſo my Lord. For he maketh it more plain, and ſaith on this wiſe; *They ſhall take away their goods, and put them out of their houſes, and then ſhall it be known who are my choſen* (ſaith the Lord) *for they ſhall be tried, as the ſilver or gold in the fire.* And we ſee it ſo come to paſs, even as he hath ſaid. For who is not now driven from houſe and home, yea and his goods taken up for other Men that never ſweat for them, if he do not obſerve as you command and ſet forth? Or elſe, if he be taken, then muſt he either deny the truth, as I did, in diſſembling, or elſe he ſhall be ſure to be tried, as *Eſdras* ſaith, even as the gold is tried in the fire. Whereby all the world may know, that you are the bloody Church, figured in *Cain* the Tyrant, neither yet are ye able to avoid it.

The place of *Eſdras* explained.

Morton. I promiſe you my Lord, I like him better now than ever I did, when he was here before you the other time. For then he did but diſſemble, as I perceived well enough; but now me think he ſpeaketh plainly.

Boner. Marry, ſir, as you ſay indeed, he is plain. For he is a plain Heretick, and ſhall be burned. Have the knave away. Let him be carried to *Little-eaſe* at *London* until I come.

Ralph. And ſo was I carried to *London* unto *Little-eaſe*, and there remained that night, and on the next morrow I appeared before him again, the Dean of *Pauls* and the Chancellor of *London* being preſent. Then were brought forth certain writings that I had ſet my hand unto.

Boner. Come on your ways, ſirrah. Is not this your hand, and this, and this?

Allerton charged with his own hand writing.

Ralph. Yea, they are my hand all of them; I confeſs the ſame, neither yet will I deny any thing that I have ſet my hand unto. But if I have ſet my hand to any thing that is not lawful, therefore am I ſorry. Nevertheleſs, my hand I will not deny to be my doing.

Boner. Well ſaid, Now ye muſt tell me, Were you never at the Church ſince you went from me, at Maſs Mattens? &c.

Ralph. No; my Lord, not at Maſs, Mattens, nor any other ſtrange worſhipping of God.

Boner. Yea, ſayeſt thou ſo? Waſt thou neither at thine own Pariſh Church, nor at any other? And doſt thou alſo ſay, that it is a ſtrange worſhipping? Why, I pray thee, wilt thou not believe the Scripture to be true?

Ralph.

Ann. 1557.

Ralph. Yea, my Lord, I believe the Scripture to be true, and in the defence of the ſame I intend to give my life, rather then I will deny any part thereof, God willing.

Bun. My Lord, this fellow will be an honeſt man, I hear by him. He will not ſtand in his opinion; for he ſhewеth himſelf gentle and patient in his talk.

Boner, Oh, he is a glorious knave. His painted terms ſhall no more deceive me. Ah whoreſon Prick-louſe, doth not Chriſt ſay, *This is my Body?* And how dareſt thou deny theſe words, for to ſay, as I have a writing to ſhew, and thine own hand at the ſame? Let me ſee, wilt thou deny thus? Is not this thine own hand?

Ralph. Yes, my Lord, it is my own hand, neither am I aſhamed thereof, becauſe my confeſſion therein is a agreeable to Gods Word. And whereas you do lay unto my charge, that I ſhould deny the Words of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; Oh, good Lord! from whence cometh this raſh, haſty, and untrue judgment? Forſooth not from the Spirit of Truth; for he leadeth Men into all Truth, and is not the Father of lyars. Wherupon ſhould your Lordſhip gather or ſay of me ſo diffamouſly? Wherefore, I beſeech you, if I deny the Scriptures Canonical, or any part thereof, then let me die.

Sir Thomas Tyr, lately turned to his vomit, thirſteth for Blood.

Tye the Prieſt. My Lord, he is a very ſeditious fellow, and perſwadeth other men to do as he himſelf doth, contrary to the order appointed by the Queens Highneſs and the Clergy of this Realm. For a great ſort of the Pariſh will be gathered one day to one place, and another day to another place to hear him; ſo that very few come to the Church to hear divine Service: and this was not only before that he was taken and brought unto the Council, but alſo ſince his return home again, he hath done much harm. For where both Men and Women were honeſtly diſpoſed before, by Saint *Anne* now are they as ill as he almoſt. And furthermore, he was not aſhamed to withſtand me before all the Pariſh, ſaying, that we were of the malignant Church of Antichriſt, and not of the True Church of Chriſt, alledging a great many of Scriptures to ſerve for his purpoſe, ſaying; Good People, take heed, and beware of theſe Blood-thirſty Dogs, &c. And then I commanded the Conſtable to apprehend him, and ſo he did. Nevertheleſs, after this apprehenſion, the Conſtable let him go about his buſineſs all the next day, ſo that without putting in of Sureties, he let him go into *Suffolk* and other places, for no goodneſs, I warrant you my Lord: it were Alms to teach ſuch Officers their duty, how they ſhould let ſuch Rebels go at their own liberty, after that they be apprehended and taken, but to keep them faſt in the Stocks until they bring them before a Juſtice.

Allerton apprehended, contrary to the Laws of the Realm.

Ralph. As I ſaid before, ſo ſay I now again; thou art not of the Church of Chriſt, and that will I prove, if I may be ſuffered. And where you ſaid, that you commanded the Conſtable to apprehend me, you did ſo indeed, contrary to the Laws of this Realm, having neither to lay unto my charge, Treaſon, Felony, nor Murther: No, neither had you Precept, Proceſs, nor Warrant to ſerve on me; and therefore I ſay, without a Law was I apprehended. And whereas you ſeek to trouble the Conſtable, becauſe he kept me not in the Stocks three days and three nights, it doth ſhew in part what you are. And my going into *Suffolk* was not for any evil, but only to buy half a Buſhel of Corn for Bread for my poor Wife and Children, knowing that I had no long time to tarry with them. But if I had run away, then you would ſurely have laid ſomewhat to his charge.

Boner. Go to, thou art a Merchant indeed. Ah ſirrah, before God thou ſhalt be burnt with fire. Thou knoweſt *Richard Roth*, doeſt thou not? Is he of the ſame mind that thou art of, or no? canſt thou tell?

Ralph. He is of age to anſwer, let him ſpeak for himſelf; for I hear ſay that he is in your houſe.

Bun. Loe what a knave here is. Go *Cluny*, fetch me *Roth* hither. By my troth he is a falſe knave; but yet thou art worſe then he. Ah ſirrah, did you not ſet your hand to a writing, the tenor whereof was, that if thou ſhould at any time ſay or do Heretically, then it ſhould be lawfull for me to take thee with a relapſe, and to proceed in ſentence againſt thee?

Allerton charged with relapſe.

Ralph. Yea, that is ſo. But here is to be asked, whether it be ſufficient, that my hand or name in writing be able to give Authority to you or to any other to kill me? For if I by writing can do ſo much, then muſt my Authority be greater then yours. Nevertheleſs, I have neither ſaid nor done heretically, but like a True Chriſtian man have I behaved my ſelf. And ſo I was committed unto priſon again, and the 24. day of the ſame Month, I was brought before the Biſhop, the Lord *North*, Dr. *Story*, and others, and after a long talk in Latine amongſt themſelves (unto the which I gave no anſwer, becauſe they ſpake not to me, although they ſpake of me) at the laſt the Biſhop ſaid:

Boner. How ſay you ſirrah? tell me briefly at one word, wilt thou be contented to go to *Fulham* with me, and there to kneel thee down at Maſs, ſhewing thy ſelf outwardly as though thou didſt it with a good will? Go to, ſpeak.

Ralph. I will not ſay ſo.

Boner. Away with him, away with him.

Allerton brought again before Boner and certain Lords

The ſecond day of *May* I was brought before the Biſhop, and three Noble Men of the Council, whoſe names I do not remember.

Boner. Lo my Lords, this ſame is the fellow that was ſent unto me from the Council, and did ſubmit himſelf, ſo that I had half a hope of him: but by St. *Anne* I was always in doubt of him. Nevertheleſs, he was with me, and fared well, and when I delivered him, I gave him money in his purſe. How ſaieſt thou? was it not ſo as I tell my Lords here?

Ralph. Indeed my Lord I had meat and drink enough; but I never came in bed all the while. And at my departing you gave me twelve pence, howbeit I asked none, nor would have done.

A Lord. Be good to him my Lord. He will be an honeſt Man.

Boner. Before God, how ſhould I truſt him? He hath once deceived me already. But ye ſhall hear what he will ſay to the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar. How ſay you ſirrah? after the words of Conſecration be ſpoken by the Prieſt, there remaineth no bread, but the very Body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, God and Man, and none other ſubſtance, under the form of Bread.

Ralph. Where find you that, my Lord, written?

Boner. Lo Sir. Why? Doth not Chriſt ſay, *This is my Body?* How ſaieſt thou? Wilt thou deny theſe words of our Saviour Chriſt? Or elſe was he a diſſembler, ſpeaking one thing, and meaning another? Go to, now I have taken you.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Ralph. Yea, my Lord, you have taken me indeed, and will keep me untill you kill me. Howbeit, my Lord, I marvel why you leave out the beginning of the inſtitution of the ſupper of our Lord? For Chriſt ſaid; *Take ye, and Eat ye, this is my Body.* And if it will pleaſe you to joyn the former words to the latter, then ſhall I make you an anſwer. For ſure I am, that Chriſt was no diſſembler, neither did he ſay one thing, and mean another,

Boner. Why? Then muſt thou needs ſay, that it is his Body; for he ſaith it himſelf, and thou confeſſeſt that he will not lie.

Ralph. No, my Lord; he is true, and all men are lyars. Notwithſtanding, I utterly refuſe to take the Words of our Saviour ſo fantaſtically as you teach us to take them: for then ſhould we conſpire with certain Hereticks called the *Neſtorians*; for they deny that Chriſt had a true natural Body, and ſo me think you do, my Lord. If you will affirm his Body to be there, as you ſay he is, then muſt you needs alſo affirm, that it is a fantaſtical Body; and therefore look to it for Gods ſake, and let theſe words go before; *Take ye and Eat ye*, without which words the reſt are not ſufficient; but when the worthy receivers do take and Eat, even then are fulfilled the words of our Saviour unto him, or every of them that ſo receiveth.

Bp. Boners Parable.

Boner. Ah, I feel well thou canſt not underſtand theſe words; I will ſhew thee a Parable. If I ſhould ſet a piece of Beef before thee, and ſay; Eat, it is Beef: And then take part of it away, and ſend it to my Cook, and he ſhall change the faſhion thereof, and make it look like Bread: What, wouldſt thou ſay that it

were

were no Beef, becauſe it hath not the faſhion of Beef?

Ralph. Let me underſtand a little further, my Lord; ſhall the Cook add nothing thereunto, nor take any thing therefrom?

Boner. What is that to the matter, whether he do or no, ſo long as the ſhape is changed into another likeneſs?

Eſay 59. Amos 5. *Ralph.* Ah, will you ſo my Lord? your Sophiſtry will not ſerve; the truth will have the victory nevertheleſs, as *Eſay* ſaith; He that reſtraineth himſelf from evil, muſt be ſpoiled. And *Amos* hath ſuch like words alſo: For the Wiſe muſt be fain to hold their peace; ſo wicked a time it is, ſaith he: Nevertheleſs, he that can ſpeak the truth, and will not, ſhall give a ſtrait account for the ſame.

A Doctor. By my Lords leave, here me thinks thou ſpeakeſt like a fool. Wilt thou be a Judge of the Scripture? Nay, thou muſt ſtand to learn, and not to teach; for the whole Congregation hath determined the matter long ago.

A Prieſt. No, by your leave, we have a Church, and not a Congregation. You miſtake that word, Mr Dr.

Ralph. Then ſaid I to my fellow priſoners ſtanding by; My Brethren, do ye not hear how theſe Men help one another? Let us do ſo alſo. But we never came all in together. Then was I carried away for that time. The 19. day of *May* I was brought before the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Chicheſter*, with others.

B. Rocheſt. Were you a companion of *George Eagles*, otherwiſe called *Trudgeover*? My Lord of *London* telleth me that you were his fellow companion.

Ralph. I know him very well, my Lord.

Rocheſt. By my Faith, I had him once, and then he was as drunk as an Ape, for he ſtank ſo of drink, that I could not abide him; and ſo ſent him away.

Ralph. My Lord, I dare ſay you took your mark amiſs. It was either your ſelf, or ſome of your own company, for he did neither drink Wine, Ale, nor Beer, in a quarter of a year before that time; and therefore it was not he forſooth.

The reſt of mine Examinations you ſhall have when I am condemned, if I can have any time after my coming into *Newgate*, the which I truſt ſhall touch the matter a great deal more plainly; for the pithy matters are yet unwritten. Thus fare you well good Friends all. Yea, I ſay, farewel for ever in this preſent world. Greet ye one another, and be joyful in the Lord. Salute the good widows among you, with all the reſt of the Congregation in *Barfold*, and *Dedham*, and *Colcheſter*.

This promiſe of his, being either not performed, for that he might not thereto be permitted, or elſe if he did write, the ſame not coming to my hands. I am fain in the reſt of his examinations to follow the only report of the Regiſter; who witneſſeth, that the 15. day of *May*, *Anno* 1557. in the Biſhops Palace at *London*, he was examined upon certain Interrogatories, the contents whereof be theſe.

Articles miniſtred againſt Ralph Allerton.

FIrſt, that he was of the Pariſh of *Muchbentley*, and ſo of the Dioceſs of *London*.

Secondly, that the 10. day of *January* then laſt paſt, Mr. *John Morant* preaching at *Pauls*, the ſaid *Ralph Allerton* did there openly ſubmit himſelf unto the Church of *Rome*, with the Rites and Ceremonies thereof.

Thirdly, that he did conſent and ſubſcribe as well unto the ſame ſubmiſſion, as alſo to one other bill, in the which he granted, that if he ſhould at any time turn again unto his former opinions, it ſhould be then lawful for the Biſhop immediately to denounce and adjudge him as an Heretick.

Fourthly, that he had ſubſcribed to a bill, wherein he affirmed, that in the Sacrament after the words of Conſecration be ſpoken by the Prieſt there remaineth ſtill material Bread and material Wine; and that he believeth that the Bread is the Bread of thankſgiving, and the memorial of Chriſts Death; and that when he receiveth it, he receiveth the Body of Chriſt ſpiritually in his Soul, but material Bread in ſubſtance.

Fifthly, that he had openly affirmed, and alſo adviſedly ſpoken that which is contained in the ſaid former fourth Article laſt before ſpecified.

Sixthly, that he had ſpoken againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, with the Church and See of the ſame, and alſo againſt the 7. Sacraments and other ceremonies and ordinances of the ſame Church, uſed then within this Realm. Anno 1557.

Seventhly, that he had allowed and commended the opinion and faith of Mr. *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, and others of late burned within this Realm, and believed that their opinions were good and godly.

Eighthly, that he had divers times affirmed, that the Religion uſed within this Realm, at the time of his apprehenſion, was neither good, nor agreeable to Gods Word, and that he could not conform himſelf thereunto.

Ninthly, that he had affirmed, that the Book of Common Prayer ſet forth in the Reign of King *Edward* the ſixth, was in all parts good and godly; and that the ſaid *Ralph* and his company priſoners, did daily uſe amongſt themſelves in priſon ſome part of the Book.

Tenthly, that he had affirmed, that if he were out of priſon, he would not come to Maſs, Mattins, nor Evenſong, nor bear Taper, Candle, or Palm, nor go in Proceſſion, nor would receive Holy Water, Holy Bread, Aſhes, or Pax, or any other ceremony of the Church then uſed within this Realm.

Eleventhly, that he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty he would not confeſs his ſins to any Prieſt, nor receive abſolution of him; nor yet would receive the Sacrament of the Altar, as it was then uſed.

Twelfthly, that he had affirmed, that praying to Saints and prayers for the Dead, were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to faſt and pray, but at his own will and pleaſure; neither that it is lawful to reſerve the Sacrament, or to worſhip it.

Thirteenthly, that the ſaid *Allerton* hath, according to theſe his affirmations, abſtained and refuſed to come unto his Pariſh Church ever ſince the 10. day of *January* laſt, or to uſe, receive, or allow any ceremonies, Sacraments, or other rites then uſed in the Church.

To all the Articles he anſwered affirmatively, denying preciſely none of them; ſaving to this clauſe contained in the twelfth Article, that a Man is not bound to faſt and pray but at his own will and pleaſure, he ſaid that he had affirmed no ſuch thing, but he confeſſed that he had not faſted nor prayed ſo oft as he was bound to do. And unto this anſwer he alſo ſubſcribed in this ſort.

Except it be proved otherwiſe by the Holy Scripture, I do affirm theſe Articles to be true. By me Ralph Allerton.

The next Examination was the fourth day of *July*; The Acts whereof, becauſe they do appear more amply in his other examination, had the 10. day of *September*, I do here omit, giving you farther to underſtand, that upon the ſeventh day of the ſame month of *July*, he was brought before Dr. *Darbiſhire* in the Biſhops Palace, who examined him again upon the former Articles, and after perſwaded him to recant, threatning him that otherwiſe he ſhould be burned. To whom he boldly anſwered, I would I might be condemned even to morrow; for I perceive my Lord (meaning *Boner*) doth nothing but ſeek Mens Blood. Upon which ſaying *Darbiſhire* committed him again to priſon, and the 10. day of *September* the Biſhop cauſed him (with the other three abovenamed) to be brought unto *Fulham*, and there in his private Chappel within his houſe, he judicially propounded unto him certain other new Articles; of the which, the Tenors of the firſt, fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh are already mentioned in the ſecond, third, and fourth former objections: As for the reſt, the contents thereof here follow,

Thou *Ralph Allerton* canſt not deny, but that the Information given againſt thee, and remaining now in the Acts of this Court of thine Ordinary, *Edmund* Biſhop of *London*, was and is a True Information.

Perſecutors. Information given againſt *Ralph Allerton*, by Sir *Thomas Tye* Prieſt, a wicked Promoter.

This Information was given by *Thomas Tye*, Curate of *Bentley* (of whom you have already heard) and certain other of the ſame Pariſh and affinity: as namely,

John

Anno 1557.

John Painter, William Harris, John Barker, John Carter, Thomas Candeler, Jeffry Beſtwood, John Richard, Richard Meer.

The effect whereof was, that one *Lawrence Edwards* of *Benfey* aforeſaid, had a Child that was unchriſtened, and being demanded by the ſaid *Tye*, why his Child was not baptized, he made anſwer it ſhould be when he could find one of his Religion (meaning a true profeſſor of Chriſts Goſpel.) Whereat the Curate ſaid, Ah, ye have had ſome Inſtructer that hath ſchooled you of late. Yea (quoth the ſaid *Edwards*) that I have, and if your Doctrine be better then his, then I will believe you; and therewithal fondly offered to fetch him.

Whereupon the Conſtable going with him, they brought before the ſaid Curate the ſaid *Ralph Allerton*; of whom in this Information they make this report that he was a Seditious perſon who ſince his coming down from the Biſhop, had ſet upon the Conſtables door certain Seditious Letters, moving and perſwading thereby the People to follow his malicious diſobedience; and that theſe his perſwaſions had taken effect in many: And farther, that the ſaid *Ralph Allerton* (the Curate asking him whether he had inſtructed this *Lawrence Edwards*, that it was againſt Gods Commandment to enter into the Church) caſting abroad his hands, ſhould ſay; Oh good People, now is fulfilled the ſaying of the godly Prieſt and Prophet *Eſdras*, who ſaith, 4. *Eſd.* 16. *The fire of a multitude is kindled againſt a few: they have taken away their honſes, and ſpoiled their goods, &c.* Which of you all have not ſeen this day? who is he here amongſt you, that ſeeth not all theſe things done upon us this day? The Church which they call us unto, is the Church of Antichriſt, a perſecuting Church, and the Church malignant. With theſe and many more words (ſaid they, moſt maliciouſly and falſly alledged out of the Scriptures) he thus perſwaded a great multitude there preſent (as much as in him lay) unto diſobedience. For the which cauſe the Conſtables did then apprehend him.

3. *Item*, thou *Ralph Allerton* canſt not deny, but that the Letter ſent unto me by my Lord *Darcy*, beginning with theſe words (*Pleaſeth it your Lordſhip, &c.*) was thine one Letter, and was ſubſcribed by thine own hand.

The contents of the Letter mentioned in this Article, and written by *Allerton* unto the Lord *Darcy*, was a Confeſſion of his demeanour before his firſt apprehenſion, the effect and purport whereof, becauſe it appeareth in the beginning of his Hiſtory, I do here omit.

4. *Item*, thou *Ralph Allerton* canſt not deny, but that the other Letter, ſent alſo to me from my ſaid Lord *Darcy*, beginning thus (*Pleaſeth it your Lordſhip, &c.*) and ending with thoſe words (*whenſoever it be*) is thine own very Letter, and ſubſcribed with thine own hand.

This was alſo another Letter written by him unto the Lord *Darcy*, the Contents whereof were, that where the ſaid Lord had commanded him to declare where he had been ever ſince *Whitſontide* laſt before his firſt apprehenſion, this was to certifie his Lordſhip, that he was not able ſo to do, otherwiſe then as he had already ſhewed him by his former Letters. And moreover, whereas he charged him to have read unto the People abroad in the Woods, he certified him that he did never read any thing abroad, ſaving once when he was in the Company of *George Eagles* and others, *Richard Roth* took a writing out of his boſom, and deſired the ſaid *Ralph* to read it, which requeſt he then accompliſhed; and demanding of him whoſe doing the ſame was, the ſaid *Roth* told that it was Maſter *Crammers*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and farther he could not ſhew him. Nevertheleſs, he was ready and willing to ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as his Lordſhip ſhould think meet, deſiring yet that the ſame might be with favour and mercy, although he feared neither puniſhment nor death, praying the Lord, that it might be in his fear, whenſoever it ſhould be.

8. *Item*, thou *Ralph Allerton* canſt not deny, but that the Letters written with Blood, beginning with theſe words (*Grace, mercy, and peace, &c.* and ending thus, (*Farewel in God*) remaining now regiſtred in the Acts of this Court, were written voluntarily with thine own hand.

HE wrote this Letter in the Priſon with Blood for lack of other Ink, and did mean to ſend the ſame unto *Agnes Smith alias Silverſide*, at that time impriſoned, and afterward burned at *Colcheſter* for the teſtimony of the Goſpel of Chriſt, as before is mentioned. The Copy of which Letter here enſueth.

A Letter written by Ralph Allerton, *unto* Agnes Smith *Widow.*

A Letter of Ralph Allerton.

GRace, mercy and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the aſſiſtance of Gods holy Spirit, and the abundant health both of Soul and Body, I wiſh unto you, as to my own Soul, as God knoweth, who is the Searcher of all ſecrets.

Foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed Almighty God of his infinite mercy to call me to the ſtate of grace, to ſuffer Martyrdom for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, although heretofore I have moſt negligently dallied therewith; and therefore far unworthy I am of ſuch an high benefit, to be crowned with the moſt joyful Crown of Martyrdom: Nevertheleſs, it hath pleaſed God not ſo to leave me, but hath raiſed me up again according to his promiſe, which ſaith; *Although he fall, yet ſhall he not be hurt: For the Lord upholdeth him with his hand, Pſal.* 37. Whereby we perceive Gods election to be moſt ſure, for undoubtedly he will preſerve all thoſe that are appointed to die. And as he hath begun this work in me, even ſo do I believe that he will finiſh the ſame, to his great glory, and to my wealth, through Jeſus Chriſt, So be it.

Dearly beloved Siſter (I am conſtrained ſo to call you, becauſe of your conſtant Faith and love unfained) conſider, that if we be the true Servants of Chriſt, then may not we in any wiſe make agreement with his enemy Antichriſt. For there is no concord and agreement between them, ſaith the Scriptures, and a man cannot ſerve two Maſters, ſaith Chriſt. And alſo it is prefigured unto us in the old Law, whereas the People of God were moſt ſtraitly commanded that they ſhould not mingle themſelves with the ungodly Heathen, and were alſo forbidden to eat, drink, or to marry with them. For as often as they did either marry unto their Sons, or take their Daughters unto them, or to their Sons, even ſo oft came the great and heavy wrath of God upon his own People, to overthrow both them and all their Cities, with the holy Sanctuary of God; and brought in ſtrange Princes to raign over them, and wicked Rulers to govern them, ſo that they were ſure of Hunger, Sword, Peſtilence, and wild Beaſts to devour them. Which plagues never ceaſed, until the good People of God were clean ſeparated from the wicked Idolatrous People.

Oh dearly beloved, this was written for our learning that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope. And is it not in like caſe hapned now in this Realm of *England*? For now are the People of God had in deriſion, and troden under foot, and the Cities, Towns, and Houſes where they dwelt, are inhabited with them that have no right thereunto, and the true owners are ſpoiled of their labours: yea, and the holy Sanctuary of Gods moſt bleſſed Word is laid deſolate and waſt, ſo that the very Foxes run over it, &c. yet is it the food of our Souls, the Lantern of our feet, and the Light unto our paths; and where it is not preached, the People periſh. But the Prophet ſaith, *Eſay* 59. *He that refraineth himſelf from evil, muſt be ſpoiled.* Why ſhould men then be abaſhed to be ſpoiled, ſeeing that it is told us before, that it muſt ſo happen unto them that refrain from evil? And thus I bid you farewel in God.

R. A.

Item, thou *Ralph Allerton*, canſt not deny, but that the Letters written with Blood, beginning with theſe words in the over part thereof: (*The Angel of God, &c.*) and ended thus (*Be with you, Amen.*) and having alſo this Poſtſcript (*Do ye ſuppoſe that our Brethren &c.*) remaining now regiſtred in the Acts of this Court, are thine own hand-writing.

9. For the better underſtanding of this Article, I have alſo here inſerted the Copy of the Letter mentioned in the ſame; which Letter he wrote (by his own Confeſſion) unto *Richard Roth*, then in danger of the ſubtle ſnares of that bloody Wolf *Boner*,

A Letter of *Ralph Allerton.*

Another Letter written by Ralph Allerton *unto* Richard Roth, *his fellow-Martyr.*

THe Angel of God pitch his Tent about us, and defend us in all our ways, *Amen, Amen.*

O dear Brother, I pray for you; for I hear ſay, that you have been divers times before my Lord in Examination. Wherefore take heed for Gods ſake what the wiſe man teacheth you, and ſhrink not away when you are enticed to confeſs an untruth, for hope of life, but be ready always to give an anſwer of the hope that is in you. For whoſoever confeſſeth Chriſt before men, him will Chriſt alſo confeſs before his Father. But he that is aſhamed to confeſs him before men, ſhall have his reward with them that do deny him. And therefore, dear Brother, go forward: ye have a ready way, ſo fair as ever had any of the Prophets or Apoſtles, or the reſt of our Brethren, the holy Martyrs of God. Therefore covet to go hence with the multitude while the way is full. Alſo (dear Brother) underſtand that I have ſeen your Letter, and although I cannot read it perfectly, yet I partly perceive your meaning therein, and very gladly I would copy it out, with certain comfortable additions thereunto annexed. The which as yet will not be brought to paſs for lack of Paper, until my Lord be gone from hence, and then your requeſt ſhall be accompliſhed, God willing, without delay. Thus fare ye well in God. Our dear Brother and Fellow in tribulation, *Robert Allin*, ſaluteth you, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt be with you, *Amen.*

Ralph Allerton.

Poſtſcriptum.

Do ye ſuppoſe that our Brethren and Siſters are not yet diſpatched out of this world? I think that either they are dead, or ſhall be within theſe two days.

And for the other Objection yet remaining, and not ſpecified, if it were not more ſomewhat to ſhew the folly of theſe bloody Tyrants (which of ſo ſmall trifles take occaſions to quarrel with the Saints of God) than for any weighty thing therein contained; I would neither trouble you with the reading thereof, nor yet my ſelf with writing. But that ye may judge of them as their doings do give occaſion, I will now proceed in the matter.

Item, thou *Ralph Allerton* canſt not deny, but confeſſeſt, that the writing of Letters in a little piece of Paper on both ſides of it, with this Sentence following on the one ſide (*look at the foot of the Stocks for a Knife*) and with this Sentence following upon the other ſide (*look between the Poſt and the Wall for two Books and two Epiſtles, leave them here when ye go*) remaining now in the Regiſter and Acts of this Court, is voluntarily written by thee *Ralph Allerton* with thine own hand.

Item, thou *Ralph Allerton* canſt not deny, but that thou art privy to a certain Writing remaining now in the Regiſter and Acts of this Court, the beginning whereof is with theſe words (*I would have men wiſe*, &c.) and ending thus (*from houſe to houſe.*

Item, thou *Ralph Allerton* canſt not deny, but that thou art privy, and of conſent and maintenance of a certain great Woodknife, a long Sword, a Hook, a Stone and of a Trencher written upon with Chalk, having this Sentence (*All is gone and loſt, becauſe of your folly*:) of two Boords written upon with Chalk, the one having this Sentence (*under the Stone look*) and the other having this Sentence (*whereas you bid me take heed, I thank you, I truſt in God that I ſhall be at peace with him ſhortly*) remaining now Regiſtred in the Acts of this Court.

Anſwers to the Articles. Ex Regiſt.

For anſwer unto all theſe Articles, he granted that the firſt Nine were true, as the Regiſter recordeth. Howbeit, I find noted in the backſide of the *Information*, ſpecified in the ſecond Article (although croſſed out again) that he denyed ſuch things as were there in the ſame informed againſt him. Wherefore it is not likely that he did ſimply grant unto the contents of the ſecond Article; but rather that he only affirmed, that ſuch an Information was given againſt him, and not that the ſame was true. Anno 1557.

Thus much I thought to warn the Reader of, leſt that in miſtaking his anſwers, it might ſeem, that he granted himſelf to be a ſeditious and a Rebellious Perſon; of which fact he was moſt clear and innocent. And being farther demanded upon the contents of the eighth Article, where he had the Blood he wrote that Letter withal; he ſaid, that *Richard Roth*, ſometime his Priſon-fellow, did make his Noſe bleed, and thereby he got the Blood wherewith he did then write. The Biſhop again asked him, to whom he would have ſent the ſame. He anſwered unto one *Agnes Smith alias Silverſide*, of *Colcheſter*. Why (quoth the Biſhop) *Agnes Smith* was an Heretick, and is burned for Hereſie. Nay, ſaid *Allerton*, ſhe is in better caſe, than either I my ſelf, or any of us all. Then being again demanded (upon the ninth Objection) to whom he would have ſent the Letter mentioned in the ſame; he anſwered, that he meant to have ſent it unto *Richard Roth*, at that preſent ſeparated from him. Whereupon the Biſhop farther inquired, what he meant by theſe words *Brethren and Siſters*) ſpecified in the ſaid Letter? He anſwered, that he meant thereby, ſuch as were lately condemned at *Colcheſter*, and were like (at the writing thereof) ſhortly to be burned. Now as for the contents of the tenth and the eleventh Articles he utterly denied them. But to the twelfth he confeſſed, that he writ upon the ſaid Trencher and other Boords, the words mentioned in the ſaid Article, and that he did leave the ſame in the Priſon-houſe, to the intent that *Richard Roth* ſhould read them. *Boner* alſo bringing out the Wooden Sword,, mentioned in the ſaid Article, asked him who made it, and for what purpoſe. Whereunto he anſwered, that he was the maker thereof, howbeit for no evil purpoſe. But being idle in the Priſon, and finding there an old Boord, he thought the time better ſpent in making thereof, then to ſit ſtill, and do nothing at all.

The fore-noon being now ſpent, the reſt of this tragedy was deferred until the afternoon. Wherein was miniſtred unto him yet certain other Objections, the tenor whereof was.

Other Objections miſtred to *Ralph Allerton.*

FIrſt, that he had miſliked the Maſs, calling upon Saints, and carrying the Croſs in Proceſſion, with other their Ceremonies, calling them Idolatry, and alſo had diſſwaded them there-from.

2. *Item*, that he was much deſirous to have the People believe as he did; and therefore being in Priſon with his Fellows, did ſing Pſalms and other Songs againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and other Ordinances of the Church, ſo loud that the People abroad might hear them and delight in them.

3. *Item*, that he had divers times conſpired againſt his Keeper, and had provided things to kill him, and ſo to break the Priſon, and eſcape away.

4. *Item*, that he had railed againſt the Biſhop, being his Ordinary, calling him a bloody Butcher, Tyrant, and ravening Wolf, and alſo againſt his Officers, eſpecially *Cluny* his Sumner, calling him Butchers Cur, with other ſuch names.

5. *Item*, that he had murmured, grudged, diſdained and miſliked, that the Biſhop had proceeded againſt certain of his Dioceſs, and had condemned them as Hereticks, or that he ſhould proceed now againſt him and others yet remaining in errors, notwithſtanding that he and his Chaplains had charitably admoniſhed and exhorted them from the ſame.

6. *Item*, that he ought faithfully to believe, that there is one Catholick Church, without the which there is no ſalvation; of the which Church Jeſus Chriſt is the very Prieſt and Sacrifice, whoſe Body and Blood is really and truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine; the Bread and Wine being by the divine power tranſubſtantiated into his Body and Blood.

7. *Item*, that he had kept himſelf, and alſo diſtributed to others certain heretical and corrupt Books, condemned and reproved by the Laws of this Realm.

8. *Item*,

Anno 1557.

8. *Item.* that he had contrary to the orders and Statutes of this Realm kept Company with that ſeditious Heretick and Traytor, *George Eagles*, commonly called *Trudgeover*, and had heard him read in Woods and other places, yet not accuſing but allowing and praiſing him.

Unto which Articles, becauſe they were for the moſt part ſo fooliſh and full of lies, he would in a manner make no anſwer, ſaving he granted that he did miſlike their Maſs and other Ceremonies, becauſe they were wicked and naught. And moreover, he told the Biſhop, that he and his complices did nothing but ſeek how to kill Innocents.

The Biſhop then asked him, whether he would believe in all points touching the Sacrament of the Altar, as is contained in the General Council holden and kept under *Innocentius* the Third, and therewithal he did read the Decree of the ſaid Council touching the Sacrament.

Whereunto *Allerton* again made anſwer and ſaid; I believe nothing contained in the ſame Council, neither have I any thing to do therewith; and it were alſo very neceſſary, that no man elſe ſhould have to do therewith.

Then (quoth *Boner*) thou art of the Opinion that the Hereticks lately burnt at *Colcheſter* were of.

Yea, ſaid he, I am of their Opinion, and I believe that they be Saints in Heaven.

This done, the Biſhop perceiving that he would not recant, demanded what he had to ſay, why he ſhould not pronounce the Sentence of Condemnation againſt him. To whom he anſwered, Ye ought not to condemn me as an Heretick, for I am a good Chriſtian. But now go to, do as you have already determined: For I ſee right well, that Right and Truth be ſuppreſſed, and cannot appear upon the Earth.

Theſe words ended, the Biſhop pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation, and ſo delivered him unto the temporal Officers: Who reſerved him in their cuſtody untill the 17. day of *September*, at which time, both he and the other three before mentioned, were all burned, as ye have already heard. Of which other three, becauſe as yet little is ſaid, I will therefore now proceed to declare ſuch cauſe of their cruel deaths, as in the Regiſter is recorded.

James Auſtoo, *and* Margery *his Wife*

Examination of *James Auſtoo* and *Margery* his Wife.

TOuching the firſt Apprehenſion of theſe two perſons, I find neither occaſion why, neither time, nor manner how: Howbeit, as the days then ſerved, it was no hard or ſtrange matter to fall into the hands of ſuch, as with cruelty perſecuted the true Profeſſors of Gods Goſpel, eſpecially having ſo many Promoters, and unneighbourly neighbours to help them forwards. By which kind of People, it is not unlike theſe two godly yoke-fellows were accuſed and taken; and being once delivered into the pitileſs handling of *Boner*, their Examinations (ye may be ſure) were not long deferred. For the 16. day of *July* 1557. they were brought before him into his place at *London*. Where firſt he demanded of the ſaid *James Auſtoo* (amongſt other queſtions) where he had been confeſſed in Lent, and whether he received the Sacrament of the Altar at *Eaſter*, or not?

To whom he anſwered, That indeed he had been confeſſed of the Curate of *Alhallows Barking*, nigh to the *Tower* of *London*, but that he had not received the Sacrament of the Altar; for he defied it from the bottom of his heart.

Why (quoth the Biſhop) doſt thou not believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the true Body and Blood of Chriſt?

No, ſaid *Auſtoo*, not in the Sacrament of the Altar, but in the Supper of the Lord, to the Faithful Receiver is the very Body and Blood of Chriſt by Faith.

Boner not well pleaſed with this talk, asked then the Wife, how ſhe did like the Religion then uſed in this Church of *England*?

She anſwered, that ſhe believed, that the ſame was not according to Gods Word, but falſe and corrupted, and that they which did go thereunto, did it more for fear of the Law, than otherwiſe.

Then he again asked her, if ſhe would go to the Church and hear Maſs, and pray for the Proſperous eſtate of the King, being then abroad in his Affairs.

Whereunto ſhe ſaid, that ſhe defied the Maſs with all her heart, and that ſhe would not come into any Church wherein were Idols.

After this the Biſhop objected unto them certain Articles, to the number of eighteen. The Tenor whereof (becauſe they touch only ſuch common and trifling matters as are already mentioned in divers and ſundry places before) I do here for brevities ſake omit and paſs over; giving you yet this much to underſtand, that in the matters of Faith they were as ſound, and anſwered as truly (God be therefore praiſed) as ever any did, eſpecially the Woman, to whom the Lord had given the greater knowledge, and more ferventneſs of Spirit. Notwithſtanding according to the meaſure of grace that God gave them, they both ſtood moſt firmly unto the truth. And therefore to conclude, the tenth day of *September* they were (with *Ralph Allerton*, of whom ye have heard) brought again before the Biſhop within his Chappel at *Fulham*, where he ſpeaking unto them, ſaid firſt on this wiſe; *Auſtoo*, doſt thou know where thou art now, and in what place, and before whom, and what thou haſt to do?

Yea (quoth *Auſtoo*) I know where I am: For I am in an Idols Temple.

After which words, their Articles being again read, and their Conſtancy in Faith perceived, *Boner* pronounced againſt either of them ſeverally the Sentence of Condemnation, and delivering them unto the Sheriff there preſent, did rid his hands (as he thought) of them; but the Lord in the end will judge that: to whom I refer his cauſe.

Mar. Auſtoo terrified in Priſon.

It ſo happened upon a night, that as this *Margery Auſtoo* was in the Biſhops Priſon (which Priſon I ſuppoſe was his Dog-Kennel; for it was, as is reported, under a pair of Stairs,) by the Biſhops procurement there was ſent a ſtout Champion (as appeared) about twelve of the Clock at night, who ſuddenly opened the door, and with a Knife drawn, or ready prepared, fell upon her, to the intent to have cut her Throat. Which ſhe by reaſon of the clearneſs of the Moon perceiving, and calling unto God for help, he (but who it was ſhe knew not) giving a grunt, and fearing belike to commit ſo cruel a deed, departed his ways without any more hurt doing.

The next night following, they cauſed a great rumbling to be made over her head, which ſeemed to her to have been ſome great Thunder, which they did to have feared her out of her wits, but yet, thanks be to God, they miſſed of their purpoſe.

Richard Roth.

Examination of R. Roth.

IN the godly fellowſhip of the forenamed three Martyrs, was alſo this *Richard Roth*, as is already ſpecified. Who being apprehended, and brought up unto the Biſhop of *London*, was by him examined the fourth day of *July*; at what time the Biſhop did earneſtly travel to induce him to believe that there were ſeven Sacraments in Chriſts Church, and that in the Sacrament of the Altar (after the words of Conſecration duly ſpoken) there remained the very ſubſtance of Chriſts Body and Blood, and none other. Whereunto (at that preſent) he made only this anſwer; that if the Scripture did ſo teach him, and that he might be by the ſame ſo perſwaded, he would ſo believe, otherwiſe not. But at another Examination (which was the 9. day of *September*) he declared plainly, that in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar as it was then uſed there was not the very Body and Blood of Chriſt, but that it was a dead God, and that the Maſs was deteſtable, and contrary to Gods holy word and will, from the which Faith and Opinion he would not go or decline.

The next day, being the tenth day of the ſame month of *September*, the Biſhop at his houſe at *Fulham* (by way of an Article) laid and objected againſt him; that he was a comforter and boldner of Hereticks: and therefore had written a Letter to that effect unto certain that were burned at *Colcheſter*; the Copy whereof enſueth.

The Martyrdome of Ralph Allerton, James Auſtoo, Margery Auſtoo Richard Roth, Anno 1557. Sep. 17.

The Martyrdome of Margaret Thurſton, Agnes Bongeor, at Colcheſter. Anno 1557 Sep. 17.

Anno 1557.

LIBRARY OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

A Letter written by Richard Roth, *unto certain Brethren and Siſters in Chriſt, condemned at* Colcheſter, *and ready to be burned for the Teſtimony of the Truth.*

A Letter of R. Roth.

O Dear Brethren and Siſters, how much have you to rejoyce in God, that he hath given you ſuch Faith to overcome this Blood-thirſty Tyrant thus farr? and no doubt he that hath begun that good work in you, will fulfil it unto the end. O dear hearts in Chriſt, what a Crown of glory ſhall ye receive with Chriſt in the Kingdom of God? Oh that it had been the good will of God that I had been ready to have gone with you. For I lie in my Lords *Little-eaſe* in the day, and in the night I lie in the Cole-houſe, from *Ralph Allerton* or any other: and we look every day when we ſhall be condemned. For he ſaid, that I ſhould be burned within ten days before *Eaſter*; but I lie ſtill at the Pools brink, and every man goeth in before me: but we abide patiently the Lords leiſure, with many bonds, in fetters and ſtocks; by the which we have received great joy in God. And now fare you well dear Brethren and Siſters, in this world, but I truſt to ſee you in the Heavens face to face.

Oh Brother *Munt*, with your Wife and my dear Siſter *Roſe*, how bleſſed are you in the Lord, that God hath found you worthy to ſuffer for his ſake? with all the reſt of my dear Brethren and Siſters known and unknown. O be joyful even unto death. Fear it not, ſaith Chriſt; for I have overcome death, ſaith he. Oh dear hearts! ſeeing that Jeſus Chriſt will be our help, Oh tarry you the Lords leiſure. Be ſtrong, let your hearts be of good comfort, and wait you ſtill for the Lord. He is at hand. Yea, the Angel of the Lord pitcheth his Tent round about them that fear him, and delivereth them which way he ſeeth beſt. For our lives are in the Lords hands; and they can do nothing unto us before God ſuffer them. Therefore give all thanks to God.

Oh dear hearts! you ſhall be clothed with long whit garments upon the mount *Sion*, with the multitude of Saints, and with Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, which will never forſake us. Oh bleſſed Virgins! ye have played the wiſe Virgins part, in that you have taken Oyl in your Lamps, that ye may go in with the Bridegroom, when he cometh, into the everlaſting joy with him. But as for the fooliſh, they ſhall be ſhut out, becauſe they made not themſelves ready to ſuffer with Chriſt, neither go about to take up his Croſs. Oh dear hearts, how precious ſhall your death be in the ſight of the Lord? for dear is the death of his Saints. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you all, *Amen*, *Amen*. Pray, pray, pray.

By me Richard Roth, *written with my own Blood.*

This Letter he confeſſed indeed (upon the ſaid Examination) that he had written with his Blood, and that he meant to have ſent the ſame unto ſuch as were condemned at *Colcheſter* for the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and were afterwards burned there, as ye have already heard.

The Biſhop then farther asked him, what he thought his Priſon-fellow *Ralph Allerton* to be.

The Teſtimony of R. Roth of Ral, Allerton.

He anſwered, that he thought him to be one of the elect Children of God; and that if at any time hereafter he happened to be put to death for his Faith and Religion, he thought he ſhould die a true Martyr. And moreover, finding himſelf agrieved with the Biſhops privy and ſecret condemning of Gods People, he ſaid unto him in this ſort; My Lord, becauſe the People ſhould not ſee and behold your doings, ye cauſe me and others to be brought to our Examinations by night, being afraid (belike) to do it by day.

The Biſhop not greatly caring for his talk, proceeded to examine him of other matters, amongſt which this high and weighty thing was one, *videlicet*, how he did like the Order and Rites of the Church then uſed here in *England*.

To whom he ſaid, that he ever had, and yet then did abhor the ſame with all his heart.

The Condemnation of R. Roth.

Then divers of the Biſhops Complices intreated and perſwaded him to recant, and ask mercy of the Biſhop.

No (quoth *Roth*) I will not ask mercy of him that cannot give it. Whereupon he was (as the reſt before mentioned) condemned and delivered unto the Sheriff, and the 17. day of *September* they all moſt joyfully ended their lives in one fire at *Iſlington*, for the Teſtimony of Chriſt, as before is declared.

Agnes

Anno 1557.

Agnes Bongeor, *and* Margaret Thurſton, *two godly Chriſtian Women, burnt at* Colcheſter *for the ſincere profeſſion of Chriſts Goſpel.*

Septemb. 17. Margaret Thurſton, Agnes Bongeor, Martyrs.

ALittle before (gentle Reader) was mention made of ten that ſuffered Martyrdom at *Colcheſter*, at which time there were two other Women alſo, one called *Margaret Thurſton*, and the other *Agnes Bongeor*, that ſhould have ſuffered with them, and were likewiſe condemned at the ſame time and place that the other above named ten were, for the like cauſe, and anſwered alſo in their examinations the like in effect as the other did. But the one, namely *Margaret Thurſton*, that morning ſhe ſhould ſuffer with thoſe that went from the Caſtle, was for that time deferred. What the cauſe was, the Teſtimony of *Joan Cook*, ſhall declare unto us. Which *Joan Cook*, the Wife now of *John Spark*; being then in the Caſtle of *Colcheſter* for Religion, did demand of this Widow *Thurſton*, whoſe Husband died in the Priſon, being impriſoned for Religion, wherefore the ſaid *Margaret*, being a condemned Woman, ſhould be reſerved when the other ſuffered in the Caſtle *Baily*: ſhe anſwered, that it was not for any fear of Death, but being prepared as the reſt were that ſuffered the ſame day, ſhe felt in her ſelf a great ſhivering and trembling of the fleſh. Whereupon forſaking the company, ſhe went aſide to pray. And whileſt ſhe was a praying, ſhe thought that ſhe was lifted up with a mighty wind that came round about her. Even at that inſtant came in the Gaoler and company with him, and whilſt ſhe turned her ſelf to fetch her Pſalter, they took the other priſoners and left her alone. Shortly after ſhe was removed out of the Caſtle, and put into the Town-priſon, where ſhe continued until *Friday* ſevennight after her company were burnt. That day, not two hours before her death, ſhe was brought to the Caſtle again, where ſhe declared thus much to the foreſaid *Joan Cook*.

A note of *Margaret Thurſton.*

The Martyrdom of *Margaret Thurſton*, & *Agnes Bongeor* deferred for what cauſes.

The other, named *Agnes Bongeor*, who ſhould have ſuffered in like manner with the ſix that went out of *Motehall*, was alſo kept back at that time, but not in like ſort, becauſe her name was wrong written within the Writ, as in the Bayliffs Letter of *Colcheſter*, ſent to *Boner* about the ſame more plainly doth appear in the Book of our firſt edition, pag. 1632.

The ſame morning, the ſecond of *Auguſt*, that the ſaid ſix in *Motehall* were called out to go to their Martyrdom, was *Agnes Bongeor* alſo called with them, by the name of *Agnes Bower*. Wherefore the Bayliffs underſtanding her (as I ſaid) to be wrong named within the Writ, commanded the ſaid *Agnes Bongeor* to Priſon again as ye have heard in the Letter before named, and ſo from *Motehall* that day ſent her to the Caſtle, where ſhe remained until her Death.

The name of *Agnes Bongeor* miſtaken.

But when ſhe ſaw her ſelf ſo ſeparated from her ſaid Priſon-fellows in that ſort, Oh good Lord! what pitious mone that good Woman made, how bitterly ſhe wept, what ſtrange thoughts came into her mind, how naked and deſolate ſhe eſteemed her ſelf, and into what plunge of deſpair and care her poor Soul was brought, it was pitious and wonderful to ſee: which all came becauſe ſhe went not with them to give her life in the defence of her Chriſt; for of all things in the world, life was leaſt looked for at her hands. For that morning in which ſhe was kept back from burning, had ſhe put on a ſmock that ſhe had prepared only for that purpoſe. And alſo having a Child, a little young Infant ſucking on her, whom ſhe kept with her tenderly all the time that ſhe was in Priſon, againſt that day likewiſe did ſhe ſend away to another Nurſe, and prepared her ſelf preſently to give her ſelf for the teſtimony of the glorious Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. So little did ſhe look for life, and ſo greatly did Gods gifts work in her above nature, that death ſeemed a great deal better welcom than life. But this took not effect at that time as ſhe thought it would, and therefore (as I ſaid) was ſhe not a little troubled.

Agnes Bongeor troubled for not ſuffering with her company

Being in this great perplexity of mind, a friend of hers came to her, and required to know whether *Abrahams* Obedience was accepted before God, for that he did Sacrifice his Son *Iſaac*, or in that he would have offered him? Unto which ſhe anſwered thus:

I know (quoth ſhe) that *Abrahams* will before God was allowed for the deed, in that he would have done it, if the Angel of the Lord had not ſtaied him: but I (ſaid ſhe) am unhappy, the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignity, and therefore *Abrahams* caſe and mine is not alike.

Why (quoth her friend) would ye not willingly have gone with your company, if God ſhould ſo have ſuffered it?

Yes (ſaid ſhe) with all my heart, and becauſe I did not, it is now my chief and greateſt grief.

Then ſaid her Friend; My dear Siſter, I pray thee conſider *Abraham* and thy ſelf well, and thou ſhalt ſee thou doeſt nothing differ with him in will at all.

Alas (quoth ſhe) there is a farr greater matter in *Abraham* than in me; for *Abraham* was tried with the offering of his own Child, but ſo am not I; and therefore our caſes are not alike.

Good Siſter (quoth her Friend) weigh the matter but indifferently. *Abraham* I grant (ſaid he) would have offered his Son: and have not you done the like in your little ſucking Babe? But conſider further than this, my good Siſter (ſaid he) where *Abraham* was commanded but to offer his Son, you are heavy and grieved becauſe you offer not your ſelf, which goeth ſomewhat more near you than *Abrahams* Obedience did; and therefore before God, aſſuredly, is no leſs accepted and allowed in his holy preſence; which further the preparing of your ſhroud alſo doth argue full well, &c. After which talk between them, ſhe began a little to ſtay her ſelf, and gave her whole exerciſe to reading and prayer, wherein ſhe found no little comfort.

Agnes Bongeor receiveth comfort.

In the time that theſe foreſaid two good Women were priſoners, one in the Caſtle, and the other in *Motehall*, God by a ſecret mean called the ſaid *Margaret Thurſton* unto his truth again; who, having her eyes opened by the working of his Spirit, did greatly ſorrow and lament her backſliding before, and promiſed faithfully to the Lord in hope of his mercies, never more while ſhe lived to do the like again, but that ſhe would conſtantly ſtand to the confeſſion of the ſame, againſt all the Adverſaries of the Croſs of Chriſt. After which promiſe made, came in a ſhort time a Writ from *London* for the burning of them, which according to the effect thereof was executed the 17. day of *September*, in the year afore-ſaid.

A Writ for the burning of *Margaret Thurſton* and *Agnes Bongeor.*

Now when theſe foreſaid good Women were brought to the place in *Colcheſter* where they ſhould ſuffer the 17. day of *September*, in the year afore ſaid, they fell down upon both their knees, and made their humble prayers unto the Lord: which thing being done, they roſe and went to the ſtake joyfully and were immediatly thereto chained, and after the fire had compaſſed them about, they with great joy and glorious triumph gave up their Souls, Spirits, and Lives, into the hands of the Lord, under whoſe Government and protection, For Chriſts ſake we beſeech him to grant us his holy defence and help for ever more, *Amen.*

Thus (gentle Reader) God chooſeth the weak things of the world, to confound mighty things.

John Kurde, Martyr.

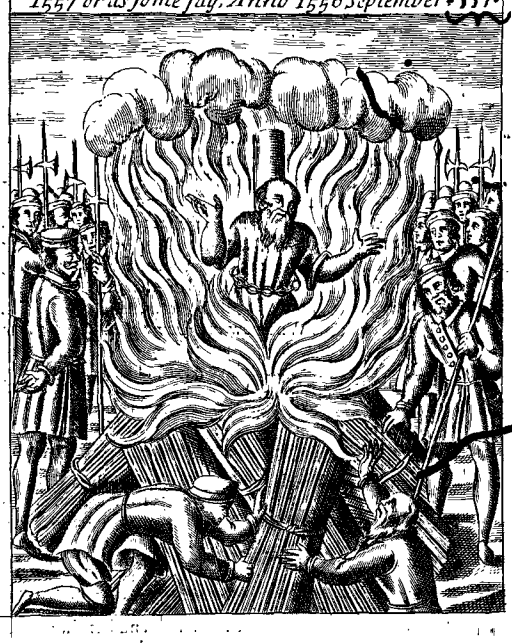
Septemb. 21. John Kurde, Martyr.

IN the ſtory before, was ſomething touched of a certain *Shoomaker* ſuffering at *Northampton*, being unnamed, whom becauſe we underſtand by a Letter ſent from the ſayd parties, that he ſuffered in this year. 1557. and in the Month of *September*, therefore we thought there to place him. His name *was John Kurde*, a *Shoomaker*, late of the Pariſh of *Syrſam* in *Northamton ſhire*, who was impriſoned in *Northampton* Caſtle for denying the Popiſh Tranſubſtantiation, for the which cauſe *William Binſley* Bachellor of Law, and Chancellor unto the Biſhop of *Peterborough*, and now Archdeacon of *Northampton*, did Pronounce Sentence of Death againſt the ſaid *Kurde*, in the Church of all Saints in *Northampton*, in *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1557. And in *September* following, at the commandment of Sir *Thomas Treſham*, Sheriff then of the Shire he was led by his

Wil. Binſley Chancellor to the Biſhop of *Peterborough*, and now Archdeacon of *Northampton*, condemned *John Kurde.*

The Martyrdome of John Kurde, at Northampton Anno 1557. Septemb. 20.

The Martyrdome of John Noyes of Laxfield, Anno 1557 or as ſome ſay, Anno 1556 September Anno 1557.



Officers without the *Northgate* of *Northhampton*, and in the ſtone pits was burned. A Popiſh Prieſt ſtanding by, whoſe name was *John Rote*, Vicar of Saint *Giles* in *Northhampton*, did declare unto him, that if hee would recant, he was authoriſed to give him his pardon. His anſwer was, that he had his Pardon by Jeſus Chriſt, &c.

John Rote a Popiſh Prieſt. Popiſh pardon refuſed.

A True Certificate of the taking of one John Noyes of Laxefield, *in the County of* Suffolk, Shoomaker, *who was taken the nineteenth day of* April, *in the year of our Lord God,* 1557. *as hereafter followeth.*

Septemb. 12. IN the the Month of *September* this preſent year, or (as ſome report) in the year paſt, ſuffered the bleſſed Martyr *Jo. Noyes*, whoſe ſtory here followeth.

First, Maſter *Thomas Lovel* being then chief Conſtable of *Hoxton* Hundred, in the County aforeſaid, and one *John Jacob*, and *William Stannard* then being under-Conſtables of the foreſaid Town of *Laxefield*, and *Wolfren Dowſing*, and *Nicholas Stannard* of the ſame Town, being then accounted faithful and Chatholick Chriſtians, though undoubtedly they proved moſt cruel hinderers of the True Profeſſours of Chriſt and his Goſpel, with others, were commanded to be that preſent day before the Juſtices whoſe names were Maſter *Thurſton*, Sir *John Tyrrel*, and Maſter *Kene*, and Sir *Jo. Silliard* being High Sheriff.

Perſecution by the Conſtables, Sheriffs, & Juſtices of *Suffolke.*

These ſitting at *Hoxton* in the County of *Suffolk* aforeſaid, and there the ſaid Townesmen aforeſaid having commandment of the ſaid Juſtices to inquire in their Town if there were any that would neglect to come to their Service and Maſs, further to examine the cauſe why they would not come, and thereupon to bring the true certificate to the ſaid Juſtices within foureteen days then next enſuing; they then coming homeward, being full of hatred againſt the truth, and deſirous to get promotion, without any ſuch commandment of the Juſtices (as far as we can learn) took Counſel one with another how to attach the ſaid *John Noyes* without any more delay.

Charge given by the Inquiſitors.

Counſel taken for attaching *John Noyes.*

This divelliſh enterpriſe agreed upon, chiefly through the Counſel of Maſter *Thomas Lovell*, *Wolfren Dowſing*, and *Nicholas Stannard* aforeſaid with expedition his houſe was beſet on both ſides. This done, they found the ſaid *John Noyes* on the backſide of the ſaid houſe going outward, and *Nicholas Stannard* called to the ſaid *John*, and ſaid, Whither goeſt thou? And he ſaid, to my neighbours. And the ſaid *Nicholas Stannard* ſaid, your Maſter hath deceived you; you muſt go with us now. But the ſaid *John Noyes* anſwered, No, but take you heed your Maſter deceive not you. And ſo they took him and carried him to the Juſtices the next day. After his appearance and ſundry cauſes alledged, the Juſtices and the Sheriff together caſt him into *Eye-dungeon*, and there he lay a certain time. And then was carried from thence to *Norwich*, and ſo came before the Biſhop, where were miniſtred unto him theſe poſitions following:

John Noyes taken by *Nicholas Stannard*, Perſecutor.

John Noyes caſt into *Eye-dungeon.*

1 *Whether he believed that the Ceremonies uſed in the Church were good and godly, to ſtirr up Mens minds to Devotion.*

Ex Regiſt. Articles againſt *John Noyes.*

2 Item, *whether he believed the Pope to be Supreme Head of the Church here in Earth.*

3 Item, *whether he believed the Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to be in the Sacrament of the Altar under the Forms of Bread and Wine, after the Words of Conſecration.*

Whereunto he anſwered, that he thought the natural Body of Chriſt to be only in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament, &c.

Real preſence denied.

For the which, Sentence at laſt was read by the Biſhop againſt him, in the preſence of theſe there ſitting the ſame time, Dr. *Dunning* Chancellor, Sir *W. Woodhouſe*, Sir *Thomas Woodhouſe*, Mr. *George Heyden*, Mr. *Spenſer*, *W. Farrar* Alderman of *Norwich*, Mr. *Thurſton*, *Wineſden* with divers other.

Sentence read againſt *John Noyes.*

More of his Examination than this came not to our hands.

In the mean time his Brother-in-law, one *Nicholas Fisk* of *Dinnington* going to comfort him at ſuch time as he remained priſoner in the *Guild hall* of *Norwich*, after Chriſtian Exhortation, asked him if he did fear Death when the Biſhop gave judgment againſt him, conſidering the terrour of the ſame; And the ſaid *Noyes* anſwered, he thanked God he feared death no more at that time, than he or any other did, being at liberty. Then the ſaid *Nicholas* required him to ſhew the cauſe of his Condemnation. Upon which requeſt the ſaid *John Noyes* writ with his own hand as followeth:

I ſaid

John Noyes houſe beſet about.

Anno 1557.

The cause of J. Noyes Condemnation.

I ſaid (quoth he) that I could not believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the natural Body of Chriſt that ſame Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*. But I ſaid, that the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt is received of Chriſtian People in the remembrance of Chriſts death, as a ſpiritual food, if it be miniſtred according to Chriſts Inſtitution.

But they ſaid, I could not tell what ſpiritual meant.

The Biſhop ſaid, that the Sacrament was God, and muſt be worſhipped as God. So ſaid the Chancellor alſo.

Then anſwered I, my Lord, I cannot ſo believe.

Then (quoth the Biſhop) why? Then ſay thou doſt believe. Notwithſtanting theſe colluſions could not prevail.

J. Noyes brought to the place of Martyrdom.

Now being condemned, he was ſent again from *Norwich* to *Eye-Priſon*, and upon the 21. day of *September* in the year aforeſaid, about midnight, he was brought from *Eye* to *Laxefield* to be burned, and on the next day morning was brought to the Stake, where was ready againſt his coming the foreſaid Juſtice, Maſter *Thurſton*, one Mr. *Waller* then being under Seriff, and Mr. *Thomas Lovel* being High Conſtable, as is before expreſſed, the which commanded men to make ready all things meet for that ſinful purpoſe. Now the fire in moſt places of the Street was put out, ſaving a ſmoak was eſpied by the ſaid *Thomas Lovel* proceeding out from the top of a Chimney, to which houſe the Sheriff and *Grannow* his Man went, and brake open the door, and thereby got fire, and brought the ſame to the place of execution. When *John Noyes* came to the place where he ſhould be burned, he kneeled down and ſaid the 50. *Pſalm*, with other Prayers, and then they making haſt bound him to the Stake, and being bound, the ſaid *John Noyes* ſaid, *Fear not them that can kill the Body, but fear him that can kill both Body and Soul, and caſt it into everlaſting fire.*

Fire put out in the Town where John Noyes ſhould be burned.

The words of J. Noyes to his Siſter.

When he ſaw his Siſter weeping and making moan for him, he bade her, that ſhe ſhould not weep for him, but weep for her ſins.

Then one *Nicholas Cadman* being Haſtler, a valiant Champion in the Popes affairs, brought a Fagot and ſet againſt him; and the ſaid *John Noyes* took up the Fagot and kiſſed it and ſaid; Bleſſed be the time that ever I was born to come to this.

Then he delivered his Pſalter to the under Sheriff, deſiring him to be good to his Wife and Children, and to deliver to her that ſame Book; and the Sheriff promiſed him that he would, notwithſtanding he never as yet performed his promiſe. Then the ſaid *John Noyes* ſaid to the People, they ſay they can make God of a piece of Bread, believe them not.

The words of J. Noyes to the People.

Then ſaid he; Good People, bear witneſs that I do believe to be ſaved by the merits and paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, and not by mine own deeds; and ſo the fire was kindled, and burned about him, then he ſaid; *Lord have mercy upon me. Chriſt have mercy upon me. Son of David have mercy upon me.*

And ſo he yielded up his life, and when his Body was burned, they made a pit to bury the Coals and Aſhes, and amongſt the ſame they found one of his feet that was unburned, whole up to the Ankel, with the hoſe on, and that they buried with the reſt.

John Jarvis wrongfully troubled for words ſpoken at the burning of Noyes.

Now while he was a burning, there ſtood one *John Jarvis* by, a mans Servant of the ſame Town, a plain Fellow, which ſaid; Good Lord, how the Sinews of his Arms ſhrink up. And there ſtood behind him one *Grannow* and *Bener*, being the Sheriffs men, and they ſaid to their Maſter, that *John Jarvis* ſaid, What villain wretches are theſe? And their Maſter bid lay hand on him, and they took him and pinioned him, and carried him before the Juſtice that ſame day, and the Juſtice did examine him of the words aforeſaid, but he denied them, and anſwered that he ſaid nothing but this? Good Lord, how the Sinews of his Arms ſhrink up. But for all this the Juſtice did bind his Father and his Maſter in 5 l. a piece, that he ſhould be forth coming at all times. And on the *Wedneſday* next he was brought again before the Juſtices, Mr. *Thurſton* and Mr. *Kene*, they ſitting at *Freſingfield* in *Hoxton* Hundred, and there they did appoint and command, that the ſaid *John Jarvis* ſhould be ſet in the ſtocks the next market day, and whipt about the market naked. But his Maſter, one *William Jarvis*, did after crave friendſhip of the Conſtables, and they did not ſet him in the Stocks till *Sunday* Morning, and in the Afternoon they did whip him about the Market with a Dog-whip, having three Cords, and ſo they let him go.

Some do give out, that *John Jarvis* was whipped for ſaying that *Nicholas Cadman* was *Noyes* Haſtler, that is, ſuch a one as maketh and kindleth the fire.

The Copy of a certain Letter that he ſent to comfort his Wife at ſuch time as he lay in Priſon.

A Letter of J. Noyes to his Wife.

WIfe, you deſired me that I would ſend you ſome tokens that you might remember me. As I did read in the New Teſtament, I thought it good to write unto you certain places of the Scripture for a remembrance. St. *Peter* ſaith, 1 Pet. 4. *Dearly Beloved be not troubled with this heat that is now come among you to try you, as though ſome ſtrange thing had happened unto you, but rejoyce, inſo much as ye are partakers of Chriſts ſufferings, that when his glory appeareth ye may be merry and glad. If ye be raiſed on for the name of Chriſt, happy are ye, for the ſpirit of glory, and the ſpirit of God reſteth upon you.*

It is better, if the will of God be ſo, that ye ſuffer for well doing than for evil doing 1 Pet. 3.

So 1 Pet. 4. *See that none of you ſuffer as a murtherer, or as a Thief, or an evil doer, or as a buſie-body in other mens matters; but if any man ſuffer as a Chriſtian man, let him not be aſhamed, but let him glorifie God in this behalf; for the time is come that Judgment muſt begin at the houſe of God. If it firſt begin at us, what ſhall the end of them be, that believe not the Goſpel of God? Wherefore let them that ſuffer according to the will of God, commit their Souls to him in well doing.*

St. *Paul* ſaith, 2 Tim 3. *All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution.*

St. *John* ſaith, 1 *John* 2. *See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world.*

If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, as the luſt of the Fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world, which vaniſheth away and the luſt thereof, but he that fulfilleth the will of God abideth for ever.

St. *Paul* ſaith Coloſ. 3. *If ye be riſen again with Chriſt, ſeek thoſe things which are above, where Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things that are above, and not on things which are on earth.*

Our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, Mat 18. *Whoſoever ſhall offend one of theſe little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a Mil-ſtone were hanged about his neck, and that he were caſt into the Sea.*

The Prophet *David* ſaith, Pſal. 34. *Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all.*

Fear the Lord, ye his Saints: for they that fear him lack nothing.

When the Righteous cry, the Lord heareth them and delivereth them out of all their troubles: But miſfortune ſhall ſlay the ungodly, and they that hate the righteous ſhall periſh.

Hear, O my People. I aſſure thee O Iſrael, if thou wilt hearken unto me, there ſhall no ſtrange God be in thee, neither ſhalt thou worſhip any other God. Oh that my People would obey me: for if Iſrael would walk in my ways, I ſhould ſoon put down their Enemies, and turn my hand againſt their Adverſaries.

Our Saviour Chriſt ſaith; *The Diſciple is not above his Maſter, nor yet the Servant above his Lord. It is enough for the Diſciple to be as his Maſter is, and that the Servant be as his Lord is. If they have called the Maſter of the houſe Belzebub, how much more ſhall they call them of his houſhold ſo? fear not them therefore.*

St. *Paul*

St. *Paul* ſaith, 2 *Cor.* 4. *ſet your ſelves therefore at large, and bear not a ſtrangers yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs? what Company hath light with darkneſs? either what part hath the believer with the Infidel &c.? Wherefore come out from among them, and ſeparate your ſelves now (ſaith the Lord) and touch none unclean thing; ſo will I receive you, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye ſhall be my Sons and Daughters, ſaith the Lord Almighty.*

For neither eye hath ſeen, nor the ear hath heard, neither can it enter into the heart of man, what good things the Lord hath prepared for them that love him, 1 Cor. 2.

Ye are bought neither with Silver nor Gold, but with the precious Blood of Chriſt, 1 Pet. 1.

There is none other Name given to men wherein we must be ſaved, Acts 4. Anno 1557.

So fare ye well Wife and Children; and leave worldly care, and ſee that ye be diligent to pray.

Take no thought (ſaith Chriſt, Mat. 6.) ſaying, *what ſhall we eat, or what ſhall we drink, or wherewith ſhall we be Clothed? (for after all theſe things ſeek the Gentiles) for your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all theſe things, but ſeek ye firſt the Kingdom of Heaven, and the righteouſneſs thereof, and all theſe things ſhall be miniſtred unto you.*

The Martyrdom and ſuffering of Cicely Ormes, *burnt at* Norwich *for the Teſtimony and witneſs of Chriſts Goſpel.*

Sep. 23. Cicely Orms, Martyr.

ABout the 23. day of the ſaid month of *September*, next after the other above mentioned, ſuffered at *Norwich Cicely Ormes* Wife of *Edmund Ormes* Worſtead-weaver, dwelling in St. *Laurence* Pariſh in *Norwich*: ſhe being of the age of 32. years or more, was taken at the death of *Simon Miller* and *Elizabeth Cooper* above mentioned, in a place called *Lollards-pit* without Biſhops-Gate, at the ſaid *Norwich*, for that ſhe ſaid ſhe would pledge them of the ſame Cup that they drank on. For ſo ſaying, one Maſter *Corbet* of *Sprowſon* by *Norwich*, took her and ſent her to the Chancellor. When ſhe came before him, he asked her what ſhe ſaid unto the Sacrament of Chriſts Body. And ſhe ſaid, ſhe did believe that it was the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt. Yea, ſaid the Chancellor, but what is that that the Prieſt holdeth over his head? She anſwered him and ſaid, it is Bread: and if you make it any better, it is worſe. At which words the Chancellor ſent her to the Biſhops Priſon to the Keeper called *Fellow*, with many threatning and hot words, as a man being in a great chafe.

Mr. Corbet of Sprowſon, Perſecutor.

The Chancellors name was *Dunning*.

Bridges a Popiſh perſecutor.

The 23. day of *July* ſhe was called before the Chancellor again, who ſate in Judgment with Maſter *Bridges* and others. The Chancellor offered her, if ſhe would go to the Church and keep her Tongue, ſhe ſhould be at liberty, and believe as ſhe would. But ſhe told him ſhe would not conſent to his wicked deſire therein, do with her what he would; for if ſhe ſhould, ſhe ſaid, God would ſurely plague her. Then, the Chancellor told her, he had ſhewed more favour to her, than ever he did to any, and that he was loth to condemn her, conſidering that ſhe was an ignorant, unlearned, and fooliſh Woman. But ſhe, not weighing his words, told him if he did, he ſhould not be ſo deſirous of her ſinful fleſh, as ſhe would (by Gods grace) be content to give it in ſo good a quarrel. Then roſe he and read the bloody Sentence of Condemnation againſt her, and ſo delivered her to the Secular Power of the Sheriffs of the City, Mr. *Thomas Sutherton*, and Mr. *Leonard Sutherton* Brethren, who immediately carried her to the *Guild-hall* in *Norwich*, where ſhe remained until her death.

This *Cicely Ormes* was a very ſimple Woman, but yet zealous in the Lords cauſe, being born in *Eaſt-Deram*, and was there the Daughter of one *Thomas Haund* Taylor. She was taken the fifth day of *July*, and did for a twelve month before ſhe was taken, recant, but never after was ſhe quiet in Conſcience, until ſhe was utterly driven from all their Popery. Between the time that ſhe recanted, and that ſhe was taken, ſhe had gotten a Letter made to give to the Chancellor, to let him know that ſhe repented her recantation from the bottom of her heart, and would never do the like again while ſhe lieved. But before ſhe exhibited her Bill, ſhe was taken and ſent to Priſon as is before-ſaid. She was burnt the 23. day of *September*, between ſeven and eight of the Clock in the

Cicely Orms firſt recanted.

Cicely Orms repenteth her Recantation.

Anno 1557.

the morning, the ſaid two Sheriffs being there, and of people to the number of 200. When ſhe came to the ſtake, ſhe kneeled down, and made her prayers to God: that being done, ſhe roſe up and ſaid, Good People, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God.

This do I not, nor will I recant; but I recant utterly from the bottom of my heart the doings of the Pope of *Rome*, and all his Popiſh Prieſts and ſhavelings. I utterly refuſe and never will have to do with them again by Gods Grace. And good people, I would you ſhould not think of me that I believe to be ſaved in that I offer my ſelf here unto the Death for the Lords cauſe, but I believe to be ſaved by the Death and paſſion of Chriſt; and this my Death is and ſhall be a witneſs of my Faith unto you all here preſent. Good People, as many of you as believe as I believe, pray for me. Then ſhe came to the ſtake, and laid her hand on it, and ſaid, Welcom the Croſs of Chriſt. Which being done, ſhe looking on her hand, and ſeeing it blacked with the ſtake, ſhe wiped it upon her ſmock, for ſhe was burnt at the ſame ſtake that *Simon Miller* and *Elizabeth Cooper* was burned at. Then after ſhe had touched it with her hand, ſhe came and kiſſed it, and ſaid, Welcome the ſweet Croſs of Chriſt, and ſo gave her ſelf to be bound thereto. After the Tormentors had kindled the fire to her, ſhe ſaid, *My Soul doth magnifie the Lord, and my Spirit rejoyceth in God my Saviour*: and in ſo ſaying ſhe ſet her hands together right againſt her breaſt, caſting her eyes and head upward, and ſo ſtood, heaving up her hands by little and little, till the very ſinewes of her Arms did break aſunder, and then they fell; but ſhe yielded her Life unto the Lord, as quietly as if ſhe had been in a ſlumber, or as one feeling no pain; So wonderfully did the Lord work with her; his Name therefore be praiſed for evermore. *Amen.*

The laſt words of *Cice. Ownes* at the ſtake.

The trouble and diſturbance among good Men and Women at Lichfield.

AFter the Death and Martyrdom of Miſtreſs *Joyce Lewys*, a little above ſpecified, diverſe good Men and Women in the ſame Town of *Lichfield* were vexed and in trouble before the Biſhop and his Chancellor, for kiſſing the ſaid *Joyce Lewys*, and drinking with her about the time of her Death; the names of which perſons were theſe: *Joane Love*, *Elizabeth Smith*, *Margaret Biddel*, *Helene Bouring*, *Margaret Cootesfote*, *Nicholas Bird*, *John Hariſtone* and his Wife, *Agnes Glyn*, *Agnes Glover*, *Agnes Penifather*, &c. Theſe with other were produced to their examination before the Biſhop and his Chancellor for the cauſe abovenamed, and therefore adjudged for Hereticks, for that they did pray and drink with the ſaid Miſtreſs *Lewys*, but eſpecially *Agnes Penifather* ſuſtained the moſt trouble, for that ſhe accompanied the ſaid *Joyce Lewys* going to her Death. Which *Agnes* being examined further of the ſaid Biſhop, what words ſhe had ſpoken to two Prieſts of the Church of *Lichfield*, called *John Ady* and *James Foxe*, concerning the ſaid *Joyce Lewys* after her burning, ſaid, as followeth, That ſhe being asked by the ſaid two Prieſts being at her Fathers Houſe in the City of *Lichfield*, at ſuch time as ſhe came from the burning of the ſayd *Joice Lewys*, wherefore ſhe the ſaid *Agnes* did weep for ſuch an Heretick, meaning *Joice Lewys*, whoſe Soul they they ſaid was in Hell; the ſaid *Agnes Penifather* to their demand made this anſwer, that ſhe thought the ſaid bleſſed Martyr to be in better caſe that the ſaid two Prieſts were.

Agnes Penifather accuſed of two Prieſts for words.

With the which words being charged and willed to ſubmit her ſelf as the other had done above rehearſed to ſuch penance as they ſhould enjoyn unto her, ſhe refuſed ſo to do, and therefore was commanded to cloſe priſon, the Sheriffs being charged with her under pain of 100. pounds, that none ſhould have any acceſs unto her. At length, at the perſwaſion of her Friends ſhe was compelled to do as the other had done before. And thus much concerning things done at *Lichfield*.

The perſecution and cruelty exerciſed by the Papiſts in the Dioceſs of Chicheſter.

ANd now from *Lichfield* to come to *Chicheſter*, although we have but little to report thereof, for lack of certain relation and records of that Countrey, yet it ſeemeth no little trouble and perſecution there alſo to have raged, as in other Countries. For what place was there almoſt in all the Realm, where the Popes Miniſters did not beſtir them, murthering ſome or other, as in the Acts of this Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory may ſufficiently appear? Wherefore as this plague of the Popes Tyranny was general to all other People and Countries of *England*, ſo likewiſe in the *Dioceſs* of *Chicheſter*, divers and many there were condemned and Martyrd for the true Teſtimony of righteouſneſs within the compaſs of Queen Maries Reign. In the number of whom were theſe:

Perſecution among the godly men at *Chicheſter*.

John Foreman of *Eſtgreneſted*.
John Warner of *Berne*.
Chriſtian Grover of the Archdeaconry of *Lewys*.
Thomas Athoth, Prieſt.
Thomas Avington of *Erdingly*.
Dennis Burgis of *Buxſted*.
Thomas Ravenſdale of *Rie*.
John Milles of *Hellinglegh*.
Nicholas Holden of *Withiam*.
John Hart of *Withiam*.
Margery Morice of *Hethfield*.
Anne Try of *Eſtgreneſted*.
John Oſeward of *Woodmancote*.
Thomas Harland of *Woodmancote*.
James Morice of *Hethfield*.
Thomas Dougate of *Eſtgreneſted*.
John Aſhedon of *Katherfield*.

} Martyrs.

The greateſt doer againſt theſe godly and true faithful Martyrs, and ſetters upon their condemnation, were theſe: *Chriſtopherſon* the Biſhop after *Day*, *Richard Briefly* Dr. of Law, and Chancellor of *Chicheſter*, *Robert Tailor* Bachelor of the Law his Deputy, *Thomas Paccard* Civilian, *Anth. Clarke*, *Albane Longdale* Bachelor of Divinity, &c.

Perſecutors.

The Examination of Thomas Spurdance *one of Queen* Maries *Servants, before the Chancellour of* Norwich.

THe Biſhops Chancellor did ask me if I had been with the Prieſt, and confeſſed my ſins unto him.

The examination of *Tho Spurdance.*

And I ſaid, No, I had confeſſed my ſins to God, and God ſaith, In what hour ſoever a ſinner doth repent and be ſorry for his ſins, and ask him forgiveneſs, willing no more ſo to do, he will no more reckon his ſin unto him, and that is ſufficient for me.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, Thou denieſt the Sacrament of penance.

I ſaid, I deny not penance, but I deny that I ſhould ſhew my ſins unto the Prieſt.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, that is a denying of the Sacrament of penance.

Write this Article.

Have you received the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar (ſaid he) at this time of *Eaſter*?

And I ſaid, No.

And why have you not ſaith he?

I ſaid, I dare not meddle with you in it, as you uſe it.

Why, do we not uſe it truely, ſaid he?

I ſaid, No: for the Holy Supper of the Lord ſerveth for the Chriſtian Congregation, and you are none of Chriſts Members: and therefore I dare not meddle with you, leſt I be like unto you.

Why are we none of Chriſts Members, ſaid the Chancellor?

I ſaid, Becauſe you teach Laws contrary to Gods Laws.

What Laws are thoſe, ſaid he?

I ſaid, Theſe three Articles that you ſwear the people unto here, be falſe and untrue, and you do evil to ſwear the people unto them.

Then

Then ſaid he, good people take no heed unto his words: for he is an Heretick, and teacheth you diſobedience: and ſo he would no more ſpeak of that matter.

Then ſaid he, How believeſt thou in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar: doſt thou not believe that after it is conſecrated, it is the very ſame Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*?

I ſaid, No, not the ſame Body in ſubſtance: for the ſame Body hath a ſubſtance in Fleſh, Blood and Bones, and was a bloody Sacrifice, and this is a dry Sacrifice.

And I ſaid, Is the Maſs a Sacrifice?

Unto which a Doctor anſwered that ſate by him, It is a Sacrifice both for the Quick and the Dead.

Then ſaid I, No, it is no Sacrifice: for St. *Paul* ſaith, that Chriſt made one Sacrifice once for all: and I do believe in none other Sacrifice, but only in that one Sacrifice that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt made once for all.

Then ſaid the Doctor, That Sacrifice that Chriſt made, was a wet Sacrifice, and the Maſs is a dry Sacrifice.

Then ſaid I, that ſame dry Sacrifice is a Sacrifice of your own making, and it is your Sacrifice, it is none of mine.

Spurdance examined upon the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, He is an Heretick, he denieth the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then ſaid I, Will ye know how I believe in the Holy Supper of our Lord?

And he ſaid, Yea.

Then ſaid I, I believe that if I come rightly and worthily as God hath commanded me, to the Holy Supper of the Lord, I receive him by Faith, by beleeving in him. Put the Bread being received is not God, nor the Bread that is yonder in the Pixe is not God. God dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, neither will be worſhipped with the works of Mens hands. And therefore you do very evil to cauſe the People to kneel down and worſhip the Bread: for God did never bid you hold it above your heads, neither had the Apoſtles ſuch uſe.

Then ſaid the Chancellor, He denieth the preſence in the Sacrament. Write this Article alſo. He is a very Heretick.

Then ſaid I, The Servant is not greater than his Mr. For your Predeceſſors killed my Maſter Chriſt, the Prophets and Apoſtles, and Holy Vertuous Men, and now you alſo kill the Servants of Chriſt, ſo that all the righteous Blood that hath been ſhed, even from righteous *Abel*, until this day, ſhall be required at your hands.

Well ſaid the Chancellor, have him away.

Another Examination of Spurdance, *before the Biſhop in his houſe.*

THe Biſhop ſaid, ſirrah, doſt thou not believe in the Catholick Faith of Holy Church?

Another examination of The Spurdance before the Biſh.

And I ſaid, I believe Chriſts Catholick Church.

Yea ſaid he, in Chriſts Church, of the which the Pope is the Head? doeſt thou not believe that the Pope is ſupream Head of the Catholick Church?

And I ſaid, No. I believe not that he ſhould be above the Apoſtles, if he take them to be his Predeceſſors. For when there came a thought among the Apoſtles, who ſhould be the greateſt when their Maſter was gon, Chriſt anſwered them unto their thoughts, *The Kings of the Earth bear domination above other, but ye ſhall not ſo do, for he that will be greateſt among you ſhall become ſervant unto you all.* How is it then (ſaid I) that he will climb ſo high above his fellows? And alſo we were ſworn in my Maſter King *Henry's* time, that we ſhould to the uttermoſt of our power, never conſent to him again. And therefore as he hath nothing to do here in *England*, ſo neither in his own countrey more, then a Biſhop hath in his Dioceſs.

Luke 22.

Yea, ſaid the Biſhop, what of that? We were then in error and ſin, now we are in the right way again and therefore thou muſt come home again with us, and knowledge thy fault, and become a Chriſtian man, and be ſworn unto the Pope as our Supream Head. Wilt thou be ſworn unto the Pope? How ſaieſt thou?

The Popes Supremacy.

Then I ſaid, No, I warrant you, by the grace of God not as long as I live. For you cannot prove by the Scripture that the Pope is Head of the Church, and may do therein what him liſteth. Anno 1557.

No ſaid he? Yes I trow: for as the Belweather which weareth the Bell, is head of the Flock of Sheep, even ſo is the Pope the Head of the Church of Chriſt. And as the Bees in the Hive have a Maſter Bee, when they are gone out, to bring them home again to the Hive: even ſo the Pope when we be gone aſtray and wandred from the Fold, from the Hive, &c. then is ordained our Head by ſucceſſion of *Peter*, to bring us home again to the true Church; as thou now, my good fellow, haſt wandred long out of the way like a ſcattered ſheep, &c. Hear therefore that Belweather, the Maſter Bell, &c. and come home with us to thy mother the Church again.

Unto whom I anſwered, My Lord, all this is but natural reaſon, and no Scripture: but ſince yee cannot prove the Pope to be Authorized by Scripture, ye anſwer not me as I thought yee would.

Ha, ſaid he, I ſee well ye be ſtout, and will not be anſwered: therefore ye ſhall be compelled by Law whether ye will or no.

My Lord, ſaid I, ſo did your Forefathers intreat Chriſt and his Apoſtles. They had a Law, and by their Law they put him to Death; and ſo likewiſe, you have a law which is Tyranny, and by that would ye enforce me to believe as you do: but the Lord I truſt will aſſiſt me againſt all your beggarly Ceremonies, and make your fooliſhneſs known to all the world one day.

The Phariſees Law.

Then ſaid he, when were ye at Church and went in Proceſſion, and did the Ceremonies of the Church?

And I ſaid, Never ſince I was born.

No ſaid he? how old are you?

And I ſaid, I think about xl.

Why, ſaid he, How did yon uſe your ſelf at Church twenty years ago?

I ſaid, As you do now.

And even now, ſaid he, you ſaid you did not uſe the Ceremonies ſince you were born.

No more I did, ſaid I, ſince I was born anew; as Chriſt ſaid unto *Nichodemus, Except ye be born anew, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Then ſaid a Doctor that ſate by, he is a very Anabaptiſt: for that is their opinion plain.

No Sir, you ſay falſly, ſaid I: for I am no Anabaptiſt: for they deny Children to be Baptiſed, and ſo do not I.

Well, ſaid the Biſhop, why doſt thou not go to the Church, and do the Ceremonies?

And I ſaid, Becauſe they be contrary to Gods Word and Laws, as you your ſelf have taught: but now you ſay it is good again: and I think if there were a return to morrow, you would ſay that falſe again which you hold now. Therefore, I may well ſay, there is no Truth in you.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, thou art a ſtubborn fellow, and an Heretick, and a Traytor.

No, ſaid I, I am no Traytor, for I have done, I think, better Service to the Crown imperial of *England*, than you.

If you had done ſo good ſervice (ſaid he) you would be obedient to the Laws of the Realm.

So I am, ſaid I. There is no Man alive (I thank God) that can accuſe me juſtly that ever I was diſobedient to any Civil Laws. But you muſt conſider my Lord, that I have a Soul and a Body, and my Soul is none of the Queens, but my Body and my goods are the Queens. And I muſt give God my Soul, and all that belongeth unto it, that is I muſt do the Laws and Commandments of God; and whoſoever Commandeth Laws contrary to Gods Laws, I may not do them for loſing of my Soul, but muſt rather obey God than Man.

Obedience to Princes, how farr.

And hee ſaid, Why doſt thou not theſe Laws then? are they not agreeable to Gods Law?

And I ſaid, No, you cannot prove them to be Gods Laws.

Yes, ſaith he, that I can.

Then ſaid I, if you can prove by the Word of God that you ſhould have any Graven Images made to ſet in your Churches for lay Mens Books, or to worſhip

Ima-

God

Anno 1557.

God by them, or that you ſhould have any Ceremonies in your Church as you have, prove them by the Word of God, and I will do them.

Then, ſaid he, it is a good and decent order to furniſh the Church: as when you ſhall go to dinner, you have a cloth upon the Table to furniſh the Table before the meat ſhall come upon it; ſo are theſe Ceremonies a comely, decent order to be in the Church among Chriſtian people.

Theſe, ſaid I, are inventions and imaginations out of your own brain, without any Word of God to prove them. For God ſaith, Look what you think good in your own eyes, if I command the contrary, it is abominable in my ſight. And theſe Ceremonies are againſt Gods Laws. For, Saint *Paul* ſaith, they be weak and beggarly, and rebuketh the *Galathians* for doing them.

Well, ſaid he, if you will not do them, ſeeing they be the Laws of the *Realm*, you are an Heretick and diſobedient: and therefore come home again and confeſs your faults with us, that you have been in errour, &c. Will you do ſo?

And I ſaid, No, I have been in no errour: for the ſpiritual Laws were never trulier ſet forth then in my Maſter King *Edwards* time, and I truſt unto God I ſhall never forſake them whiles I live.

Then came a Gentleman to me and ſaid, Are ye wiſer than all Men? and have ye more knowledge than all Men will ye caſt away your Soul willingly? My Lord and other Men alſo, would fain you would ſave your ſelf: therefore chooſe ſome Man where you will, either ſpiritual or temporal, and take a day, my Lord will give it you.

Then ſaid I, if I ſave my life, I ſhall loſe it; and if I loſe my life for Chriſts ſake, I ſhall find it in life everlaſting. And if I take a day, when the day cometh, I muſt ſay then even as I do now, except I will lie, and therefore that needeth not.

Well, then have him away, ſaid the Biſhop.

The. Spurdance by whom he was apprehended.

This above named *Thomas Spurdance* was one of Queen *Maries* Servants, and was taken by two of his fellowes, the ſaid Queens Servants, named *John Haman* otherwiſe called *Barker*, and *George Looſon*, both dwelling in *Codman* in the County of *Suffolk*, who carried him to one Mr. *Goſnal*, dwelling in the ſaid *Codman*, and by him he was ſent to *Bury*, where he remained in priſon, and afterwards burned in the Month of *November*.

The Story and Martyrdom of three conſtant witneſſes of Chriſt.

November 18. The ſtory and Martyrdom of *John Hallingdale*, *William Sparrow*, *Richard Gibſon*.

NOt long after the Martyrdom of the two good Women at *Clocheſter*, above named, were three faithful witneſſes of the Lords Teſtament, tormented and put to death in *Smith-field* at *London*, the eighteenth of *November*, in the year aforeſaid, whoſe names hereafter follow:

John Hallingdale.
William Sparrow.
Richard Gibſon.

Which three were produced before *Boner* Bp. of *London*, the fifth day of *November*, 1557. and had by him and his officers certain Articles miniſtred unto them: the ſum whereof hereafter followeth.

Articles miniſtred by Boner *unto* John Hallingdale.

Articles againſt John Hallingdale.

FIrſt, that the ſaid *John Hallingdale* is of the Dioceſs of *London*, and ſo ſubject to the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *London*.

Secondly, that the ſaid *John* before the time of the Reign of K. *Edward* the ſixth, late King of *England*, was of the ſame Faith and Religion that was then obſerved, believed, taught, and ſet forth in the Realm of *England*.

Thirdly, that during the Reign of the ſaid K. *Edward* the ſixth, the ſaid *John Hallingdale*, upon occaſion of the preaching of certain Miniſters in that time, did not abide in his former Faith and Religion, but did depart from it, and ſo did and doth continue till this preſent day, and ſo determineth to do (as he ſaith) till his lifes end.

Fourthly, that the ſaid *John Hallingdale* hath thought, believed, and ſpoken divers times, that the Faith, Religion, and Eccleſiaſtical Service received, obſerved, and uſed now in this Realm of *England*, is not good and laudable, but againſt Gods Commandment and Word, eſpecially concerning the Maſs and the ſeven Sacraments; and that he the ſaid *John* will not in any wiſe conform himſelf to the ſame, but ſpeak and think againſt it during his natural life.

Fifthly, that the ſaid *John* abſenteth himſelf continually from his own Pariſh Church of St. *Leonards*, neither hearing Mattins, Maſs, nor Evenſong, nor yet confeſſing his ſins to the Prieſt, or receiving the Sacrament of the Altar at his hands; or uſing other Ceremonies as they are now uſed in this Church and Realm of *England*; and as he remembreth, he never came but once in the Pariſh Church of St. *Leonard*, and careth not (as he ſaith) if he never come there any more, the Service being as it is there, and ſo many abuſes being there, as he ſaith there are, eſpecially the Maſs, the Sacraments, and the Ceremonies and Service ſet forth in Latine.

Sixthly, that the ſaid *John*, when his Wife, called *Alice*, was brought in bed of a Man Child, cauſed the ſaid Child to be Chriſtned in Engliſh, after the ſame manner and form in all points, as it was uſed in the time of the Reign of K. *Edward* the ſixth aforeſaid, and cauſed it to be called *Joſue*, and would not have the ſaid Child Chriſtned in Latine after the form and manner as it is now uſed in the Church and Realm of *England*, nor will have it by his will (as he ſaith) to be confirmed by the Biſhop.

His anſwers to the Articles.

Unto all which Articles the ſaid *John Hallingdale* made anſwer, confeſſing them all, and every part of them to be true, and ſaying, that he would not revoke his ſaid Anſwers, but ſtand unto them according as it was in every Article above written.

The real preſence denied.

Furthermore, the ſaid *John Hallingdale*, being demanded by the ſaid *Boner*, whether he did firmly believe that in the Sacrament, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, there is really and truly the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, or no; made anſwer, that he neither in the time of the ſaid K. *Edward* the ſixth, nor at that preſent did believe, that in the ſaid Sacrament there is really the very Body and Blood of Chriſt. For he ſaid, that if he had ſo believed, he would (as others had done) have received the ſame, which he did not, becauſe he had and then did believe, that the very Body of Chriſt is only in Heaven, and no where elſe. And furthermore the ſaid *John Hallingdale* ſaid, that *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, *Hooper*, and generally all that of late have been burned for Hereticks, were no Hereticks at all, becauſe they did preach truly the Goſpel: upon whoſe preaching he grounded his Faith and Conſcience, as he ſaid, according to the ſaying of S. *John*, in the 18. Chapter of his *Revelation*, where he ſaith, That the Blood of the Prophets, and of the Saints, and of all that were ſlain upon Earth, was found in the *Babylonical* Church, by the which, he ſaid, is underſtood the Church where the Pope is the head.

John Hallingdale again brought before the Biſhop.

After which Examination, the ſaid *John* was ſent unto Priſon again. And the next day, being the ſixth day of the ſaid Month, he was called before the Biſhop again, who perſwading him with ſome wreſted ſentences of the Scripture, the ſaid *John Hallingdale* anſwered, Becauſe I will not (ſaith he) come to your *Babylonical* Church, therefore (ſpeaking unto *Boner*) you go about to condemn me. And being of *Boner* further demanded, whether he would perſevere and ſtand in his Opinions or no: he made anſwer, that he would continue and perſiſt in them unto the Death. Then *Boner* read the bloody Sentence of Condemnation. At which time the ſaid *John* affirmed openly, that (thanking God) he never came into the Church ſince the Abomination came into it: and ſo he was ſent to Priſon again.

Sentence read againſt *John Hallingdale* by B. *Boner*.

Upon the ſame 6. day alſo, in the forenoon, was produced before the Biſhop the forenamed *William Sparrow* and had laid unto him certain Articles, which hereafter follow:

Articles

Articles miniſtred by Boner *unto* William Sparrow.

Articles againſt Will. Sparrow.

FIrſt, that thou *William Sparrow* waſt in times paſt detected and preſented lawfully unto thy Ordinary the Biſhop of *London*, called *Edmund*, who alſo is now thine Ordinary of the ſaid Dioceſs, and thou waſt preſented and detected unto him for Hereſie, Errors, aud unlawful Opinions, which thou didſt believe, ſet forth, and hold.

2 Secondly, that thou before the ſaid Ordinary didſt openly and judicially confeſs the ſaid Hereſies, Errors, and unlawful Opinions, as appeareth plainly in the Acts of the Court, had and made before the ſaid Ordinary.

3 Thirdly, that thou after the premiſſes, didſt make thy Submiſſion in writing, and didſt exhibit and deliver the ſame as thy deed, to thy ſaid Ordinary; openly confeſſing and recogniſing thy Hereſies, Errours, unlawful Opinions, and thine offences and tranſgreſſions in that behalf.

4 Fourthly, that thou after the premiſſes, didſt promiſe unto thy ſaid Ordinary voluntarily and of thine own mind, that alwayes after the ſaid Submiſſion, thou wouldeſt in all points conform thy ſelf unto the common order of the Catholick Church obſerved and kept here in this Realm of *England*, and in no wiſe fall again to Hereſies, Errors, or unlawful Opinions.

5 Fifthly, that thou ſince thy ſaid Submiſſion, haſt willingly fallen into certain Hereſies and Errours, and haſt holden and ſet forth diverſe unlawful Opinions, to the right great hurt of thine own Soul, and alſo to the great hinderance and loſs of diverſe others, eſpecially againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, againſt Confeſſion auricular, with other the Sacraments of the Catholick Church.

6 Sixthly, that thou ſince the ſaid Commiſſion, haſt willingly gone about divers places within the Dioceſs of *London*, and ſold diverſe Heretical, Erroneous and Blaſphemous Ballets about, and waſt apprehended and taken with the ſaid Ballets about thee, and committed to priſon.

Unto all which Articles the ſaid William Sparrow *anſwered in effect, as hereafter followeth.*

His anſwers to the Articles.

TO the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth Articles he anſwered affirmatively, as thus: That he was preſented and detected to *Boner*, unto whom he made his Submiſſion, &c. as in the Articles.

To the fifth Article he anſwered, That if he had ſpoken againſt them, he had ſpoken but the truth: for they be naught, meaning the Contents of the ſaid Article.

To the ſixth, he granted to the Article, adding, that he hid ſell the ſaid Ballets then ſhewed and read before him, and that the ſame did contain Gods Word.

After which Anſwers, the ſaid *William Sparrow* was ſent unto priſon. And the ſame day in the afternoon, being produced before the Biſhop again, and there charged with his ſaid Submiſſion, made the year before unto the Biſhop, he anſwered thus; I am ſorry (ſaid he) that ever I made it, and it was the worſt deed that ever I did: adding further unto them, Hold up your Abomination ſo long as you can. Alſo being laid unto him, and charged by the Biſhop that he went to Church, and there was confeſſed and heard Maſs: the ſaid *William Sparrow* made anſwer and confeſſed, that he did ſo, but with a troubled Conſcience he ſaid, God knoweth. And ſpeaking further to the Biſhop, he ſaid, That which you call truth, I do believe (ſaid he) to be Hereſie. And alſo the Biſhop charging him again with the Contents of the fifth Article above named, he anſwered, that he had ſo done, as is coutained in the ſame Article, and ſo will do again if he were at liberty. And being further demanded of *Boner*, whether he would perſiſt and continue in the ſame, or no: he made anſwer, that he would not go from his Opinions: And adding thereunto, he ſaid, That which you call Hereſie (ſpeaking to the Biſhop) is good and godly., and if every hair of my head were a Man (ſaid he) I would burn them all, rather than go from the truth.

Then being demanded what ground of learning he had to cleave to his Opinions: he made anſwer and ſaid, That all the Laws now uſed (meaning the Eccleſiaſtical Laws) are naught and abominable. And further, thereunto he ſaid, That the Maſs is naught and abominable, &c. Which words being ſpoken, the Biſhop immediately read the Sentence of Condemnation upon him, and ſo delivered him to the Secular Power, by whom he was ſent to Priſon again. Anno 1557.

Sentence read againſt Will. Sparrow.

Richard Gibſon, Martyr.

WIth the other two above named, ſuffered alſo in the ſame fire *Richard Gibſon*, who firſt was caſt into the *Counter* in the *Poultry* (where he had been priſoner by the ſpace of two years for Suretiſhip in a matter of debt, and then ſtood upon his deliverance) then upon ſuſpicion and evil will was accuſed to *Boner*, for that in the Priſon he was never confeſſed, nor received at the Popiſh Altar: by reaſon whereof he was called for, and ſuſtained divers and ſundry conflicts and examinations in the cauſe of his Faith and Religion. But firſt he ſeemed to make a certain Submiſſion which alſo he exhibited with the other 28. above mentioned: but becauſe it ſeemed ſomething to differ in words from the other; it appeareth not to be received: or whether it was received or no, it is not fullly certain. This is certain, that although his Submiſſion was in the Biſhops Regiſter recorded; yet he was not delivered out from impriſonment till the day of his burning. The Articles firſt objected and miniſtred unto him by the Biſhop, were theſe:

Richard Gibſon, Martyr.

Articles objected and miniſtred to Richard Gibſon *by* Boner *Biſhop of* London.

Articles againſt Richard Gibſon.

FIrſt, that the ſaid *Richard Gibſon*, priſoner in the *Counter* in the *Poultry* in the Dioceſs of *London*, hath otherwiſe than became a faithful Chriſtian Man and a good Subject of this Realm of *England* behaved himſelf in words and deeds in divers conditions and points, contrary to the Order, Religion, and Faith of Chriſts Catholik Church, and contrary to the Order of this Realm, to the pernicious and evil example of the Inhabitants of the City of *London*, and the Priſoners of the Priſon of the ſaid *Counter* in the *Poultry*, and greatly to the hurt and dammage of his own Soul, offending eſpecially in the Articles following: By reaſon whereof the ſaid *Rich. Gibſon* was and is of the juriſdiction of the ſaid Biſhop of *London*, and ſubject to the ſaid juriſdiction, to make anſwer to his offences and tranſgreſſions under written, according to the order of the Law.

2 Secondly, that the ſaid *Richard Gibſon* hath unreverently ſpoken againſt the Pope, and See and Church of *Rome*, and likewiſe againſt the whole Church of this Realm of *England*, and againſt the ſeven Sacraments of the Catholick and whole Church of Chriſtendom, and againſt the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith here obſerved in this Realm of *England*, and againſt the commendable and laudable Ceremonies of the Catholick Church.

3 Thirdly, that the ſaid *Richard Gibſon* hath commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both *Crammer*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, and alſo all other Hereticks here in this Realm of *England*, according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws condemned for Hereticks, and alſo liked all their Heretical and Erroneous, Damnable and Wicked Opinions eſpecially againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Authority of the Pope and See of *Rome*, with the whole Religion thereof.

3 Fourthly, that the ſaid *Richard Gibſon* hath comforted, ayded, aſſiſted and maintained both by words, and otherwiſe, Hereticks and Erroneous perſons, or at the leaſt ſuſpected and infamed of Hereſie and Errors condemned by the Catholick Church, to continue in their Heretical and Erroneous Opinions aforeſaid, favouring and counſelling the ſame unto his power.

5 Fifthly, that the ſaid *Gibſon* hath affirmed and ſaid, that the Religion and Faith commonly obſerved, kept, and uſed now here in this Realm of *England*, is not good and laudable, nor in any wiſe agreeable unto Gods Word and Commandment.

Q. Maries Religion diſproved.

6 Sixthly

Anno 1557.

6. Sixthly, That the ſaid *Gibſon* hath affirmed, that the Engliſh Service, and the Books, commonly called the Books of Communion, or Common Prayer, here ſet forth in this Realm of *England* in the time of K. *Edward* the ſixth, were in all parts and points good and godly; and that the ſame only, and no other, ought to be obſerved and kept in this Realm of *England*.

The Book of Engliſh Service.

7. Seventhly, That the ſaid *Gibſon* hath affirmed, that if he may once be out of Priſon and at Liberty, he will not come to any Pariſh Church, or Eccleſiaſtical Place, to hear Mattins, Maſs, Evenſong, or any Divine Service now uſed in this Realm of *England*, nor come to Proceſſion upon times and days accuſtomed, nor bear at any time any Taper or Candle, nor receive at any time Aſhes, nor bear at any time Palm, nor receive Pax at Maſs time, nor receive holy Water, nor holy Bread, nor obſerve the Ceremonies or Uſages of the Catholick Church, here obſerved or kept commonly in this Realm of *England*.

Mattins, Maſs, Evenſong refuſed

8. Eighthly, That the ſaid *Gibſon* hath affirmed, that he is not bound at any time, though he have liberty, and the preſence of a Prieſt convenient and meet, to confeſs his ſins to the ſaid Prieſt, nor to receive the Abſolution of his ſins at his hands, nor to receive of him the Sacrament, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, after ſuch form as is now uſed within this Realm of *England*.

Auricular confeſſion.

9. Ninthly, That the ſaid *Gibſon* hath affirmed, that prayer unto Saints, or prayers for the dead, are not laudable, available, or profitable; and that no man is bound at any time or in any place to faſt or pray, but only at his own will and pleaſure, and that it is not lawful to reſerve or keep the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, nor in any wiſe to adore and worſhip it.

Popiſh Faſt and Prayer.

The greateſt matter which he was charged withal, was for not coming to Confeſſion, being thereunto required, for not receiving of the Sacraments of the Popiſh making, and for that he would not ſwear to anſwer unto their interrogatories laid againſt him.

Notwithſtanding, after theſe his firſt Examinations he continued in the foreſaid Priſon of the *Compter* a good ſpace, from the Month of *May* unto *November*, at what time he was again produced againſt the final Examination Judiciary. Where is to be noted, that Mr. *Gibſon* being a very big and tall man, of a perſonable and Heroical Stature, was ſent for of *Boner* by a little and ſhort perſon, a Promoter, like *Robin Papiſt*, called *Robin Caley*, if it were not he himſelf.

Richard Gibſon a tall and big man

This *Robin Caley*, having the conducting of the ſaid Gentleman from the *Poultry*, would needs hale him thorow *Cheapſide*, the Gentleman deſiring him to turn ſome other way. But the more the Gentleman intreated, the more fierce was the ſilly *Jack* upon him; and drawing and holding him by the Arm, would needs hale him thorow the High-ſtreet, that all the World might ſee what he could do in his Office. Mr. *Gibſon*, deſirous to be led without holding, willed and intreated him to let his Arm looſe, he would go quietly of his own accord with him whether he would, only craving that he might go by him freely without noting of the People.

Intolerable bragging of a vile Promoter.

The ſaucy and impotent Miſer the Promoter hearing this, who was ſcarce able to reach to his ſhoulders: Nay (ſaith he) thou ſhalt not eſcape me ſo, come on thy ways. Thou ſhalt not chooſe but come; and ſo reaching at his Arm, would needs drag him unto the Biſhop. The Gentleman content to go, yet loth to be notified in the Streets, gently requeſted again and again; that refraining his hold, he would ſuffer him to go of his own free and voluntary will; he ſhould not need to fear him, for he would not ſtart from him. To whom the Caitiff, looking up to his face, Come on thy way (ſaith he) I will hold thee faſt, ſpite of thy Beard, and whether thou wilt or no.

Mr. *Gibſon* ſeeing and beholding the intolerable bragging of the wretched Miſer, and moved therewith not a little, could bear no longer; but ſaid, Wilt thou, ſaid he? and added moreover, bitterly looking down towards him, that if he did not incontinently pluck away his hand (and ſo ſtayed withal) he would immediately wring his neck from his Body. Whereupon *Robin Papiſt* the Promoter was fain to pluck away his hold, and ſo proceeded they unto the Biſhop there to be examined again before him.

Another appearing of Rich. Gibſon.

After this, another day being aſſigned him to appear again, much talk paſſed between him and *Darbyſhire* ſ then Chancellor. But in fine, being required to ſwear that he ſhould anſwer unto all they would demand, he denied to anſwer unto all things the Biſhop ſhould command him as Ordinary: for he is not (ſaith he) mine Ordinary, and ſo bade him go tell the Biſhop. Before the which Biſhop he being then commanded to appear the *Friday* next following, was brought unto the *Juſtice-Hall* without *Newgate*, where he had the like Conflicts with the foreſaid Biſhop and divers other Juſtices. At length he was aſſigned the *Saturday* following, to be preſent in the Biſhops Conſiſtory Court, to hear his final Sentence. At which day and place, the ſaid Examinate appearing as he was commanded, the Biſhop after other matter of communication, asked him if he knew any cauſe why the Sentence ſhould not be read againſt him. To whom the ſaid Mr. *Gibſon* anſwered, That the Biſhop had nothing wherefore juſtly to condemn him. The Biſhops reaſon was again objected to him, That men ſaid he was an evil man. To whom *Gibſon* replying again; Yea, ſaith he, and ſo may I ſay of you alſo. To be ſhort, after this and ſuch other talk, the Biſhop haſted unto the Sentence. Which being read, *Gibſon* yet again admoniſhed him to remember himſelf, and to ſave his Soul, ſaid, That he would not hear the Biſhops babling; and ſaid moreover, boldly proteſting and affirming that he was contrary, and an Enemy to them all in his mind and opinion, although he had afore time kept it ſecret in mind, for fear of the Law. And ſpeaking to the Biſhop, Bleſſed, ſaid he, am I, that am curſed at your hands. We have nothing now, but thus will I: For as the Biſhop ſaith ſo muſt it be. And no Hereſie it is to turn the truth of Gods Word into lies, and that do you, meaning the Biſhop and his Fellows.

Sentence read againſt Rich. Gibſon.

Thus this valiant Souldier, fighting for the Goſpel and ſincere Doctrine of Chriſts Truth and Religion, againſt Falſhood and Error, was committed, with his Fellows, to the Secular Power.

And ſo theſe three godly men, *John Hallingdale*, *William Sparrow*, and Mr. *Gibſon*, being thus appointed to the ſlaughter, were the twelfth day after their Condemnation (which was the 18*th* day of the ſaid Month of *November*) burnt in *Smithfield* in *London*. And being brought thither to the ſtake, after their prayer made, they were bound thereunto with Chains, and Wood ſet unto them, and after Wood, fire, in the which being compaſſed about, and the fiery flames conſuming their fleſh, at the laſt they yielded glorioufly and joyfully their Souls and Lives into the holy hands of the Lord, to whoſe tuition and government I commend thee, good Reader. Amen.

The martyrdom of John Hallingdale, W. Sparrow, Rich. Gibſon, Anno 1557. Novemb. 18.

It is a little above declared in this ſtory of *Richard Gibſon*, how *Boner* miniſtred unto the ſaid *Gibſon* certain Articles, to the number of nine. Now let us ſee likewiſe the Articles which the ſaid *Gibſon* miniſtred again to *Boner*, according to the ſame number of nine, for him to anſwer unto, as by the ſame hereunder written may appear.

Articles proponed by Richard Gibſon *unto* Edmund Boner *Biſhop of* London, *by him to be anſwered, by yea or nay, or elſe to ſay he cannot tell.*

Gibſons queſtions or demands put to B. Boner.

1. WHether the Scriptures of God, written by *Moſes* and other holy Prophets of God, through Faith that is in Chriſt Jeſus, be available Doctrine, to make all men in all things unto Salvation learned, without the help of any other Doctrine, or no?

2. What is Authority, and from whence it cometh, and to whom it appertaineth, and to what end it tendeth?

3. Whether the holy Word of God, as it is written, doth ſufficiently teach all men, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling by office ſoever he or they be, their full, true, and lawful duty in their Office; and whether every man, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling by office ſoever he or they be, are bound upon the pain of eternal damnation, in all things to do as they are hereby taught and commanded, and in no wiſe to leave undone any thing that is to be done, being taught and commanded by the ſame?

4. Whether any Man, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, God and Man only except, by the Holy Ordinance of God ever was, is, or ſhall be Lord over Faith, and by what lawful authority of any Man, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling by office ſoever he or they be, may uſe Lordſhip or Power over any Man for Faiths ſake, or for the ſervice of his Conſcience?

5. By what lawful authority or power any Man, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling ſoever he or they be, may be ſo bold as to alter or change the holy Ordinances of God, or any of them, or any part of them?

6. By what evident tokens Antichriſt in his Miniſters may be known; ſeeing it is written, that *Sathan* can change himſelf into the ſimilitude of an Angel of light, and his Miniſters faſhion themſelves as though they were the Miniſters of righteouſneſs; and how it may be known to him that is deſirous thereof, when he is one of that number, or in the danger thereof, or when he is otherwiſe?

7. What the Beaſt is, the which maketh war with the Saints of God, and doth not only kill them, but alſo will ſuffer none to buy nor ſell, but ſuch as worſhip his Image, or receive his mark in their right hands, or in their foreheads, his Name, or the number of his Name, or do worſhip his Image, which by the juſt and terrible Sentence of God already decreed, ſhall be periſhed in Fire and Brimſtone, before the Holy Angels, and before the Lamb; and they ſhall have no reſt day nor night, but the ſmoke of their torment ſhall aſcend up for evermore? Alſo what the gorgeous and glittering Whore is, the which ſitteth upon the Beaſt, with a Cup of Gold in her hand full of abominations; with whom the Kings of the Earth have committed fornication, and the Inhabitants of the Earth, and ſhe her ſelf alſo is drunken with the Blood of the Saints, which is the Wine of her Fornication; whoſe Fleſh the horns of the Beaſt, ſhall tear in pieces, and burn her with Fire. For God hath put in their hearts to do his will?

8. Whether a King over all thoſe people which are born and inhabit within his own Dominions, Regions, and Countries, or any part of them, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling by Office ſoever they be, here upon this earth immediately under Chriſt, by the Holy Ordinance of God, is lawful, ſupream, and chief Governor, or no? And whether a King over all thoſe people within his Dominions, Regions, and Countries and every part of them, by holy Ordinance of God, lawfully may, and ought not otherwiſe to do, nor ſuffer otherwiſe to be done, than in his own name, power, and authority (the Name of God only except) as lawful, ſupream, and chief Head in all things that belongeth to rule, without exception, to govern and rule? And whether all thoſe people, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling ſoever they be, are bound by the holy Ordinance of God, to owe their whole obedience and ſervice in all things without exception (their duty to God only excepted) to their King only, as to the ſupream and chief Governor upon Earth immediately under Chriſt. And whether a King without offence againſt God and his people, may give away, and not himſelf uſe that his Authority and Power given him of God; or lawfully may, without offence to God and his people (after knowledge thereof had) ſuffer himſelf by fraud or guile, or by any other unlawful mean, to be beguiled, defrauded, and ſpoyled thereof? And whether any Subject, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling ſoever he or they be, without offence to God and to his King, to the miniſhing or derogation of the Supream Prerogative Royal of his King, or of any part thereof, may do ought, or after knowledge thereof had, without offence to God and to his King, may conceive the ſame?

He meaneth the Canon Law.

9. Whether the holy written Law of God be given of God unto all Men, of what dignity, eſtate, or calling by Office ſoever they be, as well thereby to govern all their Dominions, Regions, and Countries, and their people therein inhabiting, as themſelves: and whether any Law or Laws (the holy Law of God only excepted) not being made within any Dominion, Region, or Country whereas it or they be uſed, may be lawfully uſed before it or they be, as the lawful Law or Laws of the ſame Dominion, Region, or Country, by publick and common order of the ſame Dominion, Region, or Country lawfully allowed: and whether any Subject without offence againſt God and his King, within the Dominion of his King, may lawfully uſe any ſuch Law or Laws not ſo allowed? Anno 1558.

Emanuel.

Aſcribe unto the Lord, O ye mighty, aſcribe unto the Lord, worſhip and ſtrength: give unto the honour of his Name, and bow your ſelves to the Majeſty of the Lord. Pſal. 29.

I will hearken what the Lord God will ſay: for he ſhall ſpeak peace unto his people, that they turn not themſelves unto fooliſhneſs. This 6. of April 1557. Pſal. 84.

By me Richard Gibſon.

The Death and Martyrdom of John Rough *Miniſter, and* Margaret Mearing, *burned at* London *the xxii. of December.*

IN this furious time of perſecution, were alſo burned theſe two conſtant and faithful Martyrs of Chriſt, *John Rough* a Miniſter, and *Margaret Mearing*. Decemb. 22. *John Rough, Mar. Mearing Martyrs.*

This *Rough* was born in *Scotland*, who (as himſelf confeſſeth in his anſwers to *Boner's* Articles) becauſe ſome of his kinsfolk would have kept him from his right of inheritance which he had to certain Lands, did at the age of xvii. years, in deſpight (and the rather to diſpleaſe his friends) profeſs himſelf into the order of the black Friers at *Sterling* in *Scotland*; where he remained the ſpace of 16. years, until ſuch time as the Lord *Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, and Governour of the Realm of *Scotland* aforeſaid (caſting a favour unto him) did uſe unto the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, to have him out of his profeſſed order, that as a ſecular Prieſt he might ſerve him for his Chaplain. At which requeſt the Archbiſhop cauſed the Provincial of that Houſe, having thereto Authority, to diſpence with him for his habit and order. A zealous occaſion of a friarly profeſſion.

This ſuit being thus by the Earl obtained, the ſaid *Rough* remained in his ſervice, one whole year: during which time it pleaſed God to open his eyes, and to give him ſome knowledge of his truth, and thereupon was by the ſaid Governor ſent to Preach in the freedom of *Ayre*, where he continued four years, and then after the death of the Cardinal of *Scotland*, he was appointed to abide at Saint *Andrews*, and there had aſſigned unto him a yearly penſion of twenty pound from King Henry the eighth, King of *England*. Howbeit, at laſt weighing with himſelf his own danger, and alſo abhorring the Idolatry and Superſtition of the Country, and hearing of the freedom of the Goſpel within this Realm of *England*, he determined with himſelf not to tarry any longer there: And therefore, ſoon after the Battel of *Muſcleborough*, he came firſt unto *Carliſle*, and from thence unto the Duke of *Somerſet*, then Lord Protector of *England*, and by his aſſignment had appointed unto him out of the Kings Treaſury twenty pounds of yearly ſtipend, and was ſent (as a preacher) to ſerve at *Carliſle*, *Barwick*, and *Newcaſtle*. From whence (after he had there, according to the Laws of God and alſo of this Realm, taken a Countrey Woman of his to Wife) he was called by the Archbiſhop of *York* that then was, unto a Benefice nigh in the Town of *Hull*, where he continued until the death of that Bleſſed and good King *Edward* the ſixth. John Rough firſt called to the truth. John Rough firſt coming to England in K. Edw. time.

But in the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Mary* (perceiving the alteration of Religion, and the perſecution that would thereupon ariſe, and feeling his own weakneſs) he fled with his wife into *Frizeland*, and dwelt there at a place called *Norden*, labouring truly for his living, in knitting of Caps, Hoſe, and ſuch like things, till about the end of the Month of *October* laſt before his death. At which time, lacking yarn, and other ſuch neceſſary proviſion for the maintenance of his occupation, he came over again into *England*, here to provide for the ſame, and the tenth day of *November* arrived at *London*. Where, hearing of the ſecret ſociety, and holy Congregation of Gods Children there aſſembled, he joyned himſelf John Rough with his Wife flieth into Friz-land.

unto

Anno 1558.

John Rough joyneth himself to the congregation at London.

unto them, and afterwards being elected their Minister and Preacher, did continue most vertuously exercised in that Godly fellowship, teaching and confirming them in the truth of the Gospel of Christ. But in the end (such was the providence of God, who disposeth all things to the best) the twelfth day of *December*, he with *Cuthert Symson* and others, through the crafty and trayterous suggestion of a false Hypocrite and dissembling Brother, called *Roger Sergeant* a Taylor, were apprehended by the Vicechamberlain of the Queens House, at the *Saracens* Head in *Islington*; where the Congregation had then purposed to assemble themselves to their Godly and accustomable exercises of Prayer, and hearing the Word of God: which pretence, for the safegard of all the rest, they yet at their examinations covered and excused, by hearing of a play that was then appointed to be at that place. The Vicechamberlain, after he had apprehended them, carried *Rough* and *Simson* unto the Council, who charged them to have assembled together to celebrate the Communion or Supper of the Lord, and therefore after sundry examinations, they sent the said *Rough* unto *Newgate*; but his examinations they sent unto the Bishop of *London*, with a Letter signed with their hands: the copy whereof followeth.

John Rough apprehended, and by whom.

A Letter sent from the Queens Council unto Boner *Bishop of* London, *touching the examination of* John Rough, *Minister.*

A Letter sent from the Council to B. Boner.

After our hearty commendations to your good Lordship, we send you here inclosed the examination of a Scotish Man named John Rough, *who by the Queens Majesties commandment is presently sent to* Newgate, *being of the chief of them that upon* Sunday *last, under the colour of coming to see a play at the* Saracens *Head in* Islington, *had prepared a Communion to be celebrated and received there among certain other Seditious and Heretical Persons. And forasmuch as by the said* Roughs *examination, containing the Story and progress of his former life, it well appeareth of what sort he is; the Queens Highness hath willed us to remit him unto your Lordship, to the end that being called before you out of Prison, as oft as your Lordship shall think good, ye may proceed, both to his further examination, and otherwise ordering of him according to the Laws, as the case shall require. And thus we bid your Lordship heartily well to fare. From Saint* James *the* 15. *day of* December, 1557.

Your Lordships loving friends.

Nicholas Ebot.
F. Shrewsbury.
Edward Hastings.
Anthony Mountague.
John Bourne.
Henry Iernegam.

Boner, now minding to make quick dispatch, did within theee days after the receit of the Letter (the 18. day of *December*) send for this *Rough* out of *Newgate*, and in his Palace at *London* ministred unto him 12. Articles: Many whereof because they contain only questions of the Profession and Religion of that age; wherein both he and his Parents were Christened (which in sundry places are already mentioned) I do here for brevity omit; minding to touch such only, as pertain to matters of Faith now in controversie, and then chiefly objected against the Martyrs and Saints of God, which in effect are these.

Articles against John Rough. Sacrament of the Altar. Confession.

First, that thou *John Rough* didst directly speak against the 7. Sacraments, used commonly and reverently, as things of estimation and great worthiness in the Catholick Church: and also didst reprove and condemn the substance of the said Sacraments, but especially the Sacrament of the Altar, affirming that in that same is not really and truly the very Body and Blood of Christ: and that confession to the Priest, and absolution given by him (as the Minister of Christ) for sins is not necessary or available in any wise.

Latin Service.

2. *Item*, thou hast misliked and reproved the Religion and Ecclesiastical Service, as it is now used in this Realm, and hast allowed the Religion and Service used in the later years of King *Edward* the sixth, and so much as in thee hath layn, hast by word, writing, and deed, set forwards, taught, and preached the same openly, and in sundry places affirmed, that the said English Service and Doctrine therein contained, is agreeable in all points to Gods Word, and unto the truth, condemning utterly the Latin Service now used in the Queens Reign, and inducing others by thine example to do the like.

3. *Item*, thou hast in sundry places within this Realm commended and approved the Opinion and Doctrine of *Tho. Cranmer*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Nicholas Ridley* and *Hugh Latimer*; concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, affirming that in the Sacrament there remaineth, after the words of Consecration, material Bread, and material Wine, without any Transubstantiation.

4. *Item*, that hast in sundry places of this Realm, since the Queens Reign, ministred and received the Communion as it was used in the late days of King *Edward* the 6. and thou knowest, or credibly hast heard of divers, that yet do keep Books of the said Communion, and used the same in private Houses out of the Church and are of Opinion against the Sacrament of the Altar.

Books of Communion

Against the Supremacy of the Pope.

5. *Item*, that thou in sundry places of this Realm hast spoken against the Pope of *Rome*, and his Apostolick See, and hast plainly contemned and despised the Authority of the same, misliking and not allowing the Faith and Doctrine thereof, but directly speaking against it; and by thine example hast induced other the Subjects of this Realm, to speak and do the like.

6. *Item*; thou dost know, and hast been conversant with all, or a great part of such English Men as have fled out of this Realm for Religion, and hast consented and agreed with them in their Opinions, and hast succoured, maintained, and holpen them, and hast been a conveyer of their Seditious Letters, and Books into this Realm.

7. *Item*, that hast thou said, that thou hast been at *Rome*, and tarried there about thirty days or more, and that thou hast seen little good or none there, but very much evil. Amongst the which thou sawest one great Abomination, that is to say, a Man (or the Pope) that should go on the ground, to be carried upon the Shoulders of four Men, as though he had been God and no Man: Also a Cardinal to have his Harlot riding openly behind him: And thirdly, a Popes Bull, that gave expres licence to have and use the Stews, and to keep open Bawdry by the Popes approbation and authority.

Abominable sights at Rome.

8. *Item*, that thou, sithence thy last coming into *England* out of the parts beyond the Sea, hast perniciously allured, and comforted divers of the Subjects of this Realm, both young men, old men and women, to have and use the Book of Communion, set forth in this Realm, in the later days of King *Edward* the sixth, and hast also thy self read and set forth the same, causing others to do the like, and to leave their coming to the Parish Churches to hear the Latin Service now used.

9. *Item*, that thou on the third Sunday of *Advent* the 12. day of this *December* 1557. wast apprehended at the *Saracens* Head at *Islington*, in the County of *Middlesex* and Dioces of *London*, by the Queens Vicechamberlain, with one *Cuthert* a Taylor, *Hugh* a Hosier, and divers other there assembled, under the colour of hearing a play, to have read the Communion Book, and to have used the accustomed fashion, as was in the latter days of King *Edward* the sixth.

Cuthert Symson, Hugh Foxe.

The Answer of John Rough, *to the foresaid Articles.*

His Answers to the Articles.

To the first he said and confessed, that he had spoken against the number of the said Sacraments, being fully perswaded that there be but only two Sacraments, to wit, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord; and as for the other five, he denied them to be Sacraments, and therefore hath spoken against them. And as concerning the Sacrament of the Altar (which he then called the Supper of the Lord) he confessed that he had spoken and taught, that in the said Sacrament there is not really and substantially the very Body & Blood of Christ, but that the substance of Bread and Wine doth remain in the

ſaid Sacrament, without any Tranſubſtantiation at all. Farther as touching Confeſſion of ſins to the Prieſt, he anſwered, That he thought it neceſſary, if the offence were done unto the Prieſt: but if the offence were done to another, then Confeſſion made to the Prieſt is not neceſſary, but Reconciliation only to be made to the Party ſo offended.

2. To the ſecond he anſwered, That he then did and had before miſliked the Order of Latin Service then uſed; and alſo did allow the Service uſed in the later time of K. *Edwards* Reign, for that the holy Scripture doth the ſame, and therefore he granted that he did teach and ſet forth the ſaid Engliſh Service, as in the ſame Article is objected.

3. To the third, he granted That he had approved the Doctrine of the Parties articulate as agreeable to Gods Word, and that they were godly learned men, and ſuch as had perfect underſtanding in the Contents of the ſame Article.

4. To the fourth he anſwered, That he did well like the Communion uſed in King *Edwards* days, but he ſaid, that he had not miniſtred or received the ſame here in *England* ſince the Queens Reign, neither yet knew any that had the Books thereof. But on the other ſide, he knew many that had thoſe Books, and that there alſo he had received the Communion in ſundry places.

5. The Contents of the fifth he granted to be true.

6. To the ſixth he confeſſed, That he had been familiar with divers Engliſh men and women, being in *Frizeland*, and agreed with them in Opinion, as Mr. *Scory*, *Thomas Young*, *George Roe*, and others, to the number of one hundred Perſons, which fled thither for Religion, uſing there the Order ſet forth in the Reign of King *Edward*, and otherwiſe he denieth the Contents of this Article.

7. The Contents of the ſeventh he granted in every point to be true.

8. To the eighth he anſwered and confeſſed, That ſince his laſt coming into *England* (which was about the tenth day of *November*) he had in ſundry places in the Suburbs of *London* prayed and read ſuch Prayers and Service, as is appointed in the Book of the Communion, and willed others to do the like, both men and women, which he did know by ſight, but not by name. Howbeit he did never cauſe any to withdraw themſelves from the Latin Service, but he ſaid it were better to pray in a Tongue that they did underſtand, than in an unknown Tongue.

9. To the ninth he confeſſed, at the time and place articulate he was preſent to hear and ſee a Play, and there was apprehended by the Queens Majeſties Vice-Chamberlain, with one *Cutbert* a Taylor, and one *Hugh* a Hoſier, and divers other both men and women, whoſe names he knew not, and by him was brought before the Council, who ſent him unto *Newgate*, and from thence he was brought to the Biſhop. And otherwiſe he denieth the Contents of this Article.

Another appearance of John Rough before the Biſhop.

Upon theſe Anſwers he was diſmiſſed, and the next day being the nineteenth of *December*, he was again brought before the ſaid Biſhop and others. Who, when they perceived his conſtantneſs, determined the next day after to bring him openly into the Conſiſtory, there to adjudge, and condemn him as an Heretick. Which purpoſe they accompliſhed: For the twentieth day at Afternoon, in the preſence of the Biſhop of *London*, and S. *Davids*, with *Fecknam* Abbat of *Weſtminſter*, and others, he was there produced. Where after much and many fair perſwaſions, *Boner* read unto him the Articles and Anſwers, before mentioned, in the which they charged him to have received the Orders of the Church, and therefore might not marry; and that he had refuſed to conſent unto the Latin Service then uſed in the Church. Whereunto he then anſwered and ſaid, That their Orders were nothing at all, and that he being a Prieſt, might lawfully marry, and that his Children which he had by his Wife were lawful. And touching the Service then uſed, he utterly deteſted it, ſaying, That if he ſhould live as long as did *Methuſalach*, yet he would never come to the Church to hear the abominable Maſs and other Service being as it was then. Upon which words the Biſhop proceeded to the actual degradation of the ſaid *Rough*, exempting him from all the benefits and priviledges of their Church, and after condemning him as an Heretick, committed his Body to the Secular Power, who taking him into their charge and cuſtody, carried him unto *Newgate*.

John Rough condemned and degraded by Boner.

Anno 1557.

A note of Mr. Rough.

Moreover, as touching the ſaid Mr. *Rough*, this is further to be noted, that he being in the North Country in the days of K. *Edward* the ſixth, was the mean to ſave Dr. *Watſon*'s life (who in Q. *Maries* time was Biſhop of *Lincoln*) for a Sermon that he had made there. The ſaid *Watſon* after that, in the ſaid days of Q. *Mary*, being with *Boner* at the Examination of the ſaid Mr. *Rough*, to requite the good turn in ſaving his life, detected him there to be a pernicious Heretick, who did more hurt in the North parts than an hundred beſides of his Opinion. Unto whom Mr. *Rough* ſaid again, Why Sir, is this the reward I have for ſaving your life, when you preached erroneous Doctrine in the days of King *Edward* the ſixth? This Mr. *Rough* ſaid, he had lived thirty years, and yet had never bowed his knee to *Baal*; and being before *Boner*, among other talk, he affirmed that he had been twice at *Rome*, and there had ſeen plainly with his eyes, which he had many times heard of before, namely, that the Pope was the very Antichriſt: for there he ſaw him carried on mens ſhoulders, and the falſe-named Sacrament born before him. Yet was there more reverence given to him, than to that which they counted to be their god. When *Boner* heard this, riſing up, and making as though he would have torn his Garments, Haſt thou, ſaid he, been at *Rome*, and ſeen our holy Father the Pope, and doſt thou blaſpheme him after this ſort; and with that flying upon him, he plucked off a piece of his Beard, and after making ſpeedy haſte to his death, he burnt him half an hour before ſix of the clock in the morning, becauſe the day (belike) ſhould not be far ſpent, before he had done a miſchievous deed.

Bp. Boner plucked of half the Beard of John Rough.

Another note of John Rough.

Furthermore, Note that this Mr. *Rough* being at the burning of *Auſtoo* in *Smithfield*, and returning homeward again, met with one Mr. *Farrar*, a Merchant of *Hallifax*, who asked him, where he had been. Unto whom he anſwered, I have been (ſaith he) where I would not for one of mine eyes but I had been. Where have you been, ſaid Mr. *Farrar*? Forſooth (ſaith he) to learn the way. And ſo he told him he had been at the burning of *Auſtoo*, where ſhortly after he was burned himſelf.

A Letter written by John Rough, *unto certain of his godly Friends, confirming and ſtrengthening them in the truth, which he had before taught.*

A Letter of John Rough.

THe comfort of the Holy Ghoſt make you able to give conſolation to others in theſe dangerous days, when Satan is let looſe, but to the trial only of the choſen, when it pleaſeth our God to ſift his Wheat from the Chaff. I have not leiſure and time to write the great temptations I have been under. I ſpeak to Gods glory; my care was to have the ſenſes of my Soul open, to perceive the voice of God, ſaying, Whoſoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father and his Angels. And to ſave the life corporal, is to loſe the life eternal. And he that will not ſuffer with Chriſt, ſhall not reign with him. Therefore moſt tender ones, I have by Gods Spirit given over the fleſh, with the fight of my ſoul, and the Spirit hath the victory. The fleſh ſhall now e're it be long, leave off to ſin, the Spirit ſhall reign eternally. I have choſen the death, to confirm the truth by me taught. What can I do more? Conſider with your ſelves, that I have done it for the confirmation of Gods Truth. Pray that I may continue unto the end. The greateſt part of the aſſault is paſt, I praiſe my God. I have in all my aſſaults felt the preſent aid of my God, I give him moſt hearty thanks therefore. Look not back, nor be ye aſhamed of Chriſts Goſpel, nor of the Bonds I have ſuffered for the ſame, thereby ye may be aſſured it is the true Word of God. The holy ones have been ſealed with the ſame mark. It is no time for the loſs of one man in the Battel, for the Camp to turn back. Up with mens hearts; blow down the dawbed walls of Hereſie. Let one take the Banner, and the other the Trumpet; I mean not to make corporal reſiſtance, but pray, and ye ſhall have Elias *his defence, and* Elizeus's *company to fight for you. The cauſe is the Lords. Now my Brethren, I can write no more,*

time

Anno 1557. *time will not ſuffer, and my heart with pangs of death is aſſaulted: but I am at home with my God yet alive. Pray for me, and ſalute one another with the holy kiſs. The peace of God reſt with you all, Amen. From* Newgate *Priſon in haſte, the day of my Condemnation.*

John Rough.

Another Letter of *John Rough* written unto the Congregation two days before he ſuffered.

THe Spirit of all Conſolation be with you, aid you, and make you ſtrong to run to the fight that is laid before you, wherein that God in all Ages hath tried his Elect, and hath found them worthy of himſelf, by coupling to their Head Jeſus Chriſt: in whom, whoſo deſireth to live godly, the ſame muſt needs ſuffer perſecution. For it is given unto them, not only to believe, but alſo to ſuffer. And the Servant or Scholar cannot be greater than his Lord or Maſter: but by the ſame way the Head is entered, the Members muſt follow: no life is in the Members which are cut from the Body: likewiſe we have no life, but in Chriſt: for by him we live, move, and have our being. My dear Son, now departing this life to my great advantage, I make change of mortality with immortality, of corruption to put on incorruption, to make my Body like to the Corn caſt into the ground, which except it dye firſt, it can bring forth no good fruit. Wherefore death is to me great advantage; for thereby the Body ceaſeth from ſin, and after turneth into the firſt Original; but after ſhall be changed, and made brighter than the Sun or Moon. What ſhall I write of this corporal death, ſeeing it is decreed of God, that all men ſhall once dye? Happy are they that dye in the Lord, which is to dye in the faith of Chriſt, profeſſing and confeſſing the ſame before many witneſſes. I praiſe my God I have paſſed the ſame journey by many temptations, the Devil is very buſie to perſwade, the world to entice with promiſes and fair words: which I omit to write leſt ſome might think I did hunt after vain glory, which is fartheſt from my heart. Laſtly, the danger of ſome falſe Brethren, who before the Biſhop of London *purpoſed to confeſs an untruth to my face; yet the God that ruled* Balaam, *moved their hearts: where they thought to ſpeak to my Accuſation, he made them ſpeak to my Purgation: What a journey (by Gods power) I have made theſe eight days before this day, it is above fleſh and blood to bear: but as* Paul *ſaith, I may do all things in him which worketh in me, Jeſus Chriſt. My courſe, Brethren, have I run, I have fought a good fight; the Crown of Righteouſneſs is laid up for me, my day to receive it is not long to. Pray Brethren, for the Enemy doth yet aſſault. Stand conſtant unto the end, then ſhall you poſſeſs your Souls. Walk worthily in that Vocation wherein you are called. Comfort the Brethren. Salute one another in my name. Be not aſhamed of the Goſpel of the Croſs, by me preached, nor yet of my ſuffering: for with my blood I affirm the ſame. I go before, I ſuffer firſt the baiting of the Butchers dogs; yet I have not done what I ſhould have done: but my weakneſs, I doubt not, is ſupplied in the Strength of Jeſus Chriſt; and your wiſdoms and learning will accept the ſmall Talent, which I have diſtributed unto you (as I truſt) as a faithful Steward: and what was undone, impute that to frailty and ignorance, and with your love cover that which is and was naked in me. God knoweth ye are all tender unto me, my heart burſteth for the love of you. Ye are not without your great Paſtor of your ſoul, who ſo loveth you, that if men were not to be ſought out (as God be praiſed, there is no want of men) he would cauſe ſtones to miniſter unto you. Caſt your care on that Rock, the wind of temptation ſhall not prevail: faſt and pray, for the days are evil. Look up with your eyes of hope, for the redemption is not far off (but my wickedneſs hath deſerved that I ſhall not ſee it.) And alſo that which is behind of the blood of our Brethren, which ſhall alſo be laid under the Altar, ſhall cry for your relief. Time will not now ſuffer me to write longer Letters. The Spirit of God guide you in and out, riſing and ſitting, cover you with the ſhadow of his wings, defend you againſt the tyranny of the wicked, and bring you happily unto the Port of Eternal Felicity, where all tears ſhall be wiped from your eyes, and you ſhall always abide with the Lamb.*

John Rough.

Margaret Mearing, Martyr.

The ſtory and examination of *Margaret Mearing*, Martyr.

IT is declared, that in the company of *John Rough*, was burned one *Margaret Mearing*, who, as the Regiſter maketh mention, was at one time and day brought with the ſaid *Rough* forth to Examination: where the Biſhop having no private matters to charge her withal, did the eighteenth day of *December* object againſt her thoſe common and accuſtomable Articles mentioned before. To which ſhe anſwered as followeth.

Her Anſwers to the Articles.

FIrſt, That there is here in Earth a Catholick Church, and that there is the true Faith of Chriſt obſerved and kept in the ſame Church.

2. *Item*, That there were only two Sacraments in the Church, namely, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Baptiſm.

3. *Item*, That ſhe was baptized in the Faith, and Belief of the ſaid Church, renouncing there, by her Godfathers and Godmothers, the Devil and all his works, *&c.*

4. *Item*, That when ſhe came to the age of fourteen years, ſhe did not know what her true belief was, becauſe ſhe was not then of diſcretion to underſtand the ſame, neither yet was taught it.

5. *Item*, That ſhe had not gone from the Catholick Faith at any time: but ſhe ſaid that the Maſs was abominable before the ſight of God, and before the ſight of all true Chriſtian People, and that it is the plain Cup of Fornication, and the Whore of *Babylon*. And as concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, ſhe ſaid, ſhe believed there was no ſuch Sacrament in the Catholick Church. Alſo ſhe ſaid, That ſhe utterly abhorred the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, with all the Religion obſerved in the ſame Antichriſts Church.

6. *Item*, She anſwered to the ſixth Article, as to the firſt, before ſpecified.

7. *Item*, That ſhe hath refuſed to come to her Pariſh Church, becauſe the true Religion of Chriſt was not then uſed in the ſame: and further ſaid, That ſhe had not come unto the Church by the ſpace of one year and three quarters then laſt paſt, neither yet did mean any more to come unto the ſame in theſe Idolatrous days.

Margaret Mearing apprehended by *Cluney*.

8. *Item*, As touching the manner of her Apprehenſion, ſhe ſaid, That *Cluney* the Biſhops Sumner did fetch her to the Biſhop.

Theſe Anſwers being then regiſtred, they were again (with the ſaid Articles) propounded againſt her the twentieth day of *December*, and there being demanded if ſhe would ſtand unto thoſe her Anſwers, ſhe ſaid, I will ſtand to them unto the death; for the very Angels of Heaven do laugh you to ſcorn, to ſee your Abomination that you uſe in the Church. After the which words, the Biſhop pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation againſt her; and then delivering her unto the Sheriffs, ſhe was with the fore-named *John Rough* carried unto *Newgate*. From whence they were both together led unto *Smithfield*, the 22*th* day of the ſame Month of *December*, and there moſt joyfully gave their lives for the Profeſſion of Chriſts Goſpel.

Sentence againſt *Margaret Mearing*.

The Martyrdom of *John Rough* and *Margaret Mearing* in *Smithfield*, Anno 1557. *December*.

When the later end of this Hiſtory of Mr. *Rough* and *Margaret Mearing* was in finiſhing, there came to our hands one neceſſary thing of the ſaid *Margaret Mearing*, which we thought not good to omit. The matter is this: Mr. *Rough* being chief Paſtor to the Congregation in the ſaid time of Queen *Mary*; as before you have heard (of which Company this *Margaret Mearing* was one) did not well like the ſaid *Margaret*, but greatly ſuſpected her, as many other of them did beſides, becauſe ſhe would oftentimes bring in ſtrangers among them, and in her talk ſeemed (as they thought) ſomewhat too buſie, *&c.* Now, what they ſaw or underſtood further in her, we know not, but this followed the evil ſuſpicion conceived of her. Mr. *Rough*, the *Friday* before he was taken, in the open face of the Congregation, did excommunicate her out of the ſame Company: and ſo ſeemed with the reſt to exclude and cut her off from their Fellowſhip and Society. Whereat ſhe being moved, did not well take it, nor in good part; but thought her ſelf not indif-

A note of *Margaret Mearing*.

ferently handled among them. Whereupon to one of her Friends in a heat, ſhe threatned to remove them all. But the Providence of God was otherwiſe. For the *Sunday* after, Mr. *Rough* being taken by the Information of one *Roger Sergeant* to the Biſhop of *London* (as hereafter thou ſhalt hear) was laid Priſoner in the *Gatehouſe* at *Weſtminſter*, where none of his Friends could come to viſit him. Then this ſaid *Margaret*, hearing thereof, got her a Basket, and a clean Shirt in it, and went to *Weſtminſter*, where ſhe, feigning her ſelf to be his Siſter, got into the Priſon to him, and did there to her power not a little comfort him.

Margaret Mearing relieveth Mr. Rough in Priſon.

Then coming abroad again, ſhe underſtanding that the Congregation ſuſpected the ſaid *Sergeant* to be his Promoter, went to his Houſe, and asked whether *Judas* dwelt not there. Unto whom anſwer was made, there dwelt no ſuch. No, ſaid ſhe? Dwelleth not *Judas* here that betrayed Chriſt? his name is *Sergeant*. When ſhe ſaw ſhe could not ſpeak with him, ſhe went her way. So the *Friday* after, ſhe ſtanding at *Mark-lane* end in *London*, with another Woman, a Friend of hers, ſaw *Cluney*, *Boners* Sumner, coming in the Street towards her Houſe. Whom when ſhe ſaw, ſhe ſaid to the other Woman ſtanding with her, Whither goeth yonder fine Fellow, ſaid ſhe? I think ſurely he goeth to my Houſe; and in viewing him ſtill, at the laſt ſhe ſaw him enter in at her door. So immediately ſhe went home, and asked him whom he ſought. Whereunto *Cluney* made anſwer and ſaid, for you; you muſt go with me. Marry (quoth ſhe) here I am; I will go with you: and coming to the Biſhop, ſhe was laid in Priſon, and the *Wedneſday* after burnt with Mr. *Rough* in *Smithfield*, as ye have heard.

The taking of Margaret Mearing, Martyr.

Anno 1558.

Anno 1558.

The ſuffering and cruel Torments of Cutbert Symſon, *Deacon of the Chriſtian Congregation in* London, *in Queen* Maries *days, moſt patiently abiding the cruel rage of the Papiſts for Chriſts ſake.*

NExt after the Martyrdom of Mr. *Rough* Miniſter of the Congregation above mentioned, ſucceeded in like Martyrdom the Deacon alſo of that ſaid godly Company or Congregation in *London*, named *Cutbert Symſon*, being committed to the fire, the Year of our Lord 1558. the 28. day of *March*.

Anno 1558. The ſtory and cruel handling of *Cutbert Symſon* Deacon and Martyr.

This *Cutbert Symſon* was a man of a faithful and zealous heart to Chriſt and his true Flock, inſomuch that he never ceaſed labouring, and ſtudying moſt earneſtly, not only how to preſerve them without corruption of the Popiſh Religion, but alſo his care was very vigilant, how to keep them together without peril or danger of perſecution. The pains, travel, zeal, patience, and fidelity of this man, in caring and providing for this Congregation, as it is not lightly to be expreſſed; ſo is it wonderful to behold the Providence of the Lord by viſion, concerning the troubles of this faithful Miniſter and godly Deacon, as in this here following may appear.

The viſions ſent to Gods Saints concerning their Afflictions.

The *Friday* at night before Mr. *Rough* Miniſter of the Congregation (of whom mention is made before) was taken, being in his Bed he dreamed, that he ſaw two of

the Guard leading *Cutbert Symſon* Deacon of the ſaid Congregation, and that he had the Book about him, wherein were written the names of all them which were of the Congregation. Whereupon being ſore troubled, he awaked, and called his Wife, ſaying, *Kate*, ſtrike a light, for I am much troubled with my Brother *Cutbert* this night. When ſhe had ſo done, he gave himſelf to read in his Book a while, and there feeling ſleep to come upon him, he put out the Candle, and ſo gave himſelf again to reſt. Being aſleep, he dreamed the like dream again; and, awaked therewith, he ſaid, Oh *Kate*, my Brother *Cutbert* is gone. So they lighted a Candle again, and roſe. And as the ſaid Mr. *Rough* was making him ready to go to *Cutbert* to ſee how he did, in the mean time the ſaid *Cutbert* came in with the Book containing the names and accounts of the Congregation. Whom when Mr. *Rough* had ſeen, he ſaid, Brother *Cutbert*, ye are welcome: for I have been ſore troubled with you this night, and ſo told him his dream. After he had ſo done, he willed him to lay the Book away from him, and to carry it no more about him. Unto which *Cutbert* anſwered, he would not ſo do: for dreams, he ſaid, were but phantaſies, and not to be credited. Then Mr. *Rough* ſtraitly charged him in the name of the Lord to do it. Whereupon the ſaid *Cutbert* took ſuch Notes out of the Book, as he had willed him to do, and immediately left the Book with Mr. *Rough*'s Wife.

The next day following, in the night, the ſaid Mr. *Rough* had another dream in his ſleep concerning his

own

Anno 1558.

own trouble. The matter whereof was this. He thought *in his dream* that he was carried himſelf forcibly to the Biſhop, and that the Biſhop pluckt off his Beard, and caſt it into the fire, ſaying theſe words, Now I may ſay I have had a piece of an Heretick burned in my Houſe, and ſo accordingly it came to paſs.

Now to return to *Cutbert* again; as we have touched ſomething concerning theſe viſions, ſo now remaineth to ſtory alſo of his pains and ſufferings upon the Rack, and otherwiſe, like a good *Laurence* for the Congregations ſake, as he wrote it with his own hand.

A true Report how he was uſed in the Tower *of* London, *being ſent thither by the Council, the thirteenth day of* December.

A Letter of *Cutbert Symſon* to certain of his friends.

ON the *Thurſday* after, I was called into the Warehouſe, before the Conſtable of the *Tower*, and the Recorder of *London* Mr. *Cholmley*; they commanded me to tell, whom I did will to come to the Engliſh Service. I anſwered, I would declare nothing. Whereupon I was ſet in a Rack of Iron, the ſpace of three hours as I judged.

Then they asked me if I would tell them. I anſwered as before. Then was I looſed, and carried to my lodging again. On the *Sunday* after I was brought into the ſame place again before the Lieutenant and the Recorder of *London*, and they examined me. As before I had ſaid, I anſwered. Then the Lieutenant did ſwear by God I ſhould tell. Then did they bind my two fore-fingers together, and put a ſmall Arrow betwixt them, and drew it through ſo faſt that the blood followed, and the Arrow brake.

Then they racked me twice. Then was I carried to my Lodging again, and ten days after the Lieutenant asked me if I would not confeſs that which before they had asked me. I ſaid, I had ſaid as much as I would. Then five weeks after he ſent me unto the High Prieſt, where I was greatly aſſaulted, and at whoſe hand I received the Popes Curſe, for bearing witneſs of the Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt. And thus I commend you unto God, and to the Word of his Grace, with all them that unfeignedly call upon the Name of Jeſus, deſiring God of his endleſs mercy, through the Merits of his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, to bring us all to his everlaſting Kingdom; Amen. I praiſe God for his great mercy ſhewed upon us. Sing *Oſanna* unto the Higheſt with me *Cutbert Symſon*. God forgive me my ſins. I ask all the World forgiveneſs, and I do forgive all the World, and thus I leave this World, in hope of a joyful Reſurrection.

A note of Cutbert Symſons *patience.*

A note of *Cutbert Symſon.*

NOw as touching this *Cutbert Symſon*, this further is to be noted, that *Boner* in his Conſiſtory ſpeaking of *Cutbert Symſon*, gave this teſtimony of him there to the People, ſaying, Ye ſee this man, ſaith he, what a perſonable man he is; and after he had thus commended his perſon, added moreover; And furthermore concerning his patience, I ſay unto you, that if he were not an Heretick, he is a man of the greateſt patience that yet ever came before me: For I tell you, he hath been thrice racked upon one day in the *Tower*. Alſo in my Houſe he hath felt ſome ſorrow, and yet I never ſaw his patience broken, *&c.*

The patience of *Cutbert Symſon.*

It is thought and ſaid of ſome, that that Arrow which was grated betwixt his fingers, being tied together, was not in the *Tower*, but in the Biſhops houſe.

A viſion of *Cutbert Symſon.*

The day before the bleſſed Deacon and Martyr of God, *Cutbert Symſon*, after his painful racking, ſhould go to his Condemnation before *Boner*, to be burned, being in the Biſhops Colehouſe there in the Stocks, he had a certain Viſion or Apparition very ſtrange, which he himſelf with his own mouth declared to the godly learned man Mr. *Auſten*, to his own Wife, and *Thomas Symſon*, and to others beſides, in the Priſon of *Newgate* a little before his death. The relation whereof I ſtand in no little doubt whether to report abroad or not, conſidering with my ſelf the great diverſity of mens judgments by the reading of Hiſtories, and variety of Affections. Some I ſee will not believe it, ſome will deride the ſame, ſome alſo will be offended with ſetting forth things of that ſort incertain, eſteeming all things to be incertain and incredible, whatſoever is ſtrange from the common order of Nature.

Others will be perchance agrieved, thinking with themſelves; or elſe thus reaſoning with me, that although the matter were as is reported, yet forſomuch as the common errour of believing raſh Miracles, Phantaſies, Viſions, Dreams and Apparitions thereby may be confirmed, more expedient it were the ſame to be un-ſet forth.

Theſe, and ſuch like, will be, I know, the ſayings of many. Whereunto briefly I anſwer, granting firſt, and admitting with the words of *Baſil*, ὁ πᾶν ὄνειρον εἶναι προφητείαν. That is, not every Dream is ſtreightway a Prophecy. Again, neither am I ignorant that the Papiſts in their Books and Legends of Saints have their prodigious Viſions and Apparitions of Angels, of our Lady, of Chriſt, and other Saints: which as I will not admit to be believed for true; ſo will they ask me again why ſhould I then more require theſe to be credited of them, than theirs of us.

Firſt, I write not this, binding any man preciſely to believe the ſame, ſo as they do theirs, but only report it as it hath been heard of perſons known, naming alſo the Parties who were the hearers thereof, leaving the judgment thereof notwithſtanding free unto the arbitrement of the Reader. Albeit, it is no good Argument, proceeding from the ſingular or particular, to the univerſal, to ſay that Viſions be not true in ſome: *Ergo*, they be true in none. And if any ſhall muſe, or object again, Why ſhould ſuch Viſions be given to him, or a few other ſingular perſons, more than to all the reſt, ſeeing the other were in the ſame cauſe and quarrel, and died alſo Martyrs as well as he? To this, I ſay, concerning the Lords times and doings I have not to meddle nor make, who may work where and when it pleaſeth him. And what if the Lord thought chiefly above the other with ſingular conſolation to reſpect him, who chiefly above the other, and ſingularly did ſuffer moſt exquiſite Torments for his ſake? What great marvel herein? But, as I ſaid, of the Lords ſecret times I have not to reaſon. This only which hath out of the mans own mouth been received, ſo as I received it of the Parties, I thought here to communicate to the Reader, for him to judge thereof as God ſhall rule his mind. The matter is this.

What credit is to be given to viſions, and how far.

The day before this *Symſon* was condemned, he being in the Stocks, *Cluney* his Keeper cometh in with the Keys about nine of the Clock at night (after his uſual manner) to view his Priſon, and ſee whether all were preſent, who when he eſpied the ſaid *Cutbert* to be there, departed again, locking the doors after him. Within two hours after, about eleven of the Clock toward midnight, the ſaid *Cutbert* (whether being in a ſlumber, or being awake I cannot ſay) heard one coming in, firſt opening the outward door, then the ſecond, after the third door, and ſo looking in to the ſaid *Cutbert*, having no Candle or Torch that he could ſee, but giving a brightneſs and light moſt comfortable and joyful to his heart, ſaying, Ha, unto him, and departed again. Who it was he could not tell, neither I dare define. This that he ſaw, he himſelf declared four or five times to the ſaid Mr. *Auſten*, and to others. At the ſight whereof he received ſuch joyful comfort, that he alſo expreſſed no little ſolace in telling and declaring the ſame.

Articles ſeverally miniſtred to Cutbert Symſon *the nineteenth day of* March, *with his Anſwers alſo to the ſame annexed.*

Articles ſeverally miniſtred to *Cutbert Symſon.*

FIrſt, That thou *Cutbert Symſon* art at this preſent abiding within the City and Dioceſs of *London*, and not out of the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Item, That thou within the City and Dioceſs of *London* haſt uttered many times, and ſpoken deliberately theſe Words and Sentences following, *videlicet*, that though thy Parents, Anceſtors, Kinſfolks, and Friends, yea, and alſo thy ſelf, before the time of the late Schiſm

here

here in this Realm of *England*, have thought, and thoughteſt, that the Faith and Religion obſerved in times paſt here in this Realm of *England*, was a true Faith and Religion of Chriſt, in all Points and Articles, though in the Church it was ſet forth in the Latin Tongue, and not in Engliſh, yet thou believeſt and ſayeſt, that the Faith and Religion, now uſed commonly in the Realm, not in the Engliſh, but in the Latin Tongue, is not the true Faith and Religion of Chriſt, but contrary and expreſly againſt it.

Ceremonies. *Item*, That thou within the ſaid City and Dioceſs of *London* haſt willingly, wittingly, and contemptuouſly done, and ſpoken againſt the Rites and the Ceremonies, commonly uſed here through the whole Realm, and obſerved generally in the Church of *England*.

Seven Sacraments. *Item*, That thou haſt thought and believed certainly, and ſo within the Dioceſs of *London* haſt affirmed and ſpoken deliberately, that there be not in the Catholick Church ſeven Sacraments, nor of that virtue and efficacy as is commonly believed in the Church of *England* them to be.

Sacrament of the Altar. *Item*, That thou haſt likewiſe thought and believed, yea, and ſo within the City and Dioceſs of *London* ſpoken, and deliberately affirmed, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not really, ſubſtantially, and truly the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Item, That thou haſt been, and to thy power art at this preſent a Favourer of all thoſe, that either have been here in this Realm, heretofore called Hereticks, or elſe convented, and condemned by the Eccleſiaſtical Judges for Hereticks.

Uſing of Engliſh Service. *Item*, That thou, contrary to the order of this Realm of *England*, and contrary to the uſage of the Holy Church of this Realm of *England*, haſt at ſundry times and places within the City and Dioceſs of *London*, been at Aſſemblies and Conventicles, where there was a multitude of People gathered together to hear the Engliſh Service ſaid, which was ſet forth in the later years of King *Edward* the ſixth, and alſo to hear, and have the Communion Book read, and the Communion miniſtred, both to the ſaid Multitude, and alſo to thy ſelf; and thou haſt thought, and ſo thinkeſt, and haſt ſpoken that the ſaid Engliſh Service and Communion Book, and all things contained in either of them was good and laudable, and for ſuch thou didſt and doſt allow, and approve either of them at this preſent.

The Anſwer of the ſaid Cutbert *to the foreſaid Articles.*

His anſwer to the Articles. UNto all which Articles the ſaid *Cutbert Symſon* anſwered thus, or the like in effect.

To the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth Article, he confeſſed them to be true in every part thereof.

To the ſeventh Article he ſaid, That he was not bound to anſwer unto it, as he believeth.

A Letter of Cutbert Symſon, *written to his Wife out of the Colehouſe.*

A Letter of *Cutbert Symſon* to his wife. *DEarly beloved in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I cannot write as I do wiſh unto you.*

I beſeech you with my Soul, commit your ſelf under the mighty hand of our God, truſting in his mercy, and he will ſurely help us, as ſhall be moſt unto his glory and our everlaſting comfort, being ſure of this, that he will ſuffer nothing to come unto us, but that which ſhall be moſt profitable for us.

For it is either a Correction for our ſins, or a trial of our Faith, or to ſet forth his glory, or for all together, and therefore muſt needs be well done. For there is nothing that cometh unto us by Fortune or Chance, but by our Heavenly Fathers Providence. And therefore pray unto our Heavenly Father, that he will ever give us his Grace to conſider it. Let us give him moſt hearty thanks for theſe his fatherly Corrections; for as many as he loveth, he correcteth. And I beſeech you now be of good chear, and count the Croſs of Chriſt greater riches, than all the vain pleaſures of England, *I do not doubt (I praiſe God for it) but that you have ſupped with Chriſt at his* Maundy, *I mean, believe in him: for that is the effect, and then muſt you drink of his Cup, I mean his Croſs (for that doth the Cup ſignifie unto us.) Take the Cup with a good ſtomach, in the Name of God, and then ſhall you be ſure to have the good Wine, Chriſts Blood, to thy poor thirſty Soul. And when you have the Wine, you muſt drink it out of this Cup. Learn this when you come to the Lords Supper. Pray continually. In all things give thanks.* Anno 1558.

In the Name of Jeſus ſhall every knee bow, Cutbert Symſon.

Hugh Foxe.
John Deveniſh.

Hugh Foxe, & Deveniſh, Martyrs. WIth *Cutbert* likewiſe was apprehended and alſo ſuffered (as is before mentioned) *Hugh Foxe* and *John Deveniſh*. Who being brought unto their Examinations with the ſaid *Cutbert*, before *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, the Nineteenth day of *March*, had Articles and Interrogatories to them miniſtred by the ſaid Officer, albeit not all at one time. For firſt to the ſaid *Cutbert* ſeveral Articles were propounded, then other Articles in general were miniſtred to them altogether. The order and manner of which Articles, now joyntly to them miniſtred here follow, with their Anſwers alſo to the ſame annexed to be ſeen.

Articles generally miniſtred to them all three together, the ſaid 19th day of March, *with their Anſwers to the ſame annexed.*

General Articles objected to them all three together. AFter theſe Articles thus miniſtred and laid to *Cutbert Symſon*, with his Anſwers likewiſe unto the ſame, the Biſhop calling them all together, objected to them other Poſitions and Articles, the ſame which before are mentioned in the ſtory of *Bartlet Green*, only the eighth Article out of the ſame omitted and excepted: which Articles, becauſe they are expreſſed in the place above mentioned, we need not here make any new report thereof, but only refer the Reader to the place aſſigned.

The Anſwers general of Cutbert Symſon, Hugh Foxe, *and* John Deveniſh, *to the Articles by the Biſhop to them generally propoſed.*

Their Anſwers general to the Articles. TO the firſt Article they all anſwered affirmatively; but *John Deveniſh* added, That that Church is grounded upon the Prophets and Apoſtles, Chriſt being the Head corner-ſtone, and how in that Church there is the true Faith and Religion of Chriſt.

To the ſecond Article they all confeſſed and believed, That in Chriſts Catholick Church there are but two Sacraments, that is to wit, Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord; otherwiſe they do not believe the Contents of this Article to be true in any part thereof.

To the third Article they all anſwered affirmatively.

To the fourth Article they all anſwered affirmatively.

To the fifth Article they all anſwered affirmatively, That they do believe, and have, and will ſpeak againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs, the Sacrament of the Altar, and likewiſe againſt the Authority of the See of *Rome*, and are nothing ſorry for the ſame, but will do it ſtill while they live.

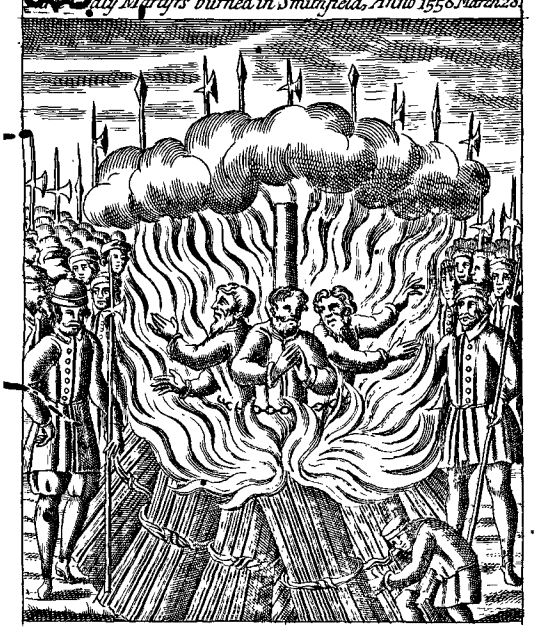
To the ſixth Article they all anſwered, and denied to acknowledge the Authority of the See of *Rome* to be lawful and good, either yet his Religion.

To the ſeventh Article they all anſwered affirmatively, that they have and will do ſtill while they live; and *John Deveniſh* adding thereto, ſaid that the Sacrament of the Altar, as it is now uſed, is no Sacrament at all.

To the eighth Article they all confeſſed, and believed all things, above by them acknowledged and declared, to be true, and that they be of the Dioceſs of *London*, and Juriſdiction of the ſame.

Theſe three above named Perſons, and bleſſed Witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt, *Cutbert*, *Foxe*, and *Deveniſh*, as they

Three godly Martyrs burned in Smithfield, Anno 1558 March 28.



The burning of William Nichol at Hereford West in Wales.

Three godly Martyrs burned in Smithfield. Anno 1558. March 28.

they were altogether apprehended at *Iſlington*, as is above declared, ſo the ſame all three together ſuffered in *Smithfield* about the 28*th* day of *March*, in whoſe perfect conſtancy the ſame Lord (in whoſe cauſe and quarrel they ſuffered) giver of all Grace, and Governour of all things, be exalted for ever, Amen.

The ſuffering and martyrdom of William Nichol, *put to death by the wicked hands of the Papiſts at* Hereford-Weſt *in* Wales.

April 9. *Wil. Nichol,* Martyr.

WE find in all Ages from the beginning, that Satan hath not ceaſed at all times to moleſt the Church of Chriſt with one Affliction or other, to the trial of their Faith, but yet never ſo apparently at any time to all the World, as when the Lord hath permitted him power over the Bodies of his Saints, to the ſhedding of their Blood, and perverting of their Religion; for then ſleepeth he not, I warrant you, from the murdering of the ſame, unleſs they will fall down with *Achab* and *Jezabel* to worſhip him, and ſo kill and poyſon their own Souls eternally; as in theſe miſerable latter days of Queen *Mary* we have felt, heard, and ſeen practiſed upon Gods People. Among whom we find recorded an honeſt good ſimple poor man, one *William Nichol*, who was apprehended by the Champions of the Pope, for ſpeaking certain words againſt the cruel Kingdom of Antichriſt, and the *ninth* day of *April*, *Anno* 1558. was butcherly burnt and tormented at *Hereford-Weſt* in *Wales*, where he ended his life in a moſt happy and bleſſed ſtate, and glorioufly gave his Soul into the hands of the Lord, whoſe goodneſs be praiſed for ever, Amen.

Wil. Nichol a ſimple Soul.

This *William Nichol* (as we are informed) was ſo ſimple a good Soul, that many eſteemed him half fooliſh. But what he was we know not, but this we are ſure, he died a good man, and in a good cauſe, whatſoever they judge of him. And the more ſimplicity and feebleneſs of wit appeared in him, the more beaſtly and wretched doth it declare their cruel and tyrannical act therein. The Lord give them Repentance therefore, if it be his bleſſed will, Amen, Amen.

The Martyrdom of William Seaman, Thomas Carman, *and* Thomas Hudſon, *put to death by the perſecuting Papiſts at* Norwich *in the County of* Norfolk.

May 19: The ſtory and martyrdom of Wil. Seaman, Tho. Carman, and Tho. Hudſon.

IMmediately after *William Nichol*, ſucceeded in that honourable and glorious Vocation of Martyrdom three conſtant godly men at *Norwich* in *Norfolk*, who were cruelly and tyrannically put to death for the true teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, the nineteenth of *May*, *Anno* 1558. whoſe names be theſe:

William Seaman.
Thomas Carman.
Thomas Hudſon.

Wil. Seaman. The ſaid *William Seaman* was an Husbandman, of the Age of twenty ſix years, dwelling in *Mendleſham*, in the County of *Suffolk*, who was ſundry times ſought for by the commandment of Sir *John Tyrrel* Knight, *Sir John Tyrrel Kt.* and at laſt he himſelf in the night ſearched his Houſe and other places for him; notwithſtanding he ſomewhat miſt of his purpoſe, God be thanked. Then he gave charge to his Servants, *Robert Baulding* and *James Clarke*, with others to ſeek for him. Who, having no *Rob. Bauldin, James Clark, Perſecutors.* Officer, went in the Evening to his Houſe; where he being at home, they took him and carried him to their Maſter Sir *John Tyrrel*. This *Baulding* being *Seamans* nigh Neighbour, and whom the ſaid *Seaman* greatly truſted as a ſpecial Friend, notwithſtanding to do his Maſter a pleaſure, now became Enemy to his chief Friend, and was one of the buſieſt in the taking of him. Now as they were going to carry him to their *A Light out of the Element.* Maſter Sir *John Tyrrel* in the night, it is credibly reported that there fell a Light between them out of the Element, and parted them, this *Baulding* being in company with the reſt when the Light fell; and albeit he was then in his beſt Age, yet after that time never *Gods puniſhment upon a Perſecutor.* enjoyed good day, but pined away even unto death.

Well, for all that ſtrange ſight; (as I ſaid) they carried him to their Maſter. Who, when he came, asked him why he would not go to Maſs; and receive the Sacrament, and ſo to worſhip it? Unto which *William Seaman* anſwered, denying it to be a Sacrament, but ſaid it was an Idol, and therefore would not receive it. After which words ſpoken, Sir *John Tyrrel* ſhortly ſent *Seaman brought to Bp. Hopton, and by him Condemned.* him to *Norwich* to *Hopton* then Biſhop, and there after Conference and Examination had with him, the Biſhop read his bloody Sentence of Condemnation againſt him; and afterward delivered him to the Secular Power, who kept him unto the day of Martyrdom.

This

Seamans Wife and his 3 young Children were perſecuted alſo by Sir *J. Tyrrel.*

This ſaid *William Seaman* left behind him when he died, a Wife and three Children very young: and with the ſaid young Children his Wife was perſecuted out of the ſaid Town alſo of *Mendleſham*, becauſe that ſhe would not go to hear Maſs, and all her Corn and Goods ſeiſed and taken away by Maſter *Chriſtopher Coles* Officers, he being Lord of the ſaid Town.

Thomas Carman Martyr.

Thomas Carman (who, as is ſaid, pledged *Richard Craſhfield* at his burning, and thereupon was apprehended) being Priſoner in *Norwich*, was about one time with the reſt examined and brought before the ſaid Biſhop, who anſwered no leſs in his Maſters cauſe than the other; and therefore had the like reward that the other had, which was the Biſhops Bloody bleſſing of Condemnation, and delivered alſo to the Secular Power, who kept him with the other until the day of ſlaughter, which haſted on, and was not long after.

Carman condemned.

Tho. Hudſon Martyr.

Thomas Hudſon was of *Aileſham* in *Norfolk*, by his occupation a Glover, a very honeſt poor Man, having a Wife, and three Children, labouring always truly and diligently in his vocation, being of thirthy years of age, and bearing ſo good a will to the Goſpel, that he in the days of King *Edward* the ſixth, two years before Queen *Maries* Reign, learned to read Engliſh of *Anthony* and *Thomas Norgate* of the ſame Town, wherein he greatly profited about the time of alteration of Religion. For when Queen *Mary* came to Reign, and had changed the Service in the Church, putting in for Wheat, draff and darnel, and for good Preaching, Blaſphemous crying out againſt Truth and Godlineſs; he then avoiding all their Ceremonies of Superſtition, abſented himſelf from his houſe, and went into *Suffolk* a long time, and there remained travelling from one place to another, as occaſion was offered. At the laſt he returned back again to *Norfolk* to his Houſe at *Aileſham*, to comfort his Wife and Children, being heavy, and troubleſom with his abſence.

Anno 1558.

Hudſon learneth to read Engliſh.

Hudſon fleeth from Papiſtry.

Now when he came home, and perceived his continuance there would be dangerous, he and his Wife deviſed to make him a place among his fagots to hide him-

ſelf in, where he remained all the day (inſtead of his chamber) reading and praying continually, for the ſpace of half a year, and his Wife like an honeſt Woman being careful for him, uſed her ſelf faithfully and diligently towards him.

Berry the Commiſſary, a perſecutor.

In the mean time came the Vicar of the Town, named *Berry* (who was one of the Biſhops Commiſſaries, a very evil Man) and inquired of this ſaid *Thomas Hudſons* Wife for her Husband. Unto whom ſhe anſwered, as not knowing where he was. Then the ſaid *Berry* rated her, and threatned to burn her, for that ſhe would not bewray her Husband where he was. After that when *Hudſon* underſtood it, he waxed every day more zealous than other, and continually read and ſang Pſalms to the wonder of many, the people openly reſorting to him, to hear his exhortations and vehement Prayers.

Hudſon waxeth bold in the truth.

At the laſt he walked abroad for certain days openly in the Town, crying out continually againſt the Maſs and all their trumpery, and in the end coming home in his Houſe he ſate him down upon his Knees, having his Book by him, reading and ſinging Pſalms continually without ceaſing for three days and three nights together, refuſing meat and other talk, to the great wonder of many.

J. Crouch bewrayeth *Tho. Hudſon* to the Conſtables.

Then one *John Crouch* his next neighbour went to the Conſtables, *Robert Marſham* and *Robert Lawes* in the night, to certifie them thereof: for *Berry* commanded openly to watch for him, and the Conſtables underſtanding the ſame, went cruelly to catch him in the break of the day, the two and twentieth of the Month of *April*, Anno 1558.

The taking of T. *Hudſon.*

Now when *Hudſon* ſaw them come in, he ſaid; Now mine hour is come. Welcom friends, welcom. You be they that ſhall lead me to life in Chriſt. I thank God therefore, and the Lord enable me thereto for his mercies ſake. For his deſire was, and ever he prayed (if it were the Lords will) that he might ſuffer for the Goſpel of Chriſt. Then they took him, and lead him to *Berry* the Commiſſary, which was Vicar of the Town, and the ſaid *Berry* asked him firſt, where he kept his Church for four years before. To the which the ſaid *Hudſon* anſwered thus, whereſoever he was, there was the Church.

Talk between *Berry* and *Hudſon.*

Doſt thou not believe, ſaid *Berry*, in the Sacrament of the Altar? What is it?

Sacrament of the Altar.

Hudſon. It is worms meat; my belief (ſaith he) is in Chriſt Crucified.

Berry. Doſt thou not believe the Maſs to put away Sins?

The Maſs.

Hudſon. No, God forbid; it is a patched Monſter, and a diſguiſed Puppet, more longer a piecing than ever was Salomons Temple. At which word *Berry* ſtamped, fumed, and ſhewed himſelf as a madman, and ſaid, Well, thou villain, thou: I will write to the Biſhop my good Lord, and truſt unto it, thou ſhalt be handled according

Anno 1558.

ding to thy deserts. Oh Sir, said *Hudson*, there is no Lord but God, though there be many Lords and many Gods. With that *Berry* thrust him back with his hand. And one *Richard Cliffar* standing by, said I pray you Sir, be good to the poor Man. At which words *Berry* was more mad than before, and would have had *Cliffar* bound in a recognisance of forty pounds for his good abearing, both in word and deed; which his desire took no effect. Then he asked the said *Hudson* whether he would recant, or no. Unto the which words *Hudson* said, the Lord forbid; I had rather dye many deaths than to do so.

Rich. Cliffar.

Seaman, Carman, and Hudson condemned at Norwich.

Then after long talk, the said *Berry*, seeing it booted not to perswade with him, took his pen and ink, and wrote Letters to the Bishop thereof, and sent this *Hudson* to *Norwich* bound like a theef to him, which was eight miles from thence, who with joy and singing chear went thither, as merry as ever he was at any time before. In Prison he was a Month, where he did continually read, and invocate the Name of God.

These three Christians and constant Martyrs, *William Seaman*, *Thomas Carman*, and *Thomas Hudson*, after they were (as ye have heard) condemned the 19. day of *May*. *Anno* 1558. were carried out of Prison to the place where they should suffer, which was without *Bishopsgate* at *Norwich*, called *Lollards Pit*. And being all there, they made their humble Petitions unto the Lord. That being done, they rose and went to the Stake, and standing all there with their Chains about them, immediately this said *Thomas Hudson* cometh forth from them under the Chain, to the great wonder of many; whereby divers feared and greatly doubted of him. For some thought he would have recanted; other judged rather that he went to ask further day, and to desire conference; and some thought he came forth to ask some of his Parents Blessing. So some thought one thing, and some another: but his two companions at the Stake cried out to comfort him what they could, exhorting him in the Bowels of Christ to be of good chear, &c. But this sweet *Hudson* felt more in his Heart and Conscience than they could conceive in him. For alas good Soul, he was compassed (God knoweth) with great dolour and grief of mind, not for his death, but for lack of feeling of his Christ: and therefore being very careful he humbly fell down upon his Knees, and Prayed vehemently and earnestly unto the Lord, who at the last (according to his old mercies) sent him comfort, and then rose he with great joy, as a Man new changed even from death to life, and said:

Tho. Hudson cometh forth from under the Chain to pray.

Hudson careful to have the feeling of Christ.

Hudson satisfied of his desire.

Now I thank God I am strong; and pass not what Man can do unto me. So going to the Stake to his fellows again, in the end they all suffered most joyfully, constantly, and manfully, the death together, and were consumed in Fire, to the terror of the wicked, the comfort of Gods Children, and the magnifying of the Lords Name, who be praised therefore for ever, Amen.

After this, the foresaid Commissary *Berry* made great stir about other which were suspected within the said Town of *Ailesham*, and caused two hundred to creep to the Cross at *Pentecost*, besides other punishments which they sustained.

Berry striketh a poor Man, whereupon he dyed.

On a time this *Berry* gave a poor Man of his Parish of *Marsham* a blow with the swingel of a flail, for a word speaking, that presently thereon he died, and the said *Berry*, as is said, held up his hand at the Bar therefore.

Berry striketh a poor Woman, whereupon she dyed.

Then after that in his Parish of *Ailesham* also, *An.* 1557. there was one *Alice Oxes* came to his House, and going into the Hall he meeting her, being before moved, smote her with his fist, whereby she was fain to be carried home, & the next day was found dead in her Chamber.

To write how many Concubines and Whores he had, none would believe it, but such as knew him in the Country where he dwelt. He was rich, and of great Authority, a great swearer, altogether given to Women, and persecuting the Gospel, and compelling Men to Idolatry.

John Norgate a Confessor.

One *John Norgate*, a Man learned, Godly, and zealous, who would not go to their trash, but rather dye, being sore hunted by the said *Berry* prayed heartily to God, and the Lord shortly after in a consumption delivered him. Notwithstanding the rage of this wicked Man waxed fiercer and fiercer. He troubled sundry Men, burnt all good Books that he could get, and divorced many Men and Women for Religion.

The rage of Berry.

When he heard say that Queen *Mary* was dead, and the glory of their triumph quailed, the *Sunday* after, being the nineteenth of *November Anno* 1558. he made a great feast, and had one of his Concubines there, with whom he was in his Chamber after dinner, until Even song. Then went he to Church, where he had ministred Baptism, and in going from Church homeward after Even-song, between the Church-yard and his House, being but a little space (as it were a Church-yard breadth asunder) he fell down suddenly to the ground with a heavy groan, and never stirred after, neither shewed any one token of repentance.

Berry maketh a feast, whereat is one of his Concubines.

Gods punishment and terrible end of Berry.

This hapned his neighbours being by, to the example of all other. The Lord grant we may observe his judgments. And those that had his great riches, since his death have so consumed with them, that they be poorer now than they were before they had his goods: such judgment hath the Lord executed to the eyes of all Men.

Berries goods consumed as wax against the Fire.

At that time one *Dunning* Chancellor of *Lincoln* (which in some part of Queen *Maries* days was Chancellor of *Norwich*, and a very merciless Tyrant as lived) died in *Lincolnshire* of as sudden a warning as the said *Berry* died.

Gods punishment upon Dunning Chancellor of Norwich.

Thus have I shewed thee (good Reader) the constancy, boldness, and glorious victory of these happy Martyrs, as also the tyrannical cruelty of that unfortunate Commissary, and his terrible end. The Lord grant we may all effectually honour the Judgments of God, and fear to displease his holy Majesty. Amen.

¶ *The Persecution of Mother* Seaman.

Joan Seaman also persecuted by Sir John Tyrrel.

ABout this time, or somwhat before, was one *Joan Seaman*, Mother to the aforesaid *William Seaman*, being of the Age of threescore and six years, persecuted of the said Sir *John Tyrrel* also, out of the Town of *Mendlesham* aforesaid, because she would not go to Mass and receive against her Conscience. Which good old Woman being from her House, was glad sometime to lye in Bushes, Groves, and Fields, and sometime in her Neighbours House, when she could. And her Husband being at home, about the age of eighty years, fell sick; and she hearing thereof, with speed returned home to her House again, not regarding her life, but considering her duty, and shewed her diligence to her Husband most faithfully, until God took him away by death. Then by Gods providence she fell sick also, and departed this life within her own House shortly after.

The duty of a good Wife.

Symonds the Commissary would not let Mother Seaman be buried in the Church-yard.

And when one Master *Symonds* the Commissary heard of it, dwelling thereby in a Town called *Thorndon*, he commanded straightly that she should be buried in no Christian burial (as they call it) where through her friends were compelled to lay her in a pit under a Motes side. Her Husband and she kept a good House, and had a good report amongst their neighbours, willing always to receive strangers, and to comfort the poor and sick, and lived together in the Holy estate of Matrimony very honestly above 40. years, and she departed this Life willingly and joyfully, with a stedfast Faith and a good remembrance of Gods promise in Christ Jesus.

The persecution of Mother Benet.

Mother Benet, a Confessor.

IN the said time of Queen *Mary*, there dwelt in the Town of *Wetherset* by *Mendlesham* aforesaid, a very honest Woman called Mother *Benet*, a Widow, which was persecuted out of the same Town, because she would not go to Mass, and other their beggarly Ceremonies; but at the last she returned home again secretly to her House, and there departed this Life joyfully. But Sir *John Tyrrel* and Master *Symonds* the Commissary would not let her be buried in the Church-yard. So was she laid in a grave by the high-way side.

Sir John Tyrrel and M. Symonds would not suffer mother Benet to be buried in the Church-yard.

The same good old Woman Mother *Benet*, in the time of persecution, met one of the said Mother *Seamans* Neighbours, and asked her how the said Mother *Seaman* did; and she answered, that she did very well, God be thanked. Oh, said she, Mother *Seaman* hath stept a great step before me; for she was never covetous that I could perceive.

Her Husband in his mirth would say unto her; O Woman, if thou wert sparing, thou mightest have saved me

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The Charitable Alms or Mother Seaman to be noted.

an hundred Marks more than thou haſt. To the which ſhe would anſwer again gently, and ſay; O man, be content, and let us be thankful; for God hath given us enough, if we can ſee it. Alas, good husband, would ſhe ſay, I tell you truth, I cannot ſirken up my butter, and keep my cheeſe in the Chamber and wait a great price, and let the poor want, and ſo diſpleaſe God. But, husband, let us be rich in good works, and ſo ſhall we pleaſe the Lord, and have all good things given us, &c. This good Woman, of that vice of covetouſneſs, of all that knew her, was adjudged leaſt to be ſpotted, of any infirmity ſhe had. The Lord root it out of the hearts of them that be infected therewith, Amen.

The Martyrdom of three conſtant and Godly perſons burnt at Colcheſter for the defence and teſtimony of Chriſts Goſpel.

May. 26: Two Men and one Woman, Martyrs.

THou haſt heard (good Reader) of the forenamed three that were burnt at *Norwich*, whoſe Blood quenched not the perſecuting thirſt of the Papiſts. For immediately after, even the ſame Month, upon the twenty ſixth day, was ſeen the like murther alſo at *Colcheſter* in *Eſſex* of two Men and a Woman, lying there in Priſon appointed ready to the ſlaughter; who were brought forth the ſame day unto a place prepared for them to ſuffer, and accordingly gave their lives for the teſtimony of the truth, whoſe names likewiſe hereafter follow.

William Harris.
Richard Day. } Martyrs.
Chriſtian George.

Theſe three good Souls were brought unto the Stake, and there joyfully and fervently had made their Prayers unto the Lord.

The Martyrdom of Wil. Harris, Rich. Day, & Chriſtian George, &c.

At the laſt, being ſetled in their places, and chained unto their poſts, with the Fire flaming fiercely round about them, they like conſtant Chriſtians triumphantly praiſed God within the ſame, and offered up their Bodies a lively Sacrifice unto his holy Majeſty; in whoſe habitation they have now their everlaſting Tabernacles: his Name therefore be praiſed for evermore, Amen.

They ſaid *Chriſtian Georges* Husband had another Wife burnt before this *Chriſtian*, whoſe Name was *Agnes George*, which ſuffered, as you have heard, with the thirteen at *Stratford* the *Bow*. And after the death of the ſaid *Chriſtian*, he married an honeſt godly Woman again, and ſo they both (I mean the ſaid *Richard George* and his laſt Wife) in the end were taken alſo, and laid in Priſon, where they remained till the death of Queen *Mary*, and at laſt were delivered by our moſt gracious Soveraign Lady Queen *Elizabeth*, whom the Lord grant long to Reign among us, for his mercies ſake, Amen.

Rich. George and his Wife priſoners, delivered by Q. Eliz.

In the Month of *June* came out a certain Proclamation, ſhort but ſharp, from the King and the Queen, againſt wholſom and Godly Books, which under the falſe Title of Hereſie and Sedition, here in the ſaid Proclamations were wrongfully condemned.

By the King and Queen.

A Proclamation by the K. and Queen.

WHereas divers Books, filled both with Hereſie, Sedition, and Treaſon, have of late, and be dayly brought into this Realm out of foraign Countries and places beyond the Seas, and ſome alſo covertly Printed within this Realm, and caſt abroad in ſundry parts thereof, whereby not only God is diſhonoured, but alſo an incouragement given to diſobey lawful Princes and Governors: The King and Queens Majeſties, for redreſs hereof, do by this their preſent Proclamation declare and publiſh to all their Subjects, that whoſoever ſhall after the proclaiming hereof, be found to have any of the ſaid wicked and Seditious Books, or finding them, do not forthwith burn the ſame, without ſhewing or reading the ſame to any other perſon, ſhall in that caſe be reputed and taken for a Rebel, and ſhall without delay be executed for that offence, according to the order of martial Law.

Given at our Manor of Saint James's, *the ſixth day of* June.
John Cawood *Printer.*

Anno 1558.

The order and occaſion of taking certain Godly Men and Women praying together in the fields about Iſlington, *of whom thirteen were condemned by* Boner, *and after ſuffered in the Fire for the truths ſake, as in the Story here following may appear.*

June 27. 22 Men taken. 13. Martyrs burned.

SEcretly in a back cloſe in the Field by the Town of *Iſlington*, were collected and aſſembled together a certain company of Godly and Innocent perſons, to the number of 40. Men and Women. Who there ſitting together at prayer, and vertuouſly occupied in the meditation of Gods holy Word, firſt cometh a certain Man to them unknown; who looking over unto them, ſo ſtayed and ſaluted them, ſaying, that they looked like Men that meant no hurt. Then one of the ſaid company asked the Man, if he could tell whoſe cloſe that was, and whether they might be ſo bold there to ſit. Yea, ſaid he, for that ye ſeem unto me ſuch perſons as intend no harm; and ſo departed. Within a quarter of an hour after, cometh the Conſtable of *Iſlington*, named *King*, warded with ſix or ſeven other, accompanying him in the ſame buſineſs, one with a Bow, another with a Bill, and other with their Weapons likewiſe. The which ſix or ſeven perſons the ſaid Conſtable left a little behind him in a cloſe place, there to be ready if need ſhould be, while he with one with him ſhould go view them before. Who ſo doing, came through them, looking and viewing what they were doing, and what Books they had; and ſo going a little forward, and returning back again, bade them deliver their Books. They underſtanding that he was Conſtable, refuſed not ſo to do. With that cometh forth the reſidue of his fellows above touched, who bade them ſtand, and not depart. They anſwered again, they would be obedient and ready to go whitherſoever they would have them, and ſo were they firſt carried to a Brewhouſe but a little way off, while that ſome of the ſaid Souldiers ran to the Juſtice next at hand. But the Juſtice was not at home; whereupon they were had to Sir *Roger Cholmley*. In the mean time ſome of the Women, being of the ſame number of the foreſaid forty perſons, eſcaped away from them, ſome in the cloſe, ſome before they came to the Brewhouſe. For ſo they were carried, ten with one Man, eight with another, and with ſome more, with ſome leſs, in ſuch ſort as it was not hard for them to eſcape that would. In fine, they that were carried to Sir *Roger Cholmley*, were twenty ſeven, which Sir *Roger Cholmley* and the Recorder taking their Names in a Bill, and calling them one by one, ſo many as anſwered to their Names, he ſent to *Newgate*. In the which number of them that anſwered, and that were ſent to *Newgate*, were twenty and two.

King Conſtable of *Iſlington*.

Sir Roger *Cholmley*, and the Recorder of *London*, perſecutors.

Theſe two and twenty were in the ſaid Priſon of *Newgate* ſeven weeks before they were examined, to whom word was ſent by *Alexander* the Keeper, that if they would hear a Maſs, they ſhould all be delivered. Of theſe foreſaid two and twenty were burned thirteen: In *Smithfield* ſeven, at *Brainford* ſix.

22. Sent to Newgate.

IN Priſon two dyed in *Whitſon-week*, the Names of whom were *Matthew Wythers*, *T. Taylor*. Confeſſors.

Seven of them which remained eſcaped with their lives hardly, although not without much trouble, yet (as God would) without burning. Whoſe Names were theſe:

John Willes.	*Hudleys.*
Thomas Hinſhaw.	*T. Coaſt*, Haberdaſher.
R. Baily, Woolpacker.	*Roger Sandy.*
Robert Willes.	

Perſecuted Chriſtians.

The firſt ſeven were brought forth to examination before *Boner*, and ſo having their condemnation, were burnt (as is ſaid) in *Smithfield*. The other ſix followed not long after, and ſuffered at *Brainford*, whereof ſpecially here followeth now in order of Story to be ſeen.

The

Anno 1558.

The Examination and Condemnation of Seven godly and faithful Martyrs of Christ, burnt in Smithfield.

June 27. Seven Martyrs burned in *Smithfield.*

CONcerning the Examination and Condemnation of these aboveſaid, which were apprehended and taken at *Iſlington*, ſeven firſt were produced before *Boner* the 14*th* of *June*, to make Anſwer to ſuch Articles and Interrogatories, as by the ſaid Biſhop ſhould be miniſtred unto them. The names of theſe ſeven were:

Martyrs.

Henry Pond.	*John Floyd.*
Rainold Eaſtland.	*John Holiday.*
Robert Southam.	*Roger Holland.*
Matthew Ricarby.	

To theſe ſeven conſtant and godly Martyrs, produced before *Boner*, certain Articles were miniſtred in this effect as followeth.

Articles.

Articles by Bp. Boner miniſtred to the ſeven Martyrs.

FIrſt, That ye being within the City and Dioceſs of *London* have not, according to the common cuſtom of the Catholick Church of this Realm of *England*, come to your own Pariſh Church, nor yet to the Cathedral Church of this City and Dioceſs of *London*, to hear devoutly and chriſtianly the Mattins, the Maſs, the Evenſong, ſung or ſaid there in the Latin Tongue, after the common uſage and manner of the Church of this Realm.

2. Secondly, That ye have not come to any of the ſaid Churches to pray, to go in Proceſſion, or to exerciſe your ſelves there in godly and laudable exerciſes.

3. Thirdly, That you have not conformed your ſelves duly to all the laudable Cuſtoms, Rites, and Ceremonies of any the ſaid Churches.

4. Fourthly, Ye have not been confeſſed at due times and places to your own Curate, of your ſins.

5. Fifthly, Ye have not received at your ſaid Curates hands (as of the Miniſter of Chriſt) abſolution of your ſins.

6. Sixthly, You have not at due times and places of your Curate received reverently and duly the Sacrament of the Altar.

7. Seventhly, Ye have not faithfully and truly believed, that in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar, there is really and truly the very Body and Blood of Chriſt.

8. Eighthly, Ye have not by your mouth, nor otherwiſe by your deed expreſſed or declared in any wiſe, that ye without wavering or doubting do think and believe, that the Faith and Religion now obſerved in the Church of *England*, is a true Faith and Religion in all points.

9. Ninthly, Ye have not made any ſignification that you do in deed approve, or allow in any wiſe the common Service in Latin, here obſerved and kept in the Church of this Realm of *England*.

10. Tenthly, Ye have not believed, nor do believe at this preſent, that the Service in Latin, commonly uſed and obſerved in the Church of this Realm, is good and lawful, and not againſt the Word of God.

11. Eleventhly, Ye have in times paſt liked, allowed, and approved as good and godly, and ſo do like, allow, and approve at this preſent, the Service in Engliſh, the Books of Common Prayer, the Books of Communion, the Religion ſet forth and uſed in the time of King *Edward* the ſixth, eſpecially as it was ſet forth and uſed in the latter days of the ſaid King *Edward*.

12. Twelfthly, Ye have in times paſt been very deſirous, and ſo are at this preſent, that the ſaid Engliſh Service, the ſaid Book of Common Prayer, the ſaid Book of Communion, and the ſaid Religion and Faith ſo ſet forth and uſed in King *Edwards* time, might now again be reſtored, ſet forth and uſed, and your ſelf freely at your liberty, without any reſtraint or lets to uſe it, and alſo in all points and things to do therein, as ye did, eſpecially in the latter days of the ſaid *Edward* the ſixth.

13. Thirteenthly, Ye have of late been charitably ſent to from me the Biſhop of *London*, and alſo by mouth exhorted, that where of late you did leave your Churches, and went in the time of Divine Service into the fields and prophane places, to read Engliſh Pſalms, and certain Engliſh Books, ye would leave off that, and being out of Priſon, and at your liberty, come into your own Pariſh Churches, there to hear Mattins, Maſs, and Evenſong, after the common order of the Churches of this Realm, and to make due confeſſion of your ſins to your own Curate, and receive at his hands (as of the Miniſter of Chriſt, having therein ſufficient Authority) abſolution of your ſins, hear Maſs, receive the Sacrament of the Altar with a true Faith, according to the Belief of the Catholick Church, and obſerve all other the Rites and Cuſtoms of the ſaid Catholick Church uſed in this Realm of *England*, as well in going in Proceſſion after the Croſs, as alſo otherwiſe generally.

14. Fourteenthly, Ye being ſo required, have refuſed, and do refuſe ſo to do, ſaying, amongſt other vain and light words, that forſomuch as ye were impriſoned by the ſpace of ſix weeks, not knowing wherewith ye were charged, your Petition ſhould be and was, that ye might firſt anſwer to your former cauſe, and then ye would be ready to anſwer me the ſaid Biſhop to all that by me ſhould be laid to our charge.

Unto the which Articles all the forenamed ſeven (only *Reinold Eaſtland* excepted) made anſwer in effect as hereafter followeth.

The Anſwers of the forenamed perſons to the Articles aforeſaid.

Their Anſwers to the Articles aforeſaid.

TO the firſt Article they anſwered affirmatively, *Roger Holland* adding, that he came not to their Latin Service theſe two years before.

Matthew Ricarby added, That he came not to Church ſince Latin Service was renewed, becauſe it is againſt the Word of God, and Idolatry is committed in creeping to the Croſs.

Henry Pond added, if he had licence then to go to Church, he would not.

2. To the ſecond Article they all anſwered affirmatively; *Henry Pond* adding as in the firſt Article. *John Floyd* added, That the Latin ſervice then uſed, was ſet up by man, and not by God, and this he learned (he ſaid) in King *Edwards* days, which he believed to be true. *Robert Southam* added, That he refuſed to come to Church, becauſe it is furniſhed with Idols; and becauſe the Sacrament of the Altar he believed to be an Idol.

3. To the third Article they all anſwered affirmatively: For they ſaid, That the Cuſtoms, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church then uſed, are not agreeable to Gods Word.

4, 5. To the fourth and fifth Articles, they all anſwered affirmatively, adding, that they believed no Prieſt hath Power to remit ſin.

6. To the ſixth Article *John Holiday*, *Henry Pond*, and *Robert Southam* anſwered, That ſince the Queens Majeſties reign; but *Robert Southam* added, not for ten years before, he had received the Sacrament of the Altar, either at their Curates hands, or any other Prieſt. *John Floyd*, *Matthew Ricarby* and *Roger Holland* anſwered affirmatively, adding in effect that the Sacrament of the Altar is no Sacrament approved by the Word of God, *&c.*

7. To the ſeventh Article they all confeſſed the Contents thereof to be true in every part; *Henry Pond* adding, That he knoweth not nor believeth any ſuch Sacrament, called the Sacrament of the Altar, but confeſſeth the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and believeth that to be approved. *John Floyd* added, That thoſe that kneel to and worſhip the Sacrament of the Altar, commit Idolatry, *&c.*

8, 9, 10. To the eighth, ninth, and tenth Articles, they all confeſſed the contents of thoſe Articles to be true. But *John Holiday*, *Henry Pond*, and *John Floyd* added, That they do allow the Latin Service for them that underſtand the ſame, ſo far as it agreeth with Gods Word. For ſome part thereof is not agreeable to Gods Word (they ſaid:) but to ſuch as do not underſtand the ſaid Service in Latin, they do not allow it, for it doth not profit them. *Robert Southam* added and ſaid, That it was a fond queſtion to

ask a ſimple man, whether the Latin Service be good and lawful. *Matthew Ricarby* and *Roger Holland* denied the Service in Latin to be good.

11. To the eleventh Article, they all confeſſed the ſame to be true in every part; ſaving *Henry Pond*, and *Matthew Ricarby*, who anſwered in effect that they could not judge thereof, but leave them to be tried by the Word of God.

12. To the twelfth Article, they granted and confeſſed the ſame to be true, and deſired of God that the Service were in the Engliſh again.

13. To the thirteenth Article they all granted and confeſſed the ſame to be true.

14. To the fourteenth Article they all granted and confeſſed the ſame to be true in every part.

An Oath to end a ſtrife lawful, but to begin a ſtrife it is unlawful.

Thus have ye the Anſwers of theſe men to the foreſaid Articles, ſave that *Reinald Eaſtland* required to anſwer thereunto, refuſed ſo to do, alledging that he knoweth that to end a ſtrife an Oath is lawful; but to begin a ſtrife an Oath is not lawful; and therefore he now refuſeth to take his Oath in the beginning of this matter againſt him. Whereupon being charged by the Biſhop, he ſaid for his not anſwering to the Articles, he was content to ſtand unto the order of the Law for his puniſhment, whatſoever it ſhould be.

The Condemnation of *Reinold Eaſtland.*

The 17*th* day after of the ſaid Month of *June*, the ſaid *Eaſtland* appeared again before the Biſhop, who ſtanding firm in that he had ſaid before, denied to make any Anſwer in that caſe, *&c.* whereupon the ſaid *Eaſtland*, with the other ſix his his fellow Priſoners, were aſſigned by the Biſhop to repair again to the ſame place at After-noon, who being there preſent in the foreſaid Conſiſtory as they were commanded, and ſtanding all together before the ſaid Biſhop, he beginning thus with them, asked them, if he had committed them to Priſon: They ſaid, No; but Mr. *Cholmley* and the Recorder of *London* committed them to *Newgate*.

Anno 1558.

Then being demanded further by the Biſhop, if he had done any thing or act to keep them in Priſon, or to hinder their Liberty from Priſon; to this they anſwered they could not tell. Then the foreſaid Articles being again recited to them, all they anſwered and knowledged them to be the Articles, and that they would ſtand to their Anſwers made to the ſame. Whereupon the Biſhop diſſevering them apart one from another, proceeded with them ſeverally, firſt beginning with *Reinald Eaſtland*, who there declared that he had been uncharitably handled and talked withal ſince his firſt impriſonment in that behalf. Then being required to reconcile himſelf again to the Catholick Faith, and go from his Opinions; he ſaid, that he knew nothing why he ſhould recant; and therefore would not conform himſelf in that behalf, *&c.* and ſo the Sentence was read againſt him, and he given to the Secular Power, *&c.*

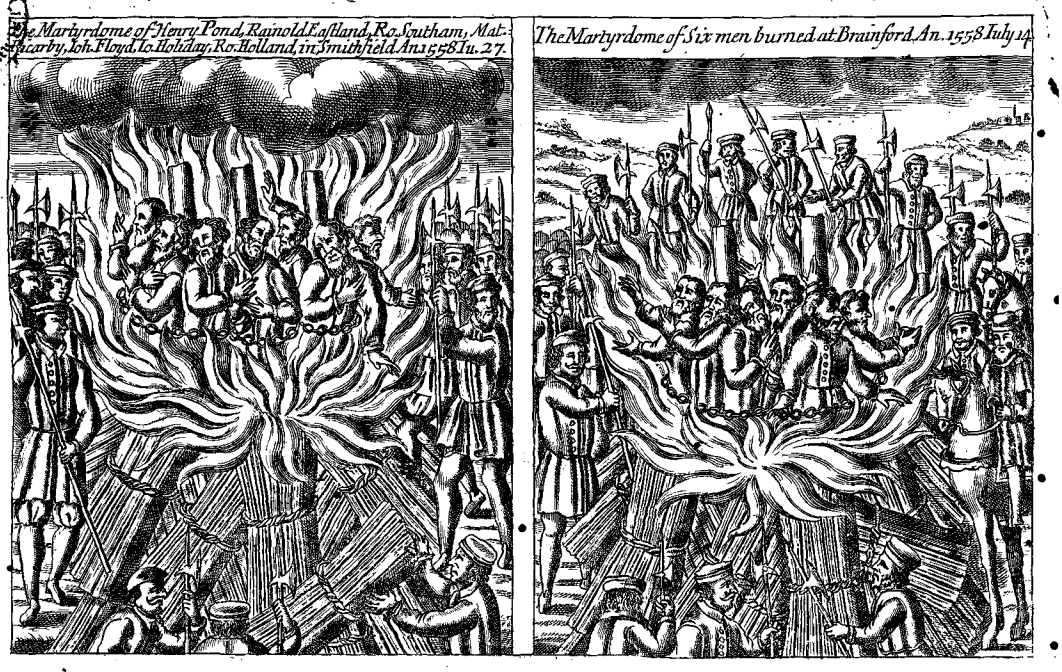
The words of *Eaſtland* to the Biſhop at his Condemnation.

After him was called in *John Holiday*, who likewiſe being advertiſed to renounce his Hereſies (as they called them) and to return to the Unity of their Church, ſaid, That he was no Heretick, nor did hold any Hereſie, neither any Opinion contrary to the Catholick Faith, and ſo would offer himſelf to be judged therein. Whereupon he likewiſe perſiſting in the ſame, the Sentence was pronounced againſt him, condemning him to be burnt.

The words of *J. Holiday.*

The Condemnation of *J. Holiday.*

Next to him was condemned, with the like Sentence,



The Condemnation of *Hen. Pond.*

Henry Pond, becauſe he would not ſubmit himſelf to the Romiſh Church, ſaying to *Boner*, That he had done or ſpoken nothing whereof he was or would be ſorry, but that he did hold the Truth of God, and no Hereſie, *&c.*

After whom next followed *John Floyd*, who likewiſe denied to be of the Popes Church, and ſaid his mind of the Latin Service, that the Prayers made to Saints is Idolatry, and that the Service in Latin is profitable to none, but only to ſuch as underſtand the Latin. Moreover, being charged by *Boner* of Hereſie, and ſaying, that whatſoever he and ſuch other now-a-days do, all is Hereſie; for this he was condemned with the ſame butcherly Sentence, and ſo by the Secular Power was ſent away.

The Condemnation of *J. Floyd, R. Southam, Mat. Ricarby* and *Roger Holland.*

Then *Robert Southam*, after him *Matthew Ricarby*, and laſt of all *Roger Holland* were ſeverally produced.

Thus *Roger Holland* with his Fellows (as ye heard) ſtanding to their Anſwers, and refuſing to acknowledge the Doctrine of the Romiſh Church, were altogether condemned, the Sentence being read againſt them, and ſo all ſeven by Secular Magiſtrates being ſent away to *Newgate* the ſeventeenth of *June*, not long after, about the ſeven and twentieth day of the ſaid Month were had to *Smithfield*, and there ended their lives in the glorious cauſe of Chriſts Goſpel. Whoſe particular Examinations came not to our hands; ſaving only the Examinations of *R. Holland*, which here follow in order and manner as we received them by the Information of certain, who were preſent at the ſame.

The

Anno 1558.

The Examination and Condemnation of Roger Holland.

The first examination of Roger Holland.

THis *Roger Holland*, a Merchant-Taylor of *London*, was first an Apprentice with one Mr. *Kempton* at at the *Black Boy* in *Watling-street*, where he served his Apprenticeship with much trouble unto his Master in breaking him from his licentious liberty which he had before been trained and brought up in, giving himself to riot, as dancing, fencing, gaming, banqueting, and wanton company; and besides all this, being a stubborn and an obstinate Papist, far unlike to come to any such end as God called him unto; the which was as followeth:

His Master, notwithstanding this his lewdness, putting him in trust with his Accompts, he had received for him certain mony, to the sum of thirty pounds, and falling into ill Company, lost the said mony every Groat at Dice, being past all hope which way to answer it, and therefore he purposed to conveigh himself away beyond the Seas, either into *France* or into *Flanders*.

Now having determined with himself thus to do, he called betimes in the Morning to a Servant in the House, an ancient and discreet Maid, whose name was *Elizabeth*, which professed the Gospel, with a life agreeing unto the same, and at all times much rebuking the wilful and obstinate Papistry, as also the licentious living of this *Roger Holland*. To whom he said, *Elizabeth*, I would I had followed thy gentle perswasions and friendly rebukes; which if I had done, I had never come to this shame and misery which I am now faln into; for this Night have I lost thirty pounds of my Masters mony, which to pay him, and to make up mine Accompts, I am not able. But this much I pray you desire my Mistress, that she would intreat my Master to take this Bill of my hand, that I am thus much indebted unto him; and if I be ever able, I will see him paid, desiring him that the matter may pass with silence, and that none of my Kindred nor Friends may ever understand this my lewd part: For if it should come unto my Fathers ears, it would bring his grey hairs over-soon unto his Grave; and so was he departing.

A godly example of a Maid, setting more by the Soul of a Christian brother, than by her mony.

The Maid considering that it might be his utter undoing, Stay, said she; and having a piece of mony lying by her, given unto her by the death of a Kinsman of hers, who (as it was thought, was Dr. *Redman*) she brought unto him thirty pounds, saying, *Roger*, here is thus much mony; I will let thee have it, and I will keep this Bill. But since I do thus much for thee, to help thee, and to save thy honesty, thou shalt promise me to refuse all lewd and wild Company, all swearing and ribaldry talk; and if ever I know thee to play one Twelve-pence at either Dice or Cards, then will I shew this thy Bill unto my Master. And furthermore, thou shalt promise me to resort every day to the Lecture at *Alhallows*, and the Sermon at *Pauls* every Sunday, and to cast away all thy Books of Papistry and vain Ballads, and get thee the Testament and Book of Service, and read the Scriptures with reverence and fear, calling unto God still for his Grace to direct thee in his Truth. And pray unto God fervently, desiring him to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the sins of thy youth; and ever be afraid to break his Laws, or offend his Majesty. Then shall God keep thee, and send thee thy hearts desire.

Reg. Holland brought to the love of the Gospel.

After this time, within one half year God had wrought such a change in this man, that he was become an earnest Professor of the Truth, and detested all Papistry and evil Company; so that he was in admiration to all them that had known him and seen his former life and wickedness.

Reg. Holland converteth his Parents to the Gospel.

Then he repaired into *Lancashire* unto his Father, and brought divers good Books with him, and bestowed them upon his Friends, so that his Father and others began to taste of the Gospel, and to detest the Mass, Idolatry, and Superstition; and in the end his Father gave him a stock of mony to begin the world withal, to the sum of fifty pounds.

Reg. Holland repayeth the Maid her mony again, and marrieth her.

Then he repaired to *London* again, and came to the Maid that lent him the mony to pay his Master withal, and said unto her, *Elizabeth*, here is thy mony I borrowed of thee, and for the friendship, good will, and the good counsel I have received at thy hands, to recompence thee I am not able; otherwise than to make thee my wife; and soon after they were married, which was in the first year of Queen *Mary*. And having a Child by her, he caused Mr. *Rose* to baptize his said Child in his own House. Notwithstanding he was bewrayed unto the Enemies, and he being gone into the Country to convey the Child away, that the Papists should not have it in their anointing hands, *Boner* caused his Goods to be seized upon, and most cruelly used his wife.

Holland's Child christened in his house.

Reg. Holland brought to Newgate.

After this he remained closely in the City, and in the Country in the Congregations of the Faithful, until the last year of Queen *Mary*. Then he with the six other aforesaid, were taken in, or not far from S. *Johns Wood*, and so brought to *Newgate* upon *May-day* in the Morning, *Anno* 1558.

Then being called before the Bishop, Dr. *Chadsey*, both the *Harpsfields*, and certain others, after many other fair and crafty perswasions of Dr. *Chadsey*, to allure him to their Babylonical Church; thus the Bishop began with him.

Holland. I for my part do wish well unto thee, and the more for thy Friends sake. And as Dr. *Standish* telleth me, you and he were both born in one Parish, and he knoweth your Father to be a very honest Catholick Gentleman. And Mr. Doctor told me that he talked with you a year ago; and found you very wilfully addict to your own conceit. Divers of the City also have shewed me of you, that you have been a great Procurer of mens Servants to be of your Religion, and to come to your Congregations; but since you be now in the danger of the Law, I would wish you to play a wise mans part: So shall you not want any favour I can do or procure for you, both for our own sake, and also for your Friends, which be men of worship and credit, and wish you well, and by my troth, *Roger*, so do I.

Then said Mr. *Egleſtone*, a Gentleman of *Lancashire*, and near Kinsman to *Roger*, being there present; I thank your good Lordship; your Honour meaneth good unto my Cosin, I beseech God he have the Grace to follow your counsel.

Holland. Sir, you crave of God you know not what: I beseech God to open your eyes to see the light of his Word.

Egleſtone. Roger, hold your peace, lest you fare the worse at my Lords hands.

Holland. No, I shall fare as it pleaseth God; for man can do no more than God doth permit him.

Reg. Holland willed to submit himself to the Bishop.

Then the Bishop and the Doctors, with *Johnson* the Register, casting their Heads together, in the end saith *Johnson*; *Roger*, how saist thou? wilt thou submit thy self unto my Lord, before thou be entered into the Book of Contempt?

Holland. I never meant but to submit my self unto the Magistrate, as I learn of S. *Paul* to the *Romans*, Chap. 13. and so he recited the Text.

Chadsey. Then I see you are no Anabaptist.

Holland. I mean not yet to be a Papist; for they and the Anabaptists agree in this point, not to submit themselves to any other Prince or Magistrate, than those that must first be sworn to maintain them and their doings.

Chadsey. Roger, remember what I have said, and also what my Lord hath promised he will perform with further friendship. Take heed, *Roger*, for your ripeness of Wit hath brought you into these Errors.

Holland. Mr. Doctor, I have yet your words in memory, though they are of no such force to prevail with me. Then they whispered together again, and at the last said *Boner*, *Roger*, I perceive thou wilt be ruled by no good counsel, for any thing that either I, or your Friends or any other can say.

Reg. Holland first a great Papist.

Holland. I may say to you, my Lord, as *Paul* said to *Felix* and unto the Jews, as doth appear in the two and twentieth of the *Acts*, and in the fifteenth of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*. It is not unknown unto my Master whom I was Apprentice withal, that I was of this your blind Religion that now is taught, and therein did obstinately and wilfully remain, until the later end

of King *Edward* in manner, having that liberty under your Auricular Confession, that I made no conscience of sin, but trusted in the Priests Absolution, he for mony doing some penance also for me: which after I had given, I cared no further what offences I did, no more than he passed after he had my mony, whether he tasted Bread and Water for me, or no: so that letchery, swearing, and all other vices I accompted no offence of danger, so long as I could for mony have them absolved. So straitly did I observe your rules of Religion, that I would have Ashes upon *Ashwednesday*, though I had used never so much wickedness at night. And albeit I could not of Conscience eat flesh upon the *Friday*, yet in swearing, drinking, or dicing all the night long, I made no conscience at all. And thus was I brought up, and herein have I continued till now of late, that God hath opened the light of his Word, and called me by his Grace to repentance of my former Idolatry and wicked Life: for in *Lancashire* their blindness and whoredom is overmuch more than may with chast ears be heard. Yet these my Friends, which are not clear in these notable Crimes, think the Priest with his Mass can save them, though they blaspheme God, and keep Concubines besides their Wives, as long as they live. Yea, I know some Priests, very devout, my Lord, yet such as have six or seven children by four or five sundry women.

The wickedness of Rog. Holland before he was called to the Gospel.

At these Examinations, divers of Rog. Hollands friends and kinsfolks, being men of worship, were present, both of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*.

Mr. Doctor, now to your Antiquity, Unity, and Universality (for these Dr. *Chadsey* alledged as notes and tokens of their Religion) I am unlearned. I have no sophistry to shift my Reasons withal; but the truth I trust I have, which needeth no painted colours to set her forth. The Antiquity of our Church is not from Pope *Nicholas*, or Pope *Joan*, but our Church is from the beginning, even from the time that God said unto *Adam*, that the Seed of the Woman should break the Serpents head; and so to faithful *Noah*; to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, to whom it was promised, that their Seed should multiply as the Stars in the Sky; and so to *Moses*, *David*, and all the holy Fathers that were from the beginning, unto the birth of our Saviour Christ. All they that believed these promises were of the Church, though the number were oftentimes but few and small, as in *Helias's* days, when he thought there was none but he that had not bowed their knees to *Baal*, when God had reserved seven thousand that never had bowed their knees to that Idol: as I trust there be seven hundred thousand more than I know of, that have not bowed their knees to the Idol your Mass, and your God *Maozim*: the upholding whereof is your bloody cruelty, whiles you daily persecute *Helias* and the Servants of God, forcing them (as *Daniel* was in his Chamber) closely to serve the Lord their God; and even as we by this your cruelty are forced in the fields to pray unto God, that his holy Word may be once again truly preached amongst us, and that he would mitigate and shorten these idolatrous and bloody days, wherein all cruelty reigneth. Moreover, our Church have been the Apostles and Evangelists, the Martyrs and Confessors of Christ, that have at all times and in all ages been persecuted for the testimony of the Word of God. But for the upholding of your Church and Religion, what Antiquity can you shew? Yea, the Mass, that Idol and chief Pillar of your Religion, is not yet four hundred years old, and some of your Masses are younger, as that Mass of S. *Thomas Becket* the Traitor, wherein you pray, That you may be saved by the blood of S. *Thomas*. And as for your Latin Service, what are we of the Laity the better for it? I think he that should hear your Priests mumble up their Service, although he did well understand Latin, yet should he understand few words thereof; the Priests do so champ them and chaw them, and post so fast, that neither they understand what they say, nor they that hear them; and in the mean time the People, when they should pray with the Priest, are set to their Beads to pray our Ladies Psalter. So crafty is Satan to devise these his Dreams (which you defend with Fagot and Fire) to quench the light of the Word of God; which (as *David* saith) should be a Lanthorn to our feet. And again, wherein shall a young man direct his ways, but by the Word of God? And yet you will hide it from us in a Tongue unknown. S. *Paul* had rather in the Church to have five words spoken with understanding, than ten thousand in an unknown Tongue; and yet will you have your Latin Service and praying in a strange Tongue, whereof the People are utterly ignorant to be of such Antiquity?

The Mass, how old it is.

Latin Service.

Anno 1558.

The Greek Church differing from the Latin.

The Greek Church, and a good part of Christendom besides, never received your Service in an unknown Tongue, but in their own natural Language, which all the People understand, neither yet your Transubstantiation, your receiving all alone, your Purgatory, your Images, *&c.*

As for the Unity which is in your Church, what is it else but Treason, Murther, Poysoning one another, Idolatry, Superstition, Wickedness? What Unity was in your Church, when there were three Popes at once? Where was your Head of Unity when you had a woman Pope? Here he was interrupted, and could not be suffered to proceed; but, saith the Bishop, *Roger*, these thy words are very blasphemy, and by the means of thy Friends thou hast been suffered to speak, and art over malapert to teach any here. Therefore Keeper take him away.

The second Examination of Roger Holland.

The second Examination of Roger Holland.

THE day that *Henry Pond* and the rest were brought forth to be again examined, Dr. *Chadsey* said, *Roger*, I trust you have now better considered of the Church than you did before.

Holland. I consider thus much: That out of the Church there is no Salvation, as divers ancient Doctors say.

Boner. That is well said. Mr. *Egleston*, I trust your Kinsman will be a good Catholick man. But *Roger*, you mean, I trust, the Church of *Rome*.

Holland. I mean that Church which hath Christ for her Head; which also hath his Word, and his Sacraments according to his Word and Institution.

Chadsey. Then *Chadsey* interrupted him, and said, is that a Testament you have in your hand?

Holland. Yea, Mr. Doctor, it is the New Testament. You will find no fault with the Translation (I think.) It is of your own Translation; it is according to the great Bible.

Boner. How say you? How do you know it is the Testament of Christ, but only by the Church? For the Church of *Rome* hath and doth preserve it, and out of the same hath made Decrees, Ordinances, and true Expositions.

No (saith *Roger*) the Church of *Rome* hath and doth suppress the reading of the Testament. And what a true Exposition (I pray you) did the Pope make thereof, when he set his foot on the Emperor's neck, and said, *Thou shalt walk upon the Lion and the Asp: the young Lion and the Dragon shalt thou tread under thy foot?* Psal. 91.

Then said the Bishop; Such unlearned wild heads as thou and other, would be Expositors of the Scripture. Would you then the ancient Learned (as there be some here as well as I) should be taught of you?

Holland. Youth delighteth in vanity. My wildness hath been somewhat the more by your Doctrine, than ever I learned out of this Book of God. But (my Lord) I suppose some of the old Doctors say; If a poor Lay-man bring his Reason and Argument out of the Word of God, he is to be credited afore the Learned, though they be never so great Doctors. For the gift of Knowledge was taken from the Learned Doctors, and given to poor Fishermen. Notwithstanding I am ready to be instructed by the Church.

Boner. That is very well said, *Roger*. But you must understand that the Church of *Rome* is the Catholick Church. *Roger*, for thy Friends sake (I promise thee) I wish thee well, and I mean to do thee good. Keeper, see he want nothing. *Roger*, if thou lack any mony to pleasure thee, I will see thou shalt not want. This he spake unto him alone, his Fellows being apart, with many other fair Promises, and so he was sent to Prison again.

The

Anno 1558.

The laſt Examination of Roger Holland.

The laſt Examination of *Roger Holland*.

THe laſt Examination of *Roger Holland* was, when he with his fellow Priſoners were brought into the Conſiſtory, and there excommunicated all, ſaving *Roger*, and ready to have their Sentence of Judgment given, with many threatning words to fear them withal: the L. *Strange*, Sir *Tho. Jarret*, M. *Egleſton* Eſquire, and divers other of worſhip, both of *Cheſhire* and *Lancaſhire;* that were *Roger Hollands* Kinſmen and Friends, being there preſent, which had been earneſt Suters to the Biſhop in his favour, hoping of his ſafety of life. Now the Biſhop hoping yet to win him with his fair and flattering words, began after this manner.

Boner. Roger, I have divers times called thee before home to my Houſe, and have conferred with thee, and being not learned in the Latin Tongue, it doth appear unto me thou art of a good memory, and of a very ſenſible talk, but ſomething overhaſty, which is a natural Diſeaſe to ſome men. And ſurely they are not the worſt natured men. For I my ſelf ſhall now and then be haſty, but mine anger is ſoon paſt. So, *Roger*, ſurely I have a good opinion of you, that you will not with theſe lewd Fellows caſt your ſelf headlong from the Church of your Parents and your Friends that are here, very good Catholicks (as it is reported unto me.) And as I mean thee good, ſo, *Roger*, play the wiſe mans part, and come home with the loſt Son, and ſay, I have run into the Church of Schiſmaticks and Hereticks, from the Catholick Church of *Rome*; and you ſhall, I warrant you, not only find favour at Gods hands, but the Church that hath Authority, ſhall abſolve you, and put new Garments upon you, and kill the Fatling to make thee good chear withal, that is, in ſo doing, as meat doth refreſh and cheriſh the mind, ſo ſhalt thou find as much quietneſs of Conſcience in coming home to the Church, as did the hungry Son that had been fed afore with the Hogs, as you have done with theſe Hereticks that ſever themſelves from the Church. I give them a homely name, but they be worſe (putting his hand to his Cap for Reverence ſake) than Hogs: For they know the Church, and will not follow it. If I ſhould ſay thus much to a Turk, he would (I think) believe me. But, *Roger*, if I did not bear thee and thy Friends good will, I would not have ſaid ſo much as I have done, but I would have let mine Ordinary alone with you.

The Rhetorical perſwaſions of Bp. Boner.

At theſe words his Friends that were there, gave the Biſhop thanks for his good will and pains that he had taken in his and their behalf.

Boner. Well, *Roger*, how ſay you? Do you not believe, that after the Prieſt hath ſpoken the words of Conſecration, there remaineth the Body of Chriſt really and corporally under the forms of Bread and Wine? I mean the ſelf ſame Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, that was crucified upon the Croſs, that roſe again the third day.

The Papiſts how they take one piece of Scripture, and leave out another.

Holland. Your Lordſhip ſaith, the ſame Body which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, which was crucified upon the Croſs, which roſe again the third day: but you leave out which aſcended into Heaven; and the Scripture ſaith, he ſhall there remain until he come to judge the quick and the dead. Then he is not contained under the forms of Bread and Wine, by *Hoc eſt Corpus meum, &c.*

Boner. Roger, I perceive my pains and good will will not prevail, and if I ſhould argue with thee, thou art ſo wilful (as all thy Fellows be, ſtanding in thine own ſingularity and fooliſh conceit) that thou wouldſt ſtill talk to no purpoſe this ſeven years, if thou mighteſt be ſuffered. Anſwer whether thou wilt confeſs the Real and Corporal Preſence of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, or wilt not.

Holland. My Lord, although God by his ſufferance hath here placed you, to ſet forth his truth and glory in us his faithful Servants; notwithſtanding your meaning is far from the zeal of Chriſt: and for all your words, you have the ſame zeal that *Annas* and *Caiphas* had, truſting to their Authority, Traditions and Ceremonies, more than to the Word of God.

Boner. If I ſhould ſuffer him, he would fall from reaſoning to raving, as a frantick Heretick.

L. Strange. Roger (ſaith the Lord *Strange*) I perceive my Lord would have you tell him whether you will ſubmit your ſelf to him, or no?

Boner. Yea, ſaith *Boner*, and confeſs this Preſence that I have ſpoken of.

With this, *Roger* turning him to the Lord *Strange* and the reſt of his Kinſmen and Friends, very chearfully kneeled down upon his knees, and ſaid, God by the mouth of his Servant S. *Paul* hath ſaid, *Let every Soul ſubmit himſelf unto the higher Powers, and he that reſiſteth receiveth his own Damnation:* and as you are a Magiſtrate appointed by the will of God, ſo do I ſubmit my ſelf unto you, and to all ſuch as are appointed for Magiſtrates.

Boner. That is well ſaid, I ſee you are no Anabaptiſt. How ſay you then to the Preſence of Chriſts Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar?

The Preſence of the Sacrament.

Holland. I ſay, and beſeech you all to mark and bear witneſs with me (for ſo you ſhall do before the Judgment Seat of God) what I ſpeak; for here is the Concluſion: And ye my dear Friends (turning him to his Kinſmen) I pray you ſhew my Father what I do ſay, that he may underſtand I am a Chriſtian man. I ſay and believe, and am therein fully perſwaded by the Scriptures, that the Sacrament of the Supper of our Lord, miniſtred in the holy Communion according to Chriſts inſtitution, I being penitent and ſorry for my ſins, and minding to amend and lead a new life, and ſo coming worthily unto Gods Boord in perfect Love and Charity, do there receive by faith the Body and Blood of Chriſt. And though Chriſt in his Human Nature ſit at the right hand of his Father, yet (by faith I ſay) his Death, his Paſſion, his Merits are mine, and by faith I dwell in him, and he in me. And as for the Maſs, Tranſubſtantiation, and the worſhipping of the Sacrament, they are meer Impiety and horrible Idolatry.

Sentence read againſt Rog. Holland.

Boner. I thought ſo much, ſaid *Boner*, (ſuffering him to ſpeak no more) how he would prove a very blaſphemous Heretick as ever I heard. How unreverently doth he ſpeak of the bleſſed Maſs? and ſo read his bloody Sentence of Condemnation, adjudging him to be burned.

All this while *Roger* was very patient and quiet, and when he ſhould depart, he ſaid, My Lord, I beſeech you ſuffer me to ſpeak two words. The Biſhop would not hear him, but bade him away. Notwithſtanding, being requeſted by one of his Friends, he ſaid, Speak, what haſt thou to ſay?

Rog. Holland propheſieth of ſhortning the time of Bp. Bonner cruelty.

Holland. Even now I told you that your Authority was from God, and by his ſufferance: and now I tell you, God hath heard the Prayer of his Servants, which hath been poured forth with tears for his afflicted Saints, which daily you perſecute, as now you do us. But this I dare be bold in God to ſpeak (which by his Spirit I am moved to ſay) that God will ſhorten your hand of Cruelty, that for a time you ſhall not moleſt his Church. And this ſhall you in ſhort time well perceive, my dear Brethren, to be moſt true. For after this day, in this place ſhall there not be any by him put to the trial of Fire and Fagot: And after this day there was none that ſuffered in *Smithfield* for the teſtimony of the Goſpel, God be thanked.

After theſe words ſpoken, ſaid *Boner*, *Roger*, thou art, I perceive, as mad in theſe thy Hereſies as ever was *Joan Butcher*. In anger and fume thou wouldſt become a railing Prophet. Though thou and all the ſort of you would ſee me hanged, yet I ſhall live to burn, yea, I will burn all the ſort of you that come in my hands, that will not worſhip the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, for all thy pratling, and ſo he went his way.

The cruel days ſhortned for the Elects ſake.

Then *Roger Holland* began to exhort his Friends to Repentance, and to think well of them that ſuffered for the teſtimony of the Goſpel, and with that the Biſhop came back, charging the Keeper that no man ſhould ſpeak to them without his licence, and if they did, they would be committed to Priſon. In the mean ſeaſon *H. Pond* and *Roger* ſpake ſtill unto the People, exhorting them to ſtand in the Truth: adding moreover, that God would ſhorten theſe cruel and evil days for his Elects ſake.

Anno 1558

The martyrdom of *Roger Hland* with six other in *Smithfield.*

The day they ſuffered, a Proclamation was made, That none ſhould be ſo hard to ſpeak or talk any word unto them, or receive any thing of them, or to touch them upon pain of Impriſonment, without either Bail or Mainprize; with divers other cruel threatning words, contained in the ſame Proclamation. Notwithſtanding the People cried out, deſiring God to ſtrengthen them: and they likewiſe ſtill prayed for the People, and the reſtoring of his Word. At length *Roger* embracing the ſtake, and the Reeds, ſaid theſe words:

Lord I moſt humbly thank thy Majeſty, that thou haſt called me from the ſtate of death, unto the light of thy heavenly Word, and now unto the fellowſhip of thy Saints, that I may ſing and ſay, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hoſts. And Lord into thy hands I commit my Spirit. Lord bleſs theſe thy people, and ſave them from Idolatry. And ſo he ended his life, looking up into Heaven, praying and praiſing God, with the reſt of his Fellow Saints. For whoſe joyful conſtancy the Lord be praiſed.

The Martyrdom of ſix, which ſuffered at Brainford *for the true teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.*

July 14. Six Martyrs burnt at Brainford.

NOt long after the death of the forenamed ſeven godly Martyrs that ſuffered in *Smithfield*, were ſix other faithful Witneſſes of the Lords true Teſtament, martyred at *Brainford* ſeven miles from *London*, the 14*th* day of *July*, 1558. which ſaid ſix were of that Company that were apprehended in a Cloſe hard by *Iſlington* (as is above ſpecified) and ſent to Priſon. Whoſe Names and Articles propoſed to them, with their Anſwers unto the ſame, hereafter follow.

Robert Mills,
Stephen Cotton,
Robert Dynes,
Stephen Wight,
John Slade,
William Pikes, or *Pikes* a Tanner.
} Martyrs.

Theſe ſix forenamed Martyrs (gentle Reader) had their Articles miniſtred to them by *Thomas Darbyſhire*, *Boners* Chancellor, at ſundry times; as *Robert Willes* the 20*th* day of *June*, *Stephen Wight* the 21*th* day of the ſaid Month. *Stephen Cotton* and *John Slade* the 22*th* day, and *Robert Dynes* and *William Pikes* the 23*th* day. At which ſaid times, though they were ſeverally examined, yet had they all one manner of Articles miniſtred to them, yea and the ſelf ſame Articles that were miniſtred to *John Holiday*, *Henry Pond*, and their Company aforeſaid. Which ſaid Articles I leave the Reader to look for above in their ſtory, and think it not neceſſary any more to rehearſe them, but only to proceed with their Anſwers to the ſame, which briefly and in ſum hereafter followeth.

The Anſwers of the forenamed Perſons to the Articles aforeſaid.

The anſwers of the ſix former Martyrs to the Articles.

TO the firſt Article they all granted the ſame; and added thereto for going to Church, that *R. Mills* and *Stephen Wight* came not there for three quarters of a year before, and *John Slade* and *William Pikes* not ſince the Queens Reign, *Stephen Cotton* not for a Twelvemonth before, and *Robert Dynes* not for two years before.

The ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth Articles they all anſwered in effect, as the forenamed *John Holiday*, *Henry Pond*, and their Company did, ſaving they added, that as their Rites, Cuſtoms, and Ceremonies are againſt the Word of God, ſo will they obſerve and keep no part of the ſame. *Stephen Wight* added further, That he received not their Sacrament of the Altar for two years before, nor *John Slade* and *William Pikes* ſince Queen *Maries* Reign, nor *Stephen Cotton* for a Twelve-month before, nor *Robert Dynes* for three years before.

To the ſeventh Article, They all granted the ſame in every part like unto the aforenamed *Henry Pond* and his Company; ſaving that *Robert Dynes* added, that it was no part of his Belief.

To the eighth Article they all granted the ſame in every part, as the forenamed *William Hilday* and his Company: but *Robert Mills* added thereto, that he will not come to Church, nor allow their Religion, ſo long as the Croſs is crept to, and worſhipped, and Images are in the Church. *John Slade* affirmed in effect as *Robert Mills* did, adding further, that there be not ſeven Sacraments, but two Sacraments, which is Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord. *Stephen Cotton* would no further allow the Popiſh Religion, than it agreeth with Gods Word: and *Robert Dynes* affirmed in effect the like to *Stephen Cotton* alſo.

To the ninth and tenth Articles, *Robert Mills*, *John Slade*, and *Stephen Cotton* anſwered, that they do not allow the Popiſh Service then ſet forth, becauſe it is againſt the Truth, and in a ſtrange Language which the Common People underſtand not. *Robert Dynes* and *William Pikes* will neither allow nor diſallow the Latin Service, becauſe they underſtand it not. And *Stephen Wight* would make no direct Anſwer to the Articles at all, and to the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth Articles we find no Anſwers recorded of the ſaid *Steph. Wight.* but of the reſt of his fellow Priſoners we find anſwers to thoſe Articles which hereafter follow.

To the eleventh Article, *Robert Mills*, *John Slade*, and *Stephen Cotton* anſwered, That concerning the Books, Faith, and Religion ſpecified in this Article, they do allow them ſo far forth, as they agree with Gods Word, *&c.* *Robert Dynes* would make no Anſwer thereto, becauſe he thought himſelf unmeet to judge thereof: and *William Pikes* doth not remember that he hath miſliked the Service, and the Faith, and Religion ſet forth in K. *Edward* the ſixths time.

To the twelfth they grant, That if they might receive the Sacrament as they did in King *Edward* the ſixths days, they would with all their heart ſo do.

To the thirteenth and fourteenth Articles, they confeſs and grant the Contents of them to be true in every part.

The ſix Martyrs brought again before *Darbyſhire.*

When at the days before ſpecified, theſe good men were produced before *Boner's* Chancellor, *Thomas Darbyſhire*, and had the foreſaid Articles miniſtred unto them, and they (as ye have heard) had made anſwer unto the ſame; in the end the Chancellor commanded them to appear before him again the eleventh day of *July* after in the ſaid place at *Pauls*. Where when they came, he required of them, whether they would turn from their Opinions to the Mother holy Church; and if not; that then, whether there were any cauſe to the contrary, but that he might proceed with the Sentence of Condemnation. Whereunto they all anſwered, That they would not go from the Truth, nor relent from any part of the ſame while they lived. Then he charged them to appear before him again the next day in the Afternoon, between one and two of the Clock, to hear the definitive Sentence read againſt them, according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws then in force. At which time, he ſitting in Judgment, talking with theſe godly and vertuous men, at laſt came into the ſaid place Sir *Edwards Haſtings* and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, Knights, two of Queen *Maries* Officers of her Houſe, and being there, they ſate them down over againſt the Chancellor, in whoſe preſence the ſaid Chancellor condemned thoſe good poor Lambs, and delivered them over to the Secular Power, who received and carried them to Priſon immediately, and there kept them in ſafety, till the day of their death.

Sir Edward Haſtings and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis* at the Condemnation of theſe Martyrs.

In the mean time this naughty Chancellor ſlept not, I warrant you, but that day in which they were condemned, he made certificate into the Lord Chancellors Office, from whence the next day after was ſent a Writ to burn them at *Brainford* aforeſaid, which accordingly was accompliſhed in the ſame place, the ſaid fourteenth day of *July*: Whereunto they being brought, made their humble Prayers unto the Lord Jeſus, undreſſed themſelves, went joyfully to the ſtake, whereunto they were bound, and the fire flaming about them, they yielded their Souls, Bodies, and Lives into the hands of the Omnipotent Lord, for whoſe cauſe they did ſuffer, and to whoſe protection I commend the gentle Reader, Amen.

Among

Anno 1557.

Among theſe ſix was one *William Pikes* (as ye have heard) who ſometime dwelt in *Ipſwich* in *Suffolk*, by his occupation a Tanner a very honeſt Godly Man, and of a vertuous diſpoſition, a good Keeper of Hoſpitality, and beneficial to the perſecuted in Queen *Maries* days. This ſaid *William Pikes*, in the third year of Queen *Maries* Reign, a little after *Midſummer*, being then at liberty, went into his Garden, and took with him a Bible of *Rogers* tranſlation, where he, ſitting with his face towards the *South*, reading on the ſaid Bible, ſuddenly fell down upon his book, between eleven and twelve a clock of the day, four drops of freſh Blood, and he knew not from whence it came. Then he ſeeing the ſame, was ſore aſtoniſhed, and could by no means learn (as I ſaid) from whence it ſhould fall: and wiping out one of the drops with his finger, he called his Wife, and ſaid, In the vertue of God Wife, what meaneth this? Will the Lord have four Sacrifices? I ſee well enough the Lord will have Blood: his will be done, and give me Grace to abide the trial. Wife, let us pray (ſaid he) for I fear the day draweth nigh. Afterward he daily looked to be apprehended of the Papiſts, and it came to paſs accordingly, as ye have heard. Thus much thought I good to write thereof, to ſtir up our dull ſenſes in conſidering the Lords works, and reverently to honour the ſame. His name therefore be praiſed for evermore, Amen.

Moreover, concerning the ſaid *William Pikes*, as he was in *Newgate* ſore ſick, and at the point of death, ſo that no Man looked he ſhould live ſix hours, he declared to them that ſtood by, that he had been twice in perſecution before, and that now he deſired the Lord, if it were his will, that he might glorifie his Name at the Stake, and ſo as he prayed it came to paſs at *Brainford*.

Ye heard before, that of thoſe two and twenty taken at *Iſlington*, thirteen were burned, and ſix eſcaped, albeit very hardly, and ſome of them not without ſcourging by the hands of the Biſhop. In the which number was *Thomas Hinſhaw* and *John Willes*, according to the expreſs picture hereafter purported.

Ex Epigrammate Ennii apud Ciceronem alluſio.

Si fas cædendo cœleſtia ſcandere cuiquam eſt.
Bonero cœli maxima porta patet.

In effigiem Boneri carmen.

QUæ nova forma viri, quid virga, quid ora, quid alvus,
Pondera quid ventris, craſſitieſque velit?
Corpus amaxæum, diſtento abdomine pigrum
Rides anne ſtupes, lector amice, magis?
Vaſta quid iſta velint ſi neſcis pondera, dicam:
Nam nihil hic mirum venter obeſus habet.
Carnibus humanis & ſanguine veſcitur atro,
Ducentos annis hauſerat ille tribus.
Ergo quid hoc monſtri eſt, recto vis nomine dicam?
Nomen nec Patris, nec gerit ille Matris.
Qui patre Savago natus, falſoque Bonerus
Dicitur: hunc melius dixeris Orbilium.

The ſame in Engliſh.

MUſe not ſo much that natures work
Is thus deformed now:
With belly blown, and head ſo ſwoln,
For I ſhall tell you how:
This Cannibal *in three years ſpace*
Two hundred Martyrs ſlew:
They were his food, he lov'd ſo Blood,
He ſpared none he knew.

It ſhould appear that Blood feeds fat,
If Men lye well and ſoft:
For Boners *Belly waxt with Blood,*
Though he ſeem'd to faſt oft.
O Bloody Beaſt, bewail the death
Of thoſe that thou haſt ſlain:
In time repent, ſince thou canſt not
Their lives reſtore again.

G. G.

In Bonerum.

CArnificis nomen debetur jure Bonero,
Qui ſine Chriſticolas crimine mactat oves.
Certe carnificis immitis nomine gaudet,
Sique iſto pejus nomine nomen, amat.
Carnificem vocitas? ridet. Crudelia facta
Narras? rem gratam non facis ipſe magis.
Det Deus ut ſapias meliora Bonere, velitis
Te feriant meritis munera digna precor.

The ſcourging of *Tho. Hinſhaw*.

IN the Godly number above mentioned, which were apprehended at *Iſlington*, there congregated together, for their exerciſe of prayer and reading, was this *Thomas Hinſhaw* above mamed, a young Man of the age of 19. or 20. years, prentiſe in *Pauls* Churchyard with one M. *Pugſon*, Who with the reſt was carried to the Conſtables of *Iſlington*, and there every one of them ſearched, and led forthwith to the chief Juſtice Maſter *Cholmley*, dwelling in the old *Baily* in *London*, and by him then the ſaid *Thomas Hinſhaw* was ſent to *Newgate*: and there remaining priſoner without conference with any, about eight weeks, at the laſt was ſent for to *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, and by him, *Harpsfield*, and *Cole*, examined. After which examination he was ſent to *Newgate* again, where he remained three weeks following. Which time being overpaſſed, he was ſent for again before the ſaid Biſhop, the day being *Saturday*, and with him had much talk to little purpoſe. The next day after alſo, which was *Sunday*, they perſwaded with him very much in like manner, and perceiving they could not bend him unto their bow, in the afternoon the Biſhop going unto *Fulham*, took him with him, where immediately after his coming, he was ſet in the Stocks remaining there all the firſt night with Bread and Water.

The Story of Tho. Hinſhaw

Wil. Cholmley Juſtice.

Boner, Harpsfield, & Cole.

Hinſhaw carried to Fulham, and there ſet in the Stocks with Bread and Water.

The next morning the Biſhop came and examined him himſelf, and perceiving no yielding to his mind, he ſent M. *Harpsfield* to talk with him; who, after long talk, in the end fell to raging words, calling the ſaid *Thomas Hinſhaw* peeviſh boy, and asked him whether he thought he went about to damn his Soul, or no, &c. Unto which the ſaid *Thomas* anſweree, that he was perſwaded that they laboured to maintain their dark and deviliſh Kingdom, and not for any love to truth. Then *Harpsfield*, being in a mighty rage, told the Biſhop thereof. Whereat the Biſhop fumed and fretted, that ſcant for anger being able to ſpeak, he ſaid, Doſt thou anſwer my Archdeacon ſo, thou naughty boy? I ſhall handle thee well enough, be aſſured: ſo he ſent for a couple of Rods, and cauſed him to kneel againſt a long Bench in an Arbor in his Garden, where the ſaid *Thomas* without any inforcement of his part, offered himſelf to the beating, and did abide the fury of the ſaid *Boner*, ſo long as the fat panched Biſhop could endure with breath, and till for wearineſs he was fain to ceaſe, and give place to his ſhameful act. He had two willow Rods, but he waſted but one, and ſo left off.

Hinſhaw beaten with Rods. The Boy was beholding to B. Boners grand paunch.

Now after this ſcourging, the ſaid *Thomas Hinſhaw* notwithſtanding did ſuſtain divers conflicts, and examinations ſundry times. At laſt being brought before the ſaid Biſhop in his Chappel at *Fulham*, there he had procured witneſſes, and gathered Articles againſt him, which the young Man denied, and would not affirm, or conſent to any interrogatory there and then miniſtred, do what they could.

The Articles were theſe.

Articles objected.

COncerning Palms, Aſhes, holy Bread, holy Water, Auricular confeſſion, receiving the Sacrament at *Eaſter*, hearing divine ſervice then ſet forth, &c.

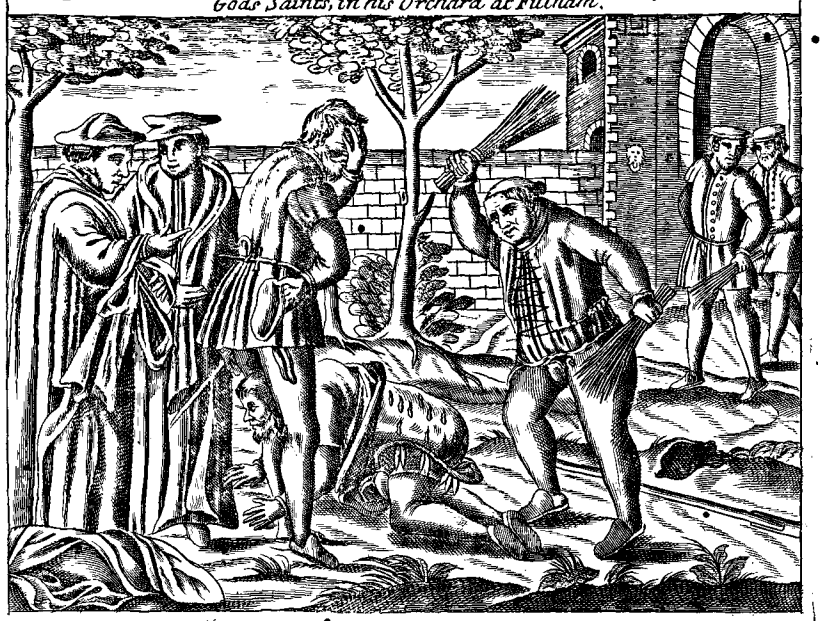
Whether he had received all theſe, or whether he would receive them or no.

Item, what he thought of the Service ſet forth in King *Edwards* time, in his latter days, and in eſpecial, what he thought of the verity of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament.

In

Anno 1558.

The right Picture and true counterfeit of Boner, and his cruelty, in ſcourging of Gods Saints, in his Orchard at Fulham.



In all which his anſwers, the ſaid *Thomas Hinſhaw* kept an upright Conſcience, and entangled himſelf with none of their Ceremonies: ſo merciful was the Lord unto him.

Tho. Hinſhaw delivered to M. Pugſon his Maſter.

Not long after this his examination, about a fortnight or ſuch a thing, the foreſaid Examinate fell ſick of a burning Ague, whereby he was delivered upon entreaty unto his Maſter *Martin Pugſon* in *Pauls* Church-yard aforeſaid: for the Biſhop thought verily he was more like to dye than to live. The which his ſickneſs endured a twelve-month or more, ſo that in the mean time Queen *Mary* died. Then he ſhortly after recovered health, and eſcaped death, being at the writing of this yet alive, both witneſs and reporter of the ſame, the Lord therefore be praiſed, Amen.

The ſcourging of John Willes *by Biſhop* Boner.

The Story of John Willes a capper.

BEſides the above named, was ſcourged alſo by the hands of the ſaid Biſhop, one *John Willes* a Capper, a right faithful and true honeſt Man in all his dealings and conditions. Who was Brother to the foreſaid *R. Willes* burned before at *Brainford*, as is above ſignified. Who alſo was apprehended in the ſame number with them at *Iſlington*, as is mentioned alſo before: and being brought before *Boner*, and there examined, was commanded to the *Colehouſe*, with the foreſaid *Tho. Hinſhaw*, where they remained one night in the Stocks. From thence he was ſent to *Fulham*, where he, with the ſaid *Hinſhaw*, remained 8. or 10. days in the Stocks; during which time he ſuſtained divers conflicts with the ſaid *Boner*, who had him oft times in Examination, urging him, and with a Stick which he had in his hand, oft-times rapping him on the head, and flirting him under the chin, and on the ears, ſaying he looked down like a thief. Moreover, after he had aſſayed all manner of ways to cauſe him to recant, and could not, at length having him to his Orchard, there within a little arbor, with his own hands beat him firſt with a willow rod, and that being worn well nigh to the ſtumps, he called for a birchin rod, which a lad brought out of his Chamber. The cauſe why he ſo beat him, was this; *Boner* asked him when he had crept to the Croſs. He anſwered, Not ſince he came to the years of diſcretion, neither would, though he ſhould be torn with wild horſes. Then *Boner* bade him make a Croſs in his forehead, which he refuſed to do. Whereupon he

John Willes with Tho. Hinſhaw laid in the Stocks at Fulham.

had him incontinently to his Orchard, and there calling for rods, ſhewed his cruelty upon him, as he did upon *Thomas Hinſhaw*, as is above declared.

Hinſhaw & Willes beaten of Boner.

This done, he had him immediately to the Pariſh Church of *Fulham* with the ſaid *Tho. Hinſhaw*, and *Rob. Willes*, to whom there being ſeverally called before him, he miniſtred certain Articles, asking if he would ſubſcribe to the ſame. To the which the ſaid *John Willes* made his Anſwer according to his Conſcience, denying them all, except one Article which was concerning K. *Edwards* Service in Engliſh. Shortly after this beating, *Boner* ſent to him in Priſon a certain old Prieſt lately come from *Rome*, to conjure out the evil Spirit from him, who laying his hand upon his head, began with certain words pronounced over him, to conjure as he had been wont before to do. *Willes* marvelling what the Prieſt was about to do, ſaid, He truſted no evil Spirit to be within him, and laughed him to ſcorn, &c.

John Willes denieth to ſubſcribe to B. Boners Articles.

A old conjuring Prieſt.

As this *John Willes* was divers times and oft called before *Boner*, ſo much communication and talk paſſed between them; which to recite all, it were too long. And if it were not unpleaſant for the Reader that luſteth to laugh, to ſee the blind and unſavoury reaſons of that Biſhop, which he uſed to perſwade the ignorant withal. As in the proceſs of his other talk with this *Willes*, *Boner* going about to perſwade him not to meddle with matters of the Scripture, but rather to believe other Mens teaching, which had more skill in the ſame; firſt asked if he did believe the Scripture? Yea, ſaid he, that I do. Then the Biſhop, why (quoth he) Saint *Paul* ſaith, If the man ſleep, the Woman is at liberty to go to another Man. If thou wert aſleep having a Wife, wouldeſt thou be content thy Wife to take another Man? And yet this is the Scripture.

The unſavoury reaſons or talk of B. Boner going about to perſwade John Willes.

Item, if thou wilt believe *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and ſuch, then thou canſt not go right. But if thou wilt believe me, &c. thou canſt not err. And if thou ſhouldſt err, yet thou art in no peril, thy Blood ſhould be required at our hands. As if thou ſhouldſt go to a far Country, and meet with a fatherly Man as I am (for theſe were his terms) and ask the way to the Head City, and he ſhould ſay, this way, and thou wilt not believe him, but follow *Luther*, and other Hereticks of late days, and go a contrary way; how wilt thou come to the place thou askeſt for? ſo if thou wilt not believe me, but follow the leading of other Hereticks, ſo ſhalt thou be brought to deſtruction, and burn both Body and Soul.

Boners judgment, that we ſhould truſt more to Men, than to the Scriptures of God.

This ſimplitude holdeth, κατὰ τὴν ἐναντίωσιν.

As

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truly as thou seest the Bodies of them in *Smithfield* burnt, so truly their Souls do burn in Hell, because they err from the true Church.

Rash & presumptuous Judgment of *Boner*.

• Oft times speaking to the said *John Willes*, he would say, They call me Bloody *Boner*. A vengeance on you all. I would fain be rid of you, but you have a delight in burning. But if I might have my will, I would sow your Mouths, and put you in sacks and drown you.

B. Boners wish in punishing Gods Saints.

Now somwhat to say concerning the deliverance of the said *John Willes*. The same day that he was delivered, *Boner* came unto the Stocks where he lay, and asked him how he liked his lodging, and his fare.

The occasion and manner of delivering *John Willes*.

Well, said *Willes*, if it would please God I might have a little straw to lye or sit upon.

Then said *Boner*, Thou wilt shew no token of a Christian Man. And upon this his Wife came in unknowing unto him, being very great with Child, and looking every hour for her lying down, entreating the Bishop for her husband, and saying, that she would not go out of the House, but there would lay her belly in the Bishops House, unless she had her Husband with her. How sayest thou (quoth *Boner*) thou Heretick? If thy wife miscarry, or thy Child, or Children, if she be with one or two, should perish, the Blood of them would he require at thy hands. Then to this agreement he came, that he should hire a Bed in the Town of *Fulham*, and her husband should go home with her the morrow after, upon this condition, that his kinsman there present (one *Robert Rouse*) should bring the said *Willes* unto his House at *Pauls* the next day.

Willes Wife intreateth for her husband.

Rob. Rouse kinsman to Jo. Willes.

Whereunto the said *Willes* said, he would not agree, except he might go home by and by. At length his Wife being importunate for her Husband; and seeing that she would go no further, but there remain, unless she had her Husband with her, the Bishop fearing belike the rumour which might come upon his House thereby, bade the said *Willes* make a Cross, and say, *In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen.*

The condition put to J. Willes to say, In nomine Patris, &c.

Then the said *Willes* began to say, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost Amen. No, no, saith *Boner*, say it me in Latin, *In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus sancti, Amen. Willes* understanding the matter of that Latin to be but good, said the same, and so went home with his Wife, his foresaid kinsman being charged to bring him the next day unto *Pauls*: else, said *Boner*, if thou dost not bring him, thou art an Heretick as well as he. Notwithstanding, the charge being no greater, his kinsman did not bring him, but he of his own voluntary accord came to the said Bishop within a few days after, where the Bishop put unto him a certain writing in Latin to subscribe unto; containing as it seemed to him no great matter, that he needed greatly to stick at, albeit, what the bill was, he could not certainly tell: so subscribed he to the bill, and returned home. And thus much concerning the 22. taken at *Islington*.

John Willes sent home with his Wife.

The History and cruel handling of Richard Yeoman, *Doctor* Taylors *Curate at* Hadley, *constantly suffering for the Gospels sake.*

July 10. The Story & Martyrdom of R. *Yeoman* Minister.

After the Story of these 22. taken at *Islington*, proceeding now (the Lord willing) we will prosecute likewise the taking and cruel handling of *Richard Yeoman* Minist. Which *Yeoman* had been before Doctor *Taylors* Curate, a godly devout old Man of 70. years which had many years dwelt in *Hadley*, well seen in the Scriptures, and giving Godly Exhortations to the people. With him D. *Taylor* left his cure at his departure. But as soon as M. *Newall* had gotten the Benefice, he drave away good *Yeoman* as is before said, and set in a Popish Curate to maintain and continue their Romish Religion which now they thought fully stablished. Then wandred he long time from place to place, moving and exhorting all Men to stand faithfully to Gods Word, earnestly to give themselves unto prayer, with patience to bear the Cross now laid upon them for their tryal, with boldness to confess the truth before the adversaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the Crown and reward of eternal felicity. But when he perceived his adversaries to lye in wait for him, he went into *Kent*, and with a little packet of laces, pins, and points, and such like things, he travelled from village to village, selling such things; and by that poor shift gate himself somwhat to the sustaining of himself, his poor Wife and Children.

R. Yeoman flieth into Kent.

At the last a Justice of Kent, called Master *Moyle*, took poor *Yeoman* and set him in the Stocks a day and a night, but having no evident matter to charge him with, he let him go again. So came he secretly again to *Hadley*, and tarried with his poor Wife, who kept him secretly in a Chamber of the Town House, commonly called the *Guildhall*, more than a year. All the which time, the good old Father abode in a Chamber locked up all the day, and spent his time in devout prayer, and reading the Scriptures, and in carding of wool which his Wife did spin. His Wife also did go and beg Bread and meat for her self and her Children, and by such poor means sustained they themselves. Thus the Saints of God sustained hunger and misery; while the Prophets of *Baal* lived in jollity, and were costly pampered at *Jesabels* Table.

Rich. Yeoman set in the Stocks by M. Moile of Kent. Rich. Yeoman returneth again to Hadley.

At the last, Parson *Newal* (I know not by what means) perceived that *Richard Yeoman* was so kept by his poor Wife, and, taking with him the Bailiffs Deputies and Servants, came in the night time and brake up five doors upon *Yeoman*, whom he found in a bed with his poor Wife and Children. Whom when he had so found, he irefully cried, saying, I thought I should find an harlot and an whore together. And he would have plucked the clothes off from them. But *Yeoman* held fast the clothes, and said unto his Wife, Wife, arise, and put on thy clothes. And unto the Parson he said, Nay Parson, no harlot, nor whore, but a married Man and his Wife, according unto Gods Ordinance, and blessed be God for lawful Matrimony. I thank God for this great Grace, and I defie the Pope and all his Popery. Then led they *Richard Yeoman* unto the Cage, and set him in the Stocks until it was day.

Parson Newall a wicked persecutor. Yeoman taken by Parson Newall.

There was then also in the Cage an old Man named *John Dale*, who had sitten there three or four days, because when the said Parson *Newal* with his Curate executed the Romish Service in the Church, he spake openly unto him, and said, O miserable and blind guides, will ye ever be blind leaders of the blind? will ye never amend? will ye never see the truth of Gods Word? Will neither Gods threats nor promises enter into your hearts? will the Blood of Martyrs nothing mollifie your Stony Stomack? O indurate hard hearted, perverse, and crooked Generation. O damnable sort, whom nothing can do good unto.

The words of J. Dale to Parson Newall. and his Curate.

These and like words he spake in ferventness of Spirit against the Superstitious Religion of *Rome*. Wherefore Parson *Newall* caused him forthwith to be attached, and set in the Stocks in the Cage. So was he there kept till Sir *Henry Doile*, a Justice, came to *Hadley*.

John Dale set in the Cage by Parson Newall. Sir Henry Doile intreated for Gods Saints, but could not be heard.

Now when poor *Yeoman* was taken, the Parson called earnestly upon Sir *Henry Doile* to send them both to Prison. Sir *Henry Doile* earnestly laboured and entreated the Parson, to consider the Age of the Men, and their poor estate; they were persons of no reputation nor Preachers; wherefore he would desire him to let them be punished a day or two, and so to let them go, at the least *John Dale* who was no Priest: and therefore seeing he had so long sitten in the Cage, he thought it punishment enough for this time. When the Parson heard this, he was exceeding mad, and in a great rage called them pestilent Hereticks, unfit to live in the Common Wealth of Christians. Wherefore I beseech you Sir, quoth he, according to your Office, defend holy Church, and help to suppress these Sects of Heresies, &c. which are false to God, and thus boldly set themselves, to the evil example of other, against the Queens gracious proceedings. Sir *Henry Doile* seeing he could do no good in the matter, and fearing also his peril if he should too much meddle in this matter, made out the Writ, and caused the Constables to carry them forth to *Bury* Gaol. For now were all the Justices, were they never so mighty, affraid of every shaven crown, and stood in as much awe of them, as *Pilate* did stand in fear of *Annas* and *Caiphas*, and of the Pharisaical Brood, which cried, *Crucifie him, Crucifie him. If thou let him go, thou art not Cæsars friend.*

The kingdom of Locusts.

Wherefore

Yeoman and John Dale ſent to Bury Goal.

Wherefore whatſoever their conſciences were, yet (if they would eſcape danger) they muſt needs be the Popiſh Biſhops ſlaves and vaſſals. So they took *Richard Yeoman* and *John Dale*, pinioned, and bound them like Thieves, ſet them on Horſback, and bound their Legs under the Horſes Bellies, and ſo carried them to the Goal at *Bury*, where they were tyed in Irons; and for that they continually rebuked Popery, they were thrown into the loweſt Dungeon, where *Jo. Dale* through ſickneſs of the Priſon, and evil keeping, dyed in Priſon, whoſe Body, when he was dead, was thrown out and buried in the Fields. He was a Man of 46. years of Age, a Weaver by his occupation, well learned in the holy Scriptures, faithful and honeſt in all his converſation, ſtedfaſt in confeſſion of the true Doctrine of Chriſt ſet forth in King *Edwards* time; for the which he joyfully ſuffered Priſon and Chains, and from this Worldly Dungeon he departed in Chriſt to eternal Glory, and the Bleſſed Paradiſe of everlaſting felicity.

Commendation of John Dale.

After that *John Dale* was dead, *Richard Yeoman* was removed to *Norwich* Priſon, where after ſtrait and evil keeping, he was examined of his Faith and Religion. Then he boldly and conſtantly confeſſed himſelf to be of the Faith and Confeſſion that was ſet forth by the late King of Bleſſed Memory, holy King *Edward* the ſixth, and from that he would in no wiſe vary. Being required to ſubmit himſelf to the holy Father the Pope: I defie him (quoth he) and all his deteſtable Abominations: I will in no wiſe have to do with him, nor any thing that appertaineth to him. The chief Articles objected to him, were his marriage, and the Maſs Sacrifice. Wherefore when he continued ſtedfaſt in confeſſion of the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burnt, but moſt cruelly tormented in the Fire. So ended he his poor and miſerable life, and entred into the bleſſed Boſom of *Abraham*, enjoying with *Lazarus* the comfortable quietneſs that God hath prepared for his elect Saints.

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Yeoman removed to Norwich.

The chief matters objected to Rich. Yeoman

The burning of Richard Yeoman Miniſter at Norwich 1558 July 10.

The Martyrdome of Thomas Benbridge, Anno 1558 July 19.

The Story of John Alcock.

The Story of John Alcock.

THere was alſo in *Hadley* a young Man, named *John Alcock*, which came to *Hadley* ſeeking work, for he was a Shereman by his occupation. This young Man after the Martyrdom of Doctor *Taylor*, and taking of *Richard Yeoman*, uſed firſt in the Church of *Hadley* to read the Service in Engliſh, as partly is above touched. At length, after the coming of Parſon *Newal*, he being in *Hadley* Church upon a *Sunday* when the Parſon came by with proceſſion, would not once move his Cap, nor ſhew any ſign of reverence but ſtood behind the Font. *Newall* perceiving this, when he was almoſt out of the Church door, ran back again, and caught him, and called for the Conſtable.

Parſon Newall in a rage againſt John Alcock for not going on proceſſion.

Then came *Rob. Rolfe*, with whom this young Man wrought, and asked M. *Parſon* what hath he done, that ye are in ſuch a rage with him?

He is an Heretick and a Traitor (quoth the Parſon) and deſpiſeth the Queens proceedings. Wherefore I command you in the Queens Name, have him to the Stocks, and ſee he be forth coming.

Rob. Rolfe an honeſt Conſtable of Hadley.

Well, quoth *Rolfe*, he ſhall be forth coming, proceed you in your buſineſs, and be quiet. Have him to the Stocks, quoth the Parſon.

I am Conſtable, quoth *Rolfe*, and may bail him, and will bail him; he ſhall not come in the Stocks, but he ſhall be forth coming: So went the good Parſon forth with his holy proceſſion, and ſo to Maſs.

At afternoon *Rolf* ſaid to this young Man, I am ſorry for thee, for truly the Parſon will ſeek thy deſtruction, if thou take not good heed what thou anſwereſt him.

The young Man anſwered, Sir, I am ſorry that it is my hap to be a trouble to you. As for my ſelf, I am not ſorry, but I do commit my ſelf into Gods hands, and I truſt he will give me Mouth and Wiſdom to anſwer according to right.

Well, quoth *Rolfe*, yet beware of him. For he is malitious and a bloud-ſucker, and beareth an old hatred againſt me, and he will handle you the more cruelly, becauſe of diſpleaſure againſt me.

I fear not, quoth the young Man. He ſhall do no more to me, than God will give him leave; and happy ſhall I be if God will call me to dye for his truths ſake.

After this talk, they then went to the Parſon, who at the firſt asked him, Fellow, what ſaiſt thou to the Sacrament of the Altar?

Alcock brought to Parſon Newall.

I ſay, quoth he, as ye uſe the matter, ye make a ſhameful Idol of it, and ye are falſe Idolatrous Prieſts all the ſort of you.

I told you (quoth the Parſon) he was a ſtout Heretick.

So after long talk, the Parſon committed him to Ward, and the next day rode he up to *London*, and carried the young Man with him, and ſo came the young Man

Parſon Newall carrieth up J. Alcock to London.

no

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no more again to *Hadley*, but after long Imprisonment in *Newgate*, where after many Examinations and troubles, for that he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the Pope, and to be reconciled to the Romish Religion, he was cast into the lower Dungeon, where with evil keeping and sickness of the House, he dyed in Prison. Thus dyed he a Martyr for Christs verity, which he heartily loved and constantly confessed, and received the garland of a well foughten battel at the hand of the Lord. His Body was cast out, and buried in a dunghil, For the Papist would in all things be like themselves: Therefore would they not so much as suffer the dead Bodies to have honest and convenient sepulture.

John Alcock died in Newgate.

John Alcock buried of the Papists in a dunghil.

Thomas Benbridge *Gentleman and Martyr, wrongfully condemned and put to death by the cruel Papists, for the defence of the Gospel of Christ Jesus.*

July 29. *The Story of Tho. Benbridge Martyr.*

THomas *Benbridge* a Gentleman, single and unmarried in the Diocess of *Winchester*, although he might have lived a pleasant and a Gentlemans life in the wealthy possessions of this World; yet to follow Christ had rather enter into the strait gate of persecution, to the Heavenly possession of life in the Lords Kingdom, than here to injoy pleasures present with unquietness of Conscience. Wherefore, manfully standing against the Papists for the defence of the sincere Doctrine of Christs Gospel, he spared not himself to confirm the Doctrine of the Gospel. For the which cause he being apprehended for an adversary of the Romish Religion, was forthwith had to examination before Doctor *White* Bishop of *Winchester*, where he sustained sundry conflicts for the truth against the said Bishop and his Collegues. The Articles of the Bishop *ministred* to him, with his answers to the same annexed, be here following,

Tho. Benbridge examined before the B. of Winchester.

Articles ministred to M. Benbridge, *with his answers following the same.*

Articles opposed against Tho. Benbridge.

FIrst, we articulate against *you*, that the Church of God ministred rightly, according to the Rite Apostolical.

Answer.

To this he answered, That Baptism is not administred at this present, so as it was in the Apostles time, for that it is not ministred in the English Tongue.

The real presence.

2. *Item*, we articulate, that the Church of God doth believe, and hold, that in the Sacrament of thanksgiving, after the words of Consecration pronounced of the Priest, the true and natural Body of Christ is present really.

Answer.

He answered, that he believeth not that in the Sacrament is contained the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, saying; this is the mark that ye shoot at.

Confirmation.

3. *Item*, we articulate, that the Church holdeth and believeth, that confirmation is a Sacrament in the Church, and that by imposition of hands of a Bishop, cometh Grace.

Answer.

He answered, that he knoweth not whether that confirmation be a Sacrament or not, and whether the Bishop giveth Grace or not; he knoweth *not* the order and fashion of ministration.

4. *Item* we articulate, that Penance is a Sacrament in the Church, and that by Auricular Confession and Absolution, pronounced by the priest, sins be forgiven.

Answer. Penance no Sacrament.

He answered negatively, denying sins to be forgiven by absolution pronounced of a Priest, and that it is not necessary for a Man to recite all his sins to a Priest.

5. *Item*, we articulate against thee, that the Church doth believe and hold the same Authority to be now in the Church which Christ gave to his Apostles.

Answer.

He answered negatively, for that the Church hath not the same power and strength to work.

6. *Item*, we articulate, that the Church believeth and holdeth, that the Order of Ministers, now being in the Church of Christ, is instituted of Christ himself.

Answer.

He answered, he believed not the Bishops to be the Successors of the Apostles, for that they be not called as they were, nor have that Grace.

Head of the Church.

7. *Item*, we articulate that the Church believeth and holdeth, the Pope to be Supream Head in the Church, and the Vicar of Christ in Earth.

He answered, that it is not the Pope, but it is the Devil that is Supream Head of the Church which you speak of. *Answer.*

8. *Item*, we articulate, that the Church doth hold and believe that it is necessary to be Baptized. *Answer*

He denyed not the same.

9. *Item*, we articulate, that the Church doth hold and believe, that there is Purgatory, and that the Souls of the dead be relieved with the alms and Prayers of the living. *Purgatory.*

Answer.

He answered and saith, as touching Purgatory, he will not believe as their Church doth believe.

10. *Item*, we articulate, that the Church holdeth and believeth that Matrimony is a Sacrament of the Church.

Answer. Matrimony no Sacrament.

He answered, that he will not say that Matrimony is a Sacrament, but to be a sacred Order and sign of an holy thing, &c.

Martin Luther.

Moreover hapning into the mention of *Martin Luther*, he said, that the said *Martin Luther* died a good Christian Man, whose Doctrine and Life he did approve and allow.

Tho. Benbridge condemned.

Thus have ye the Articles ministred by the Bishop and also the Answers of the said M. *Benbridge* unto the same, for the which he was then condemned, and after brought to the place of Martyrdom by the Sheriff, called Sir *Richard Peckſal*. Where he standing at the Stake, began to untye his points, and to prepare himself; then *he gave* his Gown to *the* Keeper, being belike his fee. *His* Jerkin was laid on with Gold Lace fair and brave which he gave to Sir *Rich. Peckſal* the High Sheriff. His cap of Velvet he took off from his Head and threw it away. Then lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his Prayers.

Tho. Benbridge brought to the Stake.

D. Seaton forbiddeth to pray for him.

That done, being now fastened to the Stake, D. *Seaton* willed him to recant, and he should have his pardon: but when he saw it prevailed not to speak, the said dreaming and doltish Doctor willed the people not to pray for him unless he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog.

M. *Benbridge* standing at the Stake with his hands together in such manner as the Priest holdeth his hands in his *memento*, the said D. *Seaton* came to him again, and exhorted him to recant: unto whom he said, Away *Babylonian*, away.

Then said one that stood by, Sir, cut out his Tongue, and another being a temporal Man, railed on him worse than D. *Seaton* did a great deal, who (as is thought) was set on by *some* other.

Master Benbridge recanted at the Stake.

Then when they saw he would not yield, they bade the tormentors to set to Fire, and yet he was nothing like covered with fagots. First, the Fire took away a piece of his Beard, whereat he nothing shrank at all. Then it came on the other side and took his Legs, and the neither Stockings of his Hose being Leather, made the Fire to pierce the sharper, so that the intolerable heat thereof made him to cry, I recant: and suddenly therewith he thrust the Fire from him. And having two or three of his friends by, that wished his life, they stept to the Fire, and holp to take it from him also; who for their labour were sent to Prison. The Sheriff also of his own Authority took him from the Stake, and sent him to Prison again, for the which he was sent unto the *Fleet*, and there lay a certain time. But before he was taken from the Stake, the said *Seaton* wrote Articles to have him to subscribe unto them as touching the Pope, the Sacrament, and such other trash. But the said M. *Benbridge* made much ado ere he would subscribe them, insomuch that Doctor *Seaton* willed them to set to Fire again. Then with much pain and grief of Heart he subscribed to them upon a Mans Back. That being done, he had his Gown given him again, and so was led to Prison. Being in Prison he wrote a Letter to Doctor *Seaton*, and recanted those words he spake at the Stake, unto which he had subscribed: for he was grieved that ever he did subscribe unto them. Whereupon expressing his Conscience, he was the same day seven night after burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors did rather broil him than burn him. The Lord give his enemies repentance.

Sir Richard Peckſal.

M. Benbridge repenteth his recantation.

The

The unjuſt Execution and Martyrdom of four burned at S. Edmunds Bury.

The ſtory of our Martyrs in Suffolk.

IN this year aforeſaid, which was the laſt of Queen *Maries* reign, Dr. *Hopton* being Biſhop of *Norwich*, and Dr. *Spencer* bearing the room of his Chancellor, about S. *James* tide, at S. *Edmunds Bury*, were wrongfully put to death four Chriſtian Martyrs, to wit:

Martyrs.
John Cooke, a Sawyer.
Robert Miles, alias *Plummer*, a Sheerman.
Alexander Lane, a Wheelright.
James Aſhley, Bachelor.

The Examination of theſe forenamed Perſons, being ſeverally called before the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and Sir *Edward Walgrave*, with others, was partly upon theſe Articles following. Anno 1558.

Firſt, Sir *Edward Walgrave* called *John Cooke* to him, and ſaid, How fortuneth it, that you go not to Church? Sir *Edward Walgrave*, Perſecutor.

John Cooke ſaid, I have been there.

Sir *Edward* ſaid, What is the cauſe that you go not thither now in theſe days? Examination of John Cooke.

John Cooke ſaid, Becauſe the Sacrament of the Altar is an abominable Idol, and (ſaith he) the vengeance of God will come upon all them that do maintain it.

Sir *Edward* ſaid, O thou rank Traytor, if I had as good Commiſſion to cut out thy Tongue, as I have to

ſit here this day, thou ſhouldſt be ſure to have it cut out.

Examination of *Robert Miles.*

Then commanded he the Conſtable to have him away, ſaying, he was both a Traitor and a Rebel.

Then he called *Robert Miles*, and ſaid, how fortuneth it, that you go not to the Church?

Robert Miles anſwered, Becauſe I will follow no falſe Gods.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, who told thee that it is a God?

Then ſaid *Miles*, Even you, and ſuch as you are.

Then the Biſhop commanded him aſide, and to appear before him the next day.

Examination of *Alexander Lane.*

Then he called *Alexander Lane* before him, and asked him, how it chanced, that he would not go to the Church?

He ſaid, That his Conſcience would not ſerve him ſo to do.

Then Sir *Edward* ſaid, How doſt thou believe?

Then ſaid *Lane*, even as it is written in Gods Book.

Then Sir *Edward* commanded him to ſay his Belief.

Then the ſaid *Lane* being ſomewhat abaſhed, ſaid his Belief to theſe words, which he miſſed unawares, *Born of the Virgin* Mary.

Then Sir *Edward* ſaid, What? was he not born of the Virgin *Mary*?

Yes, ſaid *Lane*, I would have ſaid ſo.

Nay, ſaid Sir *Edward*, you are one of *Cookes* Scholars; and ſo commanded him away, and to come before him the next day.

After the like manner they paſſed alſo with *James Aſhley*, whom they warned the next day likewiſe to appear before them again. So in fine they appearing again, had their Condemnation. And thus theſe four bleſſed Martyrs and Servants of Chriſt, innocently ſuffered together at S. *Edmunds Bury*, as is aforeſaid, about the beginning of *Auguſt*, not long before the ſickneſs of Queen *Mary*. Examination of *James Aſhley.*

The Martyrdom of two godly perſons ſuffering at Ipſwich *for the Goſpel of Chriſt, and his everlaſting Teſtament, named* Alexander Gouch, *and* Alice Driver.

MAfter *Noone*, a Juſtice in *Suffolk*, dwelling in *Martleſham*, hunting after good men to apprehend them, (as he was a bloody Tyrant in the days of Trial) at the length had underſtanding of one *Gouch* of *Woodbridge*, and *Drivers* Wife of *Grosborough*, to be at *Grosborough* together, a little from his Houſe, and immediately took his men with him, and went thither, and made diligent ſearch for them, where the poor man and woman were compelled to ſtep into an Hay-golph to hide themſelves from their cruelty. At the laſt they came to ſearch the Hay for them, and by gaging thereof with Pitchforks, at the laſt found them: ſo they took them and led them to *Melton* Goal, where they remaining a time, at the length were carried to *Bury* againſt the Aſſiſe at S. *James* tide; and being there examined of matters of Faith, did boldly ſtand to confeſs Chriſt crucified, defying the Pope with all his Papiſtical Traſh. And among other things *Drivers* Wife likened Queen *Mary* in her Perſecution, to *Jezabel*; and ſo in that ſenſe calling her *Jezabel*, for that

Novemb. 4. Mr. *Noone* a Perſecutor.

Gouch and *Alice Driver* taken at *Grosborough* and carried to *Melton* Goal.

Queen *Mary* called *Jezabel.*

Alice Drivers ears cut off, for likening Q. *Mary* to *Jezabel.*

Anno 1558.

that Sir *Clement Higham*, being chief Judge there, adjudged her Ears immediately to be cut off, which was accomplished accordingly, and she joyfully yielded her self to the punishment, and thought her self happy that she was counted worthy to suffer any thing for the Name of Christ.

Alex. Gouch.

After the Assise at *Bury*, they were carried to *Melton Gaol* again, where they remained a time. This *Alexander Gouch* was a Man of the age of 36. years, or thereabouts, and by his occupation was a Weaver of Shredding Coverlets, dwelling at *Woodbridge* in *Suffolk*, and born at *Uxford* in the same County, *Drivers* Wife was a Woman about the age of 30. years, and dwelt at *Grosborough* where they were taken, in *Suffolk*. Her Husband did use Husbandry. These two were carried from *Melton* Gaol to *Ipswich*, where they remained and were examined. The which their examination, as it came to our hands, hereafter followeth.

Gouch and Alice Driver carryed to Ipswich.

The Examination of Drivers *Wife, before Dr.* Spenser *the Chancellor of* Norwich.

Dr. Spenser after the death of Dr. Dunning who dyed suddenly in Lincolnshire, was Chancellor under B. Hooper.

FIrst, she coming into the place where she should be examined, with a smiling Countenance, Dr *Spenser* said, Why Woman, dost thou laugh us to scorn?

Drivers Wife. Whether I do or no, I might well enough, to see what fools ye be.

Doct. Spenser. Then the Chancellor asked her wherefore she was brought before him, and why she was laid in Prison.

Dri. Wherefore? I think I need not tell you: for ye know it better than I.

Spens. No by my Troth, Woman, I know not why.

Dri. Then have ye done me much wrong (quoth she) thus to Imprison me, and know no cause why: for I know no evil that I have done, I thank God, and I hope there is no man that can accuse me of any Notorious Fact that I have done, justly.

Sacrament of the Altar.

Spens. Woman, Woman, what sayst thou to the blessed Sacrament of the Altar? Dost thou not believe that it is very Flesh and Blood, after the words be spoken of Consecration?

A fat Priest to silence

Drivers Wife at those words held her peace, and made no answer. Then a great chuff-headed Priest that stood by, spake, and asked her why she made not the Chancellor answer. With that, the said *Drivers* Wife looked upon him austerely, and said, Why Priest, I come not to talk with thee, but I come to talk with thy Master: but if thou wilt I shall talk with thee, command thy Master to hold his peace. And with that the Priest put his Nose in his cap, and spake never a word more. Then the Chancellor bid her make answer to that he demanded of her.

Dri. Sir (said she) pardon me though I make no answer, for I cannot tell what you mean thereby: for in all my life I never heard nor read of any such Sacrament in all the Scripture.

Spens. Why, what Scriptures have you read, I pray you?

Dri. I have (I thank God) read Gods Book.

Spens. Why, what manner of Book is that you call Gods Book?

Dri. It is the Old and New Testament, What call you it.

No Sacrament of the Altar to be found in Gods Book.

Spens. That is Gods Book indeed, I cannot deny.

Dri. That same Book have I read thorowout, but yet never could find any such Sacrament there: and for that cause I cannot make you answer to that thing I know not. Notwithstanding, for all that, I will grant you a Sacrament, called the Lords Supper: and therefore seing I have granted you a Sacrament, I pray you shew me what a Sacrament is.

Dr. Gascoine persecutor. What a Sacrament is.

Spens. It is a sign. And one Dr. *Gascoine* being by, confirmed the same, that it was the sign of a holy thing.

Dri. You have said the truth, Sir, said she. It is a sign indeed, I must needs grant it: and therefore seeing, it is a sign, it cannot be the thing signified also. Thus farr we do agree: for I have granted your own saying. Then stood up the said *Gascoine*, and made an Oration with many fair words, but little to purpose, both offensive and odious to the minds of the godly. In the end of which long tale, he asked her if she did not believe the Omnipotency of God, and that he was Almighty, and able to perform that he spake. She answered, Yes; and said, I do believe that God is Almighty, and able to perform that he spake and promised.

Dr. Gascoines Oration little to purpose.

Talk between Alice Driver and Dr. Gascoine.

Gasc. Very well. Then he said to his Disciples, *Take, Eat, This is my Body: Ergo*, it was his Body. For he was able to perform that he spake, and God useth not to lye.

Dri. I pray you did he ever make any such promise to his Disciples, that he would make the Bread his Body?

Gasc. Those be the words. Can you deny it.

Dri. No, they be the very words indeed, I cannot deny it, but I pray you, was it not Bread that he gave unto them?

Gasc. No, it was his Body.

Dri. Then was it is Body that they did Eat over night?

Gasc. Yea, it was his Body.

Dri. What Body was it then that was Crucified the next day?

Gasc. It was Christs Body.

If Christ had but one Body, and that Body was eaten up over night, what Body then was crucified the next day? Luke 22. 1 Cor. 11.

Dri. How could that be, when the Disciples had eaten him over night? except he had two Bodies, as by your Argument he had; one they did eat over night, and he was Crucified the next day. Such a Doctor, such Doctrine. Be you not ashamed to teach the People, that Christ had two Bodies,? In the 22. of *Luke*, *He took Bread and brake it to his Disciples, saying; Take, &c. and do this in remembrance of me* Saint *Paul* saith, 1 *Cor.* 11. *Do this in remembrance of me: for as often as ye shall Eat this Bread, and Drink this Cup, ye shall shew the Lords Death till he come*: and therefore I marvel you blush not before all this people, to lye so manifestly as ye do. With that *Gascoine* held his peace, and made her no answer: for, as it seemed, he was ashamed of his doings. Then the Chancellor lift up his head off from his cushion, and commanded the Gaoler to take her away.

Gascoines mouth stopped.

The Chancellor when he could not answer her with reason sendeth her to Prison.

Dri. Now (said she) ye be not able to resist the Truth, ye command me to Prison again. Well, the Lord in the end shall judge our cause, and to him I leave it. I wis, I wis, this gear will go for no payment then: So went she with the Gaoler away.

The second Examination of Alice Driver.

Another examination of Alice Driver before Dr. Spenser. and Gascoine. Spenser up with his Sacrament of the Altar again.

THe next day she came before them again, and the Chancellor then asked her, what she said to the blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

Dri. I will say nothing to it: for you will neither believe me nor your selves. For yesterday I asked you what a Sacrament was, and you said, it was a sign, and I agreed thereto, and said, it was the Truth, confirming it by the Scriptures, so that I went not from your own words; and now ye come and ask me again of such a Sacrament as I told you I never read of in the Scriptures.

Spens. Thou lyest, naughty Woman, she did not say that it was a sign.

Dri. Why Masters, be ye not the Men that you were yesterday? Will ye eat your own words? Are ye not ashamed to lye before all this multitude here present, who heard you speak the same?

Gascoine again the matter in hand. 3 Churches.

Then stood up Dr. *Gascoine*, and said, she was deceived: for there are three Churches, the Malignant Church, the Church Militant, and the Church triumphant. So he would fain have made matter, but he could not tell which way.

Dri. Sir, is there mention made of so many Churches in the Scripture.

Gasc. Yea.

Dri. I pray you where find you this word (Church) written in the Scripture?

Gasc. It is written in the New Testament.

Dri. I pray you, Sir, shew the place where it is written.

Gaſc. I cannot tell the place, but there it is. With that *ſhe deſired him to look in his* Teſtament, Then he fumbled and ſought about him for one: but at that time he had none, and that he knew well enough, though he ſeemed to ſearch for it. At the laſt the ſaid, Have ye none here Sir?

Gaſcoin little acquainted with the new Teſtament.

Gaſc. No.

Dri. I thought ſo much indeed, that ye were little acquainted withal. Surely, you be a good Doctor. You ſay you ſit here to Judge according to the Law, and how can you give Judgment, and have not the Book of the Law with you? At which words *Gaſcoine* was out of countenance, and asked her if ſhe had one.

Dri. No, ſaid ſhe.

Gaſc. Then ſaid he, I am as good a Doctor as you.

Dri. Well Sir, I had one, but you took it from me (as you would take me from Chriſt, if you could) and ſince would ye not ſuffer me to have any Book at all; ſo burning is your charity. But you may well know (I thank God) that I have exerciſed the ſame; elſe could I not have anſwered you (to Gods glory be it ſpoken) as I have. Thus ſhe put them all to ſilence, that one looked on another, and had not a word to ſpeak.

The Papiſts put to ſilence by a ſimple Woman.

Dri. Have you no more to ſay? God be honoured. You be not able to reſiſt the Spirit of God in me poor Woman. I was an honeſt poor Mans Daughter, never brought up in the Univerſity as you have been, but I have driven the Plough before my Father many a time (I thank God:) yet notwithſtanding in the defence of Gods Truth, and in the cauſe of My Maſter Chriſt, by his grace I will ſet my foot againſt the foot of any of you all, in the maintenance and defence of the ſame, and if I had a thouſand Lives, they ſhould go for paiment thereof. So the Chancellor roſe up, and read the Sentence in Latin of Condemnation, and committed her to the ſecular power, and ſo went ſhe to Priſon again as joyful as the bird of day, praiſing and glorifying the name of God.

Alice Driver brought up at her Fathers plough

Spincer readeth Sentence againſt Alice Driver.

Alexander Gouch, Martyr.

AT which time *Alexander Gouch* alſo was examined, who was taken with her, as before is ſaid, whoſe Examination hereafter followeth.

The Articles whereupon Gouch was condemned.

This *Alexander Gouch* was examined chiefly of the Sacrament and other Ceremonies of the Popiſh Church. And for that his belief was, that Chriſt was Aſcended into Heaven, and there remaineth, and that the Sacrament was the remembrance of his death and paſſion, and for refuſing the Maſs, and the Pope to be Supream Head of Chriſts Church, for theſe cauſes, was he condemned, and dyed with *Alice Driver* at *Ipſwich*, the 4. of *November*. which was the *Monday* after *All-Saints* 1558. Dr. *Miles Spenſer* being Chancellor, they both ending their Lives earneſt zeal, nothing fearing to ſpeak their Conſcience when they were commanded to the contrary.

The Marryrdom of Gouch and Alice Driver at Ipſwich. Anno 1558. Novem 4.

Gouch and Alice Driver brought to the ſtake.

Theſe two godly perſons being come to the place where the ſtake was ſet, by ſeven of the Clock in the morning, notwithſtanding they came the ſelf-ſame morning from *Melton* Gaol, which is Sx miles from *Ipſwich*, being in their prayers, and ſinging of Pſalms both of them together, Sir *Henry Dowell*, then being Sheriff, was very much offended with them, and willed the Bailiffs of *Ipſwich* to bid them make an end of prayers, they kneeling unpon a broom Fagot, one of the Bailiffs, whoſe name was *Richard Smart*, cammanded them to make an end, ſaying, On, on, have done; make an end, nail them to the ſtake; yet they continued in prayer.

Then Sir *Henry* ſent one of his Men, whoſe name was *Richard Cove*, that they ſhould make an end.

Then *Gouch* ſtood up and ſaid unto the Sheriff, I pray you Mr. Sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here.

Then ſaid the Bailiff, Come off, have them to the fire,

The Martyrs not ſuffered to pray.

Then the ſaid *Gouch* and *Alice Driver* ſaid, Why Maſter Sheriff, and Maſter Bailiff, will you not ſuffer us to pray?

Away, ſaid Sir *Henry*, to the ſtake with them.

Gouch anſwered, Take heed Mr. Sheriff. If you forbid prayer, the Vengeance of God hangeth over your Heads. Then they being tyed to the ſtake, and the Iron Chain being put about *Alice Drivers* neck, O (ſaid ſhe) here is a goodly Neckerchief, bleſſed be God for it. Anno 1558.

Then divers came and took them by the hands as they were bound ſtanding at the ſtake. The Sheriff cryed, Lay hands on them, lay hands on them. With that a great number ran to the ſtake. The Sheriff ſeeing that, let them all alone, ſo that there was not one taken.

Bate a railing perſecutor.

There was one *Bate* a Barber, a buſie doer about them, who having then a freez Gown upon him, ſold it immediately, ſaying, It ſtunk of Hereticks, with other foul words more. After this, within three or four weeks, Gods hand was upon him, and ſo he dyed very miſerably in *Ipſwich*.

Example of Gods judgment upon perſecutors.

The Martyrdom of three wich were burned at Bury, *for the True Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.*

The Martyrdom of 3 good men at Bury.

ALthough our Hiſtory haſteth apace (the Lord be praiſed) to the happy Death of Queen *Mary*, yet ſhe dyed not ſo ſoon, but ſome there were burned before, and more ſhould have been burned ſoon after them, if Gods Proviſion had not prevented her with Death. In the number of them which ſuffered in the ſame Month when Queen *Mary* dyed, were three that were burned at *Bury*, whoſe names were theſe:

Philip Humfrey.
John David.
Henry David, his Brother.

Sir Clement Higham perſecutor.

Concerning the burning of theſe three, here is to be noted, that Sir *Clement Higham*, about a fortnight before the Queen dyed, did ſue out a Writ for the burning of theſe three aforeſaid godly and bleſſed Martyrs, notwithſtanding that the Queen was then known to be paſt remedy of her ſickneſs.

The Trouble and Martyrdom of a godly Poor Woman which ſuffered at Exeter.

The ſtory of a poor VVoman burned at Exeter in Qu. Maries time.

ALthough in ſuch an innumerable company of godly Martyrs, which in ſundry quarters of this Realm were put to torments of fire in Queen *Maries* time, it be hard ſo exactly to recite every particular perſon that ſuffered, but that ſome eſcape us either unknown, or omitted; yet I cannot paſs over a certain Poor Woman, and a ſilly Creature, burned under the ſaid Queens Reign, in the City of *Exeter* (whoſe name I have not yet learned:) who dwelling ſometime about *Cornwal*, having a Husband and Children there, much addicted to the ſuperſtitious ſect of Popery, was many times rebuked of them, and driven to go to the Church, to their Idols and Ceremonies, to ſhrift, to follow the Croſs in proceſſion, to give thanks to God for reſtoring Antichriſt again in this Realm, &c. Which when her Spirit could not abide to do, ſhe made her prayer unto God, calling for help and mercy, and ſo at length lying in her bed, about midnight, ſhe thought there came to her a certain motion and feeling of ſingular comfort. Whereupon in ſhort ſpace, ſhe began to grow in contempt of her Husband and Children, and ſo taking nothing from them, but even as ſhe went, departed from them, ſeeking her living by labour and ſpinning as well as ſhe could, here and there for a time. In which time notwithſtanding ſhe never ceaſed to utter her mind as well as ſhe durſt; howbeit ſhe at that time was brought home to her Husband again. Where at laſt ſhe was accuſed by her neighbors, and ſo brought up to *Exeter*, to be preſented to the Biſhop and his Clergy. The name of the Biſhop which had her in examination, was Dr. *Troublevile*. His Chancellor (as I gather) was *Blackſtone*. The chiefeſt matter whereupon ſhe was charged and condemned, was for the Sacrament (which they call of the Altar) and for ſpeaking againſt Idols, as by the declaration of thoſe which were preſent, I underſtand, which report the talk between her and the Biſhop on this wiſe.

Her departing from her Husband & returning again.

The poor VVoman ſent up to Exeter. Dr. Troublevile B. of Exeter, and Blackſtone, perſecutors.

Biſhop.

Anno 1558.

Biſhop. Thou fooliſh Woman, quoth the Biſhop, I hear ſay, that thou haſt ſpoken certain words againſt the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, the Body of Chriſt. Fie for ſhame. Thou art an unlearned perſon, and a Woman: Wilt thou meddle with ſuch high matters, which all the Doctors of the world cannot define? Wilt thou talk of ſo high Myſteries? Keep thy work, and meddle with that thou haſt to do. It is no Womans matter, at Cards and Tow to be ſpoken of. And if it be as I am informed, thou art worthy to be burned.

Talk between the Woman and the Biſhop.

Woman. My Lord, ſaid ſhe, I truſt your Lordſhip will hear me ſpeak.

Biſh. Yea marry, quoth he, therefore I ſent for thee.

Woman. I am a poor Woman, and do live by my hands, getting a penny truly, and of that I get, I give part to the Poor.

Biſh. That is well done. Art thou not a mans Wife?

And here the Biſhop entered into talk of her Huſband.

To whom ſhe anſwered again, declaring that ſhe had a Husband and Children; and had them not. So long as ſhe was at liberty, ſhe refuſed neither Husband nor Children: But now ſtanding here as I do, ſaid ſhe, in the cauſe of Chriſt and his Truth, where I muſt either forſake Chriſt, or my Husband, I am contented to ſtick only to Chriſt my heavenly Spouſe, and renounce the other.

The Wife renouncing her Huſband for Chriſts ſake.

And here ſhe making mention of the words of Chriſt, *He that leaveth not Father or Mother, Siſter or Brother, Husband, &c.* The Biſhop inferred, that Chriſt ſpake that of the holy Martyrs, which dyed becauſe they would not do ſacrifice to the falſe gods.

Woman. Surely, Sir, and I will rather die than I will do any worſhip to that foul Idol, which with your Maſs you make a god.

Biſh. Yea, you Callet, will you ſay that the Sacrament of the Altar is a foul Idol?

Woman. Yea truly, quoth ſhe, there was never ſuch an Idol as your Sacrament is made of your Prieſts, and commanded to be worſhiped of all men, with many fond Phantaſies, where Chriſt did command it to be eaten and drunken in remembrance of his moſt bleſſed Paſſion for our redemption.

The Sacrament of the Altar made an Idol.

Biſh. See this pratling Woman. Doſt thou not hear, that Chriſt did ſay over the Bread, *This is my Body*, and over the Cup, *This is my Blood?*

Woman. Yes, forſooth he ſaid ſo, but he meant that it is his Body and blood, not carnally, but Sacramentally.

Biſh. Lo, ſhe hath heard prating among theſe new Preachers, or heard ſome pieviſh Book. Alas poor Woman, thou art deceived.

Woman No, my Lord, that I have learned was of godly Preachers, and of godly Books which I have heard read. And if you will give me leave, I will declare a reaſon why I will not worſhip the Sacrament.

Biſh. Marry ſay on, I am ſure it will be goodly gear.

Woman. Truly ſuch gear as I will loſe this poor life of mine for.

Biſh. Then you will be a Martyr good Wife.

Woman. Indeed, if the denying to worſhip that Bready God be my Martyrdom, I will ſuffer it with all my heart.

Biſh. Say thy mind.

Woman. You muſt bear with me a poor Woman, quoth ſhe.

Biſh. So I will, quoth he.

Reaſons ſhewing why the Sacrament of the Lords Body is not to be worſhipped.

Woman. I will demand of you, whether you can deny your Creed, which doth ſay, that Chriſt perpetually doth ſit at the right hand of his Father, both Body and Soul, until he come again, or whether he be there in Heaven our Advocate, and do make prayer for us unto God his Father? If it be ſo, he is not here in the earth in a piece of Bread. If he be not here, and if he do not dwell in Temples made with hands, but in Heaven, what, ſhall we ſeek him here? if he did offer his Body once for all, why make you a new offering? if with once offering he made all perfect, why do you with a falſe offering make all unperfect? If he be to be worſhipped in Spirit and Truth, why do you worſhip a piece of Bread? if he be eaten and drunken in Faith and Truth, if his fleſh be not profitable to be among us, why do you ſay, you make his Body and fleſh, and ſay it is profitable for Body and Soul? Alas, I am a poor Woman but rather then I would do as you do, I would live no longer. I have ſaid Sir.

Biſh. I promiſe you, you are a jolly Proteſtant. I pray you in what Schools have you been brought up?

Woman. I have upon the *Sundays* viſited the Sermons, and there have I learned ſuch things as are ſo fixed in my breaſt, that death ſhall not ſeparate them.

Biſh. O fooliſh Woman! who will waſt his breath upon thee or ſuch as thou art? But how chanceth it that thou wenteſt away from thy Husband? if thou wert an honeſt Woman, thou wouldeſt not have left thy Huſband and Children, and run about the Country like a Fugitive.

Woman. Sir, I laboured for my living; and as my Maſter Chriſt counſelleth me, when I was perſecuted in one City, I fled into another?

Biſh. Who perſecuted thee?

Woman. My Husband and my Children. For when I would have them to leave Idolatry, and to worſhip God in Heaven, he would not hear me, but he with his Children rebuked me, and troubled me. I fled not for Whoredom, nor for Theft, but becauſe I would be no partaker with him and his, of that foul Idol the Maſs. And whereſoever I was, as oft as I could upon *Sundays* and Holi-days, I made excuſes not to go to the Popiſh Church.

The Wife perſecuted by her Huſband and Children.

Biſh. Belike then you are a good Huſwife, to flie from your Husband and alſo from the Church.

Woman. My Huſwifery is but ſmall; but God give me grace to go to the true Church.

Biſh. The true Church, what doſt thou mean?

Woman. Not your Popiſh Church full of Idols and Abominations, but where two or three are gathered together in the name of God, to that Church will I go as long as I live.

Biſh. Belike then you have a Church of your own. Well, let this mad Woman be put down to Priſon, until we ſend for her Husband.

Woman. No, I have but one Husband, which is here already in this City and in Priſon with me (from whom I will never depart) and ſo their communication for that day brake off. *Blackſtone* and others perſwaded the Biſhop that ſhe was a mazed Creature, and not in her perfect wit, (which is no new thing, for the wiſdom of God to appear fooliſhneſs to carnal men of this world) and therefore they conſulted together, that ſhe ſhould have liberty, and go at large. So the Keeper of the Biſhops Priſon had her home to his houſe, where ſhe fell to ſpinning and carding, and did all other work as a Servant in the ſaid Keepers houſe, and went about the City, when and whither ſhe would, and divers had delight to talk with her. And ever ſhe continued talking of the Sacrament of the Altar, which of all things they could leaſt abide. Then was her Husband ſent for, but ſhe refuſed to go home with him, with the blemiſh of the Cauſe and Religion, in defence whereof ſhe there ſtood before the Biſhop and the Prieſts.

Then divers of the Prieſts had her in handling, perſwading her to leave her wicked Opinion about the Sacrament of the Altar, the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt. But ſhe made them anſwer, that it was nothing but very Bread and Wine, and that they might be aſhamed to ſay, that a piece of Bread ſhould be turned by a man into the natural Body of Chriſt, which Bread doth vinow, and Mice oftentimes do eat it, and it doth mould, and is burned: And, ſaid ſhe, Gods own Body will not be ſo handled, nor kept in Priſon, or Boxes, or Aumbries. Let it be your god, it ſhall not be mine; for my Saviour ſitteth on the right hand of God, and doth pray for me. And to make that Sacramental or ſignificative Bread inſtituted for a remembrance, the very Body of Chriſt, and to worſhip it, it is very fooliſhneſs and Devilliſh deceit.

Talk between the Woman and the Prieſts about the Sacrament.

Now truly, ſaid they, the Devil hath deceived thee.

No ſaid ſhe, I truſt the living God hath opened mine eyes, and cauſed me to underſtand the right uſe of the bleſſed Sacrament, which the true Church doth uſe, but the falſe Church doth abuſe.

Then ſtept forth an old Frier, and asked her what ſhe ſaid of the holy Pope.

I (ſaid ſhe) ſay, that he is Antichriſt and the Devil.

Then they all laughed.

Talk between the Woman and a Frier.

Nay, ſaid ſhe, you have more need to weep than to laugh, and to be ſorry that ever you were born, to be the Chaplains of that Whore of *Babylon*, I deſie him and all his Falſhood; and get you away from me, you do but trouble my Conſcience. You would have me follow your doings; I will firſt loſe my life. I pray you depart.

Why, thou fooliſh Woman, ſaid they, we come to thee for thy profit and Souls health.

O Lord God, ſaid ſhe, what profit riſeth by you that teach nothing but Lies for Truth? how ſave you Souls, when you preach nothing but damnable Lies, and deſtroy Souls?

How proveſt thou that (ſaid they?)

False Doctrine of the Papiſts reproved.

Do you not damn Souls, ſaid ſhe, when you teach the People to worſhip Idols, Stocks and Stones, the works of mens hands? and to worſhip a falſe God of your own making of a piece of Bread, and teach that the Pope is Gods Vicar, and hath power to forgive ſins? and that there is a Purgatory, when Gods Son hath by his Paſſion purged all? and ſay, you make God, and ſacrifice him, when Chriſts Body was a Sacrifice once for all? Do you not teach the People to number there ſins in your ears, and ſay they be damned, if they confeſs not all: when Gods Word ſaith, *Who can number his ſins?* Do you not promiſe them Trentals and Diriges, and Maſſes for Souls, and ſell your Prayers for Money, and make them buy Pardons, and truſt to ſuch fooliſh inventions of your own Imaginations? Do you not altogether againſt God? Do ye not teach us to pray upon Beads, and to pray unto Saints, and ſay they can pray for us? Do you not make Holy-Water and Holy-Bread to fray Devils? Do you not a thouſand more Abominations? And yet you ſay, you come for my profit and to ſave my Soul. No, no, one hath ſaved me. Farewel you with your ſalvation. Much other talk there was between her and them, which here were too tedious to be expreſſed.

In the mean time during this her Months liberty granted to her by the Biſhop, which we ſpake of before it happened that ſhe entering into Saint *Peters* Church, beheld there a cunning Dutchman, how he made new Noſes to certain fine Images which were diſfigured in King *Edwards* time; What a mad man art thou (ſaid ſhe) to make them new Noſes, which within a few days ſhall all loſe their Heads? The Dutchman accuſed her, and laid it hard to her charge. And ſhe ſaid unto him, Thou art accurſed, and ſo are thy Images. He called her Whore. Nay, ſaid ſhe, thy Images are Whores, and thou art a Whore-hunter; for doth not God ſay, You go a whoring after ſtrange gods, figures of your own making? and thou art one of them. Then was ſhe ſent for and clapped faſt, and from that time ſhe had no more liberty.

The revolting of one *Daniel* a Miniſter. from the Goſpel to Popery in Q. *Maries* time.

During the time of her Impriſonment, divers reſorted to her to viſit her, ſome ſent of the Biſhop, ſome of their own voluntary will; amongſt whom was one *Daniel* a great doer and preacher ſometimes of the Goſpel, in the Days of King *Edward*, in thoſe parts of *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire*: whom after that ſhe perceived by his own confeſſion to have revolted from that which he preached before, through the grievous Impriſonments, as he ſaid, and fear of perſecution which he had partly ſuſtained by the cruel Juſtices in thoſe parts, earneſtly ſhe exhorted him to repent with *Peter*, and to be more conſtant in his Profeſſion.

Moreover, there reſorted to her a certain worthy Gentlewoman, the Wife of one *Walter Rauly*, a woman of noble wit, and of a good and godly Opinion; who coming to the Priſon, and talking with her, ſhe ſaid her Creed to the Gentlewoman, and when ſhe came to the Article, *He aſcended*, there ſhe ſtaid, and bade the Gentlewoman to ſeek his bleſſed Body in heaven, not in Earth, and told her plainly that God dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, and that Sacrament to be nothing elſe but a remembrance of his bleſſed Paſſion, and yet (ſaid ſhe) as they now uſe it, it is but an Idol, and far wide from any remembrance of Chriſts Body; which, ſaid ſhe, will not long continue, and ſo take it good Mrs. So that as ſoon as ſhe came home to her Husband, ſhe declared to him, that in her life ſhe never heard a Woman (of ſuch ſimplicity to ſee to) talk ſo godly, ſo perfectly, ſo ſincerely, and ſo earneſtly; inſomuch, that if God were not with her, ſhe could not ſpeak ſuch things, to the which I am not able to anſwer her, ſaid ſhe, who can read, and ſhe cannot. Anno 1558.

William and J. *Kede*, two godly Brethren.

Alſo there came to her one *Wiliam Kede*, and *John* his Brother, not only Brethren in the fleſh, but alſo in the Truth, and men in that Country of great credit, whoſe Father *R. Kede* all his life ſuffered nothing but trouble for the Goſpel. Theſe two good and faithful Brethren were preſent with her, both in the Hall, and alſo at the Priſon, and (as they reported) they never heard the like Woman, of ſo godly talk, ſo faithful or ſo conſtant; and as godly Exhortations ſhe gave them.

The conſtancy of this Woman many ways tryed.

Thus this good Matron, the very Servant and Handmaid of Chriſt, was by many ways tryed, both by hard Impriſonment, threatnings, taunts and ſcorns, called an Anabaptiſt, a mad Woman, a Dunkard, a Whore, a Runnagate. She was proved by liberty to go whither ſhe would; ſhe was tried by flattery, with many fair promiſes; ſhe was tryed with her Husband, her goods and Children; but nothing could prevail, her heart was fixed, ſhe had caſt her Anchor, utterly contemning this wicked world; a rare enſample of conſtancy to all Profeſſors of Chriſts Goſpel.

In the Bill of my Information, it is ſo reported to me, that albeit ſhe was of ſuch ſimplicity, and without learning, yet you could declare no place of Scripture, but ſhe would tell you the Chapter; yea, ſhe would recite you the names of all the Books of the Bible. For which cauſe one *Gregory Baſſet*, a rank Papiſt, ſaid ſhe was out of her wit, and talked of the Scripture, as a Dog rangeth far off from his Maſter when he walketh in the fields, or as a ſtoln Sheep ont of his Maſters hands, ſhe wiſt not whereat, as all Hereticks do; with many other ſuch taunts, which ſhe utterly deſied. Whereby as Almighty God is highly to be praiſed, working ſo mightily in ſuch a weak Veſſel, ſo men of ſtronger and ſtouter nature, have alſo to take example how to ſtand in like caſe; when as we ſee this poor Woman, how manfully ſhe went through with ſuch conſtancy and patience.

G. Baſſet a railing Papiſt.

The conſtant Patience of this Woman and Martyr to be noted.

At the laſt, when they perceived her to be paſt remedy, and had conſumed all their threatnings, that neither by priſonment nor liberty, by menaces nor flattery, they could bring her to ſing any other Song, nor win her to their vanities and ſuperſtitious doings, then they cried out, *An Anabaptiſt, an Anabaptiſt.* Then at a day they brought her from the Biſhops Priſon to the *Guild-Hall*, and after that delivered her to the Temporal Power, according to their cuſtom, where ſhe was by the Gentlemen of the Country exhorted yet to call for grace, and to leave her fond Opinions: and go home to thy Husband, ſaid they, thou art an unlearned Woman, thou art not able to anſwer to ſuch high matters. I am not, ſaid ſhe, yet with my death I am content to be a witneſs of Chriſts death: and I pray you make no longer delay with me; my heart is fixed, I will never otherwiſe ſay, nor turn to their ſuperſtitious doings.

The Woman brought from the Biſhops Priſon to the *Guild-Hall*: Exhortations to have her recant.

The conſtant ſtanding of this Woman.

Then the Biſhop ſaid, the Devil did lead her.

No, my Lord, ſaid ſhe, it is the Spirit of God which leadeth me, and which called me in my Bed, and at midnight opened his Truth to me. Then was there a great ſhout and laughing among the Prieſts and other.

Blaſphemy of the Biſhop.

How God revealed his Truth unto her.

During the time that this good poor Woman was thus under theſe Prieſts hands, amongſt many other baitings and ſore conflicts which ſhe ſuſtained by them, here is moreover not to be forgotten, how that Maſter *Blaxton* aforeſaid, being the Treaſurer of the Church, had a Concubine, which ſundry times reſorted to him, with other of his Goſſips; ſo that always when they came, this ſaid good Woman was called forth to his Houſe, there to make his Minion with the reſt of the Company ſome mirth, he examining her with ſuch mocking and girning, deriding the Truth, that it would have vexed any

Chriſtian

Anno 1558.

Chriſtian heart to have ſeen it. Then when he had long uſed his fooliſhneſs in this ſort, and had ſported himſelf enough in deriding this Chriſtian Martyr; in the end he ſent her to Priſon again, and there kept her very miſerably, ſaving that ſometimes he would ſend for her, when his aforeſaid gueſt came to him, to uſe with her his accuſtomed folly aforeſaid. But in fine, theſe vile wretches (after many combats and ſcoffing perſwaſions) when they had played the part of the Cat with the Mouſe, at length condemned her, and delivered her over to the Secular Power.

Judgment given againſt this good Woman.

Then the Indictment being given and read, which was, that ſhe ſhould go to the place whence ſhe came, and from thence to be led to the place of execution, then and there to be burned with flames till ſhe ſhould be conſumed; ſhe lifted up her voice and thanked God, ſaying, I thank thee my Lord my God; this day have I found that which I have long ſought. But ſuch out-cries as there were again, and ſuch mockings were never ſeen upon a poor ſilly Woman: All which ſhe moſt patiently took. And yet this favour they pretended after her Judgment, that her life ſhould be ſpared, if ſhe would turn and recant. Nay, that will I not (ſaid ſhe:) God forbid that I ſhould loſe the life eternal for this carnal and ſhort life. I will never turn from my Heavenly Husband, to my Earthly Husband; from the fellowſhip of Angels, to mortal Children: And if my Husband and Children be faithful, then am I theirs; God is my Father, God is my Mother, God is my Siſter, my Brother, my Kinſman, God is my Friend moſt faithful.

She taketh God for her judgment given.

The patient Martyrdome of a poore woman at Exeter, being one Preſts wife.

Two godly Martyrs burned at Briſtoll Anno 1557.

The Woman delivered to the Sheriff, and led to the place of execution.

Then was ſhe delivered to the Sheriff, and inumerable People beholding her, ſhe was led by the Officers to the place of execution, without the Walls of *Exceter*, called *Sothenhey*, where again theſe ſuperſtitious Prieſts aſſaulted her; and ſhe prayed them to have no more talk with her, but cryed ſtill; God be merciful to me a ſinner, God be merciful to me a ſinner. And ſo whiles they were tying her to the ſtake, thus ſtill ſhe cryed, and would give no anſwer to them, but with much patience took her cruel death, and was with the flames and fire conſumed; and ſo ended this mortal life, as conſtant a Woman in the Faith of Chriſt, as ever was upon the Earth. Shee was as ſimple a Woman to ſee to as any Man might behold; of a very little and ſhort ſtature, ſomewhat thick, about 54. years of age. She had a chearful countenance, ſo lively, as though ſhe had been prepared for that day of her Marriage to meet the Lamb; moſt patient of her words and anſwers; ſober in apparel, meat and drink, and would never be idle; a great comfort to as many as would talk with her; good to the poor; and in her trouble, mony, ſhe ſaid, ſhe would take none; for ſhe ſaid, I am going to a City, where mony beareth no maſtry; whiles I am here God hath promiſed to feed me. Thus was her mortal life ended. For whoſe conſtancy God be everlaſtingly praiſed, *Amen*.

Touching the name of this Woman (as I have now learned) ſhe was the Wife of one called *Preſt*, dwelling in the Dioceſs of *Exceter*, not far from *Launceſton*.

The perſecution and Martyrdom of three godly men burnt at Briſtow, *about the latter years of Qu.* Mary's *Reign.*

The ſtory of 3 Martyrs which ſuffered at Briſtow.

IN writing of the bleſſed Saints which ſuffered in the Bloody days of Queen *Mary*, I had almoſt overpaſſed the names and ſtory of three godly Martyrs, which with their Blood gave Teſtimony likewiſe to the Goſpel of Chriſt, being condemned and burnt in the Town of *Briſtow*. The names of whom were theſe:

Richard Sharpe.
Thomas Benion. } Martyrs.
Thomas Hale.

Rich. Sharp Martyr.

First, *Richard Sharp* Weaver of *Briſtow*, was brought the ninth day of *March*, *Anno* 1556. before Maſter *Dalby*, Chancellor of the Town or City of *Briſtow*, and after examination concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, was perſwaded by the ſaid *Dalby* and others to recant, and the twenty nineth of the ſame Month was enjoyned to make his recantation before the Pariſhioners in his Pariſh Church. Which when he had done, he felt in his Conſcience ſuch a tormenting Hell, that he was not able quietly to work in his occupation, but decayed and changed both in colour and liking of his Body. Who ſhortly after upon *Sunday* came into his Pariſh Church, called *Temple*, and after high Maſs, came to the Quire Door, and ſaid with a loud voice; Neighbours, bear me record that yonder Idol (and pointed to the Altar) is the greateſt and moſt abominable that ever was; and I am ſory that ever I denyed my Lord God. Then the Conſtables were commanded to apprehend him, but none ſtepped forth, but ſuffered him to go out of the Church. After, by night he was apprehended

Mr. Dalby Chancellor of Briſtow, perſecutor.

and carried to *Newgate*, and ſhortly after he was brought before the Lord Chancellor, denying the Sacrament of the Altar to be the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and ſaid, it was an Idol, and therefore was condemned to be burned by the ſaid *Dalby*. He was burnt the ſeventh of *May* 1557. and died godly, patiently, and conſtantly, confeſſing the Articles of our Faith.

Rich. Sharp condemned.

Thomas Hale, *Martyr.*

Tho. Hale Martyr.

THe *Thurſday* in the night before *Eaſter*, *Anno* 1557. came one Mr. *David Herris* Alderman, and *John Stone*, to the Houſe of one *Thomas Hale*, a Shoemaker of *Briſtow*, and cauſed him to riſe out of his Bed, and brought him forth of his door. To whom the ſaid *Thomas Hale* ſaid, You have ſought my Blood theſe two years, and now much good do you with it. Who being committed to the Watchmen, was carried to *Newgate* the twenty fourth of *April*, the year aforeſaid, was brought before Mr. *Dalby* the Chancellor, committed by him to Priſon, and after by him condemned to be burnt, for ſaying the Sacrament of the Altar to be an Idol. He was burned the ſeventh of *May* with the foreſaid *Richard Sharp*, and godly, patiently, and conſtantly imbraced the Fire with his arms.

Anno 1558.

Richard Sharp and *Thomas Hale* were burned both together in one fire, and bound back to back.

Thomas Benion.

Tho. Benion Martyr.

THomas *Benion* a Weaver, at the Commandment of the Commiſſioners, was brought by a Conſtable, the thirteenth day of *Auguſt* Anno, 1557. before Maſter *Dalby* Chancellor of *Briſtow*, who committed him to Priſon for ſaying there was nothing but Bread in the Sacrament, as they uſed it. Wherefore, the twentieth day of the ſaid *Auguſt* he was condemned to be burnt by the ſaid *Dalby*, for denying 5. of their Sacraments, and affirming two, that is, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Baptiſm. He was burnt the 27. of the ſaid month and year, and died godly, Conſtantly, and patiently, with confeſſing the Articles of our Chriſtian Faith.

Thomas Benion burnt at Briſtoll. Aug. 27. 1557.

The Martyrdome of five Godly Martyrs at Canterbury Anno 1558. November 10.

The Martyrdom of five conſtant Chriſtians, which ſuffered the laſt of all other in the time of Queen Mary.

November 10.

THe laſt that ſuffered in Queen *Maries* time, were five at *Canterbury* burned about ſix days before the death of Queen *Mary*, whoſe names Follow here under written.

Martyrs.

John Corneford, of *Wortham.*
Chriſtopher Brown, of *Maidſtone.*
John Herſt, of *Aſhford.*
Alice Snoth.
Katherine Knight, otherwiſe called *Katherine Tynley*, an aged Woman.

The five laſt that ſuffered.

Theſe five, to cloſe up the final Rage of Queen *Maries* Perſecution, for the teſtimony of that Word, for which ſo many had died before, gave up their lives meekly and patiently, ſuffering the violent malice of the Papiſts. Which Papiſts, although they then might have either well ſpared them, or elſe deferred their death, knowing of the ſickneſs of Queen *Mary*; yet ſuch was the implacable deſpight of that Generation, that ſome there be that ſay, the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* the ſame time being at *London*, and underſtanding the danger of the Queen, incontinently made all poſt-haſt home to diſpatch theſe, whom before he had then in his cruel cuſtody.

The matter why they were judged to the Fire, was for believing the Body not to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, unleſs it be received; ſaying moreover, that we receive another thing alſo beſides Chriſts Body, which we ſee, and is a temporal thing, according to St. *Paul*, *The things that be ſeen, be temporal, &c.*

Their Articles why they were condemned.

Item, for confeſſing that an evil man doth not receive Chriſts Body, *Becauſe no man hath the Son, except it be given him of the Father.*

Item, that it is Idolatry to creep to the Croſs, and St. *John* forbidding it, ſaith, *Beware of Images.*

Item, for confeſſing that we ſhould not pray to our Lady, and other Saints, becauſe they be not Omnipotent.

An example of Gods work to be noted.

For theſe and other ſuch Articles of Chriſtian Doctrine, were theſe five committed to the Fire. Againſt whom when the Sentence ſhould be read, and they excommunicate, after the manner of the Papiſts, one of them, *John Corneford* by Name, ſtirred with a vehement ſpirit of the Zeal of God, proceeding in a more true Excommunication againſt the Papiſts, in the name of them all, pronounced Sentence againſt them, in theſe words as follow:

In

Anno 1558.

Sentence of condemnation pronounced by J. Corneford against the Papists.

In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the most mighty God, and by the power of his Holy Spirit, and the Authority of his Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church, we do here give into the Hands of Sathan to be destroyed, the Bodies of all those Blasphemers and Hereticks, that do maintain any error against his most holy Word, or do condemn his most holy Truth for Heresie, to the maintenance of any false Church or feigned Religion, so that by this thy just judgment, O most mighty God, against thy Adversaries, thy True Religion may be known to thy great glory and our comfort, and to the edifying of all our Nation. Good Lord so be it, Amen.

This Sentence of Excommunication being the same time openly pronounced and registred, proceeding so, as it seemeth, from an inward Faith and hearty zeal to Gods Truth and Religion, took such effect against the enemy, that within six days after Queen *Mary* dyed, and the Tyranny of all English Papists with her. Albeit, notwithstanding the Sickness and Death of that Queen, wherof they were not ignorant; yet the Archdeacon, with other of *Canterbury*, thought to dispatch the Martyrdom of these Men before.

The cruel dealing of Mr. *Harpsfield*, the Archdeacon of *Cant.*

In the which fact, the tyranny of this Archdeacon seemeth to exceed the cruelty of *Boner*; who notwithstanding he had certain the same time under his custody, yet he was not so importune in haling them to the fire, as appeareth by Father *Lining* and his Wife, and divers other, who being the same time under the custody and danger of *Boner*, were delivered by the death of Queen *Mary*, and remain yet some of them alive.

These godly Martyrs in their prayers which they made before their Martyrdom, desired God that their Blood might be the last that should be shed, and so it was.

This *Katherine Tinley* was the Mother of one *Robert Tinley*, now dwelling in *Maidstone*, which *Robert* was in trouble all Queen *Maries* time. To whom his Mother, coming to visit him, asked him how he took this place of Scripture which she had seen, not by reading of the Scripture (for she had yet in manner no taste of Religion) but had found it by chance in a Book of prayers, *I will pour out my Spirit upon all Flesh, and your Sons and your Daughters shall prophesie: your Old Men shall dream dreams, and your Young Men shall see Visions. And also upon the Servants, and upon the Maids in those days will I pour my Spirit, &c.* Which place after that he had expounded to her, she began to take hold on the Gospel, growing more and more in zeal and love thereof, and so continued unto her Martyrdom.

A note of *Alice Snoth.*

Among such young Women as were burned at *Canterbury*, it is recorded of a certain maid, and supposed to be this *Alice Snoth* here in this story mentioned, or else to be *Agnes Snoth* above storied, (for they were both burned) that when she was brought to be executed, she being at the Stake, called for her Godfather and Godmothers. The Justice, hearing her, sent for them, but they durst not come. Notwithstanding the Justices willed the messenger to go again, and to shew them that they should incur no danger thereof.

Hereby Bp. *Boner* may see that the Martyrs died in the same Faith, wherein they were Baptised by their Godfathers and Godmothers.

Then, they hearing that, came to know the matter of their sending for. When the maid saw them, she asked them what they had promised for her, and so she immediatly rehearsed her Faith, and the commandments of God, and required of them, if there were any more that they had promised in her behalf, and they said, No. Then, said she, I die a Christian Woman, bear witness of mee, and so cruelly in fire was she consumed, and gave joyfully her life up for the Testimony of Christs Gospel, to the terrour of the wicked, and comfort of the godly, and also to the stopping of the slanderous mouths of such, as falsly do quarrel against the faithful Martyrs, for going from that Religion wherein by their Godfathers and Godmothers they were first Baptised.

The Story and Condemnation of John Hunt, *and* Richard White, *ready to be burnt, but by the Death of Q.* Mary *escaped the fire.*

The story of Jo. Hunt, and Richard White.

BEsides these Martyrs above named, divers there were in divers other places of the Realm imprisoned, whereof some were but newly taken and not yet examined, some begun to be examined, but were not yet condemned, certain were both examined and condemned, but for lack of the Writ escaped.

Other there were also, both condemned, and the Writ also was brought down for their burning, and yet by the death of the Chancellor, the Bishop, and of Queen *Mary* happening together about one time, they most happily and marvellously were preserved, and lived many years after. In the number of whom was one *John Hunt* and *Richard White*, imprisoned at *Salisbury*. Touching which history something here is to be shewed.

First, these two good Men and faithful Servants of the Lord above named, to wit, *John Hunt*, and *Richard White*, had remained long time in Prison at *Salisbury* and other places thereabout, the space of two years and more. During which time, oft times they were called to examination, and manifold ways were impugned by the Bishops and the Priests. All whose examinations; as I thought not much needful here to prosecute or to search out, for the length of the Volume; so neither again did I think it good to leave no Memory at all of the same, but some part to express, namely of the Examination of *Richard White* before the B. of *Salisbury*, the B. of *Gloucester*, with the Chancellor and other Priests, not unworthy perchance to be rehearsed.

The Examination of Richard White, *before the Bishop of* Salisbury *in his Chamber in* Salisbury *the 26. day of* April, Anno 1557.

Examination of Richard White.

THe Bishop of *Salisbury* at that time was Doctor *Capon*. The Bishop of *Gloucester* was Doctor *Brookes*. These with Doctor *Geffery* the Chancellor of *Salisbury*, and a great number of Priests sitting in judgment, *Richard White* was brought before them. With whom first the Bishop of *Gloucester*, which had the examination of him, beginneth thus.

Bishop Brookes. Is this the prisoner?

The Chancellor. Yea, my Lord.

Brookes. Friend, wherefore camest thou hither?

White. My Lord, I trust to know the cause: for the Law saith; In the Mouth of two or three witnesses things must stand.

Doctor Capon. Did not I examine thee of thy Faith when thou camest hither?

White. No, my Lord, you did not examine me, but commanded me to the *Lollards Tower*, and that no man should speak with me. And now I do require mine accuser.

The Maior of *Marlborough* persecutor.

Then the Register said; The Maior of *Marlborow* did apprehend you for words that you spake there; and for that I commanded you to be conveighed hither to Prison.

White. You had the examination of me in *Marlborow*. Say what I have said. And I will answer you.

Geffery. Thou shalt confess thy Faith e're thou depart; and therefore say thy mind freely, and be not ashamed so to do.

White. I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God to Salvation unto all that believe: and S. *Peter* saith; *If any man do ask thee a reason of the hope that is in thee, make him a direct answer and that with meekness.* Who shall have the examination of me?

Chanc. My Lord of *Gloucester* shall have the examination of thee.

White. My Lord, will you take the pains to wet your coat in my Blood? be not guilty thereof; I warn you before hand.

Brookes. I will do nothing contrary to our Law.

White. My Lord, what is it that you do request at my hands?

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Brookes. I will appose thee upon certain Articles, and principally upon the Sacrament of the Altar: How doest thou believe of the blessed Sacrament of the Altar? Believest thou not the real, carnal, and corporal presence of Christ in the same, even the very same Christ that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, that was hanged on the Cross and that suffered for our sins? (and at these words they all put off their caps, and bowed their Bodies.)

White.

White. My Lord, what is a Sacrament?

Brooks. It is the thing it self the which it representeth.

White. My Lord, that cannot be; for he that representeth a Prince, cannot be the Prince himself.

Bro. How many Sacraments findest thou in the Scriptures called by the name of Sacraments?

White. I find two Sacraments in the Scriptures, but not called by the names of Sacraments. But I think St. *Auguſtine* gave them the firſt name of Sacraments:

The name Sacrament not found in the Scriptures.

Brooks, Then thou findeſt not that word Sacrament in the Scriptures.

White. No, my Lord.

How the Papiſts play with Scriptures, as the Devil did when he tempted Chriſt.

Brooks. Did not Chriſt ſay, This is my Body? and are not his words true?

White. I am ſure the words are true; but you play by me as the Devil did by Chriſt: for he ſaid, *If thou be, Mat. 4. For, it is, &c. Pſal. 91.* But the words that followed after be clean left out, which are theſe: *Thou ſhalt walk upon the Lion and Aſp, &c.* Theſe words the Devil left out, becauſe they were ſpoken againſt himſelf; and even ſo do you recite the Scriptures.

White's opinion of the Sacrament.

Brooks. Declare thy Faith upon the Sacrament.

White. Chriſt and his Sacraments are like, becauſe of the Natures; for in Chriſt are two Natures, a divine and an humane Nature; ſo likewiſe in the Sacraments of Chriſts Body and Blood there be two Natures, the which I divide into two parts, that is, external and internal. The external part is the Element of Bread and Wine, according to the ſaying of Saint *Auguſtine.* The internal part is the inviſible Grace, which by the ſame is repreſented. So is there an external receiving of the ſame Sacrament, and an internal. The external is with the hand, the eye, the mouth, and the ear. The internal is by the Holy Ghoſt in the heart, which worketh in me Faith. Whereby I apprehend all the merits of Chriſt, applying the ſame wholly unto my Salvation. If this be truth, believe it; and if it be not, reprove it.

Double receiving of the Sacrament, external, & internal.

Dr. Hoskins. This is *Oecolampadius* Doctrine, and *Hooper* taught it the people.

Brooks. Doſt thou not believe, that after the words of Conſecration there is the natural Preſence of Chriſts Body?

White. My Lord, I will anſwer you, if you will anſwer me to one queſtion. Is not this Article of our belief true; *He ſitteth at the Right hand of God the Father Almighty*: If he be come from thence to judgment, ſay ſo.

A popiſh Paradox; Chriſts Body both in Heaven and in Earth at one time.

Brook. No. But if thou wilt believe the Scriptures, I will prove to thee that Chriſt was both in Heaven and in earth at one time.

White. As he is God, he is in all places; but as for his manhood, he is but in one place.

Brooks. St. *Paul* ſaith, 1 *Cor.* 15. *Laſt of all he was ſeen of me, &c.* Here St. *Paul* ſaith he ſaw Chriſt, and St. *Paul* was not in Heaven.

White. St. *Pauls* chief purpoſe was by this place to prove the Reſurrection. But how do you prove that Chriſt, when hee appeared to St. *Paul*, was not ſtill in Heaven; like as he was ſeen of *Stephen*, ſitting at the Right Hand of God? St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, the Head that was in Heaven, did cry for the Body and members which were on the Earth, and ſaid; *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?* And was not *Paul* taken up into the third Heaven, where he might ſee Chriſt? as he witneſſeth, 1 *Cor.* 15. For there he doth but only ſay he ſaw Chriſt, but concerning the place he ſpeaketh nothing. Wherefore this place of Scripture proveth not that Chriſt was both in Heaven and Earth at one time.

How St. Paul ſaw Chriſt *Supra. Pſal.* 54.

B. Brook leaveth the Scripture, and proveth the Sacrament by other matter.

Brook. I told you before he would not believe. Here be three opinions, the Lutherans, the Oecolampadians, and we the Catholicks. If you the Oeccolampadians have the truth; then the Lutherans and we the Catholiks be out of the way. If the Lutherans have the truth, then you the Oecolampadians and we the Catholicks be out of the way. But if we the Catholicks have the truth, as we have indeed, then the Lutherans and you the Oecolampadians are out of the way, as you are indeed, for the Lutherans do call you Hereticks.

White. My Lord, ye have troubled me greatly with the Scriptures.

Brooks. Did I not tell you it was not poſſible to remove him from his errour? Away with him to the *Lollards Tower*, and diſpatch him as ſoon as ye can.

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This was the effect of my firſt Examination. More Examinations I had after this, which I have no time now to write out.

Amongſt many other examinations of the foreſaid *Richard White*, at divers and ſundry times ſuſtained, it happened one time, that Doctor *Blackſtone* Chancellor of *Exceter* ſate upon him, with divers other; who alledging certain Doctors, as *Chryſoſtome, Cyprian, Tertullian*, againſt the ſaid *Richard*, and being, falſe patching of the Doctors, reproved by him for his fell in ſuch a quaking and ſhaking (his Conſcience belike remorſing him) that hee was fain, ſtooping down, to lay both his hands upon his knees to ſtay his Body from trembling.

The tremming and ſhaking of *Blackſtone* at the examination of Richard White.

Then the ſaid *John Hunt* and *Richard White*, after many examinations and long captivity, at length were called for, and brought before Doctor *Geffery* the Biſhops Chancellor, there to be condemned, and ſo they were. The high Sheriff at that preſent was one named Sir *Anthony Hnugerford*, who being then at the Seſſions, was there charged with theſe two comdemned perſons, with other malefactors there condemned likewiſe the ſame time, to ſee the execution of Death miniſtred unto them.

Condemnation of John Hunt and R. White.

In the mean time Maſter *Clifford* of *Boſco* in *Wiltſhire*, Son-in-law to the ſaid Sir *Anthony Hungerford* the Sheriff, cometh to his Father, exhorting him and counſelling him earneſtly in no caſe to meddle with the Death of theſe two innocent perſons; and if the Chancellor and Prieſts would needs be inſtant upon him, yet he ſhould firſt require the Writ to be ſent down *De comburendo* for his diſcharge.

The Chriſtian zeal of M. Clifford.

Sir *Anthony Hungerford* hearing this, and underſtanding Juſtice *Brown* to be in the Town the ſame time, went to him to ask his advice and Counſel in the matter: who told him that without the Writ ſent down from the Superiour Powers, he could not bee diſcharged, and if the Writ were ſent, then he muſt by the law do his charge.

The Sheriff underſtanding by Juſtice *Brown* how farr he might go by the Law, and having at that time no Writ for his warrant, let them alone, and the next day after taking his Horſe, departed.

Example of Chriſtian piety in the Sheriff to be noted.

The Chancellor all this while marvelling what the Sheriff meant, and yet diſdaining to go unto him, but looking rather the other ſhould have come firſt to him, at laſt hearing that hee was ridden away, taketh his Horſe and rideth after him; who, at length overtaking the ſaid Sheriff, declared unto him how he had committed certain condemned priſoners to his hand, whoſe duty had been to have ſeen execution done, the matter he ſaid was great, and therefore willed him to look well unto it how he would anſwer the matter. And thus began he fiercely to lay to his charge.

Wherein note (gentle Reader) by the way, the cloſe and covert hypocriſie of the Papiſts in their dealings. Who in the form and ſtile of their own Sentence Condemnatory, pretend a Petition unto the Secular Power, *In viſceribus Jeſu Chriſti, ut iuris rigor mitigetur, atque ut parcatur vitæ.* That is, that the rigour of the Law may be mitigated, and that their life may be ſpared. And how ſtandeth this now with their own doings and dealings, when this Chancellor (as ye ſee) is not onely contented to give Sentence againſt them, but alſo hunteth after the Officer, not ſuffering him to ſpare them, although he would? What diſſimulation is this of Men, going and doing contrary to their own words and profeſſion? But let us return to our matter again.

Note to be obſerved concerning the Papiſts dealings.

The Papiſts charged with manifeſt diſſimulation.

The Sheriff hearing the Chancellors words, and ſeeing him ſo urging upon him, told him again that hee was no Babe, which now was to be taught of him. If he had any Writ to warrant and diſcharge him in burning thoſe Men, then he knew what he had to do. Why, ſaith the Chancellor, did not I give you a Writ, with my hand and eight more of the Cloſe ſet unto the ſame? Well, quoth the Sheriff, that is no ſufficient diſcharge for me; and therefore as I told you, if ye have a ſufficient Writ and Warrant from the Superiour Powers, I know then what I have to do in my office: otherwiſe, if you have

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no other [illegible]t but that, I tell you, I wil neither burn them for you nor any of you all, &c.

Burning without a ſufficient Writ.

Where note again (good Reader) how by this it may be thought and ſuppoſed, that the other poor Saints and Martyrs of God, ſuch as had been burned at *Saliſbury* before, were burned belike without any authoriſed or ſufficient Writ from the Superiors, but only upon the information of the Chancellor and of the Cloſe, through the uncircumſpect negligence of the Sheriffs, which ſhould have looked more ſubſtantially upon the matter. But this I leave and referr unto the Magiſtrates. Let us return to the ſtory again.

Doctor Geffery the Chancellor thus ſent away from the Sheriff, went home, and there fell ſick upon the ſame (for anger belike) as they ſignified unto me, which were the parties themſelves, both godly and grave perſons, who were then condemned, the one of them, which is *Richard White*, being yet alive.

Rich. White now Vicar of *Malbrough* in *Wiltſhire.*

The under Sheriff to this Sir *Anthony Hungerford* above named, was one Maſter *Michell*, likewiſe a right and a perfect godly Man. So that not long after this came down the Writ to burn the above named *Richard White*, and *John Hunt*, but the under Sheriff receiving the ſaid Writ, ſaid; I will not be guilty (quoth he) of theſe Mens Blood, and immediately burnt the writing, and departed his way. Within four days after the Chancellor died. Concerning whoſe Death this cometh by the way to be noted, that theſe two foreſaid, *John Hunt*, and *Rich. White*, being the ſame time in a low and dark *Dungeon*, being *Saturday*, toward evening (according to their accuſtomed manner) fell to evening prayer. Who kneeling there together, as they ſhould begin their prayer: ſuddenly fell both to ſuch a ſtrange weeping and tenderneſs of heart (but how they could not tell) that they could not pray one word, but ſo continued a great ſpace, burſting out in tears. After that night was paſt, and the morning come, the firſt word they heard, was that the Chanchellor their great enemy was dead. The time of whoſe death they found to be the ſame hour, when as they fell in ſuch a ſudden weeping. The Lord in all his works be prayſed, *Amen*. Thus much concerning the death of that wicked Chancellor.

Mr. *Michel* underſheriff buſneth the Writ.

Gods workings to be noted concerning the death of Dr. *Geffery* Chancellor of *Saliſbury.*

This *Rich. White* and the ſaid *John Hunt*, after the death of the Chancellor, the Biſhop alſo being dead a little before, continued ſtill in Priſon till the happy coming in of Queen *Elizabeth*: and ſo were at liberty.

The Martyrdom of a young lad of eight years old, ſcourged to death in Biſhop Boners *Houſe in London.*

The Story of *John Fetty*, and martyrdom of his Child.

IF bloody Torments and cruel Death of a poor Innocent, ſuffering for no cauſe of his own, but in the Truth of Chriſt and his Religion, do make a Martyr, no leſs deſerveth the Child of one *John Fetty* to be reputed in the Catalogue of Holy Martyrs, who in the houſe of Bp. *Boner* unmercifully was ſcourged to death, as by the ſequel of this ſtory here following may appear.

Amongſt thoſe that were perſecuted and miſerably impriſoned for the profeſſion of Chriſts Goſpel, and yet mercifully delivered by the providence of God, there was one *John Fetty*, a ſimple and godly Poor Man, dwelling in the Pariſh of *Clerkenwel*, and was by vocation a Taylor, of the age of 24. years or thereabout, who was accuſed and complained of unto one *Brokenbury* a Prieſt and Parſon of the ſame Pariſh, by his own Wife, for that he would not come unto the Church, and be partaker of their Idolatry and Superſtition; and therefore, through the ſaid Prieſts procurement, he was apprehended by *Richard Tanner* and his fellow Conſtables there, and one *Martin* the Headborow. Howbeit immediately upon his apprehenſion, his Wife (by the juſt judgment of God) was ſtricken mad, and diſtract of her wits; which declared a marvellous example of the juſtice of God againſt ſuch unfaithful and moſt unatural treachery. And although this example perhaps for lack of knowledge and inſtruction in ſuch caſes little moved the Conſciences of thoſe ſimple Poor Men to ſurceaſe their perſecution; yet natural pity towards that ungrateful Woman wrought ſo in their hearts, that for the preſervation and ſuſtentation of her and her two Children (like otherwiſe to periſh) they for that preſent let her Husband alone, and would not carry him to Priſon, but yet ſuffered him to remain quietly in his own houſe. During which time, he as it were forgetting the wicked and unkind fact of his Wife, did yet ſo cheriſh and provide for her, that within the ſpace of three weeks (through Gods merciful providence) ſhe was well amended, and had recovered again ſome ſtay of her wits and ſenſes.

Gods dreadful hand upon a Wife ſeeking the deſtruction of her Husband.

But ſuch was the power of Sathan in the malicious heart of that wicked Woman, that notwithſtanding his gentle dealing with her, yet ſhe ſo ſoon as ſhe had recovered ſome health, did again accuſe her Husband; whereupon he was the ſecond time apprehended, and carried unto Sir *John Mordant* Knight, one of the Queens Commiſſioners, and he upon examination ſent him by *Cluny* the Biſhops Sumner, unto the *Lollards Tower*: where he was (even at the firſt) put into the painful Stocks, and had a diſh of water ſet by him, with a ſtone put into it. To what purpoſe God knoweth, except it were to ſhew that he ſhould look for little other ſuſtenance, Which is credible enough, if we conſider their like practices upon divers before mentioned in this hiſtory, as amongſt other, upon *Richard Smith*, who died through their cruel impriſonment; Touching whom, when a godly Woman came to Dr. *Story*, to have leave that ſhe might bury him, he asked her if he had any ſtraw or Blood in his Mouth; but what he meant thereby, I leave to the judgment of the godly Wiſe.

The Wife perſecuting her Husband.

John Fetty again apprehended.

The ſtrait handling of *Jo. Fetty* by Sir John *Mordant.*

Rich. Smith dead in priſon through cruel handling.

After the foreſaid *Fetty* had thus lain in the Priſon by the ſpace of 15. days, hanging in the ſtocks, ſometime by the one leg, and the one Arm; ſometime by the other, and otherwhiles by both, it hapned that one of his Children (a boy of the age of 8. or 9. years) came unto the Biſhops houſe to ſee if he could get leave to ſpeak with his Father. At his coming thither, one of the Biſhops Chaplains met with him, and asked him what he lacked and whom he would have. The Child anſwered, that he came to ſee his Father. The Chaplain asked again who was his Father. The boy then told him, and pointing towards *Lollards Tower*, ſhewed him that his Father was there in Priſon. Why (quoth the Prieſt) thy Father is an Heretick: The Child being of a bold and quick Spirit, and alſo godly brought up, and inſtructed by his Father in the knowledge of God, anſwered and ſaid; My Father is no Heretick: For you have *Balaams* Mark.

The cruel handling & ſcourging of *Jo. Fetties* Child.

With that the Prieſt took the Child by the hand, and carried him into the Biſhops houſe (whether to the Bp. or not, I know not, but like enough hee did) and there amongſt them they did moſt ſhamefully and without all pity ſo whip and ſcourge, being naked, this tender Child, that he was all in a gore Blood, and then in jolly bragg of their Catholick Tyranny, they cauſed *Cluny*, having his Coat upon his Arm to carry the Child in his ſhirt unto his Father being in Priſon, the Blood running down by his heels.

The miſerable tyranny of the Papiſts in ſcourging a Child.

At his coming unto his Father the Child fell down upon his knees, and asked him bleſſing. The Poo. Man then beholding his Child, and ſeeing him ſo cruelly arayed, cryed out for ſorrow, and ſaid; Alas *Will*, who hath done this to thee? The Boy anſwered, that as he ſeeking how to come to ſee his Father, a Prieſt with *Balaams* Mark took him into the Biſhops houſe, and there was he ſo handled. *Cluny* therewith violently plucked the Child away out of his Fathers Hands, and carried him back again into the Biſhops houſe, where they kept him three days after.

The Child all Bloody brought to his Father in priſon.

Cluny carrieth the boy again to the B. houſe.

And at the three days end, *Boner* (minding to make the matter whole, and ſomewhat to appeaſe the Poor Man, for this their horrible fact) determined to releaſe him; and therefore cauſed him early in a morning to be brought out of *Lollards Tower* into his bed-chamber, where he found the Biſhop bathing of himſelf againſt a great fire; and at his firſt entring into the chamber, *Fetty* ſaid, God be here and peace. God be here and peace (quoth *Boner*) that is neither God ſpeed, nor good morrow. If ye kick againſt this peace (ſaid *Fetty*) then this is not the place that I ſeek for.

The words between *Boner* and *John Fetty.*

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A Chaplain of the Biſhops ſtanding by turned the Poor Man about, and thinking to deface him, ſaid in mocking wiſe; What have we here? A player? whileſt this *Fetty* was ſtanding in the Biſhops Chamber, he eſpied hanging about the Biſhops Bed a great pair of Black Beads: whereupon he ſaid; My Lord, I think the Hangman is not far off; for the Halter (pointing to the Beads) is here already. At which words the Biſhop was in a marvellous rage.

Bon. Beads.

Then immediately after he eſpied alſo ſtanding in the ſaid Biſhops Chamber in the Window a little Crucifix; (before which belike *Boner* uſed to kneel in the time of his hypocritical prayers.) Then he asked the Biſhop what it was; and he anſwered that it was Chriſt. Was he handled ſo cruelly as he is here pictured, quoth *Fetty*?

Boners Crucifix.

Yea, that he was, ſaid the Biſhop.

B. Boner compared to Caiphas.

And even ſo cruelly will you handle ſuch as come before you. For you are unto Gods People as *Caiphas* was unto Chriſt.

The Biſhop being in a great fury, ſaid; Thou art a vile Heretick, and I will burn thee, or elſe I will ſpend all that I have unto my gown.

Nay, my Lord, ſaid *Fetty*, ye were better to give it a Poor Body, that he may pray for you. But yet *Boner* bethinking in himſelf of the danger that the Child was in by their whipping, and what peril might enſue thereupon, thought better to diſcharge him; which thing was accompliſhed.

B. Boner for fear of the law in murdering a Child, delivered the Father out of Priſon.

The Martyrdom of a Child ſcourged to death in Boners houſe.

Whereupon, after this and ſuch like talk, the Biſhop at laſt diſcharged him, willing him to go home, and carry his Child with him; which he ſo did, and that with a heavy heart to ſee his Poor Boy in ſuch extreme pain and grief. But within fourteen days after the Child died, whether through his cruel ſcourging, or any other infirmity, I know not; and therefore I referr the truth thereof unto the Lord, who knoweth all ſecrets, and alſo to the diſcreet judgment of the wiſe Reader. But howſoever it was, the Lord yet uſed their cruel and deteſtable fact, as a means of his providence for the delivery of this good Poor Man and faithful Chriſtian, his name be ever prayſed therefore, *Amen*.

The cruel handling and burning of Nicholas Burton, *Engliſhman and Merchant in* Spain.

The ſtory of Nic. Burton Martyr in Spain.

FOraſmuch as in our former Book of Acts and Monuments mention was made of the Martyrdom of *Nicholas Burton*, I thought here alſo not to omit the ſame ſtory, being ſuch as is not unworthy to be known, as well for the profitable example of his ſingular conſtancy, as alſo for the noting of the extream dealing and cruel revenging of thoſe Catholick Inquiſitors of *Spain*, who under the pretenſed viſor of Religion, do nothing but ſeek their own private gain and commodity, with crafty rifling and ſpoyling of other Mens goods, as by the noting of this ſtory may appear.

Nic. Burton Londoner.

The fifth day of the Month of *November*, about the year of our Lord God, 1560, this *Nicholas Burton*, Citizen ſometime of *London* and Merchant, dwelling in the Pariſh of little Saint *Bartholomew*, peaceably and quietly following his traffique in the trade of Merchandiſe, and being in the City of *Cadiz*, in the party of *Andoluzia* in *Spain*, there came into his lodging a *Judas* (or as they term them) a Familiar of the Fathers of the Inquiſition. Who asking for the ſaid *Nicholas Burton*, fained that he had a letter to deliver to his own hands; by which means he ſpake with him immediately. And having no Letter to deliver to him, then the ſaid Promoter or Familiar, at the motion of the Divel his Maſter, whoſe meſſenger he was, invented another lie, and ſaid, that he would take lading for *London* in ſuch ſhips as the ſaid *Nicholas Burton* had fraited to lade, if he would let any; which was partly to know where he laded his goods, that they might attach them, and chiefly to detract the time until the *Alguiſiel* or Sergeant of the ſaid Inquiſition might come and apprehend the Body of the ſaid *Nicholas Burton*; which they did incontinently.

Who then, well perceiving that they were not able to burden nor charge him that he had written, ſpoken, or done any thing there in that Country againſt the Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal Laws of the ſame Realm; boldly asked them what they had to lay to his charge, that they did ſo arreſt him and bade them to declare the cauſe, and he would anſwer them. Notwithſtanding they anſwered nothing, but commanded him with cruel threatning words to hold his peace, and not to ſpeak one word to them.

Nic. Burton laid in priſon, they having no cauſe to charge him with.

And ſo they carried him to the cruel and filthy common Priſon of the Town of *Cadiz*, where he remained in Irons fourteen days amongſt thievs.

All which time he ſo inſtructed the poor Priſoners in the Word of God, according to the good talent which God had given him in that behalf, and alſo in the Spaniſh Tongue to utter the ſame, that in ſhort ſpace he had well reclaimed ſundry of thoſe Superſtitious and Ignorant Spaniards to imbrace the Word of God, and to reject their Popiſh Traditions.

Nic. Burton carried to Sivil.

Which being known unto the Officers of the Inquiſition, they conveighed him laden with Irons from thence to a City called *Sivil*, into a more cruel and ſtraiter Priſon called *Triana*, where the ſaid Fathers of the Inquiſition proceeded againſt him ſecretly according to their accuſtomable cruel tyranny, that never after he could be ſuffered to write or to ſpeak to any of his nation; ſo that to this day it is unknown who was his accuſer.

Nic. Burton brought to judgment after a diſguiſed manner.

Afterward, the 20. day of *December*, in the foreſaid year, they brought the ſaid *Nicholas Burton*, with a great number of other priſoners, for profeſſing the true Chriſtian Religion, into the City of *Sivil*, to a place where the ſaid Inquiſitors ſate in judgment, which they called *Awto*, with a Canvas Coat, whereupon in divers parts was painted the figure of a huge Divel, tormenting a Soul in a flame of fire, and on his head a copping tank of the ſame work.

His tongue was forced out of his mouth with a cloven ſtick faſtened upon it, that he ſhould not utter his Conſcience and Faith to the People, and ſo he was ſet with another Engliſh Man of *Southhampton*, and divers other condemned Men for Religion, as well French Men, as Spaniards, upon a Scaffold over againſt the ſaid Inquiſition, where their Sentences and Judgments were read and pronounced againſt them.

Nic. Burton with another Engliſhman of Southampton condemned.

And immediately after the ſaid Sentences given, they were carried from thence to the place of execution without the City, where they moſt cruelly burned him, for whoſe conſtant Faith, God be praiſed.

This *Nicholas Burton* by the way, and in the flames of the fire made ſo chearful a Countenance, embracing Death with all patience and gladneſs, that the tormentors and enemies which ſtood by, ſaid that the Divel had his Soul before he came to the fire; and therefore they ſaid his ſenſes of feeling were paſt him.

It hapned that after the arreſt of this *Nicholas Burton* aforeſaid, immediately all the goods and merchandiſe which he brought with him into Spain by the way of traffick, were (according to their common uſage) ſeiſed, and taken into the Sequeſter; among the which they alſo rolled up much that appertained to another Engliſh Merchant, wherewith he was credited as Factor. Whereof ſo ſoon as news was brought to the Merchant as well of the impriſonment of his Factor, as of the arreſt made upon his goods, he ſent his Attourney into *Spain* with Authority from him, to make claim to his goods, and to demand them; whoſe name was *John Fronton*, Citizen of *Briſtow*.

The trouble of Jo. Fronton, Citizen of Briſtow in Spaine.

When his Attourney was landed at *Sivil*, and had ſhewed all his Letters and writings to the Holy Houſe, requiring them that ſuch goods might be delivered into his poſſeſſion, anſwer was made him that he muſt ſue by Bill, and retain an Advocate (but all was doubtleſs to delay him) and they forſooth of courteſie aſſigned him one to frame his Supplication for him, and other ſuch Bils of petition, as he had to exhibit into their Holy Court, demanding for each Bill 8. Rials, albeit they ſtood him in no more ſtead, than if he had put up none at all. And for the ſpace of three or four Months this fellow miſſed not twice a day, attending every morning and after-noon at the Inquiſitors Palace, ſuing unto them upon his knees for his diſpatch, but eſpecially to the Biſhop of *Tarracon*, who was at that very time chief in the Inquiſition at *Sivil*, that he of his abſolute Authority would command reſtitution to be made thereof; but

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The manner of the Popiſh Spaniards in carrying Nicholas Burton a bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt after moſt ſpitefull ſort to the burning.

but the Booty was ſo good and ſo great, that it was very hard to come by it again.

At the length, after he had ſpent whole four Months in ſuits and requeſts, and alſo to no purpoſe, he received this Anſwer from them, that he muſt ſhew better evidence, and bring more ſufficient Certificates out of *England* for proof of this matter, than thoſe which he had already preſented to the Court. Whereupon the party forthwith poſted to *London*, and with all ſpeed returned to *Sivil* again with more ample and large Letters Teſtimonial and Certificates, according to their requeſts, and exhibited them to the Court.

Note the ravening extortion of theſe Inquiſitors.

Notwithſtanding the Inquiſitors ſtill ſhifted him off, excuſing themſelves by lack of leiſure, and for that they were occupied in greater and more weighty Affairs, and with ſuch Anſwers delayed him other four Months after.

The vile proceedings of the Inquiſitors of *Spain*.

At the laſt, when the party had well-nigh ſpent all his Mony, and therefore ſued the more earneſtly for his diſpatch, they referred the matter wholly to the Biſhop. Of whom, when he repaired unto him, he made this Anſwer, That for himſelf, he knew what he had to do; howbeit he was but one man, and the determination of the matter appertained unto the other Commiſſioners as well as unto him: and thus by poſting and paſſing it from one to another, the party could obtain no end of his Suit. Yet, for his importunity ſake, they were reſolved to diſpatch him, it was on this ſort: One of the Inquiſitors called *Gaſco*, a man very well experienced in theſe practices, willed the party to reſort unto him after Dinner.

J. Fronton impriſoned by the Spaniſh Inquiſitors for asking his own goods.

The Fellow being glad to hear theſe News, and ſuppoſing that his goods ſhould be reſtored unto him, and that he was called in for that purpoſe to talk with the other that was in Priſon, to confer with him about their Accounts, the rather through a little miſunderſtanding, hearing the Inquiſitors caſt out a word, that it ſhould be needful for him to talk with the Priſoner, and being thereupon more than half perſwaded, that at the length they meant good Faith, did ſo, and repaired thither about the Evening. Immediately upon his coming, the Gaoler was forthwith charged with him, to ſhut him up cloſe in ſuch a certain Priſon, where they appointed him.

The party hoping at the firſt that he had been called for about ſome other matter, and ſeeing himſelf contrary to his expectation caſt into a dark Dungeon, perceived at the length that the World went with him far otherwiſe than he ſuppoſed it would have done.

But within two or three days after, he was brought forth into the Court, where he began to demand his goods; and becauſe it was a device that well ſerved their turn, without any more circumſtance they bade him ſay his *Ave Maria*. The party began and ſaid it after this manner; *Ave* Maria *gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui Jeſus*, Amen.

J. Fronton judged for an Heretick, for not adding to *Ave Maria*, more than the Scripture hath.

The ſame was written word by word as he ſpake it, and without any more talk of claiming his goods, becauſe it was bootleſs, they command him to Priſon again, and enter an Action againſt him as an Heretick, foraſmuch as he did not ſay his *Ave Maria* after the Romiſh faſhion, but ended it very ſuſpiciouſly, for he ſhould have added moreover; *Sancta* Maria *mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus*; by abbreviating whereof, it was evident enough (ſaid they) that he did not allow the mediation of Saints.

A quarrel picked againſt the Engliſh Merchant to ſpoil him of his goods.

Thus they picked a quarrel to detain him in Priſon a longer ſeaſon, and afterwards brought him forth into their Stage diſguiſed after their manner: where Sentence was given, that he ſhould loſe all the goods which he ſued for, though they were not his own, and beſides this ſuffer a years Impriſonment.

The Martyrdom of another Engliſhman in Spain.

Another Engliſhman burnt in *Spain*, read afore.

AT what time this bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt ſuffered, which was the year of our Lord 1560. *December* 22. there ſuffered alſo another Engliſhman, with other thirteen, one of them being a Nun, another a Frier, both conſtant in the Lord, of which thirteen read before.

John Baker, *and* William Burgate, *Martyrs.*

John Baker, *William Burgate*, Martyrs in *Spain*.

JOhn *Baker* and *William Burgate*, both Engliſhmen in *Cales*, in the Country of *Spain*, were apprehended, and in the City of *Sivil* burned the ſecond day of *November*.

Mark Burges, *and* William Hoker, *Martyrs.*

Mark Burges burnt in *Lisbone*.

MArk *Burges* an Engliſhman, Maſter of an Engliſh Ship called the *Minion*, was burned in *Lisbone*, a City in *Portugal*, *Anno* 1560.

William

W. Hoker ſtoned to death in Sivil.

William Hoker a young man, about the age of Sixteen years, being an Engliſhman, was ſtoned to death of certain young men there in the City of *Sivil*, for the Confeſſion of his Faith. *Anno* 1560.

But of theſe and ſuch other acts and matters paſt in *Spain*, becauſe they fell not within the compaſs of Q. *Maries* Reign, but ſince her time, another place ſhall ſerve hereafter (the Lord willing) to intreat more at large of the ſame, when we come to the years and reign of the Queen that now is, where we have more conveniently to infer not only of theſe matters of the Martyrs (whereof ſomewhat alſo hath been touched before) but alſo of the whole Inquiſition of *Spain* and *Plackarde* of *Flaunders*, with the tragical tumults and troubles happening within the laſt memory of theſe our later days, according as it ſhall pleaſe the mercy of the Lord to enable our endeavour with grace and ſpace to the accompliſhment thereof.

A Chapter or Treatiſe concerning ſuch as were Scourged and Whipped by the Papiſts in the true Cauſe of Chriſts Goſpel.

A Chapter concerning ſuch as were Scourged for Religion.

AND thus through the merciful aſſiſtance and favourable aid of Chriſt our Saviour, thou haſt as in a general Regiſter (good Reader) the ſtory collected, if not of all, yet of the moſt part, or at leaſt, not many I truſt omitted of ſuch good Saints and Martyrs as have loſt their Lives, and given their Blood, or died in Priſon for the Teſtimony of Chriſts true Doctrine and Sacraments, from the time of the cruel Statute firſt given out by King *Henry* the fourth *Ex officio*, unto this preſent time, and eſpecially under the Reign of *Q. Mary*.

Of this Statute read before.

Now after this bloody ſlaughter of Gods good Saints and Servants thus ended and diſcurſed, let us proceed (by the good pleaſure of the Lord) ſomewhat likewiſe to intreat of ſuch as for the ſame cauſe of Religion have been, although not put to death, yet Whipped and Scourged by the Adverſaries of Gods Word, firſt beginning with *Richard Wilmot* and *Thomas Fairfax*, who about the time of *Anne Askew*, were pitifully rent and tormented with Scourges and Stripes for their faithful ſtanding to Chriſt, and of his Truth, as by the ſtory and examination both of the ſaid *Richard Wilmot*, and of *Thomas Fairefax* now following may appear.

The Scourging of Richard Wilmot *and* Thomas Fairefax.

The Scourging of Rich. Wilmot and T. Fairefax, Dr. Cromes Sermon.

AFter the firſt Recantation of Doctor *Crome* for his Sermon which he made the fifth *Sunday* in *Lent* at Saint *Thomas Aeres*, being the *Mercers Chappel*, his Sermon was on the Epiſtle of the ſame day, written in the Tenth Chapter to the *Hebrews*; wherein he proved very learnedly by the ſame place of Scripture and others, that Chriſt was the only and ſufficient Sacrifice unto God the Father for the ſins of the whole world, and that there was no more Sacrifice to be offered for ſin by the Prieſts, foraſmuch as Chriſt had offered his Body on the Croſs; and ſhed his Blood for the ſins of the People, and that once for all. For the which Sermon he was apprehended of *Boner*, and brought before *Stephen Gardiner* and other of the Council where he promiſed to recant his Doctrine at *Pauls-Croſs*, the ſecond *Sunday* after *Eaſter*. And accordingly he was there and preached, *Boner* with all his Doctors ſitting before him: but he ſo preached and handled his matter, that he rather verified his former ſaying, than denied any part of that which he before had preached. For the which the Proteſtants praiſed God, and heartily rejoyced.

D. Cromes Recantation.

But Biſhop *Boner* with his Champions were not therewith pleaſed, but yet notwithſtanding they had him home with them, and ſo handled him among the Wolfiſh generation, that they made him come to the Croſs again the next *Sunday*.

Dr. Crome cauſed to recant the ſecond time.

And becauſe the Magiſtrates ſhould now hear him, and be witneſs of this Recantation which was moſt blaſphemous, to deny Chriſts Sacrifice to be ſufficient for penitent ſinners, and to ſay that the Sacrifice of the Maſs was good, godly, and a holy Sacrifice, propitiatory and available both for the quick and the dead: Becauſe (I ſay) that they would have the Nobles to hear this blaſphemous Doctrine, the viperous generation procured all the chief of the Council to be there preſent. Anno 1558.

Now to come to our matter; at this time, the ſame week, between his firſt Sermon and the laſt, and while Doctor *Crome* was in durance, one *Richard Wilmot* being Apprentice in *Bow-Lane*, being of the age of 18 years, and ſitting at his work in his Maſters Shop, the *Tueſday*, in the month of *July*, one *Lewes* a Welchman, being one of the Guard, came into the Shop, having things to do for himſelf.

R. Wilmot Apprentice in Bow-Lane.

One asked him what News at the Court, and he anſwered, that the old Heretick Dr. *Crome* had recanted now indeed before the Council, and that he ſhould on *Sunday* next be at *Pauls-Croſs* again, and there declare it.

Lewes one of the Guard, a Welchman, a Popiſh perſecutor.

Then *VVilmot* ſitting at his Maſters Work, and hearing him ſpeak theſe words, and rejoycing in the ſame, began to ſpeak unto him, ſaying, that he was ſorry to hear theſe News. For (ſaid he) if *Crome* ſhould ſay otherwiſe than he had ſaid, then is it contrary to the Truth of Gods Word, and contrary to his own Conſcience, which ſhall before God accuſe him.

Wilmot defendeth Dr. *Cromes* Sermon.

Lewes anſwered and ſaid, that he had preached and taught Hereſie; and therefore it was meet that he ſhould in ſuch a place revoke it.

VVilmot told him that he would not ſo ſay, neither did he hear him preach any Doctrine contrary to Gods Word written, but that he proved his Doctrine, and that ſufficiently by the Scriptures.

Lewes then asked him how he knew that.

VVilmot anſwered, by the Scriptures of God, wherein he ſhall find Gods will and pleaſure, what he willeth all men to do, and what not to do; and alſo by them he ſhould prove and try all Doctrines, and the falſe Doctrine from the true.

Lewes ſaid, it was never merry ſince the Bible was in Engliſh: and that he was both an Heretick and a Traitor that cauſed it to be tranſlated into Engliſh (meaning *Cromwel*) and therefore was rewarded according to his deſerts.

The Lord *Cromwel* wrongfully accuſed.

VVilmot anſwered again, what his deſerts and offences were to his Prince a great many do not know, neither doth it force whether they do or no; Once, he was ſure that he loſt his life for offending his Prince, and the Law did put it in execution; Adding moreover concerning that man, that he thought it pleaſed God to raiſe him up from a low eſtate, and to place him in high Authority, partly unto this, that he ſhould do that which all the Biſhops in the Realm yet never did, in reſtoring again Gods holy Word, which being hid long before from the People in a ſtrange Tongue, and now coming abroad amongſt us, will bring our Biſhops and Prieſts, ſaid he, in leſs eſtimation among the People.

The deings of the Lord *Cromwel* defended.

Lewes asked why ſo?

Wilmot ſaid, becauſe their doctrine and living was not according to his Word.

Then ſaid *Lewes*, I never heard but that all men ſhould learn of the Biſhops and Prieſts, becauſe they are Learned men, and have been brought up in Learning all the days of their lives. Wherefore they muſt needs know the Truth, and our Fathers did believe their Doctrine and Learning, and I think they did well, for the world was far better then, than it *is* now.

The common reaſon of the Papiſts, why the Scriptures ſhould not be in Engliſh.

Wilmot anſwered, I will not ſay ſo: For we muſt not believe them becauſe they are Biſhops, neither becauſe they are Learned, neither becauſe our Fathers did follow their Doctrine. For I have read in Gods Book, how that Biſhops and Learned men have taught the People falſe Doctrine, and likewiſe the Prieſts from time to time and indeed thoſe People our Fore-fathers believed as they taught, and as they did think, ſo did the People think. But for all this, Chriſt calleth them falſe Prophets, Thieves, and Murtherers, blind leaders of the blind, willing the People to take heed of them, leſt they ſhould both fall into the Ditch.

Gods Truth goeth not always by title and fame of great learning.

Moreover we read, that the Biſhops, Prieſts, and Learned men have been commonly miniſters of the Truth from time to time, and have always perſecuted the Prophets in the old Law, as their ſucceſſors did perſecute

our

Anno 1558.

Learned men how far they are to be credited.

our Saviour Chriſt and his Diſciples in the new Law. We muſt take heed therefore that we credit them no further than God will have us, neither follow them nor our Forefathers otherwiſe than he commandeth us. For Almighty God hath given to all People, as well to Kings and Princes, as Biſhops, Prieſts, learned and unlearned men, a Commandment and Law, unto the which he willeth all men to be obedient. Therefore if any Biſhop or Prieſt preach or teach, or Prince or Magiſtrate command any thing contrary to his commandment, we muſt take heed how we obey them. For it is better for us to obey God than man.

Marry Sir, quoth *Lewes*, you are an holy Doctor indeed. By Gods Blood if you were my man, I would ſet you about your buſineſs a little better, and not ſuffer you to look upon Books, and ſo would your Maſter if he were wiſe. And with that in came his Maſter, and a young man with him, which was Servant with Mr. *Daubney* in *Watling-ſtreet*.

His Maſter asked what the matter was.

Wilmot complained of to his Maſter.

Lewes ſaid, that he had a Knaviſh Boy here to his Servant, and how that if he were his, he would rather hang him, than keep him in his houſe.

Then his Maſter, being ſomewhat moved, asked his fellows what the matter was.

They ſaid, they began to talk about Dr. *Crome*,

Then his Maſter asked him what he had ſaid, ſwearing a great Oath, that he would make him to tell him.

He ſaid, that he truſted he had ſaid nothing, whereby either he or Maſter *Lewes* may juſtly be offended. I pray (quoth *Wilmot*) ask him what I ſaid.

Marry (ſaid *Lewes*) this he ſaid, that Dr. *Crome* did preach and teach nothing but the Truth, and how that if he recant on *Sunday* next, he would be ſorry to hear it, and that if he do, he is made to do it againſt his Conſcience. And more he ſaith, that we muſt not follow our Biſhops Doctrine and preaching: For, ſaith he, they be hinderers of Gods Word, and perſecutors of that; and how *Cromewel* did more good (that Traytor) in ſetting forth the Bible, than all our Biſhops have done theſe hundred years: thus reporting the matter worſe then he had ſaid,

Then ſaid *Wilmot*, that in many things he made his Tale worſe than it was. His Maſter hearing of this, was in a great fury, and rated him, ſaying, that either he would be hanged or burned, ſwearing that he would take away all his Books and burn them.

The young man (Mr. *Daubnies* Servant) ſtanding by hearing this, began to ſpeak on his part unto *Lewes*; and his talk confirmed all the ſayings of the other to be true.

M. *Daubnies* Servant called T. *Fairfax* taketh *Wilmots* part.

This young man was learned, his name was *Thomas Fairefax*. *Lewes* hearing this mans talk as well as the others went his way in a rage unto the Court.

Wilmot and T. *Fairefax* ſent for to the Lord Mayor.

On the morrow they heard news, ſo that the ſaid *Wilmot* and *Thomas Fairefax* were ſent for, to come to the Lord Mayor. The Meſſenger was Mr. *Smart*, Swordbearer of *London*. They came before dinner to the Mayors houſe, and were commanded to ſit down at dinner in the Hall, and when the dinner was done, they were both called into a Parlour, where the Mayor and Sir *Roger Cholmley* was, who examined them ſeverally, the one not hearing the other.

R. *Wilmot* and *Thomas Fairefax* examined before the Lord Mayor, and M. *Cholmley*.

The effect of their talk with them was this; Sir *Roger Cholmley* ſaid unto the foreſaid *Wilmot*, that my Lord Mayor and he had received a Commandment from the Council, to ſend for him and his Company, and to examine them of certain things which were laid unto their charge.

Then ſaid Maſter *Cholmley* to him, Sirra, what Countryman art thou? He anſwered, that he was born in *Cambridgeſhire*, and in ſuch a Town. Then he asked him, how long he had been in the City. He told him.

Then he asked what learning he had. He ſaid, little learning and ſmall knowledge. Then (deridingly) he asked how long he had known Doctor *Crome*. He ſaid, but a while, about two years. He ſaid that he was a lying Boy, and ſaid that he the ſaid *Wilmot* was his Son.

The other ſaid unto him, that was unlike, for that he never ſaw his Mother, nor the him. *Cholmley* ſaid he lied. *Wilmot* ſaid he could prove it to be true. Then he asked him how he liked his Sermon that he made at Saint *Thomas Acres* Cappel in *Lent*. He ſaid that indeed he heard him not. He ſaid, yes, and the other, nay. Then ſaid he, what ſay you to his Sermon made at the *Croſs* the laſt day, heard you not that?

Wilmot. Yes, and in that Sermon he deceived a great number of People.

Cholmley. How ſo?

Wil. For that they looked that he ſhould have recanted his Doctrine that he taught before, and did not, but rather confirmed it.

Cholm. Yea Sir, but how ſay you now to him? for he hath recanted before the council: and hath promiſed on *Sunday* next to be at the *Croſs* again, how think ye in that?

Wil. If he ſo did, I am the more ſorry to hear it; and ſaid, he thought he did it for fear and ſafeguard of his life.

Cholm. But what ſay you? was his firſt Sermon Hereſie or not?

S. *Pauls* Doctrine made Hereſie with the papiſts.

Wilmot. No, I ſuppoſe it was no Hereſie. For if it were, Saint *Pauls* Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* was Hereſie, and *Paul* an Heretick that preached ſuch Doctrine, but God forbid that any Chriſtian man ſhould ſo think of the holy Apoſtle; neither do I ſo think.

Cholm. Why, how knoweſt thou that Saint *Paul* wrote thoſe things that are in Engliſh now, to be true, whereas *Paul* never wrote Engliſh or Latin?

Wilmot. I am certified that Learned men of God, that did ſeek to advance his Word, did tranſlate the ſame out of the Greek and Hebrew into Latin and Engliſh, and that they durſt not preſume to alter the ſenſe of the Scripture of God, and laſt Will and Teſtament of Chriſt Jeſus.

Then the Lord Mayor, being in a great fury, asked him what he had to do to read ſuch Books, and ſaid, that it was pity that his Maſter did ſuffer him ſo to do, and that he was not ſet better to work; and in fine ſaid unto him, that he had ſpoken evil of my Lord of *Winchester* and *Boner*, thoſe Reverend and Learned Fathers and Counſellors of this Realm, for the which his fact he ſaw no other but he muſt ſuffer, as was due to the ſame. And Mr. *Cholmley* ſaid, yea my Lord, there are ſuch a ſort of Hereticks and traitorly Knaves taken now in *Eſſex* by my Lord *Rich*, that it is too wonderful to hear. They ſhall be ſent to the Biſhop ſhortly, and ſhall be hanged and burned all.

Wilm. I am ſorry to hear that of my Lord *Rich*, for that he was my Godfather, and gave me my name at my Baptiſm.

Cholm. asked him when he ſpake with him. He ſaid, not theſe 12. years.

Cholm. If he knew that he were ſuch a one, he would do the like by him, and in ſo doing he ſhould do God great Service.

Wilmot. I have read the ſame ſaying in the Goſpel, that Chriſt ſaid to his Diſciples, *The time ſhall come* (ſaith he) *that whoſoever killeth you, ſhall think that he ſhall do God high Service.*

Well Sir, ſaid *Cholmley*, becauſe you are ſo full of your Scripture, and ſo well learned, we conſider you lack a quiet place to ſtudy in. Therefore you ſhall go to a place where you ſhall be moſt quiet, and I would wiſh you to ſtudy how you will anſwer to the Council of thoſe things which they have to charge you with, for elſe it is like to coſt you your beſt joynt. I know my Lord of *Wincheſter* will handle you well enough, when he heareth thus much. Then was the Officer called in, to have him to the *Counter* in the *Poultry*, and the other to the other *Counter*, not one of them to ſee another; and thus remained they eight days. In the which time their Maſters made great labour unto the Lord Mayor, and to Sir *Roger Cholmley*, to know their Offences, and that they might be delivered.

Wilmot and *Fairefax* committed to Priſon.

Sute made by the company of Drapers for R. *Wilmot* and T. *Fairefax*.

At length they procured the Wardens of the Company of *Drapers* to labour with them in their ſuit to the Mayor. The Mayor went with them to the Council: but at that time they could find no grace at *Wincheſters* hand,

and Sir *Anthony Brownes*, but that they had deſerved death, and that they ſhould have the Law.

At length through intreatance, he granted them thus much favour, that they ſhould not die as they had deſerved, but ſhould be tied to a Carts Tail, and be whipped three Market days thorow the City. Thus they came home that day, and went another day, and the Mayor and the Wardens of the Company kneeled before them to have this open puniſhment releaſed, foraſmuch as they were Servants of ſo worſhipful a Company, and that they might be puniſhed in their own Hall before the Wardens and certain of the Company. At length it was granted with condition, as ſome ſaid, as ſhall be hereafter declared.

Then were they ſent before the Maſters the next day to the Hall, both their Maſters being alſo preſent, and there were laid to their charge the hainous offences by them committed, how they were both Hereticks and Traytors, and have deſerved death for the ſame, and this was declared with a long proceſs by the Maſter of the Company, whoſe name was Maſter *Brookes*, declaring what great labour and ſuit the Mayor and the Wardens had made for them, to ſave them from death, which they (as he ſaid) had deſerved, and from open ſhame. which they ſhould have had, being judged by the Council to have been whipped three days through the City at a Carts Tail, and from theſe two dangers had they laboured to deliver them, but not without great ſuit and alſo charge. For (ſaith he) the Company hath promiſed unto the Council for this their mercy and favour ſhewed towards them, being of ſuch a worſhipful Company, a hundred pounds, notwithſtanding we muſt ſee them puniſhed in our Hall within our ſelves for thoſe their offences. After theſe and many other words he commanded them to addreſs themſelves to receive their puniſhment.

Mr. Brookes Maſter of the Company of Drapers.

Then were they put aſunder, and ſtripped from the Waſt upward one after another, and had into the Hall, and in the midſt of the Hall, where they uſe to make their fire, there was a great ring of Iron, to the which there was a rope tied faſt, and one of their Feet thereto faſt tyed.

R. Wilmot. and Thomas Fairefax ſcourged in Drapers-Hall.

Then came two men down, diſguiſed in Mummers Apparel, with Viſors on their Faces, and they beat them with great Rods until the Blood did follow in their Bodies. As concerning this *Wilmot*, he could not lye in his Bed ſix nights after, for *Brookes* played the Tyrant with them. So it was, that with the beating and fright and fear, they were never in health ſince, as the ſaid *Wilmot* with his own mouth hath credibly aſcertained us, and we can no leſs but teſtifie the ſame.

Brookes a cruel Tyrant.

Thus have we briefly rehearſed this little tragedy, wherein we may note the malice of the enemies at all times to thoſe which profeſs Chriſt, and take his part, of what eſtate or degree ſoever they be, according to the Apoſtles ſaying, *It is given unto you not only to believe, but alſo to ſuffer with him.* To whom be honour and glory, *Amen*.

Next after theſe two above ſpecified, followeth the beating of one *Thomas Green*; who, in the time of Queen *Mary*, was cauſed likewiſe to be ſcourged and beaten by Dr. *Story*. What the cauſe was, here followeth in Story and Examination to be ſeen, which he penned with his own hand, as the thing it ſelf will declare to the Reader. The Copy and words of the ſame, as he wrote them, here follow. Wherein as thou mayſt note (gentle Reader) the ſimplicity of the one, I pray thee, mark the cruelty of the other part.

The Scourging of Thomas Green.

The ſcourging of The. Green. The Maſter promoteth the Servant.

IN the Reign of Queen *Mary*, I *Thomas Green* being brought before Doctor *Story* by my Maſter, whoſe name is *John Wayland* a Printer, for a Book called *Antichriſt*, the which had been diſtributed to certain honeſt men; He asked me where I had the Book, and ſaid I was a Traytor. I told him I had the Book of a French Man. Then he asked me more queſtions, but I told him I would tell him no more, nor could not. Then he ſaid, It was no Hereſie, but Treaſon, and that I ſhould be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and ſo he called for *Cluny*, the Keeper of the *Lollards-Tower*, and bade him ſet me faſt in the Stocks. Anno 1558.

I was not in the *Lollards-Tower* two hours; but *Cluny* came and took me out, and carried me to the Cole-houſe, and there I found a French man lying in the Stocks, and he took him out, and put on my right leg a Bolt and a Fetter, and on my left hand another, and ſo he ſet me croſs fettered in the Stocks, and took the French man away with him, and there I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after, he came and ſaid, let us ſhift your hand and your leg, becauſe you ſhall not be lame; and he made as though he pitied me, and ſaid, tell me the Truth and I will be your Friend.

T. Green put in the Stocks.

And I ſaid, I had told the Truth, and would tell no other. Then he put no more but my leg in the Stocks, and ſo went his way, and there I remained ſix days, and could come to no anſwer.

Then Doctor *Story* ſent for me, and asked whether I would tell him the Truth, where I had the Book. I ſaid I had told him, of a French man. He asked me where I came acquainted with the French man, where he dwelt, aad where he delivered me the Book. I ſaid, I came acquainted with him in *Newgate*; I coming to my Friends which were put in for Gods Word and Truths ſake, and the French man coming to his Friends alſo, there we did talk together, and became acquainted one with another, and did eat and drink together there with our Friends in the fear of God.

T. Green examined before Doctor Story.

Then *Story* ſcoffed at me and ſaid, then there was, Brother in Chriſt, and Brother in Chriſt, and reviled me, and called me an Heretick, and asked me if I had the Book of him in *Newgate*. I ſaid no, and I told him, as I went on my buſineſs in the Street I met him, and he asked me how I did, and I him alſo; ſo falling in communication, he ſhewed me that Book, and I deſired him that he would let me have it.

Story ſcoffeth at Chriſts Servants.

In this Examination *Story* ſaid, it was a great Book, and asked me whether I bought it or had it given me. I told him I bought it. Then ſaid he, I was a Thief, and had ſtoln my Maſters mony. And I ſaid, a little mony ſerved, for I gave him but four pence, but I promiſed him, that at our next meeting I would give twelve pence more. And he ſaid, that was boldly done, for ſuch a Book as ſpake both Treaſon and Hereſie.

Then *Story* required me to bring him two Sureties, and watch for him that I had the Book of, and I ſhould have no harm. I made him anſwer, I would bring no Sureties, nor could I tell where to find them. Then ſaid he, this is but a lie, and ſo called for *Cluny*, and bade him lay me faſt in the Cole-houſe, ſaying, he would make me tell another Tale at my next coming: and ſo I lay in the Stocks day and night, but only when I eat my meat, and there remained ten days before I was called for again.

Then Dr. *Story* ſent for me again, and asked if I would yet tell him the Truth I ſaid, I could tell him no other Truth than I had, nor would. And while I was there ſtanding, there were two brought which I took to be Priſoners.

Another examination of T. Green before Dr. Story.

Mrs. Story ſheweth her Charitable heart.

Then Mrs. *Story* fell in a rage, and ſware a great Oath, that it were a good deed to put a hundred or two of theſe Heretick Knaves in an houſe, and I my ſelf (ſaid ſhe) would ſet in on fire. So I was committed to Priſon again, where I remained fourteen days, and came to no anſwer.

Then *Story* ſent for me again, and called me into the Garden, and there I found with him my Lord of *Windſors* Chaplain, and two Gentlemen more, and he told them all what they had ſaid and done. They ſaid, the Book was a wondrous evil Book, and had both Treaſon and Hereſie in it. Then they asked me what I ſaid by the Book. And I ſaid, I know no evil by it.

Green again Examined before Dr. Story.

At which words *Story* chafed, and ſaid he would hang me up by the hands with a rope, and ſaid alſo he would cut out my Tongue, and mine ears alſo from my head. After this they alledged two or three things unto me out of the Book. And I anſwered, I had not read the Book thorowout, and therefore I could give no judgment of the Book.

Then my Lord of *Windſors* Chaplain and the other two Gentlemen took me aſide, and intreated me very gently, ſaying, tell us where you had the Book, and of whom

Anno 1558.

whom, and we will ſave you harmleſs. I made them anſwer, I had told all that I could to Doctor *Story* and began to tell it them again: but they ſaid, they knew that already; ſo they left that talk, and went again to *Story* with me.

Green examined of his Belief.

Then *Story* burdened me with my Faith, and ſaid I was an Heretick. Whereupon the Chaplain asked me how I did believe. Then I began to rehearſe the Articles of my Belief, but he bade me let that alone. Then he asked me how I believed in Chriſt. I made him anſwer, that I believed in Chriſt which died and roſe again the third day, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father.

Dr. *Story's* blaſphemous ſcoffing in matters of our Faith.

Whereupon *Story* asked me mockingly, what is the right hand of God? I made him anſwer, I thought it was his glory. Then ſaid he, ſo they ſay all. And he asked me when he would be weary of ſitting there. Then inferred my Lord of *Windſors* Chaplain, asking me what I ſaid by the Maſs. I ſaid, I never knew what it was, nor what it meant, for I underſtood it not, becauſe I never learned any Latin, and ſince the time that I had any knowledge, I had been brought up in nothing but in reading of Engliſh, and with ſuch men as have taught the ſame; with many more queſtions, which I cannot rehearſe.

The Maſs.

Moreover he asked me if there were not the very Body of Chriſt, Fleſh, Blood and Bone in the Maſs, after the Prieſt had conſecrated it. And I made him anſwer; as for the Maſs I cannot underſtand it; but in the New Teſtament I read, that as the Apoſtles ſtood looking after the Lord when he aſcended up into Heaven, an Angel ſaid to them, *Even as you ſee him aſcend up, ſo ſhall he come again.* And I told them another Sentence, where Chriſt ſaith, *The poor ſhall you have always with you, but me ye ſhall not have always.*

Then Mr. *Chaplain* put to me many queſtions more, to the which I could make him no anſwer. Among all other, he brought *Chryſoſtom* and Saint *Hierome* for his purpoſe. To whom I anſwered, that I neither minded nor was able to anſwer their Doctors, neither knew whether they alledged them right, or no, but to that which is written in the New Teſtament I would anſwer. Here they laughed me to ſcorn, and called me Fool, and ſaid, they would reaſon no more with me.

Green ſent again to the *Cole-houſe.*

Then Doctor *Story* called for *Cluny*, and bade him take me away, and ſet me faſt, and let no man ſpeak with me. So was I ſent to the *Cole-houſe*; where I had not been a week, but there came in 14. Priſoners: but I was kept ſtill alone without company, in a Priſon called *Salt-houſe*, having upon my Leg a Bolt and a Fetter, and my hands manacled together with Irons, and there continued ten days, having nothing to lye on, but bare ſtones or a Board.

The ſtrait handling of *Green* in Priſon.

On a time whiles I lay there in Priſon, the Biſhop of *London* coming down a pair of Stairs on the backſide untruſt, in his hoſe and Dublet, looked in at the Grate, and asked wherefore I was put in, and who put me in.

Talk between *Tho. Green* and *B. Boner.*

I made him anſwer, that I was put in for a Book called Antichriſt, by Dr. *Story*. And he ſaid, you are not aſhamed to declare wherefore you were put in, and ſaid it was a very wicked Book, and bade me confeſs the Truth to *Story*. I ſaid, I had told the Truth to him already, and deſired him to be good unto me, and help me out of Priſon, for they had kept me there long. And he ſaid, he could not meddle with it; *Story* hath begun it, and he muſt end it.

Two Priſoners brought to *B. Boners Salt-houſe.*

Then I was removed out of the *Salt-houſe* to give place to two women, and carried to the *Lollards Tower*, and put in the Stocks; and there I found two Priſoners, one called *Lion* a Frenchman, and another with him: and ſo I was kept in the Stocks more than a month both day and night, and no man to come to me, or to ſpeak with me, but only my Keeper which brought me meat.

Cruelty ſhewed upon Priſoners for ſinging Pſalms.

Thus we three being together, *Lyon* the Frenchman ſung a Pſalm in the French Tongue, and we ſang with him, ſo that we were heard down into the Street, and the Keeper coming up in a great rage, ſware that he would put us all in the Stocks, and ſo took the Frenchman and commanded him to kneel down upon his knees, and put both his hands in the Stocks, where he remained all that night till the next day.

After this, I being in the *Lollards-Tower* 7 days, at my laſt being with *Story*, he ſware a great Oath, that he would rack me, and make me tell the Truth. Then *Story* ſending for me, commanded me to be brought to *Walbroke*, where he and the Commiſſioners dined; and by the way my Keeper told me that I ſhould go to the *Tower* and be racked. So when they had dined, *Story* called for me in, and ſo there I ſtood before them, and ſome ſaid I was worthy to be hanged for having ſuch Heretical Books. After I had ſtaid a little while before them, *Story* called for the Keeper, and commanded him to carry me to the *Lollards-Tower* again, and ſaid; I have other matters of the Queens to do with the Commiſſioners, but I will find another time for him. Whilſt I lay yet in the *Lollards-Tower*, the Woman which brought the Books over, being taken, and her Books, was put in the *Clink* in *Southwark* by *Huſſey*, one of the *Arches*; and I *Thomas Green* teſtifie before God, now, that I neither deſcried the man nor the Woman, the which I had the Books of.

T. Green brought before D. *Story* and the Commiſſioners.

This Woman was one Young Wife.

Then I lying in the *Lollards-Tower*, being ſent for before Mr. *Huſſey*, he required of me, wherefore I was put into the *Lollards-Tower*, and by whom. To whom I made anſwer, that I was put there by Doctor *Story* for a Book called Antichriſt. Then he made as though he would be my Friend, and ſaid he knew my Friends, and my Father and Mother, and bade me tell him of whom I had the Book, and ſaid, Come on, tell me the Truth. I told him as I had told Dr. *Story* before.

T. Green examined before M. *Huſſey.*

Then he was very angry and ſaid, I love thee well, and therefore I ſent for thee, and looked for a further Truth: but I would tell him no other; whereupon he ſent me again to the *Lollards-Tower*. At my going away he called me back again, and ſaid that *Dixon* gave me the Books being an old man, dwelling in *Birchin-Lane*: and I ſaid he knew the matter better than I. So he ſent me away to the *Lollards-Tower*, where I remained ſeven days and more.

Then Mr. *Huſſey* ſent for me again, and required of me to tell him the Truth. I told him I could tell him no other Truth than I had told Dr. *Story* before.

Dixon in *Birchin-lane.*

Then he began to tell me of *Dixon* of whom I had the Books, the which had made the matter manifeſt afore; and he told me of all things touching *Dixon* and the Books, more then I could my ſelf, inſomuch that he told me how many I had, and that he had a ſack full of the Books in his houſe, and knew where the Woman lay, better then I my ſelf. Then I ſaw the matter ſo open and manifeſt before my face, that it profited not me to ſtand in the matter. He asked me where I had done the Books, and I told him I had but one, and that Dr. *Story* had. He ſaid I lied, for I had three at one time, and he required me to tell him of one.

J. *Beane* Prentice with Mr. *Tottle.*

Then I told him of one that *John Beane* had of me being Prentice with Mr. *Tottle*. So he promiſed me before and after, and as he ſhould be ſaved before God, that he ſhould have no harm. And I kneeling down upon my knees, deſired, him to take my Blood, and not to hurt the young man. Then he ſaid, becauſe you have been ſo ſtubborn, the matter being made manifeſt by other and not by you, being ſo long in Priſon, tell me if you will ſtand to my judgment. I ſaid, yea, take my Blood, and hurt not the young man.

Then he made me anſwer, I ſhould be whipped like a Thief and a Vagabond; and ſo I thanked him, and went my way with my Keeper to the *Lollards-Tower*, where I remained two or three days, and ſo was brought by the Keeper *Cluny*, by the commandment of the Commiſſioners, to *Chriſts-Hoſpital*, ſometime the *Gray-Friers*, and accordingly had there for the time the correction of Thieves and Vagabonds, and ſo was delivered to *Trinian* the Porter, and put into a ſtinking Dungeon.

T. Green adjudged to be whipped.

T. Green brought to the *Gray-Friers.*

And after a few days, I finding friendſhip, was let out of the Dungeon, and lay in a bed in the night, and walked in a yard by the Dungeon in the day time, and ſo remained Priſoner a month and more.

T. Green again appeareth before D. *Story* and two Gentlemen.

Whither at length Dr. *Story* came and two Gentlemen with him, and called for me, and ſo I was brought into a Counting-houſe before them. Then he ſaid to the Gentlemen, here cometh this Heretick, of whom I had the Book called Antichriſt, and began to tell them how many times I had been before him, and ſaid, I have

entreated him very gently, and he would never tell me the Truth till that it was found out by other. Then ſaid he, it were a good deed to cut out thy Tongue, and thy ears off thy head, to make thee an example to all other Heretick Knaves. And the Gentlemen ſaid, nay, that were pitty. Then he asked if that I would not become an honeſt man: and I ſaid, yes, for I have offended God many ways. Whereupon he burdened me with my Faith. I told him that I had made him anſwer of my Faith before my Lord *Windſors* Chaplain as much as I could.

The Scourging of *Tho. Green* before D. *Story.*

So in the end he commanded me to be ſtripped, he ſtanding by me, and called for two of the Beadles and the Whips to whip me; and the two Beadles came with a Cord, and bound my hands together, and the one end of the Cord to a Stone Pillar. Then one of my Friends, called *Nicholas Prieſtman*, hearing them call for Whips, hurled in a bundel of Rods, which ſeemed ſomething to pacifie the mind of his cruelty; and ſo they Scourged me with Rods. But as they were whipping of me, *Story* asked me if I would go unto my Maſter again, and I ſaid nay. And he ſaid, I perceive now he will be worſe then ever he was before,: but let me alone (quoth he) I will find him out if he be in *England*. And ſo with many other things which I cannot rehearſe, when they had done whipping of me, they bade me pay my fees, and go my ways.

Doctor *Story* commanded that he ſhould have an hundred ſtripes, but the Gentlemen ſo intreated, that he had not ſo many, *Story* ſaying, if I might have my will, I would ſurely cut out his Tongue.

Of the Scourging of Mr. *Bartlet Green*, alſo of *John Willes*, and of *Thomas Hinſhaw*, ye heard before. In like manner was ordered *Stephen Cotten*, burned before at *Brainford*, who teſtifieth himſelf to be twice beaten by *Boner*, in a Letter of his written to his Brother, as by the ſame here following for the more evidence may appear.

The Copy of *Stephen Cottens* Letter, written to his Brother, declaring how he was beaten of Biſhop *Boner*.

St. Cottens Letter to his Brother.

BRother, in the Name of the Lord Jeſus I commend me unto you, and I do heartily thank you, for your godly exhortation and Counſel in your laſt Letter declared to me. And albeit I do perceive by your Letter, you are informed, that as we are divers perſons in number, ſo we are of contrary Sects, Conditions, and Opinions, contray to the good Opinion you had of us at your laſt being with usin Newgate; *be you moſt aſſured, good Brother, in the Lord Jeſus, we are all of one Mind, one Faith, one aſſured Hope in the Lord Jeſus, whom I truſt we all together with one Spirit, one Brotherly love, do daily call upon for mercy and forgiveneſs of our ſins, with earneſt repentance of our former lives, and by whoſe precious Blood-ſhedding we truſt to be ſaved only, and by no other means. Wherefore, good Brother, in the name of the Lord, ſeeing theſe impudent People, whoſe minds are altogether bent to wickedneſs, envy, uncharitableneſs, evil ſpeaking, do go about to ſlander us with untruth, believe them not, neither let their wicked ſayings once enter into your mind. And I truſt one day to ſee you again, although now I am in Gods Priſon, which is a joyful School to them that love their Lord God, and to me being a ſimple Scholar, moſt joyful of all.*

Good Brother, once again I do in the Name of our Lord Jeſus, exhort you to pray for me, that I may fight ſtrongly in the Lords Battle, to be a good Souldier to my Captain Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and deſire my Siſter alſo to do the ſame, and do not ye mourn or lament for me, but be ye glad and joyful of this my trouble: For I truſt to be looſed out of this Dungeon ſhortly, and to go to everlaſting joy, which never ſhall have end. I heard how ye were with the Commiſſioners. I pray you ſue no more for me, good Brother. But one thing I ſhall deſire you, to be at my departing out of this life, that you may bear witneſs with me that I ſhall die, I truſt in God, a true Chriſtian, and (I hope) all my Companions in the Lord our God: and therefore believe not theſe evil diſpoſed People, who are the Authors of all untruths.

I pray you provide me a long ſhirt againſt the dry of our deliverance: for the ſhirt you gave me laſt, I have given to one of my Companions, who had more need than I; and as for the money and meat you ſent us, the Biſhops Servants delivered none to us, neither he whom you had ſo great truſt in. Brother, there is none of them to truſt to, for qualis Magiſter, talis Servus. *I have been twice beaten, and threatned to be beaten again by the Biſhop himſelf. I ſuppoſe we ſhall go into the Country to* Fulham, *to the Biſhops houſe, and there be arraigned. I would have you to hearken as much as you can. For when we ſhall go, it ſhall be ſuddainly done. Thus fare you well. From the* Cole-houſe *this preſent* Friday.

Anno 1558.

St. Cotten twice beaten by B. Boner.

Your Brother, Stephen Cotten,

The Scourging of James Harris.

IN this Society of the Scourged Profeſſors of Chriſt, was alſo one *James Harris* of *Billerica* in *Eſſex*, a ſtripling of the age of 17. years: who being apprehended and ſent up to *Boner* in the Company of *Margaret Ellis*, by Sir *John Mordant* Knight, and *Edmund Tyrrel* Juſtices of Peace (as appeareth by their own Letters before mentioned) was by *Boner* divers times ſtraightly examined. In the which Examinations he was charged not to have come to his Pariſh Church by the ſpace of one year or more. Whereunto he granted, confeſſing therewithal, that once, for fear, he had been at the Church, and there had received the Popiſh Sacrament of the Altar, for the which he was heartily ſorry, deteſting the ſame with all his heart.

J. Harris Scourged.

Jam. Harris repenteth his coming to the Popiſh Church.

After this and ſuch like anſwers, *Boner* (the better to trie him) perſwaded him to go to ſhrift. The Lad, ſomewhat to fulfil his requeſt, conſented to go, and did. But when he came to the Prieſt, he ſtood ſtill, and ſaid nothing. Why (quoth the Prieſt) ſayeſt thou nothing? what ſhall I ſay, ſaid *Harris*? Thou muſt confeſs thy ſins, ſaid the Prieſt. My ſins, ſaith he, be ſo many, that they cannot be numbered. With that the Prieſt told *Boner* what he had ſaid, and he of his accuſtomed devotion, took the poor Lad into his Garden, and there, with a Rod gathered out of a Chery-Tree, did moſt cruelly Whip him.

The cauſe of J. Harris Scourging.

The Scourging of Robert Williams, *a Smith.*

OVer and beſides theſe above mentioned, was one *Robert Williams*, who, being apprehended in the ſame Company, was ſo tormented after the like manner with Rods in his Arbour, who there ſubſcribing and yielding himſelf by promiſe to obey the Laws, after being let go, refuſed ſo to do: whereupon he was earneſtly ſought for, but could not be found, for that he kept himſelf cloſe, and went not abroad but by ſtealth: and now in the mean time of this perſecution, this *Robert Williams* departed this life, and ſo eſcaped the hands of his enemies. The Lord therefore be honoured for ever, *Amen*.

The Scourging of Rob. Williams.

And foraſmuch as I have begun to write of *Boners* Scourging, by the occaſion thereof cometh to mind to infer by the way, his beating of other Boys and Children, and drawing them naked through the Nettles, in his journy rowing toward *Fulham*. The ſtory although it touch no matter of Religion, yet becauſe it toucheth ſomething the nature and diſpoſition of that man, and may refreſh the Reader, wearied percaſe with other doleful Stories, I thought not to omit.

Boner *cauſeth certain Boys to be beaten.*

BOner paſſing from *London* to *Fulham* by *Barge*, having *John Willes* and *Thomas Hinſhaw* above mentioned with him, both Priſoners for Religion, by the way as he went by Water, was ſaying Evenſong with *Harpsfield* his Chaplain in the Barge, and being about the middle of their devout *Oriſons*, they eſpied a ſort of young Boys ſwimming and waſhing themſelves in the *Thames* over againſt *Lambeth*, or a little above: unto whom he went and gave very gentle language, and fair ſpeech, until he had ſet his men aland. That done, his men ran after the Boys to get them, as the Biſhop commanded them

Boner cauſeth certain Boys to be beaten.

Boners pitiful hear

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them before beating, ſome with Nettles, drawing ſome through buſhes of Nettles naked, and ſome they made leap into the *Thames* to ſave themſelves, that it was marvel they were not drowned.

Now as the Children for fear did cry, and as this skirmiſhing was between them, immediately came a greater Lad thither, to know what the matter meant that the Boys made ſuch a noiſe. Whom when the Biſhop eſpied, he asked him whether he would maintain them in their doings or no. Unto whom the young Fellow made anſwer ſtoutly, Yea. Then the Biſhop commanded him to be taken alſo; but he ran away with ſpeed, and there avoided the Biſhops bleſſing. Now when the Biſhop ſaw him to flee away, and another man ſitting upon a Rail in the way where he ran, he willed him likewiſe to ſtop the Boy: and becauſe he would not, he commanded his man to fetch that man to him alſo; but he hearing that, ran away as faſt as he could, and by leaping over the Ditch, eſcaped the Biſhop in like manner.

Then the Biſhop, ſeeing the ſucceſs of his battel to prove no better, cried to a couple of Ferry-Boys to run and hold him that laſt ran away. And for that they ſaid they could not (as indeed it was true) therefore he cauſed his men by and by to take and beat them. The Boys hearing that, lept into the Water to ſave themſelves; notwithſtanding they were caught, and in the Water by the Biſhops men holden and beaten.

Boners devout Oraiſons.

Now, after the end of this great skirmiſh, the Biſhops men returned to their Maſter again into the Barge, and he and *Harpsfield* his Chaplain went to their Evenſong afreſh where they left, and ſo forſooth the reſt of their Service, as clean without malice, as an egg without meat. The Lord give him repentance (if it be his will) and grace to become a new man, *Amen.*

The Whipping of a Beggar at Salisbury

A poor Beggar Whipt at Salisbury, for not receiving with the Papiſts at Eaſter.

UNto theſe above ſpecified, is alſo to be added the miſerable whipping of a certain poor ſtarved Beggar, who, becauſe he would not receive the Sacrament at *Eaſter* in the Town of *Colingborow*, was brought to *Salisbury* with Bills and glieves to the Chancellor Dr. *Geffery*, who caſt him into the Dungeon, and after cauſed him miſerably to be whipped of two Catch-poles. The ſight whereof made all godly hearts to rue it, to ſee ſuch tyranny to be ſhewed upon ſuch a ſimple and ſilly Wretch: for they which ſaw him have reported, that they never ſaw a more ſimple Creature, But what pity can move the hearts of mercileſs Papiſts?

Beſides theſe abovenamed, divers others alſo ſuffered the like Scourgings and Whippings in their bodies for their faithful ſtanding in the Truth. Of whom it may be ſaid, as it is written of the Apoſtles in the Acts. Which departed from the Council, rejoycing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the Name of Jeſus.

Another Treatiſe of ſuch as being purſued in Queen Maries *time, were in great danger, and yet through the good Providence of God, mercifully were preſerved.*

A Treatiſe of Gods mercy and providence in preſerving good men and Women, in the time of this Perſecution.

ALthough the ſecret purpoſe of Almighty God, which diſpoſeth all things, ſuffered a great number of his faithful Servants both Men and Women, and that of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemies hands, and to abide the brunt of this perſecution, to be tried with Rods, with Whips, with Racks, with Fetters, Famine, with burning of Hands, with plucking off Beards, with burning alſo both Hand, Beard, and Body, &c.

Yet notwithſtanding ſome there were again, and that a great number, who miraculouſly by the merciful providence of God, againſt all mans expectation, in ſafety were delivered out of the fiery rage of this perſecution, either by voyding the Realm, or ſhifting of place, or the Lord ſo blinding the eyes of the Perſecutors, or diſpoſing the opportunity of time, or working ſome ſuch means or other for his Servants, as not only ought to ſtir them up to perpetual thanks, but alſo may move all men both to behold and magnifie the wondrous works of the Almighty.

About what time it began to be known that Queen *Mary* was ſick, divers good men were in hold in divers quarters of the Realm, ſome at *Bury*, ſome at *Salisbury*, as *John Hunt*, and *Richard White*, of whom we have ſtoried before, and ſome at *London*, amongſt whom was *William Living* with his Wife, and *John Lithal*, of whom ſomething remaineth now compendiouſly to be touched.

The Trouble and deliverance of William Living *with his Wife, and of* John Lithal, *Miniſters.*

The deliverance of W. Living, his Wife, and of J. Lithal.

ABout the time of the latter end of Queen *Mary*, ſhe then being ſick, came one *Cox* a Promoter, to the houſe of *William Living*, about ſix of the Clock, accompanied with one *John Launce* of the *Gray-Hound*. They being not ready, they demanded for Buttons, ſaying, they ſhould be as well paid for them, as ever was any; and he would come about three hours after again for them.

Deane Conſtable, Geo. Hancock Beadle perſecutors

In the mean while he had gotten the Conſtable called Mr. *Dean*, and *George Hancock* the Beadle of that Ward, and ſearching his Books, found a Book of Aſtronomy, called the work of *Joannes de Sacro Boſco de Sphæra*, with figures ſome round, ſome triangle, ſome quadrate: which Book becauſe it was gilt, ſeemed to him the chiefeſt Book there, and that he carried open in the ſtreet, ſaying I have found him at length. It is no marvel the Queen be ſick, ſeeing there be ſuch Conjurers in privy corners; but now, I truſt he ſhall conjure no more, and ſo brought him and his Wife from *Shoe-Lane* thorow *Fleet-ſtreet* into *Pauls Church-yard*, with the Conſtable, the Beadle, and two other following them, till they were entred into *Darbiſhires* houſe, who was Biſhop *Boners* Chancellor: And after the Conſtable and they had talked with *Darbiſhire*, he came forth and walked in his Yard ſaying theſe words.

Talk between Darbiſhire and W. Living, Prieſt.

Darbiſhire. What is your Name?
Living. William Living.
Darb. What are you? a Prieſt?
Living. Yea.
Darb. Is this your Wife that is come with you?
Living. That ſhe is.
Darb. Where were you made Prieſt?
Living. At Oboürne.
Darb. In what Biſhops days?
Living. By the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, that was King *Henries* Ghoſtly Father in Cardinal *Wolſies* time.
Darb. You are a Schiſmatick and a Traitor.
Living. I would be ſorry that were true. I am certain I never was Traitor, but always have taught obedience according to the tenour of Gods Word; and when Tumults and Schiſms have been ſtirred, I have preached Gods Word, and ſwaged them as in the time of King *Edward.*
Darb. What, you are a Schiſmatick. You be not in the unity of the Catholick Church: for you pray not as the Church of *Rome* doth: you pray in Engliſh.
Living. We are certain we be in the true Church.
Darb. There be that doubt thereof, forſomuch as there is but one true Church.

Well, you will learn againſt I talk with you again, to know the Church of *Rome*, and to be a Member thereof.

Living. If the Church of *Rome* be of that Church whereof Chriſt is the Head, then am I a Member thereof: for I know no other Church but that.

Darb. Well, *Cluny*, take him with thee to the *Cole-houſe.*

Then called he *Cluny* again, and ſpake ſecretly to him, what I know not.

Cluny plaiſeth the Thief.

Then ſaid *Cluny*, wilt thou not come? and ſo pluckt me away violently, and brought me to his own Houſe in *Pater-Noſter-Row*, where he robbed me of my Purſe, my Girdle, and my Pſalter, and a New Teſtament of *Geneva*, and then brought me to the *Cole-houſe* to put me in the Stocks, ſaying, put in both your Legs and your Hands alſo, and except you fine with me, I will put a Collar about your Neck. What is the fine, quoth I? Forty ſhillings, quoth he: I am never able to pay it, ſaid I.

Note the covetous dealing of these Papists.

Then, said he, you have Friends that be able. I denied it; and so he put both my Legs into the Stocks till Supper time, which was six of the Clock, and then a Cousin of my Wifes brought me Meat, who seeing me to sit there, said, I will give you forty Pence, and let him go at liberty: and he took her mony, and presently let me forth in her sight, to eat my Supper. And at seven of the Clock, he put me into the Stocks again, and so I remained till two of the Clock the next day, and so he let me forth till Night. This Woman above-mentioned, was *Griffins* first Wife, a Brother dwelling then in *Aldermanbury*, and yet alive in *Cheapside*.

W. Living laid in the *Lollards-Tower*.

The *Thursday* following at Afternoon was I called to the *Lollards-Tower*, and there put in the Stocks, having the favour to put my Leg in that Hole that Mr. *John Philpots* Leg was in, and so lay all that Night, no Body coming to me either with Meat or Drink.

At 11. of the Clock on the *Friday*, *Cluny* came to me with Meat, and let me forth, and about one of the Clock he brought me to *Darbyshires* House, who drew forth a scroll of Names, and asked me if I knew none of them: I said, I know none of them but *Foster*. And so I kneeled down upon my knees, and prayed him that he would not enquire thereof any farther. And with that came forth two godly Women, which said, Mr. *Darbyshire*, it is enough, and so became Sureties for me, and paid to *Cluny* 15 *s.* for my Fees, and bade me go with them.

W. Living delivered.

And thus much concerning *William Living*. After this came his Wife to Examination, whose Answers to *Darbyshire* the Chancellor, here likewise followeth.

The Examination of Julian Living, *Wife to* William Living.

Talk between *Darbyshire* and *Livings* wife.

Darbyshire. Ah Sirrah; I see by your going you be one of the Sisters.

Julian. I wear not my Gown for Sisterhood, neither for Nunnery, but to keep me warm.

Darb. Nun? No, I dare say you be none: Is that Man your Husband?

Julian. Yea.

Darb. He is a Priest.

Julian. No, he saith no Mass.

Darb. What then? he is a Priest. How darest thou marry him?

Then he shewed me a Roll of certain Names of Citizens.

To whom I answered, I knew none of them.

Then said he, you shall be made to know them.

Then said I, Do no other but justice and right, for the day will come, that you shall answer for it.

Darb. Why Woman, thinkest thou not that I have a Soul?

Julian. Yes, I know you have a Soul: but whether it be to salvation or damnation, I cannot tell.

Livings wife commanded to the *Lollards-Tower*.

Darb. Ho *Cluny*, have her to the *Lollards-Tower*. And so he took me, and carried me to his house, where was one *Dale* a Promoter, which said to me, Alas good Woman, wherefore be you here?

Dale a Promoter.

What is that to you, said I.

You be not ashamed, quoth *Dale*, to tell wherefore you came hither.

No, quoth I, that I am not: for it is for Christs Testament.

Christs Testament, quoth he? it is the Devils Testament.

O Lord, quoth I, God forbid that any man should speak any such word.

Mark the hope of the Papists.

Well well, quoth he, you shall be ordered well enough. You care not for burning, quoth he. Gods blood, there must be some other means found for you.

What, quoth I, will you find any worse than you have found?

Well, quoth he, you hope, and you hope: but your hope shall be slope. For though the Queen fail, she that you hope for shall never come at it: For there is my Lord Cardinals Grace, and many more between her and it.

Then, quoth I, my hope is in none but God.

Then said *Cluny*, Come with me: and so went I to the *Lollards-Tower*. On the next day *Darbyshire* sent for me again, and enquired again of those Citizens that he enquired of before.

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I answered, I knew them not.

Where were you, quoth he, at the Communion on *Sunday* was fortnight?

And I said, in no place.

Then the Constable of St. *Brides* being there, made suit for me.

And *Darbyshire* demanded of him, if he would be bound for me.

The Constable of St. *Brides* surety for Julian Living.

He answered, Yea. And so he was bound for my Appearance betwixt that and *Christmas*.

Then *Darbyshire* said, You be Constable, and should give her good counsel.

So do I, quoth he. For I bid her go to Mass, and to say as you say. For by the Mass, if you say the Crow is white, I will say so too.

Living and his Wife delivered by the Death of Q. *Mary*.

And thus much concerning the Examination of *William Living* and his Wife, whom although thou seest here delivered through the request of Women, his Sureties: yet it was no doubt, but that the deadly sickness of Queen *Mary* abated and bridled then the cruelty of those Papists, which otherwise would never have let them go.

The Trouble and Deliverance of John Lithall.

John Lithall brought to examination by Joh. *Avales*.

AT the taking of *William Living*, it hapned that certain of his Books were in the custody of one *John Lithall*; which known, the Constable of the Ward of *Southwark*, with other of the Queens Servants, were sent to his house, who breaking up his Doors and Chests, took away not only the Books of the said *William Living*, but also all his own Books, Writings, and Bills of Debts, which he never had again. All this while *Lithall* was not at home.

The next *Saturday* after, as he was returned, and known to be at home, *John Avales* and certain of the Queens Servants beset his house all the night, with such careful Watch, that as he in the Morning issued out of doors, thinking to escape their hands, *John Avales* bursting out upon him, cried, Stop the Traytor, Stop the Traytor. Whereat *Lithall* being amazed, looked back.

And so *John Avales* came running to him, with other that were with him, saying, Ah Sirrah, you are a pretty traytorly Fellow indeed, we have had somewhat to do to get you. To whom he answered, that he was a truer man to the Queens Majesty than he. For you (said he) are commanded by God to keep holy the Sabbath-day, and you seek to shed your Neighbours Blood on the Sabbath-day. Remember that you must answer therefore to God. But he said, Come on you Villain, you must go before the Council. So was *Lithall* brought into *Pauls-Churchyard* to the Bishops Chancellor, by *John Avales*, saying, that he had there caught the Captain of these Fellows, and so caused him to be called to Examination before Dr. *Darbyshire*, who entred talk with him in this wise:

Lithall brought before Dr. *Darbyshire*, Chancellor.

Talk between *Lithall* and the Chancellor.

Chan. What Countryman are you?

Lith. I am an Englishman, born in *Staffordshire*.

Chan. Where were you brought up?

Lith. In this our Country of *England*.

Chan. In what University?

Lith. In no University, but in a Free-School.

Chan. We had certain Books from your House, and Writings, wherein is both Treason and Heresie.

Lith. Sir, there is neither Treason nor Heresie in them.

Chan. Then he asked for certain other men that I knew.

Lith. If you have ought to lay to my charge, I will answer it: but I will have no other mans Blood upon my head.

Chan. Why come you not to the Church? Of what Church be you, that you come not to your own Parish Church?

Lith. I am of the Church of Christ, the Fountain of all goodness.

Chan. Have you no Ministers of your Church, but Christ?

Lith. We have other.

Chan. Where be they?

Lith.

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Lith. In the whole world, diſperſed, preaching and profeſſing the Goſpel and Faith only in our Saviour Jeſus, as he commanded them.

• *Chan.* You boaſt much every one of you of your Faith and Belief: let me here therefore the effect how you believe.

Juſtification by Faith only.

Lith. I believe to be juſtified really by Chriſt Jeſus, according to the ſaying of St. *Paul* to the *Epheſians*, without either deeds or works, or any thing that may be invented by Man.

Chan. Faith cannot ſave without Works.

Lith. That is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles.

Chan. John Avales, you and the Keeper have this Fellow to Priſon.

Cluny and *John Avales.* Then *John Avales* and *Cluny* the Keeper had me into *Pauls*, and would have had me ſeen the Apoſtles Maſs.

Lith. I know none the Apoſtles had, and therefore I will ſee none.

Cluny and *John Avales.* Come and kneel down before the Rood, and ſay a *Paternoſter*, and an *Ave* in the worſhip of the five wounds.

Lithall denies to kneel before the Rood.

Lith. I am forbidden by Gods own mouth to kneel to any Idol or Image: therefore I will not.

Then they pulled me with great extremity, the one having me by one Arm, and the other by the other; but God gave me at that preſent time more ſtrength than both theſe, his Name be praiſed for it.

Then when they could not make me to kneel before the Rood, neither to ſee the Maſs, there gathered a great Company about us, and all againſt me. Some ſpit on me, and ſaid, Fie on thee Hereticke; and others ſaid, it was pity I was not burned already.

Then they carried me to *Lollards-Tower*, and hanged me in a great pair of Stocks, in which I lay three days and three nights, till I was ſo lame that I could neither ſtir nor move.

Then I offered the Keeper certain Mony and Gold that I had about me, to releaſe me out of the Stocks: and he ſaid, I would not be ruled by him, either to ſee Maſs, or to kneel before the Rood, and therefore I ſhould lye there ſtill. But I ſaid, I would never do the thing that ſhould be againſt my Conſcience: and though you have lamed my Body, yet my Conſcience is whole, I praiſe God for it. So ſhortly after he let me out of the Stocks, more for the love of my Mony (as it may be thought) than for any other affection, and within four or five days my Wife got leave of Mr. Chancellor to come to me, to bring me ſuch things as were needful for me, and there I lay five weeks and odd days. In the which time divers of my Neighbours and Friends made ſuit to the Chancellor for my deliverance: the Biſhop, as they ſaid, at that time being at *Fulham* ſick. So my Neighbours being there, about twenty of them, the Chancellor ſent for me out of the *Lollards-Tower* to his own houſe, and ſaid as followeth:

Lithall's Neighbours make ſute for him.

Chan. Lithall, here be of thy Neighbours which have been with me to intreat for thee, and they have informed me, that thou haſt been a very honeſt and quiet Neighbour among them, and I think it be Gods will that I ſhould deliver thee before my Lord come home. For if he come, and thou go home again, I will be burned for thee: for I know his mind already in that matter.

Lith. I give you hearty thanks for your gentleneſs, and my Neighbours for their good report.

Chan. Lithall, if thy Neighbours will be bound for thy forth-coming whenſoever thou ſhalt be called for; and alſo if thou wilt be an obedient Subject, I ſhall be content to deliver thee.

Neigh. If it pleaſe your Worſhip, we will be bound for him in Body and Goods.

Chan. I will require no ſuch Bond of you, but that two of you will be bound in twenty Pound a piece, that he ſhall come to anſwer when he ſhall be called.

Lith. Where find you, Mr. Chancellor, in all the Scriptures, that the Church of God did bind any man for the profeſſion of his Faith? which Profeſſion you have heard of me, that all our Juſtification, Righteouſneſs, and Salvation cometh only and freely by the merits of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and all the inventions and works of men, be they never ſo glorious, be altogether vain, as the Wiſe man ſaith.

Chan. Lo, where he is now. I put no ſuch matter to you; for in that I believe as you do: but yet St. *James* ſaith, That a man is juſtified by works.

Lith. St. *James* ſpake to them that boaſted themſelves of Faith, and ſhewed no works of Faith: But O, Mr. Chancellor, remember I pray you, how all the Promiſes and Propheſies of the holy Scripture, even from the firſt Promiſe that God made to *Adam*, and ſo even to the latter end of the *Revelation* of St. *John*, do teſtifie that in the Name of Jeſus, and only by his Merits, all that believe ſhall be ſaved from all their ſins and offences. *Eſay* ſaith, *Chap.* 65. *I am found of them that ſought me not, and am manifeſt to them that asked not after me:* but againſt *Iſrael* he ſaith, *All day long have I ſtretched out my hand to a People that believe not.* And when the Jaylor asked St. *Paul*, what he ſhould do to be ſaved, the Apoſtle ſaid, *Acts* 16. *Believe on the Lord Jeſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaved, and all thy houſhold.*

St. *James* explained.

Again, St. *John* ſaith in the *Revelation*, that there was none, neither in Heaven nor in Earth, neither under the Earth, that was able to open the Book nor the Seals thereof, but only the Lamb Jeſus our only Saviour. And St. *Paul* ſaith, *Hebr.* 9. *With one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are ſanctified.*

Chan. With vain glory you rehearſe much Scripture, as all the ſort of you do: but you have no more underſtanding than a many of Sheep. But to the purpoſe. Will you that your Neighbours ſhall enter into bonds for you, or not?

Lithall refuſeth to put in Bond.

Lith. By my mind they ſhall not. Wherefore I deſire you that you would not bind me, but let me ſerve God with my Conſcience freely. For it is written, *Apoc.* 13. *They that lead into Captivity, ſhall go into Captivity, and they that ſtrike with the Sword ſhall periſh with the Sword.*

Alſo it is written in the Goſpel of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *That whoſo doth offend one of theſe little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a Mill-ſtone were hanged about his neck, and that he were caſt into the depth of the Sea, Matth.* 18. Of the which I am aſſured by his holy Spirit that I am one. Wherefore be you well aſſured that ſuch mercy as you ſhew, unto you ſhall be ſhewed the like.

Chan. You are a mad man. I would not bind you, but that I muſt needs have ſomewhat to ſhew for your deliverance. Then he called two of my Neighbours, *Thomas Daniel* and *Saunders Maybe*, which offered themſelves to be bound, and called me before them, and ſaid, I have a Letter of his own hand writing, with his Name and Seal at it, with a Book alſo againſt the Regiment of Women, for the which I could make him to be hanged, drawn and quartered; but no my Faith I will him no more hurt than I mean to my own Soul.

Lith. I deſire you that be my Neighbours and Friends, that you will not enter into bonds for me: for you know not the danger therof, neither I my ſelf: it goeth againſt my Conſcience that ye ſhould ſo do.

Chan. Why, I will not bind you to do any thing againſt your Conſcience.

His Neighbours enter into Bond for him.

Neigh. Then they made the Bond and ſealed to it, and willed me that I ſhould ſeal to it alſo; and I ſaid that I would not, neither could I obſerve the Bond, and therefore I would not ſet to my hand.

Chan. It is pity that thou haſt ſo much favour ſhewed thee: yet for theſe honeſt mens ſakes I will diſcharge thee.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſſembling words of Mr. *Darbyſhire*, pretending for favour of his Sureties, to ſet him at liberty, it was no ſuch thing, nor any zeal of charity that moved him ſo do; but only fear of the time, underſtanding the dangerous and unrecoverable ſickneſs of Queen *Mary*, which then began ſomewhat to aſſwage the cruel proceeding of theſe Perſecutors, whereby they durſt not do that they would: for elſe *Lithall* was not like to have eſcaped ſo eaſily.

Edward

Edward Grew.

MOreover, there was one *Edward Grew* Prieſt, and *Appline*, his Wife, compelled to fly from their dwelling at a Town called *Broke*; and the man being very aged, travelled abroad to keep a good Conſcience.

At the laſt he was taken and laid in *Colcheſter Caſtle*, where he remained till Q. *Elizabeth* came to her Regal Seat, and by the alteration of Religion he was delivered. His Wife, good Woman, was in great care for him, and to her power did what ſhe could to ſuccour him.

William Browne.

Mr. Brown of Suffolk. WIlliam *Browne*, Parſon of little *Stanham*, in the County of *Suffolk*, made a Sermon in the ſaid Town, incontiently after the burial of our good King *Edward*, and in his Sermon he ſaid, There goeth a report that our good King is buried with a Maſs by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he having a Mitre upon his head. But if it were ſo, ſaith he, they are all Traytors that ſo do, becauſe it is both againſt the Truth, and the Laws of this Realm, and it is great Idolatry and Blaſphemy, and againſt the glory of God; and they are no Friends either to God, the King, or yet unto the Realm, that ſo do. For this his preaching one *Robert Blomefield*, an Adverſary to the Truth, being then Conſtable of the Town, and Bayliff unto Sir *John Jerningham* Knight (the Chief Lord of the Town) immediately rode forth, and brought home with him one *Edward Golding*, which was then under-ſheriff, Sir *Thomas Cornwallis* being then high Sheriff.

Rob. Blomefield, Perſecutor.

Edw. Golding under Sheriff *Cornwallis* high Sheriff.

So the ſaid *Golding* and *Blomefield* ſent for certain men of the ſaid Town, and examined them for the Sermon. Whereunto they made but a ſmall anſwer. Then the Sheriff made a bill, and ſo feared the men, that two or three of them ſet to their hands, and one of them never joyed after but it was a grief to him till he died.

Mr. Browne perſecuted and taken.

Then did they take men with them unto the Parſons houſe, and in the night they took him and with Watchmen kept him until it was day. Then ſhould he have been carried the next day to the Councel; but the ſaid *Robert Blomefield* was taken ſo ſick, that he was like to die: ſo that he could not carry him for his life.

Then the ſaid Sheriff ſent him to *Ipſwich* again and there he was for a time. Then he was ſent to *Bury* Priſon, and from thence to the Councel, and then into the *Fleet*: and ſo he lay in Priſon from the beginning of harveſt till it was nigh *Chriſtmaſs*, and ſaid, God gave him ſuch anſwers to make when he was examined, that he was delivered with quietneſs of Conſcience. And having his liberty, he came again unto the fore-ſaid Town; and becauſe he would not go to Maſs, his living was taken away, and he and his Wife were conſtrained to fly here and there for his life and Conſcience. In the laſt year of Queen *Maries* Reign God did take him out of this life in peace.

Mr. Browne delivered.

Example of Gods puniſhment upon a Perſecutor.

Where moreover is to be noted, that this *Robert Blomefield* abovenamed, immediatly after he had apprehended the ſaid *Brown*, fell very ſick: And although at that time he was wealthy Man and of great ſubſtance (beſide his land which was better than twenty pound a year) after this time, God ſo plagued his houſhold, that his eldeſt Son died, and his Wife had a pining ſickneſs till ſhe departed this life alſo.

Then married he another, a Rich Widdow: but all would not help, and nothing would proſper: For he had a ſore pining ſickneſs, being full of Botches and Sores, whereby he waſted away both Body and Goods, till he died.

So when he died, he was above nineſcore pounds in debt, and it was never heard of any repentance he had. But a little before his death he bragged, and threatned a good Man, one *Simon Harlſton*, to put him forth to the officers, becauſe he did wear no Surplis when he ſaid Service.

Wherefore it is pity ſuch Baits of Popery are left to the enemies to take Chriſtians in. God take them away, or eaſe us from them: for God knoweth they be the cauſe of much blindneſs and ſtrife amongſt Men.

Furthermore, out of the ſaid Town were conſtrained to fly *Robert Boela* and *John Trapne*, becauſe they would not go to Maſs and receive their Sacrament of the Altar. Anno 1558.

Elizabeth Young.

YE heard before in the treatiſe of the ſcourging of *Tho. Greene*, how he was troubled and beaten by Dr. *Story*, for a certain Book called *Antichriſt*, which he received of a Woman, becauſe in no caſe he would detect her.

This Woman was one *Elizabeth Young*, who coming from *Emden* to *England*, brought with her divers Books, and ſparſed them abroad in *London*; for the which ſhe, being at length eſpyed and layd faſt, was brought to examination, 13. times before the Catholick Inquiſitors of Heretical pravity. Of the which her examinations, nine have come to our hands.

Wherein how fiercely ſhe was aſſaulted, how ſhamefully ſhe was reviled, how miſerably handled, and what anſwers ſhe made unto the Adverſaries in her own defence, and finally after all this, how ſhe eſcaped and paſſed through the Pikes, (being yet, as I hear ſay, alive) as I thought togive theReader here to ſee and underſtand.

The firſt Examination of Elizabeth Young, *before Mr.* Huſſy.

The 1. examination of *Eliz. Young.*

WHo examined her of many things: Firſt, where ſhe was born, and who was her Father and Mother.

Eliz. Young. Sir, all this is but vain talk, and very ſuperfluous. It is to fill my head with fantaſies, that I ſhould not be able to anſwer unto ſuch things as I came for. Ye have not (I think) put me in Priſon to know who is my Father and Mother. But I pray you go to the matter that I came hither for.

Mr. Huſſy. Wherefore wenteſt thou out of the Realm?

Eliz. To keep my Conſcience clean.

Huſ. When waſt thou at Maſs?

Eliz. Not theſe three years.

Huſ. Then waſt thou not there three years before that?

Eliz. No Sir, nor yet three years before that: for if I were I had evil luck.

Huſ. How old art thou?

Eliz. Forty and upwards.

Huſ. Twenty of thoſe years thou went to Maſs.

Eliz. Yea and twenty more I may, and yet come home as wiſe as I went thither firſt, for I underſtand it not.

Huſ. Why wilt thou not go to the Maſs?

Eliz. Young refuſeth to go to Maſs.

Eliz. Sir, my Conſcience will not ſuffer me: for I had rather all the world ſhould accuſe me, than mine own Conſcience.

Huſ. What if a louſe, or a flea ſtick upon thy skin, and bite thy fleſh? thou muſt make a Conſcience in taking her off; is there not a Conſcience in it?

Eliz. That is but an eaſie Argument to diſplace the Scriptures, and eſpecially in ſuch a part as my Salvation dependeth upon: for it is but an eaſie Conſcience that a Man can make.

Huſ. But why wilt thou not ſwear upon the Evangeliſts before a Judge?

Eliz. Becauſe I know not what a Book-Oath is.

Huſ. Then he began to teach her the Book-Oath.

Eliz. Young denieth to ſwear, and why.

Eliz. Sir, I do not underſtand it, and therefore I will not learn it.

Huſ. Then ſaid he, thou wilt not underſtand it, and with that roſe up and went his way.

The ſecond Examination before Doctor Martin.

The 2. examination of *Eliz. Young.* She troubled for bringing over Books.

WHo ſaid to her, Woman, thou art come from beyond the Sea, and haſt brought with thee Books of Hereſie and Treaſon, and thou muſt confeſs to us who tranſlated them, printed them, and who ſent them over (for once I knew thee to be but a meſſenger) and in ſo doing the Queens Highneſs will be good to thee (for ſhe hath forgiven greater things than this) and thou ſhalt find

as

Anno 1558.

as much favour as is poſſible. But if thou be ſtubborn, and wilt not confeſs, thou wilt be wondrous evil handled: for we know the Truth already, but this we do, only to ſee whether thou wilt be true of thy word or no.

Eliz. Sir, ye have my Confeſſion, and more than that I cannot ſay.

M. Thou muſt ſay more, and ſhalt ſay more. Doſt thou think that we will be fully anſwered by this Examination that thou haſt made? Thou Rebel Whore and Traitor Heretick, thou doſt refuſe to ſwear upon the Evangeliſt before a Judge, I hear ſay. Thou ſhalt be racked Inch-meal, thou traitorly Whore and Heretick, but thou ſhalt ſwear before a Judge before thou go: yea, and thou ſhalt be made to confeſs how many books thou haſt ſold, and to whom.

Dr. Martin threatneth her with the Rack.

Eliz. Sir, I underſtand not what an Oath is, and therefore I will take no ſuch thing upon me. And no man hath bought any Books of me as yet, for thoſe Books that I had, your Commiſſioners have them all.

Martin. Thou traitorly Whore, we know that thou haſt ſold a number of Books, yea, and to whom: and how many times thou haſt been here, and where thou layeſt, and every place that thou haſt been in: Doſt thou think that thou haſt Fools in hand?

Eliz. No Sir, ye be too wiſe for me; for I cannot tell how many places I have been in myſelf but if it were in *Turky*, I ſhould have meat, and drink and lodging for my mony.

Martin. Thou Rebel Whore, thou haſt ſpoken evil words by the Queen, and thou dwelleſt amongſt a ſort of Traitors and Rebels that cannot give the Queen a good word.

Eliz. I am not able to accuſe any man thereof, neither yet is there any man that can prove any ſuch things by me, as ye lay unto my charge. For I know by Gods Word, and Gods Book hath taught me what is my duty to God, and unto my Queen, and therefore (as I ſaid) I am aſſured that no man living upon the earth, can prove any ſuch things by me.

Eliz. Young charged for ſpeaking againſt the Queen.

Mart. Thou Rebel and traitorly Whore, thou ſhalt be ſo racked and handled, that thou ſhalt be an Example to all ſuch traitorly Whores and Hereticks; and thou ſhalt be made to ſwear by the holy Evangeliſts, and confeſs to whom thou haſt ſold all and every of theſe heretical Books that thou haſt ſold: for we know what number thou haſt ſold, and to whom; but thou ſhalt be made to confeſs it in ſpite of thy Blood.

Eliz. Here is my Carkaſs; do with it what you will and more than that you cannot have. M. *Martin*, ye can have no more but my Blood.

Then fared he, as though he had been ſtark mad, and ſaid, *Martin*? Why calleſt thou me *Martin*?

Eliz. Sir, I know well enough, for I have been before you ere now. Ye delivered me once at *Weſtminſter*.

Mart. Where didſt thou dwell then?

Eliz. I dwelled in the *Minories*.

Eliz. Young and her Husband delivered by D. Martin.

Mart. I delivered thee and thy Husband both, ; and I thought then that thou wouldeſt have done otherwiſe than thou doſt now. For if thou hadſt been before any Biſhop in *England*, and ſaid the words, that thou didſt before me, thou hadſt fried a Fagot: and though thou didſt not burn then, thou art like to burn or hang now.

Eliz. Sir, I promiſed you then, that I would never be fed with an unknown Tongue, and no more will I yet.

Mart. I ſhall feed thee well enough. Thou ſhalt be fed with that (I warrant thee) which ſhall be ſmally to thine eaſe.

Eliz. Do what God ſhall ſuffer you to do: for more ye ſhall not. And then he aroſe, and ſo departed, and went to the Keepers houſe, and ſaid to the Wife. Whom haſt thou ſuffered to come to this vile traitorly Whore and Heretick to ſpeak with her? Then ſaid the Keepers Wife, as God receive my Soul, here came neither Man, Woman, nor Child, to ask for her.

Eliz. Young commanded to Cloſe Priſon, to have one day Bread, and another day Water.

Martin. If any Man, Woman, or Child, come to ask for her, I charge thee in pain of death, that they be laid faſt, and give her one day Bread, and another day Water.

Eliz. If ye take away my meat, I truſt that God will take away my hunger: and ſo he departed and ſaid, that was too good for her: and then was ſhe ſhut up under two locks in the *Clink* where ſhe was before.

The third Examination before Doctor Martin *again.*

THen was ſhe brought before him in his Chamber, within my Lord *Chancellors* houſe. Who asked her, ſaying; *Elizabeth*, wilt thou confeſs theſe things that thou haſt been examined upon? For thou knoweſt that I have been thy Friend, and in ſo doing, I will be thy Friend again; giving her many fair words, and then demanding of her how many Gentlemen were beyond the Seas.

The 3. Examination of Eliz. Young.

Dr. Martin ſeeketh to know how many Gentlemen were fled over the Sea.

Eliz. It is too much for me to tell you how many are on the other ſide.

Mart. No, I mean but in *Frankford* and *Emden*, where thou haſt been.

Eliz. Sir, I did never take account of them, it is a thing that I look not for.

Mart. When ſhall I have a true word come out of thy mouth?

Eliz. I have told you the Truth, but becauſe that it ſoundeth not to your mind, therefore ye will not credit it.

Mart. Wilt thou yet confeſs? and if thou wilt, that that I have promiſed, I will do: and if thou wilt not, I promiſe thee thou muſt go even hence to the Rack, and therefore confeſs.

Eliz. Young again threatned with the Rack.

Eliz. I can ſay no more than I have ſaid.

Mart. Well, foraſmuch as ſhe will confeſs no more, have her away to the Rack, and then ſhe will be marred. Then anſwered a Prieſt that ſate there, and ſaid, Woman, take an Oath, and confeſs. Wilt thou be hurt for other men?

Eliz. I can confeſs no more than I have. Do with my Carkaſs what ye will.

She again refuſeth to ſwear to accuſe others.

Mart. Did ye ever hear the like of this Heretick? What a ſtout Heretick is this? We have the Truth, and we know the Truth, and yet look whether ſhe will confeſs. There is no remedy, but ſhe muſt needs to the Rack, and therefore away with her, and ſo commanded her out of the Door, and called her Keeper unto him, and ſaid to him: There is no remedy but this Heretick muſt be racked; and talked with him more, but what it was ſhe heard not.

Then he called her in again, and ſaid, Wilt thou not confeſs, and keep thee from the Rack? I adviſe thee ſo to do: for if thou wilt not, thou knoweſt not the pain yet, but thou ſhalt do.

Eliz. I can confeſs no more. Do with my Carkaſs what ye will.

Mart. Keeper, away with her. Thou knoweſt what I ſaid. Let her know the pain of the Rack. And ſo ſhe departed, thinking no leſs, but that ſhe ſhould have gon to the Rack, till ſhe ſaw the Keeper turn toward the *Clink* again. And thus did God alienate their hearts, and diminiſh their tyrannous power, unto the time of further Examinations; For ſhe was brought before the Biſhop, the Dean, and the Chancellor, and other Commiſſioners, firſt and laſt, 13. times.

Eliz. Young commanded again to the Clink.

The fourth Examination was before the Biſhop of London, *Sir* Roger Cholmley, *Dr.* Cook, *the Recorder of* London, *Dr.* Roper *of* Kent, *and Dr.* Martin, *as concerning her Faith, &c.*

FIrſt ſhe being preſented by Dr. *Martin*, before the Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Martin* began to declare againſt her, ſaying, The Lord Chancellor hath ſent you here a Woman, which hath brought Books over from *Emden*, where all theſe Books of Hereſie and Treaſon are printed, and hath therewith filled all the Land with Treaſon and Hereſie, neither yet will ſhe confeſs who tranſlated them, nor who printed them, nor yet who ſent them over. Wherefore my Lord Chancellor committeth her unto my Lord of *London*, he to do with her as he ſhall think good. For ſhe will confeſs nothing, but that ſhe bought theſe ſaid Books in *Amſterdam*, and ſo brought them over to ſell for gain.

The 4. Examination of Eliz. Young.

Dr. Martin preſenteth her to the Commiſſioners.

Dr. *Cook.* Let her head be truſſed in a ſmall line, and make her to confeſs.

Mart. The Book is called *Antichriſt*, and ſo may be well called, for it ſpeaketh againſt Jeſus Chriſt and the Queen. Beſides that, ſhe hath a certain ſpark of the Anabaptiſts, for ſhe refuſeth to ſwear upon the four Evangeliſts before a Judge: For I my ſelf and Mr. *Huſſey* have had her before us four times, but we cannot bring

The Book called Antichriſt.

bring her to ſwear. Wherefore my Lord Chancellor would that ſhe ſhould abſtain and faſt, for ſhe hath not faſted a great while: For ſhe hath lien in the *Clink* a good while, where ſhe had too much her liberty.

Eliz. Young a great while in the Clink

Then ſaid the Biſhop, why wilt thou not ſwear before a Judge? that is the right trade of the Anabaptiſts.

Eliz. My Lord, I will not ſwear that this hand is mine.

No, ſaid the Biſhop? and why?

Eliz. Young refuſed to ſwear, and why.

Eliz. My Lord, Chriſt ſaith, That whatſoever is more than yea, yea, or nay, nay, it cometh of evil, And moreover, I know not what an Oath is: and therefore I will take no ſuch thing upon me.

Eliz. Young thought to be no Woman.

Then ſaid *Cholmley*, twenty pounds, it is a Man in a Womans Clothes, twenty pounds, it is a Man.

Boner. Think you ſo my Lord?

Chol. Yea, my Lord, &c.

Eliz. My Lord, I am a Woman.

Biſh. Swear her upon a Book, ſeeing it is but a queſtion asked.

Then ſaid *Cholmley*, I will lay twenty pounds, it is a Man.

Then Dr. *Cooke* brought her a Book, commanding her to lay thereon her hand.

Eliz. No, my Lord, I will not ſwear: for I know not what an Oath is. But I ſay that I am a Woman, and have Children.

Biſh. That know not we: wherefore ſwear.

Cholm. Thou il favoured Whore, lay thy hand upon the Book; I will lay on mine: and ſo he laid his Hand upon the Book.

Eliz. So will not I mine.

Then the Biſhop ſpake a word in Latine, out of St. *Paul*, as concerning ſwearing.

Eliz. My Lord, if you ſpeak to me of St. *Paul*, then ſpeak Engliſh, for I underſtand you not.

Biſh. I dare ſwear that thou doſt not.

Eliz. My Lord, St. *Paul* ſaith, that five words ſpoken in a language that may be underſtood, are better than many in a forain or ſtrange tongue which is unknown.

Dr. Cooke. Swear before us, whether thou be a Man or a Woman.

Eliz. If ye will not believe me, then ſend for Women into a ſecret place, and I will be tried.

Cholm. Thou art an ill favored Whore.

Sacrament of the Altar.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, How believeſt thou in the Sacrament of the Altar?

Eliz. My Lord, if it will pleaſe you that I ſhall declare mine own Faith, I will.

The Biſhop. Tell me, how believeſt thou in the Sacrament of the Altar?

Eliz. Will it pleaſe you that I ſhall declare my Faith? And if it be not good, then teach me a better, and I will believe it.

Dr. Cook. That is well ſaid, declare thy Faith.

The Confeſſion & Faith of Eliz. Young.

Eliz. I believe in God the Father almighty, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons and one God. I believe all the Articles of my Creed. I believe all things written in the holy Scripture, and all things agreeable with the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghoſt unto the Church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the Church of Chriſt. I believe that Jeſus Chriſt, the only Son of God, that immaculate Lamb, came into the world to ſave ſinners; and that in him, by him, and through him I am made clean from my ſins, and without him I could not. I believe that in the Holy Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood, which he did inſtitute and ordain, and left among his Diſciples that night before he was betrayed, when I do receive this Sacrament in Faith and Spirit, I do receive Chriſt.

The Sacrament to be received in Spirit and Faith.

Biſh. No more, I warrant you, but the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood, received but in Spirit and Faith, with thoſe Hereticks.

Cholmley cannot abide Spirit and Faith.

Chol. Ah Whore, Spirit and Faith, Whore?

Eliz. This Sacrament never Man could or did make, but only he, that did what no Man could do.

Mart. Then thou muſt allow that graſs is a Sacra-

ſtitution the Sacra- nt by ſt only e for all.

ment; for who could make graſs but he only?

Eliz. Sir, he hath ſuffered, and made a ſufficient Sacrifice once for all, and ſo hath he made his Sacrament ſufficient once for all: for there was never Man that could ſay, *Take, eat, this is my Body, that is broken for you*, but only Jeſus Chriſt, who had his Body broken for the ſins of the world; which Sacrament he hath left here amongſt us for a Teſtimonial of his Death, even to the worlds end.

Anno 1558.

Mart. Who taught thee this Doctrine? did *Scory*?

Eliz. Yea, Biſhop *Scory* and other that I have heard.

Biſh. Why, is *Scory* Biſhop now?

Eliz. If that do offend you, call him Dr. *Scory*, if ye will

Roper. I knew when he was but a poor Doctor.

Mart. What do ye call *Scory*?

Eliz. Our Superintendent,

Biſh. Loe! their Superintendent.

Mart. And what are ye called?

Eliz. Chriſts Congregation.

Biſh. Loe! Chriſts Congregation, I warrant you.

Dr. Cooke. What living hath *Scory*?

Eliz. Sir, as far as I do know, he liveth by his own, for I know no Man that giveth him ought.

Recorder. Yes, I warrant you, he hath enough ſent him out of *England*.

Eliz. Sir, I know no ſuch thing.

Cholm. Hark Whore, hark; hark, how I do believe.

Eliz. My Lord, I have told you my belief.

Chol. Hark, thou il favored whore, how I do believe. When the Prieſt hath ſpoken the words of Conſecration, I do believe that there remaineth the very Body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, was hanged on the Croſs, was Dead and Buried, and Deſcended into Hell, and Roſe again on the third day, and Aſcended into Heaven, and ſitteth at the Right hand of God. The ſame Body when the Prieſt hath ſpoken the words, cometh down, and when the Prieſt lifeth up his Body on this wiſe (he lifting up his Hands, ſaid) there it is.

Confeſſion of Cholmleys Faith.

Eliz. I have told you alſo how I do believe.

Mart. Away with her.

Cholm. Ah evill favoured Whore! nothing but Spirit and Faith, Whore?

Mart. Away with her, we have more to talk withall.

Then was ſhe carried into the *Colehouſe*, and ſearched for Books, and then put into the *Stockhouſe*, and her knife, girdle, and apron taken from her.

Eliz. Young carried into the Stockhouſe.

The fifth Examination before the Biſhop of Londons *Chancellor.*

THen was ſhe brought out of the *Stockhouſe*, and brought before the Biſhops Chancellor, who required of her, what age ſhe was of.

The 5. examination of Eli. Young.

Eliz. Sir, forty years and upwards.

The Chan. Why, thou art a Woman of a fair years; what ſhouldſt thou meddle with the Scriptures? it is neceſſary for thee to believe, and that is enough. It is more fit for thee to meddle with thy diſtaff, than to meddle with the Scriptures. What is thy Belief? I would hear it: for it cannot be good, in that thou art brought into Priſon.

Eliz. Sir, if it will pleaſe you to hear, I will declare it unto you. But I pray you that you will take your pen and write it, and then examine it; and if ye find any thing therein that is not fit for a Chriſtian Woman, then teach me better, and I will learn it.

Eliz. Young offered again to declare her belief.

Chan, Well ſaid. But who ſhall judge between thee and me?

Eliz. The Scripture.

Chan. Wilt thou ſtand by that?

Eliz. Yea Sir.

Chan. Well go thy way out at the door a little while, for I am buſie, and I will call for thee anon again.

Then he called me again and ſaid; Now Woman, the time is too long to write. Say thy mind, and I will bear it in my head.

Then *Elizabeth* began, and declared her Faith to him as ſhe had done before the Biſhop.

Really, corporally, ſubſtantially.

Chan. Woman, Spirit and Faith I do allow, but doſt thou not believe that thou doſt receive the Body of Chriſt, really, corporally, and ſubſtantially?

Eliz.

Anno 1558.

Eliz. Theſe words, really and corporally, I underſtand not; as for ſubſtantially, I take it, ye mean I ſhould believe that I ſhould receive his humane Body (which is upon the right hand of God, and can occupy no more places at once) and that believe not I.

Chan. Thou muſt believe this, or elſe thou art damned.

Eliz. Sir, can ye give me Belief or Faith?

Chan. No, God muſt give it thee.

Eliz. God hath given me no ſuch Faith or Belief.

The Chancellor then declared a text of S. *Paul* in Latin, and then in Engliſh, ſaying, I could make thee believe, but that thou haſt a cankered Heart, and wilt not believe. Who then can make thee to believe?

Faith cometh of God *Ergo*, no untruth ought to be believed. Chriſt is fleſh of our fleſh, but not in our fleſh. *John.* 6.

Eliz. You ſaid even now, that faith or belief cometh of God, and ſo believe I, and then may not I believe an untruth to be a truth.

Chan. Doſt thou not believe that Chriſts Fleſh is Fleſh in thy Fleſh?

Eliz. No Sir, I believe not that; for my Fleſh ſhall putrifie and rot.

Chan. Chriſt ſaid, my Fleſh is Fleſh in Fleſh.

Eliz. Who ſo receiveth him fleſhly, ſhall have a fleſhly reſurrection.

Chan. Chriſt ſaith in the 6. of *John*, *My Fleſh is meat indeed, and my Blood is drink indeed.*

Eliz. Chriſt preached to the *Capernaites*, ſaying; *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye ſhall not have life in you: And the Capernaites* murmured, at it. And his Diſciples alſo murmured, ſaying among themſelves, *This is an hard ſaying, and who can abide it?* Chriſt underſtood their meaning, and ſaid; *Are ye alſo offended? Will ye alſo go away? What and if ye ſhall ſee the Son of Man aſcend up to Heaven, from whence he came? will that offend you? It is the Spirit that quickneth, the Fleſh profiteth nothing.* I pray you Sir, what meaneth Chriſt by that?

This Man dare not expound the Scripture, yet he dare judge upon Herege.

Chan. O God forbid. Would ye have me to interpret the Scriptures? We muſt leave that for our old ancient Fathers, which have ſtudied Scriptures a long time, and have the Ghoſt given unto them.

Eliz. Why Sir, have you not the Holy Ghoſt given and revealed unto you?

The Papiſts dare not aſſure themſelves to have the holy Ghoſt.

Chan. No, God forbid that I ſhould ſo believe; but I hope, I hope: But ye ſay, ye are of the Spirit. Will you ſay that ye have no profit in Chriſts Fleſh?

The *Capernaites* faith.

Eliz. Sir, we have our profit in Chriſts Fleſh, but not as the *Capernaites* did underſtand it: For they underſtood that they muſt eat his Fleſh as they did eat Ox Fleſh and other, and drink his Blood, as we drink wine or beer out of a bowl. But ſo we muſt not receive it. But our profit that we have by Chriſt, is to believe that his Body was broken upon the Croſs, and his Blood ſhed for our ſins; that is the very meaning of Chriſt, that ſo we ſhould eat his Fleſh, and drink his Blood, when he ſaid; *My Fleſh is meat indeed, and my Blood is drink indeed.*

The place of *John.* cap. 6. expounded how Chriſts fleſh is meat.

Chan. How doth thy Body live, if Chriſts Fleſh is not Fleſh in thy Fleſh?

Eliz. Sir, I was a Body before I had a Soul; which Body God had created, and yet it could not live, till God had breathed life into me, and by that life doth my Body live. And when it ſhall pleaſe God to diſſolve my life, my Fleſh will offer it ſelf unto the place from whence it came, and through the merits of Chriſt my Soul will offer it ſelf to the place from whence is came.

Chriſts fleſh is fleſh in our fleſh, ſay the Papiſts.

Chan. Yea, but if thou do not believe that Chriſts Fleſh is Fleſh in thy Fleſh, thou canſt not be ſaved.

Eliz. Sir, I do not believe that.

Chan. Why, doth not Chriſt ſay, *My Fleſh is meat indeed, and my Blood is drink indeed?* Canſt thou deny that?

Chriſts fleſh is meat for our Soul ſay the Chriſtians.

Eliz. I deny not that; for Chriſts Fleſh and Blood is meat and drink for my Soul, the food of my Soul. For whoſoever believeth that Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God hath dyed and ſhed his Blood for his ſins, his Soul feedeth thereon for ever.

Chan. When thou receiveſt the Sacrament of the Altar, doſt thou not believe that thou doſt receive Chriſts Body?

In the Sacrament miniſtred and received according to Chriſts inſtitution, we receive Chriſt.

Eliz. Sir, when I do receive the Sacrament which Chriſt did inſtitute and ordain the night before he was betrayed, and left among his Diſciples, as often (*I ſay*) as I receive it, I believe, that ſpiritually and by Faith I receive Chriſt. And of this Sacrament, I know Chriſt himſelf to be the Author, and none but he. And this ſame Sacrament is an eſtabliſhment to my Conſcience, and an augmenting to my Faith.

Chan. Why, did not Chriſt take Bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid; *Take, eat, this is my Body that is given for you?* Did he give them his Body, or no?

One queſtion ſolved by another.

Eliz. He alſo took the cup, and gave thanks to his Father, and gave it unto his Diſciples, ſaying *Drink ye all hereof: for this is the cup of the New Teſtament in my Blood, which ſhall be ſhed for many.* Now I pray you Sir, let me ask you one queſtion: Did he give the cup the name of his Blood, or elſe the wine that was in the cup?

Then was he very angry, and ſaid; Doſt thou think that thou haſt an hedge-Prieſt in hand?

Eliz. No Sir, I take you not to be an hedge-Prieſt. I take you for a Doctor.

Chan. So me thinketh. Thou wilt take upon thee to teach me.

Eliz. No Sir: But I let you know what I know; and by argument one ſhall know more.

There Sacrament a witneſs both of Chriſts death and of his coming again.

Chriſt ſaid; *As oft as ye do this, do it in the remembrance of me*; but a remembrance is not of a thing preſent, but abſent. Alſo S. *Paul* ſaith; *So oft as ye ſhall eat of this Bread, and drink of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lords Death till he come*: Then we may not look for him here, until his coming again at the later day. Again is not this Article of our belief true, *He ſitteth at the Right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he ſhall come to judge both the quick and the dead?* But if he ſhall not come before he come to Judgment, then how is he here preſent in your Sacrament of the Altar? Wherefore I believe that the Humane Body of Chriſt occupieth no more but one place at once; for when he was here, he was not there.

Chriſts Body occupieth but one place at once.

The ſixth Examination before the ſaid Chancellor.

The ſixth examination of *Eliz. Young.*

WHo ſaid unto her; Woman, the laſt time that thou waſt before me, our talk was concerning the Sacrament.

Eliz. Sir, true it is, and I truſt that I ſaid nothing that ye can deny by the Scriptures.

The fleſhly reaſon of the Papiſts.

Chan. Yes, thou wilt not believe that Chriſts Fleſh is Fleſh in thy Fleſh.

Eliz. No Sir, God hath given me no ſuch belief; for it cannot be found by the Scriptures.

Chan. Wilt thou believe nothing but what is in the Scripture? Why, how many Sacraments doſt thou find in the Scripture?

Eliz. The Church of Chriſt doth ſet down twain.

Chan. I will as well find ſeven by the Scripture, as thou ſhalt find twain.

Name of Sacrament given by the Church.

Eliz. Sir, I talk not to you thereof, but I ſay that the Church of Chriſt ſetteth out twain, and I have been taught no more.

Two Sacraments.

Chan. What are thoſe twain?

Eliz. The Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood, and the Sacrament of Baptiſm.

Chan. What ſaiſt thou by the Sacrament of Wedlock?

Wedlock.

Eliz. I have not heard it called a Sacrament, but the Holy Eſtate of Matrimony, which ought to be kept of all Men that take it upon them.

Chan. How ſaiſt thou by Prieſts? Is it good that they ſhould marry? is it to be kept of them?

Prieſts marriage.

Eliz. I come not hither to reaſon any ſuch matters, for I am no Divine, and alſo it is no part of my Faith.

Chan. Can ye not tell? ye ſhall tell or ever you go.

Eliz. Sir, then muſt ye keep me a good while: for I have not ſtudied the Scriptures for it.

Chan. No? why, ye will not be aſhamed to flee unto the higheſt myſtery, even to the Sacrament at the firſt daſh, and ye are not afraid to argue with the beſt Doctor in the land.

Eliz.

Eliz. Gods myſteries I will not meddle with, but all things that are written, are written for our edification.

Praying for the dead.

Chan. What ſay you by prayer for the dead? is it not meet that if a Mans Friend be dead, his Friend commend his Soul unto God?

Eliz. There is no Chriſtian Man that will commend his Friend nor his foe unto the Devil. And whether it be good for him when he is dead or no, ſure I am, that it is good when he is alive.

Oblation for the dead.

Chan. Then thou alloweſt not prayer to bee good for them when they be dead, and lying in Purgatory. Is it not meet that prayer be made unto God for them?

Purgatory.

Eliz. Sir, I never heard in the Scriptures of Purgatory, but in the Scripture I have heard of Heaven and Hell.

Chan. Why, ye have nothing but the Skimming of the Scriptures. Our ancient Fathers could find out in the bottom of the Scriptures that there is a Purgatory. Yea, they could find it in the New Teſtament, that a Prieſt ſhall take the Sacrament, and go to the Altar, and make an Oblation, and offer it up every day.

Eliz. Sir, that could never be found in the Bible nor Teſtament, as far as ever I could hear.

Chan. Whom doſt thou hear read either the Bible or Teſtament, but a ſort of Schiſmaticks, bawdy Biſhops, and hedge-Prieſts (which have brought into the Church a ſtinking communion, which was never heard of in any place in the world, but here in *England*) which have deceived the King and all the Nobility, and all the whole Realm?

The holy communion blaſphemed.

Eliz. Sir, it is a vile name that ye give them all.

So many martyrs have been ſlain, and yet the Papiſts brag as though none will come forth to anſwer them.

Chan. Where are all the hedge-knaves become now, that they come not to their Anſwer?

Eliz. Anſwer Sir? why, they have anſwered both with the Scriptures, and alſo with their Blood; and then where were you that ye came not forth to anſwer in their times? I never knew any of you that were troubled, but twain, and that was not for Gods Word, it was for their diſobedience.

Chan. No, I pray you? did ye not know that we were killed, hanged, burned, and headed.

Eliz. Sir, I never knew that any of you ever was either hanged, killed, burned, or headed.

Fiſher Bp. of Rocheſter.

Chan. No? did ye never hear that the Bp. of *Rocheſter* loſt his head for the Supremay of the Biſhops of *Rome?*

Eliz. Then he died not for Gods Word.

Nothing to be received to ſalvation but only that which is found or founded in Scripture.

Chan. Well, thou wilt believe nothing but that which is written in Gods Word. Where canſt thou find the Sabbath written in the Scripture, by the name of the Sabbath? For the right Sabbath day will I prove to be *Saturday*. Or where canſt thou find the Articles of the Creed in the Scripture by the name of the Articles? Or where canſt thou find in the Scripture, that Chriſt went down into Hell?

Eliz. What place or part in the Scripture can ye find to diſprove any of theſe things?

Chan. What Prieſt haſt thou lien withal that thou haſt ſo much Scripture? Thou art ſome Prieſts Woman, I think, for thou wilt take upon thee to reaſon, and teach the beſt Doctor in all the land, thou.

Eliz. I was never yet Prieſts Wife, nor yet Prieſts Woman.

Chan. Have I touched your Conſcience?

Eliz. No Sir, ye have not touched my Conſcience, but beware ye hurt not your own.

Chan. Thou haſt read a little in the Bible or Teſtament and thou thinkeſt that thou art able to reaſon with a Dr. that hath gone to ſchool thirty years; and before God, I think if I had talked thus much with a Jew, as I have done with thee, he would have turned ere this time. But I may ſay by you as Chriſt ſaid by *Jeruſalem*, ſaying; *O* Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, *how often would I have gathered thee together, even as a Hen gathereth her chickens, but thou wouldeſt not.* And ſo would we gather you together in one Faith, and ye will not: and therefore your own Blood be upon your own heads; for I can do no more but teach you. Thou art one of the rankeſt Hereticks that ever I heard; for thou believeſt nothing but what is in the Scripture: and therefore thou art damned.

But we read not that Chriſt did draw them into priſons, and condemned them to be burnt that would not come.

Eliz. I do believe all things written in the Scripture, and all things agreeable with the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghoſt unto the Church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the Church of Chriſt, and ſhall I be damned becauſe I believe the Truth, and will not believe an untruth?

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Eliz. Young deemed an Heretick, becauſe ſhe believeth all things written and agreeable to the Scripture, and nothing elſe.

Then the Chancellor called the Keeper, ſaying; *Cluny* take her away, thou knoweſt what thou haſt to do with her. And ſo ſhe departed, and was brought again to the ſtock-houſe, and there ſhe lay certain days, and both her hands manacled in one Iron; and afterward ſhe was removed into the *Lollards Tower*, and there ſhe remained with both her feet in the ſtocks and Irons till the next time of examination.

Eliz. Young had to the ſtock-houſe, and then to the *Lollards Tower.*

The ſeventh Examination before the Chancellor, and the Biſhops Scribe.

WHen ſhe was brought before the ſaid Chancellor and the Scribe, the Chancellor ſaid unto her; Woman, thou haſt been twice before me, but thou and I could not agree, and here be certain Articles that my Lord the Biſhop of *London* would that thou ſhouldeſt make anſwer unto, which are theſe: Firſt, how many Sacraments thou doſt allow?

The ſeventh examination of *El. Young.*

Eliz. Sir, as many as Chriſts Church doth allow, and that is twain.

Two Sacraments.

Then ſaid the Scribe. Thou waſt taught ſeven before King Edwards daies.

Chan. Which two Sacraments be, thoſe that thou doſt allow?

Eliz. The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Baptiſm.

Chan. Doſt thou not believe that the Pope of *Rome* is the Supreme Head of the Church, immediately under God in Earth?

Eliz. No Sir, no Man can be the Head of Chriſts Church; for Chriſt himſelf is the Head, and his Word is the Governor of all that be of that Church, whereſoever they be ſcattered abroad.

Head of the Church.

Chan. Doſt thou not believe that the Biſhop of *Rome* can forgive thee all thy ſins Heretical, deteſtable, and damnable, that thou haſt done from thine infancy unto this day?

Eliz. Sir, the Biſhop of *Rome* is a ſinner as I am, and no man can forgive me my ſins, but he only that is without ſin, and that is Jeſus Chriſt which dyed for my ſins.

Biſhop of *Rome.*

Chan. Doſt thou not know that the Pope ſent over his Jubile's, that all that ever would faſt and pray, and go to the Church, ſhould have their ſins forgiven them?

The Scribe. Sir, I thing that ſhe was not in the Realm then.

Chan. Haſt thou not deſired God to defend thee from the Tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and all his deteſtable enormities?

From the Biſhop of *Rome* and all his deteſtable enormities.

Eliz. Yes that I have.

Chan. And art thou not ſorry for it?

Eliz. No Sir, not a whit.

Chan. Haſt thou not ſaid, that the Maſs was wicked, and the Sacrament of the Altar moſt abominable?

Eliz. Yes that I have.

Chan. And art thou not ſorry for it?

Eliz. No Sir, not a whit.

Chan. Art thou not content to go to the Church, and hear Maſs?

Eliz. I will not go to the Church, either to Maſs or Mattens, till I may hear it in a tongue that I can underſtand: for I will be fed no longer in a ſtrange language. And always the Scribe did write every of theſe Articles, as they were demanded, and anſwered unto.

Then the Scribe asked her from whence ſhe came.

The Chancellor ſaid, this is ſhe that brought over all theſe Books of Hereſie and Treaſon.

Then ſaid the Scribe to her; Woman, where hadſt thou all theſe Books?

Eliz. I bought them in *Amſterdam*, and brought them over to ſell, thinking to gain thereby.

Then ſaid the Scribe, What is the Name of the Book?

Eliz. I cannot tell.

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The Scribe. Why wouldſt thou buy Books and know not their Names?

Then ſaid *Cluny* the Keeper; Sir, my Lord Biſhop did ſend for her by Name that ſhe ſhould come to Maſs, but ſhe would not.

Eliz. Young refuſeth to go to Maſs.

Chan. Yea, did my Lord ſend for her by name, and would ſhe not go to Maſs?

Eliz. No Sir, I will never go to Maſs, till I do underſtand it, by the leave of God.

Chan. Underſtand it? Why, who the Devil can make thee to underſtand Latin, thou being ſo old?

Then the Scribe commanded her to ſet to her hand to all the ſaid things.

Elizabeth ſaid; Sir, then let me hear it read firſt.

Then ſaid the Scribe, Maſter Chancellor, ſhall ſhe hear it read?

Chan. Yea, let the Heretick hear it read.

Eliz. Young ſetteth her hand to her Examination.

Then ſhe heard it read, and ſo ſhe ſet to her hand.

The eighth Examination before the Biſhop.

The eighth Examination of Eliz. Young.

WHen ſhe was brought before the Biſhop, he asked the Keeper, Is this the Woman that hath the three Children? And the Keeper, ſaid, Yea, my Lord.

Biſhop. Woman, here is a ſupplication put unto my hands for thee: In like caſe there was another ſupplication put up to me for thee afore this, in the which thou madeſt as though that I ſhould keep thy Children.

Eliz. My Lord, I did not know of this ſupplication, nor yet of the other.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, Maſter Dean, is this the Woman you have ſued ſo earneſtly for?

The Dean. Yea, my Lord.

The Dean made ſure for Eliz. Young.

The Dean. Woman, what remaineth in the Sacrament of the Altar, when and after that the Prieſt hath ſpoken the words of Conſecration?

Eliz. A piece of Bread. But the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood, which he did inſtitute and leave amongſt his Diſciples the night before he was betrayed, miniſtred according to his word, that Sacrament I do believe.

The Dean. How doſt thou believe concerning the Body of Chriſt? where is his Body, and how many Bodies hath he?

Eliz. Sir, in Heaven, he ſitteth on the right hand of God.

The Dean. From whence came his humane Body?

Eliz. He took it of the Virgin *Mary*.

The Dean. That is Fleſh, Blood, and Bones, as mine is. But what ſhape hath his Spiritual Body? hath it face, hands and feet?

Eliz. I know no other Body that he hath, but that Body whereof he meant when he ſaid; *This is my Body which is given for you: and this is my Blood which ſhall be ſhed for you.* Whereby he plainly meaneth that Body and no other, which he took of the Virgin *Mary*, having the perfect ſhape and proportion of a humane Body.

Story. Then ſaid *Story*; Ye have a wiſe Body! for ye muſt go to the Stake.

The Dean. Art thou content to believe in the Faith of Chriſts Church? But to ask of thee what Chriſts Church is, or where it is, I let it paſs.

Eliz. Sir, to that Church I have joyned my Faith, and from it I purpoſe never to turn by Gods help.

The Dean. Wouldſt thou not be at home with thy Children with a good will?

Elizabeth. Sir if it pleaſe God to give me leave.

The belief of the Papiſts followeth the multitude.

The Dean. Art thou content to confeſs thy ſelf to be an ignorant and fooliſh Woman, and to believe as our Holy Father the Pope of *Rome* doth, and as the Lord *Cardinals* Grace doth, and as my Lord the Biſhop of *London* thine Ordinary doth, and as the Kings Grace, and the Queens Grace, and all the Nobility of *England* do; yea, and the Emperors Grace, and all the Noble Princes of Chriſtendom?

True belief dependeth not upon Men, but upon the rule of Gods Word.

Eliz. Sir, I was never wiſe, but in few words I ſhall make you a brief anſwer how I do believe. I do believe all things that are written in the Scriptures given by the holy Ghoſt unto the Church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the Church of Chriſt. Hereon I ground my Faith and on no Man.

Then ſaid *Story*; And who ſhall be judge?

Eliz. Sir, the Scripture.

Story. And who ſhall read it?

Eliz. He unto whom God hath given the underſtanding.

Biſhop. Woman, be reformable; for I would thou wert gone, and Maſter Dean here hath earneſtly ſued for thee.

Dean. Woman, I have ſued for thee indeed, and I promiſe thee, if thou wilt be reformable, my Lord will be good unto thee.

Eliz. I have been before my Lord Biſhop, and before Maſter Chancellor three times, and have declared my Faith.

Dean. And yet I know that Maſter Chancellor will ſay, that thou art a rank Heretick.

Story. Away with her.

Eliz. Young committed to the Dean.

Biſhop. Maſter Dean, ye know that I may not tarry, nor you neither. Let her Keeper bring her home to your own Chamber ſoon at four a Clock at afternoon, and if that ye find her reaſonable, then let her go, for I would that ſhe were gone.

Then ſaid the Dean, with a good will my Lord; and ſo ſhe was ſent unto the place from whence ſhe came, untill it was four of the Clock at afternoon.

The ninth Examination before the Dean, before whom it pleaſed God to deliver her.

The ninth Examination of Eliz. Young.

WHen it was four of the Clock at afternoon, as the hour was appointed, and the Dean was ſet, he asked her; Art thou a fool now, as thou waſt to day?

Eliz. Sir, I have learned but ſmall wiſdom ſince.

Dean. Doſt thou think that I am better learned than thou?

Eliz. Yes Sir, that I do.

Dean. Thinkeſt thou that I can do thee good?

Eliz. Yea Sir, and if it pleaſe God that ye will.

Talk between the Dean and Eliz. Young about receiving the Sacrament.

Dean. Then I will do thee good indeed. What doſt thou receive when thou receiveſt the Sacrament which Chriſt left among his Diſciples the night before he was betrayed?

Eliz. Sir, that that his Diſciples did receive.

Dean. What did they receive?

Eliz. Sir, that that Chriſt gave them they received.

Dean. What anſwer is this? Was Chriſt there preſent?

Eliz. Sir, he was there preſent; for he inſtituted his own Sacrament.

Dean. He took Bread, and he brake it, and he gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid; *Take, eat, this is my Body which ſhall be broken for you.* When thou receiveſt it, doſt thou believe that thou receiveſt his Body.

Eliz. Sir, when I receive, I believe that through Faith I do receive Chriſt.

Dean. Doſt thou believe that Chriſt is there?

Chriſt not abſent from his Sacraments.

Eliz. Sir, I believe that he is there to me, and by Faith I do receive him.

Dean. He alſo took the Cup and gave thanks, and gave it to his Diſciples and ſaid; *Drink ye all hereof, This is the Cup of the New Teſtament in my Blood, which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of Sins.* When thou doſt receive it after the inſtitution that Chriſt ordained among his Diſciples, the night before he was betrayed, doſt thou believe that Chriſt is there?

Eliz. Sir, by Faith I believe that he is there, and by Faith I do believe that I do receive him.

Dean. Now thou haſt anſwered me, Remember that thou ſayeſt, that when thou doſt receive according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, thou doſt receive Chriſt.

Eliz. Sir, I believe Chriſt not to be abſent from his own Sacrament.

Dean. How long wilt thou continue in that belief?

Eliz. Sir, as long as I do live, by the help of God, for it is, and hath been my belief.

Dean. Wilt thou ſay this before my Lord?

Eliz. Yea, Sir.

Dean. Then I dare deliver thee. Why, thou Calf, why wouldſt thou not ſay ſo to day?

Eliz. Sir, ye asked me no ſuch queſtion.

Dean. Then ye would ſtand in diſputation how many Bodies Chriſt had.

Eliz. Sir, indeed that queſtion ye did ask me.

Dean. Who ſhall be the Sureties that thou wilt appear before my Lord of *London* and me upon *Friday* next?

Eliz. Sir, I have no Sureties, nor know I where to have any.

Two Women ureties for liz. Young

Then ſpake the Dean unto two Women that ſtood there, who had earneſtly ſued for her, ſaying: Women, will ye be her Sureties, that ſhe ſhall appear before my Lord of *London* and me upon *Friday* next?

The Women. Yea Sir, and it pleaſe you.

Dean. Take heed that I find you no more a Brabler in the Scripture.

Eliz. Sir, I am no brabler in the Scripture, nor yet any Man can burthen me therewith.

Dean. Yes, I have heard of you well enough what ye are.

Then ſaid he to the two Women, What if a Man ſhould touch your Conſcience, do ye not ſmell a little of Hereſie alſo?

The Women. No, Sir.

Dean. Yes, a little of the Frying-pan, or elſe wherefore have ye twain ſo earneſtly ſued for her?

The one Woman anſwered, becauſe that her Children were like to periſh, and therefore God put me in mind to ſue for her.

Then ſaid the other Woman; And I gate her Child a Nurſe, and I am threatned to ſtand to the keeping of her Child; and therefore it ſtandeth me in hand to ſue to have her out.

Eliz. Young upon Sureties delivered.

Dean. Woman, give thanks unto theſe honeſt Women, who have ſo earneſtly ſued for thee, and I promiſe thee ſo have I. Theſe great Hereticks will receive nothing but in Spirit and Faith, and ſo he roſe and departed.

Eliz. Sir, God be praiſed, and I thank you for your goodneſs and theirs alſo, and ſo he went away; and upon the *Friday* next, becauſe ſhe was accuſed, her two Sureties went thither, and were diſcharged.

Elizabeth Lawſon.

Eliz. Lawſon Confeſſor.

IN the Town of *Bedfield*, and in the County of *Suffolk*, was dwelling an antient Godly matron, named *Elizabeth Lawſon*, about the age of ſixty years. This *Elizabeth* was apprehended as an Heretick by the Conſtables of the ſame Town, named *Robert Kitrich*, and *Thomas Elas*, in

Rob. Kitrich, T. Elas, Perſecutors.

the year of our Lord 1556. becauſe ſhe would not go to Church to hear Maſs, and receive the Sacrament, and believe in it.

Firſt, they laid her in a Dungeon, and after that ſhe was carried unto *Norwich*, and from thence to *Bury* Goal, where at laſt ſhe was condemned to be burnt. In

Sir John Sylliard, Sheriff.

the mean time Sir *John Sylliard* had her home unto his Houſe, he being High Sheriff that year, where ſhe was hardly kept, and wrapped in Irons, till at length, when they by no means could move her to recant, ſhe was ſent to Priſon again with ſhameful revilings.

Eliz. Lawſon in Priſon two years & three quarters.

Thus ſhe continued in Priſon the ſpace of two years and three quarters. In the mean time there was burnt her Son and many more, whereby ſhe would often ſay; *Good Lord, what is the cauſe that I may not yet come to thee with thy Children? Well, good Lord, thy bleſſed will be done, and not mine.*

Eliz. Lawſon ſorry that ſhe was not burned.

Not long after this (moſt happily) followed the death of Queen *Mary*, after whom ſucceeded our Queen that now is. At which time this *Elizabeth Lawſon* remained yet ſtill in *Bury* Priſon, till at laſt ſhe was bailed upon Sureties, or elſe ſhe could not be delivered. For ſhe being a condemned perſon, neither the Temporality, nor yet Spiritual Authority would diſcharge her without Sureties.

Eliz. Lawſon bailed upon Sureties in Queen Elizabeths time.

Now ſhe being abroad and her Sureties made afraid by wicked Men, ſaid, they would caſt her again in Priſon, except ſhe would ſee them diſcharged.

Then ſhe got a Supplication to go unto the Queens Majeſty, and came to a friend of hers to have his Counſel therein; who willed her to ſtay a while, becauſe ſhe was old, the days ſhort, and the expences great, and Weather foul (for it was a little before *Chriſtmaſs*) and to tarry until Summer. In the mean time God brake the bond, and ſhortned her journey; for he took her home to himſelf out of this life in peace. Anno 1558.

This good old Woman, long before ſhe went to Priſon, had the falling ſickneſs, and told a friend of hers, one *Simon Harliſton*, after ſhe was apprehended, that ſhe never had it more, but lived in good health and joy of heart, through our Lord Chriſt.

Eliz. Lawſon preſerved from perſecution, ended her life in peace.

She had a very unkind Man to her Husband, who while ſhe was in Priſon, ſold away her raiment, and would not help her; and after ſhe was out of Priſon, ſhe returned home unto him, yet would he ſhew her no kindneſs, nor help her neither; and yet the Houſe and Land that he dwelt in he had by her: wherefore as long as ſhe lived, ſhe was found of the Congregation.

Eliz. Lawſon troubled with the falling ſickneſs, after her perſecution never felt it more.

The ſaid *Elizabeth Lawſon* alſo had a Siſter, Wife to one *Robert Hollon* in *Mickfield* in the ſame County of *Suffolk*, which likewiſe was perſecuted and driven out from Houſe to Houſe, and a young Man her Son with her, becauſe they would not go to the Church to hear Maſs, and receive the Sacrament of the Altar.

Thomas Chriſtenmaſs and *William Wats.*

T. Chriſtenmaſs, W. Wats.

IN this perillous rage of Queen *Maries* Reign were two Men perſecuted, one called *Thomas Chriſtenmaſs*, the other *William Wats* of *Tunbridge* in *Kent*. As theſe travelled from place to place, not reſting two nights together in one place, it happened them on a time to come to *Rocheſter* in *Kent*, where as they entring into the Town, even at the Towns end met with a little Damſel of eight years of age, but whither ſhe went, they knew not. It was then night, and they weary, and fain therefore would have lien in the ſame Town, but could not tell where, they feared ſo the bloody Catholicks. At laſt they deviſed to ask the Damſel whether there were any Hereticks in the Town, or no? and ſhe ſaid, Yea. They asked her where. She anſwered them; At ſuch an Inn, telling them the name, and where the Inn was. Shortly after, as they were gone from her, they bethought themſelves better, and God ſo moving their Hearts, they went to the Child again, and asked her how ſhe knew that the Innkeeper (of whom ſhe ſpake before) was an Heretick. Marry, quoth ſhe, well enough, and his Wife alſo. How knoweſt thou, pretty Maiden, ſaid they? I pray thee tell us. How know I, ſaid ſhe? Marry becauſe they go to the Church; and thoſe that will not hold up their hands there, they will preſent them, and he himſelf goeth from Houſe to Houſe, to compel them to come to Church. When theſe two Men heard this, they gave God praiſe, and avoided that Houſe, taking the warning of that Maid (of good bringing up as it ſhould ſeem) to be Gods marvellous providence towards them.

Gods providence upon Thom. Chriſtenmaſs and Wil. Wats.

Another eſcape of William Wats.

THis foreſaid *William Wats*, dwelling in Queen *Maries* days at *Seal* in *Kent*, the laſt year of her Reign ſave one, was apprehended by his enemies, and brought by the Conſtables before the Biſhop and Juſtices at *Tunbridge*, where the Biſhop and Juſtices would have perſwaded him all they could, to turn from the truth: howbeit in vain, for they could not remove him, although they ſpent all the forenoon thereabout, with many flattering words; ſo merciful was the Lord unto him.

Wil. Wats another time delivered by the Lords providence. Wil. Wats apprehended and brought before the Biſhop.

Now when dinner time was come, as they ſhould riſe, they committed the Priſoner to the Conſtables again, and ſo roſe up to go to dinner. The Conſtables took *Wats*, and led him to a Victualling-Houſe, where after they had well filled themſelves, they fell aſleep, ſuppoſing their Priſoner to be ſure enough under their hands. *Wats* Wife being then in the Houſe with her Husband, and very careful for his well doing, ſeeing the Conſtables thus faſt aſleep, deſired her Husband to depart and go thence, forſomuch as the Lord had made ſuch a way for him. Unto which her words he would not conſent, although ſhe perſwaded him all that ſhe could.

Another notable example of the Lords providence.

At the laſt (they replying one againſt another) a ſtranger heard them, and asked her what the matter was, that ſhe was ſo earneſt with her Husband. The Wife told him. Then ſaid the ſtranger unto *Wats* theſe words; Father,

Anno 1558.

ther, go thy ways in Gods Name, and tarry no longer: the Lord hath opened the way unto thee. Whereupon the ſaid *Wats* went his way, and his Wife departed from him, and went home to her Houſe at *Seale*, thinking her Husband had gone another way. Now as ſhe was going in at her door, telling her Friends of his deliverance, immediately came the ſaid *Wats* in alſo, and they all being amazed thereat, willed him in all haſt to get him away; for they thought there would be ſearch for him immediately.

Wil. Wats delivered out of his enemies hands.

Then *Wats* ſaid, he would eat meat firſt, and alſo pray; which he did, and afterward departed thence. So ſoon as he was out of the doors, and had hid himſelf in an holly buſh, immediately came the ſaid Conſtables with thirty perſons into the ſaid Houſe to ſearch for him, where they pierced the Featherbeds, broke up his cheſts, and made ſuch havock, that it was wonderful; and ever anon as they were ſearching, the Conſtable cried, I will have *Wats*, I will have *Wats*, I tell thee, I will have *Wats*: but (God be thanked) *Wats* could not be found. And when they ſaw it booted not to ſearch for him, in the end they took his Wife, and ſet her in a pair of Stocks where ſhe remained two days, and ſhe was very bold in the truth, and at the laſt delivered through the providence of God; whoſe name be glorified in all his works, Amen.

Wil. Wats ſought for again.

W. *Wats* wife ſet in the Stocks.

John Glover *of* Manceter *Gentleman.*

Gods providence in delivering Mr. J. *Glover*, read before.

WHat a Fatherly and manifeſt providence of the Lord likewiſe did appear in the preſerving of Mr. *John Glover*, in the Dioceſs of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, in the Town of *Manceter*, firſt, at the taking of *Robert* his Brother. At which time although the Commiſſion came down for him, yet ſo God ordered the matter, that his Brother being ſick was apprehended, and yet he being whole eſcaped, whereof mention is made before.

Another narrow eſcape of M. J. *Glover*, read before.

And again, another time how miraculouſly the merciful providence of the Lord wrought his eſcape out of his enemies hands, they being at his Chamber door, and drawing the latch to ſearch for him; and how his Wife the ſame time was taken and ſent to *Lichfield*, read before.

One Dabney.

THere was at *London* a certain honeſt godly perſon, a Painter, Named *Dabney*, whom *John Avales* in the time of Queen *Mary* had brought before *Boner* to be examined for his Faith. It happened the ſame time, as the ſaid *Dabney* was there, that the Biſhop was occupied with the Examination of other, ſo that he was bid to ſtand by, and to wait the Biſhops leaſure. Upon the ſame, or not long after, ſuddenly cometh word to the Biſhop to prepare him in all ſpeed, the general Proceſſion tarried for him. The Biſhop hearing that, ſetting all buſineſs apart, buſtleth himſelf with all ſpeed poſſible, to the Church, there to furniſh Proceſſion. By reaſon whereof *Dabney*, which newly came to the Houſe, was there left alone, while every man elſe was buſied in preparing and ſetting themſelves forward, according as the caſe required.

To be ſhort, as the time called on, *Boner* with his Houſhold maketh haſt, ſo faſt as they can, out of the doors to the Proceſſion. *Dabney* being left alone, cometh down to the outward Court next the gate, there walking with himſelf all heavy, looking for nothing leſs than to eſcape that danger. The Porter, who was only left at home, ſeeing the Man to walk alone, ſuppoſing he had been ſome Citizen there left behind, and waiting for opening the gate, went and opened the wicket, asking if he would go out. Yea, ſaid he, with a good will, if ye will let me out. With all my Heart, quoth the Porter, and I pray you ſo do.

Gods ſecret working in the deliverance of *Dabney*.

And thus the ſaid *Dabney* taking the occaſion offered of God, being let out by the Porter, eſcaped out of the Wolfs Mouth. The Proceſſion being done, when the Biſhop returned home, *Dabney* was gone, and could not be found. Whereupon ſearch was made, but eſpecially *John Avales* laid much privy wait for him; who after long ſearching, when he could not get him, at length received fifteen Crowns of his Wife to let him alone when he ſhould ſee him, and ſo that good Man eſcaped.

Alexander Wimſhurſt.

ALike example of God Almighties goodneſs towards his afflicted Servants in that dangerous time of perſecution, may alſo appear evidently in one *Alexander Wimſhurſt* a Prieſt ſometime of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*, and then the Popes own Knight, but ſince an earneſt enemy to Antichriſt, and a Man better inſtructed in the true fear of God. It happened that one had promoted him to *Boner* for Religion, upon what occaſion I do not underſtand. According to the old manner in ſuch caſes provided, he ſent forth *Robin Caly*, otherwiſe called *Robin Papiſt*, one of his whelps to bring in the game, and to cauſe this ſilly poor Man to appear before him. Little *Robin*, like a proper Man, beſtirreth him in his buſineſs, and ſmelleth him out, and when he had gotten him, bringeth him along by *Cheapſide*, not ſuffering him to talk with any of his acquaintance by the way, though they were of his old friends of *Oxford* that offered to ſpeak unto him.

Alexander Wimſhurſt, a Miniſter, delivered by Gods providence from his enemies.

Wimſhurſt taken by *Robert Caly.*

When they came into *Pauls*, it happened this *Alexander* to eſpy Doctor *Chadſey* there walking up and down. To whom, becauſe he was able in ſuch a caſe to do pleaſure, and for that he had been of his old acquaintance in *Oxford*, he was very deſirous to ſpeak to him ere he went through. *Chadſey*, perceiving that *Robin Caly* did attend upon him, ſaid that he durſt not meddle in the matter. Yes (ſaith little *Robin*) you may talk with him if it pleaſe you Maſter Doctor. To be ſhort, *Alexander* openeth his caſe, and in the end deſireth, for old acquaintance ſake, that he would find means he might be rather brought before Doctor *Martin* to be examined, than any other. Nay, ſaith he (alledging the words of Chriſt unto *Peter* in the laſt chapter of S. *John*.) You remember, Brother, what is written in the Goſpel; *When thou waſt young, thou didſt gird thy ſelf, and wenteſt whither thou wouldeſt: but being aged, other Men ſhall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldeſt not.* Thus abuſing the Scripture to his private meaning, whereas notwithſtanding he might eaſily have accompliſhed ſo ſmal a requeſt, if it had liked him.

Wimſhurſt brought to D. *Story*, and D. *Cook*, Commiſſioners.

Thence was he carried to *Story* and *Cook* Commiſſioners, there to learn what ſhould become of him Before them he did uſe himſelf boldly and ſtoutly, as they on the other ſide did urge him with captious queſtions very cruelly: When they had baited the poor Man their fill, they asked him where his whore was. She is not my whore (ſaid he) but my lawful wife. She is thy whore, ſaid they. She is not my whore (ſaid he again) but my wife, I tell you. So when they perceived that he would not give place unto them, nor attributed to them ſo much as they looked for at his hand, according to the ordinary manner, they commanded him to Priſon. And now mark well the providence of God in his preſervation.

Wimſhurſt commanded to Priſon.

He was brought into *Clunies* Houſe at *Pater-noſter-row*, thence to be carried to *Lollards Tower* out of hand, but that *Cluny* (as it happened) his wife and his maid were ſo earneſtly occupied about preſent buſineſs, that as then they had not leiſure to lock up their Priſoner. In the Hall where *Alexander* ſate was a ſtrange Woman, whoſe Husband was then preſently in trouble for Religion, which perceived by ſome one occaſion or other, that this Man was brought in for the like cauſe. Alack good Man, ſaith ſhe, if you will you may eſcape the cruel hands of your enemies, foraſmuch as they be all away that ſhould look unto you. God hath opened the way unto you for a deliverance, and therefore loſe not the opportunity thereof, if you be wiſe. With thoſe and ſuch like words being then perſwaded, he gate out of the doors, and went away without any haſt making at all; ſo that if any had followed, he might have been eaſily recovered again. But undoubtedly, it was Gods will that he ſhould ſo eſcape the fury of his adverſaries, and be preſerved from all dangers of death and impriſonment.

Good counſel ſent of God.

A way made by Gods providence to *Alexander Wimſhurſt* to eſcape.

Bosomes Wife.

Bosomes wife.

AS the Works of the Lord are not to be kept ſecret, whatſoever the Perſons be in whom it pleaſeth him to work; ſo cometh to remembrance the Story of one *Bosomes* Wife, not unworthy to be conſidered. This good Woman being at *Richmond* with her Mother, was greatly called upon, and urged to come to Church. At length, through importunate crying and calling upon, ſhe granted unto them, and came. Being in the Church, and ſitting with her Mother in the Pew, contrary in all things to the doings of the Papiſts, ſhe behaved her ſelf; to wit, when they kneeled, ſhe ſtood, when they turned forward ſhe turned backward, *&c.*

The behaviour of *Bosomes* wife in the Church.

Bosomes wife ſummoned to appear at *Kingſton.*

This being notorious in the Church, at length the Conſtable and Churchwarden, named *Sanders*, attached her in the Queens Name, charging her with her Mother, the next day to appear at *Kingſton*. Who, at their command, ſo did.

The next day, according as they were aſſigned, they came to *Kingſton* to appear before the foreſaid Officers, who at the ſame time (as it chanced) were going over the Ferry, and meeting them by the way, ſaluted them by their names, but at that time had no further power to ſpeak unto them. Afterward, as they were in the Boat going over, they knockt their hands, ſtampt and ſtared, lamenting that they had let them ſo paſs their hands. This the Ferry-man declared unto them, and what they ſaid in the Boat. Whereupon the good Woman taking her Journey to *London*, eſcaped their cruelty, through the ſecret working (no doubt) of the Lord, who in all his works and evermore be praiſed, Amen.

Bosomes wife through Gods help eſcapeth.

Lady Knevet *in* Norfolk.

The Lady *Anne Knevet.*

AMong the number of the godly that were kept under the Providence of the Lord in thoſe perillous days, I may not forget an ancient good Lady of much worſhip, called Lady *Anne Knevet*, who till her death dwelt in *Norfolk*, in a Town named *Wimondham*, ſix miles from *Norwich*. Which ſaid good Lady in Q. *Maries* days being judged by the Common People to be more than an hundred years of Age, and by her own eſtimation well toward a hundred, kept her ſelf from their Popiſh Church, or having any Papiſtical Traſh miniſtred in her Houſe, but only the Service that was uſed in the later days of King *Edward* the ſixth, which daily ſhe had ſaid before her, either by one Mr. *Tollin*, who was then by Gods Providence preſerved in her Houſe, or elſe by one of her Gentlewomen or Houſhold Servants, that could ſerve the place in the ſaid Mr. *Tollins* abſence.

Lady *Knevet* threatned by the Biſhop.

Now this worſhipful Lady continuing in this manner of true ſerving of God, ſhe and her Family were many times threatned by Meſſengers, that the Biſhop would viſit her therefore. Unto which Meſſengers ſhe would always anſwer, That if his Lordſhip ſent word before what day he would come, he would thereafter be entertained at her hand. But God, whoſe Providence ruleth the raging Seas, never ſuffered them all that toiling time to moleſt her: Although oftentimes when ſhe had Service before her, there were very great Enemies to the Truth, and of much Authority, that came in, and kneeled to Prayer among them, and yet had no power to trouble her therefore.

The great Age of the Lady *Knevet.*

This good Lady (gentle Reader) kept good Hoſpitality, as any in that Country of her living. She alſo ſuccoured many perſecuted that came to her Houſe in the ſaid Queen *Maries* days. Were they never ſo ſimple, they were eſteemed of her as the Friends of the Goſpel, and departed not from her without mony and meat. Born ſhe was long before King *Edward* the fourth died, and ended her life in the Lord Jeſus's peace, about the beginning of the ſecond year of our moſt Sovereign Lady Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, as one falling into a moſt ſweet ſleep.

Lady *Eliz. Vane* a great reliever of Gods people.

Unto whom not unworthily may be compared the Lady *Elizabeth Vane*, who likewiſe, being a great Harbourer and Supporter of the afflicted Martyrs and Confeſſors of Chriſt, was in great hazards and dangers of the Enemies, and yet notwithſtanding, through the merciful Providence of the Lord, remained ſtill untouched. Of this Lady *Vane* thou ſhalt read before.

Anno 1558.

John Davis, *of the Age of twelve years, and under.*

John *Davis* a Child under the Age of twelve years, caſt to be burned for the ſix Articles, and yet by Gods Providence preſerved.

ANno *Dom.* 1546. and the laſt year of K. *Henry* the eighth, *John Davis*, a Child of twelve years and under, who dwelling in the Houſe of Mr. *Johnſon* Apothecary, in the Town of *Worceſter*, his Uncle, uſing ſometimes to read of the Teſtament and other good Engliſh Books, was complained of by *Alice Johnſon* his Miſtreſs; which *Alice* being an obſtinate perſon, conſulted with one *Thomas Parton*, and one *Alice*, Wife to *Nicholas Brook* Organmaker, with certain of the Canons, and Mr. *Johnſon* Chancellor to Dr. *Heath* their Biſhop. The means whereby he was entrapped was wrought by the foreſaid *Alice Brookes*, who procured *Oliver* her Son, Schoolfellow with the ſaid *John Davis*, to feign Friendſhip with him, and under pretence to be inſtructed to ſee his Engliſh Books, and eſpecially to get ſomething of his writing againſt the ſix Articles. Which being had, was ſoon brought to the Canons of the Church, and the Chancellor. Whereupon *Thomas Parton*, whether being ſent, or of his own mind, came to apprehend him, and his Uncle was forced againſt his will, to bind the poor Boys Arms behind him; and ſo he was brought to the Officers of the Town, where he lay from the 14*th* of *Auguſt*, till the laſt of *September*. Then was he commanded to the Freemans Priſon, where one *Richard Howborough*, coming to perſwade him from burning, willed him to prove firſt with a Candle: who then holding his finger, and the other a Candle under it a good ſpace, yet (as the party himſelf to me aſſureth) felt no burning thereof, neither would the other that held the Candle believe him a great while, till he had looked, and ſaw no ſcorching of the Candle at all appeared.

Then was the Child removed from thence to an inner Priſon, called *Peephole*, where the low Bayliff, called *Robert Tould*, laid upon him a pair of Bolts, ſo that he could not lift up his ſmall Legs, but leaning on a ſtaff, ſlipt them forward upon the ground, the coldneſs of which Irons he feeleth yet in his Ankles, and ſhall ſo long as he liveth: with theſe Bolts his lying was upon the cold ground, having not one lock of Straw nor Cloth to cover him, ſave only two Sheep-skins, neither durſt Father or Mother, or any of his Friends come at him. Beſides this, and many great threats of the Papiſts, there was a mad man put to him in the Priſon, with a Knife about him, wherewith he oft times in his Frantick rage proffered to thruſt him in.

After this came to him one *Joyliff* and *N. Yewer*, two Canons, which had his Writings againſt the ſix Articles, and his Ballad, called, *Come down for all your ſhaven Crown*, to ſee whether he would ſtand to that he had written. Which done, with many great raging words, not long after ſate Mr. *Johnſon* the Chancellor in the *Guildhall* upon the poor Lad. Where firſt were brought in his Accuſers and ſworn, then were ſworn alſo twenty four men which went on his Queſt, and found him guilty, but he never came before the Chancellor. Upon this he was ſent to the common Goal among Thieves and Murtherers, there to tarry the coming of the Judges, and ſo to be had ſtrait to Execution. But the mighty mercy of the Lord, who helpeth the deſolate and miſerable when all other help is paſt, ſo provided for this ſilly condemned Lad, that the purpoſe of all his hard-hearted Enemies was diſappointed: For before the Judges came, God took away *Henry* the eighth out of this life. By reaſon whereof the force of the Law was then ſtaid, howbeit he was nevertheleſs arraigned, being holden up in a mans Arms at the Bar before the Judges, who were *Portman* and *Marven*. Which, when they perceived that they could not burn him, would have him preſently whipped. But Mr. *Bourne* Eſq; declared to the Judges how he had whipping enough. After that he had lain a week more in Priſon, he had him home to his Houſe, his Wife anointed his Legs her ſelf with Ointment, which then were ſtiff and num'd with Irons, till at length when Mr. *Bourne* and his Wife ſaw they could not win him to the belief of their Sacrament, they put him away, leſt he ſhould infect their Son *Anthony*, as they thought, with Hereſie.

Thus

Anno 1558.

Thus *John Davis* of the age aforesaid, in what danger he was for the Gospel ye see, and how the Lord preserved him, ye understand. He endured in Prison from the 14*th* day of *August*, till within seven days of *Easter*, who is yet alive, and a profitable Minister this day in the Church of *England*: Blessed be the Lord, *qui facit mirabilia solus*.

Mrs. *Roberts*.

The miraculous deliverance of Mrs. Roberts. This Gentlewoman was ... Sir John Gilford a troubler of Mrs. Roberts.

Furthermore, to both these may be also associate another Gentlewoman, to make the third, named Mrs. *Roberts*, yet living and dwelling (as I understand) in the Town of *Hawkhurst* in *Sussex*. She being earnestly addicted to the truth of Christs Gospel, and no less constant in that which she had learned therein, so kept her self during all the brunt of Q. *Maries* time, that she never came to their Popish Service, nor would pollute her Conscience with hearing their Idolatrous Mass. There dwelt the same time not far off a Justice, called Sir *John Gilford*, who using as fervent on the contrary side to set forward the proceedings of Q. *Mary*, thought to prove masteries with this Gentlewoman, in forcing her into the Church. And first sending his wife, he attempted her by fair words and gentle persuasions to conform her self to the Princes Laws, and to come, as other Christian People did, to the Church. Notwithstanding, she constantly persisting in the sincerity of the Truth, would by no perswasions be won to do therein against her Conscience; and so kept at home a certain space, till again the second time, Mr. *Gilford* thinking not to give her over so, sent his Officers and Servants to her, by force and power to hale her out of her House to the Church, and so did. Where by the way, she for grief of Conscience swouned, and so of necessity was brought home again, and falling into an Ague, was for that time dispensed withal.

The third time, yet the unquiet spirit of Mr. *Gilford* being not content, after the time that she recovered health again, he would needs come in his own person to compel her, wild she, nild she, to the Church. But (as the Proverb goeth) Who can let that God would have done? For when Mr. *Gilford* had purposed as pleased him, the Lord so disposed for his Servant, that as the said Mr. *Gilford* was coming up the stairs toward her Chamber, suddenly his old Disease the Gout so took him, and terribly tormented him, that he could go no further: And so he, that purposed to carry her to the Church against her will, was fain himself to be carried home to his House to his pain; protesting and swearing that he would never from henceforth trouble that Gentlewoman more, and no more he did.

Sir John Gilford stopped of his purpose by Gods working.

Mrs. *Anne Lacy*.

Mrs. Anne Lacy.

IN the number of good Gentlewomen being in trouble and danger for Gods Word, is not to be omitted the memory of one Mrs. *Anne Lacy* widow in *Nottinghamshire*, who was in great danger in Q. *Maries* time, insomuch that the Process was forth against her, and she ready to have been apprehended, being so nearly pursued, that she was driven to hide her Bible and other Books in a Dunghil. Mr. *Lacy* her Brother was then Justice of Peace: but to whom (as I have heard) she was but smally beholden. Nevertheless, where Kindred faileth, yet Gods Grace never faileth such as stick to him; for in this mean time, as the Process came out against her, Q. *Mary* died, and so she escaped.

Crosman's Wife.

Crosman's wife, Barber of Tibnam, Constable, Persecutor. Example of Gods gracious Providence.

ONe *Crosman's* Wife of *Tibnam Longrow* in *Norfolk*, in Q. *Maries* time, for not going to Church, was sought for at her House by one *Barber* of the said Town, then Constable of the Hundred, who when he came to her House, she being at home with a Child sucking in her Arms, stept into a corner on the one side of the Chimney, and they seeking the Chambers the Child never cried (although before they came it did) as long as they were there, and so by this means the Lord preserved her.

The Congregation at Stoke *in* Suffolk.

The story of a Congregation at *Stoke* in *Suffolk*.

THere was some likewise which avoided the violent rage of the Adversaries by means only of their number, and mutual concord in godliness, wherein they did so hold together, that without much ado none well could be troubled: whereof we have an example in a certain Town of *Suffolk* called *Stoke*. After the three sharp years of Q. *Maries* Persecution being past, yet notwithstanding the Inhabitants of the Town aforesaid, especially the women, came not to their Church to receive, after the Popish manner, the Sacrament. Who, if they had been but few, they could by no means have escaped Imprisonment. But because there were so many, the Papists thought it not best to lay hands upon them. Only they appointed them sixteen days respite after *Easter*, wherein as many as would, should receive the Sacrament; those that would not, should stand to the peril that would follow. Of this Company, which were many, giving their hands together, the chiefest doers were these:

Eve, an old woman of 60. years.
Alice Coker her daughter.
Elizabeth Foxe.
Agnes Cutting.
Alice Spencer.
Henry Canker.
Joan Fouke.
Agnes Spaulding.
John Steyre and his Brother.
John Foxe.
} Confessors.

These, after the order was taken for their not coming to the Church, took advisement among themselves what was best to be done, and at length concluded by promise one to another, that they would not receive at all. Yet some of them afterward, being perswaded with fair promises that the Communion should be ministred unto them according to K. *Edwards* Book, gate them unto the Parish Priest (whose name was *Cotes*) and asked him after which sort he would minister the Sacrament. He answered to such as he favoured, that he would give it after the right sort; the rest should have it after the Papistical manner.

Cotes Parish Priest at *Stoke*.

To be short, none did communicate so, but only *John Steyre* and *John Foxe*; of which the one gave his Wife leave to do as she thought best. The other went about with threats to compel his Wife, saying, that otherwise he would divorce himself from her. As for the rest, they did withdraw themselves from Church, resorting to their wonted Company. Only *Foxes* Wife tarried still at home, all in her dumps and heaviness, whose Husband practised with the Curate in the mean time, that the next day after he should give her the Sacrament, which was the 17. day after *Easter*. But the very same day, unknowing unto her Husband, she gate her self secretly to her Company, and with tears declared how violently her Husband had dealt with her. The other women bade her notwithstanding to be of a good cheer, and said that they would make their earnest Prayers unto the Lord, both for her and her Husband, and indeed when they had so done, the matter took very good success. For the next day after Goodman *Foxe* came of his own accord unto them, a far other man than he was before, and bewailed his own headiness and rashness, praying them that they would forgive him, promising ever after to be more strong in faith, to the great rejoycing both of them and his Wife.

John Steyre and *John Foxe* revolted.

The Christian Constancy of *Elizabeth Foxe*.

The effect of Christian Prayer.

John Foxe recovered again to the Truth by Prayer.

About half a year after this, the Bishop of *Norwich* sendeth forth certain of his Officers or Apparators thither, which gave them warning every one to come to the Church the next *Sunday* following. If they would not come, they should appear before the Commissary out of hand, to render account of their absence. But the women having secret knowledge of this before, kept themselves out of the way for the nonce, to avoid the summons or warning. Therefore when they were not at the Church at the day appointed, the Commissary did first suspend them, according to the Bishop of *Romes* Law, and within three weeks after did excommunicate them. Therefore when they perceived that an Officer of the Town was set to take some of them, they conveighing themselves privily out of the Town, escaped all danger.

The women of *Stoke* summoned by the Bishop.

How the women of *Stoke* escaped.

The Congregation in London.

The preſervation of the Congregation at *London.*

NO leſs marvellous was the preſervation of the Congregation in *London*, which from the firſt beginning of Queen *Mary*, to the later end thereof, continued, notwithſtanding whatſoever the malice, device, ſearching and inquiſition of men, or ſtrictneſs of Laws could work to the contrary. Such was the merciful hand of the Lord, according to his accuſtomed goodneſs, ever working with his People. Of this great bountiful goodneſs of the Lord, many and great examples appeared in the Congregation which now I ſpeak of. How oft, and in what great danger did he deliver them?

The Congregation at Mr. *Cardens* Houſe.

Firſt, At the *Black-Friers*, when they ſhould have reſorted to Sir *Thomas Cardens* houſe, privy watch was laid for them, but yet through the Lords vigilant Providence the miſchief was prevented, and they delivered.

The Congregation again delivered.

Again, How narrowly did they eſcape about *Algate*, where Spies were laid for them? and had not *Thom. Simſon* the Deacon eſpied them, and bid them diſperſe themſelves away, they had been taken. For within two hours the Conſtable coming to the Houſe after they were gone, demanded of the Wife what Company had been there. To whom ſhe, to excuſe the matter, made anſwer again, ſaying, That half a dozen good Fellows had been there at breakfaſt, as they went a Maying.

The Congregation again delivered.

Another time alſo about the great Conduit, they paſſing there through a very ſtrait Alley, into a Clothworkers loft, were eſpied, and the Sheriffs ſent for: but before they came, they having privy knowledge thereof, immediately ſhifted away out of the Alley, *John Aveles* ſtanding alone in the *Mercers Chappel* ſtaring at them.

The Congregation in a Ship at *Billingſgate.*

Another like eſcape they made in a Ship at *Billingſgate*, belonging to a certain good man of *Ley*, where in the open ſight of the People they were congregated together, and yet through Gods mighty Power eſcaped.

The Congregation in a Ship betwixt *Ratcliff* and *Redriff.*

Betwixt *Ratcliff* and *Redriff*, in a Ship called *Jeſus* Ship, twice or thrice they aſſembled, having there cloſely, after their accuſtomed manner, both Sermon, Prayer, and Communion, and yet through the protection of the Lord they returned, although not uneſpied, yet untaken.

The Congregation in a Coopers Houſe in *Pudding lane.*

Moreover, in a Coopers Houſe in *Pudding Lane*, ſo near they were to perils and dangers, that *John Aveles* coming into the Houſe where they were, talked with the Goodman of the Houſe, and after he had asked a queſtion or two, departed; God ſo working that either he had no knowledge of them, or no power to apprehend them.

The Congregation in a Houſe in *Thames-ſtreet.*

But they never eſcaped more hardly, than once in *Thames-ſtreet* in the night time, where the Houſe being beſet with Enemies, yet, as the Lord would, they were delivered by the means of a Mariner, who being at that preſent in the ſame Company, and ſeeing no other way to avoid, pluckt off his ſlops and ſwam to the next Boat, and ſo rowed the Company over, uſing his ſhoes in ſtead of Oars, and ſo the jeopardy was diſpatched.

I have heard of one, who being ſent to them to take their Names, and to eſpy their doings; yet being in amongſt them, was converted, and cried them all mercy.

Another notable example of Gods merciful Providence.

What ſhould I ſpeak of the extream and preſent danger which that goodly Company was in at the taking of Mr. *Rough* their Miniſter, and *Cuthert Symſon* their Deacon, had not the Lords Providence given knowledge before to Mr. *Rough* in his ſleep, that *Cuthert Symſon* ſhould leave behind him at home the Book of all their Names, which he was wont to carry about with him; whereof mention is made before.

The Miniſters of this Congregation.

In this Church or Congregation there were ſometime forty, ſometimes an hundred, ſometimes two hundred, ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs. About the later time of Queen *Mary* it greatly increaſed. From the firſt beginning, which was about the firſt entry at Q. *Maries* reign, they had divers Miniſters; firſt Mr. *Scamier*, then *Tho. Foule*, after him Mr. *Rough*, then Mr. *Auguſtine Bernher*, and laſt Mr. *Bentham*. Concerning the deliverance of which Mr. *Bentham* (being now Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*) Gods mighty Providence moſt notably is to be conſidered. For how is it poſſible, by mans eſtimation, for the ſaid Mr. *Bentham* to have eſcaped, had not the preſent power of the Lord, paſſing all mens expectation, been preſt and ready to help his Servant in ſuch a ſtreight. The ſtory and caſe is this.

A Story of Mr. Bentham.

At what time the ſeven laſt burned in *Smithfield*, mentioned in this Book before, were condemned and brought to the Stake to ſuffer, came down in the name of the King and Queen a Proclamation, being twice pronounced openly to the People, firſt at *Newgate*, then at the Stake where they ſhould ſuffer, ſtreightly charging and commanding, that no man ſhould either pray for them, or ſpeak to them, or once ſay God help them. Anno 1558.

The Queens Proclamation, no man to pray for the Martyrs, nor to ſpeak unto them.

It was appointed before of the godly there ſtanding together, which was a great Multitude, that ſo ſoon as the Priſoners ſhould be brought, they ſhould go to them to embrace and to comfort them, and ſo they did. For as the ſaid Martyrs were coming towards the place in the Peoples ſight, being brought with Bills and Gleeves (as the cuſtom is) the godly Multitude and Congregation with a general ſway made toward the Priſoners, in ſuch manner, that the Bill-men and the other Officers, being all thruſt back, could nothing do, nor any thing come nigh. So the godly People meeting and embracing, and *kiſſing* them, brought them in their arms (which might as eaſily have conveighed them clean away) unto the place where they ſhould ſuffer.

The Congregation embracing the Martyrs contrary to the Proclamation.

This done, and the People giving place to the Officers, the Proclamation with a loud voice was read to the People, containing (as is before ſaid) in the King and Queens Name, that no man ſhould pray for them, or once ſpeak a word unto them, *&c.* Mr. *Bentham* the Miniſter then of the Congregation, not ſparing for that, but as Zeal and Chriſtian Charity moved him, and ſeeing the fire ſet to them, turning his eyes to the People, cried and ſaid, We know they are the People of God, and therefore we cannot chuſe but *wiſh* to them, and ſay, God ſtrengthen them: and ſo boldly he ſaid, Almighty God, for Chriſts ſake ſtrengthen them. With that all the People with a whole conſent and one voice followed and ſaid, Amen, Amen. The noiſe whereof was ſo great, and the cries thereof ſo many, that the Officers could not tell what to ſay, or whom to accuſe. And thus much concerning the Congregation of the Faithful aſſembling together at *London* in the time of Queen *Mary*.

Mr. *Bentham* Miniſter of the Congregation.

Mr. *Bentham* ſpeaketh and prayeth for the Martyrs without danger.

Another delivery of Mr. *Bentham* out of great peril.

The ſaid M. *Bentham* another time, as he paſſed through S. *Katherines*, intending to walk and take the Air abroad, was inforced by two or three men, approaching upon him, needs to go with them to a place, whither they would lead him. Mr. *Bentham* aſtonied at the ſuddenneſs of the matter, and marvelling what the thing ſhould be, required what their purpoſe was, or whither they would have him. They anſwered, that by the occaſion of a man there found drowned, the Coroners Queſt was called and charged to ſit upon him, of the which Queſt he muſt of neceſſity be one, *&c.* He again loth to meddle in the matter, excuſed himſelf, alledging that in ſuch kind of matters he had no skill, and leſs experience; if it would pleaſe them to let him go, they ſhould meet with other more meet for their purpoſe. But when with this they would not be ſatisfied, he alledged further, that he was a Scholar of *Oxford*, and thereby was priviledged from being of any Inqueſt. The Coroner demanded the ſight of his Priviledge. He ſaid, if he would give him leave, he would fetch it. Then ſaid the Coroner, the Queen muſt be ſerved without all delay, and ſo conſtrained him notwithſtanding to be with them in hearing the matter.

Mr. *Bentham* forced againſt his will to ſit in the Coroners Office.

Being brought to the Houſe where the Coroner and the reſt of the Queſt were ſitting, as the manner is, a Book was offered to him to ſwear upon. Mr. *Bentham* opening the Book, and ſeeing it was a Papiſtical Primer, refuſed to ſwear thereupon, and declared moreover what Superſtition in the Book was contained. What? ſaid the Coroner; I think we ſhall have here an Heretick among us. And upon that, after much reaſoning amongſt them, he was committed to the cuſtody of an Officer till further examination: by occaſion whereof, to all mens reaſon, hard it had been and inevitable for Mr. *Bentham* to have eſcaped, had not the Lord helped where man was not able. What followed? Incontinent as they were thus contending and debating about matters of Hereſie, ſuddenly cometh the Coroner of the Admiralty, diſannulling and repealing the order and calling of that Inqueſt, for that it was (as he ſaid) pertaining to his Office; and therefore the other Coroner and his Company in that place had nothing to do. And ſo the firſt Coroner was diſcharged and diſplaced; by reaſon whereof M. *Bentham* eſcaped their hands, having no more ſaid unto him.

Mr. *Bentham* refuſeth to ſwear upon a Popiſh Primer.

Means wrought whereby Mr. *Bentham* eſcaped.

Engliſh-

Anno 1558.

Engliſhmen preſerved at the taking of Calice.

Engliſhmen at Calice preſerved.

THe worthy works of the Lords mercy toward his people be manifold, and cannot be comprehended, ſo that who is he living in the earth almoſt who hath not experienced the helping hand of the Lord at ſome time or other upon him? Amongſt many other, what a piece of Gods tender providence was ſhewed of late upon our Engliſh Brethren and Countrimen, what time *Calice* was taken by the Tyrant *Guiſe*, a cruel enemy both to Gods truth and our Engliſh Nation? And yet by the gracious proviſion of the Lord, few or none at all, of ſo many that favored Chriſt and his Goſpel, in that terrible time miſcarried. In the number of whom there was a godly couple, one *John Thorp* and his Wife, which feared the Lord, and loved his truth: who being ſick the ſame time, and caſt out in the wild fields, harbourleſs, deſolate, and deſpairing of all hope of life, having their young Infant moreover taken from them in the ſaid fields, and carried away of the Souldiers; yet the Lord ſo wrought, that the poor Woman, being almoſt paſt recovery of Life, was ſet and carried the ſpace well nigh of a mile, by ſtrangers whom they never knew, into a village, where both ſhe was recovered for that night, and alſo the next day coming toward *England*, they chanced into the ſame Inn at the next Town, where they found their young Child ſitting by the fire ſide.

John Thorp & his Wife.

Edward Benet.

A Story of *Ed. Benet* now dwelling in S. *Brides* Pariſh.

ONe *Edward Benet* about the ſecond year of the Raign of Queen *Mary*, then dwelling at *Queenhithe* with one *Grymocke* a Baker, was deſired of one *Tingle* Priſoner then in *Newgate*, to bring him a New Teſtament. He procuring one of Maſter *Coverdales* tranſlation, wrapt it in a handkerchief, ſaying to *George* the Keeper, which asked him what he had, that it was a piece of poudred beef. Let me ſee it, ſaid he. Perceiving what it was, he brought him to Sir *Roger Cholmley*, who examined him why he did ſo, ſaying that Book was not lawful, and ſo committed him to the *Compter* in *Wood ſtreet*, where he continued 25. weeks.

Ed. Benet 25. weeks in the Counter, for bringing a New Teſtament to *Tingle*. Which after died in Priſon, and was buried on a dunghil. D. *Stories* words to *Ed. Benet*.

Doctor *Story* coming to the Priſon to examine other Priſoners, this *Benet* looking out at the grate, ſpake to him, deſiring him to be good unto him, and to help him out; for he had lien long in Priſon. To whom D. *Story* then anſwering; What, ſaid he, waſt thou not before me in Chriſts Church? Yes forſooth, ſaid *Benet*. Ah, ſaid *Story*, thou doſt not believe in the Sacrament of the Altar? *Marry I* will help thee out; Come, ſaid he to the Keeper, turn him out, I will help him: and ſo took *Benet* with him, and brought him to *Cluny* in *Pater-noſter-row*, and bade him bring him to the *Colehouſe*, and there he was in the Stocks a week.

Ed. Benet brought to *Boner*, and examined.

Then the Biſhop ſent for him to talk with him, and firſt asked him if he were ſhriven? No, ſaid *Benet* He asked him if he would be ſhriven? No, ſaid he. Then he asked him if the Prieſt could take away his Sins. No, ſaid *Benet*, I do not ſo believe. Then he and *Harpsfield* laughed at him, and mocked him, asking him if he did not believe that whatſoever the Prieſt here bound in earth, ſhould be bound in Heaven, and whatſoever he looſeth in earth, ſhould be looſed in Heaven. No, quoth *Benet*: But I believe that the Miniſter of God preaching Gods Word truly, and miniſtring the Sacraments according to the ſame, whatſoever he bindeth in earth, ſhould be bound in Heaven, and whatſoever he looſeth, &c. Then the Biſhop, putting him aſide, ſaid he ſhould go to *Fulham* and be whipped.

Then came to him M. *Buſwell* a Prieſt, lying in the *Colehouſe* in the Stocks, and brought *Cranmers* recantation, ſaying, that he had recanted. My Faith, ſaith the other, lyeth in no Mans Book, but in him which hath redeemed me. The next *Saturday*, *Benet* with five other was called for to come to Maſs in the Chappel. The Maſs being done, and they coming out, five of them went to Priſon, and were after burned. *Benet* being behind, and coming toward the gate, the Porter, opening to a company going out, asked if there were no Priſoners there. No, ſaid they. *Benet* ſtanding in open ſight before him, with other ſerving-men which were there by reaſon that *Boner* made many Prieſts that day (having one of his ſleeves and half the forepart of his coat burned off in Priſon, being more like a Priſoner than any of the other) when the gates were opened, went out amongſt them, and ſo eſcaped.

How *Edw. Benet* eſcaped out of the Biſhops Houſe.

Another eſcape of *Ed. Benet*.

Eight of the 24. taken at *Iſlington*, eſcaped, and how: Good warning ſent of God.

Again, in the laſt year of Queen *Mary*, the ſame *Benet* being taken again with the 24. beyond *Iſlington*, and brought to Sir *Roger Cholmleys*, the people coming very thick did cut off ſome of them, to the number of 8. which were behind, among whom was *Benet*. Then he knocked at the gate to come in, the Porter ſaid, that he was none of the company. He ſaid, Yes, and knocked again. Then there ſtood one by of the Congregation, named *Johnſon*, dwelling now at *Hammerſmith*, which ſaid; *Edward*, thou haſt done well, do no tempt God: go thy way. And ſo he taking the warning as ſent of God, with a quiet Conſcience eſchued burning.

Jeffery Hurſt *Brother in law to* George Marſh *the Martyr.*

The Story of *Jeffery Hurſt* dwelling in the Town of *Shakerly* In the Pariſh of *Leaght*.

IN the Town of *Shakerley* in *Lancaſhire* dwelled one *Jeffery Hurſt* the Son of an honeſt yeoman, who had beſides him eleven Children, the ſaid *Jeffery* being the twelfth and eldeſt of the reſt: and for that their Father was willing to bring them up, ſo that they ſhould be able another day to help themſelves, he did bind this *Jeffery* prentice unto the craft of *nailing*, to make all kind of nails, which occupation he learned, and ſerved out the time of 7. years. The which years being expired, he gave himſelf at times to learn of his other Brethren which went to ſchool: and as he was very willing to the ſame, ſo God ſent him knowledge; wherein he did perſevere and go forwards in ſuch ſort that he could write and read indifferently, and in longer continuance came by more knowledge, and ſo having the Bible and divers other Books in his Houſe, did come by pretty knowledge in the Scripture. After this he took unto him a Wife being the Siſter of M. *George Marſh*, of whoſe Martyrdom mention is made before, and being much familiar with him, did mend his knowledge not a little. Now when Queen *Mary* was entred, the firſt year of her Reign he kept himſelf away from their doings and came not at the Church: Whereupon he was laid in wait for, and called Heretick, and Lollard, and ſo for fear of further danger he was compelled to leave his Wife and Child, and all, and fled into *Yorkſhire*, and there being not known did lead his life, returning ſometimes, by night to his Houſe to comfort his Wife, and bringing with him ſome Preacher or other, who uſed to Preach unto them ſo long as the time would ſerve, and ſo departed by night again The names of the Preachers were M. *Reneſes*, M. *Beſt*, M. *Brodbanke*, M. *Ruſſel*, and every time they came thither they were about 20. or 24. ſometimes, but 16. at leaſt, who had there alſo ſometimes a Communion. And thus in much fear did he with other lead his life, till the laſt year of the Reign of Queen *Mary*. Then it chanced that the ſaid *Jeffery Hurſt*, after the death of his Father, came home and kept himſelf cloſe for ſeven or eight weeks.

Jeffery Hurſt Brother to *G. Marſh* the Martyr.

Jeffery Hurſt leaveth wife, child and houſe for perſecution.

Preachers uſing to *Jeffery Hurſts* Houſe, and to Preach.

There dwelt not far off, at *Morleſs*, a certain Juſtice of Peace, and of *quorum*, named Maſter *Thomas Lelond*, who hearing of him, appointed a time to come to his Fathers Houſe where he then dwelt, to rifle the Houſe for Books, and to ſearch for him alſo, and ſo did. *Jeffery* and his company having knowledge of his coming, took the Books which were in the Houſe, as the Bible, the Communion Book, and the New Teſtament of *Tindals* Tranſlation, and divers others, and threw them all underneath a tub or fat, conveighing alſo the ſaid *Jeffery* under the ſame, with a great deal of ſtraw underneath him: for as it chanced they had the more time, becauſe that when the Juſtice came almoſt to the door, he ſtayd and would not enter the Houſe till he had ſent for *Hurſts* Mothers Landlady, Mrs *Shakerley*; and then with her conſent intended to go forwards. In the mean time, *Jeffery* by ſuch as were with him, was willed to lay in his window the Teſtament of *Tindals* Tranſlation, and a little Book containing the third part of the Bible, with the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, to try what they would ſay unto them.

M. T. *Lelond* Juſtice of Peace at *Morleſs*, in *Lancaſhire*, a cruel perſecutor.

Jeffery Hurſt conveighed under a dry fat.

Miſtreſs *Shakerley*, *Hurſts* Landlady.

This done, Miſtreſs *Shakerley* came. Unto whom eſtſoons the Juſtice declared the cauſe of his coming, and how he was ſorry to attempt any ſuch thing againſt any

of

of her Tenants for her sake,but notwithstanding he must needs execute his Office. And again you must (said he) note this, that a scabbed Sheep is able to infect a great number; and especially having, as he hath,so many Brethren and Sisters, he is able to marr them all,if he be not looked unto in time. And thus concluding, M. *Lelond* entred into the House,and being come in,set himself in a chair in the middle of the House; and finding Sir *Ralph Parkinson* his Priest, and one of his Men, and one of Mistress *Shakerleyes* Men about the House,to search and rifle the chests for Books (which so did) in the mean time he talked with *Hursts* Mother, being of the age almost of 60. years: And chiding with her that she would suffer her Son so to order and behave himself like an Heretick,said; Thou old fool,I know my self that this new learning shall come again; but for how long; even for three Months or four Months, and no longer. But I will lay thee old fool in *Lancaster* Dungeon for this gear, and well worthy.

M. Lelond entreth to fear the Hursts House. Ralph Parkinson a popish persecuting Priest.

The Papists follow false prophesies of the Gospel to come again after 4 Months

Now as concerning the searchers, they found nothing but Latin Books, as Grammar, and such like. These be not they that we look for (said they) we must see further, and so looked into *Hursts* Chamber, where they found the foresaid Books. Then Sir *Ralph* taking up the Testament, lookt on it,and smiled. His Master seeing that, said,Now Sir *Ralph*,what have we here? Forsooth,saith he,a Testament of *Tindals* Translation,plain Heresie,and none worse than it. Then is all their goods,saith he,lost to the Queen, and their Bodies to Prison, and was wonderfully hasty; notwithstanding through Mistress *Shakerly*, for a space, he was content to see farther.

The New Testament of *Tindals* Translation made Heresie. Search made for *Hurst* and his Sister *Alice*.

Then the Priest looked on the other Book. What say ye to that Sir *Ralph*? is that as evil as the other? No, said he, but it is not good that they should have such English Books to look on; for this and such others may do much harm. Then he asked his Mother where her eldest Son was,and her daughter *Alice*? She answered she could not tell; they were not with her of long time before. And he swore by Gods Body, he would make her tell where they were, or he would lay her in *Lancaster* Dungeon; and yet he would have them notwithstanding too. To be short,for fear,he had his Brother *J. Hurst* and his Mother bound in an hundred pound to bring the parties before him within fourteen days, and so departed he, and the Priest put both the Books in his bosom, and carried them away with him. Then *John Hurst* went after them,desiring that he might have the Book which the Priest found no fault with;but he said, they should answer to them both,and which soever was the better, was not good.

The old mother threatned to go to *Lancaster* Castle. *Hursts* mother & brother bound in a 100. pound for his forth coming.

As this past on, when the time was come that *Jeffery Hurst* and his Sister should be examined, the Justice sent for them betimes in the morning,and had prepared a Mass to begin withal,asking *Jeffery Hurst* if he would first go and see his Maker, and then he would talk further with him. To whom when *Jeffery* answered and said; Sir, my Maker is in Heaven, and I am assured in going to your Mass I shall find no edification thereby;and therefore I pray you hold me excused.

Master Lelonds Maker. Talk between *Jeffery Hurst* and the Justice. *Jeffery Hurst* denieth to come to *Mass*.

Well, well, said he,I perceive I shall find you an Heretick, by God; but I will go to Mass,and I will not lose it for all your pratling. Then into his Chappel he went, and when Mass was done he sent for them, and caused his Priest to read a scrole unto them as concerning the seven Sacraments; and ever as he spake of the Body and Blood of Christ, he put off his Cap,and said; Loe ye may see, you will deny these things, and care not for your Prince;but you shall feel it ere I have done with you, and all the faculty of you,with other talk more between them,I know not what; but in the end they were licensed to depart under Sureties to appear again before him within three weeks, and then to go to *Lancaster*. Howbeit,in the mean while it so pleased God, that within four days of the day appointed, it was noised that the Queen was dead, and within fourteen days after the said *Jeffery Hurst* had sent home his two Books, and nothing was said unto him.

Examination after *Mass*.

J. *Hurst* and *Alice* his sister let go under sureties.

John Hurst by the Death of Q. *Mary* released.

It followed after this that Gods Word begun to take place,and the Queens Visitors came down into that Country, who did chuse four Men in the Parish, to wit *Simon Smith*, *Jeffery Hurst*, *Henry Brown*, *George Eccersly*, which four were Protestants, to see the Queens proceedings to take place;which according to their power did the same,notwithstanding it did little prevail:and therefore the said *Jeffery* being sore grieved with the Office, fell sick,in which sickness it pleased God to call him, making a very Godly end, God have the praise for it.

J. *Hurst* in Q. *Elizabeths* time put in Authority to see the proceeding of Religion.

Anno 1558.

Now to return to the foresaid *Thomas Lelond* again, he continuing in his Office still, did very few times come to the Church, but said he was aged, and might not labour,and there kept with him Sir *Ralph Parkinson* his Priest,which could (as it was said) minister the Communion unto the people, and sing Mass unto his Master: yes, and (as the same reported) did a prettier feat than all that; for he begat two Children by a Servant in a House, his Master knowing it, and saying nothing, for that he would not lose his good Mass-Priest.

Tho. Lelond the Popish Justice would not come to the Church in Q. *Elizabeths* time, and yet continued Justice still. A [illegible] Father of [illegible] Popish Church.

Furthermore, this was noted in the same Justice *Lelonds* behaviour at Service time, that he had a little dog which he would play with all Service time, and the same dog had a collar full of bells, so that the noise of them did molest and trouble others, as well as himself, from hearing the Service. Also in the same Justice it was noted and observed,that as he sate in his Chappel at Service time, his manner was on a Willow bark to knit knots, for that he could not be suffered to have his Beads, and to put the same upon a string also. Witness hereof *Edward Hurst*, with others.

Note a Catholick knack of a Popish Justice.

Furthermore, as concerning *Henry Brown* one of the four chosen Men above mentioned,this is also to be added, that the said *Henry Brown* dwelling in the Town of *Pinnington* in the same Parish, *Anno* 1564. had a little Boy, who as he was playing in the Town, one *Glaves* Wife gave unto the Boy a pair of Beads made of wood, for him to play withal. The little Boy, being glad thereof to have such a trim thing, went home and shewed his Father of them. His Father seeing the Beads, took them and burned them, and when he had so done, went forth and asked who had given unto his little Boy that pair of Beads.

The trouble & escape of *Henry Brown* out of his Enemies hands.

That did I, said *Glaves* Wife.

Well, said he, I have burned them.

Hast thou so, said she? and thrust him from her. They shall be the dearest Beads that ever thou sawest, and incontinent went and complained unto the said Justice, how *Brown* had burned her Beads.

Glaves Wife maintainer of Popery, & a persecutor.

This matter the Justice took sore to snuff,and was very angry,and did direct his Letter unto the Constables of the same Town, by his own hand subscribed; the title of which superscription on the backside was this, *To the Constables of* Pinnington *give this*.

Justice *Lelond* writeth to the Constables, to apprehend *Henry Brown*.

This done, the Constables according to this their charge did bring him afore the Justice at the time appointed;and when the Justice came to talk with him,he was in such a heat,that he called him Thief, and said that he had robbed his neighbour in burning of her Beads, and that there was Rings and other Jewels on them, and that he might as well have picked her purse; wherefore (said he) I will lay thee in *Lancaster* Dungeon for this gear.

Henry Brown troubled for burning of beads in Q. *Elizabeths* time.

Whilst they were thus talking, there came all his Servants about them from their work, saying; Is this Master Doctor *Brown* that will burn Beads? I pray you Sir, let us have him here and preach. I will give you a quarters wages, saith one; and I will give money saith another, and he shall be Master Doctor, with much derision and scoffing at this poor Man.

Like Master like *Men*.

He hearing this, spake again boldly, and said;Did you send for me to make a laughingstock of me? You be in Office,and ought rather to come to the Church,and see such Papistry abolished your self, than thus to trouble me for doing my duty: but I tell you plainly,that you do not come to Church as you ought to do,and therefore with more things that I have to charge you withal,I say you do not well. When all this misdemeanour of the Justice laid to his charge would not prevail, and also witness came in of the Papists which did know the Beads, and testified that they were plain,and cost but a half penny, he then went into his parlour in a chafe, and one Master *Exberston* a Papist with him; which *Exberston* turned back,and said, Is it you *Henry Brown*, that keepeth this stir? you are one of them that pulled down Crosses in the Church, and pulled down the Rood sollar, and all the Saints;

A lamentable thing when such Justices bear rule over Christian Congregations.

you

Anno 1558.

you were beſt now to go paint a black Devil, and ſet him up and worſhip him, for that will ſerve well for your Religion. And thus under ſuretiſhip he did depart till *July* following, and then he ſaid he ſhould go to *Lancaſter* Priſon, and ſo came he away.

Henry Brown under ſureties diſmiſſed for a time.

The time drew on that he ſhould appear, but God ſtaid the matter, and in *July*, as the foreſaid *Thomas Lenold* ſate in his chair talking with his friends, he fell down ſuddenly dead, not much moving any joint: And thus was his end; from ſuch God us defend.

The puniſhment of Gods ſtroke upon an obſtinate perſecutor.

William Wood of *Kent.*

Examination of W. Wood.

THe Examination of *William Wood* Baker, dwelling in the Pariſh of *Strowd*, in the County of *Kent*, before Doctor *Kenall* Chancellor of the Dioceſs of *Rocheſter*, Doctor *Chadſey*, the Major of *Rocheſter*, and M. *Robinſon* the Scribe, the 19. day *October* and in the ſecond year of Q. *Mary*, in S. *Nicholas* Church in *Rocheſter*.

W. Wood charged for not coming to Church.

M. *Robinſon*. *Will. Wood*, you are preſented, becauſe you will not come to the Church, nor receive the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar. How ſay you? have you received, or have you not?

Wood. I have not received it, nor dare I receive it, as you now miniſter it.

Kenal. Thou Heretick, what is the cauſe that thou haſt not received the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar? and at this word all they put off their caps and made low obeiſance.

Three cauſes why Wil. Wood durſt not receive the Sacrament of the Altar.

Wood. There be three cauſes that make my Conſcience afraid that I dare not receive it. The firſt, Chriſt did deliver it to his twelve Apoſtles and ſaid, *Take, eat, and drink ye all of this, &c.* and ye eat and drink up all alone. The ſecond cauſe is; you hold it to be worſhipped, contrary to Gods Commandment, *Thou ſhalt not bow down nor worſhip*. The third cauſe is; you miniſter it in a ſtrange Tongue, contrary to S. *Pauls* Doctrine, *I had rather have five words with underſtanding, than ten thouſand with Tongues*: by reaſon whereof the people be ignorant of the death of Chriſt.

Kenall. Thou Heretick, wilt thou have any plainer words then theſe, *Hoc eſt corpus meum? Take, eat, this is my Body*? Wilt thou deny the Scripture?

Wood. I will not deny the holy Scriptures, God forbid, but with my heart I do faithfully believe them. S. *Paul*. ſaith, *God calleth thoſe things that are not, as though they were*: and Chriſt ſaith, *I am a vine: I am a dore*. S. *Paul* ſaith, *The rock is Chriſt:* All which are figurative ſpeeches, wherein one thing is ſpoken, and another thing is underſtood.

Robinſon. You make a very long talk of this matter: Learn, *Wood*, learn.

Kenall. Nay, theſe Hereticks will not learn: Look how this Heretick glorieth in himſelf: Thou fool, art thou wiſer than the Queen and her Council, and all the learned Men of this Realm?

Wood. And pleaſe you, M. Chancellor, I think you would be loath to have ſuch glory, to have your life and goods taken away, and to be thus called upon, as you rail upon me. But the Servant is not greater than his Maſter. And where you do mock me, and ſay that I am wiſer than the Queen and her Council, S. *Paul* ſaith, *The wiſdom of the wiſe of this World is fooliſhneſs before God, and he that will be wiſe in this World, ſhall be accounted but a fool.*

Kenell. Doſt not thou believe that after theſe words ſpoken by a Prieſt, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, *This is my Body*, there remaineth no more Bread and Wine, but the very Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt, as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*, really and ſubſtantially, in quantity, and quality as he did hang upon the Croſs?

Wood. I pray you, M. Chancellor, give me leave, for my learning, to ask you one queſtion, and I will anſwer you after.

Kenall. It is ſome wiſe queſtion, I warrant you.

Ezek. 5. Wil. Woods queſtion propounded to the Doctors.

Wood. God ſpake to the Prophet *Ezekiel*, ſaying, *Thou Son of Man, take a Raſor, and ſhave off the hair of thy Head and of thy Beard, and take one part and caſt into the air, take the ſecond part and put it into thy coat lap, and take the third part and caſt it into the Fire: and this is Jeruſalem.* I pray you M. Chancellor, was this hair that the Prophet did caſt into the Fire, or was it *Jeruſalem.*

Kenall: It did ſignifie *Jeruſalem.*

Wood. Even ſo this word of Chriſt, *This is my Body*, is not to be underſtood, that Chriſts carnal, natural, and real Body is in the ſame, in quantity and quality, as it was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and as he was Crucified upon the Croſs, is preſent or incloſed in the Sacrament: but it doth ſignifie Chriſts Body, as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *So oft as ye do eat of this Bread and drink of this Cup, you ſhall ſhew forth the Lords death till he come*. What ſhould the Apoſtle mean by this word, *till he come*, if he were here carnally, naturally, corporally, and really in the ſame quantity and quality as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and as he did hang on the Croſs, as you ſay? but Saint *Paul* ſaith, *You ſhall ſhew the Lords death till he come*. This doth argue that he is not here as you would have us to believe.

The natural quantity of Chriſt not in the Sacrament.

D. *Chadſey*. I will prove that Chriſt is here preſent under the form of Bread, but not in quantity and quality.

Kenall ſaid, Yes, he is here preſent in quantity and quality.

Chadſey. He is here preſent under a form, and not in quantity and quality.

Yes, ſaid *Kenall.*

No, ſaid *Chadſey.*

The Papiſts could not agree in their own Doctrine.

I will prove him here in quantity and quality, ſaid *Kenall.*

I will prove the contrary, ſaid *Chadſey.*

And theſe two Doctors were ſo earneſt in this matter, the one to affirm, the other to deny, contending and raging ſo ſore one at the other, that they fomed at the Mouth, and one was ready to ſpit in anothers face, ſo that in great fury and rage the two Doctors roſe up from the Judgment ſeat, and D. *Kenall* departed out of the Church in great Rage and Fury immediately.

Wood. Behold good people, they would have us to believe, that Chriſt is naturally, really, in quantity and quality, preſent in the Sacrament, and yet they cannot tell themſelves, nor agree within themſelves how he is there.

At theſe words the people made a great ſhout, and the Major ſtood up and commanded the people to be quiet, and to keep ſilence. And the God that did deliver Saint *Paul* out of the hands of the high Prieſts, by the contention that was between the Phariſees and Sadduces, did even ſo deliver me at that time out of the Mouths of the Bloody Papiſts, by the means of the contention of theſe two Doctors. Bleſſed be the name of the Lord, which hath promiſed to lay no more upon his, than he will make them able to bear, and in the midſt of temptation he can make his way for his (how, and when it pleaſeth him) to eſcape out of all dangers.

W. Wood delivered as was Saint Paul by the contention of the Phariſees and Sadduces.

Many other like examples of Gods helping hand have been declared upon his elect Saints and Children, in delivering them out of danger by wonderful and miraculous ways, ſome by one means, ſome by another. What a notable work of Gods mighty hand was ſeen in *Simon Grinæus*, mentioned in the Commentary of *Melanchthon* upon *Daniel*? Who having a ſudden warning by a certain old Man, who was not ſeen after, nor known then of any what he was, avoided the peril of taking and burning, as by the relation of *Melanchthon*, writing and witneſſing the ſame, may appear in the words of his own Story here following.

The Hiſtory of Simon Grinæus, *collected out of* Melanchthons *commentaries upon the tenth Chapter of* Daniel.

The Story of Simon Grinæus Ex Commentariis. Phil. Mel. in cap. 10. Danielis. John Faber B. of Vienna perſecutor: Obſequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

WHen I was (ſaith he) at the aſſembly holden at *Spire*, in the year of our Lord, 1539. by chance *Simon Grinæus* came thither unto me from the Univerſity of *Heidelberge*, where he heard *Faber*, the Biſhop of *Vienna*, in a Sermon defend and maintain certain deteſtable errors. When the Sermon was done, he followed *Faber* going out of the Church, and ſaluted him reverently, declaring unto him that he was moved of a good zeal and intent, ſomewhat to ſay unto him. *Faber* was contented to talk with him.

Then

Then *Grinæus* ſaid unto him, that he was very ſorry that a Man of ſuch learning and Authority ſhould openly maintain ſuch errors as were both contumelious againſt God, and alſo might be refuted by the manifeſt teſtimonies of the Scriptures. *Ireneus* writeth (ſaid he) that *Polycarpus* was wont to ſtop his ears whenſoever he heard any erroneous and wicked Doctrine. With what mind then (think you) would *Polycarpus* have heard you argue and reaſon what it is that the mouſe eateth, when he gnaweth the Conſecrated Hoſt? Who would not bewail ſuch ignorance and blindneſs of the Church? With this *Faber* brake off his talk, as he was about to ſay more, and asked his name. This Man diſſembling nothing, gently told him that his Name was *Grinæus*.

Faber gently admoniſhed of *Grinæus* for his Sermon.

This *Faber* (as many well know) was alſo timorous and fearful in the company of learned Men. Wherefore he fearing the learning, eloquence, and fervent zeal of *Grinæus*, ſpecially in ſuch a matter as this was, fained as though he had been ſent for by the King, and that he had no leiſure now to reaſon upon this matter. He pretended that he was very deſirous of acquaintance and longer talk with *Grinæus*, intreating him, that both for his own private cauſe, and alſo for the Common Wealth, he would come again the next day unto him, and ſo ſhewed him his lodging, and appointed him an hour when he ſhould come: *Grinæus*, thinking that he had ſpoken unfainedly, promiſed ſo to do.

Godly warning ſent by an old Man to *Grinæus*.

When he was departed from *Faber*, he came ſtraightway unto us, and was ſcarcely ſet at the table (for it was ſupper time) reciting a part of his talk with *Faber* unto me and others there preſent, when as I ſitting with my company, was ſuddenly called out of the Parlour by a certain ancient Fatherly Man, who ſhewing a ſingular gravity in his countenance, words, and behaviour, ſpake unto me, and ſaid, that the Sergeants would by and by come unto our lodging, being ſent by the Kings commandment, to carry *Grinæus* to Priſon, whom *Faber* had accuſed to the King; commanding that *Grinæus* ſhould ſtraightways depart out of the Town, and exhorted me, that we ſhould in no caſe delay the time: and ſo bidding me farewel, departed. But what old Man this was, neither did I know then, nor afterward could I underſtand. I returning again unto my company, bade them riſe, and told them what the old Man had ſaid unto me.

Grinæus accuſed and purſued.

Grinæus warned to fly eſcapeth.

By and by, we taking *Grinæus* in the midſt of us, carried him through the Street to the River of *Rhene*, whereas after we had ſtayed upon the hither bank a while, until *Grinæus* with his companion were carried over in a ſmall boat, returning again to our lodging, we underſtood that the Sergeants had been there, when we were but a little way gone out of the Houſe. Now in what great danger *Grinæus* ſhould have been, if he had been carried to Priſon, by this cruelty of *Faber* every Man eaſily may conjecture: Wherefore we judged, that

Gods merciful providence in defeating the cruel purpoſe of Perſecutors.

that moſt cruel intent and purpoſe of him, was diſappointed by Gods merciful providence. And as I cannot ſay, what old Man it was that gave me that warning, even ſo likewiſe the Sergeants made ſuch quick ſpeed, that except *Grinæus* had been covered and defended by the Angels through the marvellous providence of God, he could never have eſcaped.

Concerning the truth of this matter, there be many good Men yet alive, which know both the ſame, and alſo were preſent at the doing thereof. Therefore let us give thanks unto God, which hath given us his Angels to be our keepers and defenders, whereby with more quiet minds we may fulfill and do the Office of our vocation.

With ſuch like examples of Gods mighty and merciful cuſtody, the Church of Chriſt in all ages doth abound, as by manifold experiences may appear as well among the *Germanes*, as alſo in other places and ages: but in no place more, nor in any time more plentiful, than in this perſecuting time of Q. *Mary*, in this our Realm of *England*, as partly hath been already hiſtoried, and part yet remaineth (the Lord willing) moreover hereunto to be added.

The Lady Katherine, *Dutcheſs of* Suffolk. Anno 1558.

The old hatred of *Steph. Gardiner* B. of *Winchester* againſt the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*.

Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſurmiſing the Lady *Katherine* Baroneſs of *Willoughby* and *Ereſby*, and Dutcheſs *Dowager* of *Suffolk*, to be one of his antient enemies, becauſe he knew he had deſerved no better of her, deviſed, in the holy time of the firſt *Lent* in Queen *Maries* Reign, a holy practiſe of revenge, firſt by touching her in the perſon of her Husband Maſter *Richard Berty* Eſquire, for whom he ſent an attachment (having the great Seal at his Devotion) to the Sheriff of *Lincolnſhire*, with a ſpecial Letter commanding moſt ſtraightly the ſame Sheriff, to attach the ſaid *Richard* immediately, and without bail to bring him up to *London* to his great Lordſhip. M. *Berty* her Husband being clear in Conſcience, and free from offence toward the Q. could not conjecture any cauſe of this ſtrange Proceſs, unleſs it were ſome quarrel for Religion, which he thought could not be ſo ſore as the Proceſs pretended.

M. *Ric. Berty* Husband to the Dutcheſs, attached by the Biſhop of W[illegible]

M. *Berty* appeareth before B. *Gardiner*.

The Sheriff, notwithſtanding the commandment, adventured only to take the bond of M. *Berty* with two Sureties, in a thouſand pound for his appearance to be made before the Biſhop on good *Fryday* following, at which day Maſter *Berty* appeared, the Biſhop then lying at his Houſe by Saint *Mary Overies*. Of whoſe preſence when the Biſhop underſtood by a Gentleman of his Chamber, in a great rage he came out of his Gallery into his dining Chamber, where he found a preſs of Suters, ſaying he would not that day hear any, but came forth only to know of M. *Berty*, how he being a Subject, durſt ſo arrogantly ſet at light two former Proceſſes of the Queen.

Talk between Biſhop *Gardiner* and M. *Berty*.

M. *Berty* anſwered, that albeit my Lords words might ſeem to the reſt ſomewhat ſharp toward him, yet he conceived great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremity to be attached, having uſed no obſtinacy or contumacy, now he gathered of thoſe words, that my Lord meant not otherwiſe but to have uſed ſome ordinary Proceſs; albeit indeed none came to his hands.

Yea Marry, quoth the Biſhop, I have ſent you two *Subpenas*, to appear immediately, and I am ſure you received them, for I committed the truſt of them to no worſe Man but to M. Solicitor, and I ſhall make you an example to all *Lincolnſhire* for your obſtinacy.

M. *Berty* denying the receipt of any, humbly prayed his Lordſhip to ſuſpend his diſpleaſure and the puniſhment till he had good trial thereof, and then, if it pleaſe him, to double the pain for the fault, if any were.

The devotion of B. *Gardiner* to good *Friday*.

Well, quoth the Biſhop, I have appointed my ſelf this day (according to the holineſs of the ſame) for Devotion, and I will not further trouble me with you: but I enjoyn you in a thouſand pound not to depart without leave, and to be here again to morrow at 7. of the clock. Maſter *Berty* well obſerved the hour, and no jott failed: at which time the Biſhop had with him M. Sergeant *Stampford*, to whom he moved certain queſtions of the ſaid Maſter *Berty*, becauſe Maſter Sergeant was towards the Lord *Wriotheſley*, late Earl of *Southampton*, and Chancellor of *England*, with whom the ſaid Maſter *Berty* was brought up. Maſter Sergeant made very friendly report of M. *Berty*, of his own knowledge for the time of their Converſation together. Whereupon the Biſhop cauſed M. *Berty* to be brought in, and firſt making a falſe train (as God would, without fire) before he would deſcend to the quarrel of Religion, he aſſaulted him in this manner.

M. *Berty* attached for debt of 4000. li. pounds due to the Q.

Winch. The Queens pleaſure is, quoth the Biſhop, that you ſhall make preſent paiment of 4000. pound due to her Father by Duke *Charles*, late Husband to the Dutcheſs your Wife, whoſe Executor ſhe was.

Bert. Pleaſeth it your Lordſhip, quoth Maſter *Berty*, that debt is eſtalled, and is according to that eſtallment truly anſwered.

Kett Captain of the Rebels in K. *Edw.* time.

Winch. Tuſh (quoth the Biſhop) the Queen will not be bound to eſtallments in the time of *Kettes* Government: for ſo I eſteem the late Government.

Bert. The eſtallment (quoth M. *Berty*) was appointed by K. *Henry* the eighth. Beſides, the ſame was

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by ſpecial Commiſſioners confirmed in K. *Edwards* time; and the Lord Treaſurer being an Executor alſo to the Duke *Charles* ſolely and wholly, took upon him, before the ſaid Commiſſioners, to diſcharge the ſame.

Winch. If it be true that you ſay (quoth the B.) I will ſhew you favour. But of another thing Maſter *Berty* I will admoniſh you, as meaning you well. I hear evil of your Religion; yet I hardly can think evil of you, whoſe Mother I know to be as Godly and Catholick, as any within this Land; your ſelf brought up with a Maſter, whoſe education if I ſhould diſallow, I might be charged as Author of his error. Beſides, partly I know you my ſelf, and underſtand of my friends enough to make me your friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you; but I pray you, if I may ask the queſtion of my Lady your Wife, is ſhe now as ready to ſet up the Maſs, as ſhe was lately to pull it down, when ſhe cauſed in her progreſs, a dog in a Rochet to be carried, and called by my Name? or doth ſhe think her Lambs now ſafe enough, which ſaid to me, when I vailed my bonnet to her out of my Chamber window in the *Tower*, that it was merry with the Lambs, now the Wolfe was ſhut up? Another time my Lord her Husband, having invited me and divers Ladies to Dinner, deſired every Lady to chooſe him whom ſhe loved beſt, and ſo place themſelves: My Lady your Wife taking me by the hand, for that my Lord would not have her to take himſelf? ſaid, that foraſmuch as ſhe could not ſit down with my Lord whom ſhe loved beſt, ſhe had choſen him whom ſhe loved worſt.

Of the device of the Dog, quoth Maſter *Berty*, ſhe was neither the Author, nor the allower. The words, though in that ſeaſon they ſounded bitter to your Lordſhip, yet if it would pleaſe you without offence to know the cauſe, I am ſure the one will purge the other. As touching ſetting up of Maſs, which ſhe learned not only by ſtrong perſwaſions of divers excellent learned Men, but by univerſal conſent and order whole ſix years paſt, inwardly to abhor, if ſhe ſhould outwardly allow, ſhe ſhould both to Chriſt ſhew her ſelf a falſe Chriſtian, and to her Prince a maſquing Subject. You know, my Lord, one by Judgment reformed, is more worth than a thouſand transformed temporizers. To force a Confeſſion of Religion by Mouth, contrary to that in the heart, worketh damnation where Salvation is pretended.

Yea Marry (quoth the Biſhop) that deliberation would do well if ſhe were required to come from an old Religion to a new. But now ſhe is to return from a new to an ancient Religion: Wherein when ſhe made me her Goſſip, ſhe was as earneſt as any.

For that, my Lord (ſaid Maſter *Berty*) not long ſince, ſhe anſwered a friend of hers uſing your Lordſhips ſpeech; That Religion went not by age, but by truth: and therefore ſhe was to be turned by perſwaſion, and not by commandment.

I pray you (quoth the Biſhop) think you it poſſible to perſwade her?

Yea verily (ſaid M. *Berty*) with the truth: for ſhe is reaſonable enough.

The Biſhop thereunto replying, ſaid, It will be a marvellous grief to the Prince of *Spain*, and to all the Nobility that ſhall come with him, when they ſhall find but two Noble perſonages of the Spaniſh race within this land, the Queen, and my Lady your Wife, and one of them gone from the Faith.

Maſter *Berty* anſwered, that he truſted they ſhould find no fruits of infidelity in her.

So the Biſhop perſwaded M. *Berty* to travel earneſtly for the reformation of her opinion, and offering large friendſhip, releaſed him of his bond from further appearance.

The Dutcheſs and her Husband, daily more and more, by their friends underſtanding that the Biſhop meant to call her to an account of her Faith, whereby extremity might follow, deviſed ways how by the Queens licence they might paſs the Seas. Maſter *Berty* had a ready mean: for there reſted great Sums of Money due to the old Duke of *Suffolk* (one of whoſe Executors the Dutcheſs was) beyond the Seas, the Emperor himſelf being one of thoſe debtors. Maſter *Berty* communicated this his purpoſed ſute for licence to paſs the Seas; and the cauſe to the Biſhop, adding, that he took this time moſt meet to deal with the Emperor, by reaſon of likelihood of marriage between the Queen and his Son.

I like your device well (quoth the Bithop) but I think it better that you carry the Princes coming, and I will procure you his Letters alſo to his Father.

Nay (quoth M. *Berty*) under your Lordſhips correction and pardon of ſo liberal ſpeech; I ſuppoſe the time will then be leſs convenient: for when the marriage is conſummate, the Emperor hath his deſire; but till then he will refuſe nothing to win credit with us.

By Saint *Mary* (quoth the Biſhop, ſmiling) you gueſs ſhrewdly. Well, proceed in your ſute to the Queen, and it ſhall not lack my helping hand.

Maſter *Berty* found ſo good ſucceſs, that he in few days obtained the Queens Licence, not only to paſs the Seas, but to paſs and repaſs them ſo often as to him ſeemed good, till he had finiſhed all his buſineſs and cauſes beyond the Seas. So he paſſed the Seas at *Dover* about the beginning of *June*, in the firſt year of her Reign, leaving the Dutcheſs behind, who, by agreement and conſent betwixt her and her Husband, followed, taking Barge at *Lion Key*, very early in the morning, on the firſt day of *January* next enſuing, not without ſome peril.

There was none of thoſe that went with her, made privy to her going till the inſtant, but an old Gentleman, called Mr. *Robert Cranwell*, whom M. *Berty* had ſpecially provided for that purpoſe. She took with her her Daughter, an Infant of one year, and the meaneſt of her Servants, for ſhe doubted the beſt would not adventure that fortune with her. They were in number four Men, one a Greek born, which was a rider of Horſes, another a Joyner, the third a Brewer, the fourth a fool, one of the Kitchin, one Gentlewoman, and a Laundreſs.

As ſhe departed her Houſe called the Barbican, betwixt four and five of the clock in the morning, with her company and baggage, one *Atkinſon* a Herauld, Keeper of her Houſe, hearing noiſe about the Houſe, roſe and came out with a torch in his hands as ſhe was yet iſſuing out of the gate: wherewith being amazed, ſhe was forced to leave a male with neceſſaries for her young Daughter, and a milk-pot with milk in the ſame gate-houſe, commanding all her Servants to ſpeed them away before to *Lion Key*: and taking with her only the two Women and her Child: ſo ſoon as ſhe was forth of her own Houſe perceiving the Herauld to follow, ſhe ſtept in at *Charterhouſe* hard by. The Herauld coming out of the Dutcheſs Houſe, and ſeeing no Body ſtirring nor aſſured (though by the male ſuſpecting) that ſhe was departed, returned in; and while he ſtayed ranſacking parcels left in the male, the Dutcheſs iſſued into the Streets, and proceeded in her journey, he knowing the place only by Name where ſhe ſhould take her boat, but not the way thither, nor any with her. Likewiſe her Servants having divided themſelves, none but one knew the way to the ſaid *Key*.

So ſhe appeared like a mean Merchants Wife, and the reſt like mean Servants, walking in the ſtreets unknown, ſhe took the way that led to *Finsbury* Field, and the others walked the City Streets as they lay open before them, till by chance more than diſcretion, they met all ſuddenly together a little within *Moregate*, from whence they paſſed directly to *Lion Key*, and there took Barge in a morning ſo miſty, that the Stearman was loath to launch out, but that they urged him. So ſoon as the day permitted, the Council was informed of her departure, and ſome of them came forthwith to her Houſe, to enquire of the manner thereof and took an inventory of her goods, beſides further order deviſed for ſearch and watch to apprehend and ſtay her.

The fame of her departure reached to *Leigh*, a Town at the Lands end, before her approaching thither. By *Leigh* dwelt one *Goſling*, a Merchant of *London*, an old acquaintance of *Cranwels*, whither the ſaid *Cranwell* brought the Dutcheſs, naming her Miſtreſs *White*, the Daughter of Maſter *Goſling*, for ſuch a Daughter he had which never was in that Country. There ſhe repoſed her, and made new Garments for her Daughter, having loſt her own in the male at *Barbican*.

When the time came that ſhe ſhould take ſhip, being conſtrained that night to lye at an Inn in *Leigh* (where ſhe was again almoſt bewrayed) yet notwithſtanding

Jan. 6. the Rochet under the name of B. *Gardiner.*

It is merry with Lambs, when Wolves be tyed up.

Purgation of the Lady Dutcheſs for not coming to Maſs.

Religion goeth not by age, but by truth.

M. *Berty* releaſed from his bond of appearing.

Ways practiſed how to convey the Dutcheſs over the Seas with the Queen her licence.

M. *Berty* deviſeth cauſe to paſs over into *Flanders.*

M. *Berty* licenſed by the Q. to paſs the Seas.

Preparation made how to convey the Dutcheſs over the Seas.

M. *Cranwell* a truſty friend to M. *Berty.*

The Dutcheſs with her company departed the Realm.

The manner of the Dutcheſs flying out of her Houſe.

The Dutcheſs with her company take Barge.

Purſuit after the Dutcheſs.

The Dutcheſs retained in M. *Goſlings* Houſe by *Leigh*, under the name of his Daughter.

The hard adventure of the Dutcheſs upon the Seas.

ing by Gods good working ſhe eſcaped that hazzard; at length, as the tide and wind did ſerve, they went abroad, and being carried twice into the Seas, almoſt into the coaſt of *Zeland*, by contrary wind were driven to the place from whence they came, and at the laſt recoil, certain perſons came to the ſhore, ſuſpecting ſhe was within that ſhip; yet having examined one of her company that was aland for freſh Achates, and finding by the ſimplicity of his tale, only the appearance of a mean Merchants Wife to be a ſhipboard, he ceaſed any further to ſearch.

The Dutcheſs landed in *Brabant*. *M. Berty* with the Dutcheſs his Wife arrived at *Santon*, a Free-Town of *Weſell* in *Cleveland*.

To be ſhort, ſo ſoon as the Dutcheſs had landed in *Brabant*, ſhe and her Women were apparelled like the Women of *Netherland* with hooks; and ſo ſhe and her Husband took their journey towards *Cleveland*, and being arrived at a Town therein called *Santon*, took a houſe there, until they might further deviſe of ſome ſure place, where to ſettle themſelves.

A protection procured for the Dutcheſs, of the Magiſtrate of *Weſell*.

About five miles from *Santon*, is a free Town called *Weſell*, under the ſaid Duke of *Cleves* Dominion, and one of the *Haunce* Towns, priviledged with the Company of the *Steelyard* in *London*, whither divers *Walloons* were fled for Religion, and had for their Miniſter one *Frances Peruſell*, then called *Francis de Rivers*, who had received ſome courteſie in *England* at the Dutcheſs hands. Maſter *Berty*, being yet at *Santon*, practiſed with him to obtain a protection from the Magiſtrates for his abode and his Wives at *Weſell*; which was the ſooner procured, becauſe the ſtate of the Dutcheſs was not diſcovered, but only to the chief Magiſtrate, earneſtly bent to ſhew them pleaſure, whiles this protection was in ſeeking.

In the mean while, at the Town of *Santon* was a muttering that the Dutcheſs and her Husband were greater perſonages than they gave themſelves forth, and the Magiſtrates not very well inclined to Religion, the Biſhop of *Arras* alſo being Dean of the great Minſter, order was taken, that the Dutcheſs and her Husband ſhould be examined of their Condition and Religion upon the ſudden. Which practiſe diſcovered by a Gentleman of that Country to M. *Berty*, he without delay taking no more than the Dutcheſs, her Daughter, and two other with them, as though he meant no more but to take the air, about three of the Clock in the afternoon in *February*, on foot, without hiring of Horſe or Wagon for fear of diſcloſing his purpoſe, meant privily that night to get to *Weſell*, leaving his other family ſtill at *Santon*.

After the Dutcheſs and he were one Engliſh mile from the Town, there fell a mighty rain of continuance, whereby a long froſt and Ice before congealed, was thawed, which doubled more the wearineſs of thoſe new Lacquies. But being now on the way, and overtaken with the night, they ſent their two Servants (which only went with them) to villages as they paſt, to hire ſome Carr for their eaſe, but none could be hired. In the mean time Maſter *Berty* was forced to carry the Child, and the Dutcheſs his Cloak and Rapier. At laſt, betwixt ſix and ſeven of the clock in the dark night, they came to *Weſell*, and repairing to the Inns for lodging, and ſome repoſe after ſuch a painful journey, found hard entertainment: for going from Inn to Inn offering large money for ſmall lodging, they were refuſed of all the Inn-holders, ſuſpecting Maſter *Berty* to be a Launce-knight, and the Dutcheſs to be his Woman. The Child for cold and ſuſtenance cryed pitifully, the Mother wept as faſt, the Heavens rained as faſt as the Clouds could pour.

The hard entertainment of *M. Berty*, & the Dutcheſs at their returning into *Weſell*.

M. Berty, deſtitute of all other ſuccour of Hoſpitality, reſolved to bring the Dutcheſs to the Porch of the great Church in the Town, and ſo to buy coals, victuals, and ſtraw for their miſerable repoſe there that night, or at leaſt till by Gods help he might provide her better lodging. Maſter *Berty* at that time underſtood not much dutch, and by reaſon of evil weather and late ſeaſon of the night, he could not happen upon any that could ſpeak Engliſh, French, Italian, or Latin, till at laſt, going towards the Church Porch, he heard two ſtriplings talking Latin, to whom he approached, and offered them two Stivers to bring him to ſome *Walloons* Houſe.

Gods providence in time of diſtreſs.

By theſe Boys, and Gods good conduct, he chanced at the firſt upon the Houſe where Maſter *Peruſell* ſupped that night, who had procured them the protection of the Magiſtrates of that Town. At the firſt knock, the Goodman of the Houſe himſelf came to the door, and opening it, asked Maſter *Berty* what he was. Maſter *Berty* ſaid, An Engliſhman, that ſought for one Maſter *Peruſells* Houſe. The *Walloon* willed Maſter *Berty* to ſtay a while, who went back, and told Maſter *Peruſell*, that the ſame Engliſh Gentleman, of whom they had talked the ſame ſupper, had ſent by likelihood his Servant to ſpeak with him. Whereupon Maſter *Peruſell* came to the door, and beholding Maſter *Berty*, the Dutcheſs, and their Child, their faces, apparels, and bodies ſo far from their old form, deformed with dirt, weather, and heavineſs, could not ſpeak to them, nor they to him for tears. At length recovering themſelves, they ſaluted one another, and ſo together entred the Houſe, God knoweth full joyfully; *M. Berty* changing his apparel with the good Man, the Dutcheſs with the good Wife, and their Child with the Child of the Houſe.

Anno 1558.

The meeting of W. *Peruſel* and the Dutcheſs at *Weſell*.

Within few days after, by Maſter *Peruſells* means, they hired a very fair Houſe in the Town, and did not let to ſhew themſelves what they were, in ſuch good ſort as their preſent condition permitted. It was by this time thorow the whole Town what diſcourteſie the Innholders had ſhewed unto them at their entry, inſomuch as on the *Sunday* following, a Preacher in the Pulpit openly in ſharp terms rebuked that great incivility toward ſtrangers, by allegation of ſundry places out of holy Scriptures, diſcourſing how not only Princes ſometime are received in the Image of private perſons, but Angels in the ſhape of Men, and that God of his Juſtice would make them ſtrangers one day in another Land, to have more ſenſe of the afflicted heart of a ſtranger.

The Citizens of *Weſell* admoniſhed by their Preacher of their hardneſs towards ſtrangers.

The time thus paſſing forth, as they thought themſelves thus happily ſettled, ſuddenly a watch-word came from Sir *John Maſon*, then Queen *Maries* Embaſſador in *Netherland*, that my Lord *Paget* had fained an errand to the *Bathes* that ways: and whereas the Duke of *Brunſwike* was ſhortly, with ten Enſigns to paſs by *Weſell* for the Service of the Houſe of *Auſtrick* againſt the *French* King, the ſaid Dutcheſs and her Husband ſhould be with the ſame charge and company intercepted.

A friendly part of Sir J. *Maſon* towards the Dutcheſs.

A train laid for the Dutcheſs by the L. *Paget* & the Duke of *Brunſwick*.

Wherefore to prevent the cruelty of theſe enemies, Maſter *Berty* with his Wife and Child departed to a place called *Wineheim* in high Dutchland under the *Palſgraves* Dominion; where under his protection they continued till their neceſſaries began to fail them, and they, almoſt fainting under ſo heavy a burden, began to fail of hope.

M. *Berty* & the Dutcheſs remove to *Wineheim* under the *Palſgrave*.

The helping hand of the Lord again in their neceſſity.

At what time, in the midſt of their deſpair, there came ſuddenly Letters to them from the Palatine of *Vilva*, and the King of *Pole*, being inſtructed of their hard eſtate by a Baron, named *Joannes Alaſco*, that was ſometime in *England*, offering them large courteſie. This purviſion unlooked for, greatly revived their heavy Spirits. Yet conſidering they ſhould remove from many their Countrymen and Acquaintance, to a place ſo far diſtant, a Country not haunted with the Engliſh and perhaps upon their arrival not finding as they looked for, the end of their journey ſhould be worſe than the beginning; they deviſed thereupon with one Maſter *Carloe*, late Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, that if he would vouchſafe to take ſome pains therein, they would make him a fellow of that journey. So finding him prone, they ſent with him Letters of great thanks to the King and Palatine, and alſo with a few Principal Jewels (which only they had left of many) to ſollicite for them, that the King would vouchſafe under his Seal, to aſſure them of the thing which he ſo honourably by Letters offered.

Joan. Alaſco a means to the King of *Pole*, for the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*.

The Dutcheſs invited into *Poland* by the K. Letters. *M. Barloe* a meſſenger from the Dutcheſs to the K. of *Pole*.

The Palatine of *Vilva* a great friend to the Dutcheſs.

The Dutcheſs taketh her journey toward *Poland*.

The troubles happening to the Dutcheſs in her journey to *Poland*.

That ſute, by the forwardneſs of the Palatine, was as ſoon granted as uttered. Upon which aſſurance the ſaid Dutcheſs and her Husband, with their family, entered the journey in *April*, 1557. from the Caſtle of *Wincheim*, where they before lay, towards *Frankford*. In the which their journey, it were long here to deſcribe what dangers fell by the way upon them and their whole company, by reaſon of their *Lantgraves* Captain, who, under a quarrel pretended for a Spaniel of Maſter *Berties*, ſet upon them in the High-way with his Horſmen,

Anno 1558. Horſemen, thruſting their Bore-Spears thorow the Wagon where the Children and Women were, Maſter *Berty* having but four Horſemen with him. In the which brabble it hapned the Captains Horſe to be ſlain under him.

Whereupon a rumor was ſparſed immediately thorow Towns and Villages about, that the *Lantgraves* Captain ſhould be ſlain by certain *Wallons*, which incenſed the ire of the Countrymen there more fiercely againſt Maſter *Berty*, as afterward it proved. For as he was motioned by his Wife to ſave himſelf by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, and to recover ſome Town there by for his reſcue, he ſo doing was in worſe caſe than before: for the Townſmen and the Captains Brother, ſuppoſing no leſs but that the Captain had been ſlain, preſſed ſo eagerly upon him, that he had been there taken and murdered among them, had not he (as God would) ſpying a Ladder leaning to a Window, by the ſame got up into the Houſe, and ſo gone up into a Garret in the top of the Houſe, where he with his Dagger and Rapier defended himſelf for a ſpace: but at length the *Burghmaſter* coming thither with another Magiſtrate which could ſpeak Latine: he was counſelled to ſubmit himſelf to the order of the Law. M. *Berty* knowing himſelf clear, and the Captain to be alive, was the more bold to ſubmit himſelf to the judgment of the Law, upon condition that the Magiſtrate would receive him under ſafe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promiſed, M. *Berty* putteth himſelf and his Weapon into the Magiſtrates hand, and ſo was committed to ſafe cuſtody, while the truth of his cauſe ſhould be tryed.

Then Maſter *Berty* writing his Letters to the *Lantgrave*, and to the Earl of *Erbagh*, the next day early in the Morning the Earl of *Erbagh*, dwelling within eight miles, came to the Town whither the Dutcheſs was brought with her Wagon, Maſter *Berty* alſo being in the ſame Town under cuſtody.

The Earl, who had ſome intelligence of the Dutcheſs before, after he was come and had ſhewed ſuch curteſie as he thought to her eſtate was ſeemly, the Townſmen perceiving the Earl to behave himſelf ſo humbly unto her, began to conſider more of the matter, and further underſtanding the Captain to be alive, both they, and eſpecially the Authors of the ſtir ſhrunk away, and made all the friends they could to M. *Berty* and his Wife, not to report their doings after the worſt ſort.

M. *Berty* with the Dutcheſs honourably entertained of the K. of *Pole.*

And thus M. *Berty* and his Wife, eſcaping that danger, proceeded in their journey toward *Poeland*, where in concluſion they were quietly entertained of the King, and placed honourably in the Earldom of the ſaid King of *Poles* in *Sanogelia*, called *Crozan*, where M. *Berty* with the Dutcheſs, having the Kings abſolute power of Government over the ſaid Earldom, continued both in great quietneſs and honor, till the death of Q. *Mary*.

Thomas Horton Miniſter.

A ſtory of *Thomas Horton* Miniſter.

AS ye have heard of the dangerous trouble of the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk* in the time of her exile for Religion ſake, whom notwithſtanding the Lords preſent protection ſtill delivered in all diſtreſſes, as well from her enemies in *England*, as in Dutchland from the *Launceknights* there: ſo have we no leſs to behold and magnifie the Lords merciful goodneſs in preſerving of *Thomas Horton* from the like perils of the ſame Country.

Which *Thomas Horton*, what a profitable inſtrument he was to the Church of Chriſt in Q. *Maries* time, all our Engliſhmen almoſt, beyond the Seas then, did both know and feel.

This good *Thomas Horton*, as he uſed oftentimes to travel between *Germany* and *England*, for the behoof and ſuſtenance of the poor Engliſh exiles there: ſo he journeying upon a time between *Maſtrick* and *Cullen*, chanced to be taken there by certain *Rovers*, and ſo being led by them away, was in no little danger: and yet this danger of his was not ſo great, but the preſent help of the Lord was greater to aid and deliver him out of the ſame.

Thomas Sprat of *Kent*, Tanner.

The ſtory of *Thom. Sprat* and W. *Porrege.*

UNto theſe afore rehearſed examples of Gods bleſſed providence towards his Servants, may alſo be added the happy deliverance of *Thomas Sprat* and *William Porrege* his companion, now Miniſter. Whoſe ſtory briefly to courſe over is this.

M. *Brent* Juſtice in *Kent*, a perſecutor.

This *Thomas Sprat* had been Servant ſometimes to one Maſter *Brent* a Juſtice, and a heavy perſecutor, and therefore forſaking his Maſter for Religion ſake, he went to *Calice*, from whence he uſed often with the ſaid *William Porrege*, for their neceſſary affairs, to have recourſe into *England*.

It ſo happened about the fourth year of Queen *Maries* Reign, that they landing upon a time at *Dover*, and taking their journey together toward *Sandwich*, ſuddenly upon the way within three miles of *Dover*, met with the foreſaid Maſter *Brent*, the two *Blachendens*, and other Gentlemen more, with their Servants, to the number of ten or twelve Horſes. Of the which two *Blachendens*, being both haters and enemies of Gods Word and people, the one had perfect knowledge of *William Porrege*, the other had not ſeen him, but only had heard of his name before.

The two *Blachendens* in *Kent*, perſecutors.

Thus they being in the way where this Juſtice with his mates ſhould meet them directly in the face, *Thomas Sprat* firſt eſpying Maſter *Brent*, was ſore diſmayed, ſaying to his companion, Yonder is Maſter *Brent*, *William Porrege*, God have mercy upon us. Well, quoth the other, ſeeing now there is no remedy, let us go on our way. And ſo thinking to paſs by them, they kept themſelves aloof, as it were a ſcore off from them, *Thomas Sprat* alſo ſhadowing his face with his Cloke.

Tho. Sprat almoſt taken in the way by the Juſtice.

Notwithſtanding one of Maſter *Brents* Servants adviſing him better than his Maſter did, Yonder ſaid he to his Maſter, is *Thomas Sprat*, At which words they all reined their Horſes, and called for *Thomas Sprat* to come to them. They call you, ſaid *William Porrege*. Now here is no remedy but we are taken: and ſo perſwaded him to go to them being called, for that there was no eſcaping from ſo many Horſemen in thoſe plains and downs, where was no wood near them by a mile, nor hedge neither, but only one, which was a birdbolt ſhot off.

Tho: Sprat called of the Juſtice, but would not come.

All this notwithſtanding, *Sprat* ſtaid, and would not go. Then they called again, ſitting ſtill on horſeback. Ah ſirrah (quoth the Juſtice) why come ye not hither? And ſtill his companion moved him to go, ſeeing there was no other ſhift to flee away. Nay (ſaid *Sprat*) I will not go to them, and therewithal took his Leggs, running to the hedge that was next him. They ſeeing that, ſet Spurs to their Horſe, thinking by and by to have him, and that it was unpoſſible for him to eſcape their hands, as it was indeed, they being on Horſeback, and he on foot, had not the Lord miraculouſly delivered his ſilly Servant from the gaping mouth of the Lion ready to devour him. For as God would, ſo it fell out that he had got over the hedge, ſcrawling through the buſhes, when as they were even at his heels, ſtriking at him with their Swords, one of the *Blachendens* crying cruelly, cut off one of his Legs.

God always ſtronger than the Devil.

Thus *Sprat* had ſcarcely recovered the hedge from his enemies, when one of Maſter *Brents* Servants, which had been fellow ſometimes in Houſe with him, followed him in his Boots; and certain rode up at one ſide of the hedge, and certain at the other, to meet him at the upper end.

Tho. Sprat getteth over the hedge from his perſecutors.

Now while they were following the chaſe after *Thomas Sprat*, only one remained with *William Porrege* (who was one of the *Blachendens*, not he which knew him, but the other) who began to queſtion with him, not asking what was his name (as God would) for then he had been known and taken: but from whence he came, and how he came into *Sprats* company, and whither he went? Unto whom he anſwered and ſaid, From *Calice*, and that *Sprat* came over with him in the paſſage boat, and they two were going to *Sandwich*, and ſo without any more queſtions he let him depart.

W. Porrege eſcapeth.

Anon, as he kept along the hedge, one of the Horſmen which rode after *Sprat*, returning back, and meeting with the ſaid *W. Porrege*, demanded the very ſame queſtions as the other had done, to whom he made alſo the like anſwer as afore, and ſo departed, taking another contrary way from the meeting of the other Horſmen. And thus *W. Porrege* eſcaped.

The Lord diſpoſing the way of his Servants.

Now concerning *Thomas Sprat*, he being purſued on the one ſide by Horſmen, and on the other ſide by his own fellow, who followed after him in his Boots, crying, you were as good to tarry, for we will have you, we will have you: yet notwithſtanding he kept ſtill on his courſe, till at length he came to a ſteep down hill at the hedge end, down the which hill he ran from them, for they could not ride down the hill, but muſt fetch a great compaſs about, and ſo this *Thom. Sprat* ran almoſt a mile, and (as God would) got a Wood.

Tho. Sprat delivered by Gods help from his adverſaries.

By that time he came to the Wood, they were even at his heels: but the night drew on, and it began to rain, and ſo the malice of theſe perſecutors was at an end, the Lord working for his Servants, whoſe name be praiſed for ever and ever, Amen.

Not long after this, one of the two *Blachendens* aforeſaid, which ſo cruelly ſought the deſtruction of other, was cruelly murdered by his own Servants.

John Cornet.

The trouble of *J. Cornet*, and how he was delivered.

HEre might alſo be recited the hard adventures and ſufferings of *John Cornet*, and at length his deliverance, by Gods good working, out of the ſame.

Who, being a prentice with a Minſtrel at *Colcheſter*, was ſent by his Maſter, about the ſecond year of Q. *Maries* Reign, to a wedding in a Town thereby called *Roughhedge*, where he being requeſted by a company there of good Men, the Conſtables alſo of the Pariſh being preſent thereat, to ſing ſome ſongs of the Scripture, chanced to ſing a ſong called News out of *London*, which tended againſt the Maſs, and againſt the Queens miſproceedings.

Yackſley. Parſon of *Roughhedge*, Perſecutor. The Mother againſt her own Son.

Whereupon the next day he was accuſed by the Parſon of *Roughhedge*, called *Yackſley*, and ſo committed, firſt to the Conſtable, where both his Maſter gave him over, and his Mother forſook and curſed him. From thence he was ſent to the next Juſtice, named Maſter *Cannall*, and then to the Earl of *Oxford*, where he was firſt put in Irons and Chains, and after that ſo manacled, that the Blood ſpurt out of his Fingers ends, becauſe he would not confeſs the names of them which allured him to ſing.

Cornet whipped out of the Town, and ſo baniſhed.

And marvel it was that the cruel Papiſts were ſo contented, that they ſent him not alſo to Biſhop *Boner*, to ſuffer the extremity of the Fire. But Gods gracious providence diſpoſed otherwiſe for his Servant. For after he was manacled, the Earl commanded him to be brought again to the Town of *Roughhedge*, and there to be whipped till the Blood followed, and to be baniſhed the Town for ever: and ſo he was, during all the time of Queen *Mary*.

Thomas Bryce.

Tho. Bryce preſerved.

IF our Story would proceed ſo wide and ſo large, as did the exceeding mercy of Gods providence in helping his Servants out of wretchedneſs and thraldom of thoſe Bloody days, our tratiſe (I think) would extend to an endleſs proceſs.

For what good Man or Woman, was there almoſt in all this time of Queen *Mary*, who either in carrying a good Conſcience out of the Land, or tarrying within the Realm, could well eſcape the Papiſts hands, but by ſome notable experience of the Lords mighty power and helping hand working for him? What ſhould I here ſpeak of the miraculous deliverance of *Thomas Bryce*? who being in the Houſe of *John Seal*, in the Pariſh of *Horting*, and the Bailiff with other neighbours coming in, ſent by Sir *John Baker* to ſearch and apprehend him, and knowing perfectly both his ſtature and colour of his garments, yet had no power to ſee or know him ſtanding before their faces. So mightily the Lord did blind their eyes, that they asking for him, and looking upon him, yet notwithſtanding he quietly took up his bagg of Books, and ſo departed out of the Houſe without any hand laid upon him.

God blindeth the eyes of them which ſought for *Tho. Bryce*, that they could not ſee him.

Anno 1558.

Another ſtory of Th. *Bryce* and his Brother.

Alſo another time, about the ſecond year of Queen *Mary*, the ſaid *Thomas Bryce*, with *John Bryce* his Elder Brother, coming then from *Weſell*, meeting together at their Fathers Houſe, as they journyed towards *London*, to give warning there to one *Springfield*, which elſe was like to be taken unawares by his enemies waiting for him upon *Gads-Hill*, fell in company with a Promoter, which dogged them and followed them again to *Graveſend*, into the Town, and laid the Houſe for them where they were, all the ways as they ſhould go to the waters ſide, ſo that it had not been poſſible for them to have avoided the preſent danger of thoſe perſecutors, had not the Lords provident care otherwiſe diſpoſed for his Servants, through the Hoſtler of the Inn, covertly to convey them by a ſecret paſſage; whereby they took Barge a mile out of the Town, and ſo in the end both the lives of them, and alſo of *Springfield* were preſerved, through the Lords gracious protection.

Thomas and *John Bryce* delivered by Gods good means and protection.

Gertrude Crokhay.

The trouble and deliverance of *Gertrude Crockhay*.

GErtrude *Crokhay* dwelling at Saint *Katherines* by the *Tower* of *London*, and being then in her Husbands Houſe, it happened in the year 1556. that the Popes Childiſh Saint *Nicholas* went about the Pariſh. Which ſhe underſtanding, ſhut her door againſt him, not ſuffering him to enter into her Houſe.

This Dr. *Mallet*, is now Dean of *Lincoln*.

Then Doctor *Mallet* hearing thereof, and being then Maſter of the ſaid Saint *Katherines*, the next day came to her with twenty at his tail, thinking belike to fray her, and asked why ſhe would not the night before let in Saint *Nicholas*, and receive his bleſſing, *&c.* To whom ſhe anſwered thus: Sir, I know not Saint *Nicholas* (ſaid ſhe) that came hither. Yes quoth *Mallet*, here was one that repreſented S. *Nicholas*.

Indeed Sir (ſaid ſhe) here was one that was my neighbours Child, but not Saint *Nicholas*: for Saint *Nicholas* is in Heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him, to have had my purſe cut by them: for I have heard of Men robbed by Saint *Nicholas Clerks*, *&c.* So *Mallet* perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and ſhe for that time ſo eſcaped.

Another trouble of the ſaid *Gertrude* in Dutchland.

Then in the year 1557. a little before *Whitſontide*, it hapned that the ſaid *Gertrude* anſwered for a Child that was Baptized of one *Thomas Saunders*, which Child was Chriſtened ſecretly in a Houſe after the order of the Service book in King *Edwards* time; and that being ſhortly known to her Enemies, ſhe was ſought for. Which, underſtanding nothing thereof, went beyond the Sea into *Gilderland*, to ſee certain Lands that ſhould come to her Children in the right of her firſt Husband, who was a ſtranger born: and being there about a quarter of a year, at the length coming homeward by *Antwerp*, ſhe chanced to meet with one *John Johnſon* a Dutchman *alias John de Villa* of *Antwerp* Shipper, who ſeeing her there, went of malice to the *Margrave*, and accuſed her to be an Anabaptiſt, whereby ſhe was taken and carried to Priſon. The cauſe why this naughty Man did thus, was, for that he claimed of Maſter *Crokhay* her Husband a piece of Money which was not his due, for a Ship that Maſter *Crokhay* bought of him, and for that he could not get it, he wrought this diſpleaſure. Well, ſhe being in Priſon, lay there a fortnight. In the which time ſhe ſaw ſome that were Priſoners there, who privily were drowned in Rheniſh Wine Fats, and after ſecretly put in ſacks and caſt into the River. Now ſhe, good Woman, thinking to be ſo ſerved, took thereby ſuch fear, that it brought the beginning of her ſickneſs, of the which at length ſhe died.

Cruelty in Flanders uſed ſecretly againſt the Chriſtians.

Then at the laſt was ſhe called before the *Margrave*, and charged with Anabaptiſtry: which ſhe there utterly denied, and deteſted the errour, declaring before him in Dutch her Faith boldly, without any fear. So the *Margrave* hearing the ſame, in the end being well pleaſed with the profeſſion, at the ſute of ſome of her friends delivered her out of Priſon, but took away her Book, and ſo ſhe came over into *England* again.

Gertrude returneth unto *England*.

William

Anno 1558.

William Mauldon.

A Story of W. Mauldon. W. Mauldon accuſed and ſcourged for true Religion.

I Lightly paſs over here the tedious afflictions of *William Mauldon*, how in the dangerous time of the ſix Articles, before the burning of *Anne Askew*, he was ſcourged, being young, of his Father: for profeſſing and confeſſing of true Religion; and afterward being examined in Auricular Confeſſion by the Prieſt, his Books were ſearched for, and ſo at length he was preſented up by the ſame Prieſt, in a Letter written to the Biſhop. Which Letter, had it not been burned by another Prieſt, to whoſe hands it came (as the Lord would have it) it had undoubtedly coſt him his life.

The prophecie of W. *Mauldon* in K. *Henries* time, for the fall of the *Maſs*, and Sacrament of the Altar.

This one thing in the ſame *William Mauldon* is to be noted, that being young, in thoſe days of King *Henry*, when the Maſs moſt flouriſhed, the Altars with the Sacrament thereof being in their moſt high veneration, that to Mans reaſon it might ſeem unpoſſible that the Glory and Opinion of that Sacrament and Sacramentals, ſo highly worſhipped, and ſo deeply rooted in the Hearts of ſo many, could by any means poſſible ſo ſoon decay and vaniſh to nought: yet notwithſtanding he being then ſo young, under the age of ſeventeen years, by the Spirit (no doubt) of propheſie, declared then unto his Parents, that they ſhould ſee it ſhortly even come to paſs, that both the Sacrament of the Altar and the Altars themſelves, with all ſuch plantations which the Heavenly Father did not plant, ſhould be plucked up by the roots; and even ſo within the ſpace of very few years the event thereof followed accordingly: the Lord therefore be praiſed for his moſt gracious reformation.

Robert Hornebye.

Rob. *Hornby* through *Gods* working preſerved.

I Let paſs likewiſe the dangerous eſcape of *Robert Hornebye* Servant ſometime and Groom of the Chamber to *Lady Elizabeth*, *ſhe being then in* trouble in Queen *Maries days*; who being willed to come to Maſs, refuſed ſo to do, and therefore coming afterward from *Woodſtock* to *Hampton Court*, was called before the Councel, and by them committed to the *Marſhalſey*, and not unlike to have ſuſtained further danger, had not the Lords goodneſs better provided for him, who at length by Doctor *Martin* was delivered.

Miſtreſs Sands.

M. *Sands* now Lady *Bartlet* preſerved from perſecution.

THe like alſo may be teſtified and recorded of Miſtreſs *Sands*, now Wife to Sir *Morrice Barlet*, then Gentlewoman waiter to the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth* being in the *Tower*. Which Miſtreſs *Sands* denied in like manner to come to Maſs, and therefore, beſide the heavy diſpleaſure of her Father, was not only diſplaced from her room, and put out of the Houſe, but alſo was in great jeopardy of further tryal. But the Lord, who diſpoſeth for every one as he ſeeth beſt, wrought her a way out of her enemies hands by flying over the Seas, where ſhe continued amongſt other baniſhed exiles in the City of *Geneva* and of *Baſill*, till the death of Queen *Mary*.

The Story of Thomas Roſe *yet living, a Preacher, of the age of* lxxvi. *years, in the Town of* Luton *and County of* Bedford.

The Story of Tho. Roſe yet living.

THis *Thomas Roſe* a *Devonſhire* Man, was born in *Ermouth*, and being made Prieſt in that Country, was brought out of it by one M. *Fabian*, to *Polſted* in *Suffolk*, where the ſaid M. *Fabian* was Parſon, and in ſhort time after by his means was placed in the Town of *Hadley*, where he, firſt coming to ſome knowledge of the Goſpel, began firſt there to intreat upon the Creed, and thereupon to take occaſion to inveigh againſt Purgatory, praying to Saints and Images, about the time that Maſter *Latimer* began firſt to Preach at *Cambridge*, in the time of *Bilney* and *Arthur*, forty ſeven years agoe, or thereabout; inſomuch that many embracing the truth of Chriſts Goſpel, againſt the ſaid *Purgatory* and other points, and the number of them daily increaſing, the adverſaries began to ſtirr againſt him, inſomuch that M. *Bate* (who afterward became a Godly zealous Man) was then brought to Preach againſt the ſaid *Thomas Roſe*, and ſo did. This notwithſtanding he continued ſtill very vehemently againſt Images, and the Lord ſo bleſſed his labours, that many began to deviſe how to deface and deſtroy them, and eſpecially four Men, whoſe names were, *Ro. Ring*, *Ro. Debnam*; *Nich Marſh*, and *Ro. Gard*, which uſually reſorted to his Sermons, and upon his Preaching were ſo inflamed with zeal, that ſhortly after they adventured to deſtroy the Rood of *Dover* Court, which coſt three of them their lives as appeareth before. The three perſons which ſuffered, and were hanged in Chains, were offered their lives, to have accuſed the ſaid *Tho. Roſe*, as of Counſel with them, which refuſed ſo to do, and therefore ſuffered. The ſaid *Thomas Roſe* had the Coat of the ſaid Rood brought unto him afterward, who burned it. The Rood was ſaid to have done many great miracles and great wonders wrought by him, and yet being in the Fire could not help himſelf, but burned like a block, as in very deed he was.

Three offered to have their lives ſaved, to accuſe *Thom. Roſe*, but would not.

At this time there were two ſore enemies in *Hadley* *Walter Clerk*, and *John Clerk*, two brethren: theſe complained to the Councel, that an hundred Men were not able to fetch the ſaid *Thomas Roſe* out of *Hadley*, who then was upon Examination of his Doctrine committed to the Commiſſaries keeping. And indeed ſuch was the zeal of a number towards the truth then in that Town, that they were much offended that their Miniſter was ſo taken from them, and had therefore by force fet him from the Commiſſary, if certain Wiſe Men had not otherwiſe perſwaded, which at length alſo with more quiet did ſet him in his Office again; which thing ſo angred the two Brethren, *Walter Clerk*, and *John Clerk*, that they complained to the Councel, as is aforeſaid, whereupon a Sergeant at Arms, named *Cartwright*, was ſent from the Councel, who arreſted the ſaid *Thomas Roſe*, and brought him before the Councel. Then his adverſaries being called, they laid to his charge, that he was privy of the burning of the Rood of *Dover* Court, and upon this he was committed to Priſon in the Biſhop of *Lincolns* Houſe in *Holborn*, Biſhop *Langley* the Kings Confeſſor, and there remained he in Priſon, from *Shrovetide* to *Midſomer*, very ſore ſtocked till after *Eaſter*.

Thom. Roſe arreſted by a Sergeant at Arms.

The cruel handling of *Tho. Roſe* by the Papiſts.

The Stocks were very high and great, ſo that day and night he did lye with his back on the ground, upon a little ſtraw, with his heels ſo high, that by means the Blood was ſollen from his feet, his feet were almoſt without ſenſe for a long time, and he herewith waxed very ſick, inſomuch that his Keeper pittying his Eſtate, and hearing him cry ſometime through the extremity of pain, went to the Biſhop, and told him that he would not keep him to dye under his hand, and upon this he had ſome more eaſe and liberty. Now at this time his Mother was come from *Hadley* to ſee him, but ſhe might not be ſuffered to ſpeak with the ſaid *Thomas Roſe* her Son (ſuch was their cruelty) but the Biſhop flattered her, and gave her a pair of pardon beads and bade her go home and pray, for ſhe might not ſee him; which thing pierced the hearts both of the Mother and Son, not a little. At this time alſo certain Men of *Hadley*, very deſirous to ſee him, travelled to ſpeak with him, but might not be ſuffered, till at length they gave the Keeper 4 *s.* and yet then might not ſpeak to him, or ſee him otherwiſe than through a grate. And thus continued he till *Midſomer* in Priſon there. Then was he removed to *Lambeth*, in the firſt year of Doctor *Cranmers* Conſecration, who uſed him much more courteouſly than ever the Biſhop of *Lincoln* did, and at length wrought his deliverance, and ſet him at liberty; but yet ſo, that he was bound not to come within 20. miles of *Hadley*. After this he came to *London*, and there Preached the Goſpel half a year, till *Hadley* Men hearing thereof, laboured to have him to *Hadley* again, and indeed by means of Sir *Jo. Rainford* Knight, obtained at the Archbiſhops Houſe to have him thither: Howbeit, by means one was placed in the Cure at *Hadley*, he could not enjoy his Office again there, but went to *Stratford* three miles off, and there continued in Preaching the word three years, till at length the adverſaries procured an inhibition from the Biſhop of *Norwich*, to put him to ſilence. But a great number travelled to have him continue in Preaching, and

Tho. Roſe ſet at liberty by D. *Cranmers* means.

subscribed a Supplication to the Archbishop, with sevenscore hands, who under their Seals also testified of his honest demeanor, so that the adversaries this way not prevailing, they indicted him at *Bury* in *Suffolk*, so that he was constrained to flee to *London*, and to use the ayd of the Lord *Audley*, then Lord Chancellor, who removed the matter from them, and called it before him, and after certain Examination of the matter, did set him free, and did send him by a token to the Lord *Cromwell*, then Lord Privy Seal, for a Licence from the King to Preach: which thing obtained by the Lord *Cromwell* his means (who hereupon also had admitted the said *Thomas Rose* his Chaplain) forthwith he was sent into *Lincolnshire* and to *York*. In the mean time such complaint was made to the Duke of *Norfolk*, for that he Preached against Auricular Confession, Transubstantiation, and such other points contained in the six Articles (which then to have done, by Law was death) that the Duke in his own person not only sought him at *Norwich*, but also beset all the Havens for him, from *Yarmouth* to *London*, and being Lieutenant commanded, that whosoever could take the said *Thomas Rose*, should hang him on the next Tree. Howbeit, the said *Thomas Rose* at his coming home, having warning hereof by certain Godly persons, was conveighed away, and passed over in to *Flanders*, and so to *Germany* unto *Zuricke*, where a time he remained with Master *Bullinger*, and afterward went to *Basil*, and there hosted with Master *Grinæus*, till Letters came that Master Doctor *Barnes* should be Bishop of *Norwich*, and things should be reformed and he restored. But when he came into *England* again, it was nothing so, and therefore forthwith fled again beyond the Seas, being so beset, as if the mighty providence of God had not sent him in a readiness to receive him the self same Man, boat and boy that before carried him over, it had not been possible for him to have escaped. But such was the goodness of God towards him, that he safely was conveighed, and lived at *Barow* the space of three years, till at length purposing to come over into *England*, about business that he had, he, his Wife, and their Child, being but a year and three quarters old, upon the Sea, the ship being in great danger, wherein they sayled (for the mast being hewn down in that peril, they were carried whithersoever the waves tossed them,) they with divers others made a full account of death. Howbeit, at length they were taken Prisoners, and carried into *Diepe* in *France*, having all their stuff taken from them, and forty pound in Money. There they remained Prisoners from *Michaelmass* till *Hollontide*, in great heaviness, not knowing what would become of them, but depending only upon Gods providence. It pleased God at the same time, that one M. *Young* of the Town of *Rye* (who had heard him preach before) came thither for the redeeming of certain Englishmen there taken Prisoners. This M. *Young* moved to see them in this case, much pittied them, and comforted them, and told them he would pay their ransom, and so he did, had them away, and brought them to *Rye*, and from thence by stealth came they to *London*. At length the honourable Earl of *Sussex*, hearing of the said *Thomas Rose*, sent for him, his Wife, and his Child, and had them to his House at *Attleborough*, where they continued, till at length it was blazed abroad, that the Earl was a maintainer of such a Man to read in his House, as had Preached against the Catholick Faith (as they term it) The Earl being at the Parliament, and hearing thereof, wrote a Letter to warn him to make shift for himself, and to avoid. So that from thence he passed to *London*, making straight shift for a year there and somewhat more, till the death of King *Henry*. After the Kings death, he and others which in the Kings General Pardon were excepted (and therefore dead Men, if they had been taken whilst King *Henry* lived) by certain of the Councel were set at liberty, and at length, after King *Edward* was Crowned, were licensed to Preach again by the King; who gave unto the said *Thomas Rose*, the Benefice of *West-Ham* by *London*. But at the Death of that vertuous and noble Prince, he was deprived of all, and so should also have been of his Life, had not God appointed him friends, who received him in *London* secretly, as their Teacher in the Congregation, among whom for the poor Prisoners at their assemblies x li. a night oftentimes was gathered. And thus he continued amongst them, and with the *Lady Vane* almost a year in the Reign of Queen *Mary*. But although he oftentimes escaped secretly whilst he read to the Godly in Sundry places of *London*, yet at length through a *Judas* that betrayed them, he with 35. that were with him, were taken in *Bow-Church-yard* at a Sheremans House on *New-years-day* at night being *Tuesday*. The residue being committed to Prisons, the said *Thomas Rose* was had to the Bishop of *Winchester Stephen Gardiner*, but the Bishop would not speak with him that night, but committed him to the *Clink* till *Tuesday* after.

Anno 1558.

Thom. Rose Chaplain to the Lord *Cromwell.*

The mighty providence of God in preserving T. *Rose* from his enemies.

Thom. Rose again delivered.

Thom. Rose apprehended.

The first Examination of Thomas Rose, *before* Winch. *at* S. Mary-Overies.

ON *Thursday* being brought before the B. of *Winchester*, at S. *Mary Overies*, the said *Thomas Rose* spake as followeth.

The first Examination of *Tho. Rose.*

Rose. It maketh me to marvel (my Lord quoth he) that I should be thus troubled for that which by the word of God hath been established, and by the Laws of this Realm allowed, and by your own writing so notably, in your Book De *vera obedientia*, confirmed.

Bish. Ah Sirra, hast thou gotten that?

Rose. Yea, my Lord, I thank God, and do confess my self much thereby confirmed. For as touching the Doctrine of the Supremacy, against the Bishop of *Romes* usurped Authority, no Man hath said further. And as I remember, you confess in it, that when this truth was revealed unto you, you thought the scales to fall from your eyes.

Bish. Thou liest like a varlet, there is no such thing in my Book, but I shall handle thee and such as thou art well enough. I have long looked for thee, and at length have caught thee. I will know who be thy maintainers, or else I will make thee a foot longer.

Rose. My Lord, you shall do as much as pleaseth God, and no more, yet the Law is in your hand: but I have God for my maintainer, and none other. At these words one of his Servants stepped forth, and said, My Lord, I heard this Man Preach by *Norwich* in Sir *John Robsters* House, and in his Prayer he desired God to turn Queen *Maries* Heart, or else to take her out of the World; and this was in King *Edwards* time.

Rose. My Lord I made no such prayer, but next after the King I prayed for her after this sort, saying, Ye shall pray for my Lady *Maries* Grace, that God will vouchsafe to endue her with his Spirit, that she graciously may perceive the Mysteries contained within his holy Laws, and so render unto him her heart purified with true Faith, and true and Loyal Obedience to her Soveraign Lord and King, to the good ensample of the inferiour Subjects. And this, my Lord, is already answered in mine own handwriting to the Councel. Unto this he said little, but turning his face to certain that were by him; This, is he (quoth the Bishop) that my Lord of *Norwich* told me had begotten his maid with Child.

Rose. This is no Heresie, my Lord, although it be a lye. Indeed certain wicked persons raised this report of me, for the hatred they bare to the Doctrine which I Preached: but for purgation of my self herein I had no less than six of the Councels hands, that there might be due and diligent Examination for this matter in the Countrey by Men of worship appointed for that purpose, who can all testifie (I thank God) that I am most clear from such wickedness, and indeed they have cleared me from it, and therefore I doubt not, but all good Men will espy the mischievous device of mine adversaries, which (when other ways failed) by such sinister means went about to draw me into discredit and hatred: but God which is the helper of the innocent, and searcher of Mens hearts, hath and doth defend me, and hath laid open things that were hid, to their shame. One of the chief reporters of this, that I should so abuse my self, was one M. *Clark*, Servant and in some estimation with the old Lord Treasurer of *England*, reputed and taken for a Conjurer, who afterward for his good demerits hanged himself in the *Tower*. Then the Bishop commanded that I should be carried to the *Tower*, and kept safely, where I did lye till it was the week before *Whitsontide*. After which time

Thom. Rose belied of Winch.

Thom. Rose clear from Winchesters slander.

Thom. Rose committed to the Tower.

Anno 1558.

time I was twice called, when as the Biſhop came to the *Tower* about other Priſoners. Notwithſtanding, the Biſhop had no great talk with me, but ſpake friendly. Howbeit, one Sir *Richard Southwell*, Knight, ſtill accuſed me for my Prayer, and ſaid I did put a difference betwixt Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth*, for that I prayed in King *Edwards* Faith, and prayed that he would confirm Lady *Elizabeth* in that which was well begun in her. Unto this the Biſhop ſaid little. But in the week before *Penteceſt*, I was conveyed from the *Tower* to *Norwich*, there to be examined by the Biſhop and his Clergy, as concerning my Faith, the manner whereof here followeth.

The ſecond Examination of Thom. Roſe *before the Biſhop of* Norwich, Hopkins *by name, in his own Palace, in the preſence of Sir* W. Woodhouſe *Knight, M. Steward the Chancellor, D.* Barret, *with divers others, the* Wedneſday *in* Whitſon-week, *Anno Dom.* 1553.

The 2. Examination of Tho. Roſe before the B. of Norwich.

AFter I was preſented by my Keeper, the Biſhop immediately asked me what I was. I told him I had been a Miniſter.

Biſh. What is this to the purpoſe, were ye a Frier or a Prieſt?

Roſe. Frier was I never, but a Prieſt have I been, and beneficed by the Kings Majeſty.

Biſh. Where were ye made Prieſt?

Roſe. In *Exeter*, in the County where I was born. Then the Biſhop required of me my Letters of Orders. I told him I knew not where they were become, for they were things of me not greatly regarded.

Biſh. Well, you are ſent to me to be examined; what ſay you, will you ſubmit your ſelf to the order of the Church of *England*?

Roſe. My Lord, I truſt I am not out of the order of Chriſts Church in *England*, neither do I know my ſelf an offendor there againſt.

Biſh. What? yes, ye have here preached moſt damnable and devilliſh doctrine.

Roſe. Not ſo, my Lord. The Doctrine by me here Preached was both true, ſincere and holy. But indeed the Doctrine that is now ſet forth, is moſt wicked and damnable, yea, and that both againſt Gods Laws and Mans. But as for the Doctrine by me preached, it is grounded upon the Word of God, ſet out alſo by the Authority of two moſt mighty Kings, with the conſent of all the Nobility and Clergy of the ſame: ſo that I Preached nothing but their lawful proceedings, having their lawful Authority under their Broad Seals for confirmation of the ſame, for which my doing ye cannot juſtly charge me. For why, ſithence the Law ceaſed, I have kept ſilence, ſo that the Council which ſent me unto you have not charged me therewith. Wherefore, ye do me open wrong to burden me with that wherein I am free.

Chan. What Sir? ye are very captious; anſwereſt thou my Lord after ſuch a ſort?

Roſe. Sir (ſaid I) I anſwer for my ſelf, and according to the truth: wherewith ye ought not to be offended, if ye be of God.

Chan. Thou art an evil Man. Waſt thou not abjured before now

Roſe. No, ye untruly report me, and are in no wiſe able to prove that which ye have ſpoken: ſo that your words appear to proceed altogether of malice, which I have not deſerved at your hands. But in this I well perceive ye are made an Inſtrument to utter other Mens malice conceived of old.

Chan. What ſayeſt thou to the real preſence in the Sacrament?

Roſe. I wiſt right well ye were made an Inſtrument to ſeek innocent Blood: well ye may have it, if God permit, it is preſent at hand, for I am not come hither to lye, but to dye (if God ſee it good) in defence of that which I have ſaid. Wherefore ye may begin when ye ſhall think good, for I have ſaid nothing but the truth, and that which in thoſe days was of all Men allowed for truth, and againſt the which ye at that time durſt not once whiſper, although ye now brag never ſo much.

Biſh. Well Father *Roſe*, ſaid he, whatſoever hath been done in times paſt, ſhall not now be called in queſtion, ſo that ye now ſubmit your ſelf. For not only you, but all the whole Realm hath been out of the right way, both high and low, ſpiritual and temporal, but all notwithſtanding have ſubmitted themſelves and acknowledged their Faith. Wherefore if ye will be accounted for an Engliſhman, ye muſt likewiſe ſubmit your ſelf.

How T. Roſe ſubmitted himſelf.

Roſe. My Lord, I am an Engliſhman born, and do moſt humbly require of the Chriſtian Congregation of *England*, to be counted as a particular member of the ſame, and with all due reverence ſubmit my ſelf as in the form and manner following: That whatſoever Law or Laws ſhall be ſet forth in the ſame for the eſtabliſhment of Chriſts true Religion, and that according to the Faith and Doctrine of the holy Patriarchs and Prophets, Jeſus Chriſt, and his holy Apoſtles, with the faithful Fathers of Chriſt Primitive Church, I do not only hold it and believe it, but alſo moſt reverently obey it. At which my aſſertion, the B. ſeemed to be greatly rejoyced, and ſaid, Well, then we ſhall ſoon be at a point. But ſaid he, you ſhall take this for no day of Examination, but rather of Communication, ſo that ye ſhall now depart and pawſe your ſelf, until we call for you again, and ſo ended our firſt meeting.

The third Examination of Tho. Roſe.

The 3. Examination of Tho. Roſe.

ON the *Friday* following, I was called again into Chriſts Church within their Ladies Chappel (as they termed it,) where was gathered a great part of the whole City of *Norwich*, and after I was by my Keeper preſented, the B. began with a great proteſtation, and after many words demanded of me whether according to my former promiſe I would ſubmit my ſelf or no. I anſwered as before I had done, that according to my former proteſtation, I would moſt gladly obey. Then ſaid the Chancellor, to utter his gentleneſs, I think you do but fain.

Roſe. The fault then (ſaid I) ſhall be in your ſelf, and not in me. For if ye burthen me with nothing but Scriptures, and the Fathers of Chriſts Primitive Church, then as I ſaid before, ſo I ſay again, I ſhall moſt gladly obey.

Chan. Well then, ſeeing you challenge to be a member of the Church of *England*, your Mother here for a trial of obedience provoketh you, as Mothers are wont to allure you, to receive this little gift at her hand.

Roſe. Forſooth ſaid I, if ſhe offer it me, as received of God my Father, I ſhall gladly receive it, as from the hand of my very true and Ghoſtly Mother.

Auricular Confeſſion.

Chan. What ſay you to ear Confeſſion? Is it not a *Law Eccleſiaſtical and neceſſary for the Church of England.*

Roſe. Some ways it might be permitted, and ſome ways not, and that becauſe it had not its original of God and his bleſſed Word; and yet I deny not, but that a Man being troubled in his Conſcience, and reſorting to a diſcreet, ſober and Chriſtian learned Man for the quieting of his mind, might well be permitted: but to bind a Man under pain of Damnation, once every year, to number his Sins into the ears of a filthy lecherous Prieſt, is not of God, neither can be approved by his word.

Biſh. Ah Sirrah, ye will admit nothing but Scripture, I ſee well.

Nothing but Scripture to be admitted for the regiment of the Soul.

Roſe. No truly, my Lord, I admit nothing but Scripture for the Regiment of the Soul: for why, Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God, and where the Word of God is not, there ought no belief to be given. For whatſoever is not of Faith is Sin: and here they left off ſpeaking any more of that matter.

But then M. Chancellor began to whet his teeth at me, ſaying, Yea, but you have preached, that the real, natural, and ſubſtantial preſence of Chriſt is not in the Sacrament of the Altar: what ſay ye to that?

Roſe. Verily, I ſay, that you are a Bloody Man, and ſeek to quench your thirſt with the Blood of an innocent, and therefore to ſatisfie you in that behalf, I ſay verily unto you, that even ſo I have here preached: and although contrary to Law, you charge me with the ſame, yet will I in no wiſe deny it, though juſtly I might do it, but ſtand thereunto, even to ſeal it with my Blood, deſiring all that be here preſent, to teſtifie the ſame, and believe it as the only truth.

Biſh. I charge you all to believe it not.

Roſe. Yea, but my Lord (ſaid I) if ye will needs have credence given you, you muſt bring Gods Word to maintain your ſayings.

Biſh. Why, doth not Chriſt ſay, This is my Body? and can there be any plainer words ſpoken?

Roſe. It is true my Lord, the words be as plain as can be, and even ſo be theſe, whereas it is ſaid, I am a door, a vine, and Chriſt called a ſtone, a Lyon, and yet is he naturally none of theſe: for they be all figurative ſpeeches, as both the Scriptures and Fathers do ſufficiently prove.

At which my ſaying, the Biſhop would have had me ſtay, ſaying, I ſhould have another day, wherein I might take better adviſement.

Tranſubſtantiation & real preſence againſt the Scriptures & the antient Fathers of the Primitive Church.

Roſe. Not ſo, my Lord, ſaid I, for I am at a full point with my ſelf in that matter, and am right well able to prove both your Tranſubſtantiation, with the real preſence, to be againſt the Scriptures and the antient Fathers of the Primitive Church. For *Juſtinus*, which is one of the antienteſt writers that ever wrote upon the Sacraments, writeth in his ſecond Apology, that the Bread, Water, and Wine in the Sacrament, are not to be taken as other meats and drinks, but be meats purpoſely ordained to give thanks unto God, and therefore be called *Euchariſtia*, and alſo have the names of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and that it is not lawful for any Man to eat and drink of them, but ſuch as profeſs the Religion of Chriſt, and live alſo according to their profeſſion: and yet (ſaith he) the ſame Bread and Drink is changed into our Fleſh and Blood, nouriſheth our Bodies. By which ſaying it is evident, that *Juſtine* meant, that the Bread and Wine remain ſtill, or elſe they could not have been turned into our Fleſh and Blood, and nouriſh our Bodies. At which my ſaying they were not a little troubled, but inforced themſelves, to have denyed the Doctor, and would ſuffer me to ſpeak no more, but ſtraightway was I carried away unto my lodging: and ſo ended the ſecond day of mine appearance, which was the *Friday* in *Whitſon* week, and then was I appointed to appear again on the *Monday* following. Howbeit, upon what occaſion I know not, it was deferred unto the *Wedneſday*, which was *Corpus Chriſti* Even.

His talk with the Earl of Suſſex, *Sir* William Woodhouſe, *and the Biſhops Chaplains.*

IN the mean time the Biſhop ſent two of his Chaplains to me, with whom I had Communication about the real preſence: and after long reaſoning to and fro, concerning this point, at length I drave them to this iſſue, whether they did confeſs that Chriſt in the ſelf ſame Body which was conceived of the Virgin *Mary*, and wherein he ſuffered and roſe again, do in the ſelf ſame Body, naturally, ſubſtantially, and really ſit at the right hand of God the Father, without return from thence, until the day of the general judgment or not? Whereunto they anſwered, Yes truly, ſaid they, we confeſs it, hold it, and believe it. Then I again demanded of them, whether they did affirm, after the words pronounced by the Miniſter, there to remain Fleſh, Blood, Bones, Hairs, Nailes, as is wont moſt groſly to be Preached, or not? And they with great deliberation anſwered, that they did not only abhor the teaching of ſuch groſs Doctrine, but alſo would deteſt themſelves, if they ſhould ſo think.

The Papiſts affirmed the real Body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament, but they knew not how.

At which two principal points, wherein they fully condemned my Doctrine which I ever taught, I was not a little comforted and rejoyced, but marvellouſly encouraged, Whereupon I demanded again of them, what manner of Body they then affirmed to be in the Sacrament? Forſooth (ſaid they) not a viſible, palpable, or circumſcriptable Body, for that is always at the Fathers right hand: but in the Sacrament it is inviſible, and can neither be felt, ſeen, nor occupy any place, but is there by the omnipotency of Gods Word they know not how.

And for this they brought in Saint *Auguſtine*, although of them not truly underſtood, yet would they admit none other ſenſe than their own, but would take upon them to confirm it with *Martin Luther*, *Melanchon*, *Bucer*, and *Calvin*: ſo that I perceiving their obſtinacy in that behalf, gave them over for that time, and afterward talked with Doctor *Barret*, whom I alſo found of the ſame judgment in that behalf. For (ſaid he) if ye would diſſent from the Fathers of the Primitive Church in this behalf, of which Saint *Auguſtine* is one, ye ſhall be contented to dye out of the Favour of God. Well, all this their obſtinacy and blaſphemous errors imprinted and deeply weighed in my mind, I gave them all over, and the more quietly to bring them to confeſs that openly, which they unto me had granted privately, I granted them according to the Scriptures, and my former proteſtation, a preſence, although not as they ſuppoſed.

Anno 1558.

After all this, came there unto me the honourable Earl of *Suſſex*, and that gentle Knight, Sir *William Woodhouſe*, with great perſwaſions: unto whom I ſaid, after long talk, that I would do all that I might, ſaving my Conſcience, which I would in no wiſe pollute, and no more I have, as knoweth God by whom all Men muſt be judged.

His laſt appearance before the Biſhop.

The laſt appearance of *Thom. Roſe* before the Biſhop.

NOw to come to my laſt appearance, after I was before the Biſhop preſented, he forthwith demanded of me, whether I were reſolved, as he had heard ſay. To whom I anſwered, that even as always I had ſaid before, even ſo I was now. Unto whom, by low bowing my knee, I gave my due reverence, and the rather for that the honourable Earl of *Suſſex* was there. Wherewith ſome which would be counted great Goſpellers, were (contrary to all Chriſtianity) ſore offended. Then I ſaid, that whatſoever Laws were ſet forth for the eſtabliſhment of Chriſts true Religion, and that according to the Doctrine of Chriſts holy Apoſtles, and the Faithful Fathers of the Primitive Church, I did not only obey them, but moſt earneſtly embrace and believe them. Yea, and yet to the further blinding of their eyes, I ſaid, that if any thing could juſtly be proved by Gods holy Word, by me heretofore preached, or taught untruly, either for lack of learning, ſlide of Tongue, or of ignorance; yet by better knowledge when it ſhall juſtly be tryed and examined by the ſame. I ſhall not refuſe (the thing perfectly approved) to revoke the ſame. Provided always, the Word of God herein to be judge.

All this ſpake I (as God knoweth) to keep them from ſuſpecting that which I went about, and that they ſhould have none occaſion to judge me of obſtinacy. Then ſaid I moreover, All you muſt of force confeſs, that the Doctrine by me heretofore preached, had, beſides the Authority of Gods eternal verity, the Authority of two moſt noble and mighty Princes, with the advice and Counſel of all the Nobility and Clergy of the ſame, and that with great deliberation from time to time, with open diſputations in both the Univerſities, enacted alſo by Parliament with the conſent of the whole Body and Commons of the ſame, and that without any reſiſtance or gainſaying eſtabliſhed, as a Religion moſt pure and perfect, moſt earneſtly and ſincerely Preached by the principal Biſhops and Doctors, and that before the Kings Majeſties Perſons; and I, as one being called to that Office, did the like with all the reſt, and in the zeal of God, and with a pure Conſcience did ſet forth the ſame as the only and abſolute truth of God, and the juſt and moſt true proceedings of my Soveraign Lord and King: and I had then my head at that preſent even where it now ſtandeth, betwixt mine ears, altogether applying the ſame, to apprehend with all diligence that which then was eſtabliſhed and taught, as the only and abſolute truth, and a thing unto me moſt deſirable, and well willing, without any deſire to hear the contrary, till now through this my captivity I am compelled to hear the contrary part ſpeak, who are even here preſent, and which my Lord ſent unto me.

Of whom, after long diſputations privately to and fro before this time had betwixt us, at length I have heard of them a contrary Doctrine, which I never before had heard; and therefore muſt confeſs mine own ignorance in the ſame. For (quoth I) after I had inforced theſe Men here preſent (meaning the Biſhops two Chaplains) to confeſs Jeſus Chriſts Natural Body with his full compleat members in due order and proportion of a perfect Mans Body to be preſent at the right hand of God the Father, and that without return from thence, until the laſt Judgment, and alſo that after the words pronounced by the Prieſt, there remaineth no ſuch groſs preſence

of

Anno 1558. of Fleſh, Blood, Bones, Hair, and Nails, as was wont to be preached; but that after I had demanded of them what manner of Body they affirmed to be preſent, they ſaid; A Body inviſible by the omnipotency of Gods Word, which neither can be felt or ſeen, nor that hath any diſtinction of members, but ſuch a Body as occupieth no place, but is there they know not how; neceſſity compeld me to confeſs mine ignorance in that behalf, although in very deed they perceived not my meaning therein, neither was it in my thought they ſhould ſo do. For by this their confeſſion, and my ſilence, afterward I perceived their horrible Blaſphemies.

And me thought in this I had well diſcharged at that time my Conſcience, in cauſing them in open audience to confeſs the ſame, and ſo I granted a preſence, but not as they ſuppoſed.

For only I ſaid, that Chriſt after the words pronounced, is preſent in the lawful uſe and right diſtribution of his holy Supper; which thing I never denied, or any Godly Man that ever I heard of. For (ſaid I) *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, a Man of ſingular fame and learning, about 300. years after Chriſts aſcenſion, ſaith, That the converſion of the viſible Creatures of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Chriſt, is like unto our converſion in Baptiſm. Where nothing is outwardly changed, but all the change is inwardly by the mighty working of the holy Ghoſt, which faſhioneth and frameth Chriſt in the heart and mind of Man, as by the example of *Peter* preaching to the people, *Acts* 2. By which he ſo pierced their Conſciences, that they openly with moſt earneſt repentance confeſſed their ſins, ſaying; Men and Brethren, what ſhall we do? Repent, and be baptiſed every one of you (ſaid *Peter*) in the name of Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that at this Sermon there were turned unto Chriſt three thouſand perſons; in whom Chriſt was ſo faſhioned and framed, as that he did dwell in every one of them, and they in him; and after the like manner (ſaid I) is Chriſt preſent in the lawful uſe and right diſtribution of his holy Supper, and not otherwiſe. For although I ſaid, according to the truth, that Chriſt dwelt in every one of theſe perſons rehearſed, yet meant I nothing leſs than that he in them ſhould have a groſs, carnal, or fleſhly dwelling.

How Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament.

And no more meant I (as God knoweth) him carnally or ſpiritually to be in the Sacrament, but according to the Scriptures, and my former proteſtation, that is, to the Spiritual nouriſhment of all ſuch as worthily come unto that holy Supper, receiving it according to his holy inſtitution.

And thus I ended; which the Papiſts moſt maliciouſly and ſlanderouſly named a recantation; which I never meant; nor thought (as God knoweth.)

Now after I had thus concluded my ſpeech, the Biſhop taking me by the hand, ſaid; Father *Roſe*, you may be a worthy inſtrument in Gods Church, and we will ſee to you at our coming home (for he was about to take his journey in viſitation of his Dioceſs) and they feared much at this very time, leſt Queen *Mary* ſhould have miſcarried in child-travel, which was looked for, being then accounted very great with Child, ſo that they were not ſo fierce as they had been, and doubted very much of ſome ſtir, if I ſhould have ſuffered; and therefore were glad to be rid of me, ſo that by any colourable means for their own diſcharge it might be; ſo the night following was I only committed to mine own lodging.

On the morrow, when the Biſhop was ready to ride forth in viſitation, he called me before him, and perceiving that Sir *W. Woodhouſe* did bear me great favor, ſaid, he was ſorry for me and my expences; and therefore wiſhed that I were ſome where, where I might ſpend no more money, till his return. Why, my Lord (quoth Sir *William Woodhouſe*) he ſhall have meat and drink, and lodging with me, till you return again, ſeeing you now break up houſe; and hereupon I went home with Sir *William* that good Knight, who moſt gently entertained me, and I had great liberty. Upon this the Papiſtical Prieſts of the Colledge of Chriſts Church in *Norwich*, for that they ſaw me at liberty in Sir *Williams* abſence (who alſo was then from home a fortnight) blazed it abroad, that Sir *William* was bounden for me in Body and Lands. At his coming home therefore I asked Sir *William* if he were ſo bounden for me; and he denied it. Then ſaid I; Sir, but for reverence I bear to you, I might have been an hundred miles from you ere this. But I truſt now, Sir, ſeeing you be not bound for me, I may go viſit my friends. Go where you will, ſaid Sir *William*, for (quoth he) I told the Biſhop I would not be his Jaylor, but promiſed only meat, drink, and lodging for you. Shortly after, upon the device of ſome friends, I was cloſely conveighed to a friends Houſe where almoſt a Month I was ſecretly kept, till rumours were over. For at the Biſhops return ſearching was for me, inſomuch as all Houſes, where it was known I had been acquainted, were ſearched, and the Ships at *Yarmouth*.

Pop. Prieſts love to blaze abroad lies.

At the length the Biſhop ſent to a Conjurer, to know of him which way I was gone, and he anſwered, that I was gone over a water, and in the keeping of a Woman. And in very deed I was paſſed over a ſmall water, and was hid by a bleſſed Woman and Godly Woman (which lived in a poor cottage) the ſpace of three weeks, till all the great heat was over.

Then was I conveighed to *London*, and from thence paſſed over the Seas, where I lived till the death of Queen *Mary*, and till that it pleaſed God for the comfort of his Church, and reſtoring of all poor exiles and priſoners for his names ſake, to bleſs this Realm with the government of our noble Queen, whom God to the Glory of his own name, and the defence of his Church according to his good will and pleaſure, long preſerve and continue over us.

A brief diſcourſe concerning the troubles and happy deliverance of the reverend Father in God, Doctor Sands, *firſt Biſhop of* Worceſter, *next of* London, *and now Archbiſhop of* York.

KIng *Edward* dyed, the World being unworthy of him, the Duke of *Northumberland* came down to *Cambridge* with an Army of Men, having Commiſſion to proclaim Lady *Jane* Queen, and by power to ſuppreſs Lady *Mary*, who took upon her that Dignity, and was proclaimed Queen in *Northfolk*. The Duke ſent for Doctor *Sands*, being Vicechancellor, for Doctor *Parker*, for Dr. *Bill*, and Maſter *Leaver* to ſup with him. Amongſt other ſpeeches he ſaid; Maſters, pray for us, that we ſpeed well: if not, you ſhall be made Biſhops, and we Deacons. And even ſo it came to paſs, Doctor *Parker*, and Dr. *Sands* were made Biſhops, and he and Sir *John Gates*, who was then at the Table, were made Deacons, ere it was long after on the *Tower-Hill*. D. *Sands* being Vicechancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was ſhort for ſuch an Auditory, and to ſpeak of ſuch a matter; yet he refuſed not the thing, but went into his chamber, and ſo to bed. He roſe at three of the clock in the morning, took his Bible in his hand, and after that he had prayed a good ſpace; he ſhut his eyes, and holding his Bible before him, earneſtly prayed to God, that it might fall open, where a moſt fit text ſhould be for him to intreat of. The Bible, as God would have it, fell open upon the firſt chapter of *Joſhuah*, where he found ſo convenient a piece of Scripture for that time, that the like he could not have choſen in all the Bible. His Text was thus: *Reſponderuntque Joſuæ atque dixerunt, Omnia quæ præcepiſti nobis faciemus, & quocunque miſeris ibimus: ſicut obedivimus in cunctis Moſi, ita obediemus & tibi, tantum ſit Dominus Deus tuus tecum ſicut fuit cum Moſe: qui contradixerit ori tuo, & non obedierit cunctis ſermonibus quos præceperis ei, moriatur; tu tantum confortare & viriliter age.* Who ſhall conſider what was concluded by ſuch as named themſelves the State, and withal, the Auditory, the time and other circumſtances, he ſhall eaſily ſee that this Text moſt fitly ſerved for the purpoſe. And as God gave the Text, ſo gave he ſuch order and utterance, as pulled many tears out of the eye of the biggeſt of them.

In the time of his Sermon one of the Guard lift up to him into the Pulpit a Maſs Book and a Grail, which Sir *George Haward* with certain of the Guard had taken that night in Maſter *Hurleſtones* Houſe, where Lady *Mary* had been a little before, and there had Maſs. The Duke, with the reſt of the Nobility, required Doctor *Sands* to put his Sermon in writing, and appointed Maſter *Leaver* to go to *London* with it, and to put

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it in print. Doctor *Sands* required one day and a half for writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it ready, and Maſter *Leaver* was ready Booted to receive it at his hands, and carry it to *London*. As he was delivering of it, one of the Beadles, named M. *Adams*, came weeping to him, and prayed him to ſhift for himſelf, for the Duke was retired, and Queen *Mary* proclaimed.

Doctor *Sands* was not troubled herewithal, but gave the Sermon written to Maſter *Layfield*. Maſter *Leaver* departed home, and he went to dinner to one Maſter *Mores* a Beadle, his great friend. At the dinner Miſtreſs *More* ſeeing him merry and pleaſant (for he had ever a Mans courage, and could not be terrified) drank unto him, ſaying; Maſter Vicechancellor, I drink unto you, for this is the laſt time that I ſhall ſee you. And ſo it was; for ſhe was dead before Doctor *Sands* returned out of *Germany*. The Duke that night retired to *Cambridge*, and ſent for Doctor *Sands* to go with him to the Market place to proclaim Queen *Mary*. The Duke caſt up his cap with others, and ſo laughed, that the tears ran down his Cheeks for grief. He told Doctor *Sands* that Queen *Mary* was a merciful Woman, and that he doubted not thereof; declaring that he had ſent unto her to know her pleaſure, and looked for a general pardon. Doctor *Sands* anſwered; My Life is not dear unto me, neither have I done or ſaid any thing that urgeth my Conſcience. For that which I ſpake of the State, I have inſtructions warranted by the ſubſcription of ſixteen Counſellors, neither can ſpeech be Treaſon, neither yet have I ſpoken further than the Word of God, and the Laws of the Realm do warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you aſſured, you ſhall never eſcape death; for if ſhe would ſave you, thoſe that now ſhall rule, will kill you.

That night the Guard apprehended the Duke, and certain Grooms of the Stable were as buſie with Doctor *Sands*, as if they would take a priſoner. But Sir *John Gates*, who lay then in Doctor *Sands* his Houſe, ſharply rebuked them, and drave them away. Doctor *Sands*, by the advice of Sir *John Gates*, walked in the Fields. In the mean time the Univerſity, contrary to all otder, had met together in conſultation, and ordered that Doctor *Mouſe* and Doctor *Hatcher* ſhould repair to Doctor *Sands* lodging, and fet away the Statute Book of the Univerſity. the Keyes, and ſuch other things that were in his keeping, and ſo they did: for Doctor *Mouſe* being an earneſt Proteſtant the day before, and one whom Doctor *Sands* had done much for, was now become a Papiſt, and his great enemy. Certain of the Univerſity had appointed a Congregation at afternoon. As the bell rang to it, Doctor *Sands* cometh out of the Fields, and ſending for the Beadles, asketh what the matter meaneth and required them to wait upon him to the Schools, according to their duty. So they did. And ſo ſoon as Doctor *Sands*, the Beadles going before him, came into the regent Houſe and took his chair: One M. *Mitch*, with a rabble of unlearned Papiſts, went into a by-ſchool, and conſpired together to pull him out of his chair, and to uſe violence unto him. Doct. *Sands* began his Oration, expoſtulating with the Univerſity, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring, that he had ſaid nothing in his Sermon, but that that he was ready to juſtifie and their caſe was all one with his: For they had not only concealed, but conſented to that which he had ſpoken.

And thus while he remembred unto them how beneficial he had been to the Univerſity, and their unthankfulneſs to him again, in cometh Maſter *Mitch* with his conſpirators about twenty in number. One layeth hand upon the chair, to pull it from him, another told him that that was not his place, and another called him Traitor. Whereat he perceiving how they uſed violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had diſpatched ſome of them as Gods enemies, if Doctor *Bill* and Doctor *Blith* had not fallen upon him, and prayed him for Gods ſake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patiently to bear that great offered wrong. He was perſwaded by them, and after that tumult was ceaſed, he ended his Oration, and having ſome money of the Univerſities in his hand, he there delivered the ſame every farthing. He gave up the Books, Reckonings, and Keyes pertaining to the Univerſity, and withal yielded up his Office, praying God to give the Univerſity a better Officer, and to give them better and more thankful hearts, and ſo repaired home to his own Colledge. Anno 1558.

On the morrow after, there came unto him one M. *Gerningham*, and one M. *Thomas Mildmay*. *Gerningham* told him that it was the Queens pleaſure that two of the Guard ſhould attend upon him, and that he muſt be carried Priſoner to the *Tower* of *London*, with the Duke. M. *Mildmay* ſaid, he marvelled that a learned Man would ſpeak ſo unadviſedly againſt ſo good a Prince, and wilfully run into ſuch danger. Doctor *Sands* anſwered; I ſhall not be aſhamed of bonds, but if I could do as M. *Mildmay* can, I needed not to fear bonds. For he came down in paiment againſt Queen *Mary*, and armed in the Field, and now he returneth in paiment for Queen *Mary*; before a Traitor, and now a great friend. I cannot with one Mouth blow hot and cold after this ſort.

Upon this, his Stable was robbed of four notable good Geldings, the beſt of them Maſter *Huddleſtone* took for his own ſaddle, and rode on him to *London* in his ſight. An Inventory was taken of all his goods by Maſter *More* Beadle for the Univerſity. He was ſet upon a lame Horſe that halted to the ground; which thing a friend of his perceiving, prayed that he might lend him a Nagg. The Yeomen of the Guard were contented. As he departed forth at the towns end, ſome Papiſts reſorted thither to jeer at him; ſome of his friends to mourn for him. He came in the rank to *London*, the people being full of out-cries. And as he came in at *Biſhopſgate*, one like a milk-wife hurled a ſtone at him, and hit him on the breaſt, with ſuch a blow, that he was like to fall off his Horſe. To whom he mildly ſaid; Woman, God forgive it thee. Truth is, that journey and evil intreating ſo mortified him, that he was more ready to dye than to live.

As he came through *Tower-hill-ſtreet*, one Woman ſtanding in her door cried; Fie on thee thou Knave, thou Knave, thou Traitor, thou Heretick. Whereat he ſmiled. Look, the deſperate Heretick (ſaid ſhe) laughed at this jeer. A Woman on the other ſide of the Street anſwered, ſaying; Fye on thee neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a Woman, railing upon this Gentleman whom thou knoweſt not, neither yet the cauſe why he is thus intreated. Then ſhe ſaid; Good Gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee ſtrength to ſtand in Gods cauſe even to the end. And thus he paſſed through Fire and Water into the *Tower*, the firſt priſoner that entred in that day, which was Saint *James* day. The Yeomen of the Guard took from him his borrowed Nagg, and what elſe ſoever he had. His Man, one *Quinting Suainton*, brought after him a Bible and ſome ſhirts, and ſuch like things. The Bible was ſent in to him, but the ſhirts and ſuch like ſerved the Yeomen of the Guard.

After he had been in the *Tower* three weeks in a bad priſon, he was lift up into *Nuns-Bower* a better priſon, where was put to him M. *John Bradford*.

At the day of Queen *Maries* Coronation their priſon door was ſet open, ever ſhut before. One Maſter *Mitchell* his old acquaintance, which had been priſoner before in the ſame place, came in to him, and ſaid; Maſter *Sands*, there is ſuch a ſtir in the *Tower*, that neither gates, doors, nor priſoners are looked to this day. Take my cloak, my hat, and my rapier, and get you gone, you may go out of the gates without queſtioning, ſave your ſelf, and let me do as I may. A rare friendſhip; but he refuſed the offer, ſaying; I know no juſt cauſe why I ſhould be in Priſon. And thus to do were to make my ſelf guilty. I will expect Gods good will, yet muſt I think my ſelf moſt bounden unto you: and ſo maſter *Mitchell* departed.

While Doctor *Sands* and Maſter *Bradford* were thus in cloſe Priſon together 29. weeks, one *John Bowler* was their Keeper, a very perverſe Papiſt, yet by often perſwading of him, for he would give ear, and by gentle uſing of him, at the length he began to miſlike Popery, and to favour the Goſpel, and was ſo perſwaded in true Religion, that on a *Sunday* when they had Maſs in the Chappel, he bringeth up a Service Book, a Manchet, and a glaſs of Wine; and there Doctor *Sands* miniſtred the Communion to *Bradford* and to *Bowler*. Thus *Bowler* was

Anno 1558. was their Son begotten in bonds. When *Wyat* was in Arms, and the old Duke of *Northfolk* ſent forth with a power of Men to apprehend him; that room might be made in the *Tower* for him and other his complices, Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Ridley*, and Maſter *Bradford* were caſt into one Priſon, and D. *Sands* with 9. other Preachers were ſent unto the *Marſhalſey*.

The Keeper of the *Marſhalſey* appointed to every Preacher, a Man to lead him in the Street; he cauſed them to go far before, and he and Doctor *Sands* came behind, whom he would not lead, but walked familiarly with him. Yet Doctor *Sands* was known, and the people every where prayed to God to comfort him, and to ſtrengthen him in the truth. By that time the peoples minds were altered, Popery began to be unſavoury. After they paſſed the Bridge, the Keeper *Thomas Way* ſaid to Doctor *Sands*; I perceive the vain people would ſet you forward to the Fire. Ye are as vain as they, if you being a young Man will ſtand in your own conceits, and preferr your own knowledge before the judgment of ſo many worthy Prelates, antient, learned, and grave Men as be in this Realm. If you ſo do, you ſhall find me as ſtraight a Keeper, as one that utterly miſliketh your Religion. Doctor *Sands* anſwered; I know my years young, and my learning ſmall, it is enough to know Chriſt Crucified, and he hath learned nothing that ſeeth not the great Blaſphemy that *is in* Popery. *I will yield unto* God, and not unto Man: I have read in the Scriptures of many Godly and courteous Keepers. God may make you one. If not, I truſt he will give me ſtrength and patience to bear your hard dealing with me. Saith *Thomas Way*; Do ye then mind to ſtand to your Religion? Yea, ſaith Doctor *Sands*, by Gods Grace. Truly, ſaith the Keeper, I love you the better, I did but tempt you, What favour I can ſhew you ye ſhall be ſure of, and I ſhall think my ſelf happy, if I may dye at the ſtake with you. The ſaid Keeper ſhewed Doctor *Sands* ever after all friendſhip; he truſted him to go into the Fields alone, and there met with Maſter *Bradford*, who then was removed into the *Bench*, and there found the like favour of his Keeper, He laid him in the beſt Chamber in the Houſe, he would not ſuffer the Knight Marſhals Man to lay fetters on him, as others had. And at his requeſt he put M. *Sanders* in to him, to be his Bed-fellow, and ſundry times ſuffered his Wife, who was Maſter *Sands* Daughter of *Eſſex*, a Gentlewoman beautiful both in Body and Soul, to reſort to him. There was great reſort to Doctor *Sands* and Maſter *Sanders*; they had much Money offered them, but they would receive none. They had the Communion there three or four times, and a great ſort of Communicants. Doctor *Sands* gave ſuch exhortation to the people (for at that time being young, he was thought very eloquent) that he mov'd many tears, and made the people abhorr the Maſs, and defie all Popery.

When *Wyat* with his army came into *Southwark*, he ſent two Gentlemen into the *Marſhalſey* to Doctor *Sands*, ſaying, that Maſter *Wyat* would be glad of his company and advice, and that the gates ſhould be ſet open for all the Priſoners. He anſwered, tell M. *Wyat*, if this his Riſing be of God, it will take place; if not, it will fall. For my part, I was committed hither by order, I will be diſcharged by like order, or I will never depart hence. So anſwered M. *Sanders*, and the reſt of the Preachers, being there Priſoners.

After that D. *Sands* had been 9. weeks Priſoner in the *Marſhalſey* by the mediation of Sir *Thomas Holcroft*, then Knight Marſhall: he was ſet at liberty. Sir *Thomas* ſued earneſtly to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Doctor *Gardiner*, for his deliverance after many repulſes: but he could not prevail, except Doctor *Sands* would be one of their Sect, and then he could want nothing. He wrung out of him at laſt, that if the Queen could like of his deliverance, he would not be againſt it; for that was Sir *Thomas* his laſt requeſt. In the mean time he had procured two Ladies of the Privy Chamber to move the Queen in it; who was contented if the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* would like of it. The next time that the Biſhop went into the Privy Chamber to ſpeak with the Queen, M. *Holcroft* followed, and had his warrant for D. *Sands* remiſſion ready, and prayed the two Ladies, when as the Biſhop ſhould take his leave, to put the Queen in mind of Doctor *Sands*. So they did, and the Queen ſaid; *Wincheſter*, what think you by D. *Sands*, is he not ſufficiently puniſhed? As it pleaſe your Majeſty, ſaith *Wincheſter*. That he ſpake, remembring his former promiſe to Maſter *Holcroft*, that he would not be againſt D. *Sands*, if the Queen ſhould like to diſcharge him. Saith the Queen; Then truly, we would that he were ſet at liberty. Immediately Maſter *Holcroft* offered the Queen the Warrant. Who ſubſcribed the ſame, and called *Wincheſter* to put to his hand, and ſo he did. The Warrant was given to the Knight Marſhall again, Sir *Thomas Holcroft*. As the Biſhop went forth of the Privy Chamber doo', he called M. *Holcroft* to him: Commanding him not to ſet Doctor *Sands* at liberty, untill he had taken Sureties of two Gentlemen of his Country with him, every one bound in 500. pounds, that D. *Sands* ſhould not depart out of the Realm without licence. Maſter *Holcroft* immediately after met with two Gentlemen of the *North*, friends and couſins to D. *Sands*, who offered to be bound in Body, Goods, and Lands for him. After Dinner, the ſame day, Maſter *Holcroft* ſent for Doctor *Sands* to his lodging at *Weſtminſter*, requiring the Keeper to company with him. He came accordingly, finding Maſter *Holcroft* alone walking in his Garden. Maſter *Holcroft* imparted his long ſute, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken, to D. *Sands*: much rejoycing that it was his good hap to do him good, and to procure his liberty, and that nothing remained, but that he would enter into bonds with his two Sureties, for not departing out of the Realm. Doctor *Sands* anſwered; I give God thanks, who hath moved your heart to mind me ſo well, and I think my ſelf moſt bound unto you. God ſhall requite, and I ſhall never be found unthankful. But as you have dealt friendly with me, I will alſo deal plainly with you. I came a free man into Priſon; I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, ſo will I not hurt them. And if I be ſet at liberty, I will not tarry ſix days in this Realm, if I may get out. If therefore I may not get free forth, ſend me to the *Marſhalſey* again, and there ye ſhall be ſure of me.

This Anſwer much miſliked M. *Holcroft*: He told Doctor *Sands* that the time would not long continue, a change would ſhortly come, the ſtate was but a cloud, and would ſoon ſhake away. And that his couſin Sir *Edward Bray* would gladly receive him and his Wife into his Houſe, where he ſhould never need to come at Church, and how the Lady *Bray* was a zealous Gentlewoman, who hated Popery. Adding, that he would not ſo deal with him to loſe all his labour. When Doctor *Sands* could not be removed from his former ſaying, Maſter *Holcroft* ſaid; Seeing you cannot be altered, I will change my purpoſe, and yield unto you. Come of it what will, I will ſet you at liberty: And ſeeing you mind to go over Sea, get you gone ſo quickly as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to come hither, for ſo you may undoe me. He friendly kiſſed Doctor *Sands*, bade him farewel, and command the Keeper to take no fees of him, ſaying; Let me anſwer *Wincheſter* as I may. Doctor *Sands* returning with the Keeper to the *Marſhalſey*, tarried all night, There on the morrow, he gave a Dinner to all the Priſoners, bade his bed-fellow, and ſworn ſtakefellow, if it had ſo pleaſed God, Maſter *Sanders* farewel, with many tears and kiſſings, the one falling on the others neck, and ſo departed, clearly delivered without Examination or Bond. From thence he went to the *Bench*, and there talked with M. *Bradford* and M. *Farrer* Biſhop of Saint *Davids*, then Priſoners. Then he comforted them, and they praiſed God for his happy deliverance. He went by *Wincheſters* Houſe, and there took boat, and came to a friends Houſe in *London*, called *William Banks*, and tarried there one night. On the morrow at night he ſhifted to another friends Houſe, and there he learned that ſearch was made for him.

Doctor *Watſon* and Maſter *Chriſtopherſon*, coming to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, told him that he had ſet at liberty the greateſt Heretick in *England*, and one that had of all other moſt corrupted the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, Doctor *Sands*. Whereupon the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, being Chancellor of *England*, ſent for all the Conſtables of *London*, commanding them to watch for Doctor *Sands*, who was then within the City, and to

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apprehend him, and whoſoever of them ſhould take him and bring him to him, he ſhould have five pounds for his labour. Doctor *Sands* ſuſpecting the matter, conveighed himſelf by night to one M. *Barties* Houſe a ſtranger, who was in the *Marſhalſey* Priſoner with him a while, he was a good Proteſtant, and dwelt in *Mark-Lane*. There he was ſix days, and had one or two of his friends that repaired unto him. Then he repaired to an acquaintance of his, one *Hurleſtone* a Skinner, dwel-in *Cornhill*; he cauſed his Man *Quinting* to provide two Geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into *Eſſex* to Maſter *Sands* his Father in Law, where his Wife was.

At his going to bed in *Hurleſtones Houſe*, he had a pair of Hoſe newly made that were too long for him. For while he was in the *Tower*, a Taylor was admitted him to make him a pair of Hoſe. One came unto him, whoſe name was *Benjamin*, a good Proteſtant, dwelling in *Birchin-Lane*: he might not ſpeak to him, or come unto him to take meaſure of him, but only look upon his Legg, he made the Hoſe, and they were two inches too long. Theſe Hoſe he prayed the goodwife of the Houſe to ſend to ſome Taylor to cut them two inches ſhorter. The Wife required the Boy of the houſe to carry them to the next Taylor to cut. The boy chanced (or rather God ſo provided) to go to the next Taylor, which was *Benjamin* that made them, which alſo was a Conſtable, and acquainted with the Lord Chancellors commandment. The Boy required him to cut the Hoſe. He ſaid, I am not thy Maſters Taylor. Saith the Boy, becauſe you are our next neighbour, and my Maſters Taylor dwelleth far off, I came to you; for it is far night, and he muſt occupy them timely in the morning. *Benjamin* took the Hoſe, and looking upon them, he knew his handy-work, and ſaid; Theſe are not thy Maſters Hoſe, but D. *Sands*, them I made in the *Tower*. The Boy yielded and ſaid, it was ſo. Saith he, Go to thy Miſtreſs, pray her to ſit up till 12. of the clock, and then I will bring the Hoſe and ſpeak with D. *Sands* to his good.

At midnight the goodwife of the Houſe, and *Benjamin* the Taylor cometh into D. *Sands* Chamber: The Wife prayeth him not to be afraid of their coming. He anſwered nothing can be amiſs; what God will, that ſhall be done. Then *Benjamin* telleth him that he made his Hoſe, and by what good chance they now come to his hands. God uſed the means, that he might admoniſh him of his peril, and adviſe him how to eſcape it, telling him that all the Conſtables of *London*, whereof he was one, watched for him, and ſome were ſo greedily ſet, that they prayed him, if he took him, to let them have the carriage of him to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and he ſhould have the five pound. Saith *Benjamin*, it is known that your Man hath provided two Geldings, and that you mind to ride out at *Algate* to morrow, and there then you are ſure to be taken. Follow mine advice, and by Gods Grace ye ſhall eſcape their hands. Let your Man walk all the day to morrow in the ſtreet where your Horſes ſtand, booted and ready to ride. The goodmans Servant of the Houſe ſhall take the Horſes, and carry them to *Bednol-Green*. The goodman ſhall be booted, and follow after, as if he would ride. I will be here with you to morrow about eight of the Clock; it is both Term and Parliament time, here we will break our faſt, and when the ſtreets is full, we will go forth. Look wildly, and if you meet your Brother in the ſtreets, ſhun him not, but outface him, and know him not. Accordingly Doctor *Sands* did, clothed like a Gentleman in all reſpects, and looked wildly, as one that had been long kept in Priſon out of the light, *Benjamin* carried him through *Birchin-Lane*, and from one Lane to another, till he came to *Moregate*. There they went forth untill they came to *Bednol-Green*, where the Horſes were ready, and Maſter *Hurleſtone*, to ride with him as his Man. Doctor *Sands* pulled on his boots and taking leave of his friends *Benjamin*, with tears they kiſſed each other; he put his Hand in his Purſe, and would have given *Benjamin* a great part of that little he had, but *Benjamin* would take none. Yet ſince D. *Sands* hath remembred him thankfully. He rode that night to his Father in Law M. *Sands*, where his Wife was: he had not been there two hours, but it was told M. *Sands*, that there were two of the Guard which would that night apprehend Doctor *Sands*, and ſo they were appointed. Anno 1558.

That night Doctor *Sand.* was guided to an honeſt Farmer near the Sea, where he tarried two days and two nights in a Chamber without all company. After that he ſhifted to one *James Mower* a Shipmaſter, who dwelt at *Milton-Shore*, where he expected wind for the Engliſh *Fleet* ready into *Flanders*. While he was there, *James Mower* brought to him 40. or 50. Mariners, to whom he gave an Exhortation; they liked him ſo well, that they promiſed to dye for him, ere that he ſhould be apprehended.

The 6. of *May*, being *Sunday*, the wind ſerved. He took his leave of his Hoſt and Hoſteſs, and went towards the Ship. In taking his leave of his Hoſteſs who was barren, and had bin married 8. years, he gave her a fine handkerchief and an old Royal of Gold in it, thanking her much, and ſaid; Be of good comfort, ere that one whole year be paſt, God ſhall give you a Child, a Boy. And it came to paſs, for that day twelve month lacking one day, God gave her a fair Son.

At the Shore Doct. *Sands* met with M. *Iſaac* of *Kent*, who had his Eldeſt Son there, who, upon the liking he had to D. *Sands*, ſent his Son with him, who afterward dyed in his Fathers Houſe in *Frankford*. D. *Sands* and D. *Coxe* were both in one Ship, being one *Cockrels* Ship, They were within the kenning, when two of the Guard came thither to apprehend D. *Sands*. They arrived at *Antwerp*, being bid to Dinner to Maſter *Locke*. And at dinner time one *George Gilpin* being Secretary to the Engliſh Houſe, and Kinſman to Doctor *Sands*, came to him, and rounded him in his ear, and ſaid; King *Philip* hath ſent to make ſearch for you, and to apprehend you. Hereupon they roſe from their Dinner in a marvellous great ſhower, and went out at the gate toward the Land of *Cleve*. They found a Wagon, and haſted away, and came ſafe to *Ausburge* in *Cleveland*, where D. *Sands* tarried 14. days, and then journyed towards *Strausborough*, where after he had lived one year, his Wife came unto him. He fell ſore ſick of a flux, which kept him nine Months, and brought him to deaths door. He had a Child which fell ſick of the Plague, and died. His Wife at length fell ſick of a Conſumption, and dyed in his Arms; no Man had a more Godly Woman to his Wife.

After this, *Maſter Sampſon* went away to *Emanuel*, a Man skilful in Hebrew. Maſter *Grindall* went into the Country to learn the Dutch Tongue. Doctor *Sands* ſtill remained in *Strausborough*, whoſe ſuſtentation then was chiefeſt from one Maſter *Iſaac*, who loved him moſt dearly, and was ever more ready to give than he to take. He gave him in that ſpace above an hundred Marks, which Sum the ſaid Doctor *Sands* paid him again, and by his other gifts and friendlineſs ſhewed himſelf to be a thankful Man. When his Wife was dead, he went to *Zurike*, and there was in *Peter Martyrs* Houſe for the ſpace of 5. weeks. Being there, as they ſate at Dinner, word ſuddenly came that Queen *Mary* was dead, and D. *Sands* was ſent for by his friends at *Strausborough*. That news made Maſter *Martyr*, and Maſter *Jarret* then there, very joyful; but Doctor *Sands* could not rejoyce, it ſmote into his heart that he ſhould be called to miſery.

Maſter *Bullinger* and the Miniſters feaſted him, and he took his leave and returned to *Strausborough* where he Preached; and ſo Maſter *Grindall* and he came towards *England*, and came to *London* the ſame day that Queen *Elizabeth* was Crowned.

Anno 1558.

A Complaint againſt ſuch as favoured the Goſpel in *Ipſwich*, exhibited to Queen *Maries* Councel, ſitting in Commiſſion at *Beckles* in *Suffolk*, the 18. of *May*, *An.* 1556. by *Philip Williams* alias *Footman*, *John Steward* and *Matthew Butler*, ſworn for the purpoſe.

The Names of ſuch as fled out of the Town, and lurked in ſecret places.

S. Mary Tower.
- *Robert Partrich.*
- *Roſe Nottingham*, Daughter of *William Nottingham* the elder.

S. Laurence.
- *Anne Fenne*, Servant to *Robert Nottingham.*
- *Andrew Yngforby*, his Wife and Daughter.
- *Thomas Tomſon* Shoomaker, ſuppoſed to have received but twice theſe 17. years.
- *Martin Algate* Lockſmith his Wife.

S. Margarets.
- *William Pickeſs* Tanner.
- *John Whoodles*, Coverlet Weaver, and his Wife.
- *William Harſet*, Bricklaier.
- *Thomas Flower*, Shoomaker.
- *William Wright* his Wife at the Windmill.
- *Laurence Waterward* late Curate, born in a Town called *Chorley*, in *Lancaſhire.*

S. Nicholas.
- Widow *Swaine.*
- *Matthew Bride* and his Wife.
- *Stephen Greenwich* and his Wife.
- *William Coleman*, ſervant to the ſaid *Stephen.*
- *Rob. Coleman* and his Wife.
- *Roger Laurence alias Sparrow.*
- *John Carelton*, Sadler.
- *William Coleman.*
- *James Hearſt* his Wife.
- *Richard Hover* apprentice with *Nicholas Nottingham.*

S. Peters.
- *Richard Hedley* a ſeller of Heretical Books.
- *James Bocking* Shoomaker his Wife.

S. Stephens.
- *John Raw*, late Servant to *James Aſhley.*
- *William Palmer.* } *Servants to* Stephen Green, *Shomaker.*
- *Rich. Richman.* }
- *John Deerſley.*
- *Richard Richman* Shoomaker his Wife, Daughter to Mother *Fenkell*, Midwife.

S. Clements.
- Miſtreſs *Tooly*, who departed to *Derſham* in *Suffolk.*
- *Agnes Wardall* the elder, Widow.
- *Robert Wardall* her Son.

S. Matthews.
- *John Shoomaker* and his Wife.

The Names of ſuch as have not received the Sacrament.

S. Clements
- *Robert Bray.*
- *John Nottingham.*
- *Agnes Wardall*, Wife of *Robert Wardall.*
- *Nicholas Nottingham.*
- *Richard Mitchell.*
- *William Jordane* his Wife.
- *Richard Butterall.*
- *Robert Brown.*

S. Peters.
- *John Read.*
- *Thomas Spurdance.*
- *John* Servant to *Stephen Grinleff.*

S. Stephens.
- *Robert Scolding.*

S. Margarets.
- *John Greenwich* and his Wife.

S. Nicholas.
- *Thomas Sturgeon*, Mariner.

S. Mary key.
- *John Finn* his Wife.
- *Robert Branſtone*, Brother and Servant to *William Branſtone.*
- *Martin Johnſon*, who lyeth Bedrid.
- *Agnes* his kee- } Servants to *Rob. Nottingham.*
- per. }
- *Bent Alceed.* }

S. Mary Tower.
- *Robert Sylke* his Son.

S. Laurence.
- *John Ramſey* and his Wife now in Priſon.

S. Mary at Elmes.

Names of ſuch as obſerve not Ceremonies.

- *Robert Cambridge* refuſed the Paxe.
- *Robert Brage* his Wife refuſed to ſuffer any Child to be dipped in the *Font.*
- *Joan Barber* Widow. } refuſed to behold the E-
- *Thomaſine* her Daughter. } levation of the Sacrament. — S. Clements.
- Miſtreſs *Ponder*, Mother to *Joan Barber.* } in the ſame fault.
- *Tye* a Mariner his Wife.
- *Richard Haward* refuſed the Paxe at Maſs in S. *Laurence.* — S. Mary at Elmes.
- Maſter *Lyons* at Maſs at Saint *Mary Stoke* refuſed the Paxe.
- Mother *Fenkel.* } refuſed to have Children dipped in *Fonts.* — S. Peters.
- *Joan Ward, alias Bentleys* Wife. }
- Mother *Beriff*, Midwife, refuſeth to have Children dipped in *Fonts.* — S. Stephens. S. Nicholas.
- *George Buſh* his Wife rejected the Hoſt after receit of it.

Names of Prieſts Wives, that have acceſs to their Huſbands.

- *Ralfe Carleton* his Wife, Curate of St. *Matthews*, and St. *Mary* at *Elms.*
- *Elizabeth Cantrel*, Wife to *Ralfe Cantrel.*
- *Jane Barker*, Wife to *Robert Barker* Prieſt late of *Bury.*
- *Latimer* his Wife, Curate of St. *Laurence*, and St. *Stephens.*
- *William Gleark* his Wife, late Curate of *Barkham*, and S. *Mary* at *Almes.*

Names of maintainers againſt this Complaint.

- *Robert Sterop*, Cuſtomer to Queen *Mary.*
- *Gilbert Sterop*, deputy to *Edward Grimſton* Eſquire, for his *Butlerage.*
- Maſter *Butler* the elder, Searcher.
- Miſtreſs *Tooly*, ſwelling by too much Riches into Wealth.
- *Margaret Bray*, who alſo preſumeth upon the Office of a Midwife, not called.
- *Joan Barber* Widow. } practiſing much wholſom
- Miſtreſs *Bird.* } Counſel.
- *Baſtian Man* his Wife, and he himſelf more Rich than Wife. — S. Clements S. Mary Key.

The requeſts to puniſh and convent certain, whoſe enſample might reverſe other from their opinions: as,

- To convent *Richard Bird* Jayler, who by evil Counſel doth animate his Priſoners of his Sect. Alſo for that he with his Wife did check us openly with unſeemly words, tending almoſt to a tumult.
- To convent *Thomas Sadler*, for certain words ſpoken to *John Bate* the Crier of the Town, the ſixth of *May.*
- That it may pleaſe the Biſhop to wiſh his Commiſſary and Official to be upright and diligent in their Office, and to appoint a Curate of more ability to feed his cure with Gods Word.
- That none may be ſuffered to be Midwives, but ſuch as are Catholick, becauſe of evil Counſel at ſuch times as the neceſſity of Womens Travel ſhall require a number of Women aſſembled.
- That *Raplh Carlton* Curate, may be convented, whether by corruption of mony he hath croſſed his Book of any that are there named, and hath not received indeed, as it is reported.

The

Anno 1558.

The miraculous Preſervation of the Lady *ELIZABETH*, now Queen of *England*, from extream Calamity and danger of Life, in the time of Queen *MARY*, her Siſter.

The bleſſed protection of Almighty God in preſerving the Lady *Elizabeth* in her manifold dangers and troubles.

But when all hath been ſaid and told, whatſoever can be recited touching the admirable working of Gods preſent Hand in defending and delivering any one perſon out of thraldom, never was there, ſince the memory of our Fathers, any example to be ſhewed, wherein the *Lords mighty* Power hath more admirably and bleſſedly ſhewed it ſelf, to the glory of his own Name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the publick felicity of this whole Realm, than in the miraculous cuſtody and out-ſcape of this our Soveraign Lady, now Queen, then Lady *Elizabeth*, in the ſtrait time of Queen *Mary* her Siſter.

The troubles of the Lady *Elizabeth* in Q. *Maries* time.

In which Story we firſt have to conſider in what extream miſery, ſickneſs, fear, and peril her Highneſs was; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death ſhe was brought: Firſt, with great Routs and Bands of armed Men (and happy was he that might have the carrying of her) being fetched up as the greateſt Traitor in the World, clapped in the *Tower*, and again toſſed from thence, and from Houſe to Houſe, from Priſon to Priſon, from Poſt to Pillar, at length alſo Priſoner in her own Houſe, and guarded with a ſort of Cut-throats, which ever gaped for the ſpoil, whereby they might be fingering of ſomewhat.

Secondly, We have to conſider again, all this notwithſtanding, how ſtrangely, or rather miraculouſly, ſhe was delivered from danger, what favour and grace ſhe found with the Almighty; who, when all the help of man and hope of recovery was paſt, ſtretched out his mighty Protection, and preſerved her Highneſs, and placed her in this Princely Seat of Reſt and Quietneſs, wherein now ſhe ſitteth, and long may ſhe ſit, the Lord of his glorious mercy grant, we beſeech him.

In which Story, if I ſhould ſet forth at large and at full all the Particulars and Circumſtances thereunto belonging, and as juſt occaſion of the Hiſtory requireth; beſide the importunate length of the Story diſcourſed, peradventure it might move offence to ſome being yet alive, and truth might get me hatred. Yet notwithſtanding I intend (by the grace of Chriſt) therein to uſe ſuch brevity and moderation, as both may be to the glory of God, the diſcharge of the Story, the profit of the Reader, and hurt to none, ſuppreſſing the names of ſome, whom here although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruel in hurting their name, than the Queen hath been merciful in pardoning their lives.

The Hiſtory of the Lady *Elizabeth.*

Therefore now to enter into the Diſcourſe of this tragical matter, firſt here is to be noted, That Queen *Mary* when ſhe was firſt Queen, before ſhe was crowned, would go no whither, but would have her by the hand, and ſend for her to dinner and ſupper; but after ſhe was crowned, ſhe never dined nor ſupped with her, but kept her aloof from her, *&c.* After this it happened immediately upon the riſing of Sir *Thomas Wyat* (as before was mentioned) that the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney* were charged with falſe ſuſpicion of Sir *Thomas Wyats* riſing. Whereupon Queen *Mary*, whether for that ſurmiſe, or for what other cauſe I know not, being offended with the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth* her Siſter, at that time lying in her Houſe at *Aſhbridge*, the next day after the riſing of *Wyat*, ſent to her three of her Counſellers, to wit, Sir *Richard Southwel*, Sir *Edward Haſtings*, then Maſter of the Horſe, and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, with their retinue and troop of Horſmen, to the number of 250. who at their ſudden and unprovided coming, found her at the ſame time ſore ſick in her Bed, and very feeble and weak of body. Whither when they came, aſcending up to her Graces Chamber, they willed one of her Ladies, whom they met, to declare unto her Grace, that there were certain come from the Court, which had a meſſage from the Queen.

Sir R. *Southwel*, Sir *Ed. Haſtings*, and Sir *T. Cornwallis* ſent to fetch up the Lady *Elizabeth*, with whom alſo afterward was ſent the L. W Howard, &c.

Her Grace having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming; howbeit being then very ſick, and the night far ſpent (which was at ten of the Clock) ſhe requeſted them by the Meſſenger, that they would reſort thither in the morning. To this they anſwered, and by the ſaid Meſſenger ſent word again, that they muſt needs ſee her, and would ſo do, in what caſe ſoever ſhe were. Whereat the Lady being agaſt, went to ſhew her Grace their words, but they, haſtily following her, came ruſhing as ſoon as ſhe into her Graces Chamber unbidden.

The unmannerlineſs of the Knights.

At whoſe ſo ſudden coming into her Bed-chamber, her Grace, being not a little amazed, ſaid unto them; Is the haſte ſuch that it might not have pleaſed you to come to morrow in the morning?

They made anſwer, that they were right ſorry to ſee her in that caſe. And (quoth ſhe) am not glad to ſee you here at this time of the night. Whereunto they anſwered, that they came from the Queen to do their meſſage and duty, which was to this effect, that the Queens pleaſure was, that ſhe ſhould be at *London* the 7. day of that preſent Month. Whereunto ſhe ſaid, Certes, no Creature more glad than I to come to her Majeſty, being right ſorry that I am not in caſe at this time to wait on her, as you your ſelves do ſee, and can well teſtifie.

Indeed we ſee it true (quoth they) that you do ſay; for which we are very ſorry. Albeit, we let you to underſtand, that our Commiſſion is ſuch, and ſo ſtraitneth us, that we muſt needs bring you with us, either quick or dead. Whereat ſhe being amazed, ſorrowfully ſaid, that their Commiſſion was very ſore; but yet notwithſtanding ſhe hoped it to be otherwiſe, and not ſo ſtrait. Yes verily, ſaid they. Whereupon they calling for two Phyſicians, Dr. *Owen* and Dr. *Wendy*, demanded of them whether ſhe might be removed from thence with life, or no. Whoſe anſwer and judgment was, that there was no impediment in their judgment to the contrary, but that ſhe might travel without danger of life.

A ſtrait Commiſſion from the Queen to bring the Lady *Elizabeth*, either quick or dead.

In concluſion, they willed her to prepare againſt the next Morning at nine of the Clock to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the Queens Litter for her. After much talk, the Meſſengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and days, ſo departed to their Chamber, being entertained and cheared, as appertained to their Worſhips.

On the next morrow at the time preſcribed, they had her forth as ſhe was, very faint and feeble, and in ſuch caſe, that ſhe was ready to ſwound three or four times between them. What ſhould I ſpeak here, that cannot well be expreſſed, what an heavy Houſe there was to behold the unreverend and doleful dealing of theſe men, but eſpecially the carnal fear and captivity of their innocent Lady and Miſtreſs.

Lady *Elizabeth* taketh her journey toward the Queen.

Now to proceed in her Journey from *Aſhbridge*, all ſick in the Litter, ſhe came to *Redborne*, where ſhe was guarded all night. From thence to S. *Albanes* to Sir *Ralph Rowlets* Houſe, where ſhe tarried that night, both feeble in body, and comfortleſs in mind. From that place they paſſed to Mr. *Dods* Houſe at *Myms*, where alſo they remained that night; and ſo from thence ſhe came to *Highgate*, where ſhe being very ſick, tarried that night and the next day. During which time of her abode, there came many Purſevants and Meſſengers from the Court; but for what purpoſe I cannot tell.

Lady *Elizabeth* brought up to *London.*

From that place ſhe was conveighed to the Court, where by the way came to meet her many Gentlemen to accompany her Highneſs, which were very ſorry to ſee her in that caſe. But eſpecially a great multitude of People there were ſtanding by the way, who then flocking about her Litter, lamented and bewailed greatly her eſtate. Now when ſhe came to the Court, her Grace was there ſtreightways ſhut up, & kept as cloſe Priſoner a fortnight, which was till *Palm-Sunday*, ſeeing neither King nor Queen, nor Lord, nor Friend, all that time, but only the then L. Chamberlain, Sir *J. Gage*, and the Vice-chamberlain, which were attendant unto the doors. About which time Sir *William Sentlowe* was called before the Councel. To whoſe charge

was

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was laid, that he knew of *Wyats* Rebellion. Which he ſtoutly denied, proteſting that hee was a True Man both to God and his Prince, defying all Traytors and Rebels, but being ſtraitly examined, he was in Concluſion committed to the *Tower*.

Sir. Wil. Kentleme committed to the Tower

The *Friday* before *Palm-Sunday*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* with 19. other of the Councel (who ſhalbe here nameleſs) came unto her Grace from the Queens Majeſty, and burdened her with *Wyats* conſpiracy; which ſhe utterly denied, affirming that ſhe was altogether guiltleſs therein. They being not contented with this charged her Grace with buſineſs made by Sir *Peter Carew*, and the reſt of the Gentlemen of the *Weſt* Country: which alſo ſhe utterly denying, cleared her Innocency therein.

Lady Eliz. charged with Sir Tho. Wyats conſpiracy.

Lady Eliz. charged with the buſineſs of Sir Peter Carew.

In Concluſion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her, that it was the Queens will and pleaſure that ſhe ſhould go unto the *Tower*, while the matter were further tried and examined.

Lady Eliz. threatned to go to the Tower.

Whereat ſhe being agaſt, ſaid, that ſhe truſted the Queens Majeſty would be a more Gracious Lady unto her, and that her Highneſs would not otherwiſe conceive of her, but that ſhe was a True Woman; declaring furthermore to the Lords, that ſhe was Innocent in all thoſe matters wherein they had burdened her, and deſired them therefore to be a further mean to the Queen her Siſter, that ſhe being a True Woman in thought word, and deed, towards her Majeſty, might not be committed to ſo Notorious and doleful a place, proteſting that ſhe would requeſt no favour at her hand, if ſhe ſhould be proved to have conſented unto any ſuch kind of matter as they laid unto her charge; and therefore in fine deſired their Lordſhips to think of her what ſhe was, and that ſhe might not ſo extremely be dealt withal for her Truth.

Lady Eliz. purgeth her ſelf to the Lords.

Whereunto the Lords anſwered again, that there was no remedy, for that the Queens Majeſty was fully determined that ſhe ſhould go unto the *Tower*. Wherewith the Lords departed, with their caps hanging over their eyes. But not long after, within the ſpace of an hour or little more, came four of the foreſaid Lords of the Councel, which were the Lord Treaſurer, the Bp. of *Wincheſter*, the Lord *Steward*, the Earl of *Suſſex*, with the Guard; who warding the next Chamber to her, ſecluded all her Gentlemen and Yeomen, Ladys and Gentlewomen; ſaving that for one Gentleman Uſher, three Gentlewomen, and two Grooms of her Chamber, were appointed in their rooms, three other men of the Queens, and three waiting women to give attendance upon her, that none ſhould have acceſs to her Grace.

Lady Eliz. ſervants removed from her.

The Queens men and waiting Women attendant upon Lady Eli.

At which time there was an hundred of *Northern* Souldiers in white Coats, watching and warding about the Gardens all that night, and a great fire being made in the midſt of the Hall, and two certain Lords watching there alſo with their band and company.

Upon *Saturday* following, two Lords of the Councel (the one was the Earl of *Suſſex*, the other ſhall be nameleſs) came and certified her Grace, that forthwith ſhe muſt go unto the *Tower*, the Barge being prepared for her, and the Tide now ready, which tarrieth for noBody. In heavy mood her Grace requeſted the Lords that ſhe might tarry another Tide, truſting that the next would be better, and more comfortable. But one of the Lords replied, that neither time nor Tide was to be delayed.

The hard dealing of a certain Lord with the Lady Eliz.

And when her Grace requeſted him that ſhe might be ſuffered to write to the Queens Majeſty, he anſwered, that he durſt not permit that: adding, that in his judgment it would rather hurt, than profit her Grace in ſo doing.

The Earl of Suſſex gentle to the Lady Eliz.

But the other Lord, more curteous and favourable (who was the Earl of *Suſſex*) kneeling down, told her Grace that ſhe ſhould have liberty to write, and as he was a True Man, he would deliver it to the Queens Highneſs, and bring an anſwer of the ſame, whatſoever came thereof. Whereupon ſhe wrote, albeit ſhe could in no caſe be ſuffered to ſpeak with the Queen, to her great diſcomfort, being no offender againſt the Queens Majeſty.

Lady Eliz. writeth to the Queen, but it would not ſerve.

And thus the time and Tide paſſed away for that ſeaſon, they privily appointing all things ready, that ſhe ſhould go the next Tide, which fell about midnight; but for fear ſhe ſhould be taken by the way, they durſt not. So they ſtaied till the next day, being *Palm-Sunday*, when about nine of the clock theſe two returned again, declaring that it was time for her Grace to depart. She anſwered, if there be no remedy, I muſt be contented, willing the Lords to go on before. Being come forth into the Garden, ſhe did caſt her eyes towards the Window, thinking to have ſeen the Queen, which ſhe could not. Whereat ſhe ſaid, ſhe marvelled much what the Nobility of the Realm meant, which in that ſort would ſuffer her to be led into Captivity, the Lord knew whither, for ſhe did not. In the mean time commandment was given in all *London*, that every one ſhould keep the Church, and carry their *Palms*, while in the mean ſeaſon ſhe might be conveighed without all recourſe of people in the *Tower*.

After all this, ſhe took her Barge with the two foreſaid Lords, three of the Queens Gentlewomen, and three of her own, her Gentleman Uſher, and two of her Grooms, lying and hovering upon the water a certain ſpace, for that they could not ſhoot the Bridge, the Bargemen being very unwilling to ſhoot the ſame, ſo ſoon as they did, becauſe of the danger thereof: for the ſtern of the Boat ſtrook upon the ground, the fall was ſo bigg, and the water was ſo ſhallow, that the Boat being under the Bridge, there ſtaied again a while. At landing ſhe firſt ſtaied and denied to land at thoſe Stairs where all Traytors and Offenders cuſtomably uſed to land, neither well could ſhe, unleſs ſhe ſhould go over her ſhooes. The Lords were gone out of the Boat before, and asked why ſhe came not. One of the Lords went back again to her, and brought word ſhe would not come.

Lady Eliz. ſent to the Tower.

Then ſaid one of the Lords, which ſhall be nameleſs, that ſhe ſhould not chuſe; and becauſe it did then rain, he offered to her his Cloak, which ſhee, putting it back with her hand with a good daſh, refuſed. So ſhe coming out, having one foot upon the ſtair, ſaid; *Here landeth as true a Subject, being Priſoner, as ever landed at theſe Stairs: And before thee, O God, I ſpeak it, having no other Friends but thee alone.*

The words of Lady Eliz. entring the Tower.

To whom the ſame Lord anſwered again, that if it were ſo, it was the better for her. At her landing there was a great multitude of their Servants and Warders ſtanding in their order. What needed all this, ſaid ſhe? It is the uſe (ſaid ſome) ſo to be when any Priſoner came thither. And if it be (quoth ſhe) for my cauſe, I beſeech you that they may be diſmiſſed. Whereat the Poor Men kneeled down, and with one voice deſired God to preſerve her Grace, who the next day were releaſed of their cold Coats.

After this, paſſing a little further, ſhe ſate down upon a cold ſtone, and there reſted her ſelf. To whom the *Lieutenant* then being ſaid; Madam, you were beſt to come out of the rain, for you ſit unwholſomely. She then replying, anſwered again; It is better ſitting here, than in a worſe place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me. With that her Gentleman Uſher wept; ſhe demanding of him what he meant ſo uncomfortably to uſe her, ſeeing ſhe took him to be her comfort, and not to diſmay her, eſpecially for that ſhe knew her truth to be ſuch that no man ſhould have cauſe to weep for her. But forth ſhe went into Priſon.

The Doors were locked and bolted upon her, which did not a little diſcomfort and diſmay her Grace. At what time ſhe called to her Gentlewoman for her Book, deſiring God not to ſuffer her to build her foundation upon the ſands, but upon the Rock, whereby all blaſts of bluſtering weather ſhould have no power againſt her. The doors being thus locked, and ſhe cloſe ſhut up, the Lords had great Conference how to keep ward and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing ſtraitly and circumſpectly to keep her.

The Chriſtian prayer of Lady Eliz.

Then one of them, which was the Lord of *Suſſex*, ſwearing, ſaid: My Lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our Commiſſion will bear us out in, whatſoever ſhall happen hereafter. And further, let us conſider that ſhe was the King our Maſters daughter; and therefore let us uſe ſuch dealing, that we may anſwer it hereafter, if it ſhall ſo happen: for juſt dealing (quoth he) is always anſwerable; whereunto the other Lords agreed that it was well ſaid of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the *Tower*, within a days Com-

The Lord of Suſſex ſpeaketh for Lady Eliz.

mandment was that ſhe ſhould have Maſs within her houſe. One Maſter Young was then her Chaplain, and becauſe there was none of her men ſo well learned to help the Prieſt to ſay Maſs, the Maſs ſtaied for that day.

The next day two of her Yeomen, who had gone long to School before, and were learned, had two Abcies provided, and delivered them, ſo that upon the Abcies they ſhould help the Prieſt. One of the ſaid Yeomen, holding the Abcie in his hand, pretending Ignorance at *Kyrie Eleyſon*, ſet the Prieſt, making as though he could anſwer no farther.

It would make a pitiful and a ſtrange ſtory, here by the way to touch and recite what examination and rackings of Poor Men there were to find out that knife that ſhould cut her throat; what gaping among my Lords of the Clergy, to ſee the day wherein they might waſh their goodly white Rochets in her Innocent Blood; but eſpecially the Biſhop of *Wincheſter Stephen Gardiner*, then Lord Cancellor, Ruler of the Roſt, who then within 5. days after came unto her, with divers other of the Council, and examined her of the talk that was at *Aſhridge*, betwixt her and Sir *James Acroft*, concerning her removing from thence to *Dunnington* Caſtle, requiring her to declare what ſhe meant thereby.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* enemy to Lady Eliz.

Lady Eliz. examined by the Bp. of *Wincheſter*

At the firſt ſhe being ſo ſuddenly asked, did not well remember any ſuch houſe; but within a while, well adviſing her ſelf, ſhe ſaid; Indeed (quoth ſhe) I do now remember that I have ſuch a place, but I never lay in it in all my life. And as for any that hath moved me thereunto, I do not remember.

Then to enforce the matter, they brought forth Sir *James Acroft*. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* demanded of her what ſhe ſaid to that man. She anſwered, that ſhe had little to ſay to him, or to the reſt that were then Priſoners in the *Tower*. But my Lords (quoth ſhe) you do examin every mean Priſoner of me, wherein me thinks you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the Queens Majeſty, let them anſwer to it accordingly. I beſeech you, my Lords, joyn not me in this ſort with any of theſe offenders. And as concerning my going unto *Dunnington* Caſtle, I do remember that Maſter *Hobby* and mine Officers, and you Sir *James Acroft* had ſuch talk, but what is that to the purpoſe, my Lords, but that I may go to min owne houſes at all times?

The Lord of *Arundel* kneeling down, ſaid, Your Grace ſaith true, and certainly we are very ſory that we have ſo troubled you about ſo vain matters. She then ſaid; My Lords, you do ſift me very narrowly. But well I am aſſured, you ſhall not do more to me than God hath appointed, and ſo God forgive you all.

The friendly ſpeech of the Earl of *Arundel* to the La. Eliz.

At their departure Sir *James Acroft* kneeled down, declaring that he was ſory to ſee the day in which he ſhould be brought as a witneſs againſt her Grace. But I aſſure your Grace (ſaid he) I have been marvellouſly toſſed and examined touching your Highneſs, which the Lord knoweth is very ſtrange to me For I take God to record before all your Honours, I do not know any thing of that Crime that you have laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I ſhould be driven to ſo ſtrict a trial.

Sir *James Acroft* examined touching the La. Eliz.

That day, or thereabouts, divers of her own Officers, who had made proviſion for her diet, brought the ſame to the outer gate of the *Tower*, the common raſcal Souldiers receiving it; which was no ſmal grief unto the Gentlemen, the bringers thereof. Wherefore they required to ſpeak with the Lord Chamberlain, being then Conſtable of the *Tower*. Who, coming before his preſence, declared unto his Lordſhip, that they were much affraid to bring her Graces diet, and to deliver it unto ſuch common and deſperate perſons as they were which did receive it, beſeeching his Honour to conſider her Grace, and to give ſuch order, that her viands might at all times be brought in by them which were appointed thereunto. Yea, Sirs, ſaid he? who appointed you this Office? They anſwered, her Graces Councel. Councel, quoth hee? There is none of them which hath to do either in that caſe, or any thing elſe within this place; and I aſſure you, for that ſhe is a Priſoner, ſhe ſhall be ſerved with the *Lieutenants* men, as other the Priſoners are.

Theſe were not the officers of the *Tower*, but ſuch as went in white & green.

Lady Eliz. ſervants reſtrained for bringing her diet to the *Tower*.

Whereat the Gentlemen ſaid, that they truſted for more favour at his hands, conſidering her perſonage; ſaying, that they miſtruſted not, but that the Queen and her Council would be better to her Grace than ſo, and therewith ſhewed themſelves to be offended at the ungrateful words of the Lord Chamberlain towards their Lady and Miſtreſs.

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Diſpleaſure between the Lord Chamberlain and Lady Eliz. men.

At this he ſware by God, ſtriking himſelf upon the breaſt, that if they did either frown or ſhrug at him, he would ſet them where they ſhould ſee neither Sun nor Moon. Thus taking their leave, they deſired God to bring him into a better mind toward her Grace, and departed from him.

Upon the occaſion whereof, her Graces Officers made great ſute unto the Queens Council, that ſome might be appointed to bring her diet unto her, and that it might no more be delivered unto the common Souldiers of the *Tower*. Which being reaſonably conſidered, was by them granted. And thereupon were appointed one of her Gentlemen, her Clerk of her Kitchin, and her two Purveiers to bring in her Proviſion once a day. All which was done, the Warders ever waiting upon the bringers thereof.

The Lord Chamberlain himſelf being always with them, circumſpectly and narrowly watched and ſearched what they brought, and gave heed that they ſhould have no talk with any of her Graces waiting Servants, and ſo warded them both in and out. At the ſaid ſute of her Officers were ſent by the commandment of the Council, to wait upon her Grace, two Yeomen of her Chamber, one of her Robes, two of her Pantry and Ewry, one of her Buttry, another of her Cellar, two of her Kitchin, and one of her Larder, all which continued with her the time of her trouble.

Lady Eliz. waiting men in the *Tower*.

Here the Conſtable, being at the firſt not very well pleaſed with the coming in of ſuch a company againſt his will, would have had his men ſtill to have ſerved with her Graces men. Which her ſervants at no hand would ſuffer, deſiring his Lordſhip to be contented, for that order was taken, that no ſtranger ſhould come within their Offices. At which anſwer being ſore diſpleaſed, he brake out into theſe threatnings words. Well (ſaid he) I will handle you well enough. Then went hee into the Kitchin, and there would needs have his meat roſted with her Graces meat, and ſaid that his Cook ſhould come thither and dreſs it. To that her Graces Cook anſwered; My Lord, I will never ſuffer any ſtranger to come about her diet, but her own ſworn men, ſo long as I live. He ſaid they ſhould. But the Cook ſaid, his Lordſhip ſhould pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble her poor ſervants very ſtoutly; though afterward he were otherwiſe adviſed, and they more courteouſly uſed at his hands. And good cauſe why. For he had good chear, and fared of the beſt, and her Grace payed well for it. Wherefore he uſed himſelf afterward more reverently toward her Grace.

Variance between the Lord Chamberlain and Lady Eliz. ſervants.

After this ſort, having lien a whole Month there in cloſe Priſon, and being very evil at eaſe therewithal, ſhe ſent for the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord *Shandoyes* to come and ſpeak with her. Who coming, ſhe requeſted them that ſhe might have liberty to walk in ſome place, for that ſhe felt her ſelf not well. To the which they anſwered, that they were right ſorry that they could not ſatisfie her Graces requeſt, for that they had commandment to the contrary, which they durſt not in any wiſe break. Furthermore, ſhe deſired of them, if that could not be granted, that ſhe might walk but into the Queens lodging. No, nor yet that (they anſwered) could by any means be obtained without a further ſute to the Queen and her Councel. Well, ſaid ſhe, my Lords, if the matter be ſo hard that they muſt be ſued unto for ſo ſmall a thing, and that friendſhip be ſo ſtrict, God comfort me, and ſo they departed, ſhe remaining in her old dungeon ſtill, without any kind of comfort but only God.

Lady Eliz. denied the liberty of the *Tower*.

The next day after the Lord *Shandoyes* came again unto her Grace, declaring unto her that he had ſued unto the Councel for further liberty. Some of them conſented thereunto, divers other diſſented, for that there were ſo many priſoners in the *Tower*. But in concluſion, they did all agree that her Grace might walk into thoſe lodgings, ſo that he and the Lord Chamberlain, and

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and three of the Queens Gentlewomen did accompany her, the Windows being ſhut, and ſhe not ſuffered to look out at any of them: wherewith ſhe contented her ſelf, and gave him thanks for his good will in that behalf.

Liberty granted to Lady Eliz. to walk in a little garden.

Afterwards there was liberty granted to her Grace to walk in a little Garden the Doors and Gates being ſhut up, which notwithſtanding was as much diſcomfort unto her, as the walk in the Garden was pleaſant and acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the priſoners on that ſide ſtraitly were commanded not to ſpeak or look out at the Windows into the Garden, till her Grace were gone out again, having in conſideration thereof their Keepers waiting upon them for that time. Thus her Grace with this ſmall liberty contented herſelf in God, to whom be praiſe therefore.

Suſpicious heads.

During this time, there uſed a little Boy, a mans Child in the *Tower*, to reſort to their Chambers, and many times to bring her Grace Flowers, which likewiſe hee did to the other Priſoners that were there. Whereupon naughty and ſuſpicious heads, thinking to make and wring out ſome matter thereof, called on a time the Child unto them, promiſing him Figgs and Apples, and asked of him when hee had been with the Earl of *Devonſhire*, not ignorant of the Childs wonted frequenting unto him. The Boy anſwered, that hee would go by and by thither. Further, they demanded of him, when he was with the Lady *Elizabeths* Grace. Hee anſwered, every day. Furthermore, they examined him, what the Lord of *Devonſhire*, ſent by him to her Grace. The Child ſaid, I will go know what he will give to carry to her. Such was the diſcretion of the Child, being yet but 4. years of age. This ſame is a crafty Boy, quoth the Lord Chamberlain. How ſay you my Lord *Shandoyes*? I pray you my Lord (quoth the Boy) give me the Figgs you promiſed me. No Mary (quoth he) thou ſhalt be whipped if thou come any more to the Lady *Eliz.* or the Lord *Ccurtney*. The Boy anſwered, I will bring my Lady my Miſtreſs more Flowers. Whereupon the Childs Father was commanded to permit the Boy no more to come up into their Chambers.

A young Child examined for bringing flowers to the La. Eliz.

The next day, as her Grace was walking in the Garden the Child peeping in at a hole in the Door, cried unto her, ſaying; Miſtreſs, I can bring you no more Flowers; Whereat ſhe ſmiled, but ſaid nothing, underſtanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore afterwards the Chamberlain rebuked highly his Father, commanding him to put him out of the houſe. Alas Poor Infant! quoth the Father. It is a crafty knave, quoth the Lord Chamberlain; let me ſee him here no more

The Conſtable of the Tower diſcharged of his office. Sir Henry Benfield with his company placed about the Lady Eliz.

The fifth day of *May*, the Conſtable of the *Tower* was diſcharged of his Office, and one Sir *Henry Benifield* placed in his room, a Man unknown to her Grace and therefore the more feared; which ſo ſudden mutation was unto her no little amaze. He brought with him an hundred Souldiers in Blew Coats, wherewith ſhe was marvellouſly diſcomforted, and demanded of ſuch as were about her, whether the Lady *Janes Scaffold* were taken away or no, fearing by reaſon of their coming, leſt ſhe ſhould have plaied her part. To whom anſwer was made, that the Scaffold was taken away, and that her Grace needed not to doubt of any ſuch Tyranny; for God would not ſuffer any ſuch Treaſon againſt her perſon. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether ſatisfied, ſhe asked what Sir *Henry Benifield* was, and whether hee was of that Conſcience, or no, that if her murdering were ſecretly committed to his charge he would ſee the execution thereof.

Lady Eliz. in great fear and doubt of life.

Lady Eliz. in doubt, of Sir Henry Benifield.

She was anſwered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. Howbeit they perſwaded her that God would not ſuffer ſuch wickdneſs to proceed. Well, quoth ſhe, God grant it be ſo. For thou, O God, canſt mollifie all ſuch Tyrannous hearts, and diſappoint all ſuch cruel purpoſes; and I beſeech thee to hear me thy creature, which am thy ſervant and at thy commandment, truſting by thy Grace ever ſo to remain.

About which time it was ſpread abroad, that her Grace ſhould be carried from thence by this new Jolly Captain and his Souldiers; but whither, it could not be learned. Which was unto her a great grief, eſpecially for that ſuch a company was appointed to her guard, requeſting rather to contiue there ſtill, than to be led thence with ſuch a ſort of Raſcals. At laſt, plain anſwer was made by the Lord *Shandoyes*, that there was no remedy; but from thence ſhe muſt needs depart to the Manour of *Woodſtock*, as he thought. Being demanded of her, for what cauſe; for that (quoth he) the *Tower* is like further to be furniſhed. She being deſirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded wherewith. He anſwered, with ſuch matter as the Queen and Council were determined in that behalf, whereof he had no knowledge; and ſo departed.

In concluſion, on *Trinity Sunday*, being the nineteenth day of *May*, ſhe was removed from the *Tower*, the Lord Treaſurer being then there for the lading of her Carts, and diſcharging the place of the ſame, Where Sir *Henry Benifield* (being appointed her Jayler) did receive her with a company of rake-hels to guard her, beſides the Lord of *Darbies* Band, waiting in the Country about for the Moonſhine in the water. Unto whom at length came my Lord of *Tame* joyned in Commiſſion with the ſaid Sir *Henry*, for the ſafe guiding of her to Priſon; And they together conveighed her Grace to *Woodſtock*, as hereafter followeth.

Lady Eliz. removed from the Tower to Woodſtock.

The firſt day they conducted her to *Richmond*, where ſhe continued all night, being reſtrained of her own men, which were lodged in out-chambers, and Sir *Henry Benifields* Souldiers appointed in their rooms to give attendance on her Perſon. Whereat ſhe being marvellouſly diſmaied, thinking verily ſome ſecret miſchief to be a working towards her, called her Gentleman Uſher, and deſired him with the reſt of his company to pray for her. For this night (quoth ſhe) I think to die. Wherewith he being ſtriken to the heart, ſaying; God forbid that any ſuch wickedneſs ſhould be pretended againſt your Grace. So comforting her as well as he could, at laſt he braſt out into tears, and went from her down into the Court, where were walking the Lord of *Tame*, and Sir *Henry Benifield*.

Lady Eliz. ſecluded from her ſervants.

Lady Eliz. in deſpair of her life.

Then he coming to the Lord of *Tame* (who had proffered to him much friendſhip) deſired to ſpeak with him a word or two. Unto whom he familiarly ſaid, he would with all his heart. Which when Sir *Henry*, ſtanding by, heard, he asked what the matter was. To whom the Gentleman Uſher anſwered; No great matter, Sir, (ſaid hee) but to ſpeak with my Lord a word or two.

Lady Eliz. Uſher talketh with the Lord of Tame.

Then when the Lord of *Tame* came to him, he ſpake on this wiſe: My Lord (quoth he) you have been always my good Lord, and ſo I beſeech you to remain. The cauſe why I come to you at this time, is to deſire your Honour unfainedly to declare unto me whether any danger is meant towards my Miſtreſs this night, or no, that I and my poor fellows may take ſuch part as ſhall pleaſe God to appoint: For certainly we will rather die, than ſhe ſhould ſecretly and innocently miſcarry. Mary (ſaid the Lord of *Tame*) God forbid that any ſuch wicked purpoſe ſhould be wrought; and rather than it ſhould be ſo, I with my men are ready to die at her foot alſo: and ſo (praiſed be God) thy paſſed that doleful night, with no little heavineſs of heart.

The gentle heart of the Lord of Tame to the Lady Eliz.

Afterwards paſſing over the water at *Richmond*, going towards *Windſor*, her Grace eſpied certain of her poor Servants ſtanding on the other ſide, which were very deſirous to ſee her. Whom wen ſhe beheld, turning to one of her men ſtanding by, ſhe ſaid; Yonder I ſee certain of my men: go to them and ſay theſe words from me, *Tanquam ovis.i.* Like a ſheep to the ſlaughter.

So ſhe paſſing forward to *Windſor*, was lodged there that night in the Dean of *Windſors* houſe, a place more meet indeed for a Prieſt than a Princeſs.

Lady Eliz. honourably received and beloved of the people.

And from thence her Grace was guarded and brought the next night to Maſter *Dormers* houſe, where much People ſtanding by the way, ſome preſented to her one gift, and ſome another, ſo that Sir *Henry* was greatly moved therewith, and troubled the poor People very ſore; for ſhewing their loving hearts in ſuch a manner, calling them Rebels and Traitors, with ſuch like vile words.

Beſides, as ſhe paſſed through the Villages, the Townſmen rang the Bells, as being joyful of her coming, thinking verily that it had been otherwiſe than it

was indeed, as the ſequel proved after to the ſaid poor men. For immediately the ſaid Sir *Henry* hearing the ſame, ſent his Souldiers thither, who apprehended ſome of the Rigners, ſetteth them in the Stocks, and otherwiſe uncurteouſly miſuſing otherſome for their good wills,

The gentleentertainment of Lady *Eliz.* at the Lord of *Tames* houſe.

On the Morrow her Grace paſſing from Mr. *Dormers* (where was for the time of her abode there, a ſtrait watch kept) came to the Lord of *Tames* houſe, where ſhe lay all the night, being very princely entertained both of Knights and Ladies, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen. Whereat Sir *Henry Benifield* grunted, and was highly offended, ſaying unto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to anſwer their doings in that behalf, letting them to underſtand, that ſhe was the Queens Majeſties priſoner, and no otherwiſe; adviſing them therefore to take heed and beware of afterclaps. Whereunto the Lord of *Tame* anſwered in this wiſe; that he was well adviſed of his doings, being joyned in commiſſion as well as he, adding with warrant, that her Grace might and ſhould in his houſe be merry.

Mr. Benifield grudging at the great entertainment of the Lady *Eliz.*

The next day, as ſhe ſhould take her journey from *Richmond* toward *Woodſtock*, the Lord of *Tame* with another Gentleman being at Tables, playing, and dropping vie Crownps, the Lady *Elizabeth* paſſing by, ſtaied and ſaid ſhe would ſee the game played out, which Sir *Henry Benifield* would ſcarſe permit. The game running long about, and they playing, drop vie Crowns, Come on, ſaith he; I will tarry ſaith ſhe, and will ſee this game out.

After this, Sir *Henry* went up into a chamber, where was appointed for her Grace a chair, two cuſhions, and a foot-carpet very fair and Prince-like wherein preſumptuouſly he ſate and called one *Barwick* his man to pull off his boots. Which as ſoon as it was known among the Ladies and Gentles, every one muſed thereat, and laughed him to ſcorn, obſerving his undiſcreet manners in that behalf, as they might very well.

The rude & ungentlemainly behaviour of Sir *Henry Benfield.*

When ſupper was done, he called my Lord, and willed him that all the Gentlemen and Ladies ſhould withdraw themſelves every one to his lodging, marvelling much that he would permit there ſuch a company, conſidering ſo great a charge committed to him.

Sir *Henry* (quoth my Lord) content your ſelf, all ſhall be voided, your men and all. Nay, my Souldiers (quoth Sir *Henry*) ſhall watch all night. The Lord of *Tame* anſwered, it ſhall not need. Well, ſaid he, need or need not, they ſhall ſo do, miſtruſting belike the company, which God knoweth was without cauſe.

Lady *Eliz.* cometh to *Woodſtock.*

The next day her Grace took her Journey from thence to *Woodſtock*, where ſhe was incloſed, as before in the *Tower* of *London*, the Souldiers guarding and warding both within and without the Walls, every day to the number of 60. and in the night without the Wals 40. during the time of her Impriſonment there.

The ſtrait watch kept at *Woodſtock.*

At length ſhe had gardens appointed for her walk, which was very comfortable to her Grace. But always when ſhe did recreate her ſelf therein, the Doors were faſt locked up, in as ſtrict manner as they were in the *Tower*, being at the leaſt five or ſix locks between her lodging and her walks; Sir *Henry* himſelf keeping the keyes, and truſting no man therewith. Wherupon ſhe called him her Jaylor; and he kneeling down, deſired her Grace not to call him ſo, for he was appointed there to be one of her Officers. From ſuch Officers (quoth ſhe) good Lord deliver me.

A merry ſtory concerning the ſtrait keeping of the Lady *Eliz.*

And now by the way, as digreſſing, or rather refreſhing the Reader, if it be lawful in ſo ſerious a ſtory to recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the ſame; occaſion here moveth, or rather inforceth me to touch briefly what hapned in the ſame place and time by a certain merry conceited man, being then about her Grace: who noting the ſtrait and ſtrange keeping of his Lady and Miſtreſs by the ſaid Sir *Henry Benifield*, with ſo many locks and doors, with ſuch watch and ward about her, as was ſtrange and wonderful, ſpied a Goat in the ward where her Grace was; and whether to refreſh her oppreſſed mind, or to notifie her ſtrait handling by Sir *Henry*, or elſe both, he took it upon his neck, and followed her Grace therewith as ſhe was going into her lodging.

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Which when ſhe ſaw, ſhe asked him what he would do with it, willing him to let it alone. Unto whom the ſaid party anſwered; No, by Saint *Mary* (if it like your Grace) will I not; for I cannot tell, whether he be one of the Queens Friends, or no. I will carry him to Sir *Henry Benifield* (God willing) to know what he is. So leaving her Grace, he went with the Goat on his neck, and carried it to Sir *Henry Benifield*, who when he ſaw him coming with it, askt him, half angerly, what he had there.

The ſtraitneſs of Sir *Henry Benifield* merrily noted.

Unto whom the party anſwered, ſaying; Sir (quoth he) I cannot tell what he is. I pray you examin him, for I found him in the place where my Ladies Grace was walking, and what talk they have had I cannot tell. For I underſtand him not, but he ſhould ſeem to me to be ſome ſtranger, and I think verily a Welchman, for he hath a white Frize Coat on his Back. And forſomuch as I being the Queens Subject, and perceiving the ſtrait charge committed to you of her keeping, that no ſtranger ſhould have acceſs to her without ſufficient licenſe, I have here found a ſtranger (what he is I cannot tell) in place where her Grace was walking; and therefore for the neceſſary diſcharge of my duty, I thought it good to bring the ſaid ſtranger to you, to examin, as you ſee cauſe; and ſo hee ſet him down. At which his words Sir *Henry* ſeemed much diſpleaſed, and ſaid; Well, well, you will never leave this gear I ſee: and ſo they departed.

Lady *Eliz.* with much ado, ſuffered to write to the Queen.

Now to return to the matter from whence we have digreſſed, after her Grace had been there a time, ſhe made ſute to the Council that ſhe might be ſuffered to write to the Queen. Which at laſt was permitted: So Sir *Henry Benifield* brought her pen, ink, and paper; and ſtanding by her while ſhe wrote (which he ſtraitly obſerved) always ſhe being weary, hee would carry away her Letters, and bring them again when ſhe called for them. In the finiſhing thereof, he would have been meſſenger to the Queen of the ſame. Whoſe requeſt her Grace denied, ſaying, one of her own men ſhould carry them, and that ſhe would neither truſt him, nor any of his therein.

The cruel dealing of Sir *Henry Benifield* to the Lady *Eliz.* reproved.

Then he anſwered again, ſaying; None of them durſt be ſo bold (he trowed) to carry her Letters being in that caſe. Yes (quoth ſhe) I am aſſured I have none ſo diſhoneſt that would deny my requeſt in that behalf, but will be as willing to ſerve me now as before. Well (ſaid he) my Commiſſion is to the contrary, and I may not ſo ſuffer it. Her Grace replying again, ſaid; You charge me very often with your Commiſſion. I pray God you may juſtly anſwer the cruel dealing you uſe towards me.

Then he kneeling down, defired her Grace to think and conſider how he was a Servant, and put in truſt there by the Queen to ſerve her Majeſty; proteſting that if the caſe were hers, he would as willingly ſerve her Grace, as now he did the Queens Highneſs. For the which his anſwer her Grace thanked him, deſiring God that ſhe might never have need of ſuch Servants as he was; declaring further to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor anſwerable, but more than all the Friends he had would ſtand by.

To whom Sir *Henry* replied and ſaid, that there was no remedy but his doings muſt be anſwered, and ſo they ſhould, truſting to make good account thereof. The cauſe which moved her Grace ſo to ſay, was for that he would not permit her Letters to be carried four or five days after the writting thereof. But in fine he was content to ſend for her Gentleman from the Town of *Woodſtock*, demanding of him whether he durſt enterpriſe the carriage of her Graces Letters to the Queen, or no: and he anſwered, Yea Sir, that I dare, and will with all my heart. Whereupon Sir *Henry*, half againſt his Stomack, took them unto him.

The Letters of the Lady *Eliz.* ſent to the Queen.

Then about the eighth of *June* came down Doctor *Owen* and Dr. *Wendy*, ſent by the Queen to her Grace, for that ſhe was ſickly; who miniſtring to her, and letting her Blood, tarried there and attended on her Grace five or ſix days. Then ſhe being well amended, they returned again to the Court, making their good report to the Queen and the Council of her Graces behaviour

Dr. *Owen* & Dr. *Wendy* Q. *Maries* Phyſitians ſent to the Lady *Eliz.*

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behaviour and humbleneſs toward the Queens Highneſs. Which her Majeſty hearing, took very thankfully: but the Biſhops thereat repined, looked black in the mouth, and told the Queen, they marvelled that ſhe ſubmitted not her ſelf to her Majeſties mercy, conſidering that ſhe had offended he Highneſs.

he Popiſh relates repined againſt the Lady *Eliz.*

About this time, her Grace was requeſted by a ſecret Friend, to ſubmit her ſelf to the Queens Majeſty, which would be very well taken, and to her great quiet and commodity. Unto whom ſhe anſwered, that ſhe would never ſubmit her ſelf to them whom ſhe never offended. For (quoth ſhe) if I have offended and am guilty, I then crave no mercy, but the Law, which I am certain (quoth ſhe) I ſhould have had ere this, if it could be proved by me. For I know my ſelf (I thank God) to be out of the danger thereof, wiſhing that I were as clear out of the peril of my enemies, and then I am aſſured I ſhould not ſo be locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaſeth him.

ady *Eliz.* rth requeſted to ſubmit her ſelf to the ueen.

About this time there was a great conſulting among the Biſhops and Gentlemen, touching a marriage for her Grace, which ſome of the *Spaniards* wiſhed to be with ſome Stranger, that ſhe might go out of the Realm with her Portion; ſome ſaying one thing, and ſome another.

ounſel of ie papiſts marry the ady *Eliz.* a Spaniard.

A Lord (who ſhall be here nameleſs) being there, at laſt ſaid, that the King ſhould never have any quiet Commonwealth in *England*, unleſs her Head were ſtriken from the ſhoulders. Whereunto the *Spaniards* anſwered, ſaying, God forbid that their King and Maſter ſhould have that mind to conſent to ſuch a miſchief.

Vicked ounſel given of the ord Paget gainſt the ady *Eliz.*

This was the courteous anſwer of the *Spaniards* to the *Engliſhmen*, ſpeaking after that ſort againſt their own Countrey. From that day the *Spaniards* never left off their good perſwaſions to the King, that the like Honour he ſhould never obtain, as he ſhould in delivering the Lady *Elizabeths* Grace out of Priſon; whereby at length ſhe was happily releaſed from the ſame. Here is a plain and evident example of the good clemencie and nature of the King and his Councellers toward her Grace (praiſed be God therefore) who moved their hearts therein. Then hereupon ſhe was ſent for ſhortly after to come to *Hampton-Court*.

ſpaniards more favourable to the ady *Eliz.* han ſome ngliſhmen.

But before her removing away from *Woodſtock*, we will a little ſtay to declare in what dangers her life was, during this time, ſhe there remained: firſt through fire, which began to kindle between the Boards and Cieling under the Chamber where ſhe lay, whether by a ſpark of fire gotten into a crany, or whether of purpoſe by ſome that meant her no good, the Lord doth know. Nevertheleſs a worſhipful Knight of *Oxfordſhire*, which was there joyned the ſame time with Sir *Henry Benifield* in keeping that Lady (who then took up the Boards and quenched the fire) verily ſuppoſed it to be done of purpoſe.

ady *Eliz.* n danger of re.

Furthermore it is thought, and alſo affirmed (if it be true) of one *Paul Peny* a Keeper of *Wood-ſtock* a notorious Ruffian and a Butcherly wretch, that he was appointed to kill the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth*: who both ſaw the man being often in her ſight, and alſo knew thereof.

ady *Eliz.* n danger of illing.

Another time, one of the Privy Chamber, a great man about the Queen, and chief darling of *Stephen Gardiner*, named Maſter *James Baſſet*, came to *Blandenbridge* a mile from *Woodſtock*, with twenty or thirty Privy Coats and ſent for Sir *Henry Benifield* to come and ſpeak with, him. But as God would, which diſpoſeth all things after the purpoſe of his own will, ſo it happened, that a little before, the ſaid *Henry Benefield* was ſent for by Poſt to the Council, leaving ſtraight word behind him with his Brother, that no man, whatſoever he were, though coming with a Bill of the Queens hand, or any other Warrant, ſhould have acceſs to her before his return again. By reaſon whereof it ſo fell out, that Maſter *Benifields* Brother, coming to him at the Bridge, would ſuffer him in no caſe to approach in, who otherwiſe (as is ſuppoſed) was appointed violently to murther the innocent Lady.

Another conſpiracy of murder againſt Lady *Eliz.*

Lady *Eliz.* preſerved by the Lords providence from execution in the Tower.

Wincheſters Platform overthrown. Whereof read before.

In the life of *Stephen Gardiner* we declared before, how that the Lady *Elizabeth* being in the *Tower*, a Writ came down, ſubſcribed with certain hands of the Council for her execution. Which if it were certain, as it is reported, *Wincheſter* (no doubt) was deviſer of that miſchievous drift: and doubtleſs the ſame *Achitophel* had brought his impious purpoſe that day to paſs, had not the fatherly Providence of Almighty God (who is always ſtronger than the Devil) ſtirred up Maſter *Bridges*, Lieutenant the ſame time of the *Tower*, to come in haſte to the Queen, to give Certificate thereof, and to know further her conſent touching her Siſters death: Whereupon it followed, that all that devices was diſappointed, and *Winchеſters* devilliſh platform, which he ſaid he had caſt, through the Lords great goodneſs came to no effect.

Where moreover is to be noted, that during the imprisonment of this Lady and Princeſs, one Maſter *Edmund Tremaine* was on the Rack, and Maſter *Smithwike*, and divers other in the *Tower* were examined, and divers offers made to them to accuſe the guiltleſs Lady, being in her Captivity. Howbeit, all that notwithſtanding, no matter could be proved by all Examinations, as ſhe the ſame time lying at *Wood-ſtock* had certain intelligence by the means of one *John Gayer*; who, under a colourable pretence of a Letter to Mrs. *Cleve* from her Father, was let in, and ſo gave them ſecretly to underſtand of all this matter. Whereupon the Lady *Elizabeth*, at her departing out from *Woodſtock*, wrote theſe Verſes with her Diamond in a glaſs Window.

Much ſuſpected by me:
Nothing proved can be.

Quoth Elizabeth, *Priſoner.*

Verſes written by Lady *Eliz.* in the Glaſs Window.

And thus much touching the Troubles of Lady *Elizabeth*, at *Woodſtock*. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the ſame time, the Lord of *Tame* had laboured to the Queen, and became Surety for her, to have her from *Woodſtock* to his Houſe, and had obtained grant thereof. Whereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all things ready in expectation of her coming. But through the procurement either of Maſter *Benifield*, or by the doing of *Wincheſter* her mortal Enemy, Letters came over night to the contrary; whereby her Journey was ſtopped.

Lady *Eliz.* not ſuffered to come to the Lord of *Tames* houſe.

Thus this worthy Lady, oppreſſed with continual ſorrow, could not be permitted to have recourſe to any Friends ſhe had, but ſtill in the hands of her Enemies was left deſolate, and utterly deſtitute of all that might refreſh a doleful heart, fraught full of terrour and thraldom. Whereupon no marvel if ſhe hearing upon a time, out of her Garden at *Woodſtock*, a certain Milkmaid ſinging pleaſantly, wiſhed her ſelf to be a Milkmaid as ſhe was, ſaying that her caſe was better, and life more merry than was hers, in that ſtate as ſhe was.

Lady *Eliz.* wiſheth her ſelf to be a Milk-maid.

Now after theſe things thus declared, to proceed further there where we left before, Sir *Henry Benifield* and his Souldiers, with the Lord of *Tame*, and Sir *Ralph Chamberline*, guarding and waiting upon her, the firſt Night from *Woodſtock* ſhe came to *Ricot*. In which Journy ſuch a mighty wind did blow, that her Servants were fain to hold down her cloaths about her: Inſomuch that her Hood was twice or thrice blown from her Head. Whereupon ſhe deſiring to return to a certain Gentlemans Houſe there near, could not be ſuffered by Sir *Henry Benifield* ſo to do, but was conſtrained under an Hedge to trim her Head as well as ſhe could.

Lady *Eliz.* removed from *Woodſtock* to *Hampton Court.*

After this, the next night they journyed to Maſter *Dormers*, and ſo to *Colbroke*, where ſhe lay all that night at the *George*, and by the way coming to *Colbroke*, certain of her Graces Gentlemen and Yeomen met her, to the number of threeſcore, much to all their comforts, which had not ſeen her Grace of long ſeaſon before: notwithſtanding they were commanded in the Queens Name immediately to depart the Town, to both their, and her Graces no little heavineſs, who could not be ſuffered once to ſpeak with them. So that night all her men were taken from her, ſaving her Gentleman Uſher, three Gentlewomen, two Grooms, and one of her Wardrobe, the Souldiers watching and warding about the Houſe, and ſhe cloſe ſhut up within her Priſon.

The next day following, her Grace entred *Hampton-Court* on the backſide, into the Princes Lodging, the doors being ſhut to her, and ſhe guarded with Souldiers, as before, lay there a fortnight at the leaſt, ere any had recourſe unto her: At length came the Lord *William Haward*, who marvellous honourably uſed her Grace. Whereat ſhe took much comfort, and requeſted him to be a mean that ſhe might ſpeak with ſome of the Council. To whom (not long after) came the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Lord of *Arundel*, the Lord of *Shrewsbury*, Secretary *Peter*, who with great humility humbled themſelves to her Grace. She again likewiſe ſaluting them, ſaid, My Lords, I am glad to ſee you: for me think, I have been kept a great while from you deſolately alone. Wherefore I would deſire you to be a mean to the King and Queens Majeſties, that I may be delivered from Priſon, wherein I have been kept a long ſpace, as to you my Lords it is not unknown.

Lord Wil. *Howard* gentle and favourable to Lady *Eliz.*

When ſhe had ſpoken, *Stephen Gardiner* the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* kneeled down, and requeſted that ſhe would ſubmit her ſelf to the Queens Grace, and in ſo doing he had no doubt, but that her Majeſty would be good to her. She made anſwer, that rather than ſhe would ſo do, ſhe would lie in Priſon all the days of her life; adding, that ſhe craved no mercy at her Majeſties Hand, but rather deſired the Law, if ever ſhe did offend her Majeſty in thought, word or deed: And beſides this, in yielding (quoth ſhe) I ſhould ſpeak againſt my ſelf, and confeſs my ſelf to be an offendor, which I never was towards her Majeſty, by occaſion whereof the King and the Queen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evil Opinion: And therefore I ſay, my Lords, it were bettter for me to lie in Priſon for the Truth, than to be abroad and ſuſpected of my Prince. And ſo they departed, promiſing to declare her Meſſage to the Queen.

Lady *Eliz.* requeſted by *Winch.* to ſubmit her ſelf to the Queens mercy.

Lady *Eliz.* ſtandeth to be tried by the Law.

On the next day the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* came again unto her Grace, and kneeling down declared that the Queen marvelled that ſhe would ſo ſtoutly uſe her ſelf, not confeſſing that ſhe had offended: ſo that it ſhould ſeem that the Queens Majeſty had wrongfully impriſoned her Grace.

Talk again between *Wincheſter* and Lady *Elizabeth.* Laly *Eliz.* denieth to confeſs any fault done to the Queen.

Nay, quoth the Lady *Elizabeth*, it may pleaſe her to puniſh me as ſhe thinketh good.

Well quoth *Gardiner*, her Majeſty willeth me to tell you, that you muſt tell another Tale ere that you be ſet at Liberty.

Her Grace anſwered, that ſhe had as lief be in Priſon with honeſty and Truth, as to be abroad, ſuſpected of her Majeſty; and this that I have ſaid, I will (ſaid ſhe) ſtand unto, for I will never bely my ſelf.

Wincheſter again kneeled down, and ſaid, Then your Grace hath the vantage of me and other the Lords for your wrong and long impriſonment.

What vantage I have (quoth ſhe) you know, taking God to record, I ſeek no vantage at your hands for your ſo dealing with me, but God forgive you and me alſo. With that the reſt kneeled, deſiring her Grace that all might be forgotten, and ſo departed, ſhe being faſt Locked up again.

Lady, *Eliz.* ſent for to the Queen.

A ſevennight after the Q. ſent for her Graceat ten of the Clock in the night to ſpeak with her: for ſhe had not ſeen her in two years before. Yet for all that ſhe amazed at the ſudden ſending for, thinking it had been worſe than afterwards it proved, deſired her Gentlemen and Gentlewomen to pray for her, for that ſhe could not tell whether ever ſhe ſhould ſee them again or no.

At which time Sir *Henry Benifield* with Mrs. *Clarencius* coming in, her Grace was brought into the Garden unto a ſtairs foot that went into the Queens Lodging, her Graces Gentlewoman waiting upon her, her Gentleman Uſher and her Grooms going before with Torches; where her Gentlemen and Gentlewomen being commanded to ſtay all ſaving one Woman, Mrs. *Clarencius* conducted her to the Queens Bed-Chamber where her Majeſty was.

Lady *Eliz.* brought to the Queens Bed-chamber.

At the ſight of whom her Grace kneeled down, and deſired God to preſerve her Majeſty, not miſtruſting but that ſhe ſhould try her ſelf as true a Subject towards her Majeſty, as ever did any, and deſired her Majeſty even ſo to judge of her; and ſaid, that ſhe ſhould not find her to the contrary, whatſoever report otherwiſe had gone of her.

Anno 1558.

To whom the Queen anſwered, you will not confeſs your offence, but ſtand ſtoutly to your Truth; I pray God it may ſo fall out.

Talk between the Queen and Lady *Eliz.*

If it doth not (quoth the Lady *Elizabeth*) I requeſt neither Favour nor Pardon at your Majeſties hands. Well (ſaid the Queen) you ſtiffly ſtill perſevere in your Truth. Belike you will not confeſs but that you have been wrongfully puniſhed.

I muſt not ſay ſo (if it pleaſe your Majeſty) to you.

Why then (ſaid the Queen) belike you will to other.

Smal comfort at the Queens hand toward her Sister.

No, if it pleaſe your Majeſty (quoth ſhe) I have born the Burden and muſt bear it. I humbly beſeech your Majeſty to have a good Opinion of me, and to think me to be your true Subject, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as Life laſteth: and ſo they departed with very few comfortable words of the Queen, in Engliſh: but what ſhe ſaid in Spaniſh, God knoweth. It is thought that King *Philip* was there behind a Cloth, and not ſeen, and that he ſhewed himſelf a very Friend in that matter, &c.

King *Philip* thought to be a Friend to Lady *Elizabeth.*

Lady *Eliz.* by Gods providence ſet at liberty Sir *H. Benifield* diſcharged.

Thus her Grace departing, went to her Lodging again, and that day ſevennight was releaſed of Sir *Henry Benifield* her Gaoler (as ſhe termed him) and his Souldiers, and ſo her Grace being ſet at liberty from impriſonment went into the Country, and had appointed to go with her Sir *Thomas Pope*, one of Q. *Maries* Counſellors, and one of her Gentlemen Uſhers, Maſter *Gage*: and thus ſtraitly was ſhe looked to all Queen *Maries* time, And this is the diſcourſe of her Highneſs impriſonment.

Mrs. *Aſhley* ſent to the *Fleet* 3. Gentlewomen of Lady *Eliz.* ſent to the *Tower*

Then there came to *Lambeyre*, Mr. *Jerningham*, and Mr. *Noris* Gentleman Uſher, Queen *Maries* men, who took away from her Grace, Mrs. *Aſhley* to the *Fleet*, and three other of her Gentlewomen to the *Tower*; which thing was no little trouble to her Grace, ſaying, that ſhe thought they would fetch all away at the end. But God be praiſed, ſhortly after was fetched away *Gardiner* through the merciful providence of the Lords goodneſs, by occaſion of whoſe opportune deceaſe (as is partly touched in this Story before) the life of this excellent Princeſs, the wealth of all *England* was preſerved. For this is credibly to be ſuppoſed, that the ſaid wicked *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter* had long laboured his wits, and to this only moſt principal mark bent all his devices, to take this our happy and dear Sovereign out of the way, as both by his words and doings before notified, may ſufficiently appear.

Note the wonderful working of the Lords providence in ſaving of Lady *Eliz.*

Lady *Eliz.* delivered by the death of *Ste. Gardiner.*

But ſuch was the gracious and favorable providence of the Lord, to the preſervation not only of her Royal Majeſty, but alſo of the miſerable and woful ſtate of this whole Iſland, and poor Subjects of the ſame, whereby the proud Platforms and peeviſh Practices of this wicked *Achitophel* prevailed not: but contrariwiſe, both he, and all the Snares and Trapps of his pernicious counſel laid againſt another, were turned to a Net to catch himſelf, according to the Proverb, *Malum conſilium conſultori peſſimum.*

How the Lord here began to work for Lady *Eliz.*

After the death of this *Gardiner*, followed the death alſo and drooping away of other her Enemies, whereby by little and little her Jeopardy decreaſed, fear diminiſhed, hope of comfort began to appear as out of a dark Cloud: and albeit as yet her Grace had no full aſſurance of perfect ſafety, yet more gentle entertainment daily did grow unto her, till at length in the month of *November*, and ſeventeenth day of the ſame, three years after the death of *Stephen Gardiner*, followed the death of Queen *Mary*, as hereafter God granting ſhall be more declared.

Although this Hiſtory following be not directly appertaining to the former matter, yet the ſame may here not unaptly be inſerted, for that it doth diſcover and ſhew forth the malicious hearts of the Papiſts toward this vertuous Queen our Soveraign Lady in the time of Queen *Mary* her Siſter, which is reported, as a Truth credibly told, by ſundry honeſt Perſons, of whom ſome are yet alive, and do teſtifie the ſame. The matter whereof is this.

A note of a Story declaring the malignant hearts of the Papiſts toward Lady *Elizabeth.*

Anno 1558.

Soon after the stir of *Wiat* and the troubles that happened to this Queen for that cause, it fortuned one *Robert Farrer* a Haberdasher of *London*, dwelling near unto *Newgate-Market*, in a certain morning to bee at the Rose Tavern (from whence he was seldom absent) and falling to his common drink, as he was ever accustomed, and having in his company three other companions like to himself, it chanced the same time one *Laurence Shiriff* Grocer, dwelling also not farr from thence, to come into the said Tavern, and finding there the said *Farrer*, (to whom of long time he had born good will) sate down in the seat to drink with him, and *Farrer* having in his full cups, and not having consideration who were present, began to talk at large, and namely against the Lady *Elizabeth*, and said, that Jill hath bin one of the chief Doers of this Rebellion of *Wiat*, and before all be done, she and all the Hereticks her partakers, shall well understand of it. Some of them hope that she shall have the Crown, but she and they (I trust) that so hope, shall hop headless, or be fried with fagots before she come to it.

Robert Farrer or *London* a tore enemy to Lady *Eliz.*

Laurence Shiriff sworn friend and servant to Lady *Eliz.* his Mrs.

Rob. Farrer raileth against Lady *Elizabeth.*

The foresaid *Laurence Shiriff* Grocer being then Servant unto the Lady *Elizabeth*, and sworn unto her Grace, could no longer forbear his old acquaintance and neighbour *Farrer* in speaking so unreverently of his Mistress, but said unto him; *Farrer*, I have loved thee as a neighbour, and have had a good opinion of thee, but hearing of thee that I now hear, I defie thee; and I tell thee I am her Graces sworn Servant, and she is a Princess, and the Daughter of a Noble King, and it evil becometh thee to call her a Jill, and for thy so saying. I say thou art a knave, and I will complain upon thee. Do thy worst said *Farrer*: for that I said, I will say again, and so *Shiriff* came from his company.

The part of a good trusty Servant.

Rob. Farrer complained of to the Commissioners but no redress was had.

Shortly after the said *Shiriff*, taking an honest neighbour with him, went before the Commissioners to complain; the which Commissioners sate then at *Boner* the Bishop of *Londons* house beside *Pauls*; and there were present, *Boner*, then being the chief Commissioner, the Lord *Mordant*, Sir *John Baker*, Dr. *Darbishire* Chancellor to the Bishop, Doctor *Story*, Doctor *Harpsfield*, and other.

The aforesaid *Shiriff* coming before them, Declared the manner of the said *Rob. Farrers* talk against the Lady *Elizabeth*. *Boner* answered, Peradventure you took him worse than he meant.

Yea my Lord, said Dr. *Story*, if you knew the man as I do, you would say there is not a better Catholick, nor an honester man in the City of *London*.

Well, said *Shiriff*, my Lord, she is my gracious Lady and Mistress, and it is not to be suffered that such a Varlet as he is should call so Honourable a Princess by the name of a Jill: And I saw yesterday in the Court that my Lord *Cardinal Pool*, meeting her in the Chamber of Presence, kneeled down on his knees and kissed her hand; and I saw also that King *Philip* meeting her, made her such obeysance, that his knee touched the ground; and then me thinketh it were too much to suffer such a Varlet as this is, to call her Jill, and to wish them to hop headless that shall wish her Grace to enjoy the possession of the Crown, when God shall send it unto her, as in the right of her inheritance. Yea? stay there quoth *Boner*. When God sendeth it unto her, let her enjoy it. But truly (said he) the man that spake the words that you have reported meant nothing against the Lady *Eliz.* your Mistress, and no more do we: but he like an honest and zealous man feared the alteration of Religion, which every good man ought to fear: and therefore (said *Boner*,) good man go your ways home and report well of us toward your Mistress, and we will send for *Farrer* and rebuke him for his rash and undiscreet words, and we trust he will not do the like again. And thus *Shiriff* came away, and *Farrer* had a flap with a Fox tail.

How B. *Boner* and Dr. *Story* bare with him that railed against Lady *Elizabeth.*

Now that ye may be fully informed of the aforesaid *Farrer*, whom Doctor *Story* praysed for so good a man, ye shall understand that the same *Farrer* having two Daughters being handsom Maidens, the elder of them for a sum of money he himself delivered to Sir *Roger Cholmley* to be at his commandment, the other he sold to a Knight called Sir *William Goddelphin* to be at his commandment; whom he made his lacky, and so carried her with him, being apparelled in mans apparel, to *Bulein*, and the said *Farrer* followed the camp. He also was a great and an horrible Blasphemer of God, and a common accuser of honest and quiet men, also a common drunkard. And now I refer the life of these Catholicks to your judgment, to think of them as you please.

Note the ungodly life of these Catholicks.

But of this matter enough, and too much. Now let us return where we left before, which was at the Death of Queen *Mary*. After whose decease succeeded her foresaid Sister Lady *Elizabeth* into the right of the Crown of *England*: who after so long Restrainment, so great dangers escaped, such blusterous storms overblown, so many injuries digested and wrongs sustained, by the mighty protection of our merciful God, to our no small comfort and commodity, hath been exalted and erected out of thrall to liberty, out of danger to peace and quietness, from dread to dignity, from misery to Majesty, from mourning to ruling: briefly, of a Prisoner made a Princess, and placed in her Throne Royal, proclaimed now Queen, with as many glad hearts of her Subjects, as ever was any King or Queen in this Realm before her, or ever shall be (I dare say) hereafter.

Lady *Eliz.* proclaimed Queen the same day that Q. *Mary* died.

The Lord make *England* thankful to him for his great benefits.

Touching whose flourishing state, her Princely Reign and peaceable government, with divers and sundry other things incident to the same, and especially touching the great stirres and alterations which have happened in other foreign Nations, and also partly among our selves here at home, forasmuch as the tractation hereof requireth another Volume by it self, I shall therefore defer the Reader to the next Book or Section insuing; wherein (if the Lord so please to sustain me with leave and life) I may have to discourse of all and singular such matters done and atchieved in these our latter days and memory, more at large.

Now then after these so great afflictions falling upon this Realm, from the first beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, wherein so many Men, Women, and Children were burned, many imprisoned, and in Prisons starved, divers exiled, some spoyled of goods and possessions, a great number driven from house and home, so many weeping eyes, so many sobbing hearts, so many Children made Fatherless, so many Fathers bereft of their Wives and Children, so many vexed in Conscience, and divers against Conscience constrained to recant; and in conclusion, never a good man almost in all the Realm but suffered something during all the time of this bloody persecution; after all this (I say) now we are come at length (the Lord be praised) to the 17. day of *November*: which day as it brought to the persecuted Members of Christ rest from their carefull mourning, so it easeth me somewhat likewise of my laborious writing, by the death I mean of Q. *Mary*. Who being long sick before, upon the said 17. day of *November*, in the year above said about three or four a clock in the morning, yielding Life to nature, and her Kingdom to Queen *Elizabeth* her Sister.

Novemb. 17. Q. *Mary* endeth, Q. *Elizabeth* beginneth her Reign.

The manner of Q. *Maries* death.

As touching the manner of whose death, some say that she died of a Tympany, some (by her much sighing before her death) supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Whereupon her Council seeing her sighing, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might minister the more ready consolation unto her, feared, as they said, that she took that thought for the Kings Majesty her Husband, which was gone from her. To whom she answering again, Indeed (said she) that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pierceth my oppressed mind: but what that was she would not express to them.

Albeit, afterward she opened the matter more plainly to Mr. *Rise* and Mistress *Clarentius* (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of Mr. *Rise* himself) who then being most familiar with her, and most bold about her, told her that they feared she took thought for King *Philips* departing from her. Not that only (said she) but when I am dead and opened, you shall find *Calice* lying in my heart, &c. And here an end of Q. *Mary* and of her persecution.

Q. *Mary* took thought for the loss of *Calice.*

More English Blood spilled in Q. *Maries* time, than ever was in any Kings Reign before her.

Of which Queen this truly may be affirmed, and left in story for a perpetual memorial or Epitaph for all Kings and Queens that shall succeed her, to be noted, That before her never was read in story of any King or Queen

Queen of *England* since the time of of King *Lucius* under whom in time of peace, by hanging, heading, burning, and prisoning, so much Christian Blood, so many *Englishmens* lives were spilled within this Realm, as under the said Queen *Mary* for the space of four years was to be seen, and I beseech the Lord never may be seen hereafter.

A brief declaration, shewing the unprosperous success of Queen Mary *in persecuting Gods People, and how mightily God wrought against her in all her Affairs.*

The Reign of Q. *Mary* how unprosperous it was both to her, and to her Realm, in all respects.

NOw, forasmuch as Queen *Mary*, during all the time of her Reign, was such a vehement Adversary and persecutor against the sincere professors of Christ Jesus and his Gospel: for the which there be many which do highly magnifie and approve her doings therein, reputing her Religion to be sound and Catholick and her proceedings to be most acceptable and blessed of Almighty God: to the intent therefore, that all men may understand, how the blessing of the Lord God did not only not proceed with her proceedings, but contrariwise rather, how his manifest displeasure ever wrought against her, in plaguing both her and her Realm, and in subverting all her counsels and attempts, whatsoever she took in hand, we will bestow a little time therein, to perpend and survey the whole course of her doings and chievances, and consider what success she had in the same. Which being well considered, we shall never find any reign of any Prince in this Land, or any other, which did ever shew in it (for the proportion of time,) so many arguments of Gods great wrath and displeasure, as was to be seen in the Reign of this Queen *Mary*, whether we behold the shortness of her time, or the unfortunate event of all her purposes, who seemed never to purpose any thing that came luckily to pass, neither did any thing frame to her purpose, whatsoever she took in hand touching her own private Affairs.

Q. *Mary* never had good success in any thing she went about.

A good King always maketh a flourishing Realm.

Of good Kings we read in the Scripture, in shewing mercy and pity, in seeking Gods will in his Word, and subverting the Monuments of Idolatry, how God blessed their ways, encreased their honours, and mightily prospered all their proceedings; as we see in King. *David*, *Solomon*, *Josias*, *Josaphat*, *Ezechias*, with such other. *Manasses* made the streets of *Jerusalam* to swim with the Blood of his Subjects, but what came of it the Text doth testifie.

Comparison between the Reign of Q. *Mary* and Q. *Eliz.*

Of Queen *Elizabeth*, which now reigneth among us, this we must needs say, which we see, that she in sparing the Blood, not only of Gods Servants, but also of Gods Enemies, hath doubled now the Reign of Queen *Mary* her Sister, with such abundance of peace and prosperity, that it is hard to say, whether the Realm of *England* felt more of Gods wrath in Queen *Maries* time, or of Gods favor and mercy in these so blessed and peaceable days of Q. *Elizabeth*.

Gamaliels reason. Acts 5.

Gamaliel speaking his mind in the Council of the *Pharisees* concerning Christs Religion, gave this reason; That if it were of God, it should continue, whosoever said nay; If it were not, it could not stand. So may it be said of Queen *Mary* and her Romish Religion, That if it were so perfect and Catholick as they pretend, and the contrary Faith of the Gospellers were so detestable and Heretical as they make it; how cometh it then, that this so Catholick a Queen, such a necessary Pillar of his Spouse the Church, continued no longer, till she had utterly rooted out of the Land this Heretical generation? yea how chanced it rather, that Almighty God, to spare these poor Hereticks, rooted out Queen *Mary* so soon from her Throne, after she had reigned but only five years and five months?

Q. *Mary* prospered so long as she went not against the Lord.

Now furthermore, how God blessed her ways and endeavours in the mean time, while she thus persecuted the true Servants of God, remaineth to be discussed. Where this is first to be noted, that when she first began to stand for the title of the Crown, and yet had wrought no resistance against Christ and his Gospel, but had promised her faith to the *Suffolk* men, to maintain the Religion left by King *Edward* her Brother, so long God went with her, advanced her, and by the means of the Gospellers brought her to the possession of the Realm.

Q. *Maries* promise to the Gospellers broken

But after that she breaking her promise with God and man, began to take part with *Stephen Gardiner*, and had given over her Supremacy unto the Pope, by-and-by Gods blessing left her, neither did any thing well thrive with her afterward during the whole time of her Regiment. Anno 1558.

The Ship called the Great Harry burned.

For first incontinently the fairest and greatest Ship she had, called *Great Harry*, was burned; such a Vessel as in all these parts of *Europe* was not to be matched.

Q. *Maries* Marriage with a stranger.

Then would she needs bring in King *Philip*, and by her strange, marriage with him, to make the whole Realm of *England* Subject unto a Stranger. And all that notwithstanding, that she either did or was able to do, she could not bring to pass to set the Crown of *England* upon his head. With King *Philip* also came in the Pope and his Popish Mass; with whom also her purpose was to restore again the Monks and Nuns unto their places, neither lacked there all kind of attempts to the uttermost of her ability: and yet therein also God stopt her of her will, that it came not forward. After this, what a dearth happened in her time here in her Land? the like whereof hath not lightly in *England* been seen, insomuch that in sundry places her poor Subjects were fain to feed of Acorns for want of Corn.

Q. *Mary* disappointed of her purpose in Crowning K. *Philip*.

Q. *Mary* stopped of her will in restoring Abbeylands.

Furthermore, where other Kings are wont to be renowned by some worthy victory and proweſs by them atchieved, let us now see what Valiant Victory was gotten in this Queen *Maries* days. King *Edward* the sixth her blessed Brother, how many Rebellions did he suppress in *Devonshire*, in *Norfolk*, in *Oxfordshire* and elsewhere? what a famous Victory in his time was gotten in *Scotland*, by the singular working (no doubt) of Gods blessed hand) rather than by any expectation of Man? King *Edward* the third (which was the eleventh King from the conquest) by Princely puissance purchased *Calice* unto *England*, which hath been kept English ever since, till at length came Queen *Mary*, the eleventh likewise from the said King *Edward*, which lost *Calice* from *England* again: so that the winnings of this Queen were very small, what the losses were let other men judge.

The victory of K. Edward 6. in Scotland.

The ill luck of Q. *Mary* in losing of *Calice*. The 11. K. from the Conquest got *Calice* and the 12. again after him lost it.

Hitherto the affairs of Queen *Mary* have had no great good success, as you have heard. But never worse success had any Woman, than had she in her Childbirth. For seeing one of these two must needs be granted, that either she was with Child or not with Child: if she were with Child and did Travel, why was it not seen? if she were not, how was all the Realm deluded? And in the mean while, where were all the Prayers, the Solemn Processions, the devout Masses of the Catholick Clergy? why did they not prevail with God, if their Religion were so godly as they pretend? If their Masses *Ex opere operato* be able to fetch Christ from Heaven, and to reach down to Purgatory: how chanced then they could not reach to the Queens Chamber, to help her in her Travel, if she had been with Child indeed? if not, how then came it to pass, that all the Catholick Church of *England* did so err, and was so deeply deceived? Queen *Mary* after these manifold Plagues and Corrections, which might sufficiently admonish her of Gods disfavour provoked against her, would not yet cease her persecution, but still continued more and more to revenge her Catholick Zeal upon the Lords faithful People, setting fire to their poor Bodies by dosens and half dosens. Whereupon Gods wrathful indignation, increasing more and more against her, ceased not to touch her more near with private Misfortunes and Calamities. For after that he had taken from her the fruit of Children (which chiefly and above all things she desired) then he bereft her of that, which of all earthly things should have been her chief stay of Honour, and staff of Comfort, that is, withdrew from her the Affection and Company even of her own Husband, by whose marriage she had promised before to her self whole Heaps of such Joy and Felicity: but now the Omnipotent Governor of all things so turned the Wheel of her own spinning against her, that her High Buildings of such Joys and Felicities came all to a Castle come down; her hopes being confounded, her purposes disappointed, and she now brought to desolation; who seemed neither to have the favour of God, nor the hearts of her Subjects, nor yet the love of her Husband; who neither had fruit by him while she had

The ill luck of Q. *Mary* in her Childbirth.

Q. *Mary* left desolate of K. *Philip* her Husband.

The ill luck of Q. *Mary* with her Husband.

Anno 1558.

had him, neither could now enjoy him whom ſhe had married, neither yet was at liberty to marry any other whom ſhe mgiht enjoy. Mark here (Chriſtian Reader) the woful Adverſity of this Queen, and learn withal what the Lord can do when mans wilfulneſs will needs reſiſt him, and will not be ruled.

The final end and death of Q. *Mary*.

At laſt, when all theſe fair admonitions would take no place with the Queen, nor remove her to revoke her bloody Laws, nor to ſtay the Tyranny of her Prieſts, nor yet to ſpare her own Subjects, but that the poor Servants of God were drawn daily by Heaps moſt pitifully as Sheep to the ſlaughter, it ſo pleaſed the Heavenly Majeſty of Almighty God, when no other remedy would ſerve, by death to cut her off, which in her life ſo little regarded the life of others, giving her Throne, which ſhe abuſed to the deſtruction of Chriſts Church and People, to another who more temperately and quietly could guide the ſame, after ſhe had reigned here the ſpace of five years and five months. The ſhortneſs of which years and reign, ſcarce we find in any other Story of King or Queen ſince the Conqueſt or before (being come to their own Government) ſave only in King *Richard* the third.

Q. *Mary* Reigned 5. years and 5 months.

The ſhortneſs of Q. *Maries* Reign noted.

An admonition to all Chriſtian Rulers,

And thus much here, as in the cloſing up of this Story, I thought to inſinuate, touching the unlucky and ruſful Reign of Queen *Mary*: not for any detraction to her place and State Royal, whereunto ſhe was called of the Lord, but to this only intent and effect, that forſomuch as ſhe would needs ſet her ſelf ſo confidently to work and ſtrive againſt the Lord and his proceedings, all Readers and Rulers may not only ſee how the Lord did work againſt her therefore, but alſo by her may be advertiſed and learn what a Perillous thing it is for Men and Women in Authority, upon blind Zeal and Opinion, to ſtirr up perſecution in Chriſtians Church, to the effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, leſt it prove in the end with them (as it did here) that while they think to perſecute Hereticks, they ſtumble at the ſame Stone as did the Jews in perſecuting Chriſt and his true Members to death, to their own confuſion and deſtruction.

The ſevere puniſhment of God upon the perſecutors of his People and Enemies to his Word, with ſuch alſo as have been Blaſphemers, contemners, and mockkers of his Religion.

A treatiſe of Gods ſevere Puniſhment againſt cruel Perſecutors, and Enemies to his Word.

LEaving now Queen *Mary*, being dead and gone, I come to them which under her were the chief Miniſters and doers in this perſecution, the Biſhops (I mean) and Prieſts of the Clergy, to whom Queen *Mary* gave all the execution of her Power, as did Queen *Alexandra* to the *Phariſees* after the time of the *Machabees*. Of whom *Joſephus* thus writeth, *Ipſa ſolum nomen regium ferebat, cæterum omnem regni poteſtatem* Phariſæi *poſſidebant*: that is, She only retained to her ſelf the name and Title of the Kingdom, but all her Power ſhe gave to the *Phariſees* to poſſeſs, &c. Touching which Prelates and Prieſts here is to be noted in like ſort the wonderful and miraculous providence of Almighty God which as he abridged the Reign of their Queen, ſo be ſuffered them not to eſcape unviſited: firſt beginning with *Stephen Gardiner* the Arch-perſecutor of Chriſt Church, whom he took away about the midſt of the Queens Reign. Of whoſe poiſoned life, and ſtinking end, forſomuch as ſufficient hath been touched before, I ſhall not need here to make any new rehearſal thereof.

Joſephus de antiq. lib. 13.

The death of Steph. *Gardiner*, read before.

After him dropped other away alſo, ſome before the death of Queen *Mary*, and ſome after; as *Morgan* Biſhop of St. *Davids*, who ſitting upon the Condemnation of the bleſſed Martyr Biſhop *Farrer*, and unjuſtly uſurping his Room, not long after was ſtricken by Gods hand after ſuch a ſtrange ſort, that his meat would not go down, but riſe and pick up again, ſometime at his mouth, ſometime blown out at his Noſe moſt horrible to behold, and ſo he continued till his death. Where note moreover that when Maſter *Leyſon*, being then Sheriff at Biſhop *Farrers* burning, had fet away the Cattle of the ſaid *Biſhop* from his Servants houſe called *Matthew Harbottel*, into his own cuſtody, the Cattle coming, into the Sheriffs ground, divers of them would never eat meat, but lay Bellowing and Roaring, and ſo died.

Gods puniſhment upon D. *Morgan* B. of S. *Davids*.

A note of wrong-gotten goods

This foreſaid Biſhop *Morgan* above mentioned, bringeth me alſo in remembrance of Juſtice *Morgan*, who ſate upon the death of the Lady *Jane*, and not long after the ſame fell mad, and was bereft of his wits, and ſo died, having ever in his mouth, Lady *Jane*, Lady *Jane*, &c.

Juſtice Morgan ſtriken with madneſs.

Before the death of Queen *Mary*, died Dr. *Dunning* the bloody and wretched Chancellor of *Norwich*, who, after he had moſt rigorouſly condemned and murdered ſo many ſimple and faithful Saints of the Lord, continued not long himſelf, but in the midſt of his Rage in Q. *Maries* days died in *Lincolnſhire*, being ſuddenly taken (as ſome ſay) ſitting in his Chair.

D. *Dunning* a cruel Chancellor ſtriken with ſudden death.

The like ſudden death fell alſo upon *Berry* Commiſſary in *Norfolk*, who (as is before ſhewed in the Story of *Thomas Hudſon*) four days after Q. *Maries* death, when he had made a great feaſt, and had one of his Concubines there, coming home from the Church after Evenſong, where he had miniſtred Baptiſm the ſame time, between the Church-yard and his houſe ſuddenly fell down to the ground with a heavy groan, and never ſtirred after neither ſhewed any one token of repentance.

The ſudden death of *Berry* a commiſſary in *Norfolk*.

What a ſtroke of Gods Hand was brought upon the cruel Perſecutor of the holy and harmleſs Saints of the Lord, Biſhop *Thornton*, Suffragan of *Dover*, who after he had exerciſed his cruel Tyranny upon ſo many godly men at *Canterbury*, at length coming upon a *Saturday* from the Chapter houſe at *Canterbury* to *Borne* and there upon *Sunday* following looking upon his men playing at the Bowls, fell ſuddenly in a Palſey, and ſo had to Bed, was willed to remember God: Yea, ſo I do (ſaidhe) and my Lord *Cardinal* too &c.

Gods ſtroke upon Dr. *Thornton* B. or Suffragan of *Dover*.

After him ſucceeded another Biſhop or Suffragan ordained by the foreſaid Cardinal. It is reported that he had been Suffragan before to *Boner*, who, not long after being made Biſhop or Suffragan of *Dover*, brake his Neck falling down a pair of Stairs in the Cardinals Chamber at *Greenwich*, as he had received the Cardinals bleſſing.

Another ſuffragan of *Dover* brake his neck after he had received the Cardinals bleſſing.

Among other plentiful and ſundry examples of the Lords Judgment and ſeverity practiſed upon the cruel Perſecutors of his People, that is not the leaſt that followeth, concerinng the Story of one *William Fenning*, the effect and circumſtance of which matter is this.

John Cooper of the age of 44. years, dwelling at *Watſam* in the County of *Suffolk*, being by *Science* a Carpenter, a man of very honeſt report and a good houſe-keeper, a harbourer of ſtrangers that travelled for conſcience, and one that favoured Religion, and thoſe that were religious, was of honeſt converſation and good life, hating all Popiſh and Papiſtical traſh.

This man being at home in his houſe, there came unto him one *William Fenning*, a Serving-man, dwelling in the ſaid Town of *Watſam*, and underſtanding that the ſaid *Cooper* had a couple of fair Bullocks, did deſire to buy them of him; which *Cooper* told him that he was loath to ſell them, for that he had brought them up for his own uſe, and if he ſhould ſell them, he then muſt be compelled to buy other, and that he would not do.

When *Fenning* ſaw he could not get them (for he had often aſſaied the matter) he ſaid, he would ſit as much in his light, and ſo departed, and went and accuſed him of high Treaſon. The words he was charged with were theſe, How he ſhould pray, if God would not take away Queen *Mary*, that then the Devil would take her away. Of theſe words did this *Fenning* charge him before Sir *Henry Doiel* Knight (unto whom he was carried by Mr. *Timperley* of *Hincleſam* in *Suffolk*, and one *Grimwood* of *Lowſhaw* Conſtable) which words *Cooper* flatly denied; and ſaid he never ſpake them: but that could not help.

Notwithſtanding, he was arraigned therefore at *Berry* before Sir *Clement Higham*, at a Lent Aſſiſe, and there this *Fenning* brought two naughty men that witneſſed the ſpeaking of the foreſaid words, whoſe names were *Richard White* of *Watſam*, and *Grimwood* of *Hitcham*, in the ſaid County of *Suffolk*. Whoſe Teſtimonies were received as Truth, although this good man *John Cooper* had ſaid what he could to declare himſelf inno-

cent

cent therein, but to no purpose, God knoweth. For his life was determined, as in the end appeared by Sir *Clement Highams* words, who said he should not escape, for an example to all Hereticks, as indeed he throughly performed. For immediatly he was judged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was executed upon him very shortly after, to the great grief of many a good heart. Here good *Cooper* is bereft of his life, and leaves behind him alive his Wife and nine Children, with Goods and Cattle, to the value of three hundred Marks, the which Substance was all taken away by the said Sir *Henry Doiel* Sheriff, but his Wife and poor Children left to the wide World in their Cloaths, and suffered not to enjoy one Penny of that they had sore laboured for, unless they made Friends to buy it with mony of the said Sheriff, so cruel and greedy was he and his Officers upon such things as were there left.

Well, now this innocent man is dead, his Goods spoyled, his Wife and Children left desolate and comfortless and all things husht, and nothing feared of any part: yet the Lord, who surely doth revenge the guiltless Blood, would not still so suffer it, but began at the length to punish it himself. For in the Harvest after, the said *Grimwood* of *Hitcham* one of the witnesses before specified, as he was in his labour staking up a Goff of Corn, having his health, and fearing no Peril, suddenly his Bowels fell out of his Body, and immediatly most miserably he died; such was the terrible judgment of God, to shew his displeasure against his Bloody Act, and to warn the rest by these his judgments to repentance. The Lord grant us to honour the same, for his mercies sake. *Amen.*

The Judgment of God upon *Grimwood.*

This foresaid *Fenning*, who was the procurer of this Tyranny against him, is yet alive, and is now a Minister; which if he be, I pray God he may so repent that Fact, that he may declare himself hereafter such a one as may well answer to his vocation accordingly.

But since we have heard that he is no changeling, but continueth still in his wickedness, and therefore presented before the worshipful Master *Humerston*, Esquire and Justice of Peace and *Quorum*, for that he had talk with some of his Friends (as he thought) how many honest Women (to their great infamy) were in the Parish of *Wenstbaston*, wherein he is now Vicar, resident: wherefore he was commanded the next *Sunday* ensuing, to ask all the Parish forgiveness upon his Knees openly in Service time, which he did in *Wenstbaston* Church before said, and moreover the aboveseid *Fenning* is reported to be more like a shifter than a Minister.

A terrible example of Gods severe punishment upon one *Nightingal*, Parson of *Crondal* in *Kent.*

To these examples also may be added the terrible judgment of God upon the Parson at *Crondal* in *Kent*, who upon *Shrove-Sunday*, having received the Popes Pardon from *Cardinal Pool*, came to his Parish, and exhorted the People to receive the same, as he had done himself; saying that he stood now so clear in Conscience as when he was first born, and cared not now if he should die the same hour, in the clearness of his Conscience; whereupon being suddenly striken by the hand of God, and leaning a little on the one side, immediately shrunk down in the Pulpit, and so was found dead, speaking not one word more. Read before.

Not long before the death of Queen *Mary* died Dr. *Capon* Bishop of *Salisbury* About the which time also followed the unprepared death of Doctor *Geffrey*, Chancellor of *Salisbury*, who in the midst of his buildings, suddenly being taken by the mighty hand of God, yielded his life, which had so little pity of other mens lives before. Concerning whose cruelty partly mention is made before.

D. *Geffrey* Chancellor of *Salisbury.*

As touching moreover this foresaid Chancellor, here is to be noted, that he departing upon a *Saturday*, the next day before the same he had appointed to call before him 90. Persons and not so few, to examine them by Inquisition, had not the goodness of the Lord, and his tender providence thus prevented him with death, providing for his poor Servants in time.

And now (to come from Priests to Lay-men) we have to find in them also no less terrible demonstration of Gods heavy judgment upon such as have been Vexers and Persecutors of his People.

Before in the Story of Mr. *Bradford* mention was made of Master *Woodroffe*, who being the Sheriff, used much to rejoyce at the death of the poor Saints of Christ, and so hard he was in his Office, that when Mr. *Rogers* was in the Cart going toward *Smithfield*, and in the way his Children were brought unto him, the People making a Lane for them to come; Master *Woodroffe* bade the Car-mans heard should be be broken for staying his Cart. But what happened? He was not come out of his Office the space of a week, but he was striken by the sudden hand of God, the one half of his Body in such sort, that he lay benummed and bedrid, not able to move himself but as he was lifted of other, and so continued in that infirmity the space of seven or eight years, till his dying day.

Anno 1558.

M. Woodroff a cruel Sheriff plagued.

Likewise touching *Ralph Lardin* the betrayer of *George Eagles*, it is thought of some, that the said *Ralph* afterward was attached himself, arraigned, and hanged.

Read before. The betrayer of *George Eagles* plagued.

Who, being at the Barr, had these words before the Judges there, and a great multitude of People. This is most justly fallen upon me, saith he, for that I have betrayed the innocent Blood of a good and just man *George Eagles*, who was here condemned in the time of Queen *Maries* Reign through my procurement, who sold his Blood for a little mony. Not much unlike stroke of these severally was shewed upon *William Swallow* of *Chelmesford*, and his Wife, also upon *Richard Potto*, and Justice *Brown*, cruel Persecutors of the said *George Eagles*, concerning whose Story read before.

Among other Persecutors also came to our hands the cruelty of one Mr. *Swingfield* an Aldermans Deputy about *Thames-street*, who hearing one *Angels* Wife, a Mid-wife that kept her self from their Popish Church, to be at the labour of one Mrs. *Walter* at *Crooked lane-end*, took three other with him, and beset the house about, and took her and carried her to *Boners* Officers, big with Child, eight and twenty weeks gone, who laid her in *Lollards-Tower*; where, the same day she came in, through fear and a fall at her taking, she was delivered of a man Child, and could have no Women with her in that needful time. Lying there five weeks, she was delivered under Sureties by friendship, and Doctor *Story* hearing thereof charged her with Felony, and so sent her to *Newgate*. The cause was, for that she had a Woman at her house in her labour that died, and the Child also, and so he charged her with their death.

Gods punishment upon M. *Swingfield* and other which betrayed one *Angels* Wife.

But when Sir *Roger Cholmley* heard her tell her Tale, he delivered her; and not much more than ten weeks after, if it were so long, died the said Master *Swingfield* and the other three that came to take her.

Because some there be, and not a few, which have such a great devotion in setting up the Popish Mass, I shall desire them to mark well this Story following. There was a certain Bayliff of *Crowland* in *Lincolnshire* named, *Burton*, who pretending an earnest friendship to the Gospel in K. *Edwards* days, in outward shew at least (although inwardly he was a Papist or Atheist, and well known to be a man of a wicked and adulterous life) set forth the Kings proceedings lustily, till the time that King *Edward* was dead and Queen *Mary* placed quietly in her estate.

A story of *Burton*, Bayliff of *Crowland*, how he was plagued for setting up Mass.

Then perceiving by the first Proclamation concerning Religion, how the world was like to turn, the Bayliff turned his Religion likewise; and so he moved the Parish to shew themselves the Queens Friends, and to set up the Mass speedily. Nevertheless, the most Substantial of the Parish marvelling much at the Bayliffs inconstant lightness, considering also his abominable life, and having no great devotion unto his request, knowing moreover that their duty and friendship to the Queen stood not in setting up the Mass, spared to provide for it, as long as they might: but the Bayliff called on them still in the Queens Name.

At last, when he saw his words were not regarded, and purposing to win his Spurrs by playing the man in the Masses behalf and the Queens, he got him to Church upon a *Sunday* morning, and when the Curate was beginning the English Service, according to the Statute set forth by King *Edward* the sixth, the Bayliff cometh in a great Rage to the Curate, and saith, Sirrah, will you not say Mass? Buckle your self to

Burton eateth the nest in setting up the Mass.

Anno 1558.

to Maſs you Knave, or by Gods Blood I ſhall ſheath my Dagger in your ſhoulder. The poor Curate for fear ſettled himſelf to the Maſs.

Not long after this, the Bayliff rode from home upon certain buſineſs, accompanied with one of his Neighbours, and as they came riding together upon the *Fennebank* homeward again, a Crow ſitting in a Willow-tree took her flight over his head, ſinging after her wonted note, Knave, Knave, and withal let fall upon his face, ſo that her excrements ran from the top of his Noſe down to his Beard.

The poiſoned ſcent and ſavour whereof ſo noyed his Stomach, that he never ceaſed vomiting until he came home, wherewith his heart was ſo ſore and his body ſo diſtempered, that for extreme ſickneſs he got him to Bed, and ſo lying, he was not able for the ſtink in his Stomach and painful vomiting, to receive any relief of meat or drink, but cried out ſtill, ſorrowfully complaining of that ſtink, and with no ſmall Oaths curſed the Crow that poiſoned him. To make ſhort, he continued but a few days, but with extreme pain of vomiting and crying, he deſperately died, without any token of repentance of his former life.

The ſtinking death of a Popiſh Maſſemonger.

Reported and teſtified for a certainty, by divers of his Neighbours, both honeſt and credible Perſons.

Of the Martyrdom of J. *Abbes*. Read before

Of *James Abbes* Martyr, ye heard before. In the time of whoſe Martyrdom, what befell upon a wicked Railer againſt him, now ye ſhall further underſtand. Whereby all ſuch railing Perſecutors may learn to fear Gods hand, and to take heed how or what they ſpeak againſt his Servants. As this *James Abbes* was led by the Sheriff toward his execution, divers poor People ſtood in the way, and asked their Alms. He then having no mony to give them, and deſirous yet to diſtribute ſomething amongſt them, did pull off all his Apparel ſaving his Shirt, and gave the ſame unto them, to ſome one thing, to ſome another; in the giving whereof he exhorted them to be ſtrong in the Lord, and as faithful followers of Chriſt, to ſtand ſtedfaſt unto the Truth of the Goſpel, which he (through Gods help) would then in their ſight ſeal and confirm with his Blood. Whiles he was thus charitably occupied, and zealouſly inſtructing the People, a Servant of the Sheriffs going by and hearig him, cried out aloud unto them, and blaſphemouſly ſaid, Believe him not good People. he is an Heretick and a mad man, out of his wit, believe him not; for it is Hereſie that he ſaith. And as the other continued in his godly admonitions, ſo did this wicked wretch ſtill blow forth his Blaſphemous exclamations, until they came unto the Stake where he ſhould ſuffer. Unto the which this conſtant Martyr was tied, and in the end cruelly burned, as in his Story more fully is already declared.

A Story to be noted of all railing Perſecutors.

The Sheriffs Servant vilely railing againſt J. *Abbes*.

But immediately after the fire was put unto him (ſuch was the fearful ſtroke of Gods Juſtice upon this Blaſphemous Railer) that he was there preſently, in the ſight of all the People, ſtriken with a Frenzie, wherewith he had before moſt railingly charged that good Martyr of God, who in this furious Rage and madneſs caſting off his ſhooes, with all the reſt of his Cloaths, cried, out unto the People, and ſaid, Thus did *James Abbes* the true Servant of God, who is ſaved, but I am damned. And thus ran he round about the Town of *Bury*, ſtill crying out, that *James Abbes* was a good man and ſaved, but he was damned.

A fearful Example of Gods righteous judgment againſt the Sheriffs Servant railing againſt J. *Abbes*.

The Sheriff then being amazed, cauſed him to be taken and tied in a dark houſe, and by force compelled him again to put on his Cloaths thinking thereby within a while to bring him to ſome quietneſs. But he (all that notwithſtanding) as ſoon as they were gone, continued his former raging, and caſting off his Cloaths, cried as he did before, *James Abbes* is the Servant of God and is ſaved, but I am damned.

Example how Popery bringeth to deſperation.

At length he was tied in a Cart, and brought home into his Maſters houſe, and within half a year or thereabouts, he being at the point of death, the Prieſt of the Pariſh was ſent for: who coming unto him, brought with him the Crucifix, and their Houſeling Hoſt of the Altar. Which gear when the poor wretch ſaw, he cried out of the Prieſt, and defied all that Baggage, ſaying, that the Prieſt, with ſuch other as he was, was the cauſe of his Damnation, and that *James Abbes* was a good man and ſaved. And ſo ſhortly after he died.

Clarke, an open Enemy to the Goſpel and all godly Preachers, in K. *Edwards* days hanged himſelf in the *Tower* of *London*.

Clark hanged himſelf.

The great and notable Papiſt, called *Troling Smith*, of late fell down ſuddenly in the Street, and died.

The ſudden death of *Tro. Smith*.

Dale the Promoter was eaten into his Body with Lice, and ſo died, as it is well known of many, and confeſſed alſo by his Fellow *John Anales*, before credible witneſs.

Dale the Promoter eaten with Lice.

Cox an earneſt Proteſtant in King *Edwards* days, and in Q. *Maries* time a Papiſt and a Promoter, going well and in health to Bed (as it ſeemed) was dead before the morning. Teſtified by divers of the Neighbours.

Cox the Promoter ſuddenly died.

Alexander the Keeper of *Newgate*, a cruel Enemy to thoſe that lay there for Religion, died very miſerably, being ſo ſwollen, that he was more like a Monſter than a Man, and ſo rotten within, that no man could abide the ſmell of him. This cruel wretch, to haſten the poor Lambs to the Slaughter, would go to *Boner*, *Story*, *Cholmley*, and others, crying out, Rid my Priſon, Rid my Priſon. I am too much peſtered with theſe Hereticks.

Alexander the cruel Keeper of *Newgate*, died a rotten death.

The Son of the ſaid *Alexander* called *James*, having left unto him by his Father great Subſtance, within three years waſted all to nough: and when ſome marvelled how he ſpent thoſe goods ſo faſt: O ſaid he, evil gotten, evil ſpent; and ſhortly after as he went in *Newgate-Market*, he fell down ſuddenly, and there wretchedly died.

The ſudden death of J. *Alexanders* Son.

John Peter, Son in Law to this *Alexander*, and an horrible Blaſphemer of God, and no leſs cruel to the ſaid Priſoners, rotted away, and ſo moſt miſerably died. Who commonly when he would affirm any thing, were it true or falſe, uſed to ſay, if it be not true, I pray God I rot ere I die. Witneſs the Printer hereof, with divers others.

J. *Peter Alexanders* Son in law rotted away.

With theſe I might inferr the ſudden death of Juſtice *Lelond* Perſecutor of *Jeffrey Hurſt*, mentioned before.

Juſtice *Lelond* Perſecutor, plagued.

Alſo the death of *Rob. Baulding* ſtriken with Lightning at the taking of *William Seaman*, whereupon he pined away and died: the Story of the which *W. Seaman*, ſee before.

R. *Baulding* Perſecutor.

Likewiſe the wretched end of *Beard* the Promoter.

Beard the Promoter *R Bloomfield* Perſecutor.

Moreover the conſuming away of *Robert Blomfield*, Perſecutor of *William Brown*, ſpecified before.

Further, to return a little backward to King *Henries* time, here might be induced alſo the example of *John Rockwood*, who in his horrible end cried all too late, with the ſame words which he had uſed before in perſecuting Gods poor People of *Calice*.

The Judgment of God upon J. *Rockwood*, Lady *Honor*, and *George Bradway* Perſecutors in *Calice*.

Alſo the judgment of God upon Lady *Honor* a Perſecutor, and of *George Bradway* a falſe accuſer, both bereft of their wit.

And what a notable Spectacle of Gods revenging judgment have we to conſider in Sir *Ralph Ellerker*, who as he was deſirous to ſee the heart taken out of *Adam Damlyp*, whom they moſt wrongfully put to death: ſo ſhortly after the ſaid Sir *Ralph Ellerker* being ſlain of the Frenchmen, they all to mangling him, after they had cut off his privy Members, would not ſo leave him, before they might ſee his heart cut out of his Body.

The juſt puniſhment of God upon Sir *Ral. Ellerker* Perſecutor.

Dr. *Foxford*, Chancellor to B. *Stokeſley*, a cruel Perſecutor, died ſuddenly.

The ſudden death of Dr. *Foxford*.

Pavier or *Pavy*, Town-Clark of *London*, and a bitter Enemy to the Goſpel, hanged himſelf. *Stephen Gardiner*, hearing of the Pitiful end of Judge *Hales* after he had drowned himſelf, taking occaſion thereby, called the following and profeſſion of the Goſpel a Doctrine of deſperation. But as Judge *Hales* never fell into that inconvenience before he had conſented to Papiſtry: ſo whoſo well conſidereth the end of Doctor *Pendleton* (which at his death full ſore repented that ever he had yielded to the Doctrine of the Papiſts, as he did) and likewiſe the miſerable end of the moſt part of the Papiſts beſides, and eſpecially of *Stephen Gardiner* himſelf (who after ſo long profeſſing the Doctrine of Papiſtry, when there came a Biſhop to him in his death Bed, and put him in

Pavier a Perſecutor hanged himſelf.

in remembrance of *Peter* denying his Maſter: he anſwering again, ſaid, that he had denyed with *Peter*, but never repented with *Peter*, and ſo both ſtinkingly and unrepentantly died) will ſay, as *Stephen Gardiner* alſo himſelf gave an evident example of the ſame to all men, to underſtand that Popery rather is a Doctrine of deſperation, procuring the vengeance of Almighty God to them that wilfully do cleave unto it.

'he ſtinking end of *Gardiner* roveth Popery and ot the Goſpel to be ne Doctrine f deſperation

John Fiſher Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Tho. More*, in King *Henries* time, after they had brought *John Frith*. *Baifield* and *Baynham*, and divers other to their death, what great reward wan they thereby with Almighty God? Did not the Sword of Gods Vengance light upon their own necks ſhortly after, and they themſelves made a Publick Spectacle at the Tower-hill of bloody death, which before had no Compaſſion of the lives of others? Thus ye ſee the ſaying of the Lord to be true, *He that ſmiteth with the Sword, ſhall periſh with the Sword*, 2 *Mach.* 3.

'ods juſt roke upon *Fiſher* B. f *Rocheſter*, ud Sir *Tho. More*

So was *Heliodorus* in the old time of the Jews plagued by Gods hand in the *Temple* of *Jeruſalem*.

Of *Valerianus* read before.

So did *Antiochus*, *Herod*, *Julian*, *Valerianus* the Emperor, *Decius*, *Marentius*, with infinite others, after they had exerciſed their cruelty upon Gods People, feel the like ſtriking hand of God themſelves alſo, in revenging the Blood of his Servants.

And thus much concerning thoſe Perſecutors, aswell of the Clergy ſort, as of the Laity, which were ſtriken, and died before the death of Queen *Mary*. With whom alſo are to be numbred in the Race of perſecuting Biſhops, which died before Queen *Mary*, theſe Biſhops following.

Biſhops.

Biſhops that died before Q. *Mary*.

Coates Biſhop of *Weſtcheſter*.
Parfew Biſhop of *Hereford*.
Glin Biſhop of *Bangor*.
Brooks Biſhop of *Glouceſter*.
King Biſhop of *Tame*.
Peto Elect of *Salisbury*.
Day Biſhop of *Chicheſter*.
Holyman Biſhop of *Briſtow*.

Now after the Queen immediately followed, or rather waited upon her, the death of *Cardinal Pool*, who the next day departed: Of what diſeaſe, although it be uncertain to many, yet to ſome it is ſuſpected that he took ſome Italian Phyſick, which did him no good. Then followed in order.

Biſhops.

Biſhops that died after Q. *Mary*.

John Chriſtopherſon Biſhop of *Chicheſter*.
Hopton Biſhop of *Norwich*.
Morgan Biſhop of Saint *Davids*.
John White Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.
Ralph Bain Biſhop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*.
Owen Oglethorpe Biſhop of *Carlile*.
† *Cutbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*.
Thomas Rainolds Elect of *Hereford*, after his deprivation died in Priſon.

†Note that B. *Tonſtal* in Q. *Maries* time was no great Bloody Perſecutor. For Mr. *Ruſtal* a Preacher was before him, and Dr. *Himmerhit* Chancellor would have had him examined more particularly. The B. ſayed him, ſaying, Hitherto we have had a good report among our Neighbours, I pray you bring not this mans Blood upon my head.

Beſides theſe Biſhops above named, firſt died at the ſame time.

D. *Weſton* Dean of *Weſtminſter*, afterward Dean of *Windſor*, chief diſputer againſt *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*.

M. *Slethurſt*, Maſter of *Trinity Colledge* in *Oxford*, who died in the *Tower*.

Seth Holland Dean of *Worceſter*, and Warden of *Allſoul Colledge* in *Oxford*.

William Copinger, Monk of *Weſtminſter*, who bare the great Seal before *Stephen Gardiner*, after the death of the ſaid *Gardiner*, made himſelf Monk in the houſe of *Weſtminſter*, and ſhortly after fell mad, and died in the *Tower*.

D. *Steward* Dean of *Wincheſter*.

To behold the working of Gods judgments it is wondrous. In the firſt year of Queen *Mary*, when the Clergy was aſſembled in the *Convocation-houſe*, and alſo afterward, when the diſputation was in *Oxford* againſt Dr. *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, he that had ſeen then Doctor *Weſton* the Prolocutor in his Ruff, how highly he took upon him in the Schools, and how ſtoutly he ſtood in the Popes Quarrel againſt ſimple and naked Truth, full little would have thought, and leſs did he think himſelf (I dare ſay) that his glory and lofty looks ſhould have been brought down ſo ſoon, eſpecially by them of his own Religion, whoſe part he ſo doubtily defended. But ſuch is the reward and end commonly of them, who preſumptuouſly oppoſe themſelves to ſtrive againſt the Lord, as by the example of this Doctorly Prolocutor right well may appear. For not long after the diſputation above mentioned againſt Biſhop *Cranmer* and his fellows, God ſo wrought againſt the ſaid Dr. *Weſton*, that he fell in great diſpleaſure with *Cardinal Pool* and other Biſhops, becauſe he was unwilling to give up his Deanry and houſe of *Weſtminſter* unto the Monks and Religious men, whom indeed he favoured not, although in other things he maintained the Church of *Rome*. Who notwithſtanding at laſt, through importunate ſute, gave up *Weſtminſter*, and was Dean of *Windſor*; where not long after, he was apprehended in Adultery, and for the ſame was by the Cardinal put from all his ſpiritual Livings.

Anno 1558.

A Note of D. *Weſton*.

D. *Weſton* out of favour with Papiſts.

D. *Weſton* taken in adultery.

Wherefore he appealed to *Rome*, and purpoſed to have fled out of the Realm, but was taken by the way, and committed to the *Tower* of *London* and there remained until Queen *Elizabeth* was proclaimed Queen, at which time he being delivered, fell ſick and died. The common talk was, that if he had not ſo ſuddenly ended his life, he would have opened and revealed the purpoſe of the chief of the Clergy, meaning the Cardinal, which was to have taken up K. *Henries* Body at *Windſor* and to have burned it. And thus much of D. *Weſton*.

D. *Weſton* appealed to *Rome*.

The death of D. *Weſton*

The reſidue that remained of the perſecuting Clergy, and eſcaped the ſtroke of death, were deprived, and committed to priſons: the Catalogue of whoſe names here followeth.

In the *Tower*.

Cathelick Biſhops after Q. *Maries* death deprived and impriſoned.

Nicholas Heath, Archbiſhop of *York*, and Lord Chancellor.
Thomas Thurby Biſhop of *Ely*. *Thomas Watſon* Biſhop of *Lincolne*.
Gilbert Bourne Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*.
Richard Pates Biſhop of *Worceſter*.
Troubleſield Biſhop of *Exeter*.
John Fecknam Abbot of *Weſtminſter*.
John Borall Dean of *Windſor* and *Peterborough*.

Of *David Pool* Biſhop of *Peterborough*, I doubt whether he was in the *Tower*, or in ſome other Priſon.

Note that ſome of theſe Biſhops afterward through the goodneſs of Q. *Elizabeth*, were diſperſed, and ſuffered to be kept in their friends houſes.

Ran away.

Goldwel Biſhop of Saint *Aſaph*.
Maurice Elect of *Bangor*.
Edmund Boner Biſhop of *London*, *in the Marſhalſea*.
Thomas Wood Biſhop Elect, in the *Marſhalſea*.
Cutbert Scot, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *was in the* Fleet, *from whence he eſcaped to* Lovane, *and there died*.

In the *Fleet*.

Henry Cole Dean of *Pauls*.
John Harpsfield Archdeacon of *London*, and Dean of *Norwich*.
Nicholas Harpsfield Archdeacon of *Canterbury*.
Anthony Draycot Archdeacon of *Huntington*.
William Chadſey Archdeacon of *Middleſex*.

A note of D. *Chadſey*. 34. Articles of D. *Chadſey*.

Concerning which Doctor *Chadſey* here is to be noted, that in the beginning of King *Edwards* Reign he recanted, and ſubſcribed to thirty four Articles, which he then fully conſented and agreed with his own hand writing to the whole form of Doctrine approved and allowed then in the Church, as well concerning juſtification by faith only, as alſo the Doctrine of the two Sacraments

Anno 1558. Sacraments then received, denying as well the Popes Supremacy, Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, elevation and adoration of the Sacrament, the Sacrifice, and veneration of the Maſs, as alſo all other like excrements of Popiſh Superſtition, according to the Kings Book then ſet forth.

D. Chadſey ſubſcribed to the reformed Religion in K. Edwards time.

Wherefore the more marvel it is, that he, being counted ſuch a famous and learned Clerk, would ſhew himſelf ſo fickle and unſtable in his Aſſertions, ſo double in his doings, to alter his Religion according to time, and to maintain for Truth, not what he thought beſt, but what he might moſt ſafely defend. So long as the ſtate of the Lord Protector and of his Brother ſtood upright, what was then the conformity of this Doctor *Chadſey*, his own Articles in Latin, written and ſubſcribed with his own hand, do declare, which I have to ſhew, if he will deny them. But after the decay of the Kings Uncles, the fortune of them turned not ſo faſt, but his Religion turned withal, and eftſoons he took upon him to diſpute againſt *Peter Martyr*, in upholding Tranſubſtantiation at *Oxford*, which a little before with his own handwriting he had overthrown.

D. Chadſey mutable and inconſtant in his Religion.

After this enſued the time of Queen *Mary*, wherein Doctor *Chadſey*, to ſhew his double diligence, was ſo eager in his Commiſſion to ſit in Judgment, and to bring poor Men to their death, that in the laſt year of Queen *Mary*, when the L. *Chancellor*, Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, L. *Clinton*, and divers other of the Council had ſent for him by a ſpecial Letter to repair unto *London* out of *Eſſex*, he writing again to the Biſhop of *London*, ſought means not to come at the Councils bidding, but to continue ſtill in his perſecuting progreſs. The Copy of whoſe Letter I have alſo in my hands (if need were) to bring forth.

The eagerneſs of D. Chadſey in puniſhing the poor Martyrs.

Mention was made not long before, of one *William Mauldon*, who in King *Henry*'s time ſuffered ſtripes and ſcourgings for confeſſing the verity of Gods true Religion. It happened in the firſt year of Queen *Elizabeth*, that the ſaid *William Mauldon* was bound Servant with one named Mr. *Hugh Aparry* then a Wheattaker for the Queen, dwelling at *Greenwich*. Who being newly come unto him, and having never a Book there to look upon, being deſirous to occupy himſelf vertuouſly, looked about the houſe, and found a Primer in Engliſh, whereon he read in a Winters Evening. Whiles he was reading, there ſate one *John Apowel* that had been a Serving-man, about Thirty years of age, born toward *Wales*, whom the ſaid Mr. *Hugh* gave meat and drink unto, till ſuch time as he could get a Service. And as the foreſaid *W. Mauldon* read on the Book, the ſaid *John Apowel* mocked him after every word, with contrary gauds and flouting words unreverently, inſomuch that he could no longer abide him for grief of heart, but turned unto him and ſaid, *John*, take heed what thou doſt; Thou doſt not mock me, but thou mockeſt God: For in mocking of his Word, thou mockeſt him; and this is the Word of God, though I be ſimple that read it; and therefore beware what thou doſt.

W. Mauldon Prentice with M. Hugh Aparry at Greenwich.

Then *Mauldon* fell to reading again, and ſtill he proceeded on in his mocking; and when *Mauldon* had read certain Engliſh Prayers, in the end he read, *Lord have mercy upon us, Chriſt have mercy upon us, &c.*

And as *Mauldon* was reciting theſe words, the other with a ſtart ſuddenly ſaid, *Lord have mercy upon me.*

With that *Mauldon* anſwered and ſaid, What aileſt thou *John*?

He ſaid, I was afraid.

Whereof waſt thou afraid ſaid *Mauldon*?

Nothing now, ſaid the other: and ſo he would not tell him. After this, when *Mauldon* and he went to bed, *Mauldon* asked him whereof he was afraid?

He ſaid, when you read, *Lord have mercy upon us, Chriſt have mercy upon us*, methought the hair of my Head ſtood upright, with a great fear which came upon me.

Then ſaid *Mauldon*, *John* thou maiſt ſee, the evil Spirit could not abide that Chriſt ſhould have mercy upon us. Well *John*, ſaid *Mauldon*, repent and amend thy life, for God will not be mocked. If we mock and jeſt at his Word, he will puniſh us.

Alſo you uſe Ribaldry words, and Swearing very much: therefore for Gods ſake, *John*, amend thy life. So I will (ſaid he) by the grace of God; I pray God I may. *Amen* ſaid the other, with other words, and ſo went to bed.

On the morrow, about 8. of the Clock in the morning, the foreſaid *John* came running down out of his Chamber in his Shirt into the Hall, and wreſtled with his Miſtreſs as if he would have thrown her down. Whereat ſhe ſhrieked out, and her Servants holp her, and took him by ſtrength and carried him up into his Bed, and bound him down to his Bed; for they perceived plainly that he was out of his right mind.

A terrible example of Gods Judgment to be noted of all ſuch as be contemners and mockers of God, and his Word.

After that, as he lay, almoſt day and night his Tongue never ceaſed, but he cried out of the Devil of Hell, and his words were ever ſtill, O the Devil of Hell; now the Devil of Hell; I would ſee the Devil of Hell: Thou ſhalt ſee the Devil of Hell; there he was, there he goeth, with other words, but moſt of the Devil of Hell.

Thus he lay without amendment about ſix days, that his Maſter and all his houſhold was weary of that trouble and noiſe. Then his Maſter agreed with the Keepers of *Bedlam*, and gave a piece of Mony, and ſent him thither. It ſeemeth that he was poſſeſſed with an evil Spirit, from the which God defend us all.

This is a terrible Example to you that be mockers of the Word of God: therefore repent and amend, leſt the vengeance of God fall upon you in like manner. Witneſs hereof *William Mauldon* of *Newington*.

The ſame *William Mauldon* chanced afterward to dwell at a Town ſix miles from *London* called *Waltamſtow*, where his Wife taught young Children to read, which was about the year of our Lord 1563, and the fourth year of Q. *Elizabeths* Reign. Unto this School, amongſt other Children, came one *Benfields* Daughter, named *Dennis*, about the age of 12 years.

Gods puniſhment upon a young Damſel of 12 years old, blaſpheming the Majeſty of God.

As theſe Children ſate talking together, they happened among other talk (as the nature of Children is to be buſie with many things) to fall into communication of God, and to reaſon among themſelves, after their Childiſh diſcretion, what he ſhould be.

Whereunto ſome anſwered one thing, ſome another. Among whom, when one of the Children had ſaid, that he was a good old Father; the foreſaid *Dennis Benfield* caſting out impious words of horrible Blaſphemy, What he (ſaid ſhe) is an old doting Fool.

What wretched and blaſphemous words were theſe ye hear. Now mark what followed.

When *W. Mauldon* heard of theſe abominable words of the Girl, he willed his Wife to correct her for the ſame. Which was appointed the next day to be done. But when the next morrow came, her Mother would needs ſend her to the Market to *London*, the Wench greatly intreating her Mother that ſhe might not go, being marveloufly unwilling thereunto. Howbeit through her Mothers compulſion ſhe was forced to go, and went. And what happened? Her buſineſs being done at *London*, as ſhe was returning again homeward, and being a little paſt *Hackney*, ſuddenly the young Girl was ſo ſtricken, that all the one ſide of her was black, and ſhe ſpeechleſs. Whereupon immediately ſhe was carried back to *Hackney*, and there the ſame night was buried. Witneſs of the ſame ſtory *William Mauldon* and his Wife, alſo *Benfield* her Father, and her Mother, which yet be all alive.

Blaſphemy puniſhed.

A terrible Example (no doubt) both to old and young, what it is for Children to blaſpheme the Lord their God, and what it is for Parents to ſuffer their young ones to grow up in ſuch blaſphemous blindneſs, and not to nurture them betime in the rudiments of the Chriſtian Catechiſm, to know firſt their Creation, and then their Redemption in Chriſt our Saviour, to fear the Name of God, and to reverence his Majeſty. For elſe what do they deſerve but to be taken away by death, which contemptuouſly deſpiſe him, of whom they take the benefit of life?

And therefore let all young Maids, Boys, and Young men, take example by this wretched ſilly Wench, not only not to blaſpheme the Sacred Majeſty of the Omnipotent God their Creator, but alſo not once to take his Name in vain, according as they are taught in his Commandments.

A Leſſon to Children and young Girls.

A leſſon to Fathers and Godfathers and Godmothers.

Secondly, let all Fathers, Godfathers, and Godmothers, take this for a warning, to ſee to the inſtruction and catechiſing of their Children, for whom they have bound themſelves in promiſe both to God and to his Church. Which if the Father and Godfather, the Mother and Godmothers had done to this young girl, verily it may be thought this deſtruction had not fallen upon her.

A leſſon to all Atheiſts, Epicures and Infidels.

Thirdly, let all blind Atheiſts, Epicures, Mammoniſts, belly gods of this world, and Sons of *Belial*, Hypocrites, Infidels, and Mockers of Religion, which ſay in their hearts, there is no God, learn alſo hereby, not onely what God is, and what he is able to do, but alſo in this miſerable creature here puniſhed in this world, behold what ſhall likewiſe fall on them in the world to come unleſs they will bee warned betime, by ſuch examples as the Lord God doth give them.

A leſſon to all Blaſphemers and ſwearers.

Fourthly and laſtly, here may alſo bee a ſpectacle for all them which be Blaſphemers and abominable ſwearers, or rather tearers of God, abuſing his glorious Name in ſuch contemptuous and deſpiteful ſort as they uſe to do. Whom if neither the word and commandment of God, nor the calling of the Preachers, nor remorſe of Conſcience, nor rule of reaſon, nor their withering age, nor hoary hairs will admoniſh; yet let theſe terrible examples of Gods ſtrict judgment ſomewhat move them to take heed to themſelves. For if this young Maiden, who was not fully twelve years old, for her unreverent ſpeaking of God (and that but at one time) did not eſcape the ſtroke of Gods terrible hand, what then have they to look for, which being men grown in years, and ſtriken in age, being ſo often warned and preached unto, yet ceaſe not continually with their Blaſphemous Oaths, not only to abuſe his Name, but alſo moſt contumelioufly and deſpitefully to rear him (as it were) and all his parts in pieces?

About the year of our Lord 1565: at *Brigthwel* in the County of *Berks*, upon certain communication as touching the right reverend Martyrs in Chriſt, Biſhop *Cranmer*, Biſhop *Ridley*, and Maſter *Hugh Latimer*, there came into an houſe in *Abyngdon*, one whoſe name is *Levar*, being a Plowman, dwelling in *Brightwel* aforeſaid, and ſaid, that he ſaw that ill favored Knave *Latimer* when he was burned: and alſo in deſpite ſaid, that he had teeth like a horſe. At which time and hour, as near as could bee gathered, the Son of the ſaid *Levar* moſt wickedly hanged himſelf, at *Shepton* in the County aforeſaid within a mile of *Abyngdon*.

Levar of Abyngdon, a Blaſphemer of Gods martyrs, plagued.

Theſe words were ſpoken in the hearing of me Thomas Jenens *of* Abyngdon.

Tho: Arundel Archbiſh. of *Cant.*

Did not *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, give ſentence againſt the L. *Cobham*, and died himſelf before him, being ſo ſtriken in his tongue, that neither he could ſwallow nor ſpeak for a certain ſpace before his death?

Frier *Champbel* plagued.

Frier *Champbel*, the accuſer of *Patrick Hamilton* in *Scotland*; what a terrible end he had, read before.

Gods judgment upon *Harvey* a perſecuting Commiſſary.

Harvey a Commiſſary, that condemned a Poor man in *Calice*, was ſhortly after hanged, drawn and quartered.

Gods juſt plague upon *W. Swallow.*

William Swallow, the cruel Tormentor of *George Egles*, was ſhortly after ſo plagued of God, that all the hair of his head, and nails of his fingers and toes went off, his eyes well near cloſed up, that hee could ſcant ſee. His Wife alſo was ſtriken with the falling ſickneſs, with the which malady ſhe was never infected before.

Gods juſt plague upon *Rich. Potto.*

Likewiſe *Richard Potto*, another troubler of the ſaid *George Egles*, upon a certain anger or chaſe with his ſervants, was ſo ſuddenly taken with ſickneſs, that falling upon his bed like a beaſt, there he died and never ſpake word.

Rich. Denton burned in his own houſe.

Richard Denton, a ſhrinker from the Goſpel, while he refuſed to ſuffer the fire in the Lords quarrell, was afterward burned in his own houſe with two more.

Fetties wife ſtricken with madneſs.

The Wife of *John Fetty*, being the cauſe of the taking of her Husband, how ſhe was immediately upon the ſame by Gods hand ſtriken with madneſs, and was diſtract of her wits, read before.

Thomas Mouſe and *George Revet*, two perſecutors, were ſtriken miſerably with the hand of God, and ſo died. Anno 1558.

Robert Edgore bereſe of his wits.

Alſo *Robert Edgore*, for that he had executed the Office of a Pariſh Clark againſt his Conſcience, through anguiſh and grief of Conſcience for the ſame, was ſo bereft of his wits, that he was kept in chains and bonds many years after.

As touching *John Plankney* Fellow of *New Colledge* in *Oxford*, *Civilian*, and one *Havington*, both Fellows of the ſame houſe aforeſaid, and both ſtubborn Papiſts, the matter is not much worthy the memory; yet the example is not unworthy to be noted, to ſee what little comfort and grace commonly followeth the comfortleſs Doctrine and Profeſſion of Papiſtrie, as in theſe two young men, amongſt many other may well appear. Of whom the one, which was *Plankney*, ſcholar ſometime to *Marſhal* (who wrote the Book of the Croſs) is commonly reported and known to them of that Univerſity, to have drowned himſelf in the River about *Rudy*, at *Oxford*, *Anno* 1566. the other in a Well about *Rome*, or as ſome do ſay, at *Padua*, and ſo being both drowned, were both taken up with Crucifixes, as it is ſaid of ſome, hanging about their necks; the more pity that ſuch young ſtudents did ſo muh addict their wits, rather to take the way of Papiſtry, than to walk in the comfortable light of the Goſpel, now ſo brightly ſpreading his beams in all the world; which if they had done, I think not contrary, but it had proved much better with them.

Two Papiſts of new College in *Oxford* drowned themſelves.

Albeit (I truſt) the Goſpel of Chriſt, being now received in the Queens Court amongſt the Courtiers and Servants of her Guard, hath framed their lives and manners ſo to live in the due fear of God, and temperance of life, with all ſobriety, and merciful compaſſion toward their own Chriſtians, that they need not greatly any other inſtructions to be given them in this ſtory: yet forſomuch as examples many times do work more effectually in the minds and memories of men; and alſo partly conſidering with my ſelf, how theſe, above all other ſorts of men in the whole Realm, in time paſt ever had moſt need of ſuch wholeſome leſſons and admonitions, to leave their unordinate riot of quaffing and drinking, and their Heatheniſh prophanity of life; I thought here to ſet before their eyes a terrible example, not of a ſtrange and forein perſon, but of one of their own coat, a Yeoman of the Guard, not fained by me, but brought to me by Gods providence, for a warning to all Courtiers, and done of very truth no longer ago than in the year of our Lord, 1568. And as the ſtory is true, ſo is the name of the party not unknown, being called *Chriſtopher Landeſdale*, dwelling in *Hackney*, in *Middleſex*. The order of whoſe life, and manner of his death being worthy to be noted, is this, as in ſtory here under followeth.

A ſtory of a Courtier one of the guard which happened, An. 1568.

Admonition to Courtiers.

This foreſaid *Landeſdale* being married to an ancient Woman yet living, having by her both goods and lands, notwithſtanding lived long in filthy whoredom with a younger woman, by whom he had two Children, a Son and a Daughter, and kept them in his houſe unto the day of his death. Alſo when he ſhould have been in ſerving of God on the *Sabbath* day, he uſed to walk or ride about his fields, and ſeldom hee or any of his houſe came to the Church after the Engliſh Service was again received. Beſides this, he was a great ſwearer, and a great drunkard, and had great delight alſo in making other men drunken, and would have them whom he had made drunkards, to call him Father, and he would call them his Sons; and of theſe Sons, by report, he had above forty. And if he had ſeen one that would drink freely, he would mark him, and ſpend his money with him liberally in ale or wine, but moſt in wine, to make him the ſooner drunken. Theſe bleſſed Sons of his ſhould have great cheer oftentimes, both at his own houſe and at Taverns: and not long before his death hee was ſo beaſtly drunken in a Tavern over againſt his door, that he fell down in the Tavern yard, and could not ariſe alone, but lay grovelling, till he was holpen up, and ſo carried home.

An example of *Chriſtopher Landeſdale*, one of the Guard, for all Courtiers to look upon

This

Anno 1558.

Landeſdale Feaſter of the Rich, and unmerciful to the poor.

This father of Drunkards, as he was a great feaſter of the rich and wealthy of *Hackney*, and others; ſo his poor Neighbours and poor Tenants fared little the better for him: except it were with ſome broken meat which after his feaſts his Wife would carry and ſend unto them, or ſome Alms given at his door.

Beſides all this, he did much injury to his poor Neighbours, in oppreſſing the Commons near about him, which was a ſpecial relief unto them, ſo that his Cattel did eat up all without pity or mercy.

Poor *Lazarus* lying by the rich mans door.

There chanced after this about two years before he died, a poor man, being ſick of the bloody Flix, for very weakneſs to lie down in a Ditch of the ſaid *Landeſdales*, not a ſtones caſt from his houſe, where he had a little ſtraw brought him. Notwithſtanding the ſaid *Landeſdale* had back houſes and Barns enow to have laid him in but would not ſhew him ſo much pity. And thus poor *Lazarus* there lay night and day, about ſix weeks ere he died.

Certain good Neighbours hearing of this, procured things neceſſary for his relief, but he was ſo far ſpent, that he could not be recovered; who lay broyling in the hot Sun, with a horrible ſmell, moſt pitiful to behold

Yet the rich Glutton was bitter, for he ſuffered *Lazarus* to lie at his Gates.

This poor man, a little before he died, deſired to be removed to another Ditch into the ſhadow. Whereupon one of the Neighbours coming to *Landeſdales* Wife for a bundle of Straw for him to lie upon, ſhe required to have him removed to *Newington* ſide, becauſe, ſhe ſaid, if he ſhould die, it would be very far to carry him to the Church.

Beſides this, there was a marriage in this *Landeſdales* houſe, and the gueſts that came to the marriage gave the poor man mony as they came and went by him, but *Landeſdale* diſdained to contribute any relief unto him, notwithſtanding that he had promiſed to Mr. *Searles*, one of the Queens Guard (who had more pity of him) to miniſter to him things neceſſary.

The death of poor *Lazarus* in the Ditch.

To be ſhort, the next day poor *Lazarus* departed this life, and was buried in *Hackney* Church-yard; upon whom *Landeſdale* did not ſo much as beſtow a winding ſheet, or any thing elſe towards his burial. And thus much concerning the end of poor *Lazarus*. Now let us hear what became of the Rich Glutton.

About two years after, the ſaid *Landeſdale* being full of Drink (as his cuſtom was) came riding in great haſte from *London* on Saint *Andrews-day Anno* 1568. and as is reported by thoſe that ſaw him, reeling to and fro like a Drunkard with his hat in his hand, and coming by a Ditch, there tumbled in headlong into the Ditch. Some ſay that the horſe, fell upon him, but that is not like. This is true, the horſe, more ſober than the Maſter, came home, leaving his Maſter behind him. Whether he brake his neck with the fall, or was drowned (for the Water was ſcarcely a foot deep) it is uncertain; but certain it is, that he was there found dead. Thus he being found dead in the Ditch, the Crowner (as the manner is) ſate upon him: and how the matter was handled for ſaving his goods, the Lord knoweth; but in the end ſo it fell out, that the goods were ſaved, and the poor horſe indited for his Maſters death.

The end of this unmerciful Epicure in the Ditch.

The Neighbours hearing of the death of this man, and conſidering the manner thereof, ſaid it was juſtly fallen upon him, that as he ſuffered the poor man to lie and die in the Ditch near unto him, ſo his end was to die in a ditch likewiſe. And thus haſt thou in this Story (Chriſtian Brother and Reader) the true Image of a rich Glutton and poor *Lazarus* ſet out before thine eyes:

The Image of the rich Glutton and poor *Lazarus*.

whereby we have all to learn, what happeneth in the end to ſuch voluptuous Epicures and Atheiſts, which being void of all ſenſe of Religion, and fear of God, yield themſelves over to all Prophanity of life, neither regarding any honeſty at home, nor ſhewing any mercy to their needy Neighbours abroad.

Chriſt our Saviour ſaith, *Mat.* 5. *Bleſſed be the merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy: but judgment without mercy ſhall be executed on them which have ſhewed no mercy, &c.* And St. John ſaith, 1. *John* 4. *He that ſeeth his Brother have need, and ſhutteth up his Compaſſion from him how dwelleth the love of God in him &c.* Again, *Eſay* againſt ſuch profane Drunkards and quaffers thus crieth out, *Wo be unto them that riſe up early to follow drunkenneſs, and to them that ſo continue until night, till they be ſet on fire with Wine. In thoſe companies are Harps and Lutes, Tabrets and Pipes and Wine: but they regard not the works of the Lord, and conſider not the operation of his hands, &c. Wo be unto them that are ſtrong to ſpue out Wine, and expert to ſet up drunkenneſs.*

A warning to Gentlemen.

The puniſhments of them that be dead, be wholeſome documents to them that be alive. And therefore as the Story above exemplified may ſerve to warn all Courtiers and Yeomen of the Guard; ſo by this that followeth, I would wiſh all Gentlemen to take good heed and admonition betime, to leave their outragious ſwearing and blaſpheming of the Lord their God.

A fearful example of Gods puniſhment upon a Gentleman a great ſwearer in *Cornwal*.

In the time and reign of King *Edward*, there was in *Cornwal* a certain luſty young Gentleman, which did ride in Company with other more Gentlemen, together with their Servants, being about the number of twenty horſemen. Among whom this luſty Yonker entring into talk, began to ſwear moſt horribly, Blaſpheming the Name of God, with other ribaldry words beſides. Unto whom one of the Company (who is yet alive, and witneſs hereof) not able to abide the hearing of ſuch blaſphemous abomination, in Gentle words ſpeaking to him, ſaid, he ſhould give anſwer and account for every Idle word.

Gentle exhortation neglected.

The Gentleman taking ſnuff thereat; Why, ſaid he, takeſt thou thought for me? take thought for thy winding ſheet. Well (quoth the other (amend, for death giveth no warning; for as ſoon cometh a Lambs skin to the Market, as an old Sheeps. Gods wounds, ſaith he, care not thou for me; Raging ſtill after his manner worſe and worſe in words, till at length paſſing on their Journy, they came riding over a great Bridge, ſtanding over a Piece of an arm of the Sea. Upon the which Bridge this Gentleman ſwearer ſpurred his horſe in ſuch ſort, as he ſprang clean over with the man on his back. Who as he was going, cried ſaying, Horſe and man, and all to the Devil. This terrible Story happening in a Town in *Cornwal*, I would have been affraid amongſt theſe ſtories here to recite, were it not that he, which was then both reprehender of his ſwearing, and witneſs of his death, is yet alive, and now a Miniſter, named *Heynes*. Beſides this, Biſhop *Ridley*, then Biſhop of *London*, preached and uttered even the ſame fact and example at *Pauls Croſs*. The name of the Gentleman I could by no means obtain of the party and witneſs aforeſaid, for dread of thoſe (as he ſaid) which yet remain of his affinity and Kindred in the ſaid Country.

Having now ſufficiently admoniſhed, firſt the Courtiers, then the Gentlemen; now thirdly for a brief admonition to the Lawyers we will here inſert the ſtrange end and death of one *Henry Smith*,, Student of the Law.

The terrible end of a ſwearer.

The miſerable end of *H. Smith*, a Lawyer of the middle Temple, after he was perverted from the Goſpel.

This *Henry Smith* having a Godly Gentleman to his Father, and an ancient Proteſtant, dwelling in *Camden* in *Glouceſterſhire*, was by him vertuouſly brought up in the knowledge of Gods Word, and ſincere Religion; wherein he ſhewed himſelf in the beginning ſuch an earneſt profeſſor, that he was called of the Papiſts Prattling *Smith*. After theſe good beginnings it followed, that he coming to be a Student of the Law in the middle *Temple* at *London*, there through ſiniſter Company of ſome, and eſpecially as it is thought of one *Gifford*, began to be perverted to Popery, and afterward going to *Lovane*, was more deeply rooted and grounded in the ſame; and ſo continuing a certain ſpace among the Papiſts, of a young Proteſtant, at length was made a perfect papiſt. Inſomuch, that returning from thence, he brought with him Pardons, a Crucifix, with an *Agnus Dei*, which he uſed commonly to wear about his neck, and had in his Chamber Images, before which he was wont to pray. Beſides divers other Popiſh traſh, which he brought with him from *Lovane*. Now what end followed after this I were loth to utter in ſtory, but that the fact ſo lately done this preſent year, *Anno* 1559. remaineth yet ſo freſh in memory, that almoſt all the City of *London* not only can witneſs, but alſo doth wonder thereat. The end was this.

Note what lewd Company doth incorrupting good natures.

M. Smiths Images and *Agnus Dei*.

Not long after the said *Henry Smith*, with *Gifford* his Companion, was returned from *Lovane*, being now a foul jeerer, and a scornful scoffer of that Religion which before he professed; in his Chamber where he lay in a house in St. *Clements* Parish without *Temple-Barr*, in the Evening as he was going to bed, and his Cloaths put off (for he was found naked) he had tied his Shirt (which he had torn to the same purpose) about his privy places, and so with his own Girdle, or ribond garter (as it seemed) fastned to the bed-post there strangled himself. They that were of his Quest, and other which saw the manner of his hanging, and the print where he sate upon his beds side, do record, that he thrust himself down from his beds side where he sate; the place where he had fastned the Girdle being so low, that his Hips well near touched the Floor, his Legs lying across, and his Arms spread abroad. And this was the manner of his hanging, having his *Agnus Dei* in a silver Table, with his other Idolatrous trash in the Window by him. And thus being dead, and not thought worthy to be interred in the Church-yard, he was buried in a Lane called *Foskew* Lane.

Henry Smith a Lawyer hanged himself in his Chamber, and after what manner.

This heavy and dreadful end of *Henry Smith*, although it might seem enough to gender a Terrour to all young Popish Students of the Law; yet it did not so work with all, but that some remained as obstinate still as they were before. Amongst whom was one named *Williams*, a Student of the Inner-Temple, who being sometime a favourer of the Gospel, fell in like manner from that to be an obstinate Papist, and despiteful railer against true Religion, and in conclusion, was so hot in his Catholick Zeal, that in the midst of his railing he fell stark mad, and so yet to this present day remaineth. The Lord of his mercy turn him to a better mind, and convert him if it be his pleasure, *Amen*.

One *Williams* a Lawyer, and a railer against the Gospel, mad.

The miserable end of *Twyford* is here no less to be remembred, a busie doer sometimes in King *Henries* days by *Boners* appointment, in setting up of Stakes for the burning of poor Martyrs. Who, when he saw the Stakes consume away so fast; Yea, said he, will not these Stakes hold? I will have a Stake, I trow, that shall hold, and so provided a big Tree, and cutting of the Top, set it in *Smithfield*. But thanks be to God, ere the Tree was all consumed, God turned the State of Religion, and he fell into an horrible disease, rotting alive above the ground before he died. Read more of him before. But because the Story both of him, and of a number such other like, is to be found in sundry places of this history sufficiently before expressed, it shall be but a double labour again to recapitulate the same.

Of the miserable end of this *Twyford* read before.

Ye have heard before of the Condemnation and Martyrdom of a certain Boy called *Thomas Drowry*, condemned by *Williams* Chancellor of *Glouceſter*, contrary to all right and counsel of the Register then present, called *Barker*. Now what punishment fell after upon the said Chancellor, followeth to be declared.

The strange and fearful death of the same Dr. Williams.

WHen God of his inestimable mercy having pity of us, and pardoning our sins, for his Son Christ Jesus sake, had now taken from us that bloody Princess, and sent us this Jewel of Joy, the Queens Majesty that now reigneth (and long may she reign) over us; and that the Commissioners for restitution of Religion were coming toward *Glouceſter*; the same day Doctor *Williams* the Chancellor dined with Master *Jennings* the Dean of *Glouceſter*, who with all his men were booted ready at one of the Clock to set forward to *Chipping-Norton*, about fifteen Miles from *Glouceſter*, to meet the Commissioners which were at *Chipping-Norton*, and said to him; Chancellor, are not thy Boots on?

Chan. Why should I put them on?

To go with me (quoth the Dean) to meet these Commissioners.

Chan. I will neither meet them nor see them.

Dea. Thou must needs see them, for now it is past twelve of the Clock, and they will be here afore three of the Clock: and therefore if thou be wise, on with they Boots, and let us go together, and all shall be well. Anno 1558.

Chanc. Go your ways, Mr. *Dean*, I will never see them.

As I said, *W. Jennings* the Dean set forward with his Company toward the Commissioners, and by and by cometh one upon horseback to the Dean, saying; Master Chancellor lieth at the mercy of God, and is speechless. At that word the Dean with his Company pricked forward to the Commissioners, and told them the whole matter and communication between them two, as above. And they sent one of their men with the best words they could devise, to comfort him with many promises. But to be short, albeit the Commissioners were now nearer *Glouceſter*, than the Dean and his Company thought, making very great haste, especially after they had received these News: Yet Doctor *Williams*, though false of Religion, yet true of his promise, kept his ungracious Covenant with the Dean: for he was dead ere they came to the City, and so never saw them indeed.

Wherefore to pass over our own domestical examples of English persecutors plagued by Gods hand (wherewith this our present Story doth abound) I will stretch my Pen a little further, to adjoyn with a few like examples in Forain Countries. Declaration of forain examples.

Forain Examples.

HOimeister the great Archpapist, and chief Master-Pillar of the Popes falling Church, as he was, in his journy going toward the Counsel of *Ratisbone*, to dispute against the defenders of Christs Gospel, suddenly in his journy, not far from *Ulmes*, was prevented by the stroke of Gods hand, and there miserably died, with horrible roaring and crying out. *Ex Illyrico de vocabulo fidei.* Heimeister suddenly striken with death going to Ratisbone.

What a Pernicious and Pestilent Doctrine is this of the Papists, which leadeth men to seek their Salvation by Merits and works of the Law, and not by Faith only in Christ the Son of God, and to stay themselves by Grace? And what inconvenience this Doctrine of doubting and desperation bringeth men to at length, if the plain Word of God will not sufficiently admonish, yet let us be warned by examples of such as have been either teachers or followers of this Doctrine, and consider well what end commonly it hath and doth bring men unto. To recite all that may be said in this behalf, it were infinite. To note a few examples for admonitions sake, it shall be requisite. What inconvenience cometh by the Popes desperate Doctrine.

In the University of *Lovane* was one named *Guarlacus* a learned man, brought up in that School, who at length was Reader of Divinity to the Monks of Saint *Gertrudes* order. Where after he had stoutly maintained the corrupt errours of such Popish Doctrine, at last falling sick, when he perceived no way with him but death, he fell into a miserable agony and perturbation of Spirit,, crying out of his sins, how wickedly he had lived, and that he was not able to abide the judgment of God, and so casting out words of miserable desperation, said, his sins were greater than he could be pardoned, and in that desperation wrechedly he ended his life. *Ex Epistola Claudii Senarclæ ad Bucerum ante Histor. de morte Diazii.* The miserable end of *Guarlacus* Reader in Lovane.

Another like example we have of *Arnoldus Bomelius*, a young man of the said University of *Lovane*, well commended for his fresh flourishing wit and ripeness of learning, who so long as he favoured the cause of the Gospel, and took part with the same against the Enemies of the Truth, he prospered and went well forward; but after that he drew to the Company of *Tyleman*, Master of the Popes Colledge in *Lovane*, and framed himself after the Rule of his unsavoury Doctrine, that is, to stand in fear and doubt of his justification, and to work his Salvation by Merits and deeds of the Law, he began more and more to grow in doubtful despair and discomfort of mind; as the nature of that Doctrine is, utterly to pluck away a mans mind from all The Story of *Arnoldus Bomelius*, student at Lovane.

Note what evil instruction and Company doth.

certainty

Anno 1558. certainty and true liberty of Spirit, to a ſervile doubtfulneſs, full of diſcomfort and Bondage of Soul.

An horrible example of *Arnoldus Bomelius*, which killed himſelf with his own Dagger.

Thus the young man, ſeduced and perverted through this blind Doctrine of ignorance and dubitation, fell into a great agony of mind, wandring and wreſtling in himſelf a long ſpace, till at length being overcome with deſpair, and not having in the Popiſh Doctrine wherewith to raiſe up his Soul, he went out of the City on a time to walk, accompanied with three other Students of the ſame Univerſity, his ſpecial familiars. Who as they returned home again after their walk, *Arnoldus* for wearineſs, as it ſeemed, ſate down by a Spring ſide to reſt him a while. The other, ſuppoſing none other but that he for wearineſs there reſted to refreſh himſelf, went forward a little paſt him. In the mean time what doth *Arnoldus*, but ſuddenly taketh out his Dagger, and ſtrook himſelf into the Body.

His Fellows ſeeing him ſhrinking down, and the fountain to be all coloured with the Blood which iſſued out of the wound, came running to him to take him up, and ſo ſearching his Body where the wound ſhould be, at length found what he had done, and how he had ſtriken himſelf with his Dagger into the Breaſt. Whereupon they took him and brought him into an houſe next at hand, and there exhorted him, as well as they could to repent his fact; who then by outward geſture ſeemed to give ſome ſhew of repentance. Notwithſtanding, the ſaid *Arnoldus*, eſpying one of his Friends there buſie about him to have a Knife hanging at his Girdle, violently plucked out the Knife, and with main force Stabbed himſelf to the Heart.

Admonition to our Lovanians.

By theſe *Lovanian* examples, as we have all to learn, no man to be ſure of his life, but that he always needeth to crave and call unto the Lord to bleſs him with his Truth and Grace; ſo eſpecially would I wiſh our Engliſh *Lovanians*, which now make Forts in that Univerſity againſt the open Truth of Chriſts Goſpel, to be wiſe in time, and not to ſpurn ſo againſt the prick, *Ne forte, &c.*

Or if they think yet theſe examples not enough for ſufficient admonition, let them joyn hereunto the remembrance alſo of *Jacobus Latomus*, a chief and principal Captain of the ſame Univerſity of *Lovane*. Who after he had been at *Bruſſels* and there, thinking to do a great Act againſt *Luther* and his fellows, made an Oration before the Emperour, ſo fooliſhly and ridiculouſly, that he was laughed to ſcorn almoſt of the whole Court: Then returning from thence to *Lovane* again, in his Publick Lecture he fell in an open fury and madneſs, uttering ſuch words of deſperation and blaſphemous Impiety, that the other Divines which were there, and namely, *Ruardus*, *Anchuſtanus*, were fain to carry him away as he was raving, and ſo ſhut him into a cloſe Chamber. From that time unto his laſt breath, *Latomus* had never any thing elſe in his mouth, but that he was damned, and rejected of God, and that there was no hope of Salvation for him, becauſe that wittingly and againſt his knowledge he withſtood the manifeſt Truth of his Word. *Ex Epiſt. Senarclæi ante hiſt. de morte Diazii. Item, ex Oratione Pauli Eberi in comitiis Wittembergæ habita.*

Jacobus Latomus an enemy to the Goſpel, brought to madneſs and deſperation.

The terrible words of *Latomus* in his deſperation.

Thus Almighty God not only by his Word, but by examples in divers and ſundry wiſe doth warn us, firſt to ſeek to know the perfect will and decree of the Lord our God appointed in his Word. The perfect will and full Teſtament of the Lord in his Word, is this, that he hath ſent and given his only Son, unto us, being fully contented to accept our faith only upon him for our perfect juſtification and full ſatisfaction for all our tranſgreſſions; and this is called in Scripture, *Juſtitia Dei.* To this will and righteouſneſs of God, they that humble themſelves, find ſuch peace and reſt in their Souls, as no man is able to expreſs, and have ſtrength enough againſt all the invaſions and temptations of Sathan.

Gods will in his word to accept our Faith only for juſtification.

Obedience to Gods will rewarded.

Contrariwiſe, they that will not yield their Obedience unto the will and ordinance of God expreſſed in his Word, but will ſeek their own righteouſneſs, which is of man, labouring by their Merits and ſatisfaction to ſerve and pleaſe God; theſe not only do find with God no righteouſneſs at all, but in ſtead of his favour procure to themſelves his horrible indignation, in ſtead of comfort, heap to themſelves deſperation, and in the end what inconvenience they come to by theſe above, receited examples of *Guarlacus*, *Bomelius*, and *Latomus*, it is evident to ſee. And out of this Fountain ſpring not only the puniſhments of theſe men, but alſo all other inconveniences, which happen amongſt men, whereſoever this pernicious and Erroneous Doctrine of the Papiſts taketh place.

Diſobedience to Gods will puniſhed.

The chief Fountain of all miſchief in the world.

A *Dominick* Frier of *Munſter*, as he was inveighing in the Pulpit againſt the Doctrine of the Goſpel, then ſpringing up, was ſtricken with a ſudden flaſh of Lightning, and ſo ended his life. *Ex Pantal. in 2. parte Rerum memor.*

A Frier of Munſter ſtricken with Lightning.

Manlius in his Book, *De dictis Philippi Melanct.* maketh mention of a certain Taylors Servant in *Lipſia*, who receiving firſt the Sacrament in both kinds with the Goſpellers, afterward, being perſwaded by the Papiſts, received with them under one kind. Whereupon being admoniſhed of his Maſter to come to the Communion again in the Church of the Goſpellers, he ſtood a great while and made no anſwer. At laſt, crying out upon a ſudden, he ran to the Window thereby, and ſo caſt himſelf out, and brake his neck.

A Taylors Servant in *Lipſia*.

In the ſame *Manlius* mention is alſo made of a certain Gentlemen of Name and Authority, but he nameth him not, who hearing theſe words in a ſong; *Ein feſte burg iſt unſer Gott*, that is, Our only hold or forteſs is our God, *Pſalm* 46. anſwered and ſaid, *Ich wil holſten die burg zerchieſten, oderich wil nit leben*, that is, I will help to ſhoot againſt thy ſtay or fort, or elſe I will not live. And ſo within 3. days after he died without repentance, or confeſſing his faith. *Ex Manlio, De dictis Philip. Melanct.*

Gods puniſhment upon a certain Popiſh Gentleman unnamed.

Of *Sadoletus* the learned Cardinal likewiſe it is reported of ſome, that he died not without great Torments of Conſcience and deſperation.

Sadoletus, Cardinal.

The Commendator of St. *Anthony*, who ſate as Spiritual Judge over that godly learned Man *Wolfgangus*, burned in *Lotharing* in *Germany*, and gave Sentence of his Condemnation, fell ſuddenly dead ſhortly after. Read before.

The commendator of S. *Anthony* plagued.

Alſo his fellow, the Abbot of *Clarilocus*, and Suffragan to the Biſhop of *Mentz*, at the crack of Guns ſuddenly fell down and died.

Abbot of *Clarilocus* ſuddenly dead.

David Beaton Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* in *Scotland*, ſhortly after the condemning of Maſter *George Wiſard*, how he by the juſt ſtroke, of God was ſlain, and wretchedly ended his life within his own Caſtle, in the diſcourſe of his Story is evident to ſee, whoſo liſteth further to read of that matter.

D. Beaton Archbiſhop of *Scotland*, perſecutor, ſlain in his own Caſtle.

Joanes Sleidanus in his 23. Book maketh relation of Cardinal *Creſentius*, the chief Preſident and Moderator of the Council of *Trent Anno* 1552. The Story of whom is certain, the thing that hapned to him was ſtrange and notable, example of him may be profitable to others, ſuch as have grace to be warned by other mens evils. The narration is this.

Ex Joan. Sleidano lib. 23.

The twenty fifth day of *March* in the year aforeſaid *Creſentius* the Popes Legate, and Vicegerent in the Council of *Trent*, was ſitting all the day long until dark night, in writing Letters to the Pope. After his labour, when night was come, thinking to refreſh himſelf, he began to riſe? and at his riſing, behold there appeared to him a mighty black Dog, of a huge bigneſs, his eyes flaming with fire, and his Ears hanging low down well near to the ground, to enter in, and ſtrait to come toward him, and ſo to couch under the Board. The Cardinal not a little amazed at the ſight thereof, ſomewhat recovering himſelf, called to his Servants, which were in the outward Chamber next by, to bring in a Candle, and to ſeek for the Dog. But when the Dog could not be found, neither there, nor in any other Chamber about, the Cardinal thereupon ſtricken with a ſudden conceit of mind, immediately fell into ſuch a ſickneſs, whereof his Phyſitians, which he had about him, with all their induſtry and cunning could not cure him. And ſo in the Town of *Verona* died this Popiſh Cardinal, the Popes holy Legate, and Preſident of this Council;

The terrible judgment of God upon Cardinal *Creſcentius*, Preſident to the Council of *Trent*, *Anno* 1552.

The wretched end of Cardinal *Creſcentius*, Preſident of the Council of *Trent*.

wherein his purpoſe was (as *Sleidan* ſaith) to recover and heal again the whole Authority and Doctrine of the Romiſh See, and to ſet it up for ever.

There were in this Councel, beſides the Popes Legates and Cardinal of *Trent*, 24. Biſhops, Doctors of Divinity 62. And thus was the end of that Popiſh Councel, by the provident hand of the Almighty, diſpatched and brought to nought. *Ex Sleidano. lib.* 23.

Two adulterous Biſhops of Trent Connecl juſtly ſlain in adultery.

This Councel of *Trent*, being then diſſolved by the death of his Cardinal, was afterward notwithſtanding recollected again about the year of our Lord 1562. againſt the Erroneous proceedings of which Council other Writers there be that ſay enough. So much as pertaineth only to ſtory, I thought hereunto to add concerning two filthy Adulterous Biſhops to the ſaid Councel belonging, of whom the one, haunting to an honeſt wife, was ſlain by the juſt ſtroke of God with a Boreſpeer. The other Biſhop whoſe haunt was to creep thorow a Window, in the ſame Window was ſubtilly taken and hanged in a grin laid for him of purpoſe, and ſo conveighed, that in the Morning he was ſeen openly in the ſtreet hanging out of the Window, to the wonderment of all that paſſed by. *Ex proteſtatione Concionatorum German. adverſus conventum Trident. &c.*

Dr. *Eckius* the Popes ſtout champion.

Amongſt all the Religious orders of Papiſts, who was a ſtouter defender of the Popes ſide, or a more vehement impugner of *Martin Luther*, than *Jo. Eckius*? who, if his cauſe wherein he ſo travelled, had been godly, had deſerved (no doubt) great favour and condign Retribution at the hands of the Lord. Now forſomuch as we cannot better judge of him than by his end, let us conſider the manner of his departing hence, and compare the ſame with the end of Mr. *Luther*.

The end of *Martin Luther* compared to the end of *Eckius*.

In the which Mr. *Luther*, being ſuch an Adverſary as he was to the Pope, and having no leſs than all the world upon him at once, firſt this is to be noted, that after all theſe travels, the Lord gave him to depart both in great age, and in his own native Country where he was born. Secondly, he bleſſed him with ſuch a quiet death, without any violent hand of any Adverſary, that it was counted rather a ſleep than a death. Thirdly, as the death of his Body was mild, ſo his Spirit and mind continued no leſs godly unto the end, continually invocating and calling upon the name of the Lord, and ſo commending his Spirit to him with fervent prayer, he made a bleſſed and an heavenly ending. Fourthly, over and beſides theſe bleſſings, Almighty God did alſo add unto him ſuch an honourable burial, as to many great Princes ſcarce happeneth the like. And this briefly concerning the end of *Martin Luther*, as ye may read before more at large.

The manner of *John Eckius* death *Eckius* laſt words. *Eckius* dieth dreaming of his Guilders

Now let us conſider, and conferr with this the death of *John Eckius*, and the manner thereof, which we find in the Engliſh tranſlation of the Hiſtory of *John Carion*, fol. 250. in theſe words expreſſed. This year (ſaith he) died at *Ingoldſtate*, Dr. *Eckius*, a faithful ſervant and champion of the Pope, and a defender of the abominable Papacy. But as his life was full of all ungodlineſs, uncleanneſs, and Blaſphemy; ſo was his end miſerable, hard, and pitiful, inſomuch that his laſt words (as it is noted of many credible perſons) were theſe; In caſe the four thouſand Guilders were ready, the matter were diſpatched, &c. (Dreaming belike of ſome Cardinalſhip that he ſhould have bought.) Some ſay that the Pope had granted him a certain Deanry, which he ſhould have redeemed from the Court of *Rome* with the foreſaid ſum. Now what a heavenly end this was of Mr. *Eckius*; I leave it to the Readers judgment.

Ex Aspen dice Hiſt. Joan Carionis.

Gods judgment upon one John Vander Warf Shoulted of *Antwerp*, a perſecutor.

In the City of *Antwerp* was (as they term him there) a Shoulted, that is to ſay, the next Officer to the Markgrave, one named *John Vander Warfe*, Baſtard Son of a ſtock or kindred called *Warfe*, of good Eſtimation amongſt the chiefeſt in *Antwerp*. Who, as he was of nature cruel, ſo was he of judgment perverſe and corrupt, and a ſore perſecutor of Chriſts flock, with greedineſs ſeeking and ſhedding Innocent Blood, and had drowned divers good men and women in the water, for the which he was much commended of the Bloody generation. Of ſome he was called a Bloud-hound or Bloody dogg. Of other he was called Shilpad, that is to ſay, Shelroad; for that he being a ſhort-grundy, and of little ſtature, did ride commonly with a great Broad Hat, as a churl of the Country.

Shilpad, a kind of ſhel-fiſh, faſhioned like a Tode, with a hard and a broad ſhell upon his back.

Anno 1558.

This man, after he was weary of his Office (wherein he had continued above 20. years) hee gave it over; and becauſe he was now grown rich and wealthy, he intended to paſs the reſidue of his life in pleaſure and quietneſs.

Our Ladies drunken feaſt.

During which time, about the ſecond year after he had left his Office, he came to *Antwerp* to the feaſt called our Ladies *Oumegang*, to make merry; which feaſt is uſually kept on the *Sunday* following the Aſſumption of our Lady. The ſame day in the afternoon about four of the clock, he being well loden with wine, rode homewards in his Wagon, with his Wife and a Gentlewoman waiting on her and his fool. As ſoon as the Wagon was come without the Gate of the City called *Croneborgh* Gate, upon the Wooden Bridge being at that time made for a ſhift with rails or barrers on both ſides for more ſurety of the paſſengers (half a mans height and more) the horſes ſtood ſtill, and would by no means go forward, whatſoever the guider of the Wagon could do.

Then he in a drunken rage cried out to him that guided the Wagon, ſaying; Ride on in a thouſand Divels name, ride on. Whereat the poor man anſwered, that he could not make the horſes to go forward. By and by, while they were yet thus talking, ſuddenly roſe, as it were, a mighty whirl-wind, with a terrible noiſe (the weather being very fair, and no wind ſtirring before) and toſt the Wagon over the barr into the Town ditch, the ropes whereat the horſes had been tied, being broken aſunder in ſuch ſort, as if they had been cut with a ſharp knife, the Wagon alſo being caſt upſide-down, with the fore-end thereof turned toward the Town again, and he drowned in the mire; and when he was taken up, it was found, that his neck alſo was broken. His Wife was taken up alive, but died alſo within three days after. But the Gentlewoman and the Fool, by Gods mighty providence, were preſerved and had no harm. The Fool hearing the people ſay his Maſter was dead, ſaid; And was not I dead, was not I dead too? This was done, *Anno* 1553. Witneſs hereof not only the Printer of the ſame ſtory in *Dutch*, dwelling then in *Antwerp*, whoſe name was *Francis Fraet*, a good man, and afterward for hatred put to death of Papiſts, but alſo divers *Dutchmen* here now in *England*, and a great number of Engliſh Merchants, which were at *Antwerp*, and are yet alive.

Francis Fraet the Printer and witneſs here of a good man and Martyr.

Of the ſudden death of *Bartholomeus Chaſſaneus*, or *Caſſanus* perſecutor, read before.

Bartholomeus Chaſſaneus plagued.

Of *Minerius* the Bloody perſecutor, or rather Tormentor of Chriſts Saints, how he died with bleeding in his lower parts, ye heard before.

Minerius plagued of God.

And what ſhould I ſpeak of the Judge which accompanied the ſaid *Minerius* in his perſecution, who a little after, as he returned homeward, was drowned, and three more of the ſame company killed one another upon a ſtrife that fell amongſt them?

A Judge with three perſecutors plagued by God's judgment.

Joannes de *Roma* a cruel Monk, whom we may rather call a Hell-hound than perſecutor, what helliſh Torments he had deviſed for the poor Chriſtians of *Angrongne*, the contents of the ſtory before doth expreſs. Again, with what like Torments afterward, and that double-fold, the Lord payd him home again, who in his rotting and ſtinking death neither could find any enemy to kill him, nor any friend to bury him, who neither could abide his own ſtinking carion, nor could any man elſe abide to come near him. Hereof read alſo before.

The terrible vengeance of God upon *John de Roma* a terrible perſecutor. Read before.

Such a like perſecutor alſo the ſame time was the Lord of *Reveſt*, who likewiſe ſcaped not the Revenging Hand of Gods Juſtice, being ſtriken, after his furious perſecution, with a like horrible ſickneſs, and ſuch a fury and madneſs, that none durſt come near him, and ſo moſt wretchedly died. Whereof read before.

The Lord of *Reveſt* plagued.

Touching the like grievous puniſhment of God upon one *John Martin* a perſecutor, read before.

John Martin plagued.

Eraſmus in an Epiſtle or Apology written in defence of his Colloquies, inferreth mention of a certain Noble Perſon of great riches and poſſeſſions, who having Wife and Children, with a great family at home (to whom by Saint *Pauls* Rule he was bound in Conſcience principally

Eraſm. in Epiſtola Apologetica. De uxi. Colloqui.

Anno 1558.

Gods puniſhment upon a Noble Gentleman in going a Pilgrimage.

partly above all other worldly things to attend) had purpoſed before his death to go ſee *Jeruſalem*. And thus all things being ſet in order, this Noble man, about to ſet forward on his journey, committed the care of his Wife (whom he left great with Child) and of his Lordſhips and Caſtles to an Archbiſhop, as to a moſt ſure and truſty Father. To make ſhort, it hapned in the journey this Noble man to dye. Whereof ſo ſoon as the Archbiſhop had intelligence, in ſtead of a Father he became a thief and a robber, ſeiſing into his own hands all his Lordſhips and Poſſeſſions. And moreover, not yet contented with all this, he laid ſiege againſt a ſtrong Fort of his (unto the which his Wife for ſafeguard of her ſelf did flee) where in concluſion ſhe, with the Child that ſhe went withall, was pitifully ſlain, and ſo miſerably periſhed. Which ſtory was done (as teſtifieth *Eraſmus*) not ſo long before his time, but that there remained the *Nephewes* of the Noble man then alive, to whom the ſame Inheritance ſhould have fallen, but they could not obtain it.

Admonition.

What cometh of blind ſuperſtition, when a man not containing himſelf within the compaſs of Gods Word, wandreth in other by-ways of his own, and not contented with the Religion ſet up of the Lord, will bind his Conſcience to other ordinances, preſcriptions, and Religions deviſed by men, leaving Gods Commandments undone for the conſtitutions and precepts of men, what end and reward (I ſay) cometh thereof at length, by this one example, beſide infinite other of the like ſort, men may learn by experience: and therefore they that yet will defend Idolatrous Pilgrimage and raſh Vows, let them well conſider hereof. It is rightly ſaid of Saint *Hierome*; To have been at *Jeruſalem* is no great matter, but to live a godly and vertuous life, that is a great matter in very deed.

False devotion a perilous thing.

Againſt Idolatrous Pilgrimage.

A wonderful example of Gods judgment at *Gaunt An.* 1565.

In the year of our Lord, 1565. there was in the Town of *Gaunt* in *Flanders*, one *William de Wever*, accuſed and impriſoned by the Provoſt of St. *Peters* in *Gaunt* (who had in his *Cloiſter* a Priſon and a place of execution) and the day when the ſaid *William* was called to the place of judgment, the Provoſt ſent for Mr *Giles Brackleman*, principal Advocate of the Council of *Flanders*, and Borough-Maſter and Judge of St. *Peters* in *Gaunt*, with other of the Rulers of the Town of *Gaunt*, to ſit in judgment upon him, and as they in ſate judgment the Borough-Maſter, named Mr. *Giles Brackleman*, reaſoned with the ſaid *William de Wever* upon divers Articles of his faith.

Three cauſes why Saints are not to be prayed unto.

The one whereof was, why the ſaid *William de Wever* denied that it was lawful to pray to Saints; and he anſwered (as the report goeth) for three cauſes. The one was, that they were but creatures, and not the Creator.

The ſecond was, that if he ſhould call upon them, the Lord did both ſee it, and hear it: and therefore he durſt give the glory to none other, but to God.

The third and chiefeſt cauſe was, that the Creator had commanded in his Holy Word to call upon him in troubles, unto which commandment he durſt neither add nor take from it.

The Borough-Maſter Mr. *Giles Brackleman* alſo demanded, whether he did not believe that there was a Purgatory which he ſhould go into after this life, where every one ſhould be purified and cleanſed.

Purgatory denied.

He anſwered, that he had read over the whole Bible, and could find no ſuch place, but the death of Chriſt was his Purgatory: with many other queſtions proceeding after their order, until he came to pronounce his condemnation. But ere the ſaid condemnation was read forth, the judgment of God was laid upon the ſaid Borough-Maſter, who ſuddenly at that preſent inſtant was ſtriken with a Palſie, that his mouth was drawn up almoſt to his ear, and ſo he fell down, the reſt of the Lords by and by ſtanding up and ſhadowing him that the people could not well ſee him; and alſo the People were willed to depart, who being ſtill called upon to depart, anſwered, the place was ſo ſmall to go out, that they could go no faſter. Then the Borough-Maſter of the Town being taken up, was carried to his houſe, and it is not yet underſtood nor commonly known that ever he ſpake word after he was firſt ſtriken, but was openly known to be dead the next day following. And yet notwithſtanding that this was done about ten of the clock, they burned the ſaid *William de Wever* within three hours after, on the ſame day.

The judgment of God upon *Giles Brackleman* the Borough Maſter.

William de Wever Martyr, burnt at *Gaunt*. *Anno* 1565.

The fourth day of *March*, 1566, the like example of the Lords terrible judgment was ſhewed upon Sir *Garret Trieſt* Knight, who had long before promiſed to the Regent to bring down the preaching. For the which act (as the report goeth) the Regent promiſed again to make him a Grave, which is an Earl. Of the which Sir *Garret* it is alſo ſaid, that he coming from *Bruxels* towards *Gaunt*, brought with him the death of the Preachers, and being come to *Gaunt*, the ſaid Sir *Garret* with other of the Lords having received from the Regent a Commiſſion to ſwear the Lords and Commons unto the Romiſh Religion, the ſaid Sir *Garret* the 4. day of *March* above noted, at night being at ſupper, willed the Lady his Wife to call him in the morning one hour ſooner than he was accuſtomed to riſe, for that he ſhould the next day have much buſineſs to do in the Town-houſe, to ſwear the Lords and people to the Romiſh Religion. But ſee what hapned. The ſaid Sir *Garret* going to bed in good health (as it ſeemed) when the Lady his Wife called him in the morning, according to his appointment, was found dead in her bed by her, and ſo unable to proſecute his wicked purpoſe.

Another terrible example of Gods judgment againſt Sir *Garret Trieſt* Gentleman, and then Alderman of *Gaunt*, a perſecutor, *Anno* 1566.

The fifth of *March*, 1566. which was the day that Sir *Garret Trieſt* appointed to bee there, and the Lords of *Gaunt* were come into the Town-houſe (as they had afore appointed) to proceed and to give the Oath, according as they had their Commiſſion, and Mr. *Martin de Peſter* the Secretary being appointed and about to give the Oath, as the firſt man ſhould have ſworn, the ſaid *Martin de Peſter* was ſtriken of God with preſent death likewiſe, and fell down, and was carried away in a chair or ſettell, and never ſpake after. Witneſs hereof.

Another example of Gods judgment upon *Martin de Peſter* one of the principal Secretaries of *Gaunt*, *Anno* 1566.

Peter de Bellemaker.	*Ronger Vanhulle.*
Abraham Roſſart,	*Joys Neuehans.*
Maerke de Mil.	*Lyauin Neuehans.*
Lieuen Hendrickx.	*Wil. unden Boegarde.*
Jan Coucke.	*Joys de Pitte.*

These men of *Gaunt* are witneſs here of.

About the Borders of *Suevia* in *Germany*, not far from the City of *Uberling*, there was a certain Monaſtery of Ciſtercian Monks, called *Salmeſuille*, founded in the days of Pope Innocent 2. by a noble Baron named *Guntherame*, about the year of our Lord, 1110. This *Cell* thus being erected, in proceſs of time was inlarged with more ample poſſeſſions, finding many and great benefactors and endowers liberally contributing unto the ſame; as Emperors, Dukes, and rich Barons.

A ſtory of a tame Devil conjured in an Abbey in *Suevia*.

Amongſt whom moſt eſpecial were the Earls of *Montfort*, who had beſtowed upon that Monaſtery many new liberties and great priviledges, upon this condition, that they ſhould receive with free hoſpitality any ſtranger both Horſeman or Footman, for one nights lodging, whoſoever came. But this Hoſpitality did not long ſo continue, through a ſubtle and devilliſh device of one of the Monks, who took upon him to counterfeit to play the part of the Devil, ratling and raging in his Chains where the ſtrangers ſhould lie, after a terrible manner, in the night time to fray away the gueſts; by reaſon whereof no ſtranger nor traveller durſt there abide, and ſo continued this a long ſpace.

A ſubtle device of the Monks, to fray away their gueſts.

At length (as God would) it ſo hapned, that one of Earls of the ſaid houſe of *Montfort*, benefactors to that Abbey, coming to the Monaſtery, was there lodged, whether of ſet purpoſe, or by chance, it is not known.

When the night came, and the Earl was at his reſt, the Monk after his wonted manner beginneth his Pageant, to play the tame, yea rather the wild Devil. There was ſtamping, ramping, ſpirting of fire, roaring, thundering, bounſing of boords, and ratling of chains, enough to make ſome man ſtark mad. The Earl hearing the ſudden noyſe, and being ſomewhat peradventure affraid at the firſt, although he had not then the feat of conjuring, yet taking a good heart unto him, and running to his ſword, he laid about him well favouredly, and following ſtill the noyſe of the Devil, ſo conjured him at the laſt, that the Monk, which counterfeited the Devil in jeſt, was ſlain in his one likeneſs in earneſt.

The puniſhment of God, upon a Monk that would counterfeit the Devil.

Ex

Ex Gaſparo Bruſchio, *in Chronologia Monaſteriorum* Germaniæ.

After the impriſonment of the Congregation, which were taken hearing Gods Word in St *James-ſtreet* in *Paris*, *Anno* 1558. (as is above ſtoried) was a Letter written to the King, which was divulgate abroad, proving and declaring by divers Hiſtories, what afflictions and calamities from time to time, by Gods righteous judgment, have fallen upon ſuch as have been Enemies to his People, and have reſiſted the free paſſage of his holy Word. In which Letter, forſomuch as beſide the ſaid Examples much other good fruitful matter is contained, worthy of all men to be read, and eſpecially of Princes to be conſidered, I thought good here to copy out the whole, as the French Book doth give it. The tranſlation of the which Letter into Engliſh, is after this tenour, as followeth.

A Letter tranſlated out of French into Engliſh, written to King Henry *the Second French King.*

The doings of Henry 2. French K. againſt the Lutherans never proſpered with him.

CONſider, I pray you Sir, and you ſhall find that all your afflictions have come upon you, ſince you have ſet your ſelf againſt thoſe which are called *Lutherans*.

When you made the Edict of *Chaſteaubriant*, God ſent you Wars; but when you ceaſed the execution of your ſaid Edict, and as long as ye were enemy unto the Pope, and going into *Almany* for the defence of the *Germans* afflicted for Religion, your affairs proſpered as ye would wiſh or deſire.

This Truce was between the French King and the Emperor, which the Pope cauſed to be broken.

On the contrary, what hath become upon you ſince you were joyned with the Pope again, having received a Sword from him for his own ſafeguard? And who was it that cauſed you to break the Truce? God hath turned in a moment your proſperities into ſuch afflictions, that they touch not only the ſtate of your own perſon, but of your Kingdom alſo.

The cruel purpoſe of the Duke of *Guiſe* diſappointed.

To what end came the enterpriſe of the Duke of *Guiſe* in *Italy*, going about the ſervice of the enemy of God, and purpoſing after his return to deſtroy the Vallies of *Piemont*, to offer or ſacrifice them to God for his Victories? The event hath well declared, that God can turn upſide down our counſels and enterprizes; as he overturned of late the enterprize of the Conſtable of *France* at St. *Quintins*, having vowed to God, that at his return he would go and deſtroy *Geneva*, when he had gotten the victory.

The wicked Vow of the Conſtable of *France* defeated.

The marvellous Judgment of God upon a burning Perſecutor.

Have you not heard of L. *Ponchet* Archbiſhop of *Tours*, who made ſute for the erection of a Court called *Chamber Ardent*, wherein to condemn the Proteſtants to the Fire? who afterwards was ſtricken with a diſeaſe called the Fire of God; which began at his feet, and ſo aſcended upward, that one member after another to be cut off, and ſo died miſerably without any remedy.

Gods fearful hand upon *Caſtellanus*, Perſecutor.

Alſo one *Caſtellanus*, who having inriched himſelf by the Goſpel, and forſaking the pure Doctrine thereof to return unto his vomit again, went about to perſecute the Chriſtians at *Orleans*, and by the hand of God was ſtricken in his Body with a ſickneſs unknown to the Phyſicians, the one half of his Body burning as hot as fire, and the other as cold as Ice; and ſo moſt miſerably crying and lamenting, ended his life.

There be other infinite Examples of Gods Judgments worthy to be remembred; as the death of the Chancellor and Legate *du Prat*, which was the firſt that opened to the Parliament the knowledge of Hereſies, and gave out the firſt Commiſſions to put the faithful to death, who afterward died in his Houſe at *Natoillet*, ſwearing and horribly blaſpheming God, and his Stomach was found pierced and gnawn aſunder with Worms.

Alſo *John Ruſe*, Counſellor in the Parliament, coming from the Court, after he had made report of the Proceſs againſt the poor Innocents.

The wicked end of *Claude de Aſſes*, Perſecutor.

Alſo one named *Claude de Aſſes*, a Counſellor in the ſaid Court, the ſaid day that he gave his opinion and conſent to burn a faithful Chriſtian (albeit it was not done indeed as he would have it) after he had dined, committed whoredom with a Servant in the houſe, and even in doing the act he was ſtricken with a diſeaſe called *Apoplexia*, whereof he died out of hand.

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Peter Liſet, Chief Preſident of the ſaid Court, and one of the Authors of the foreſaid Burning-Chamber, was depoſed from his Office, for being known to be out of his right wit, and bereaved of his underſtanding.

Alſo *John Morin*, Lieutenant Criminal of the Provoſt of *Paris*, after he had been the cauſe of the death of many Chriſtians, was finally ſtricken with a diſeaſe in his Legs, called the Wolves, whereby he loſt the uſe of them, and died alſo out of his wits, many days before denying and blaſpheming God.

J. Andrew, Book-binder, plagued.

Likewiſe *John Andrew*, Bookbinder of the Palace, a Spy for the Preſident *Liſet*, and of *Bruſeard* the Kings Sollicitor, died in a fury and madneſs.

The terrible Vengeance of God upon J. de Roma, a terrible Perſecutor.

The Inquiſitor *John de Roma* in *Provence*, his fleſh fell from him by piece-meal, ſo ſtinking that no man might come near him.

J. Minerius a cruel Perſecutor plagued of God.

Alſo *John Minerius* of *Provence*, which was the cauſe of the death of a great number of Men, Women and Children, at *Cabriers* and at *Merindol*, died with bleeding in the lower Parts, the fire having taken his Belly, blaſpheming and deſpiſing God: beſides many other whereof we might make recital, which were puniſhed with the like kind of death.

The French K. by ſundry ſorts of troubles warned of God.

It may pleaſe your Majeſty to remember your ſelf, that ye had no ſooner determined to ſet upon us, but new Troubles were by and by moved by your Enemies, with whom ye could come to no agreement; which God would not ſuffer, foraſmuch as your peace was grounded upon the Perſecution which ye pretended againſt Gods Servants: As alſo your Cardinals cannot let through their cruelty the courſe of the Goſpel, which hath taken ſuch root in your Realm, that if God ſhould give you leave to deſtroy the Profeſſors thereof, you ſhould be almoſt a King without Subjects.

Riches and Pride of the Clergy, the fountain of all Evils.

Tertullian hath well ſaid, that the Blood of Martyrs is the Seed of the Goſpel. Wherefore to take away all theſe evils coming of the riches of the Papiſts, which cauſe ſo much Whoredom, Sodomitry and Inceſt, wherein they wallow like Hogs, feeding their idle Bellies, the beſt way were to put them from their Lands and Poſſeſſions, as the old Sacrificing *Levites* were, according to the expreſs commandment which was given to *Joſhuah*. For as long as the Commandment of God took place, and that they were void of ambition, the purity of Religion remained whole and perfect; but when they began to aſpire to principalities, riches and worldly honours, then began the abomination of deſolation that Chriſt foretold.

The pureneſs of the Primitive Church, how long it continued, and whereby. The falſe Donation of *Conſtantine*.

It was even ſo in the Primitive Church, for it flouriſhed and continued in all pureneſs, as long as the Miniſters were of ſmall wealth, and ſought not their particular profit, but the glory of God only. But ſince the Pope began to be Prince-like, and to uſurp the dominion of the Empire under the colour of a falſe donation of *Conſtantine*, they have turned the Scriptures from their true ſenſe, and have attributed the ſervice to themſelves, which we owe to God. Wherefore your Majeſty may ſeize with good right upon all the Temporalties of the Benefices, and that with a ſafe Conſcience to employ them to their true and right uſe.

Exhortation to the King to ſeiſe upon the Temporalties of the Clergy. The Riches of the Popes Clergy, how they ought to be employed.

Firſt, for the finding and maintaining of the faithful Miniſters of the Word of God, for ſuch Livings ſhall be requiſite for them, according as the caſe ſhall require. Secondly, for the entertainment of your Juſtices that give judgment. Thirdly, for the relieving of the Poor, and maintenance of Colledges to inſtruct the poor Youth in that which they ſhall be moſt apt unto. And the reſt, which is infinite, may remain for entertainment of your own eſtate and affairs, to the great eaſement of your poor People, which alone bear the burthen, and poſſeſs in manner nothing.

In this doing, an infinite number of men, and even of your Nobility, which live of the Crucifix, ſhould employ themſelves to your ſervice, and the Commonwealths ſo much the more diligently, as they ſee that ye recompence none but thoſe that have deſerved; whereas now there is an infinite number of men in your Kingdom, which occupy the chieſeſt and greateſt Benefices, which never deſerved any part of them, &c. And thus much touching

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touching the ſuperfluous poſſeſſions of the Popes lordly Clergy. Now proceeding further in this exhortation to the King, thus the Letter importeth.

The malicious and lying ſlanders of the Papiſts to bring the true Goſpellers in hatred with Princes

But when the Papiſts ſee that they have not to alledge for themſelves any reaſon, they aſſay to make odious to your Majeſty the *Lutherans* (as they call us) and ſay; If their ſayings take place, ye ſhall be fain to remain a private perſon, and that there is never change of Religion but there is alſo change of Princedom. A thing as falſe as when they accuſe us to be Sacramentaries, and that wee deny the Authority of Magiſtrates, under the ſhadow of certain furious Anabaptiſts, which Sathan hath raiſed in our time to darken the light of the Goſpel. For the Hiſtories of the Emperors which have begun to receive the Chriſtian Religion, and that which is come to paſs in our time, ſhew the contrary.

Conſtantine confirmed in his kingdom the more, by receiving the Goſpel.

Was there ever Prince more feared and obeyed, than *Conſtantine* in receiving the Chriſtian Religion? was he therefore put from the Empire? No, he was thereby the more confirmed and eſtabliſhed in the ſame, and alſo his poſterity which ruled themſelves by his providence. But ſuch as have fallen away, and followed mens traditions, God hath deſtroyed, and their race is no more known in earth: So much doth God deteſt them that forſake him.

Examples of *England* and *Germany*, how Princes loſe no honour by the Goſpel.

And in our time the late Kings of *England* and *Germany*, were they conſtrained in reproving ſuperſtitions, which the wickedneſs of the time had brought in, to forſake their Kingdoms and Princedoms? All men ſee the contrary; and what honour, fidelity, and obedience the people in our time that have received the reformation of the Goſpel, do under their Princes and ſuperiours. Yea, I may ſay, that the Princes knew not before what it was to be obeyed, at that time when the rude and ignorant people received ſo readily the diſpenſations of the Pope, to drive out their own Kings and natural Lords.

The Popes Religion more noiſome to the ſtate of Princes than the Doctrine of the *Lutherans*.

Wholſome remedy ſhewed againſt the Popes pride.

The true and only remedy, Sir, is, that ye cauſe to be holden a holy and free Councel, where ye ſhould be chief, and not the Pope and his, who ought but only to defend their cauſes by the holy Scriptures; that in the mean while ye may ſeek out men not corrupted, ſuſpected, nor partial, whom ye may charge to give report faithfully unto you of the true ſenſe of Holy Scriptures. And this done, after the example of the good Kings, *Joſaphat*, *Ezechias*, and *Joſias*, ye ſhall take out of the Church all Idolatry, Superſtition, and abuſe, which is found directly contrary to the Holy Scriptures of the old and new Teſtament, and by that means ye ſhall guide your people in the true and pure ſervice of God, not regarding in the mean time the cavilling pretences of the Papiſts, which ſay that ſuch queſtions have been already anſwered at general Councels: for it is known well enough, that no Councel hath been lawful ſince the Popes have uſurped the principallity and Tyranny upon mens Souls, but they have made them ſerve to their covetouſneſs, ambition, and cruelty; and the contrary which is among thoſe Councels, maketh enough for their diſproof, beſide a hundred thouſand other abſurdities againſt the Word of God, which be in them. The true proof for ſuch matters is in the true and holy Scriptures, to the which no times, nor age hath any preſcription to bee alledged againſt them; for by them wee receiye the Councels founded upon the Word of God, and alſo by the ſame we reject that Doctrin which is repugnant.

A blind ſhift of the Papiſts to ſtop Princes from calling general Councels.

The contrarieties in the Popes Councels enough for their diſproof.

Propheſie againſt the *French* King.

And if ye do thus Sir, God will bleſs your enterpriſe, he will encreaſe and confirm your Reign and Empire, and your poſterity. If otherwiſe, deſtruction is at your gate, and unhappy are the People which ſhall dwell under your obedience. There is no doubt but God will harden your heart as he did *Pharaohs*, and take off the Crown from your head, as he did to *Jeroboam*, *Nadab*, *Baza*, *Achab*, and to many other Kings, which have followed mens traditions, againſt the commandment of God, and give it to your enemies to triumph over you and your Children.

And if the Emperor *Antonine* the meek, although he were a Pagan and Idolater, ſeeing himſelf bewrapt with ſo many warrs, ceaſed the perſecutions which were in his time againſt the Chriſtians, and determined in the end to hear their cauſes and reaſons, how much more ought you that bear the name of the moſt Chriſtian King, to be careful and diligent to ceaſe the perſecutions againſt the Poor Chriſtians, ſeeing they have not troubled nor do trouble in any wiſe the ſtate of your Kingdom, and your affairs; conſidering alſo that the Jews be ſuffered through all Chriſtendom, although they be mortal enemies of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which we hold by common accord and conſent for our God, Redeemer, and Saviour; and that until ye have heard lawfully debated, and underſtand our reaſons, taken out of the holy Scriptures, and that your Majeſty have judged, if we be worthy of ſuch puniſhments. For if wee bee not overcome by the Word of God, the fires, the ſwords, nor the cruelleſt torments ſhall make us affraid. Theſe bee exerciſes that God hath promiſed to his, the which hee foretold ſhould come in the laſt times, that they ſhould not be troubled when ſuch perſecutions ſhall come upon them.

Tranſlated out of the French Book, intituled Commentaries of the ſtate of the Church and publick weal, &c. pag. 7.

The ſtory and the end of the French *King*

The ſtory and end of *Henry* 2. the *French* King that would not be warned.

WHoſoever was the Author or Authors of this letter above prefixed, herein thou ſeeſt (good Reader) good Counſel given to the King. If he had had the grace to receive it, and had followed the ſame, no doubt but Gods bleſſing working with him, he had not only ſet that Realm in a bleſſed ſtate from much diſturbance, but alſo had continued himſelf in all flouriſhing felicity of princely honour and dignity. For ſo doth the Lord commonly bleſs and advance ſuch Kings and Princes as ſeek his honour, and ſubmit their wills to his obedience. But commonly the fault of Kings and Potentates of this world is, that being ſet about with Paraſites, either they ſeldom hear the truth told them, or if they do, yet will they not lightly be put from their own wills, diſdaining to be admoniſhed by their inferiours, be their Counſel never ſo wholeſom and godly. Which thing many times turneth them to great plagues and calamities, as by plentiful example of Kings deſtroyed, wounded, impriſoned, depoſed, drowned, poyſoned, &c. may well to them that read Hiſtories appear: but eſpecially this preſent example of *Henry* the *French* King, the ſecond of that name, is in this our age notoriouſly to be conſidered. Who being well warned before (as may ſeem) would not yet ſurceaſe his cruel perſecution againſt the Lords people, but rather was the more hardened in heart, and inflamed againſt them; inſomuch that he ſaid to *Anne du Bourg*, one of the high Court of Parliament in *Paris* threatning him, that he would ſee him burn with his own eyes.

What cometh to kings that refuſe good counſel.

Further, his purpoſe was to extend his power and force likewiſe againſt other places more, in perſecuting the Goſpel of Chriſt and profeſſors thereof, to the uttermoſt of his ability, I leave it to the report of them, which in this matter know more than I here will utter.

Henry 2. the *French* King wholly ſet to perſecute the Church of Chriſt.

But notwithſtanding all theſe cracks and threatnings of the King (to ſee what the Lord can do in making high Kings to ſtoop) even the ſame day when the King was in his moſt rage againſt theſe good men, Almighty God, taking the cauſe in hand to fight for his Church, ſo turned the matter, that he made the great enemy of *his* both with his mouth and with his hands to work his own deſtruction; with his mouth in commanding, with his hand in giving him the Lance into his hand, which the ſame day gave him his deaths wound, as by the ſequele hereof in reading ye may underſtand.

Gods mighty power againſt his enemies.

The Stroke of Gods hands upon Henry *the Second the* French King.

KIng *Henry* being in the Parliment Houſe which was kept at the *Frier Auguſtines* at *Paris*, becauſe the Palace was in preparing againſt the marriage of his Daughter, and his Siſter, and having heard the opinion in Religion of *Anne du Bourg* Counſellor in the Law, a man eloquent and learned, he cauſed the ſaid *Anne du Bourg*, and *Loys du Faux*, Counſellors, to be taken priſoners by the Conſtable of *France*, who apprehended them, and delivered them into the hands of the County of *Montgommery*, the which carried them to Priſon. Againſt whom the King being wrathful

and

and angry, among other talk, ſaid to the ſaid *Ann de Bourg*; Theſe eyes of mine ſhall ſee thee burnt: And ſo on the 19. of *June*, Commiſſion was given to Judges to make his Proceſs.

During this mean while, great feaſts and banquets were preparing in the Court, for joy and gladneſs of the marriage that ſhould be of the Kings Daughter and Siſter, againſt the laſt day of *June* ſave one. So when the day and time above prefixed was come, the King employed all the morning in examining as well the Preſidents as Counſellors of the ſaid Parliament againſt theſe Priſoners, and other their companions that were charged with the ſame Doctrine, which being done, they went to dinner.

Henry 2. the *French* King ſore ſet againſt the Poor Proteſtants.

The King, after he had dined, for that he was one of the defendants at the Tourney, which was ſolemnly made in Saint *Antonies-ſtreet*, near to the Priſon where the foreſaid Priſoners were commmitted, entred into the Liſts; and therein juſting, as the manner is, had broken many ſtaves right valiantly as could be, running as well againſt the County of *Montgommery*, as other more.

Whereupon he was highly commended of the lookers on. And becauſe he had done ſo valiantly, and was thought now to have done enough, he was deſired to ceaſe with praiſe: But he being the more inflamed with the hearing of his prayſe, would needs run another courſe with *Montgommery*: who then refuſing to run againſt the King, and kneeling upon his knees for pardon not to run; the King being eagerly ſet, commanded him upon his allegeance to run, and (as ſome affirm) did alſo himſelf put the ſtaff in his hand, unto whoſe hands he had commmitted the foreſaid Priſoners a little before. *Montgommery* thus being inforced whether hee would or no to run againſt the King, addreſſed himſelf after the beſt wiſe to obey the Kings commandment.

Henry 2. the *French* King in his triumph juſteth againſt *Montgommery*.

Montgomery againſt his will commanded to juſt againſt the King.

Whereupon he and the King met together ſo ſtoutly, that in breaking their ſpears the King was ſtricken with the counter-blow, ſo right in one of his eyes, by reaſon that the viſour of his Helmet ſuddenly fell down at the ſame inſtant, that the ſhivers entred into his head; ſo that the brains were periſhed, and thereupon ſo feſtered, that no remedy could be found, although *Phyſitians* and Surgeons were ſent from all places in the Realm, as alſo from *Brabant* by King *Philip*, but nothing availed, ſo that the 11. day after, that is, 10. of *July*, 1559. he ended his life in great dolour, having reigned 12. years, three Months, and 10. days.

Henry 2. the *French* King ſtricken and killed in his own juſting.

The deviliſh perſwaſion of the Cardinal of *Lorain* at the death of the *French* King.

Some report, that among other words he ſaid, that hee feared hee was ſtricken for caſting the Poor Chriſtians wrongfully in Priſon: but the Cardinal of *Lorain* ſtanding by (as he was always at hand) ſaid unto him, that it was the enemy that tempted him, and that he ſhould be ſtedfaſt in the faith. By this means the Hall, which was prepared for a place of joy and gladneſs, did now ſerve for a Chappel to keep the corps, being dreſſed with black mourning cloth, and night and day there was nothing heard but mourning and lamenting for the ſpace of 40. days.

Certain Gentlemen executed at *Amboiſe* for ſtanding againſt the houſe of *Guiſe*.

About two years after this, which was the year of our Lord, 1561. there were certain Gentlemen put to death at *Amboiſe*, for taking Arms againſt the houſe of *Guiſe*. Touching which Gentlemen this is to be noted, that as one of them ſhould be brought to the place of execution, where the other lay dead before him, he thruſt his hands into the Blood of two of his campanions which were there beheaded, and the lifting up to Heaven, cried with a loud voice; *Lord behold the Blood of thy Children: thou wilt in time and place revenge it.*

The Lords puniſhment upon the Chancellor *Oliver* for his ſentence given againſt certain Gentlemen, Proteſtants.

Not long after the ſame, the Chancellor *Oliver*, who was condemner of them, at the inſtigation and purſuit of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, through great remorſe of Conſcience fell ſick, and in a frenſie caſting out ſighs unceſſantly, and afflicting himſelf after a fearful and ſtrange faſhion for his unrighteous ſentence, and more than barbarous cruelty, ſhrieked upon a ſudden with an horrible cry, and ſaid; *O Cardinal, thou wilt make us all to be damned.* And within a very few days after he died.

The Death of *Francis* 2.

Francis the ſecond of that name, King of *France*, at the perſwaſion of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and of certain others, cauſed an aſſembly of the Eſtates of the Realm in the Town of *Orleans*, among other things to maintain the Papal See, to the overthrow of thoſe which would live after the ſincerity of the Goſpel: but being fallen ſick, ſhortly after, in the foreſaid place, of a fever, through an impoſtume in his left ear hee died the fourth of *December*, 1561. having reigned but one year, and about five Months,

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French King after he began to withſtand the courſe of the Goſpel.

How the Lord worketh for his Goſpel.

It was ſaid of this King *Francis* (as the author above mentioned reporteth) that when hee was drawing toward his end, the Cardinal of *Lorain* made him to ſay and pronounce theſe words which follow; *Lord forgive me my treſpaſſes, and impute not unto me the faults which my Miniſters have done under my name and authority.*

The words of King *Francis* at his death.

The terrible ſtroke of Gods revenge upon *Carol.* 9. the *French* King.

Nither is it unworthy of obſervation, that after the father it happened in much like ſort by Gods mighty judgment unto *Carol.* 9. his ſecond Son, and Brother to *Francis* above mentioned, in theſe our later days; who after the horrible and Bloody Murder of the Admiral, and other true profeſſors of Chriſts Goſpel, both Men, Women, and Children, to the number of many thouſands of divers Cities, inſomuch that the Priſons and ſtreets are ſaid to be coloured with Blood, ſmoaking after ſuch a cruel ſort, as in our time or Country the like hath not hitherto been ſeen; by the ſtroke of Gods juſt revenge, the ſame King, by credible report of ſtory, is ſaid to dye of bleeding, not only at his ears and noſe, but in all other places of his Body, where Blood might have any iſſue.

The death of *Charles* the Emperor.

Unto theſe afore recited Hiſtories of King *Henry* and his two Sons, might alſo be added the death of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth. Who in like manner being an enemy, and a great terrour to the Goſpel, was cut off likewiſe for doing any more hurt to the Church, much about the ſame time, *Anno* 1558. which was but three Months before the death of Queen *Mary*, and ten Months before the death of the ſaid *Henry* the ſecond. Touching the death of which *Charles* and *Henry*, and *Francis*, this Epitaph following was written in Latin Verſes, and printed in the French Story, Book above alledged.

An Epitaph upon *Charles* Emperor, *Henry* 2 *French* King and *Francis* his Son.

Conſiliis Chriſtum oppugnans & fraudibus ingens
Regum ille terror Carolus,
Ipſis ridiculus pueris, furioſus & excors,
Totus repente corruit.
Tuque Henrice, *malis dum conſultoribus utens*
Sitis piorum ſanguinem,
Ipſe tuo vecors, inopina cæde peremptus,
Terram imbuiſti ſanguine.
Henrici *deinceps ſectans veſtigia patris*
Franciſcus, infœlix puer,
Clamantem Chriſtum ſurda dum negligit aure,
Aure putrefacta corruit.
Verſuti, fatui, ſurdi, hæc ſpectacula, Reges.
Vos ſapere vel mori jubent.

The ſudden death of Preſident *Minard*.

Not long after *Anne du Bourg's* death, the Preſident *Minard*, who was a ſore perſecutor, and the condemner of the ſaid *Anne du Bourg*, as he returned from the Palace or Councel Chamber to his own houſe, being upon his Mule, even hard by his houſe, was ſlain with a dagg; but who was the doer thereof, or for what cauſe he was ſlain, for all the inquiſition and diligent ſearch that could be made, it was never known.

The puniſhment of God upon the K. of *Navar*, after he had revolted from the Goſpel to Popery.

Among many other examples worthy to bee noted let us alſo conſider the end of the King of *Navar*, Brother to the worthy Prince of *Condy*, who after hee had ſuſtained a certain time the cauſe of the Goſpel, at length being allured by the flattering word of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal of *Lorain* his Brother, and upon hope to have his lands reſtored again, which the King of *Spain* retained from him, was contented to alter his Religion, and to joyn ſide with the Papiſts, and ſo being in camp with the Duke of *Guiſe*, at the ſieg of *Roan*, was there ſhot in with a pellet. After which wound received, being brought to a Town three miles from the camp, called *Preaux*, he did vehemently repent and lament his backſliding from the Goſpel, promiſing to God moſt earneſtly, that if he might eſcape that hurt, hee would bring to paſs that the Goſpel ſhould be preached

freely

Anno 1558. freely through all *France*: Notwithstanding, within five or six days after he died.

Neither did the Duke of *Guise* himself, the great Arch-enemy of God and his Gospel, continue in life long after that, but both he and the whole Triumvirat of *France*, that is, three the greatest Captains of Popery were cut off for doing any more hurt, to wit, the Duke of *Guise* before *Orleance*, the Constable before *Paris*, the Marshal of St. *Andrew* before *Dreux*.

Of the Emperor Sigismundus.

AMongst others, here is not to be past over nor forgotten the notable example of Gods just scourge upon *Sigismundus* the Emperor, of whom mention is made before, in the Condemnation of *John Huss*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*. After the death and wrongful Condemnation of which blessed Martyrs, nothing afterward went prosperously with the said Emperor, but all contrary; so that he both died without issue, and in his Wars he ever went to the worst. And not long after, *Ladislaus* his Daughters Son King of *Hungary*, fighting against the Turk, was slain in the field. So that in the time of one Generation all the posterity and offspring of this Emperor perished. Besides this, *Barbara* his Wife came to such ruine by her wicked lewdness, that she became a shame and slander to the name and state of all Queens. Whereby all Christian Princes and Emperors may sufficiently be admonished, if they have grace, what it is to defile themselves with the Blood of Christs blessed Saints and Martyrs.

A note of Christopher Parker.

Christopher Parker, called *Parker* the wild, mentioned before in this Book of Monuments, who being a Persecutor of *Richard Woodman*, did manacle his hands with a cord, did cast himself into a Pond, and so drowned himself at *Herstmonceux*, in *Sussex*, the 8. *September*, 1575.

The Story of one Drainer *of* Kent, *commonly called Justice* Nine-holes.

The Story of one *Drainer*, otherwise called Justice *Nine-holes*.

I May not in this place omit the tragedy of one *Drainer* of *Smarden* in the County of *Kent*, Esquire, who bearing grudge against one *Gregory Dods*, Parson of the said Town, for reproving his vicious life, sent for him by two men, which took him and brought him before him, where he was had into a Parlour, as it were to break-fast. In which behind the Door he had placed one *Roger Matthew* secretly, to bear witness what he should say, no more being in sight but the said *Drainer* and one of his men, who willed and perswaded him to speak freely his mind, for that there was not sufficient record of his words to hurt him. But the Lord kept his talk without Peril, whereby the said *Drainer* sent him to the next Justice called Mr. *George Dorel*; who, perceiving it to be done more of malice than otherwise, delivered him upon Sureties, to appear at the next Sessions at *Canterbury*, and at length he was banished the Country.

A malicious Practice to intrap a good man.

This said *Drainer* afterward, being chosen Justice, to shew himself diligent in seeking the trouble of his Neighbours, made in the Roodloft-nine holes, that he might look about the Church in Mass time. In which place alway at the sacring thereof, he would stand to see who looked not, or held not up his hands thereto; which persons not so doing he would trouble and punish very sore. Whereby he purchased a name there, and is called to this day *Justice Nine-holes*, who now (God be thanked) is *John out of Office*, and glad of his Neighbours good will.

It so fell out, that since this was published, the said *Drainer* came to the Printers house, with other associates, demanding: Is *Fox* here? To whom answer was given, that Master *Fox* was not within. Is the Printer within (quoth *Drainer*?) It was answered, Yea. Whereupon being required to come up into his house, he was asked what his will was. Marry saith he, you have printed me false in your Book. Why, saith the Printer, is not your name Master *Drainer*, otherwise called Justice *Nine-holes*? It is false saith he, I made but five with a great Augur and the Parson made the rest. It was answered, I have not read that a Justice should make him a place in the Rood-Loft, to see if the People held up their hands. He said, Whereas you alledged, that I did it to see who adored the Sacrament, or who not, it is untrue; for I set as little by it, as the best of you all. Indeed saith the Printer, so we understand now; for you being at Supper in *Cheapside* among certain honest Company, and there burdened with the matter, said then, that you did it rather to look upon fair wenches than otherwise. He being in a great rage, sware, saying to this purpose; Can a man speak nothing but you must have understanding thereof? But, saith he, did I do any man any hurt? It was answered, that he meant little good to Master *Dods* aforesaid, especially procuring a secret witness behind his door, to catch some words that might tend to *Dods* destruction. Which thing *Drainer* sware, as before, was not true. To whom the Printer replied, that it was most true, for that the party there secretly hidden, hath since upon his knees, asking forgiveness for his intent, confessed the same to *Dods* himself. I will hang that Knave, saith he: And so he departed in a rage; and since is deceased, whose death and order thereof, I refer to the secret Judge.

Drainer convict of falshood.

A lamentable history of John Whitman *Shoomaker, who suffered most cruel Torments at* Ostend *in* Flanders, *for the Testimony of Jesus Christ, and the Truth of his Gospel*, Anno 1572.

A lamentable history of J. Whitman, Shoomaker.

John *Whitman* Shoomaker, being about the age of 49 years, born in *Tinen* a Town in *Brabant*, after his coming over into *England*, dwelt in *Rie* in the County of *Sussex*, being married 23. years: alwaies a professor of the Gospel, as well in the time of the freedom thereof, as in time of Persecution. About *Candlemas* in the year 1572. unknown to his Friends in *Rie*, understanding of shipping in *Rie*, which was ready bound for *Ostend* in *Flanders*, he went aboard the *Saturday* morning, and arrived at *Ostend* that night, where he lodged with one of his Kinsmen there dwelling. The next day being *Sunday*, in the morning he accompanied with his said Kinsman, took his Journy, as it were to have passed higher into the Country.

When they were about three Miles on their way out of the Town, suddenly *Whitman* staied and would go no further; but immediatly returned back again to *Ostend*, whither so soon as he was come, it being Service time in their Church, he forthwith addressed himself thither, and at the time of the heave-offering stept to the Sacrificer, and took from over his head his Idol, saying these words in the Dutch Tongue? *Is this your God?* and so breaking it, cast it down under his feet, and trode thereon. Forthwith the People in an uproar came to lay hold on him, atd hardly in the Church escaped he death by the Souldiers there present, but being rescued by some, to the intent to be further examined and made a publick Spectacle, he was carried immediately to Prison. Upon the next day, being *Monday*, the Judges and other Counsellors being assembled, he was brought forth into the common Hall, and examined of his fact, the intent, the Counsel and abbettors thereof, and also of his Faith: where he very constantly in defence of his Christian Faith, and great detestation of Idolatry, demeaned himself in such sort, that he wrung Tears from the eyes of divers, both of the chief, and others present. So was he committed again to Prison. The next day being *Tuesday*, he was brought out again before the Judges into the same place, And being examined as before, he no whit abated, but increased in his constancy. Whereupon Sentence was given upon him to have his hand cut off, and his Body scorched to death, and after to be hanged up. So the day following, being *Wednesday*, he was brought out of Prison to the Town-*Hall*, standing in the Market place, all things belonging to execution being made ready there. Which when they were all ready, the Hangman went into the Hall, and with a Cord tied the hands of *Whitman*, and came out leading him thereby. So soon as *Whitman* was out of the house, he made such haste, and as it were, ran so

J. Whitman could not suffer the abominable Idolatry of the Papists.

J. Whitman apprehended.

J. Whitman brought before the Judges.

Sentence given against John Whitman.

ſo to the place of Execution, that he drew the Hangman after him. There was a Poſt ſet up with Spars from the top thereof, a ſlope, down to the ground, in manner of a Tent, to the end that he ſhould be only ſcorched to death, and not burned. When he was come to the place, the Hangman commanded him to lay down his Right hand upon a Block, which he immediately with a Hatchet ſmote off: the good man ſtill continuing conſtant, the Hangman ſtept behind him, and bid him put out his Tongue, which he forthwith did, as far as he could out of his mouth, through the which he thruſt a long Inſtrument like a Pack-needle, and ſo let it ſtick. Then the Judges, ſtanding by in the Common-Hall, read again his Fact and Sentence. Whereunto he could make no anſwer, his Tongue hanging out of his head: ſo was he ſtripped out of his Caſſock, his Hoſe being put off in Priſon, and put within his Tent, and made faſt with two Chains, and fire was put round about, which broiled and ſcorched his Body moſt miſerably, all black, he not being ſeen, but heard to make a noiſe within the Tent. When he was dead, he was carried out to be hanged upon a Gibbet beſide the Town.

The Martyrdom and Death of *J. Whitman.*

Spectatores præſentes, Cutbert Car, Bartholomæus Bellington, Nautæ Rienſes.

Admonition to the Reader concerning the Examples above mentioned.

IT hath been a long perſwaſion gendred in the heads of many men theſe many years, that to ground a mans Faith upon Gods Word alone, and not upon the See and Church of *Rome*, following all the Ordinances and Conſtitutions of the ſame was damnable Hereſie, and to perſecute ſuch Men to death was high ſervice done to God, Whereupon have riſen ſo great Perſecutions, Slaughters and Murders, with ſuch effuſion of Chriſtian Blood through all parts of Chriſtendom by the ſpace of theſe 70 years, as hath not before been ſeen. And of theſe Men Chriſt himſelf doth full well warn us long before, truly propheſying of ſuch times to come, when they that ſlay his Miniſters and Servants ſhould think themſelves to do good ſervice unto God, *John* 16. Now what wicked ſervice, and how deteſtable before God this is, which they falſly perſwade themſelves to be godly, what more evident demonſtrations can we require, than theſe ſo many, ſo manifeſt, and ſo terrible Examples of Gods wrath pouring down from Heaven upon theſe Perſecutors, whereof part we have already ſet forth; for to comprehend all (which in number are infinite) it is unpoſſible, Wherefore, although there be many which will neither hear, ſee, nor underſtand, what is for their profit, yet let all moderate and well diſpoſed Natures take warning in time. And if the plain Word of God will not ſuffice them, nor the Blood of ſo many Martyrs will move them to imbrace the Truth, and forſake Error, yet let the deſperate deaths and horrible puniſhments of their own Papiſts perſwade them, how perillous is the end of this damnable Doctrine of Papiſtry. For if theſe Papiſts, which make ſo much of their painted Antiquity, do think their proceedings to be ſo Catholick, and Service ſo acceptable to God, let them joyn this withal, and tell us how come then their proceedings to be ſo accurſed of God, and their end ſo miſerably plagued, as by theſe Examples above ſpecified, is here notoriouſly to be ſeen? Again, if the Doctrine of them be ſuch Hereſie, whom they have hitherto perſecuted for Hereticks unto death; how then is Almighty God become a maintainer of Hereticks, who hath revenged their Blood ſo grievouſly upon their Enemies and Perſecutors?

Three Arguments againſt the Papiſts. Gods Word. Blood of Martyrs. Gods puniſhment. The plagues of God ſet againſt pretenced Antiquity.

The putting out of the French Kings eyes, which promiſed before with his eyes to ſee one of Gods true Servants burned, who ſeeth not with his eyes to be the ſtroke of Gods hand upon him? Then his Son *Francis* after him, not regarding his Fathers ſtripe, would yet needs proceed in burning the ſame Man: and did not the ſame God, which put out his Fathers eyes, give him ſuch a blow on the Ear, that it coſt him his life? If the Platform of *Stephen Gardiner* had been a thing ſo neceſſary for the Church, and ſo grateful unto God, why then did it not proſper with him, nor he with it, but both he and his Plat-form lay in the duſt, and none left behind him to build upon it? After the time of *Stephen Gardiner*, and at the Council of *Trent*, what Conſpiracies and Policies were deviſed? what Practices and Trains were laid through the ſecret confederacy of Princes and Prelates, for the utter ſubverſion of the Goſpel and all Goſpellers, which if God had ſeen to have been for his glory, why then came they to none effect? yea, how or by whom were they diſcloſed and foreprized, but by the Lord himſelf, which would not have them come forward?

Henry 2. the French King and King *Francis* his Son ſtricken, the one in the Eyes, the other with an Impoſtume in the Ear. *St. Gardiner.*

Anno 1558.

The vehement Zeal of Queen *Mary* was like to have ſet up the Pope here again in *England* for ever, if it had ſo much pleaſed the Lord God as it pleaſed her ſelf; or if it had been ſo godly as it was bloody, no doubt but Gods bleſſing would have gone withal. But when was the Realm of *England* more barren of all Gods Bleſſings? what Prince ever reigned here more ſhorter time, or leſs to his own hearts eaſe than did Queen *Mary*?

Queen *Mary.*

The Conſtable of *France*, when he covenanted with God, that if he had the victory of St. *Quintins*, he would ſet upon *Geneva*, thought (no doubt) that he had made a great good bargain with God; much like unto *Julian* the Emperor, who going againſt the *Perſians*, made his Vow, that if he ſped well, he would offer the Blood of Chriſtians. But what did God? came not both their Vows to like effect?

Conſtable of *France.*

The Examples of ſuch as revolted from the Goſpel to Papiſtry be not many; but as few as they were, ſcarce can any be found which began to turn to the Pope, but the Lord began to turn from them, and to leave them to their ghoſtly enemy; as we have heard of the King of *Navar* in *France*, of *Henry Smith*, and Dr. *Shaxton* in *England*, with other in other Countries more, of whom ſome died in great ſorrow of Conſcience, ſome in miſerable doubt of their ſalvation, ſome ſtricken by Gods hand, ſome given to hang or drown themſelves.

King of Navar, *Henry Smith*, D. *Shaxton.*

The ſtinking death of *Stephen Gardiner*, of *John de Roma*, of *Twyford*, of the Bayliff of *Crowland*: The ſudden death of the Suffragan of *Dover*, of Dr. *Dunning*, of Dr. *Geffrey*, of *Berry* the Promoter: The miſerable and wretched end of *Poucher* Archbiſhop of *Towers*, of Cardinal *Creſcentius*, *Caſtellatus*: The deſperate diſeaſe of *Rockwood*, of *Latomus*, of *Guarlacus*: The earthly ending of *Henry Beauford* Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, of *Eckius*, of *Thorton* called *Dick* of *Dover*: The wilful and ſelf murder of *Pauter*, of *Richard Long*, of *Bomelius*, beſides infinite other: The dreadful taking away and murren of ſo many perſecuting Biſhops; ſo many bloody Promoters and malicious Adverſaries, in ſuch a ſhort time together with Queen *Mary*, and that without any mans hand, but only the ſecret working of Gods juſt Judgment.

To add to theſe alſo the ſtinking death of *Edmund Boner*, commonly named the bloody Biſhop of *London*; who not many years ago, in the time and reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, after he had long feaſted and banquetted in durance at the *Marſhalſea*, as he wretchedly died in his blind Popery, ſo as ſtinkingly and as blindly at Midnight was he brought out and buried in the outſide of all the City, amongſt Thieves and Murderers, a place right convenient for ſuch a murderer; with confuſion and deriſion both of Men and Children, who, trampling upon his Grave, well declared how he was hated both of God and Man. What elſe be all theſe (I ſay) but plain viſible Arguments, Teſtimonies and Demonſtrations even from Heaven againſt the Pope, his murdering Religion, and his bloody Doctrine? For who can deny their doings not to be good, whoſe end is ſo evil? If Chriſt bid us to know men by their fruits, and eſpecially ſeeing by the end all things are to be tried, how can the profeſſion of that Doctrine pleaſe God, which endeth ſo ungodly? *Eſaias*, Chap. 50. propheſying of the end of Gods Enemies, which would needs walk in the light of their own ſetting up, and not in the light of the Lords kindling, threatneth to them this final malediction, *in doloribus* (ſaith he) *dormietis*, i. *In ſorrow ſhall ye ſleep.* Let us now take a ſurvey of all thoſe Perſecutors, which of late have ſo troubled the Earth, (and almoſt have burned up the World with Fagots and Fire, for maintenance of the

Popes

Anno 1558.

Popes Religion) and ſee what the end hath been of them that are now gone, and whither their Religion hath brought them, but either to deſtruction, or deſparation, or confuſion and ſhame of Life. So many great Doctors and Biſhops have cried out of late ſo mightily againſt Prieſts marriage; and have they not, by Gods juſt judgment working their confuſion, been detected themſelves, and taken the moſt part of them in ſinful Adultery, and ſhameful Fornication? Cardinal *Joannes Cremenſis* the Popes Legate here in *England*, after he had ſet a Law that Prieſts ſhould have no Wives, was he not the next day after, being taken with his Whores, driven out of *London* with confuſion and ſhame enough, ſo that afterwards he durſt not ſhew his face here any more? Beſides the two Biſhops in the late Councel of *Trent* moſt ſhamefully taken in Adultery, mentioned before. Alſo beſides innumerable other like forreign ſtories, which I let paſs, to come now to our own domeſtical examples, I could well name half a ſcore at leaſt of famous Doctors, and ſome Biſhops, with their great Maſters of Popery, who, in ſtanding earneſtly againſt the marriages of Prieſts, have afterward been taken in ſuch diſhoneſt facts themſelves, that not only they have carried the publick ſhame of adulterous Letcherers, but ſome of them the marks alſo of burning Fornication with them in their Bodies to their Graves. Whoſe Names although I ſuffer here to be ſuppreſſed, yet the examples of them may ſuffice to admoniſh all men that be wiſe, and which will avoid the wrath of Gods terrible vengeance, to beware of Popery.

A ſecret note of Papiſts which have been great criers out of Prieſts marriage, and themſelves after taken in open Adultery.

And thus having hitherto recited ſo many ſhameful lives and deſperate ends of ſo many Popiſh Perſecutors ſtricken by Gods hand; now let us conſider again on the contrary ſide the bleſſed ends given of Almighty God unto them, which have ſtood ſo manfully in the defence of Chriſts Goſpel, and the reformation of his Religion, and let the Papiſts themſelves here be Judges. Firſt, what a peaceable and heavenly end made the worthy Servant and ſingular Organ of God, *Martin Luther?*

Compariſon between the end of Popiſh Perſecutors and the Goſpellers.

To ſpeak likewiſe of the famous *John* Duke of *Saxony* and Prince Elector, of the good *Palſgrave*, of *Philip Melanction*, of *Pomeranus*, *Urbanus*, *Rhegius*, *Berengarius*, of *Ulricus Swinglius*, *Oecolampodius*, *Pillicanus*, *Capito*, *Munſtreus*, *Joannes Calvinus*, *Petrus Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, *Paulus Phagius*, *Johannes Muſculus*, *Biblander*, *Geſnerus*, *Hoſman*, *Auguſtinus Marloratus*, *Lewes of Bourbon* Prince of *Condie*, and his godly Wife before him, with many more, which were known to be learned men, and chief ſtanderds of the Goſpel ſide againſt the Pope, and yet no man able to bring forth any one example either of theſe, or of any other true Goſpeller, that either killed himſelf, or ſhewed forth any ſignification or appearance of deſpair, but full of hope and conſtant in Faith, and repleniſhed with the fruit of Righteouſneſs in Chriſt Jeſus, ſo yielded they their lives in quiet peace unto the Lord.

The godly end of the Goſpellers to be noted.

From theſe Forreigners, let us come now to the Martyrs of *England*, and mark likewiſe the end both of them, and ſemblably of all others of the ſame Profeſſion. And firſt to begin with the bleſſed and heavenly departure of King *Edward* the ſixth, that firſt put down the Maſs in *England*, and alſo of the like godly end of his good Uncle the Duke of *Somerſet*, which died before him, with an infinite number of other private perſons beſides of the like Religion, in whoſe final departing no ſuch blemiſh is to be noted, like to the deſperate Examples of them above recited. Let us now enter the conſideration of the bleſſed Martyrs, who although they ſuffered in their Bodies, yet rejoyced they in their Spirits, and albeit they were perſecuted of men, yet were they comforted of the Lord with ſuch inward joy and peace of Conſcience, that ſome writing to their Friends, profeſſed they were never ſo merry before in all their lives, ſome leapt for joy, ſome for triumph would put on their Scarfs, ſome their wedding Garment, going to the fire, others kiſſed the Stake, ſome embraced the Fagots, ſome clapt their hands, ſome ſung Pſalms, univerſally they all forgave, and prayed for their Enemies, no murmering, no repining was ever heard amongſt them: ſo that moſt truly might be verified in them, which their Perſecutors were wont to ſing in their Hymns.

The bleſſed end of King Edward 6. The patient end of the Duke of Somerſet the Kings Uncle.

The quiet and joyful end of the Martyrs.

Cæduntur gladiis more bibentium,
Non murmur reſonat, nec querimonia:
Sed corde tacito mens bene conſcia
Conſervat patientiam, &c.

Briefly, ſo great was their patience, or rather ſo great was Gods Spirit in them, that ſome of them in the flaming fire moved no more than the Stake whereunto they were tied. In fine, in them *moſt* aptly agreed the ſpecial tokens which moſt certainly follow the true Children of God, that is, outward Perſecution, and inward comfort in the Holy Ghoſt. In the world (ſaith Chriſt our Saviour) ye ſhall have Affliction, but in me ye ſhall have Peace, *&c.*

Two ſpecial notes of the true Church of Chriſt. Outward Affliction. Peace of Conſcience.

And likewiſe the words of S. *Paul* be plain; *Whoſoever* (ſaith he) *ſtudieth to live godly in Chriſt, ſhall ſuffer perſecution.* 2 Tim. 3. 1 Cor. 1.

But then what followeth with this Perſecution? the ſaid Apoſtle again thus declareth, ſaying, *As the Paſſions of Chriſt abound in us, ſo aboundeth alſo our Conſolation by Chriſt*, &c. according as by the examples of theſe godly Martyrs right perfectly we may perceive. For as their bodies outwardly lacked no Perſecutions by the hands of the wicked: ſo amongſt ſo many hundreds of them that ſtood and died in this Religion, what one man can be brought forth, which either have been found to have killed himſelf, or to have died otherwiſe than the true Servant of God, in quiet peace, and much comfort of Conſcience?

Which being ſo, what greater proof can we have to juſtifie their Cauſe and Doctrine againſt the perſecuting Church of *Rome*, then to behold the ends of them both? Firſt, of the Proteſtants, how quietly they took their death, and chearfully reſted in the Lord, and contrariwiſe to mark theſe Perſecutors, what a wretched end commonly they do all come unto.

The wretched end of Papiſts giveth teſtimony againſt their own Doctrine.

Experience whereof we have ſufficient in the examples above declared, and alſo of late in *Boner*, who albeit he died in his Bed unrepentant, yet was it provided by God, that as he had been a Perſecutor of the Light, and a Child of Darkneſs, ſo his Carkaſs was tumbled into the Earth in obſcure darkneſs, at midnight, contrary to the order of all other Chriſtians; and as he had been a Murderer, ſo was he laid amongſt Thieves and Murderers, a place by Gods judgment rightly appointed for him.

The end and death of Edmund Boner.

And albeit ſome peradventure, that have been notable Perſecutors *in times paſt*, *do yet* remain alive, who, being in the ſame Cauſe as the other were, have not yet felt the weight of Gods mighty hand, yet let not them think, that becauſe the judgment of God hath lighted ſooner upon other, therefore it will never light upon them; or becauſe God of his mercy hath granted them ſpace to repent, let not them therefore of Gods lenity build to themſelves an opinion of indempnity. The blood of *Abel* cried long, yet wrought at length. The ſouls of the Saints ſlain under the Altar, were not revenged at the firſt, *Apoc. 6.* but read forth the Chapter, and ſee what followed in the end. Blood, eſpecially of Chriſts Servants, is a perilous matter, and crieth ſore in the ears of God, and will not be ſtilled with the Laws of men.

Admonition to Perſecutors which yet remain alive.

Wherefore let ſuch Blood-guilty Homicides beware, if not by counſel, at leaſt by the examples of their Fellows. And though Princes and Magiſtrates, under whoſe permiſſion they are ſuffered, do ſpare their lives, let them not think therefore (as ſome of them ſhame not to ſay) that man hath no power to hurt them, and ſo think to eſcape unpuniſhed, becauſe they be not puniſhed by man, but rather let them fear ſo much the more. For oftentimes ſuch as have been Perſecutors and Tormentors to Gods Children, God thinketh them not worthy to ſuffer by man, but either reſerveth them to his own judgment, or elſe maketh them to be their own Perſecutors, and their own hands moſt commonly Hangmen to their own Bodies.

God maketh the Perſecutors of his people commonly to be their own Perſecutors.

So *Saul*, after he had perſecuted *David*, it was unneedful for *David* to purſue him again: for he was revenged of him, more than he deſired. It was needleſs to cauſe *Achitophel* to be hanged; for he himſelf was the ſtifler or ſtrangler of his own life.

Saul murdered of himſelf. Achitophel murderer of himſelf.

Neither for the Apoſtles to purſue *Judas* that betrayed their Maſter; for he himſelf was his own Hangman,

Judas murderer of himſelf.

and no man elſe, that his Body burſt, and his Guts braſt out.

Senacherib murdered of his own Sons.

Senacherib, had he not for his Perſecutors his own Sons, and it coſt *Ezechias* nothing to be revenged of him for his Tyranny?

Herod and *Antiochus* murdered by lice.

Antiochus and *Herod*, although the Children of God, whom they ſo cruelly perſecuted, laid no hand upon them, yet they eſcaped not unpuniſhed of Gods hand, who ſent Lice and Worms to be their Tormentors, which conſumed and eat them up.

Pilate murderer of himſelf.

Pilate, after he had crucified Chriſt our Saviour, within few years after was he not driven to hang himſelf?

Nero murderer of himſelf.

Nero, after his cruel Murders and Perſecutions ſtirred up againſt the Chriſtians, when he ſhould have been taken by the Romans, God thought him not ſo worthy to be puniſhed by the hands of them, but ſo diſpoſed the matter, that *Nero* himſelf, when he could find no Friend nor Enemy to kill him, made his own hands to be his own Cut-throat.

Diocleſianus and *Maximinian* Emperors depoſed themſelves.

Diocleſianus, with *Maximinian* his Fellow Emperor, which were the Authors of the Tenth and laſt Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, being in the midſt of their furious tyranny againſt the Name of Chriſt, needed no mans help to bridle them and pluck them back: for God of his ſecret Judgment put ſuch a Snaffle in the Mouths of theſe Tyrants, that they themſelves of their own accord depoſed and diſpoſſeſſed themſelves of their Imperial Function, and lived as private perſons all their lives after: And notwithſtanding that *Maximinian*, after that, ſought to reſume his Imperial State again, yet by *Maxentius* his Son he was reſiſted, and ſhortly after ſlain.

Maximinus eaten up with Lice.

What ſhould I here ſpeak of the cruel Emperor *Maximinus?* who when he had ſet forth his Proclamation engraven in Braſs, for the utter aboliſhing of Chriſt and his Religion, was not puniſhed by man, but had Lice and Vermin guſhing out of his Intrails, to be his Tormentors, with ſuch a rotten ſtinch laid upon his Body, that no Phyſicians could abide to come near, and was cauſed to be ſlain for the ſame.

Maxentius and K. Pharaoh, both drowned in their own Harneſs.

Maxentius the Son of *Maximinian*, and *Pharaoh* the King of *Egypt*, as they were both like Enemies againſt God and his People, ſo drank they both of one Cup, not periſhing by any mans hand, but both in like manner, after, were drowned with their Harneſs in the Water.

Achaz, *Achab*, *Jezabel*, *Manaſſes*, *Joachim*, *Zedechias*, puniſhed of God for their perſecutions.

Furthermore and briefly in this matter to conclude, if the Kings among the *Jews*, which were bloody and wicked, were not ſpared, as *Achaz*, *Achab*, *Jezabel*, *Manaſſes*, *Joachim*, *Zedechias*, with many other, but had at length, although it were long, the hire of their iniquity: let not theſe bloody Catholicks then think, which have been Perſecutors of Chriſts Saints, that they being in the ſame cauſe as the other above recited were, ſhall eſcape the ſame Judgment, which the longer it is deferred, the ſorer many times it ſtriketh, unleſs by due repentance it be prevented in time; which I pray God it may.

The murdering Mother Church, with her bloody Children admoniſhed.

Innumerable Examples more to the ſame effect and purpoſe might be inferred, whereof plentiful ſtore we have in all places, and in all Ages of men to be collected. But theſe hitherto for this preſent may ſuffice, which I thought here to notifie unto theſe our bloody Children of the murdring Mother Church of *Rome*, of whom it may well be ſaid, *Manus veſtræ plenæ ſunt ſanguine*, *&c.* Your hands be full of Blood, *&c. Eſay*, Chap. 1. to the intent that they, by the examples of their other Fellows before mentioned, may be admoniſhed to follow the Prophets counſel, which followeth and biddeth, *Lavamini, mundi eſtote*, *&c.* Be you waſhed, and make your ſelves clean, *&c. Eſay* 1. and not to preſume too far upon their own Security, nor think themſelves the further off from Gods hand, becauſe mans hand forbeareth them.

What the Laws of this Realm could ſay againſt the Perſecutors in Q. *Maries* time.

I know and grant, that man hath no further power upon any, than God from above doth give. And what the Laws of this Realm could make againſt them, as againſt open Murderers, I will not here diſcuſs, nor open that I could ſay (becauſe they ſhall not ſay that we deſire their blood to be ſpilled, but rather to be ſpared) but yet this I ſay, and wiſh them well to underſtand, that the ſparing of their Lives, which have been murtherers of ſo many, is not for want of power in Magiſtrates nor lack of any juſt Law againſt them, whereby they might juſtly have been condemned, if it had ſo pleaſed the Magiſtrates to proceed (as they might) againſt them; but becauſe Almighty God peradventure in his ſecret purpoſe, having ſomething to do with theſe Perſecutors, hath ſpared them hitherto, not that they ſhould eſcape unpuniſhed, but that peradventure he will take his own cauſe into his own hand, either by death to take them away (as he did by *Boner*, and by all Promooters in a manner of Queen *Maries* time) or elſe to make them to perſecute themſelves with their own hands, or will ſtir up their Conſcience to be their own confuſion, in ſuch ſort as the Church ſhall have no need to lay hands upon them.

Anno 1558.

The nature of the Church is not to perſecute with blood.

Wherefore with this ſhort Admonition to cloſe up the matter, as I have exhibited in theſe Hiſtories the terrible ends of ſo many Perſecutors plagued by Gods hand: ſo would I wiſh all ſuch whom Gods lenity ſuffereth yet to live, this wiſely to ponder with themſelves, that as their cruel Perſecution hurteth not the Saints of God, whom they have put to death, ſo the patience of Chriſts Church, ſuffering them to live, doth not profit them, but rather heapeth the greater Judgment of God upon them in the day of wrath, unleſs they repent in time; which I pray God they may.

In that the Perſecutors of the Church be ſuffered of the Church to live, it is to their confuſion.

And now to re-enter again to the time and ſtory of Q. *Elizabeth* where we left before.

In whoſe advancement and this her Princely governance, it cannot ſufficiently be expreſſed, what felicity and bleſſed happineſs this Realm hath received in receiving her at the Lords almighty and gracious hand. For as there have been divers Kings and Rulers over this Realm, and I have read of ſome, yet I could never find in Engliſh Chronicle the like that may be written of this our noble and worthy Queen: whoſe coming in was not only ſo calm, ſo joyful, and ſo peaceable, without ſhedding any blood, but alſo her Reign hitherto (reigning now 24. years and more) hath been ſo quiet, that yet (the Lord have all the glory) to this preſent day, her Sword is a Virgin, ſpotted and polluted with no drop of blood. In ſpeaking whereof, I take not upon me the part here of the Moral or of the Divine Philoſopher, to judge of things done, but only keep me within the compaſs of an Hiſtoriographer, declaring what hath been before, and comparing things done with things now preſent, the like whereof, as I ſaid, is not to be found lightly in Chronicles before. And this as I ſpeak truly, ſo I would to be taken without flattery, to be left to our Poſterity, *ad ſempiternam clementiæ illius memoriam*. In commendation of which her Clemency, I might alſo here add how mildly her Grace, after ſhe was advanced to her Kingdom, did forgive the foreſaid Sir *Henry Benifield* without moleſtation, ſuffering him to enjoy Goods, Life, Lands and Liberty. But I let this paſs.

Sir H. *Benifield* forgiven.

Thus haſt thou, gentle Reader, ſimply, but truly deſcribed unto thee the time, firſt of the ſorrowful adverſity of this our moſt Soveraign Queen that now is, alſo the miraculous protection of God, ſo graciouſly preſerving her in ſo many ſtraits and diſtreſſes, which I thought here briefly to notifie, the rather for that the wondrous works of the Lord ought not to be ſuppreſſed, and that alſo her Majeſty, and we likewiſe her poor Subjects, having thereby a preſent matter always before our eyes, be admoniſhed both how much we are bound to his Divine Majeſty, and alſo to render thanks to him condignly for the ſame.

Novemb. 18.

Now remaineth likewiſe in proſecuting the order of this, as of other Hiſtories before, to notifie and diſcourſe of things memorable eſpecially in the Church, ſuch as happened in the time of this her Majeſties quiet and joyful Government. And firſt here I let paſs by the way the death of Cardinal *Poole*, which was the next day after the death of Queen *Mary*, the death alſo of *Chriſtopherſon* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Hopton* Biſhop of *Norwich*, omitting alſo to ſpeak of Doctor *Weſton*, who being chief Diſputer againſt *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, as is before declared, firſt fell in diſpleaſure with the Cardinal and other Biſhops, becauſe he was unwilling to part from his Deanry and Houſe of *Weſtminſter* unto the Monks, whom indeed he favoured not, although in other things a maintainer of the Church of *Rome*. Then being removed from thence, he was made

Dr. *Weſton*.

Dean

Anno 1558. Dean of *Windſor*, where he, being apprehended in Advowtry, was by the ſame Cardinal put from all his Spiritual Livings. Wherefore he appealed to *Rome*, and flying out of the Realm, was taken by the way, and clapt in the *Tower* of *London*, where he remained until this time that Queen *Elizabeth* was proclaimed. At which time being delivered, he fell ſick and died.

Alſo I let paſs the Coronation of this our moſt noble and Chriſtian Princeſs, and the order of the ſame, which was the fifteenth day of *January*, *Anno* 1559. To paſs over alſo the triumphant Paſſage and honourable Entertainment of the ſaid our moſt dread Soveraign, thorow the City of *London*, with ſuch Celebrity, Prayers, Wiſhes, Welcomings, Cries, tender Words, Pageants, Enterludes, Declamations and Verſes ſet up, as the like hath not commonly been ſeen, arguing and declaring a wonderful earneſt affection of loving hearts toward their Soveraign. *Item*, To pretermit in ſilence the Letters gratulatory, ſent to her Majeſty from divers and ſundry forreign places, as from *Zurick*, *Geneva*, *Baſil*, *Berne*, *Wittemberge*, *Argentine*, *Frankford*, *&c.* Theſe, I ſay, with many other things to let paſs, we will now (God willing) begin with the Diſception or Conference between the Popiſh Biſhops, and the learned men exiled in *Germany*, had at *Weſtminſter*; after that firſt we have inſerted a certain Oration of a worthy Gentleman, called Mr. *John Hales*, ſent and delivered to the ſaid Queen *Elizabeth* in the beginning of her Reign, the Copy whereof is this.

An Oration of John Hales *to the Queens Majeſty, and delivered to her Majeſty by a certain Noble man, at her firſt Entrance to her Reign.*

To the Noble Queen Elizabeth.

Riches and treaſures do nothing profit, where the uſe of them cannot be enjoyed.

ALbeit there be innumerable gifts and benefits of Almighty God, whereof every one would wonderfully comfort any perſon, on whom it ſhould pleaſe his goodneſs to beſtow it: yet is none of them either ſeparate by it ſelf, or joyned with any other, or yet all mingled together, to be companied to this one; that it hath pleaſed God of his mercy to deliver this Realm, our Country, from the tyranny of malicious *Mary*, and to commit it to the government of vertuous *Elizabeth*. For if a man had all the Treaſure of *Solomon*, and might not be ſuffered to have the uſe thereof, in what better caſe were he than miſerable *Tantalus*, over whoſe head the Apples continually hung, yet being hunger-ſtarved, he could never touch them? If a man had as ſtrong a Body as had *Sampſon*, and beſides, were as whole as a fiſh, as the Proverb is, yet if he were kept in Bands, what ſhould it avail him? Yea, rather if it be well conſidered, it is a hurt to him, if continuance of torment and pains may be a hurt.

If a man had as many Children as had *Gideon* the Judge, and might not be ſo ſuffered to bring them up in the fear of God, and good knowledge and manners, had he not been more happy to be without them, than to have them? If a man had as much knowledge of God as had S. *Paul*, and durſt not profeſs it openly with mouth, as he is commanded, but for fear of death ſhould declare the contrary in deed, ſlander the word of God, and deny Chriſt, which is forbidden, ſhould it not rather be a furtherance to his damnation than otherwiſe?

And to be ſhort, if any one man had all theſe gifts together, or generally all the gifts of Fortune, the Body, the Mind, and of Grace, yet if he might not have the uſe of them, what ſhould they profit him? Verily nothing at all. For felicity is not in having, but in uſing; not in poſſeſſing, but in occupying, not in knowledge, but in doing.

Felicity, not in having, but in uſing.

But alas, our natural Mother *England*, which hath been counted to be the ſureſt, the richeſt, and of late alſo the moſt godly Nation of the Earth, hath been theſe whole five years moſt violently by Tyrants forced to lack the uſe of all the gifts and benefits wherewith God and Nature had endued her. Her natural and loving Children could not be ſuffered to enjoy their right inheritance, whereby they might relieve and ſuccour her or themſelves; but whatſoever they had, was either by open force, or by crafty dealing pulled from them. And ſurely this had been tolerable, if none other miſchief had been therewith intended.

He is a gentle Thief (if Thieves may be counted gentle) that only robbeth a man of his Goods, and refraineth violent hands from his perſon. For ſuch loſs with labour and diligence may be recovered. He may be called a merciful murtherer, that only killeth the aged Parents, and uſeth no force on the Children.

For Nature hath made all men mortal, and that in like ſpace; and to kill the Parents, is as it were but a prevention of a ſhort time, if it were to the uttermoſt enjoyed. But theſe Tyrants were more ungentle than common Thieves, more empty of mercy than common murderers. For they were not only not contented to have the Goods of the People, but they would have it delivered to them by the owners own hands, that it might be ſaid to the world they gave it with their heart; and were not therewith pleaſed, but they would have their lives, that they ſhould not bewray them; and yet herrwith they were not ſatisfied, but they meant to root out the whole Progeny and Nation of Engliſhmen, that none ſhould be left to revenge and cry out on their extremities, and to bring our Country into the Spaniards Dominion.

Wicked practiſes of moſt cruel Tyrants.

It is an horrible cruelty for one brother to kill another; much more horrible for the Children to lay violent and murdering hands on their Parents, but moſt horrible of all to murther the Children in the ſight of their Parents, or the Parents in the ſight of their Children, as theſe moſt cruel Tormentors have done.

But what do I ſtand in theſe things which have ſome defence, becauſe the Turks perchance uſe ſo to do, and Ethnicks kill one another, to make Sacrifice of men to their phantaſtical Gods?

It was not enough for theſe unnatural Engliſh Tormentors, Tyrants, and falſe Chriſtians, to be the Lords of the Goods, Poſſeſſions, and Bodies of their Brethren and Country-men: but being very Antichriſts, and Enemies of Chriſts Croſs, they would be Gods, and reign in the Conſciences and Souls of men. Every man, woman, and child muſt deny Chriſt in word openly, abhor Chriſt in their deeds, ſlander his Goſpel with word and deed, worſhip and honour falſe Gods as they would have them, and themſelves did, and ſo give Body and Soul to the Devil their Maſter, or ſecretly flee, or after inward Torments be burned openly. O cruelty, cruelty! far exceeding all cruelties committed by thoſe ancient and famous Tyrants and cruel Murderers, *Pharaoh*, *Herod*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Maximine*, *Diocleſian*, *Decius*, whoſe names for their cruel perſecution of the People of God, and their own tyranny practiſed on the People, have been, be, and ever ſhall be in perpetual hatred, and their Souls in continual torment in Hell. If any man would take upon him to ſet forth particularly all the acts that have been done theſe full five years, by this unnatural woman; (No, no woman, but a Monſter, and the Devil of Hell covered with the ſhape of a woman) as it is moſt neceſſary for the glory of God, and the profit of his Church, and this Realm, it ſhould be done: he ſhall find it a matter ſufficient for a perfect great Hiſtory, and not to be contained in an Oration, to be uttered at one time by the voice of man. But to comprehend the ſum of all their wickedneſs in few words; Behold, whatſoever malice in miſchief, covetouſneſs in ſpoil, cruelty in puiſhing, tyranny in deſtruction could do, that all this poor Engliſh Nation this full five years ſuffered already, or ſhould have ſuffered, had not the great mercy of God prevented it.

Cruelty of late days far exceeding all cruelties committed by the ancient and famous Tyrants in times paſt.

And albeit there have been many that have hazarded and loſt their lives to ſhake off this moſt rough brake (wherewith this Viragin, rather than Virgin, as ſhe would be called and taken, boaſted herſelf to be ſent of God, to ride and rame the People of *England*) albeit there have been many that have gone about to looſe their brethren out of the yoke of this moſt miſerable Captivity, and albeit ſome have proved to break the bands of this moſt cruel Tyranny, yet could they never bring to paſs that which they ſo earneſtly laboured, and ſo manfully attempted.

And it is nothing to be wondred, let the Papiſts boaſt thereof what it pleaſeth them. For Almighty God,

being a moſt indifferent governor, puniſhing evil, and rewarding good, could not of his juſtice ſuffer his ſcourge ſo ſoon to be taken from this our Land, if he meant the Salvation of the people, as moſt manifeſtly it appeareth he did. For having once given to this Realm the greateſt Jewel that might be, that is, the free uſe of his lively Word (which if they had imbraced and followed, it would have reformed all diſorders and ſins for which his wrath was kindled and provoked) the people nothing regarded it, but either utterly contemned it, or abuſed it, and many made it a Cloak and colour to cover their miſchief. So that if he ſhould ſuddenly have withdrawn this plague, as Tyrants and evil Governors be the plague of God, they would neither have paſſed on his juſtice, nor yet ſhould they have felt the ſweetneſs of his mercy. For commonly the people regard but things preſent, and neither remember things paſt, nor yet paſs on things to come, unleſs they be warned by exceeding extremities.

Tyrants and evil governors be the plagues of God.

God worketh all things to his own glory.

Beſides this, it is moſt evident, that he had determined to make this noble conqueſt alone with his own hand and mighty power, and would not that it ſhould be done by Man, leſt Man ſhould impute any part of the glory of this victory to his own ſtrength, or to his own policy, or that Fortune ſhould ſeem to bear any ſtroke in ſo glorious a conqueſt, and ſo be partaker, in Mens opinions, of the triumph ſo worthy.

Neither did his almighty power work this when Man would have it diſpatched, that is, aſſoon as the enemy began to gather their force; for it is not ſo great a victory to diſcomfit a few diſperſed people, as it is to deſtroy a perfectly united army; but he ſuffered them to make their force as great as was poſſible, to work whatſoever miſchiefs by ſmile, baniſhment, priſonment hanging, heading, burning, or otherwiſe could be imagined.

Neither would his moſt provident wiſdom do it out of ſeaſon: but as the good husbandman doth not crop his Tree, till he hath rendered his fruit: ſo would he not root out theſe peſtilent Tyrants, till the moſt profit might be taken thereof.

Affliction tryeth Men whether they be good or evil.

When he had given ſufficient leaſure to all kind of Men to declare themſelves who were Crocodiles, ſometime lying in Water, ſometime on Land, that is, both Goſpellers and Papiſts; who were Spunges, ſuſpected whether they had life or not life, whether they were Chriſtians or Epicures: who were Cameleons, that could turn themſelves into all colours, with Proteſtants, Proteſtants; with Papiſts, Papiſts; with Spaniards, Spaniards, with Engliſhmen, Engliſhmen; who were *Gnatho*'s that could apply themſelves to every Mans appetite that was in Authority; who were Marigolds, that followed *Maries* mad affections; who were weather-cocks, that did turn with every wind; who were Maſtives, that could bite and bark not; who were curs, ever barking; who were Foxes, that would promiſe much, and perform nothing; who could bind themſelves with many Oaths, and do clean contrary; who were *Cain*'s, that ſought the innocent *Abels* deaths; who were the Wolves, that worried the Lambs; and finally, when he had ſuffered the ſpiritual ſhavelings to ſpue out their venom, and every Man plainly to declare outwardly what he was inwardly; then doth he work this moſt victorious conqueſt. And with his works he ſeemeth plainly to ſay thus unto us: Ye ſee (my people) what I have done for you, not for your ſakes, which nothing regarded the benefits that I moſt plenteouſly poured on you, and have deſerved moſt grievous puniſhment for your unthankfulneſs: but of mine infinite mercy, and for my glories ſake, which I will have opened to all the World in theſe latter days, to the fear of evil doers, and to the comfort of the well doers. Provoke no more my wrath: ye ſee what will follow it: be hereafter more prudent and wiſe than ye were before, Ye may, if ye will, be more circumſpect in time to come, than ye have been in the time paſt: ye may if ye liſt put me to leſs trouble, and keep your ſelves in more ſafety. I have not only diſcovered mine, yours, and my Land of *Englands* enemies, and all the crafts, ſubtilties, and policies that have been, or may be uſed by them, or any like hereafter, but I have alſo taken away their head and captain, and deſtroyed a great number of them, that ye ſhould not be troubled with them, and ſome of them have I left, that I may make them ſpectacles and examples to the terror and fear of their poſterity. Love me, and I will love you: ſeek my honor and glory, and I will work your commodity and ſafety: walk in my ways and commandments, and I will be with you for ever. Surely, if we conſider the wonderful mercy that it hath pleaſed God to uſe towards us, in the delivering of the Realm and us his people, out of the hands of thoſe moſt cruel Tyrants, as we cannot but do, unleſs we will declare our ſelves to be the moſt unthankful people that ever lived, we muſt needs judge it not only worthy to be compared, but alſo far to exceed the deliverance of the Children of Iſrael out of *Egypt* from the Tyranny of *Pharaoh*, and from the powers of *Holofernes* and *Senacherib*. For it is not read, that either *Pharaoh* or the other two ſought any other thing, than to be the Lords of the Goods and Bodies of the Iſraelites, they forced them not to commit Adultery, and to ſerve falſe Gods, as theſe Engliſh Tyrants did.

God plenteouſly poureth his benefits upon us, not for our ſakes, but of his infinite mercy, and for his glories ſake.

Anno 1558.

Wonderful is Gods mercy in delivering this Realm from the tyranny of the Papiſts.

But beſides, if we will note the wonderful Works of God in handling this matter, we ſhall well perceive, that far much more is wrought to his glory, and to the profit of his Church and people, than perchance all Men at the firſt do ſee. For he hath not only diſpatched the Realm of the chief perſonages and head of theſe Tyrants, but alſo as it were declareth, that he minded not that either they or their doings ſhould continue. For albeit that all acts, done by Tyrants tyrannouſly, be by all Laws, Reaſon and Equity, of no force, yet becauſe no Diſputation ſhould follow on this, what is tyrannouſly done, and what is not tyrannouſly done, he hath provided that this queſtion needeth not to come in queſtion. For he utterly blinded their eyes, and ſuffered them to build on falſe grounds which can no longer ſtand, than they be propped up with rope, ſword, and fagot. For her firſt Parliament whereon they grounded and wrought a great part of their tyranny, and wherein they meant to overthrow whatſoever King *Edward* had for the advancement of Gods Glory brought to paſs, was of no force or Authority. For ſhe perceiving that her Enemies Stomack could not be emptied, nor her malice ſpued on the people by any good order, ſhe committeth a great diſorder. She by force and violence taketh from the Commons their liberty, that, according to the Ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm, they could not have their free election of Knights and Burgeſſes for the Parliament. For ſhe well knew, that if either Chriſtiam Men, or true Engliſhmen, ſhould be elected, it was not poſſible that to ſucceed which ſhe intended. And therefore in many places divers were choſen by force of her threats, meet to ſerve her malicious affections. Wherefore that Parliament was no Parliament, but may be juſtly called a conſpiracy of Tyrants and Traitors. For the greater part, by whoſe Authority and voices things proceeded in that Court, by their Acts moſt manifeſtly declared themſelves ſo: the reſt being both Chriſtians and true Engliſh Men, although they had good wills, yet were not able to reſiſt or prevail againſt the multitude of voices and ſuffrages of ſo many evil, falſe to God, and enemies to their Country. Alſo divers Burgeſſes being orderly choſen, and lawfully returned, as in ſome places the people did what they could to reſiſt her purpoſes, were diſorderly and unlawfully put out, and others without any order of Law in their places placed. Doctor *Taylor* Biſhop of *Lincoln* a Chriſtian Biſhop and a true Engliſhman, being lawfully and orderly called to the Parliament, and placed in the Lords Houſe in his degree, was in his Robes by violence thruſt out of the Houſe. *Alexander Nowell* with two other, All three being Burgeſſes for divers ſhires, and Chriſtian Men and true Engliſhmen, and lawfully choſen, returned, and admitted, were by force put out of the Houſe of the Commons: for the which cauſe the ſaid Parliament is alſo void, as by a Preſident of the Parliament holden at *Coventry* in the 38. year of King *Hery* the ſixth, it moſt manifeſtly appeareth. And the third Parliament called in the name of her Husband, and of her evil Grace, wherein they would have undone that her Noble Father and the Realm had brought to paſs for the reſtitution of the liberty of the Realm, and for extinguiſhment of the uſurped Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*

The Papiſts buildings ſtand ſo long only as they be propt up with rope, ſword and fagot.

Burgeſſes unlawfully, diſorderly, and violently thruſt out of the Parliament Houſe in Q. *Maries* days.

The third Parliament in Q. *Maries* days not orderly and formally called, and therefore of none effect.

Anno 1558.

Rome, is alſo void; and of none authority. For that the title and ſtile of Supream Head of the Church of *England*, which by a Statute made in the 35th year of the Reign of the ſaid King *Henry*, was ordained, that it ſhould be united and annexed for ever to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, was omitted in the Writs of ſummoning. Wherefore as a woman can bring forth no child without a man, ſo cannot thoſe Writs bring forth good and ſure fruit, becauſe this part of the Title, which was ordained by the Parliament for the forth to be always uſed in the Kings ſtile, was left out. For greater error is in lack of form, than in lack of matter. And where the foundation is naught, there can nothing builded thereon be good. There is no Law ſpiritual nor temporal (as they term them) nor any good Reaſon, but allow theſe Rules for infallible Principles. And if any man will ſay, that it was not in the free choice, liberty, and pleaſure of the King of this Realm, and the Queen, whether they would expreſs the ſaid Title in their ſtile, or not, as that ſubtile Serpent *Gardiner*, being Chancellor of the Realm, and traiterouſly ſending out the Writs of Parliament without the ſame ſtile, perceiving he had over-ſhot himſelf in calling the Parliament, and having committed many horrible murthers and moſt miſchievous acts, would have excuſed it, as appeareth by a piece of a Statute made in the ſame Parliament, in the eighth Chapter and two and twentieth Leaf, it may be juſtly and truly anſwered, that they could not ſo do. For although every perſon may by Law renounce his own private right, yet may he not renounce his right in that which toucheth the Commonwealth, or a third perſon.

And this Title and Stile more touched the Commonwealth and Realm of *England*, than the King. For, as I ſaid before, it was ordained for the conſervation of the Liberty of the whole Realm, and to exclude the uſurped Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*. And therefore no King nor Queen alone could renounce ſuch Title: but it ought (if they would have it taken away) to be taken away orderly and formally by Act of Parliament, ſufficiently called and ſummoned. For the natural and right way to looſe and undo things, is to diſſolve them by that means they were ordained. And ſo it moſt manifeſtly appeareth, that all their doings, from the beginning to the end, were and be of none effect, force, or authority: but all that they have done, hath been meer Tyranny. O moſt marvellous Providence of Almighty God, that always, and in all things, doth that is beſt for the wealth of his People! O moſt mighty Power, that ſo ſuddenly overthroweth the counſels of the wicked, and bringeth their devices to nought! O infinite mercy, that ſo gently dealeth with his People, that he ſaveth them whom he might moſt juſtly deſtroy! O moſt joyful, moſt merry, and never to be forgotten *Hope-wedneſday*, in which it hath pleaſed thee, O God, to deliver thy Church, this Realm, and thy People from ſo horrible Tyranny! No Tongue can expreſs, no Pen can indite, no Eloquence can worthily ſet out, much leſs exornate theſe thy marvellous doings. No, no heart is able to render unto thy goodneſs ſufficient thanks for the benefits we have received. Who could ever have hoped this moſt joyful time? Yea, who did not look rather for thy moſt ſharp viſitation, and utter deſtruction of this Realm, as of *Sodom*, *Gomorra*, and *Jeruſalem*.

A joyful day.

But we ſee and feel, good Lord, that thy mercy is greater than all mens ſins, and far above all thy works. And albeit there is no Chriſtian and natural Engliſhman, Woman, or Child, either preſent, or that ſhall ſucceed us, which is not or ſhall not be partaker of this moſt exceeding mercy and wonderful benefit of Almighty God, and therefore is bound continually to praiſe and thank him: yet there is not one Creature that is more bound ſo to do, than you noble Queen *Elizabeth*. For in this horrible Tyranny, and moſt cruel Perſecution, your Grace hath been more hunted for, than any other. Divers times they have taken you, ſometime they have had you in ſtrong hold, ſecluded from all liberty; ſometime at liberty, but not without moſt cruel Gaolers cuſtody; and many times they determined, that without Juſtice ye ſhould be murthered privily. They thought, if your Grace had been ſuppreſſed, they ſhould have fully prevailed: If ye had been deſtroyed, their doings for ever ſhould be eſtabliſhed: If ye had been taken out of the way, there were none left that would or could undo that they had ordained. But he that ſitteth on high, and laugheth at their madneſs, would not ſuffer that the malicious purpoſes and moſt cruel deviſed injuſtice ſhould have ſucceſs. He took upon him the protection of you. He only hath been our *Jeoſeba*, that preſerved you from this wicked *Athalia*. He only was the *Joiada* that deſtroyed this cruel *Athalia*. He only hath made you Queen of this Realm, inſtead of this miſchievous *Marana*. No earthly Creature can claim any piece of thanks therefore, no mans force, no mans counſel, no mans aid, hath been the cauſe thereof. Wherefore the greater his benefits have been toward you, the more are you bound to ſeek his glory, and to ſet forth his honour. Ye ſee his Power, what he is able to do; he alone can ſave, and he can deſtroy, he can pull down, and he can ſet up. If ye fear him, and ſeek to do his will, then will he favour you, and preſerve you to the end from all Enemies, as he did King *David*. If ye now fall from him, or juggle with him, look for no more favour than *Saul* had ſhewed to him. But I have a good hope that both his Juſtice and Benefits be ſo printed in your heart, that ye will never forget them, but ſeek by all means to have the one, and to fear to fall into the other. I truſt alſo your wiſdom will not only conſider the cauſes of this late moſt ſharp Viſitation, but alſo to your uttermoſt power endeavor to out-root them.

God preſerveth the innocent, and maketh fruſtrate the malicious purpoſes of the wicked.

And foraſmuch as beſides this infinite mercy poured on your Grace, it hath pleaſed his Divine Providence to conſtitute your Highneſs to be our *Debora*, to be the Governeſs and Head of the Body of this Realm, to have the charge and cure thereof, it is requiſite above all things, as well for his glory and honour, as for your diſcharge, quietneſs and ſafety, to labour that the ſame Body now at the firſt be cleanſed, made whole, and then kept in good order. For as if the Body of man be corrupted and diſeaſed, he is not able to manage his things at home, much leſs to do any thing abroad: ſo if the Body of a Realm be corrupt and out of order, it ſhall neither be able to do any thing abroad, if neceſſity ſhould require, nor yet proſper in it ſelf. But this may not be done with piecing and patching, cobling and botching, as was uſed in time paſt, whilſt your moſt noble Father and Brother reigned. For as if a man cut off one Head of the Serpent *Hydra*, and deſtroy not the whole Body, many will grow inſtead of that one; and as in a corrupt Body that hath many diſeaſes, if the Phyſician ſhould labour to heal one part, and not the whole, it will in ſhort time break out afreſh: ſo unleſs the Body of a Realm or Commonwealth be clean purged from corruption, all the particular Laws and Statutes that can be deviſed ſhall not profit it.

An apt ſimilitude.

We need no foreign Examples to prove it: look upon this Realm it ſelf, it will plainly declare it. And as it is not enough to cleanſe the Body from his corruption, but there muſt be alſo Preſervatives miniſtred to keep it from putrefaction; for naturally of it ſelf it is diſpoſed to putrefie: ſo after the Body of a Realm is purged, unleſs there be godly Ordinances for the preſervation thereof ordained and duly miniſtred, it will return to the old ſtate. For this Body, which is the People, is univerſally naturally diſpoſed to evil, and without compulſion will hardly do that is his duty.

Thus muſt your Grace do, if ye mind the advancement of Gods glory, your own quietneſs and ſafety, and the wealth of this your Politick Body. And they be not hard to bring to paſs, where goodwill will vouchſafe to take to her a little pain. The Realm will ſoon be purged, if vice and ſelf-love be utterly condemned. It will be in good ſtate preſerved, if theſe three things, Gods Word truly taught and preached, Youth well brought up in godly and honeſt Exerciſes, and Juſtice rightly miniſtred, may be perfectly conſtituted. And without this foundation, let men imagine what it pleaſeth them, the Spiritual Houſe of God ſhall never be well framed or buiſded, nor the publick ſtate of your Realm well ordered. For in what Body Gods Word lacketh, the unity and charity that ought to be among the Members thereof, and which knitteth them together, is ſoon extinguiſhed. Where the youth is neglected, there can no good ſucceſs be hoped, no more than the Husbandman can look for a good

Three things which preſerve the good eſtate of a Realm or Commonwealth.

Crop where he ſowed no good Seed. And where Juſtice is not truly and rightly miniſtred, there the more Laws and Statutes be heaped together, the more they be contemned. And ſurely if this thing could not without exceeding charges be compaſſed, as God forbid that charges ſhould be weighed, be they never ſo great, where Gods glory and the wealth of the Realm may be furthered; yet ought it not to be neglected. What charges did King *David* the Father, and King *Solomon* his Son, imploy to build the ſtony Houſe of God? How much more charges ſhould a Chriſtian Prince imploy to build and ſet up the lively Houſe of God? But verily, I am fully perſwaded that it ſhall not be chargeable to do this. No, a great deal of ſuperfluous charges, which otherwiſe your Grace ſhall be forced to ſuſtain, ſhall thus be clean cut away, and ſo your Revenues by a mean moſt profitable, and to no good perſon hurtful, increaſed.

Charges not to be weighed, where Gods glory is to be furthered

Wherefore for Gods ſake, noble Queen, let not the opportunity, now by God offered, be by your Grace omitted. A Phyſician can in nothing ſo much declare his good will and cunning, nor purchaſe himſelf ſo great eſtimation, as when he findeth his Patient throughly ſick and weakned, and doth reſtore him to his perfect health and perfection. Likewiſe if a Prince ſhould deſire of God a thing whereby he might declare the zeal that he beareth to God, or whereby he might win fame and glory, he could deſire nothing ſo much, as to come into a ſtate corrupted, as this Realm of *England*, at this preſent is, not to deſtroy it, as did *Cæſar*, but to make it, as did *Romulus*.

If your Grace can bring this to paſs, as I am out of all doubt ye may quickly; ye ſhall do more than any of your Progenitors did before you. All men ſhall confeſs that you are not only for Proximity of Blood preferred, but rather of God ſpecially ſent and ordained. And as the Queen of *Saba* came from far off to ſee the glory of King *Solomon*, a woman to a man, even ſo ſhall the Princes of our time come, men to a woman, and Kings marvel at the vertue of Queen *Elizabeth*. Thus ſhall we your Subjects be moſt bound to praiſe God, and to think our ſelves moſt happy, that coming ſo ſuddenly from the worſe, be forthwith preferred to the beſt, rid from extreameſt Calamity, and brought to the greateſt Felicity; and it ſhall be beſides an example for all evil Princes, to leave their Perſecution of Chriſt and his Members, to ceaſe from their Tyranny, wherewith they continually oppreſs their poor Subjects. And ſo all People, not only we of this your Realm, but of all other Nations, ſhall have juſt cauſe to pray for your Graces health, and increaſe of honour.

This Oration of Mr. *Hales* being premiſed, now let us proſecute, the Lord willing, that which we promiſed, concerning the Diſputation or Conference had at *Weſtminſter*. The Copy whereof here followeth.

The Conference or Diſceptation had and begun at Weſtminſter *the laſt of* March, *upon certain Queſtions or Articles of Religion propoſed, and alſo of the breaking up of the ſame, by the Papiſts default, at the firſt beginning of Queen* Elizabeth.

SO it pleaſed the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty, having heard of the diverſity of Opinions in certain matters of Religion amongſt ſundry of her loving Subjects, and being very deſirous to have the ſame reduced to ſome godly and chriſtian Concord (by the advice of the Lords and others of the Privy Councel, as well for the ſatisfaction of perſons doubtful, as alſo for the knowledge of the very Truth in certain matters of difference) to have a convenient choſen number of the beſt Learned of either part, and to confer together their Opinions and Reaſons, and thereby to come to ſome good and charitable agreement. And hereupon by her Majeſties commandment, certain of her Privy Councel declared this purpoſe to the Archbiſhop of *York* (being alſo one of the ſame Privy Councel) and required him that he would impart the ſame to ſome of the Biſhops, and to make choice of eight, nine, or ten of them, and that there ſhould be the like number named of the other part. And further alſo they declared to him (as then was ſuppoſed) what the matter ſhould be. And as for the time, it was thought meet to be as ſoon as poſſible might be agreed upon. And then after certain days paſt, it was ſignified by the ſaid Archbiſhop, that there were appointed, by ſuch of the Biſhops to whom he had imparted this matter, nine perſons, that is to ſay, five Biſhops and four Doctors. The Names of whom here follow under written. Anno 1558.

The Papiſts.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*
The Biſhop of *Lichfield.*
The Biſhop of *Cheſter.*
The Biſhop of *Carliſle.*
The Biſhop of *Lincoln.*
Dr. *Cole.*
Dr. *Harpsfield.*
Dr. *Langdale.*
Dr. *Cheadſey.*

The Proteſtants.

Dr. *Story* Biſhop of *Chicheſter.*
Dr. *Coxe.*
Mr. *Whitehead.*
Mr. *Grindall.*
Mr. *Horne.*
Mr. *D. Sands.*
Mr. *Geſt.*
Mr. *Aelmer.*
Mr. *Juell.*

Who were content, at the Queens Majeſties commandment, to ſhew their Opinions, and, as the ſaid Archbiſhop termed it, render accompt of their Faith in thoſe matters which were mentioned, and that eſpecially in writing, although he ſaid, they thought the ſame ſo determined, as there was no cauſe to diſpute upon them. The matter which they ſhould talk upon, was comprehended in theſe three Propoſitions, hereunder ſpecified.

1. *It is againſt the Word of God, and the cuſtome of the ancient Church, to uſe a Tongue unknown to the People, in common Prayer, and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.*

2. *Every Church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change Ceremonies and Eccleſiaſtical Rites, ſo the ſame be to edification.*

3. *It cannot be proved by the Word of God, that there is in the Maſs offered up a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the Quick and the Dead.*

It was hereupon fully reſolved by the Queens Majeſty, with the advice aforeſaid, that according to their deſire, it ſhould be in writing on both parts, for avoiding of much altercation in words; and that the ſaid Biſhops would, becauſe they were in authority of degree Superiors, firſt declare their minds and opinions to the matter, with their reaſons in writing. And the other number, being alſo nine men of good degree in Schools, and ſome having been in dignity in the Church of *England*, if they had any thing to ſay to the contrary, ſhould the ſame day declare their opinions in like manner, and ſo each of them ſhould deliver their writings to the other, to be conſidered what were to be improved therein, and the ſame to declare again in writing at ſome other convenient day, and the like order to be kept in all the reſt of the matters. All this was fully agreed upon with the Archbiſhop of *York*, and ſo alſo ſignified to both parties.

And immediately hereupon, divers of the Nobility and States of the Realm underſtanding that ſuch a meeting and conference ſhould be, and that in certain matters, whereupon (the Court of Parliament conſequently following) ſome Laws might be grounded; They made earneſt means to her Majeſty, that the parties of this Conference might put and read their Aſſertions in the Engliſh Tongue, and that in the preſence of them of the Nobility and others of her Parliament Houſe, for the better ſatisfaction and enabling of their own judgments,

to

Anno 1558.

to treat and conclude of ſuch Laws as might depend herupon.

This alſo, being thought very reaſonable, was ſignified to both parties, and ſo fully agreed upon, and the day appointed for the firſt meeting to be the *Friday* in the forenoon, being the laſt of *March*, at *Weſtminſter* Church. At which foreſaid day and place, both for good order and for honour of the conference, by the Queens Majeſties commandment, the Lords and others of the privy Councel were preſent, and a great part of the Nobility alſo. And notwithſtanding this former order appointed, and conſented unto by both parties, yet the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and his Collegues alledged they had miſtaken that their aſſertions and reaſons ſhould be written, and ſo only recited out of the Book, ſaying their Book was not then ready written, but they were ready to argue and diſpute, and therefore they would for that time repeat in ſpeech, that which they had to ſay to the firſt probation.

This variation from the former order, and eſpecially from that which themſelves had by the ſaid Archbiſhop in writing before required, adding thereto the reaſon of the Apoſtle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing, but to ſubverſion of the hearer, ſeemed to the Queens Majeſties Councel ſomewhat ſtrange, and yet was it permitted without any great reprehenſion, becauſe they excuſed themſelves with miſtaking the order, and agreed that they would not fail but put it in writing, and, according to the former order, delivered it to the other part; and ſo the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and his Collegues appointed Doctor *Cole* Dean of *Pauls*, to be the utterer of their minds; who partly by ſpeech only, and partly by reading of Authorities written, and at certain times being informed of his Collegues what to ſay, made a declaration of their meanings and their reaſons to their firſt propoſition: which being ended, they were asked by the privy Councel if any of them had any more to be ſaid, and they ſaid, No. So as the other part was licenced to ſhew their minds, which they did according to the firſt order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded, in a Book written; which, after a Prayer and invocation, made moſt humbly to almighty God for the enduing of them with his holy Spirit, and a proteſtation alſo to ſtand to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church builded upon the Scriptures, and the Doctrine of the Prophets and the Apoſtles, was diſtinctly read by one *Robert Horne*, Batchelor in Divinity, late Dean of *Dureſm*, and after Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. The copy of which their Proteſtation here followeth according as it was by him penned and exhibited, with their Preface alſo before the ſame.

FOr as much as it is thought good unto the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty, (unto whom in the Lord all obedience is due) that we ſhould declare our judgment in writing upon certain propoſitions; we, as becometh us to do herein, moſt gladly obey.

Seeing that Chriſt is our only Maſter, whom the Father hath commanded us to hear; and ſeeing alſo his word is the truth, from the which it is not lawful for us to depart, no not one hairs breadth, and againſt the which (as the Apoſtle ſaith) we can do nothing; we do in all things ſubmit our ſelves unto this truth, and do proteſt that we will affirm nothing againſt the ſame.

And forasmuch as we have for our Mother the true and Catholick Church of Chriſt, which is grounded upon the Doctrine of the Apoſtles and Prophets, and is of Chriſt the head in all things governed; we do reverence her judgment, we obey her Authority as becometh Children; and we do devoutly profeſs, and in all points follow the Faith which is contained in the three Creeds, that is to ſay, of the Apoſtles, of the Councel of *Nice*, and of *Athanaſius*.

And ſeeing that we never departed, neither from the Doctrine of God which is contained in the holy Canonical Scriptures, nor yet from the Faith of the true and Catholick Church of Chriſt; but have Preached truly the Word of God, and have ſincerely miniſtred the Sacraments according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, unto the which our Doctrine and Faith the moſt part alſo of our adverſaries did ſubſcribe not many years paſt (although now as unnatural they are revolted from the ſame) we deſire that they render account of their backſliding, and ſhew ſome cauſe wherefore they do not only reſiſt that Doctrine which they have before profeſſed, but alſo perſecute the ſame by all means they can. We do not doubt, but through the equity of the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty, we ſhall in theſe diſputations be intreated more gently than in years late paſt, when we were handled moſt unjuſtly and ſcantly after the common manner of Men. As for the judgment of the whole controverſie, we refer unto the moſt holy Scriptures, and the Chatholick Church of Chriſt (whoſe judgment unto us ought to be moſt ſacred:) notwithſtanding by the Catholick Church we underſtand not the Romiſh Church, whereunto our adverſaries attribute ſuch reverence, but that which Saint *Auguſtine* and other Fathers affirm, ought to be ſought in the holy Scriptures, and which is governed and led by the Spirit of Chriſt.

The firſt propoſition.

It is againſt the Word of God, and the cuſtom of the Primitive Church, to uſe a Tongue unknown to the people in common Prayers and adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

By theſe words (the Word of God) we mean only the written Word of God, or Canonical Scriptures.

And by the cuſtom of the Primitive Church, we mean the order moſt generally uſed in the Church for the ſpace of 500. years after Chriſt, in which times lived the moſt notable Fathers, as *Juſtine*, *Ireneus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Baſill*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Hierom*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, &c.

Two parts of the propoſition.

This aſſertion above written hath two parts. Firſt, that the uſe of the Tongue not underſtood of the people, in common Prayers of the Church, or in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, is againſt Gods Word.

The ſecond, that the ſame is againſt the uſe of the Primitive Church.

The firſt part of the propoſition.

The firſt part is moſt manifeſtly proved by the fourteenth Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, almoſt throughout the whole Chapter. In the which Chapter S. *Paul* intreateth of this matter, *ex profeſſo*, purpoſely. And although ſome do cavil that S. *Paul* ſpeaketh not in that Chapter of praying, but of Preaching, yet is it moſt evident to any indifferent reader of underſtanding, and appeareth alſo by the expoſition of the beſt Writers, that he plainly there ſpeaketh not only of Preaching and Prophecying, but alſo of Prayer and Thankſgiving, and generally of all other publick actions, which require any ſpeech in the Church or Congregation. For of Praying he ſaith; I will pray with my Spirit, and I will pray with my mind, I will ſing with my Spirit, and I will ſing with my mind. And of thankſgiving (which is a kind of Prayer) thou giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edified. And how ſhall he which occupieth the room of the unlearned ſay, *Amen*, to thy giving of thanks, when he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? And in the end, deſcending from particulars to a general propoſition, concludeth, that all things ought to be done to edification. Thus much is clear by the very words of S. *Paul*; and the ancient Doctors *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, *Hierom*, and other, do ſo underſtand this Chapter, as it ſhall appear by their teſtimonies which ſhall follow afterward.

¶ Upon this Chapter of S. *Paul* we gather theſe reaſons following.

The argument or probation.

1. All things done in the Church or Congregation, ought ſo to be done as they may edifie the ſame.

But the uſe of an unknown Tongue, in publick Prayer or adminiſtration of Sacraments, doth not edifie the Congregation.

Therefore the uſe of an unknown Tongue, in publick Prayer or adminiſtration of Sacraments, is not to be had in the Church. *

The Major proved.

The firſt part of this reaſon is grounded upon Saint *Pauls* Words, commanding all things to be done to edification.

The minor proved.

The ſecond part is alſo proved by S. *Pauls* plain words. Firſt by this ſimilitude. If the Trumpet give an uncertain ſound, who ſhall be prepared to battel? Even ſo likewiſe when ye ſpeak with Tongues, except ye ſpeak words

words that have ſignification, how ſhall it be underſtood what is ſpoken? for ye ſhall but ſpeak in the ayr, that is to ſay, in vain, and conſequently without edifying.

And afterward in the ſame Chapter he ſaith, how can he that occupieth the place of the unlearned, ſay Amen, at thy giving of thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? for thou verily giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edified.

Theſe be S. *Pauls* words, plainly proving, that a Tongue not underſtood, doth not edifie. And therefore both the parts of the reaſon thus proved by Saint *Paul*, the concluſion followeth neceſſarily.

Another Argument or probation. 2. Secondly, nothing is to be ſpoken in the Congregation in an unknown Tongue, except it be interpreted to the people, that it may be underſtood. For ſaith *Paul*, If there be no Interpreter to him that ſpeaketh in an unknown Tongue, *taceat in Eccleſia*, let him hold his peace in the Church. And therefore the common Prayers and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, neither done in a known Tongue, neither interpreted, are againſt the commandment of *Paul*, and not to be uſed.

Another Argument. The Miniſter in Prayer or Adminiſtration of Sacraments uſing Language not underſtood of the hearers, is to them barbarous, and alien, which of Saint *Paul* is accounted a great abſurdity.

The fourth Argument or probation. It is not to be counted a Chriſtian common Prayer, where the people preſent declare not their aſſent unto it by ſaying Amen, wherein is implied all other words of aſſent.

Ambroſ. per hos enim impletur confirmatio precis, qui reſpondent Amen. But S. *Paul* affirmeth, that the people cannot declare their aſſent in ſaying Amen, except they underſtand what is ſaid, as afore.

Therefore it is no Chriſtian common Prayer where the people underſtand not what is ſaid.

The fifth Argument. *Paul* would not ſuffer in his time a ſtrange Tongue to be heard in the common Prayer in the Church, notwithſtanding that ſuch a kind of ſpeech was then a miracle, and a ſingular gift of the holy Ghoſt, whereby infidels might be perſwaded and brought to the faith; much leſs is it to be ſuffered now amongſt Chriſtian and Faithful Men, eſpecially being no miracle nor eſpecial gift of the holy Ghoſt.

The ſixth Argument. Some will peradventure anſwer, that to uſe any kind of Tongue, in common Prayer or Adminiſtration of Sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

Objection diſſolved. But S. *Paul* is to the contrary. For he commandeth all things to be done to edification, he commandeth to keep ſilence if there be no interpreter, and in the end of the Chapter he concludeth thus. If any Man be ſpiritual or a Prophet, let him know that the things which I write, are the commandments of the Lord. And ſo ſhortly to conclude, the uſe of a ſtrange Tongue, in Prayer and adminiſtration, is againſt the Word and Commandment of God.

To theſe reaſons, grounded upon Saint *Pauls* Words, which are the moſt firm Foundation of this Aſſertion, divers other Reaſons may be joyned, gathered out of the Scriptures and otherwiſe.

The 7. Reaſon. In the Old Teſtament all things pertaining to the publick Prayer, Benedictions, Thankſgivings, or Sacrifices, were always in their vulgar and natural Tongue. In the 2. Book of *Paralipom.* Chap. 29. it is written, that *Ezechias* commanded the Levites to praiſe God with the Pſalms of *David*, and *Aſaph* the Prophet, which doubtleſs were written in Hebrew their vulgar Tongue. If they did ſo in the ſhadows of the Law, much more ought we to do the like, who (as Chriſt ſaith) muſt pray, *in ſpiritu & veritate.*

The 8. Reaſon. The final end of our Prayer (as *David* ſaith) is, *ut populi & conveniant in unum, & annuncient nomen Domini in Sion, & laudes ejus in Hieruſalem.*

But the name and praiſes of God cannot be ſet forth to the people, unleſs it be done in ſuch a Tongue as they may underſtand, therefore common Prayer muſt be had in the vulgar Tongue.

The 9 Reaſon. The definition of publick Prayer out of the Words of S. *Paul. Orabo ſpiritu, orabo & mente, Publicè orare, eſt vota communia mente ad Deum effundere, & ea ſpiritu, hoc eſt, lingua teſtari*, Common Prayer is to lift up our common deſires to God with our minds, and to teſtifie the ſame outwardly with our Tongues, which definition is approved by S. *Auguſtine, De magiſtro, cap.* 1. *Nihil opus eſt (inquit) loquutione, niſi forte ut ſacerdotes faciunt, ſignificandæ mentis cauſa ut populus intelligat.* Anno 1558.

The miniſtration of the Lords Supper and Baptiſm are as it were Sermons of the Death and Reſurrection of Chriſt. The 10. Reaſon.

But Sermons to the people muſt be had in ſuch Language as the people may perceive, otherwiſe they ſhould be had in vain.

The 11. Reaſon or probation. It is not lawful for a Chriſtian Man to abuſe the gifts of God: but he that prayeth in the Church in a ſtrange Tongue, abuſeth the gifts of God. For the Tongue ſerveth only to expreſs the mind of the ſpeaker to the hearer. And *Auguſtine* ſaith, *De doctrina Chriſtiana. lib.* 4. *cap.* 10. *Loquendi omnino nulla eſt cauſa, ſi quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intelligant, loquimur.* There is no cauſe why we ſhould ſpeak, if they for whoſe cauſe we ſpeak, underſtand not our ſpeaking.

The 12. Reaſon or probation. The Heathen and barbarous Nations of all Countries and ſorts of Men, were they never ſo wild, evermore made their Prayers and Sacrifices to their Gods in their own Mother Tongue. Which is a manifeſt Declaration that it is the very light and voice of nature.

Thus much upon the ground of S. *Paul* and other reaſons out of the Scriptures, joyning therewith the common uſage of all Nations, as a Teſtimony of the Law of nature.

The ſecond part of the firſt Propoſition. Now for the ſecond part of the Aſſertion, which is, that the uſe of a ſtrange Tongue in publick Prayer and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, is againſt the cuſtom of the Primitive Church; it is a matter ſo clear, that the denial of it muſt needs proceed either of great ignorance, or elſe of wilful malice.

Juſtinus Apol. 2. The firſt Argument out of *Juſtine* Martyr. For firſt of all *Juſtinus* Martyr deſcribing the order of the Communion in his time, ſaith thus, *Die Solis urbanorum ac ruſticorum cœtus fiunt, ubi Apoſtolorum Prophetarumq; literæ, quoad fieri poteſt præleguntur: Deinde ceſſante lectore, præpoſitus verba faciat adhortatoria, ad imitationem tam honeſtarum rerum invitans. Poſt hæc conſurgimus omnes, & preces offerimus, quibus finitis profertur (ut diximus) panis, vinum & aqua; tum præpoſitus, quantum poteſt, preces offert, & gratiarum actiones, plebs vero Amen accinit.* That is to ſay, Upon the *Sunday* aſſemblies are made both of the Citizens and Country Men, whereas the writings of the Apoſtles and of the Prophets are read, as much as may be. Afterwards when the Reader doth ceaſe, the head Miniſter maketh an exhortation, exhorting them to follow ſo honeſt things. After this we riſe all together and offer Prayers, which being ended (as we have ſaid) Bread and Water are brought forth. Then the head Miniſter offereth Prayers and thankſgiving, as much as he can, and the people anſwereth Amen.

Theſe words of *Juſtine*, who lived about 160. years after Chriſt, conſidered with their circumſtance, declare plainly, that not only the Scriptures were read, but alſo that the Prayers and Adminiſtration of the Lords Supper were done in a Tongue underſtood.

The ſecond Argument out of *Baſil*. The Liturgies both of *Baſil* and *Chryſoſtom* declare, that in the celebration of the Communion, the people were appointed to anſwer to the Prayer of the Miniſter, ſometimes Amen, ſometimes, Lord have mercy upon us, ſometimes, And with thy Spirit, and, We have our Hearts lifted up unto the Lord, &c. Which anſwers they could not have made in due time, if the Prayer had not been made in a Tongue underſtood.

Baſilius: Epiſt. 63. And for further proof, let us hear what *Baſil* writeth in this matter to the Clerks of *Neocæſarea*. *Cæterum ad objectum in Pſalmodiis crimen quo maxime ſimpliciores terrent calumniatores, &c.* As touching that is laid to our charge in Pſalmodies and Songs, wherewith our ſlanderers do fray the ſimple, I have thus to ſay, that our cuſtoms and uſages in all Churches be uniform, and agreeable.

For in the night the people with us riſeth, goeth to the Houſe of Prayer, and in travel, tribulation, and continual tears, they confeſs themſelves to God, and at the laſt riſing

Anno 1558. riſing again, go to their Songs or Pſalmody, where being divided into two parts, they ſing by courſe together, both deeply weighing and confirming the matter of the Heavenly ſayings, and alſo ſtirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means be alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the ſong, the reſt follow, and ſo with divers Songs and Prayers paſſing over the night, at the dawning of the day, all together, even as it were with one mouth and one heart, they ſing unto the Lord a ſong of Confeſſion, every Man framing to himſelf meet words of repentance.

If you will flye us from henceforth for theſe things, ye muſt flye alſo the *Egyptians*, and both the *Libians*, ye muſt eſchew the *Thebanes*, *Paleſtines*, *Arabians*, the *Phœnices*, the *Sirians*, and thoſe that dwell beſides *Euphrates*; and to be ſhort, all thoſe with whom watchings, Prayers, and common ſinging of Pſalms are had in honor.

Teſtimonies of Saint Ambroſe, *written upon the fourteenth to the* Corinthians, *the firſt Epiſtle.*
Super illud, qui enim loquitur linguis.

Ambroſius. Another argument of S. Ambroſe. HOc *eſt quod dicit, quia qui loquitur incognita lingua, &c.* This is it that he ſaith; becauſe he which ſpeaketh in an unknown Tongue, ſpeaketh to God. For he knoweth all things, but Men know not, and therefore there is no profit of this thing.

Ambroſ. The ſame Author afterwards, *Super illud, ſi benedixeris Spiritu.*

Hoc eſt, ſi laudem Dei lingua loquaris ignota, &c. Upon theſe words, if thou yeeld or give thanks with the Spirit, how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, ſay, Amen, at thy giving of thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt?

That is (ſaith *Ambroſe*) if thou ſpeak the praiſe of God in a Tongue unknown to the hearers. For the unlearned, hearing that which he underſtandeth not, knoweth not the end of the Prayer, and he anſwereth not Amen. That is as much to ſay as (true) that the bleſſing or thankſgiving may be confirmed. For the confirmation of the Prayer is fulfilled by them which do anſwer, Amen. That all things ſpoken might be confirmed in the minds of the hearers, through the teſtimony of the truth.

Ambroſ. ¶ Afterward in the ſame place upon theſe words, if any Infidell or unlearned come in.

Quum enim intelligit & intelligitur, &c. For when he underſtandeth, and is underſtood, hearing God to be praiſed and Chriſt to be worſhipped, he ſeeth perfectly that the Religion is true, and to be reverenced, wherein he ſeeth nothing to be done colourably, nothing in darkneſs, as among the Heathen, whoſe eyes are covered, that they ſeeing not the things which they call holy, might perceive themſelves to be deluded with divers vanities. For all falſhood ſeeketh darkneſs, and ſheweth falſe things for true. Therefore with us nothing is done privily, nothing covertly, but one God is ſimply praiſed, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jeſus, by whom are all things. For if there be none which can underſtand, or of whom he may be tryed, he may ſay, there is ſome deceit and vanity, which is therefore ſing in Tongues (not underſtood, he meaneth) becauſe it is a ſhame to open it.

Ambroſ. Upon this place, *Omnia ad ædificationem fiant.*

Concluſio hæc eſt, ut nihil incaſſum in Eccleſia geratur; hocque elaborandum magis, ut & imperiti proficiant, ne quid ſit corporis per imperitiam tenebroſum. Let all things be done to edifie.

This is the concluſion, that nothing ſhould be done in the Church in vain, and that this thing ought chiefly to be laboured for, that the unlearned alſo might profit leſt any part of the Body ſhould be dark through ignorance.

Ambroſe. Again, *Si non fuerit interpres, taceat in Eccleſia.*

Hoc eſt, intra ſe tacite oret aut loquatur Deo, qui audit muta omnia. In eccleſia enim ille debet loqui qui omnibus proſit.

If there be no interpreter, let him keep ſilence in the Church.

That is, let him pray ſecretly, or ſpeak to God within himſelf, which heareth all dumb things: for in the Church he ought to ſpeak which may profit all men.

Teſtimonies out of Saint *Hierom*, upon that place of *Paul, Quomodo qui ſupplet locum idiotæ, &c.*

PEr *illum*, ſaith Saint *Hierom*, *qui ſupplet locum idiotæ, laicum intelligit, qui nullo gradu Eccleſiaſtico fungitur.* It is the Lay-man, ſaith he, whom *Paul* here underſtandeth to be in the place of the ignorant Man, which hath no Eccleſiaſtical Office. How ſhall he anſwer Amen to the Prayer that he underſtandeth not? *Hieronimus*

And a little after upon theſe words, *Nam ſi orare lingua, &c.*

Hoc dicit, quinetiam ſi quis incognitis aliis linguis loquatur, mens ejus non ipſi effectur fine fructu, ſed audienti. Quicquid enim dicitur, ignorat. This is *Paul's* meaning, ſaith *Hierom*, If any Man ſpeaketh in ſtrange and unknown Tongues, his mind is not to himſelf without fruit and profit, but he is not profited that heareth him.

¶ And in the end of his Commentary upon the Epiſtle to the *Galathians*, he ſaith thus:

Quod autem (Amen) conſenſum ſignificat audientis, &c. That (Amen) ſignifieth the conſent of the hearer, and is the ſealing up of the truth, *Paul* in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* teacheth, ſaying, But if thou ſhalt bleſs in Spirit, who ſupplyeth the place of the ignorant? how ſhall he at thy Prayer anſwer (Amen) ſeeing he knoweth not what thou ſayeſt? Whereby he declareth that the unlearned Man cannot anſwer, that that which is ſpoken is true, unleſs he underſtand what is ſaid.

The ſame *Hierom* ſaith in the Preface of S. *Pauls* Epiſtle to the *Galathians*, that the noiſe of (Amen) ſoundeth in the Roman Church like an Heavenly thunder.

As *Hierom* compareth this ſound of common Prayer to thunder, ſo compareth *Caſill* it to the ſound of the Sea, in theſe words, If the Sea be fair, how is not the aſſembly of the Congregation much fairer? in the which a joyned ſound of Men, Women and Children, as it were of the Waves beating on the Shore, is ſent forth in our Prayers unto our God. Baſill ho. 4. hexam.

Cum populus ſemel audivit, εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ſtatim omnes reſpondent, Amen.

When the people once hear theſe words (*World without end*) they all forthwith anſwer, Amen. Chryſoſt. in 2 ad Cor. ca. 14.

And the ſame writer upon the ſame Chapter, upon theſe words, How ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, ſay Amen? *En rurſus amuſſi (quod dicitur) ſaxum applicat, Eccleſiæ ædificationem ubique requirens, &c.* Behold again, he applieth the ſtone unto the ſquare (as the Proverb is) requiring the edifying of the Congregation in all places. The unlearned he calleth the common people, and ſheweth that it is no ſmall diſcommodity, if they cannot ſay, Amen. Idem eodem loco, in illa verba, ſi ingrediatur infidelis, aut indoctus.

And again the ſame *Chryſoſtom*, *Quin & in precibus viderit quis populum multum ſimul offerre, tum pro energumenis, tum pro pœnitentibus. Communes enim preces & à ſacerdote & ab illis fiunt, & omnes dicunt unam orationem, orationem miſericordia plenam. Iterum, ubi excluſerimus à ſacerdotalibus ambitibus eos qui non poſſunt eſſe participes ſanctæ menſæ, alia facienda eſt oratio, & omnes ſimiliter ſurgimus, &c.* that is, Yea in Prayers you may ſee the people offer largely, both for the poſſeſſed and the penitents. For the Prieſts and the people pray altogether commonly, and all one Prayer, a Prayer full of mercy and pitty. And excluding out of the Prieſts limits all ſuch as cannot be partakers of the holy Table, another Prayer muſt be made, and all after, one ſort lye down upon the earth, and all again after one ſort riſe up together. Now when the peace is given, we all in like manner ſalute one another, and the Prieſt in the reverend myſteries wiſheth well to the people, and the people unto him: for *Et cum ſpiritu tuo*, is nothing elſe but this. All things that belong to the Sacrament of thankſgiving, are common to all. But he giveth not thanks alone, but all the people with him. Another Argument of Chryſoſtom.

Hereby

Hereby it may appear, that not the Prieſt alone communicated nor prayed alone, nor had any peculiar Prayer, but ſuch as was common to them all, ſuch as they all underſtood, and all were able to ſay with the Prieſt, which could not have been, if he had uſed a ſtrange Tongue in the miniſtration of the Sacraments.

Dionyſius. *Dionyſius* deſcribing the manner of the miniſtration of the Lords Supper, ſaith, That hymns were ſaid of the whole multitude of the people.

Cyprian ſer. 6. de or. dominica. *Cyprian.* ſaith, The Prieſt doth prepare the minds of the Brethren, with a Preface before the Prayer ſaying, Lift up your Hearts: that whiles the people doth anſwer, we have our Hearts lifted up to the Lord, they may be admoniſhed that they ought to think of none other thing than of the Lord.

Aug. in Pſal. 18. S. *Auguſtine, Quod hic ſit, intelligere debemus, &c.* What this ſhould be we ought to underſtand, that we may ſing with reaſon of Man, not with chatting of birds. For *Owſels* and *Popinjaies*, and *Ravens*, and *Pies*, and other ſuch like Birds are taught by Men to prate they know not what. But to ſing with underſtanding, is given by Gods holy will to the nature of Man.

Aug. de Magiſt. The ſame *Auguſtine*, There needeth no ſpeech when we pray, ſaving perhaps as the Prieſts do, to declare their meaning; not that God, but that Men may hear them, and ſo, being put in remembrance by conſenting with the Prieſts, may hang upon God.

To theſe teſtimonies of the ancient writers, we will joyn one Conſtitution of *Juſtinian* the Emperor, who

Novell conſtitut. 123. lived 527. years after Chriſt, *Jubemus ut omnes Epiſcopi pariter & Presbyteri, &c.* We command that all Biſhops and Prieſts do celebrate the holy Oblation, and the Prayers uſed in holy Baptiſm, not ſpeaking low, but with a clear and loud voice, which may be heard of the people, that thereby the minds of the hearers may be ſtirred up with greater devotion, in uttering the praiſes of the Lord God. For ſo the holy Apoſtle teacheth in his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, ſaying, Truly, if thou only bleſs or give thanks in Spirit, how doth he which occupieth the place of the unlearned ſay, Amen, at the giving of thanks unto God? for he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt. Thou verily giveſt thanks well, but another is not edified. And again, in the Epiſtle to the *Romans* he ſaith, *Corde creditur ad juſtitiam, ore autem fit confeſſio ad ſalutem*, with the Heart a Man believeth unto righteouſneſs, and with the mouth confeſſion is made unto Salvation.

Therefore for theſe cauſes it is convenient, that amongſt other Prayers thoſe things alſo which are ſpoken in the holy Oblation, be uttered and ſpoken of the moſt Religious Biſhops and Prieſts unto our Lord Jeſus Chriſt our God with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, with a loud voice. And let the moſt Religious Prieſts know this, that if they neglect any of theſe things, neither the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, neither will we when we know it, reſt, and leave it unrevenged.

Out of this Conſtitution of Juſtinian *the Emperour, three things are worthy to be noted.*

Firſt, that the common Prayer and miniſtration done with a loud voice, ſo as may be heard and underſtood of the people is a mean to ſtir up devotion in the people, contrary to the common aſſertion of *Eckius* and other adverſaries, who affirm that ignorance maketh a great admiration and devotion.

Secondly, that *Juſtinian* maketh this matter of not ordering common miniſtration and Prayers, ſo as it may be underſtood of the people, not a matter of indifferency, but ſuch a thing as muſt be anſwered for at the day of Judgment.

Thirdly, that this Emperor, being a Chriſtian Emperor, doth not only make Conſtitution of Eccleſiaſtical matters, but alſo threatneth revenge and ſharp puniſhment to the violaters of the ſame.

Theſe are ſufficient to prove that it is againſt Gods Word, and the uſe of the Primitive Chrurch, to uſe a language not underſtood of the people, in common Prayer and miniſtration of the Sacraments. Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how ſuch an untruth and abuſe crept at the firſt into the Church, but alſo how it is maintained ſo ſtiffly at this day, and upon what ground theſe, that will be thought guides and paſtors of Chriſts Church, are ſo loth to return to the firſt original of S. *Pauls* Doctrine, and the practice of the Primitive Catholick Church of Chriſt. Anno 1558.

¶ The God of Patience and conſolation, give us Grace to be like minded one towards another in Chriſt Jeſus, that we all agreeing together, may with one Mouth praiſe God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

John Scory.
Richard Coxe.
David Whitehead.
Edmund Grindall.
John Jewell.
Robert Horne.
John Aelmer.
Edmund Geſt.

And the ſame being ended with ſome likelihood, as it ſeemed, that the ſame was much allowable to the audience; certain of the Biſhops began to ſay contrary to their former anſwer, that they had now much more to ſay to this matter, wherein although they might have been well reprehended for ſuch manner of cavillation; yet for avoiding of any more miſtaking of orders in this colloquy or conference, and for that they ſhould utter all that which they had to ſay, it was both ordered and thus openly agreed upon of both parts in the full audience, that upon the *Monday* following, the Biſhops ſhould bring their Minds and Reaſons in writing to the ſecond aſſertion, and the laſt alſo if they could, and firſt read the ſame: and that done, the other part ſhould bring likewiſe theirs to the ſame. And being read, each of them ſhould deliver to other the ſame writings. And in the mean time, the Biſhops ſhould put in writing, not only all that which Doctor *Cole* had that day uttered, but all ſuch other matters as they any otherwiſe could think of for the ſame: and as ſoon as they might poſſible, to ſend the ſame Book touching that firſt aſſertion to the other part, and they ſhould receive of them that writing which Mr. *Horn* had there read that day, and upon *Monday* it ſhall be agreed what day they ſhould exhibit their anſwers touching the firſt propoſition. Thus both parts aſſented thereto, and the aſſembly was quietly diſmiſſed.

The order of the ſecond days talk.

The Lord Keeper of the great Seal, the Archbiſhop of York, *the Duke of* Northfolk, *and all the Councel being ſet, the Biſhops on the one ſide, and the Proteſtants, that is, the late baniſhed Preachers on the other ſide, thus began the Lord Keeper.*

MY Lord and Maſters, I am ſure ye remember well, what order of talk and writing was appointed to be had this day in this aſſembly, at our laſt meeting, which I will not refuſe now to repeat again for the ſhortneſs of it, which was, that ye appointed that on both ſides ye ſhould bring in Engliſh writing, what ye had to ſay in the ſecond queſtion, and in this place appointed to read the ſame. Therefore begin my Lords.

Wincheſt. I am determined for my part that there ſhall be now read, that which we have to ſay for the firſt queſtion.

L. Keeper. Will ye not then proceed in the order appointed you?

Wincheſt. I am, as I ſaid, provided for the firſt queſtion or propoſition: and we ſhould ſuffer prejudice, if ye permit us not to intreat of that firſt, and ſo we would come to the ſecond queſtion, and this is the order we would uſe. I judge all my Brethren are ſo minded.

Biſhops. We are ſo determined.

L. Keeper. I know not what you would do for your determined order: but ye ought to look what order is appointed you to keep, which ye by this means do break and little regard.

Wincheſter.

Anno 1558.

Wincheſter. Sith our adverſaries part, if it pleaſe your Grace and Honours, have ſo confirmed their aſſertion and purpoſe, we ſuffer a prejudice or damage, if ye permit us not the like. Hereat Doctor *Watſon* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, being at this talk very deſirous to have ſpoken, ſaid now to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; I pray you let me ſpeak, which was permitted him: we are not uſed indifferently, ſince that you allow us not to open in preſent writing what we have to ſay for the declaration of the firſt queſtion, inſomuch, as that which ye take for the infirmation of the ſame, was meant nothing to that purpoſe, for that which Maſter *Cole* ſpake in this laſt aſſembly, was not prepared to ſtrengthen our cauſe, but he made his Oration of himſelf, and *ex tempore*, that is, with no fore-ſtudied talk.

At ſuch the Biſhops words the Nobility and other of the audience much frowned and grudged, ſith that they all well knew, that Maſter *Cole* ſpake out of a writing which he held in his hand, and often read out of the ſame, and in that the ſame places which the Biſhops informed him, and appointed him unto with their fingers; all which things do well declare the matter to be premeditate, and not done *ex tempore*, for that Maſter *Cole* was appointed by them to be their ſpeaker. Whereupon this of the Biſhop of *Lincoln* was the worſe taken, notwithſtanding he went onward complaining, and ſaid; we are alſo evil ordered as touching the time, our adverſaries part having warning long before, and we were warned only two days before the laſt aſſembly in this place. What with this buſineſs, and other trouble we have been driven to, have been occupied the whole laſt night. For we may in no wiſe betray the cauſe of God, nor will do, but ſuſtain it to the uttermoſt of our powers, as we ought ſo to endeavour by all manner of means. But hereunto we want preſently indifferent uſing.

L. Keeper. Take ye heed that ye deceive not your ſelves when it ſhall come to juſt trial of the matter, and that then it be not proved againſt you, that ye complain without cauſe, when the order and your manner towards it ſhall be duly weighed. I am willing and ready to hear you after the order taken and appointed for you to reaſon therein, and further or contrary to that I cannot deal with you.

Lich. Cov. Let us ſuffer no miſorder or injury herein, but be heard with indifferency, that is convenient and meet we ſhould have here.

L. Keeper. I pray you, Sirs, hear me, and mark it you well. It was concluded on by my Lords of the Councel, who you well know of, that their writing, which ye are now ſo willing to have heard, ſhould have been read the firſt day, and then did we underſtand that Maſter *Cole* had ſaid what you would have him, and as much as you willed him to ſay, and upon that indifferency among us. I judge ye were asked in the end of Maſter *Coles* rehearſal, whether that which he ſpake, was it ye would have him ſay, and ye granted it. Then, whether ye would that he ſhould ſay any more in the matter. Ye anſwered no, whereupon the other part was heard, which you hearing, then indeed without all good indifferency or plain dealing, ye pretended that ye had more to ſay. So mark you with how ſmall equity you uſed your ſelves.

The B. We had indeed more to ſay, if we might have been indifferently heard.

L. Keeper. Give me leave I ſay, and look what gains you ſhould have if your preſent requeſt ſhould be granted you, that call ſo much of indifferent uſing, how you ſhould uſe thoſe other Men? For many who are here preſent, were then away, ſo would you have your writing now read to them, which heard not this. Mark ye whether it had not been more fit that ye had provided it againſt the firſt day, when they orderly read theirs, ſith to my knowledge, and as far as I have had to do in the matter, you were of both ſides (I am ſure) warned at one time. Howbeit to ſatisfie your importunity and earneſtneſs of this crying out to have your firſt writing heard, I might well allow, if it ſo pleaſed the reſt of the Queens moſt Honourable Councel, that you diſpatch the work of the ſecond queſtion, appointed for this day, and give us up your writing for the firſt, ſo that when the day cometh that each of you ſhall anſwer the other in confirmation of the firſt queſtion, then the ſame day ye ſhall have time to read this your firſt writing, which ye now would ſo fain read. To this order all the Councel willingly condeſcended.

Lich. Cov. Nay, my Lords, they reading one, and we two Books in one day, we ſhould not have time enough to read them both. It would occupy too much time.

L. Keep. For my part I might well ſtay at the hearing of them both, and ſo I judge would the reſt of the Councel, and likewiſe the whole audience. At which ſaying there was a ſhout, crying on all ſides; Yea, yea, we would hear it gladly.

Lincoln. We cannot read them both at one time: for their writing (I am ſure) would require an hour and a half, if ſo be it be ſo long as their laſt was, and then our anſwer would require no leſs time after the firſt queſtion.

L. Keeper. I have ſhewed you we could be well contented to tarry out the time when it cometh thereunto. Therefore ye need not to be therein ſo curious, and we granting you thus much, and yet ye will obey no orders, I cannot tell what I ſhall ſay unto you.

Lincoln. We have been wonderfully troubled in the order of this diſputation. For firſt it was appointed us by my Lord the Archbiſhop, that we ſhould diſpute, and that in Latin, and then had we another commandment that we ſhould provide a Latin writing, and now at laſt we are willed to bring forth our writings in Engliſh.

At theſe words the Lord Keeper of the great Seal, the Archbiſhop, with all the Councel much muſed, and many murmured at ſuch his wrong report of the order well taken. Whereupon with an admiration the Lord Keeper anſwered; I marvel much of the uſing of your ſelf in this point, ſith I am aſſured the order was never otherwiſe taken, than that you ſhould bring forth in Engliſh writing what you had to ſay for your purpoſe.

Hereupon the Biſhops of *Lichfield* and *Chicheſter*, to excuſe my Lord of *Lincoln*, ſaid; We ſo underſtood the order, my Lords.

L. Keeper. How likely is that, ſith that it was ſo plainly told you? But to end theſe delays, I pray you follow the order appointed, and begin to intreat of the ſecond queſtion.

Lich. Cov. We were appointed this day by your Honours to bring in what we had to ſay in the firſt queſtion.

At the which ſaying the audience much grudged, who heard the former talk, contrary to ſuch his report.

L. Keeper. The order was taken, for that your writings were not ready the laſt time, that ye ſhould yield the ſame to theſe Men, meaning the Proteſtants, as ſoon as ye might, and upon the receipt of your writings, you ſhould have theirs, and this day you ſhould intreat of the ſecond queſtion, and of the third, if that ye had leaſure enough. This was the order, my Lords, except my memory much fail me. The ſame all the Councel affirmed.

Lincoln. We were willed then to bring in this day our writing for the firſt queſtion alſo.

L. Keep. Ah Sirs, if ye be ſo hard to be ſatisfied, and to encline to the truth, let my Lords here ſay what was then determined.

B. York. Ye are to blame to ſtand in this iſſue, for there was a plain decreed order taken for you to intreat of the ſecond queſtion. Wherefore leave you your contention herein, and ſhew what ye have to ſay in the ſecond queſtion.

L. Keeper. Go to now, begin my Lords.

Lich. Cov. It is contrary to the order in diſputations, that we ſhould begin.

Cheſter. We have the negative, they the affirmative, therefore they muſt begin.

Lich. Cov. They muſt firſt ſpeak what they can bring in againſt us, ſith we are the defending part.

Cheſter. So is the School manner, and likewiſe the manner in *Weſtminſter-Hall* is, that the Plaintiffs part ſhould ſpeak firſt, and then the accuſed party to anſwer.

Lich. Cov. I pray you let the propoſition be read, and then let us ſee who hath the negative part, and ſo let the other begin.

L. Keeper. The order was taken that ye ſhould begin.

Lich. Cov. But then we ſhould do againſt the School order.

L. Keeper.

L. Keeper. My Maſters, ye inforce much the School orders. I wonder much at it, ſith divers of thoſe orders are oftentimes taken for the exerciſe of youth, and ought to maintain a faſhion, and many preſcriptions, which we need not here to recite, much leſs obſerve. We are come hither to keep the order of God, and to ſet forth his truth, and hereunto we have taken as good order as we might, which lieth not in me to change.

Carlile. We are of the Catholick Church, and abide therein, and ſtand in the poſſeſſions of the truth; and therefore muſt they ſay what they have to alledge againſt us, and ſo we to maintain and defend our cauſe.

Lich. Cov. Yea, even ſo muſt the matter be ordered.

Cheſter. When they bring any thing againſt us, it is ſufficient for us to deny it: Therefore muſt they begin.

Lich. And when they affirm any thing, and we ſay nay, the proof belongeth to them, and ſo it behooveth them to ſhew firſt what they affirm, and for what cauſe and purpoſe.

L. Keeper. Here reſteth our purpoſe and whole matter, whether you will begin, if they do not, ſith it was determined ye ſhould begin.

Lich. Cov. We heard of no ſuch order.

L. Keeper. No did? Yes, and in the firſt queſtion ye began willingly. How cometh it to paſs that ye will not now do ſo?

Cheſter. Then had we the affirmation, which ſith that our adverſaries have now, they ſhould preſently begin.

This the Proteſtants denyed, ſaying, that they in the firſt day had the negative, wherein they did not yet refuſe to begin.

L. Keeper. If you have any thing to ſay, my Lords, to the purpoſe, ſay on.

Lich. A particular ſort of Men can never break an Univerſal Church, which we now maintain: and as for theſe Men, our adverſary part, I never thought that they would have done ſo much as have named themſelves to be of the Catholick Church, challenging the name as well as we.

Proteſtants. We do ſo, and we are of the true Catholick Church, and maintain the verity thereof.

Lincoln. Yet would ye overthrow all Catholick order.

Hor. I wonder that ye ſo much ſtand who ſhould begin.

Lincoln. You count it requiſite that we ſhould follow your orders, as we have taken the queſtions at your hands, in that ſort as you have affigned them.

Lich. Coven. Yea, even ſo we be driven to do now.

L. Keeper. Nay, I judge if ye mark the matter well, the queſtions are neither of their propounding them to you, nor of your device to them, but offered indifferently to you both.

Horne. Indeed, my Lords of the Queens moſt honourable Councel, theſe queſtions or propoſitions were propoſed unto us by your Honours, and they then having the preheminency, choſe to themſelves the negative, and yet freely began firſt: now again why do they not the like?

Lichfield being angry that he ſhould ſo ſtraitly ſpeak againſt them, went quite from the matter, ſaying; My L. Keeper of the great Seal, and you the reſt of the Queens moſt honourable Councel, I hope that you all, and the Queens Majeſty her ſelf, are inclined to favour the verity in all things, and the truth of the Catholick Church, which we muſt, will, or can do no otherwiſe, but earneſtly maintain to the uttermoſt of our power, and to this purpoſe let us now well weigh who are of the true Catholick Church, they, or we.

L. Keeper. Tarry, now you go from the matter, and make queſtions of your own.

Lichfield. Yet not ſtraying from his digreſſion, ſaid thus; We muſt needs go to work, and try that firſt, what Church they be of. For there are many Churches in *Germany*. Maſter *Horne*, Maſter *Horne*, I pray you which of theſe Churches are you of?

Horne. I am of Chriſts Catholick Church.

L. Keeper. Ye ought not thus to run into voluntary talk of your own inventing, nor to deviſe new queſtions of your own appointment, and thereby enter into that talk; ye ought not ſo to do. But ſay on, if you have any thing to ſay in this matter.

Lich. Nay, we muſt firſt thus go to work with them as I have ſaid, if that we will ſearch a truth: howbeit of the truth we have no doubt, for that we aſſuredly ſtand in it. Theſe Men come in, and they pretended to be doubtful. Therefore they ſhould firſt bring what they have to impugn or withſtand us withal. Anno 1558.

Winch. Let them begin; ſo will we go onward with our matter.

Cheſter. Otherwiſe, my Lords, if they ſhould not begin, but end the talk, then ſhould the verity on our ſides be not ſo well marked; for they ſhould depart ſpeaking laſt, *cum applauſu populi*, with the rejoycing triumph of the people.

Winch. Therefore I am reſolved that they ſhall begin ere that we ſay any thing.

Cheſter. I am ſorry, my Lords, that we ſhould ſo long ſtand in the matter with your Honours, and make ſo many words, and ſo much ado with you, whom we ought to obey: howbeit there is no indifferency if they begin not; and ſurely we think it meet, that they ſhould, for their parts, give us place.

Lichfield. Yea, that they ſhould, and ought to do, where any indifferency is uſed.

Aelmer. We give you the place (do we not?) and deprive you not of the preheminence, becauſe you are Biſhops; therefore I pray you begin.

The Biſhop. A goodly giving of place, I aſſure you: yea marry, ye gave place: ſuch words they uſed, with more ſcoffs.

L. Keeper. If ye make this Aſſembly gathered in vain, and will not go to the matter, let us riſe and depart.

Winch. Contented, let us be gone; for we will not in this point give over.

I pray you my Lords, require not at our hands that we ſhould be any cauſe of hinderance or let to our Religion, or give any ſuch evil example to our Poſterity, which we ſhould do if we gave over to them, which in no wiſe we may, or will do.

L. Keeper. Let us then break up, if you be thus minded. With theſe words the Biſhops were ſtraightways riſing. But then ſaid the Lord Keeper; Let us ſee whether every one of you be thus minded. How ſay you my Lord of *Wincheſter*, will you not begin to read your writing?

Winch. No ſurely, I am fully determined, and fully at a point therein, howſoever my brethren do.

Then the Lord Keeper asked how the Biſhop was called, who ſate next to *Wincheſter* in order. It was the Biſhop of *Exeter*, who being inquired his mind herein, anſwered that he was none of them. Then the Lord Keeper asked the other in order; and firſt *Lincoln*, who ſaid he was of the ſame mind that *Wincheſter* was of: and likewiſe anſwered *Lichfield Coven. Cole*, and *Chadſey*. Then *Cheſter*, being asked his ſentence, ſaid; My Lords, I ſay not that I will not read it, if ye command us; but we ought not to do it: yet I deſire your Honours not ſo to take it, as though I would not have read it. I mean not ſo.

L. Keeper. How ſay you to it, my Lord of *Carlile*?

Carlile. If they ſhould not read theirs this day, ſo that our writing may be laſt read, ſo am I contented that ours ſhall be firſt read.

L. Keeper. So would ye make orders your ſelves, and appoint that we ſhould ſpend one day in hearing you.

Abbot. Then the *Abbot* of *Weſtminſter* was asked his mind; who ſaid; If it pleaſe your Honours, I judge that my Lords here ſtay moſt on this point, that they ſeat when they ſhall begin firſt, and the other anſwer thereupon, there ſhall be no time given to them to ſpeak, which my Lord miſliketh.

L. Keeper. How can it otherwiſe be in talk appointed in ſuch Aſſembly and Audience: think you that there can be continual anſwering one another? when ſhould it after that ſort have an end?

Lich. Coven. It muſt be ſo in diſputation to ſeek out the truth.

L. Keeper. But how ſay you my Lord *Abbot*, are you of the mind it ſhall be read?

Abbot. Yea forſooth, my Lord, I am very well pleaſed withal. *Harpsfield* being inquired his mind, thought as the other did.

L. Keeper. My Lords, ſith that ye are not willing, but refuſe to read your writing after the order taken, we will break up and depart: and for that ye will not that we ſhould hear you, you may perhaps ſhortly hear of us.

Thus

Anno 1558.

THus have we declared the order and manner of this Communication or Conference at *Weſtminſter*, between theſe two parties, wherein if any Law or Order were broken, judge (good Reader) where the fault was, and conſider withal what theſe Papiſts be, from whom if ye take away their Sword and Authority, you ſee all their cunning, how ſoon it lieth in the duſt, or elſe why would they not abide the trial of writing? why would they, or durſt they not ſtand to the order agreed upon? Whether ſhould we ſay ignorance or ſtubbornneſs to be in them more, or both together? Who firſt being gently (as is ſaid) and favourably required to keep the order appointed, they would not. Then being ſecondly (as appeared by the Lord Keepers words) preſſed more earneſtly, they neither regarding the Authority, *&c.* of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cauſe, utterly refuſed that to do. And finally, being again particularly every of them apart diſtinctly by name required to underſtand their Opinions therein, they all ſaving one (which was the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, having ſome more conſideration of order and his duty of obedience than the other) utterly and plainly denied to have their Book read, ſome of them as more earneſtly than other, ſo alſo ſome other more undiſcreetly and unreverently than others. Whereupon giving ſuch example of diſorder, ſtubbornneſs, and ſelf-will, as hath not been ſeen and ſuffered in ſuch an honourable Aſſembly, being of the two Eſtates of this Realm, the Nobility and the Commons, beſides the preſence of the Queens Majeſties moſt honourable Privy Councel, the ſame Aſſembly was diſmiſſed, and the godly and moſt Chriſtian purpoſe of the Queens Majeſty made fruſtrate. And afterward, for the contempt ſo notoriouſly made, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln*, having moſt obſtinately both diſobeyed common Authority, and varied manifeſtly from their own order, and ſpecially *Lincoln*, who ſhewed more folly than the other, were condignly committed to the *Tower* of *London*, and the reſt (ſaving the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*) ſtood bound to make daily their perſonal appearance before the Councel, and not to depart the City of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, until further order were taken with them for their diſobedience and contempt.

Biſhops committed to the Tower.

Beſides the former Proteſtation or Libel written and exhibited by the Proteſtants concerning the firſt queſtion, there was alſo another like writing of the ſaid Proteſtants made of the ſecond queſtion, but not publiſhed, which if it come to our hand, we will likewiſe impart unto thee.

As theſe Biſhops above-named were committed to the *Tower*, ſo *Boner* Biſhop of *London*, about the ſame time was commanded to the *Marſhalſey*, where he both in his blind bloody Hereſie, and alſo in his deſerved captivity, long remained, abiding the Queens pleaſure. Gods pleaſure, I beſeech him, ſo be wrought on that perſon, that the Church of Chriſts Flock, if they can take or look for no goodneſs of that man to come, yet they may take of him and of other no more harm hereafter than they have done already. We all beſeech thee this, O Lord eternal, *Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum, Amen.*

Boner caſt in the *Marſhalſey.*

About this time, at the beginning of the flouriſhing Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, was a Parliament ſummoned and holden at *Weſtminſter*, wherein was much debating about matters touching Religion, and great ſtudy on both parts imployed, the one to retain ſtill, the other to impugn the Doctrine and Faction which before in Queen *Maries* time had been eſtabliſhed. But eſpecially here is to be noted, that though there lacked no induſtry on the Papiſts ſide, to hold faſt that which they moſt cruelly from time to time had ſtudied, and by all means practiſed to come by: yet notwithſtanding, ſuch was the Providence of God at that time, that for lack of the other Biſhops, whom the Lord had taken away by death a little before, the reſidue that there were left, could do the leſs; and in very need, God be praiſed therefore, did nothing at all in effect. Although yet notwithſtanding there lacked in them neither will nor labour to do what they could; if their cruel ability there might have ſerved. But namely amongſt all other, not only the induſtrious courage of Dr. *Story*, but alſo his words in this Parliament are worthy to be known of Poſterity: who like a ſtout and furious Champion of the Popes ſide, to declare himſelf how luſty he was, and what he had and would do in his Maſters quarrel, ſhamed not openly in the ſaid Parliament Houſe to braſt out into ſuch an impudent ſort of words, as was a wonder to all good ears to hear, and no leſs worthy of Hiſtory.

Dr. *Stories* impudent words in the Parliament.

The ſum of which his ſhameleſs talk was uttered to this effect: Firſt, beginning with himſelf, he declared, That whereas he was noted commonly abroad, and much complained of, to have been a great doer, and a ſetter forth of ſuch Religion, Orders, and Proceedings, as of his late Soveraign that dead is, Queen *Mary*, were ſet forth in this Realm, he denied nothing the ſame, proteſting moreover that he therein had done nothing, but that both his Conſcience did lead him thereunto, and alſo his Commiſſion did as well then command him, as now alſo doth diſcharge him for the ſame, being no leſs ready now alſo to do the like, and more, in caſe he by this Queen were authoriſed likewiſe, and commanded thereunto. Wherefore, as I ſee (ſaith he) nothing to be aſhamed of, ſo leſs I ſee to be ſorry for, but rather ſaid that he was ſorry for this, becauſe he had done no more than he did, and that in executing thoſe Laws they had not been more vehement and ſevere. Wherein he ſaid there was no default in him, but in them, whom he both oft and earneſtly had exhorted to the ſame, being therefore not a little grieved with them, for that they laboured only about the young and little ſprigs and twigs, while they ſhould have ſtricken at the root, and clean have rooted it out, *&c.* And concerning his perſecuting and burning them, he denied not, but that he was once at the burning of an Earwig (for ſo he termed it) at *Uxbridge*, where he toſt a Fagot at his face as he was ſinging Pſalms, and ſet a Winebuſh of Thorns under his feet, a little to prick him, with many other words of like effect. In the which words he named moreover Sir *Philip Hobby*, and another Knight of *Kent*, with ſuch other of the richer and higher degree, whom his counſel was to pluck at, and to bring them under *coram*, wherein (ſaid he) if they had followed my advice, then had they done well and wiſely. This, or much like was the effect of the ſhameleſs and tyrannical excuſe of himſelf, more meet to ſpeak with the voice of a Beaſt, than a Man.

The words of Dr. *Story* in the Parliament Houſe.

This Martyr burnt at *Uxbridge* was Maſter *Denley.*

Although in this Parliament ſome diverſity there was of judgment and opinion between parties, yet notwithſtanding, through the merciful goodneſs of the Lord, the true cauſe of the Goſpel had the upper hand, the Papiſts hope was fruſtrate, and their rage abated, the order and proceedings of King *Edwards* time concerning Religion was revived again, the Supremacy of the Pope aboliſhed, the Articles and bloody Statutes of Queen *Mary* repealed; briefly, the furious Fire-brands of cruel Perſecution, which had conſumed ſo many poor mens bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

Finally, the old Biſhops were depoſed, for that they refuſed the Oath in renouncing the Pope, and not ſubſcribing to the Queens juſt and lawful Title. In whoſe rooms and places, firſt for Cardinal *Poole* ſucceeded Dr. *Matthew Parker*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. In the place of *Heath* ſucceeded Dr. *Young*. Inſtead of *Boner*, *Edmund Grindall* was Biſhop of *London*. For *Hopton*, *Thurlby*, *Tonſtall*, *Pates*, *Chriſtopherſon*, *Peto*, *Coates*, *Morgan*, *Feaſie*, *White*, *Oglethorpe*, *&c.* were placed Dr. *John Parkhurſt* in *Norwich*, Dr. *Coxe* in *Ely*, *Jewel* in *Saliſbury*, *Pilkenton* in *Dureſm*, Dr. *Sands* in *Worceſter*, Mr. *Downam* in *Weſtcheſter*, *Bentam* in *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, *David* in *S. Davids*, *Ally* in *Exeter*, *Horne* in *Wincheſter*, *Story* in *Hereford*, *Beſt* in *Carliſle*, *Bullingham* in *Lincoln*, *Scamler* in *Peterborough*, *Bartlet* in *Bathe*, *Geſt* in *Rocheſter*, *Barlo* in *Chicheſter*, *&c.*

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The Appendix of ſuch Notes and Matters, as either have been in this Hiſtory omitted, or newly inſerted.

IN the ſtory of Sir *Roger Acton* above mentioned, I find that with him were taken many other perſons, that all the Priſons in and about *London* were replenished with People. The chief of them, which were twenty and nine, were condemned of Hereſie, and attainted of High Treaſon, as movers of War againſt their King, by the temporal Law in the *Guildhall*, the twelfth day of *December*, and adjudged to be drawn and hanged for Treaſon, and for Hereſie to be conſumed with fire, Gallows and all, which Judgment was executed in *January* following on the ſaid Sir *Roger Acton*, and twenty eight other.

Some ſay that the occaſion of their death was the conveighance of the Lord *Cobham* out of Priſon. Other write that it was both for Treaſon (as the Adverſaries termed it) and Hereſie.

Certain affirm, that it was for feigned cauſes ſurmiſed by the Spiritualty, more of diſpleaſure than truth, as ſeemeth more near to the truth.

Concerning John Frith, *of his Life and Story this followeth more to be added.*

FIrſt, This *John Frith* was born in the Town of *Weſtrame* in *Kent*, who after by diligent Eſpials was taken in *Eſſex* flying beyond the Seas, and brought before the Councel, Sir *Thomas More* then being Chancellor, and ſo from them committed unto the *Tower*, where he remained Priſoner the ſpace of a quarter of a year, or thereabout. It chanced that Doctor *Currein*, ordinary Chaplain unto King *Henry* the Eighth, preached a Sermon in *Lent* before his Majeſty. And there very ſore inveighing againſt the Sacramentaries (as they them termed and named) which favoured not the groſs opinion that Chriſts Body was carnally *real in the* Sacrament, he ſo far diſcourſed in that matter, that at the length he brake out thus far and ſaid; *It is no* marvel though this abominable Hereſie do much prevail amongſt us; for there is one now in the *Tower* of *London* ſo bold as to write in the defence of that Hereſie, and yet no man goeth about his Reformation, meaning *John Frith*, who then had anſwered Sir *Thomas More* in writing againſt a Confutation of that erroneous Opinion, which of late before the ſaid Mr. *More* had written againſt *John Friths* Aſſertion in that behalf. This Sermon of purpoſe was deviſed and appointed by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and others, to ſeek the deſtruction of *Frith*, by putting the King in remembrance that the ſaid *Frith* was in the *Tower* there ſtaid, rather for his ſafeguard than for his puniſhment, by ſuch as favoured him, as the Lord *Cromwell*, who being Vicegerent in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical came then into ſuſpicion therefore. For in ſuch ſort was the matter handled before the King, that all men might well underſtand what they meant. The King then being in no point reſolved of the true and ſincere underſtanding of the Doctrine of that Article, but rather a perverſe ſtout Adverſary to the contrary, called to him my Lord of *Canterbury* and my Lord *Cromwell*, and willed them forthwith to call *Frith* unto Examination, ſo that he might either be compelled to recant, or elſe by the Law to ſuffer condign puniſhment.

Friths long protract in the *Tower* without Examination was ſo heinouſly taken of the King, that now my Lord of *Canterbury* with other Biſhops, as *Stokeſley* then Biſhop of *London*, and other learned men were undelayedly appointed to examine *Frith*. And for that there ſhould be no concourſe of Citizens at the ſaid Examination; my Lord of *Canterbury* removed to *Croydon*, unto whom reſorted the reſt of the Commiſſioners. Now before the day of Execution appointed, my Lord of *Canterbury* ſent one of his Gentlemen and one of his Porters, whoſe name was *Perlebeane*, a Welchman born, to fetch *John Frith* from the *Tower* unto *Croydon*. This Gentleman had both my Lords Letters and the Kings Ring unto my Lord *Fitzwilliams* Conſtable of the *Tower*, then lying in *Canon-Row* at *Weſtminſter* in extream anguiſh and pain of the Strangullion, for the delivery of the Priſoner. Maſter *Fitzwilliams* more paſſionate than patient, underſtanding for what purpoſe my Lords Gentleman was come, banned and curſed *Frith* and all other Hereticks, ſaying, *Take this my Ring unto the Lieutenant of the* Tower, *and receive your man your Heretick with you, and I am glad that I am rid of him.* When *Frith* was delivered unto my Lord of *Canterburits* Gentleman, they twain, with *Perlebeane*, ſitting in a Wherry, and rowing towards *Lambeth*: The ſaid Gentleman much lamenting in his mind the infelicity of the ſaid *Frith*, began in this wiſe to exhort him to conſider in what eſtate he was, a man altogether caſt away in the world, if he did not look wiſely to himſelf. And yet though his Cauſe were never ſo dangerous, he might ſomewhat in relenting to Authority, and ſo giving place for a time, help both himſelf out of the trouble, and when opportunity and occaſion ſhould ſerve, prefer his Cauſe which he then went about to defend, declaring further, that he had many well-willers and friends, which would ſtand on his ſide ſo far forth as poſſibly they were able and durſt do; adding hereunto, that it were great pity that he being of ſuch ſingular knowledge, both in the Latin, Greek, and both ready and ripe in all kind of Learning, and that namely as well in the Scriptures, as in the ancient Doctors, ſhould now ſuddenly ſuffer all thoſe ſingular gifts to periſh with him with little commodity or profit to the World, and leſs comfort to his Wife and Children, and other his Kinsfolks and Friends. And as for the verity of your Opinion in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, *it is* ſo untimely opened here among us in *England*, that you ſhall rather do harm than good: wherefore be wiſe, and be ruled by good counſel, until a better opportunity may ſerve.

This I am ſure of (quoth the Gentleman) that my Lord *Cromwell* and my Lord of *Canterbury* much favouring you, and knowing you to be an eloquent learned young man, and now towards the felicity of your life, young in years, old in knowledge, and of great forwardneſs and likelyhood to be a moſt profitable Member for this Realm, will never permit you to ſuſtain any open ſhame, if you will ſomewhat be adviſed by their counſel: on the other ſide, if you ſtand ſtiff to your Opinion, it is not poſſible to ſave your life. For like as you have good Friends, ſo have you mortal Foes and Enemies.

I moſt heartily thank you, quoth Maſter *Frith* unto the Gentleman, both for your good will, and for your counſel: by the which I well perceive that you mind well unto me; howbeit my Cauſe and Conſcience is ſuch, that in no wiſe I either may or can for any worldly reſpect, without danger of damnation, ſtart aſide and flie from the true Knowledge and Doctrine which I have conceived of the Supper of the Lord, or the Communion, otherwiſe called the Sacrament of the Altar: For if it be my chance to be demanded what I think in that behalf, I muſt needs ſay my knowledge and my conſcience, as partly I have written therein already, though I ſhould preſently loſe twenty lives, if I had ſo many. And this you ſhall well underſtand that I am not unfurniſhed, either of Scriptures or ancient Doctors, Schoolmen, or other for my defence; ſo that if I may be indifferently heard, I am ſure that mine Adverſaries cannot juſtly condemn me or mine Aſſertion, but that they ſhall condemn with me both S. *Auguſtine*, and the moſt part of the old Writers: yea, the very Biſhops of *Rome* of the oldeſt ſort ſhall alſo ſay for me, and defend my Cauſe. Yea marry, quoth the Gentleman, you ſay well; if you might be indifferently heard. But I much doubt thereof, for that our Maſter Chriſt was not indifferently heard

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heard, nor ſhould be, as I think, if he were now preſent again in the World, ſpecially in this your Opinion, the ſame being ſo odious unto the World, and we ſo far off from the true knowledge thereof.

Well, well (quoth *Frith* then unto the Gentleman) I know very well, that this Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar, which I hold, and have opened contrary to the opinion of this Realm, is very hard meat to be digeſted both of the Clergy and Laity. But this I will ſay to you, taking the Gentleman by the hand, that if you live but twenty years more, whatſoever become of me, you ſhall ſee this whole Realm of mine opinion concerning this Sacrament of the Altar: namely, the whole eſtate of the ſame, though ſome ſort of men particularly ſhall not be fully perſwaded therein. And if it come not ſo to paſs, then account me the vaineſt man that ever you heard ſpeak with tongue: Beſides this, you ſay that my death would be ſorrowful and uncomfortable unto my Friends.

I grant (quoth he) that for a ſmall time it would ſo be. But if I ſhould ſo mollifie, qualifie, and temper my cauſe in ſuch ſort as to deſerve only to be kept in Priſon, that would not only be a much longer grief unto me, but alſo to my friends would breed no ſmall diſquietneſs both of body and mind. And therefore all things well and rightly pondered, my death in this cauſe ſhall be better unto me and all mine, than life in continual bondage and penuries. And Almighty God knoweth what he hath to do with his poor Servant, whoſe cauſe I know defend, and not mine own; from the which I aſſuredly do intend (God willing) never to ſtart, or otherwiſe to give place, ſo long as God will give me life.

This communication, or like in effect, my Lord of *Canterburies* Gentleman and *Frith* had, coming in a Wherry upon the *Thames* from the *Tower* to *Lambeth*.

Now when they were landed, after ſome repaſt by them taken at *Lambeth*, the Gentleman, the Porter, and *Frith*, went forward towards *Croydon* on foot. This Gentleman ſtill lamenting with himſelf the hard and cruel deſtiny towards the ſaid *Frith*; namely, if he once came amongſt the Biſhops; and now alſo perceiving the exceeding conſtancy of *Frith*, deviſed with himſelf ſome way or means to conveigh him clean out of their hands; and thereupon conſidering that there were no more perſons there to conveigh the Priſoner, but the Porter and himſelf, he took in hand to win the Porter to his purpoſe. Quoth the Gentleman unto *Perlebeane* the Porter (they twain privately walking by themſelves without the hearing of *Frith*) you have heard this man I am ſure, and noted his talk ſince he came from the *Tower*. Yea, that I have right-well marked him (quoth the Porter) and I never heard ſo conſtant a man, nor ſo eloquent a perſon. You have heard nothing, quoth the Gentleman, in reſpect both of his knowledge and eloquence: if he might liberally either in Univerſity or Pulpit declare his Learning, you would then much more marvel at his Knowledge. I take him to be ſuch a one of his Age in all kind of learning and knowledge of Tongues, as this Realm never yet in mine opinion brought forth; and yet thoſe ſingular Gifts in him are no more conſidered of our Biſhops, than if he were a very Dolt or an Idiot; yea, they abhor him as a Devil therefore, and covet utterly to extinguiſh him as a Member of the Devil, without any conſideration of Gods ſpecial Gifts. Marry (quoth the Porter) if there were nothing elſe in him but the conſideration of his perſonage both comly and amiable, and of natural diſpoſition, gentle, meek, and humble; it were pity he ſhould be caſt away. Caſt away (quoth the Gentleman?) He ſhall be ſure caſt away if we once bring him to *Croydon*, and ſurely (quoth the Gentleman) before God I ſpeak it, if thou *Perlebeane* wert of my mind, we would never bring him thither. Say you ſo, quoth the Porter? I know that you be of a great deal more credit than I am in this matter; and therefore if you can deviſe honeſtly or find ſome reaſonable excuſe, whereby we may let him go and provide for himſelf, I will with all my heart condeſcend to your deviſe. As for that (quoth the Gentleman) it is already invented how and which ways he ſhall conveigh himſelf without any great danger or diſpleaſure taken towards us, as the matter ſhall be handled. You ſee (quoth the Gentleman) yonder hill before us, named *Briſtow Cawſie*, two miles from *London*, there are great Woods on both ſides, when we come there we will permit *Frith* to go into the Woods on the left hand of the way, whereby he may conveigh himſelf into *Kent* among his Friends, for he is a Kentiſh man born, and when he is gone, we will linger an hour or twain about the Highway, until that it ſomewhat draw towards the night. Then in great haſte we will approach unto *Streatham*, which is a mile and a half off, and make an out-cry in the Town that our Priſoner is broken from us into the Woods on the right hand towards *Wayneſworth*, ſo that we will draw as many as we may of the Town to ſearch the Country that way for our Priſoner, declaring that we followed above a mile or more, and at length loſt him in the Woods, becauſe we had no more company, and ſo we will rather than fail lye out one night in ſearching for him, and ſend word from *Streatham* to my L. of *Canterbury* at *Croydon* in the Evening of the Priſoners eſcape, and to what Coaſt he is fled. So that by the Morning, if he have any good luck at all, he will ſo provide for himſelf, that the Biſhops ſhall fail of their purpoſe. I aſſure you (quoth *Perlebeane*) I like very well the deviſe herein; and therefore go ye to *Frith*, and declare what we have deviſed for his delivery: for now we are almoſt at the place.

When my Lord of *Canterburies* Gentleman came nigh to the Hill, he joyned himſelf in Company with the ſaid *Frith*, and calling him by his name, ſaid, Now Maſter *Frith*, let us twain commune together another whiles: you muſt conſider, that the Journey which I have now taken in hand thus in bringing you to *Croydon*, as a ſheep to the ſlaughter, ſo grieveth me, and as it were overwhelmeth me in cares and ſorrows, that I little paſs what danger I fall in, ſo that I could find the means to deliver you out of the Lyons mouth. And yet yonder good Fellow and I have ſo deviſed a means, whereby you may both eaſily eſcape from this great and imminent danger at hand, and we alſo be rid from any vehement ſuſpicion. And thereupon declared unto *Frith* the full proceſs diſcourſed before, how every thing in order ſhould be handled.

When *Frith* had diligently heard all the matter concerning his delivery, he ſaid to the Gentleman, Oh good Lord, with a ſmiling countenance, is this the effect of your ſecret conſultation, thus long between you twain? Surely, ſurely, you have loſt a great deal more labour in times paſt, and ſo are you like to do this; for if you ſhould both leave me here, and go to *Croydon*, declaring to the Biſhops, that you had loſt *Frith*, I would ſurely follow after as faſt as I might, and bring them news that I had found and brought *Frith* again. Do you think (quoth he) that I am affraid to declare my opinion unto the Biſhops of *England* in a manifeſt Truth?

You are a fond man (quoth the Gentleman) thus to talk; as though your reaſoning with them might do ſome good. But I do much marvel, that you were ſo willing to flie the Realm before you were taken, and now ſo unwilling to ſave your ſelf. Marry, there was and is a great diverſity of eſcaping between the one and the other, quoth *Frith*.

Before, I was indeed deſirous to eſcape, becauſe I was not attached, but at liberty, which liberty I would fain have enjoyed for the maintenance of my ſtudy beyond the Sea, where I was Reader in the Greek Tongue, according to S. *Paul*'s counſel. Howbeit, now being taken by the higher Power, and as it were by Almighty Gods permiſſion and providence delivered into the hands of the Biſhops, only for Religion and Doctrines ſake, namely, ſuch as in conſcience, and under pain of damnation, I am bound to maintain and defend, if I ſhould now ſtart aſide and run away, I ſhould run from my God, and from the teſtimony of his holy Word, worthy then of a thouſand Hells. And therefore I moſt heartily thank you both for your good wills towards me, beſeeching you to bring me where I was appointed to be brought; for elſe I will go thither all alone. And ſo with a chearful and merry countenance he went with them, ſpending the time in pleaſant and godly communication, until they came to *Croydon*, wherefore that night he was well entertained in the Porters Lodge. On the morrow he was called before certain Bps. and other learned men, ſitting in Commiſſion with the L. of *Canterbury*,

terbury, to be examined, where he ſhewed himſelf paſſing ready and ripe in anſwering to all Objections, as ſome then reported, incredibly and contrary to all mens expectations. And his Allegations, both out of S. *Auguſtine*, and other ancient Fathers of the Church, were ſuch, that ſome of them much doubted of S. *Auguſtine*'s Authority in that behalf. Inſomuch, that it was reported of ſuch as were nigh and about the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (who then was not fully reſolved of the ſincere truth of that Article) that when they had finiſhed their Examination of *Frith*, the Archbiſhop conferring with Doctor *Heath* privately between themſelves, ſaid, This man hath wonderfully travelled in this matter, and yet in mine Opinion he taketh the Doctors amiſs. Well, my Lord, ſhould Doctor *Heath* ſay, there was no man that could avoid his Authorities of S. *Auguſtine*. Wherein, ſaid my Lord? Then Doctor *Heath* began to repeat the ſaid Authorities of S. *Auguſtine* again, inferring and applying them ſo ſtraightly againſt my Lord of *Canterbury*, that my Lord was driven to this ſhot-anker, and ſaid, I ſee by it, quoth he to *Heath*, that you with a little more ſtudy will be eaſily brought to *Frith*'s opinion, or ſuch like words in effect: and ſome Chaplains there were of my Lord of *Canterburies*, which openly reported, that Doctor *Heath* was as able to defend *Frith*'s Aſſertions in the Sacrament, as *Frith* was himſelf.

This learned young man being thus throughly ſifted at *Croydon*, to underſtand what he could ſay or do in his Cauſe, there was no man willing to prefer him to anſwer in open Diſputation as poor *Lambert* was. But now without regard of Learning or good Knowledge, he was ſent and detained unto the Butchers ſtall; I mean Biſhop *Stokeley*'s Conſiſtory, there to hear not the opinion of S. *Auguſtine*, and other ancient Fathers of Chriſts Primitive Church of the ſaid Sacrament, but either to be inſtructed and to hear the maimed and half cut away Sacrament of Antichriſt, the Biſhop of *Rome*, with the groſs and fleſhly imagination thereof, or elſe to periſh in the fire, as he moſt conſtantly did, after he had before the Biſhop of *London*, *Wincheſter*, and *Chicheſter*, in the Conſiſtory in *Paul*'s Church, moſt plainly and ſincerely confeſſed his Doctrine and Faith in this weighty matter, *&c.*

A note of William Plane.

IN the later days of King *Henry* the Eighth, about that time *Anne Askew* was in trouble, one Doctor *Crome* was travelled withal to recant, for that he had preached ſomewhat againſt things maintained of the Papiſts in the Church. And one Mr. *Tracy* hearing thereof, brought a Letter ſecretly to one *Plane* dwelling in *Bouge-Row*, and deſired him to carry it to Dr. *Crome*; which Letter tended to the end to perſwade him not to recant, but to ſtand in the Truth. When this good man, *William Plane*, had it, as he was ever willing to further the Truth, ſo he gladly delivered the ſame to Doctor *Crome*. Which when he had received, and read it, he laid it down upon the Table, and after the ſaid *William Plane* was gone, an arch Papiſt came thither to perſwade him to recant, and in travelling with him he found the ſaid Letter on the Boord, which when he had read, he examined him from whence it came; ſo what through flattery and threatning, he declared who was the Meſſenger that brought it. Then was *William Plane* ſent for, caſt in the *Tower*, where he lay miſerably thirteen weeks, none admitted to come to him; in which time he was extreamly racked, within half a finger breadth as far as *Anne Askew*: but they could never get of him of whom he had the Letter, nor for all their extremity would he accuſe any man; ſo in the end he was delivered out of ahe *Tower*, and lived about three years after, and ſo godly ended his life. But unto this day would that *Tracy* never inquire in what condition his Wife and Children were left, although he was his Meſſenger in carrying the Letter: But (good Lord) the ſtrange Diſeaſe that grew upon him by that extream racking, as it is odious to rehearſe, ſo I will wiſh them to repent that were the Inſtruments of his Torments, if they be alive, and warn other Papiſts to the ſame, in whom any cruelty hath been in the like cauſe. Anno 1558.

A note of Lady Jane.

THE Lady *Jane*, ſhe whom the Lord *Guilford* married, being on a time, when ſhe was very young, at *Newhall* in *Eſſex* at the Lady *Maries*, was by one Lady *Anne Wharton* deſired to walk, and they paſſing by the Chappel, the Lady *Wharton* made low curteſie to the Popiſh Sacrament hanging on the Altar: which when the Lady *Jane* ſaw, ſhe marvelled why ſhe did ſo, and asked her whether the Lady *Mary* were there, or not. Unto whom the Lady *Wharton* anſwered, No: but ſhe ſaid that ſhe made her curteſie to him that made us all. Why (quoth the Lady *Jane*) how can he be there that made us all, and the Baker made him? This her Anſwer coming to the Lady *Maries* ear, ſhe did never love her after, as is credibly reported, but eſteemed her as the reſt of that Chriſtian Profeſſion.

The Copy of Queen Maries *Letter to the Duke of* Norfolk.

A Letter of Q. *Mary* to the Duke of Norfolk.

RIght truſty and right intirely beloved Coſin, we greet you well, and having by the aſſiſtance of God, and our loving Subjects, diſcomfited Wyat *and the other Rebels of our County of* Kent, *who having paſſed the River of* Kingſton, *came back again towards* London, *and were encountred above* Charing-Croſs, *and there were overthrown, and the moſt part of them were there ſlain*; Wyat, *and three of the* Cobhams, Bret, Knevet, Rudſtone, Iſeley, *and other the chief Captains taken Priſoners: We have thought good as well to give you knowledge hereof, to the end ye may with us, and the reſt of our loving Subjects, rejoyce, and give God thanks for this our Victory, as alſo further to ſignifie unto you, that where the ſaid Rebel did alway pretend the matter of our Marriage to be the cauſe of this unlawful ſtir, now plainly appeareth by good and ſubſtantial Examinations of divers of the ſaid Traitors, that whatſoever they pretended, the final meaning was to have deprived us from our eſtate and dignity Royal, and conſequently, to have deſtroyed our Perſon. Which thing, as we do aſcertain you of our Honour to be matter of truth, ſo we pray you to cauſe the ſame to be publiſhed in all places of thoſe our Counties of* Norfolk *and Suffolk, to the intent our good and loving Subjects thereof be no more abuſed with ſuch falſe pretenſes, or other untrue Rumours or Tales, by whomſoever the ſame ſhall be ſet forth. And now things being in this ſort quieted, we cannot but give you thanks for the readineſs that you have been in with the Force of our ſaid Country, to have ſerved us if need had been, praying you to do the like on our behalf to all the Gentlemen and others with you, with whom nevertheleſs we require you to take ſuch orders as the Force of our ſaid Country may be ſtill in like readineſs, to be imployed under good and ſubſtantial Captains, to be choſen of the Gentlemen inheritors within the ſaid Shire, for our further Service upon one hours warning, whenſoever we ſhall require the ſame. And in the mean time our pleaſure is, that ye have good regard to the quietneſs and good order of the Country, ſpecially to the apprehenſion of ſpreaders of falſe and untrue Tales and Rumours, whereby ye ſhall both deſerve well of your whole Country, and alſo do acceptable Service, which we will not fail to remember accordingly. Given under our Signet at our Palace of* Weſtminſter, *the Eighth of* February, *the firſt year of our Reign.*

In haſte.

Anno 1558.

A Treatiſe of Mr. Nicholas Ridley, *in the name, as it ſeemeth, of the whole Clergy, to King* Edward *the Sixth, concerning Images not to be ſet up, nor worſhipped in Churches.*

¶ *Certain Reaſons which move us that we cannot with ſafe Conſciences give our aſſent, that the Images of Chriſt,* &c. *ſhould be placed and erected in Churches.*

Firſt, the words of the Commandment, *Exod.* 20. *Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf any graven Image, &c.* And the ſame is repeated more plainly, *Deut.* 27. *Maledictus homo qui facit ſculptile & conflatile, &c. ponitque illud in abſcondito, &c.* That is, *Curſed is the man which maketh a graven or molten Image, &c. and ſetteth it in a ſecret place; and all the People ſhall ſay, Amen.*

In the firſt place, theſe words are to be noted, *Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf*, that is, to any uſe of Religion.

In the latter place, theſe words, *And ſetteth it in a ſecret place*; for no man durſt then commit Idolatry openly. So that conferring the places, it doth evidently appear, That Images both for uſe of Religion, and in place of peril for Idolatry, are forbidden.

God, knowing the inclination of man to Idolatry, ſheweth the reaſon why he made this general prohibition, *Ne forte errore deceptus adores ea & colas:* That is to ſay, Leſt peradventure thou being deceived, ſhouldſt bow down to them and worſhip them.

This general Law is generally to be obſerved, notwithſtanding that peradventure a great number cannot be hurt by them, which may appear by the example following.

God forbade the People to joyn their Children in marriage with ſtrangers, adding the reaſon; *Quia ſeducet filium tuum, ne ſequatur me:* That is, *For ſhe will ſeduce thy ſon, that he ſhall not follow me*, Deut. 7.

Moſes was not deceived or ſeduced by *Jethroes* daughter, nor *Boaz* by *Ruth*, being a woman of *Moab*. And yet for all that, the general Law was to be obſerved, *Thou ſhalt joyn no marriage with them.* And ſo likewiſe, *Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf any graven Image, &c.*

Deut. 4. God giveth a ſpecial charge to avoid Images. *Beware* (ſaith he) *that thou forget not the Covenant of the Lord thy God which he made with thee, and ſo make to thy ſelf any graven Image of any thing which the Lord hath forbidden thee, for the Lord thy God is a conſuming Fire, and a jealous God.*

If thou have Children and Nephews, and do well in the Land, and being deceived, do make to your ſelves any graven Image, doing evil before the Lord your God, and provoke him to anger, I do this day call Heaven and Earth to witneſs, that you ſhall quickly periſh out of the Land, which ye ſhall poſſeſs, ye ſhall not dwell in it any longer time, but the Lord will deſtroy you, and ſcatter you amongſt all Nations.

Note what ſolemn obteſtation God uſeth, and what grievous puniſhments he threatneth to the breakers of the ſecond Commandment.

In the Tabernacle and Temple of God no Image was by God appointed openly to be ſet, nor by practice afterwards uſed or permitted, ſo long as Religion was purely obſerved; ſo that the uſe and execution of the Law is a good Interpreter of the true meaning of the ſame.

If by virtue of the ſecond Commandment Images were not lawful in the Temple of the Jews, then by the ſame Commandment they are not lawful in the Churches of Chriſtians. For being a moral Commandment, and not ceremonial (for by conſent of Writers, only a part of the Precept of obſerving the Sabbath is ceremonial) it is a perpetual Commandment, and bindeth us as well as the Jews.

The Jews by no means would conſent to *Herod*, *Pilate*, or *Petronius*, that Images ſhould be placed in the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, but rather offered themſelves to the death, than to aſſent unto it. Who, beſides that they are commended by *Joſephus* for obſerving the meaning of the Law, would not have indangered themſelves ſo far, if they had thought Images had been indifferent in the Temple of God. For as S. *Paul* ſaith, 2 *Cor.* 6. *Quid Templo Dei cum Simulachris, &c. Joſeph. Antiq. lib.* 17. *cap.* 8. *li.* 18. *cap.* 5. *&* 15.

Gods Scripture doth in no place commend the uſe of Images, but in a great number of places doth diſallow and condemn them.

They are called in the Book of *Wiſdom*, *The Trap and Snare of the feet of the Ignorant.*

It is ſaid that the Invention of them was the beginning of Spiritual Fornication: And that they were not from the beginning, neither ſhall they continue to the end.

In the 15*th* Chapter of the ſame Book it is ſaid, *Umbra pictura, labor ſine fructu*, &c. And again, *They are worthy of death both that put their truſt in them, and that make them, and that love them, and that worſhip them.*

The *Pſalms* and *Prophets* are full of like Sentences, and how can we then praiſe the thing which Gods Spirit doth always diſpraiſe?

Furthermore, an Image made by a Father (as appeareth in the ſame Book) for the memorial of his Son departed, was the firſt invention of Images, and occaſion of Idolatry, *Wiſdom* 14.

How much more then ſhall an Image made in the memory of Chriſt, and ſet up in the place of Religion, occaſion the ſame offence? *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 7. *c.* 18. Images have their beginning from the Heathen, and of no good ground; therefore they cannot be profitable to Chriſtians. Whereunto *Athanaſius* agreeth, writing of Images againſt the Gentiles: *Athanaſius cont. Gentes*, Ἡ τῶν εἰδώλων ἔυρεσις οὐκ ἀπὸ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κακίας γέγονε, καὶ ὃ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχον κακὴν, ἐκ κακοῦ πᾶσι κάλον κρινεῖν, ὅλον ὂν φαῦλον. That is to ſay, *The invention of Images came of no good, but of evil, and whatſoever hath an evil beginning, can never in any thing be judged good, ſeeing it is wholly naught.*

S. *John* ſaith, *My little Children, beware of Images:* but to ſet them in the Churches, which are places dedicated to the Service and Invocation of God, and that over the Lords Table, being the higheſt and moſt honourable place where moſt danger of abuſe both is, and ever hath been, is not to beware of them, nor to flee from them, but rather to imbrace and receive them. *Tertullian* expounding the ſame words, writeth thus, *Lib. de corona militis. Filioli, cuſtodite vos ab Idolis; non jam ab idolatria quaſi ab officio, ſed ab Idolis; i. ab ipſa effigie eorum.* That is to ſay, Little Children, keep your ſelves from the ſhape it ſelf, or form of them.

Images in the Church either ſerve to edifie or to deſtroy. If they edifie, then there is one kind of edification which the Scriptures neither teach nor command, but always diſallow; if they deſtroy, they are not to be uſed; for in the Church of God all things ought to be done to edifie, 1 *Cor.* 14.

The Commandment of God is, *Thou ſhalt not lay a ſtumbling block or a ſtone before the blind: and curſed is he that maketh the blind wander in his way.*

The ſimple and unlearned People, who have been ſo long under blind Guides, are blind in matters of Religion, and inclined to Error and Idolatry. Therefore to ſet Images before them to ſtumble at (*Nam laquei pedibus inſipientium ſunt*; that is, They be Snares and Traps for the feet of the Ignorant) or to lead them out of the true way, is not only againſt the Commandment of God, but deſerveth alſo the malediction and curſe of God, *Wiſd.* 14.

The uſe of Images is to the learned and confirmed in knowledge, neither neceſſary nor profitable. To the ſuperſtitious a confirmation in Error; To the ſimple and weak an occaſion of fall, and very offenſive and wounding of their Conſciences; and therefore very dangerous. For S. *Paul* ſaith, 1 *Cor.* 9. offending the Brethren, and wounding their weak Conſciences, they ſin againſt Chriſt. And *Matth.* 18. *Wo be to him by whom offence or occaſion of falling cometh, it were better that a milſtone were tied about his neck, and he caſt into the Sea, than to offend one of the little ones that believe in Chriſt.* And where objection may be made, that ſuch offence may be taken away by ſincere Doctrine and Preaching; it is to be anſwered, that that is not ſufficient, as hereafter more at large ſhall appear.

And though it ſhould be admitted as true, yet ſhould it follow, that ſincere Doctrine and Preaching ſhould always and in all places continue as well as Images; and ſo

whereſoever an Image to offend were erected, there ſhould alſo of reaſon a godly and ſincere Preacher be continually maintained: for it is reaſon that the remedy be as large as the offence, the medicine as general as the poyſon, but that is not poſſible in the Realm of *England* that Images ſhould be generally allowed, as reaſon and experience may teach.

As good Magiſtrates, which intend to baniſh all whoredom, do drive away all naughty perſons, ſpecially out of ſuch places as be ſuſpected; even ſo Images, being *Meretrices, i.* Whores, for that the worſhipping of them is called in the Prophets *Fornication and Adultery*, ought to be baniſhed, and eſpecially out of Churches, which is the moſt ſuſpected place, and where the ſpiritual Fornication hath been moſt committed.

It is not expedient to allow and admit the thing which is hurtful to the greateſt number, but in all Churches and Commonwealths the ignorant and weak are the greateſt number, to whom Images are hurtful, and not profitable.

And where it is commonly alledged, That Images in Churches do ſtir up the mind to devotion, it may be anſwered, that contrariwiſe they do rather diſtract the mind from Prayer, hearing of Gods Word, and other godly Meditations, as we read, that in the Councel-Chamber of the *Lacedemonians* no Picture or Image was ſuffered, leſt in conſultation of weighty matters of the Commonweal, their minds by the ſight of the outward Image might be occaſioned to be withdrawn, or to wander from the matter.

The experience of this preſent time doth declare that thoſe parts of the Realm, which think and are perſwaded that God is not offended by doing outward reverence to an Image, do moſt deſire the reſtitution of Images, and have been moſt diligent to ſet them up again: Reſtitution therefore of them by common Authority ſhall confirm them more in their Error to the danger of their Souls, than ever they were before. For as one man writeth;

Nihil magis eſt certum, quàm quod ex dubio factum eſt certum. That is to ſay, Nothing is more certain or ſure, than that which of doubtful is made certain.

The profit of Images is uncertain, the peril, by experience of all Ages and ſtates of the Church (as afore) is moſt certain.

The benefit to be taken of them (if there be any) is very ſmall; the danger in ſeeing of them, which is the danger of Idolatry, is the greateſt of all other. Now to allow a moſt certain peril for an uncertain profit, and the greateſt danger for the ſmalleſt benefit, in matters of Faith and Religion, is a tempting to God, and a grievous offence.

Probations out of the Fathers, Councels, and Hiſtories.

FIrſt, It is manifeſt, that in the Primitive Church Images were not commonly uſed in Churches, Oratories, and places of Aſſembly for Religion; but they were generally deteſted and abhorred, inſomuch that the want of Imagery was objected to the Chriſtians for a Crime.

Origen reporteth, that *Celſus* objected the lack of Images, *lib. 4. contra Celſum.*

Arnobius ſaith alſo, That the *Ethnicks* accuſed the Chriſtians that they had neither Altars nor Images.

Zephirus in his Commentary upon the Apology of *Tertullian*, gathereth thus of *Tertullians* words; *Qui locus perſuadendi frigeret penitus, niſi perpetuo illud teneamus: Chriſtianos tunc temporis odiſſe maximè ſtatuas cum ſuis ornamentis, &c.* That is to ſay, Which place of perſwaſion were very cold, and to no purpoſe at all, except we hold this always, That Chriſtians in thoſe days did hate moſt of all Images with their trim decking and ornaments.

Ireneus lib. 1. cap. 4. reproveth the Hereticks called *Gnoſtici*, for that they carried about the Image of Chriſt made in *Pilates* time after his own proportion (which were much more to be eſteemed then any that can be made now) uſing alſo for declaration of their affection towards it, to ſet Garlands upon the Head of it.

Lactantius affirmeth plainly: *Non eſt dubium, quin religio nulla ſit, ubicunque ſimulachrum eſt: lib. Divin. inſtit. 2. cap.* 19. That is to ſay, It is not to be doubted, that there is no Religion whereſoever is any Image. If Chriſtians then had uſed Images, he would not have made his Propoſition ſo large. Anno 1558.

S. *Auguſtine De Civitate Dei, lib. 4. cap.* 31. commendeth *Varro* the Roman in theſe words: *Quum Varro exiſtimaverit caſtius ſine ſimulachris obſervari religionem, quis non videt, quantum appropinquaverit veritati?* That is to ſay, When as *Varro* thought Religion might be kept more purely without Images, who doth not ſee how near he came to the Truth? So that not only by *M. Varroes* judgment, but alſo by S. *Auguſtines* approbation, the moſt pure and chaſt obſervation of Religion, and neareſt the Truth, is to be without Images.

The ſame S. *Auguſtine* in *Pſal.* 113. hath theſe words: *Plus valent ſimulachra ad curvandam infœlicem animam, quàm ad docendam:* That is to ſay, Images have more force to bough down and crook the ſilly ſoul, than to teach it.

And upon the ſame *Pſalm* he moveth this queſtion; *Quivis puer, imo quævis beſtia ſcit non eſſe Deum quod vident, cur ergo Spiritus Sanctus toties monet cavendum quod omnes ſciunt?* That is to ſay, Every Child, yea every Beaſt knoweth that it is not God which they ſee, why then doth the Holy Ghoſt ſo oft give warning to beware of that thing which all do know.

S. Auguſtines *Anſwer.*

Quoniam cum ponuntur in Templis, & ſemel incipiunt adorari à multitudine, ſtatim naſcitur ſordidiſſimus affectus erroris. That is to ſay, For when they are ſet in Churches, and begin once to be worſhipped of the Multitude or Common People, ſtreightway ſpringeth up a moſt filthy affection of Error.

This place of S. *Auguſtine* doth well open how weak a reaſon it is to ſay, Images are a thing indifferent in Chambers and in Churches. For the alteration of the place, manner, and other circumſtances, doth alter oftentimes the nature of the thing. It is lawful to buy and ſell in the Market, but not ſo in Churches. It is lawful to eat and drink, but not ſo in Churches. And therefore ſaith S. *Paul, Annon habetis domos ad edendum ac bibendum? An Eccleſiam Dei contemnitis?* That is to ſay, Have you not Houſes to eat and drink in? Do you contemn the Church of God?

Many other actions there be which are lawful and honeſt in private places, which are neither comly nor honeſt, not only in Churches, but alſo in other Aſſemblies of honeſt People.

Tertullian ſaith, he uſed ſometimes to burn Frankincenſe in his Chamber, which was then uſed of Idolaters, and is yet in the Romiſh Churches, but he joyneth withal; *Sed non eodem ritu, nec eodem habitu, nec eodem apparatu, quo agitur apud Idola:* That is to ſay, But not after ſuch a Rite or Ceremony, nor after ſuch a faſhion, nor with ſuch preparation or ſumptuouſneſs, as it is done before the Idols.

So that Images placed in Churches, and ſet *in honorabili ſublimitate*, that is to ſay, in an honourable place of eſtimation, as S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, and eſpecially over the Lords Table, which is done (uſing the words of *Tertullian*) *eodem ritu, & eodem habitu*, that is, after the ſame manner and faſhion which the Papiſts did uſe, eſpecially after ſo long continuance of abuſe of Images, and ſo many being blinded with ſuperſtitious opinion towards them, cannot be counted a thing indifferent, but a moſt certain ruin of many Souls.

Epiphanius in his Epiſtle to *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* (which Epiſtle was tranſlated out of the Greek by S. *Jerom*, being a likelyhood that *Jerom* miſliked not the Doctrine of the ſame) doth write a fact of his own, which doth moſt clearly declare the judgment of that notable learned Biſhop concerning the uſe of Images, his words are theſe: *Quum veniſſem ad villam quæ dicitur Anablatha, vidiſſemque ibi præteriens lucernam ardentem, & interrogaſſem quis locus eſſet, didiciſſemque eſſe Eccleſiam, & intraſſem ut orarem: inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejuſdem Eccleſiæ tinctum atque depictum,*

Anno 1558. *depictum, & habens imaginem quaſi Chriſti vel ſancti cujuſdam, non enim ſatis memini [illegible] fuit. Cum ergo hoc vidiſſem in Eccleſia Chriſti contra authoritatem Scripturarum, hominis pendere imaginem, ſcidi illud, &c. Et paulo poſt. Et præcepi in Eccleſia Chriſti iſtiuſmodi vela quæ contra religionem noſtram veniunt non appendi, &c.* That is to ſay, When I came to a Village called *Anablatha*, and ſaw there, as I paſſed by, a Candle burning, and enquiring what place it was, and learning that it was a Church, and had entered into the ſame to pray, I found there a Vale or Cloth hanging at the door of the ſame Church, dyed and painted, having on it the Image of Chriſt as it were, or of ſome Saint (for I remember not well whoſe it was.) Then when I ſaw this, that in the Church of Chriſt, againſt the Authority of the Scriptures, the Image of a man did hang, I cut it in pieces, *&c.* And commanded that ſuch manner of Vails or Clothes, which are contrary to our Religion, be not hanged in the Church of Chriſt.

Out of this place of *Epiphanius* divers notes are to be obſerved.

Firſt, That by the Judgment of this ancient Father, to permit Images in Churches is againſt the Authority of the Scriptures, meaning againſt the ſecond Commandment, *Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf any graven Image*, &c.

Secondly, That *Epiphanius* doth reject not only graven and molten, but alſo painted Images: forſomuch as he cut in pieces the Image painted in a Vail hanging at the Church door; what would he have done, if he had found it over the Lords Table?

Thirdly, That he ſpareth not the Image of Chriſt: for no doubt that Image is moſt perillous in the Church of all other.

Fourthly, That he did not only remove it, but with a vehemency of zeal cut it in pieces, following the example of the good King *Ezechias*, who brake the braſen Serpent, and burnt it to aſhes.

Laſt of all, That *Epiphanius* thinketh it the duty of vigilant Biſhops to be careful, that no ſuch kind of painted Images be permitted in the Church.

Serenus Biſhop of *Maſſilia* broke down Images, and deſtroyed them when he did ſee them begin to be worſhipped, *Greg. in regiſt. epiſt.* 109.

Experience of the times ſince hath declared, whether of theſe two Sentences were better. For ſince *Gregorius* his time, the Images ſtanding in the Weſt-Church, it hath been overflowed with Idolatry, notwithſtanding his or other mens doctrine: Whereas if *Serenus*'s judgment had univerſally taken place, no ſuch thing had happened. For if no Images had been ſuffered, none could have been worſhipped: and conſequently, no Idolatry committed by them.

¶ *To recite the Proceſs of Hiſtories and Councels about the matter of Images, it would require a long Diſcourſe, but it ſhall be ſufficient here briefly to touch a few.*

IT is manifeſt to them that read Hiſtories, that not only Emperors, but alſo divers and ſundry Councels in the Eaſt-Church have condemned and aboliſhed Images both by Decrees and Examples.

Petrus Crinitus de honeſta diſciplina, l. 9. c. 9. ex libris Auguſtatibus hæc verba tranſcripſit. Valens & Theodoſius Auguſti Imperatores præfecto prætorio ad hunc modum ſcripſerint. Quum ſit nobis cura diligens in rebus omnibus ſuperni numinis religionem tueri: Signum Salvatoris Chriſti nemini quidem concedimus coloribus, lapide aliave materia fingere, inſculpere, aut pingere, ſed quocunque reperitur loco tolli jubemus, graviſſima pœna eos mulctando qui contrarium decretis noſtris, & imperio quicquam tentaverint. That is to ſay, *Petrus Crinitus* in his Book of honeſt Diſcipline, Book 9. Chap. 9. wrote out of the Emperors Books theſe words: Valens *and* Theodoſius *the Emperors wrote to the High Marſhal or Lieutenant in this ſort. Whereas we are very careful that the Religion of Almighty God ſhould be in all things kept, We permit no man to caſt, grave, or paint the Image of our Saviour Chriſt, either in colours, ſtone, or other matter; but whereſoever it be found, we command it to be taken away, puniſhing them moſt grievouſly that ſhall attempt any thing contrary to our Decrees and Empire.*

Leo the Third, a man commended in Hiſtories for his excellent vertues and godlineſs, who (as is judged of ſome men) was the Author of the Book *De re militari*, that is, Of the Feat of War, being tranſlated out of the Greek by Sir *John Cheeke*, and dedicated to K. *Henry* the Eighth, your Highneſſes Father, by Publick Authority commanded aboliſhing of Images; and in *Conſtantinople* cauſed all the Images to be gathered together on a heap, and burned them unto aſhes.

Conſtantine the Firſt his Son, aſſembled a Councel of the Biſhops of the Eaſt-Church; in which Councel it was decreed as followeth. *It is not lawful for them that believe in God thorow Jeſus Chriſt, to have any Images, either of the Creator, or of any Creatures ſet up in Temples to be worſhipped, but rather that all Images by the Law of God, and for the avoiding of offence, ought to be taken out of Churches.* Which Decree was executed in all places where any Images were, either in *Greece* or in *Aſia*. But in all theſe times, the Biſhops of *Rome* rather maintaining the Authority of *Gregory*, weighing like Chriſtian Biſhops the peril of the Church, always in their Aſſemblies allowed Images.

Not long after, the Biſhop of *Rome*, practiſing with *Tharaſius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, obtained of *Irene* the Empreſs, her Son *Conſtantine* being then young, that a Councel was called at *Nice*, in the which the Popes Legates were Preſidents, which appeared well by their fruits: for in that Councel it was decreed, That Images ſhould not only be permitted in Churches, but alſo worſhipped: which Councel was confuted by a Book written by *Carolus Magnus* the Emperour, calling it a fooliſh and an arrogant Councel.

Soon after this Councel, aroſe a ſharp contention between *Irene* the Empreſs, and her Son *Conſtantine* the Sixth, the Emperour, who deſtroyed Images. And in the end, as ſhe had before wickedly burned the bones of her Father in Law, *Conſtantine* the Fifth, ſo afterward unnaturally ſhe put out the eyes of her Son *Conſtantine* the Sixth.

About which time, as *Eutropius* writeth, the Sun was darkened moſt terribly for the ſpace of ſeventeen days, God ſhewing, by that dreadful ſign, how much he miſliked thoſe kinds of proceedings.

To be ſhort, there was never thing that made more diviſion, or brought more miſchief into the Church, than the Controverſie of Images: by reaſon whereof, not only the Eaſt-Church was divided from the Weſt, and never ſince perfectly reconciled, but alſo the Empire was cut aſunder and divided, and the Gate opened to the Saracens and Turks to enter and overcome a great piece of Chriſtendom. The fault whereof moſt juſtly is to be aſcribed to the Patrons of Images, who could not be contented with the example of the Primitive Church, being moſt ſimple and ſincere, and moſt agreeable to the Scripture: (For as *Tertullian* ſaith, *Quod primum verum, quod poſterius adulterinum*; That is to ſay, What as is firſt, that is true, and that that is later is counterfeit.) But with all extremity maintained the uſe of Images in Churches, whereof no profit nor commodity did ever grow to the Church of God. For it is evident, that infinite millions of Souls have been caſt into eternal damnation by the occaſion of Images uſed in place of Religion, and no Hiſtory can record, that ever any one ſoul was won unto Chriſt by having of Images. But leſt it might appear that the Weſt-Church had always generally retained and commended Images, it is to be noted, that in a Councel holden in *Spain*, called *Concilium Eliberinum*, the uſe of Images in Churches was clearly prohibited in theſe form of words; *Placuit in Eccleſiis picturas eſſe non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur in parietibus depingatur.* That is to ſay, We decree, that Pictures ought not to be in Churches, leſt that be painted upon the walls which is worſhipped or adored.

But this notwithſtanding experience hath declared, that neither aſſembling in Councels, neither Writings, Preachings, Decrees, making of Laws, preſcribing of Puniſhments, hath holpen againſt Images, to the which Idolatry hath been committed, nor againſt Idolatry whilſt Images

Images ſtood. For theſe blind Books and dumb Schoolmaſters (which they call Lay-mens books) have more prevailed by their craved and painted preaching of Idolatry, than all other written Books and preachings in teaching the truth, and the horror of that vice.

Having thus declared unto your Highneſs a few cauſes of many which do move our Conſciences in this matter; we beſeech your Highneſs moſt humbly not to ſtrain us any further, but to conſider that Gods Word doth threaten a terrible judgment unto us, if we, being Paſtors and Miniſters in his Church, ſhould aſſent unto the thing which in our Learning and Conſcience we are perſwaded doth tend to the confirmation of Errour, Superſtition and Idolatry: and finally, to the ruine of the Souls committed to our charge, for the which we muſt give an account to the Prince of Paſtors at the laſt day, *Hebrews* 12. 1. *Pet.* 5. We pray your Majeſty alſo not to be offended with this our plainneſs and liberty, which all good and Chriſtian Princes have ever taken in good part at the hands of Godly Biſhops.

Saint *Ambroſe* writing to *Theodoſius* the Emperor, uſeth theſe words; *Sed neque Imperiale eſt libertatem dicendi negare, neque Sacerdotale quod ſentiat non dicere. Item, in cauſa verò Dei quem audies, ſi Sacerdotem non audies, cujus majore peccatur periculo? quis tibi verum audebit dicere, ſi Sacerdos non audeat? Epiſt. lib.* 5. *Epiſt.* 29. that is to ſay: But neither it it the part of an Emperor to deny free liberty of ſpeaking, nor yet the duty of a Prieſt not to ſpeak what he thinketh. And again; In Gods cauſe whom wilt thou hear, if thou wilt not hear the Prieſt, to whoſe great peril the fault ſhould be committed? Who dare ſay the truth unto thee, if the Prieſt dare not? Theſe and ſuch like Speeches of S. *Ambroſe*, *Theodoſius*, and *Valentinianus* the Emperors did always take in good part, and we doubt not but your Grace will do the like, of whoſe not only clemency, but alſo beneficence, we have largely taſted.

We beſeech your Majeſty alſo, in theſe and ſuch like controverſies of Religion, to refer the diſcuſſment and deciding of them to a *Synod* of our Biſhops and other Godly learned Men, according to the example of *Conſtantinus Maximus*, and other Chriſtian Emperors, that the reaſons of both parts being examined by them, the judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtful matters.

And to return to this preſent matter, we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to conſider, that beſides weighty cauſes in policy, which we leave to the Wiſdom of your Honourable Counſellors, the ſtabliſhment of Images by your Authority ſhall not only utterly diſcredit our Miniſters, as builders up of the things which we have deſtroyed, but alſo blemiſh the fame of your moſt Godly Father, and ſuch notable Fathers as have given their Life for the Teſtimony of Gods Truth, who by publick Law removed all Images.

The Almighty and Everlaſting God plentifully indue your Majeſty with his Spirit and Heavenly Wiſdom, and long preſerve your moſt Gracious Reign and proſperous Government over us, to the advancement of his Glory, to the overthrow of Superſtition, and to the benefit and comfort of all your Highneſs loving Subjects.

A Note of Mr. Ridley.

MAſter D. *Ridley* ſometime Biſhop of *London* of whom mention is made, was a Man ſo reverenced for his Learning and Knowledge in the Scripture, that even his very enemies have reported him to have been an excellent Clerk, whoſe life if it might have been redeemed with the ſum of 10000. marks, yea, 10000. pounds, the Lord *Dacres* of the *North*, being his Kinſman, would have given it to Q. *Mary*, rather than he ſhould have been burned. And yet was ſhe ſo unmerciful, for all his gentleneſs in K. *Edw.* days, that it would not be granted for any ſute that could be made. Oh, that ſhe had remembred his labour for her to K. *Edw.* the 6. with *Cranmer* before mentioned, in ſuch ſort that even ſhe had yielded but the reward of a Publican, *Mat.* 5. then had the Earth not ſo been bereft of him as it was; but the Lord forgive us our ſins which were the cauſe thereof, and grant that we never ſo provoke his anger again, if it be his bleſſed will, Amen.

Another Note of Mr. Ridley

Anno 1558.

MAſter *Ridley* late Biſhop of *London*, being Priſoner in the Tower, had there given him the liberty of the ſame, to prove belike whether he would go to Maſs or no, which once he did. And M. *Bradford* being there Priſoner alſo the ſame time, and hearing thereof, taketh his pen and ink, and writeth to him an effectual Letter to perſwade him from the ſame, and ſheweth the occaſion that thereby ſhould enſue, which (God be honored) did M. *Ridley* no little good: for he repented his fact therein, as he himſelf maketh mention, writing again in the latter end of the Book of *Marcus Antonius*, which he ſent to M. *Bradford*, and never after that polluted himſelf with that filthy dregs of Antichriſtian ſervice.

A Commiſſion ſent from the Pope, with the Sentence definitive to proceed againſt the Reverend Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer.

PAulus Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei chariſſimo in Chriſto filio Philippo Regi, & chariſſimæ in Chriſto filiæ Mariæ Reginæ Angliæ, Franciæ; illuſtribus ac venerabilibus fratribus Londinenſi & Elienſi Epiſcopis ſalutem, & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Dudum per literas veſtras, chariſſime fili Philippe Rex, & Chriſtiana filia Maria Regina nobis ſignificatur, quod iniquitatis filius Thomas Cranmerus, olim Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſ. in hæreſes aliaq; tam grandia & enormia crimina erat prolapſus, quod non ſolam regimine Eccleſiæ Cantuarienſis ſe reddiderat indignum, verum etiam majori pœnæ ſe fecerat obnoxium. Nos de præmiſſis certam notitiam non habentes, & tanta crimina ſi vera eſſent, impunita, Eccleſiamq; ipſam ſine paſtore idoneo derelinquere nolentes, dilecto filio noſtro Jacobo, tituli Sanctæ Mariæ in via, tunc ſancti Simeonis, Presbytero Cardinali, de Puteo nuncupato, vel de præmiſſis etiam ſummariè, ſimpliciter, & de plano ſine ſtrepitu & figura judicii, ac ſine ulla terminorum ſubſtantialium vel telæ judiciariæ obſervatione, citato dicto Thoma ſe informaret, & quicquid invenifſet nobis referret, per ſpecialem commiſſionem manu noſtra ſignatam, dedimus in mandatis, ſibi attribuentes poteſtatem in curia, & extra, citandi, & inhibendi, ac literas compulſoriales, generales & ſpeciales ac remiſſorales, in forma conſueta ad partes decernendi, & perſonas quaſcunque, ſi opus eſſe arbitraretur, ad exhibendum jura, ſive ad perhibendum teſtimonium, etiam per cenſuras Eccleſiaſticas cogendi, & compellendi, ſeu, ſi pro celeriori expeditione ſibi videretur, ad recipiendum informationem hujuſmodi, aliquem probum virum in dignitate Eccleſiaſtica conſtitutum in partibus iſtis commorantem cum ſimili citandi, inhibendi & cogendi facultate, deputandi, ac ſubdelegandi: ac ſicut exhibita nobis nuper pro parte veſtra, fili Rex, & filia Regina, petitio continebat, dictus Jacobus Cardinalis, commiſſionis hujuſmodi vigore, citatione ad partes contra eundem Thomam ad veſtram, fili Rex & filia Regina, inſtantiam decreta, venerabilem fratrem noſtrum Epiſcopum Glouceſtrenſem, una cum certis aliis ejus in ea parte collegis, & eorum quemlibet in ſolidum ad informationem ſuper præmiſſis recipiendum ſubdelegavit, eiſq; vices ſuas in præmiſſis commiſit. Et poſtquam dictus Epiſcopus Glouceſtrenſis in cauſa hujuſmodi ad certos actus proceſſerat, & ipſum Thomam ſuper præmiſſis examinaverat, citatione prædicta, una cum ejus legitima executione in partibus facta, coram eodem Jacobo Cardinali judicialiter producta, & proceſſu per audientiam literarum noſtrarum contradictarum contra eundem Thomam citatum & non comparentem decreto, cum proceſſu coram dicto Epiſc. Glouceſtrenſi contra ipſum Thomam in partibus habito coram præfato Jacobo Cardinali productus fuiſſet, & idem Thomas, ad id citatus, contra eum nihil diceret, imo comparere non curaret, præfato Thoma ad videndum per ipſum Jacobum Cardinalem referri cauſam & referri juramentum in ſupplementum plenæ probationis quantum opus eſſet, & ad concludendum & audiendum Sententiam definitivam, ad certam tunc expreſſam diem & horam per audientiam literarum contradictarum hujuſmodi citato, omnibus actis & actitatis cauſis hujuſmodi diligenter viſis & conſideratis, cauſam ipſam

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ipſam ac omnia in præmiſſis actitata nobis in conſiſtorio noſtro ſecreto fideliter retulit: Qua relatione nobis ut præfertur facta, & cauſa ipſa cum venerabilibus fratribus noſtris ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalibus, tunc in eodem conſiſtorio exiſtentibus, plenè diſcuſſa, & mature examinata, cum dilecti filii Petrus Rovilius Clericus Ippotegienſis, ac Antonius Maſſa de Galleſio in dicta curia cauſarum, & veſtrum fili Rex & filia Regina procuratores, de quorum procurationis mandato in actis cauſæ hujuſmodi legitimis conſtare, dignoſcitur documentis, & Alexander Paleotarius, Fiſci noſtri procurator pro ejus jure & intereſſe, & ipſius Thomæ citati & non comparentis contumaciam in cauſa hujuſmodi concludi & definitivè pronunciari petiiſſent, nos pro tribunali, in Throno juſtitiæ, more Romanorum Pontificum prædeceſſorum noſtrorum ſedentes, in cauſa hujuſmodi concluſimus, & noſtram deſuper in ſcriptis, quam per ſecretarium noſtrum legi & publicari mandavimus & quam ipſe de verbo ad verbum legit & publicavit, definitivam tulimus & promulgavimus Sententiam, ſub hujuſmodi tenore.

Nos Paulus, divina providentia Papa quartus, ſalvatoris & Domini noſtri Jeſus Chriſti, cujus vices (licet immerito) in terris gerimus, nomine invocato, in throno juſtitiæ pro tribunali ſedentes, & ſolum Deum, qui juſtus eſt Dominus, & in juſtitia judicat orbem terræ, pro oculis habentes, per hanc noſtram definitivam, quam de venerabilium fratrum noſtrorum ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalium conſilio ferimus in hic ſcriptis, in cauſa & cauſis quæ coram dilecto filio noſtro Jacobo tituli ſanctæ Mariæ in via, preſbytero Cardinali, de Puteo nuncupato, nobis in conſiſtorio noſtro ſecreto (ut moris eſt) referenda inter chariſſimos in Chriſto filios noſtros Philippum Regem & Mariam Reginam Angliæ illuſtres denunciatores ex una, & quendam Thomam Cranmerum olim Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem reum & denunciatum de & ſuper crimine hæreſis & aliis exceſſibus cenſuriſque & pœnis propter crimen & exceſſus hujuſmodi per dictum Thomam reum denunciatum ac confeſſum & convictum incurſis, rebuſq; aliis in actis cauſæ & cauſarum hujuſmodi latius deductis ex altera parte in prima inſtantia vigore ſpecialis commiſſionis noſtræ verſæ fuerunt & vertuntur, pronunciamus, ſententiamus, decernimus, & declaramus dictum Thomam tunc Cantuarienſem Archiepiſcopum, animæ ſuæ ſalutis immemorem, contra regulas & dogmata Eccleſiaſtica ſanctorum patrum nec non Apoſtolicas Romanæ Eccleſiæ & ſacrorum conciliorum traditiones Chriſtianæq; religionis hactenus in Eccleſia conſuetos ritus, præſertim de corporis & ſanguinis Domini Noſtri Jeſu Chriſti & ſacri ordinis ſacramentis aliter quam ſancta mater Eccleſia prædicat & obſervat ſentiendo & docendo, & ſanctæ ſedis Apoſtolicæ & ſummi Pontificis primatum & authoritatem negando, necnon contra proceſſus qui ſingulis annis per prædeceſſores noſtros in die cœnæ domini more ſolito celebrati fuerunt, prout & nos dante Domino in futurum celebrare intendimus, in quibus proceſſibus per Romanos Pontifices prædeceſſores præfatos ad retinendam puritatem religionis chriſtianæ & ipſius unitatem, quæ in conjunctione membrorum ad unum caput, Chriſtum videlicet ejuſque vicarium principaliter, & ſanctam fidelium ſocietatem ab offenſione ſervandam conſiſtit, inter alia Wicleſiſtæ & Lutherani & omnes alii hæretici damnati & anathematizati fuerunt etiam abjuratam olim per Berengarium Andagavenſem Eccleſiæ Diaconum hæreſim innovando, & tam illam quam etiam per damnatæ memoriæ Johannem Wiclef, & Martinum Lutherum hæreſiarchas, alias poſita & damnata falſa & hæretica dogmata credendo & ſequendo & deſuper etiam libros ſcribendo & imprimi faciendo, impreſſoſque publicando, in illiſque ſcripta etiam in publicis diſputationibus defendendo, ac etiam coram ſubdelegato noſtro in reſponſionibus ad poſitiones ſibi factas pertinaciter aſſeverando, ac in pertinacia & obſtinatione hujuſmodi permanendo, excommunicationis & anathematis necnon privationis Archiepiſcop. Cantuar: prædicti, aliorumque beneficiorum & officiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, ſi quæ obtinet, & annuarium penſionum, ſi quas ſuper beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis aſſignatas habet, juriumque actionum & privilegiorum quorumcunque; bonorum quoque & ſeniorum Eccleſiaſticorum patrimonialium & ſecularium nec non inhabitatis ad quaſcunque dignitates & beneficia; & alias contra tales perſonas tam de jure communi quam per literas proceſſuum prædictorum ſtatutas pœnas non ſolum tanquam credentem hæreticis prædictis & illorum ſequacem, ſed etiam tanquam hæreſiarcham notorium damnabiliter incidiſſe & incurriſſe, propterea quæ ipſum Thomam excommunicatum anathematizatum, & Archiepiſcopatu Cantuarienſi aliiſque prælaturis, dignitatibus, officiis & beneficiis, nec non penſionibus, juribus, privilegiis, bonis & feudis prædictis privatum, & ad illa ac alia quæcunque inhabilem, Curiæ ſeculari tradendum, bonaque ejus per eos ad quos ſpectat confiſcanda fore & eſſe prout eum tradi & ejus bona confiſcari mandamus & concedimus, omnes quoque & quaſcunque perſonas Thomæ præfato ratione dicti Archiepiſc. Cantuarienſ. & aliarum prælaturarum ſi quas obtinuit & obtinet olim ſubjectas, à quibuſcunque fidelitatis & obedientiæ juramentis ei præſtitis abſolvendas & liberandas fore & eſſe prout abſolvimus & liberamus, ac juramenta hujuſmodi relaxamus, nec non ſuper omnibus & ſingulis prædictis eidem Thomæ prepetuum ſilentium imponimus, ſupplentes omnes & ſingulos tam juris quam facti defectus, ſi qui forſan in proceſſu cauſæ hujuſmodi intervenerint ita pronunciavimus. Cum autem à dicta ſententia utpote in cauſa hæreſis & per nos de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio lata appellari non potuerit, & dicti Petrus & Antonius & Alexander procuratores citato per audientiam literarum hujuſmodi coram nobis præfato Thoma ad videndum decerni literas executoriales ad aliquem Prælatum qui actualem ipſius Thomæ degradationem faciat eumque curiæ ſeculari tradat in partibus deputari in contumaciam dicti Thomæ ut præfertur citati & non comparentis literas executoriales decerni ac aliquos Prælatos qui actualem ipſius Thomæ degradationem faciant & eum curiæ ſeculari tradant in iſtis partibus deputari per nos multa cum inſtantia poſtulaverint: nos hujuſmodi juſtis poſtulationibus annuentes literas executoriales prædictas Apoſtolica autoritate decrevimus, ac vos, fratres Epiſcopi, qui actualem ipſius Thomæ degradationem facias, & ea facta eum curiæ ſeculari præmiſſa tamen in ipſo actu traditionis inceſſione ad judicem ſecularem pro hujuſmodi tradendis per Eccleſiam ſolita fieri tradatis autoritate, & tenore prædictis deputavimus. Quapropter vos omnes & ſingulos ſupradictos quibus præſentes noſtræ literæ diriguntur rogamus, & vobis, fratres Epiſcopi, per Apoſtolica ſcripta mandamus, & in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ & ſub ſuſpenſionis à divinis & interdicti ingreſſus Eccleſiæ ſententiis diſtrictius injungimus ut ad ulteriorem executionem ſententiæ noſtræ prædictæ procedatis. Et vos fili Rex & filia Regina, bona ipſius confiſcetis ſeu per eos ad quos ſpectat confiſcari, & ipſum Thomam poſtquam curiæ ſeculari juxta tenorem præſentium traditus fuerit, id quod juris fuerit, fieri mandetis & faciatis. Vos vero, fratres Epiſcopi, vel alter veſtrum, ita quod alter pro altero ſe non excuſet, ſed hæc omnia in ſolidum ſub ſententiis prædictis exequamini, nec contra ea excuſationem aut exceptionem apponere valeatis autoritate noſtra, ceremoniis in ſimilibus ſervari ſolitis plenè obſervatis, actualem ipſius Thomæ degradationem faciatis, eumque poſtea curiæ ſeculari modo ut præfertur tradatis, contradictores per cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam appellatione poſtpoſita compeſcendo non obſtantibus conſtitutionibus & ordinationibus Apoſtolicis contrariis quibuſcunque, aut ſi aliquibus communiter vel diviſim ab eadem ſit ſede indultum, quod interdici, ſuſpendi vel excommunicari non poſſint per literas Apoſtolicas, non facientes plenam & expreſſam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulta hujuſmodi mentionem, Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum. Anno incarnationis Domini, Milleſimo, Quingenteſimo, Quinquageſimo, Quinto. Decimo nono Calendas Januarii, Pontificatus Noſtri anno primo.

J. Bareng.

The form of degrading an Archbiſhop.

INprimis, in publico extra eccleſiam paretur aliquis eminens locus congruens ſpacii, pro degradatione fienda.

Item,

Item, ſupra eundem ordinetur una credentia ſimplici tobalea cooperta.
Item, ſupra eandem credentiam ponantur ampulla vini & ampulla aquæ.
Item, liber Evangeliorum, liber Epiſtolarum, liber Exorciſmorum, liber Lectionum, Antiphonarium.
Item, Bacile cum baculo & Mantili.
Item, unum candelabrum cum candela extincta.
Item, claves, forfices, cultellus ſeu petia vitri.
Item, calix cum patina.

Paramenta pro Degradando

SUperpellicium, Sandalia cum caligis, amictus, alba, cingulum, Manipulus, Tunicella, Stola, Dalmatica, Chirothecæ, aliaſtola Planeta, Mitra, Annulus pontificalis, Pallium, Baculus paſtoralis, & aliqua veſtis habitus ſecularis.

ITem, paretur faldiſtorium pro Pontifice degradatore.
Item, Sedilia pro Officialibus.
Item, Adſint Miniſtri Pontificis.
Item, Judex Secularis, cui degradatus committatur.
Item, Notarius qui proceſſum degradationis legat, ſi opus erit, vel Epiſcopo degradatori placuerit.
Item, Barbitonſor.
Item, Hora convenienti degradandus, habitu ſuo quotidiano indutus ſuper dictum locum adducatur, & à clericis induatur omnibus paramentis ſui ordinis.
Item, Eo ſic induto, Pontifex degradator indutus amictu, alba, cingulo, ſtola, & pluviali rubeis, ac mitra ſimplici, baculum paſtoralem in ſiniſtra manu tenens aſcendet ad locum prædictum, & ibidem ſedebit in faldiſtorio, in convenienti loco ſibi parato verſus ad populum, aſtante ſibi Judice Seculari.
Tunc degradandus omnibus ſui ordinis veſtibus ſacris indutus & ſingulis ornamentis ornatus, habens in manibus ornamentum ad ordinem ſuum ſpectans, ac ſi deberet in ſuo officio miniſtrare, adducitur ante Pontificem, coram quo genu flectit.
Tunc Pontifex degradator (ſedens ut ſupra) populo in vulgari notificat degradationis hujuſmodi cauſam.
Deinde contra degradandum ſententiam fert in hæc verba, ſi hujuſmodi ſententia lata non ſit.

IN nomine patris, & filii, & ſpiritus ſancti, Amen. Quia nos N. Dei & Apoſtolicæ ſedis gratia Epiſcopus, &c.

Degradation from the order of Archb. — Degradatio ab ordine Archiepiſcopale.

Primo, pallium degradator aufert a degradando, dicendo. — *PRærogativa pontificalis dignitatis quæ in pallio deſignatur te eximimus, quia male uſus es ea.*

Secundo, mitram aufert à degradando, dicendo. — *Mitra pontificalis dignitatis, videlicet ornatu, quia eam male præſidendo fœdaſti, tuum caput denudamus.*

Tertio, librum Evangeliorum à degradandi manibus aufert, dicendo. — *Redde Evangelium, quia prædicandi officio, quo ſpreto Dei gratia te indignum feciſti, te juſtè privamus.*

Quarto, annulum aufert de digito degradandi, dicendo. — *Annulum, fidei ſcilicet ſignaculum, tibi digne ſubtrahimus, quia ipſam ſponſam Dei Eccleſiam temere violaſti.*

Quinto, baculo paſtorali per unum de miniſtris in manus degradandi tradito, illum aufert degradator, dicendo. — *Auferimus à te baculum paſtoralem, ut perinde correctionis officium quod turbaſti non valeas exercere.*

Sexto, chirothecis per miniſtros extractis degradator abradit degradando pollices & manus leniter cum cultello aut vitro, dicendo. — *Sic Spiritualis benedictionis, delibutionis myſticæ gratia, quantum in nobis eſt te privamus, ut ſanctificandi & benedicendi perdas officium & effectum.*

Septimo, caput degradandi cum eodem aut vitro abradit degradator, leniter dicendo. — *Conſecrationem & benedictionem ac unctionem tibi traditam radendo delemus, & te ab ordine pontificali, quo inhabilis es redditus, abdicamus*

Anno 1558.

Tum degradando per miniſtros extrahuntur ſandalia.

Degradation from the order of Prieſthood. — Degradatio ab ordine Preſbyteratus.

Calice cum vino & aqua & patina & hoſtia, per miniſtros in manus degradandi traditis, Conſecrator aufert poteſtatem celebrandi, dicens. — *AMovemus à te, quin potius amota eſſe oſtendimus, poteſtatem offerendi Deo Sacrificium, Miſſamque celebrandi, tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis.*

Pollices & manus abraduntur ſub hac forma. — *Poteſtatem ſacrificandi & benedicendi quam in unctione manuum & pollicum recepiſti, tibi tollimus hac raſura.*

Caſulam ſivè planetam per poſteriorem partem captivi accipit degradator, & degradandum exuit, dicens. — *Veſte Sacerdotali charitatem ſignante te meritò expoliamus, quia ipſum & omnem innocentiam exuiſti.*

Quarto, ſtolam aufert, dicens. — *Signum Domini per hanc ſtolam ſignatum turpiter abjeciſti: ideoque ipſam à te amovemus, quem inhabilem reddimus ad omne Sacerdotale officium exercendum.*

Degradation from the order of Deaconſhip. — Degradatio ab ordine Diaconatus.

1. Libro Evangeliorum degradando in manus per miniſtros tradito, degradator aufert libr. dicens. — *AMovemus à te poteſtatem legendi Evangelium in Eccleſia Dei, quia id non competit niſi dignis.*

2. Dolmaticum aufert dicens. — *Levitico ordine te privamus, quia tuum in eo miniſterium non implevisti.*

3. Stolam auferens de humeris degradandi degradator projicit eam poſt tergum, dicens. — *Stolam candidam, quam acceperas immaculatam in conſpectu Domini perferendam, quia non ſic cognito myſterio exemplum converſationis tuæ fidelibus præbuiſti, ut plebs dicata Chriſti nomini poſſit exinde imitationem acquirere, juſte à te amovemus, omne Diaconatus officium tibi prohibentes.*

Degradation from the order of a Subdeacon. — Degradatio ab ordine Subdiaconatus.

1. Epiſtolarum libro degradando in manum tradito, degradator eundem aufert, dicens. — *AUferimus tibi poteſtatem legendi epiſtolam in Eccleſia Dei, quia hoc miniſterio indignus es redditus.*

2. Tunicella auferetur, dicendo. — *Tunica ſubdiaconali te exuimus, cujus cor & corpus timor domini caſtus & ſanctus in æternum permanens non conſtrinxit.*

3. Manipulum aufert, dicendo. — *Depone manipulum, quia per fructus bonorum operum quos deſignat, non expugnaſti ſpiritualis inſidias inimici.*

4. Amictus aufertur ſub hac forma. — *Quia vocem tuam non caſtigaſti, ideo amictum à te auferimus.*

5. Urceolis cum vino & aqua & bacilicum manu regio degradando traditis, ea aufert archidiacon. — *Et nihil dicit.*

6. Calicem vacuum cum patina traditum in manus degradandi, aufert degradator, dicendo. Cingulum album & amictum exuunt miniſtri. — *Poteſtatem introeundi ſacrarium, tangendi pallas, vaſa & alia indumenta ſacra, omneque ſubdiaconatus miniſterium exercendi à te amovemus.*

De-

Anno 1558.

Degradation from the order of *Benet* and *Collet*.

Degradatio ab ordine Accolytatus.

Urceolum vacuum immanus degradando traditum aufert degradator, dicens.

Immunde, vinum & aquam ad Euchariſtiam de cætero non miniſtres.

Candelabrum cum cereo extincto degradator accipit de manibus degradandi, dicens.

Dimitte preferendi viſibile lumen officium, qui præbere ſpirituale moribus neglexiſti, ac univerſum Accolytatus officium hic depone.

Degradation from the order of exorciting.

Degradatio ab ordine Exorciſtatus.

Librum exorciſmorum aufert Pontifex degradator, dicens

Privamus te poteſtate imponendi manum ſuper energumenos, & dæmones de obſeſſis corporibus expellendi, omni tibi exorciſtatus officio interdicto.

Degradation from the order of Readerſhip.

Degradatio ab ordine Lectoratus.

Librum Lectionum aufert Pontifex degradator, dicens.

In Eccleſia Dei non legas ulterius, neq; cantes, neq; panes aut fructus novos ullatenus benedicas, quia tuum officium non impleviſti fideliter & devotè.

Degradation from the order of Dorekeepership or Sextonſhip.

Degradatio ab ordine Hoſtiariatus.

Claves Eccleſiæ aufert Pontifex degradator, dicens.

Quia in clavibus erraſti, claves dimitte, & quia hoſtia cordis tui male dæmonibus obſeraſti, amovemus à te officium hoſtiarii, ut non percutias cymbalum, non aperias Eccleſiam, non ſacrarium, non librum amplius prædicanti.

Degradatio à prima tonſura.

Superpellicium degradando extrahit Pontifex degradator, dicens.

*Autoritate Dei omnipotentis, patris, & filii, & ſpiritus ſancti, ac qua fungimur in hac parte, tibi auferimus habitum clericalem, & nudamus te religionis ornatu, atque deponimus, degradamus, ſpoliamus & exuimus omni ordine, beneficio, & privilegio clericali, & velut clericali profeſſione indignum redigimus te in ſervitutem * & ignominiam habitus ſecularis ac ſtatus.*

* The ſecular ſtate ignominious, and diſdained with the proud Clergy.

Eum forficibus tondere incipiat Pontifex degradator, & alter Barbitonſorem ibidem præſentem totaliter tonderi faciat caput degradandi, dicens.

Te velut ingratum filium à ſorte Domini ad quam vocatus fueras abjicimus, & coronam tui capitis regale quidem ſignum ſacerdotii de tuo capite amovemus propter tui regiminis pravitatem.

Deinde ſi velit Pontifex, dicat.

Quod ore cantaſti, corde non oredidiſti, nec opere impleviſti, ideo cantandi officium in Eccleſia Dei à te amovemus.

Tum Miniſtri pontificis exuunt degradatum veſte, & habitu clericali, & ipſum induunt habitu ſeculari.

Si degradatus tradi debeat curiæ ſeculari.

Pontifex degradator degradatum amplius non tangit, ſed in hunc modum pronunciat, dicens.

Denunciamus ut hunc exutum omni ordine ac privilegio clericali, curia ſecularis in ſuum forum recipiat.

Rogat judicem ſecularem ut citra mortis periculum, &c.

Domine judex, rogamus vos cum omni affectu quo poſſumus, ut amore Dei, pietatis & miſericordiæ intuitu, & noſtrorum interventu precaminum miſerrimo huic nullum mortis vel mutilationis periculum inferas.

A Note concerning Dr. Cranmer *in his Diſputation.*

THat day wherein Doctor *Cranmer* late Biſhop of *Canterbury* anſwered in the Divinity School at *Oxford*, there was alledged unto him by Doctor *Weſton*, that he the ſaid *Cranmer* in his Book of the Sacrament falſly falſified the ſaying of the Doctors, and ſpecially the ſaying of Saint *Hilary* in theſe words, *Vero* for *Vere*, ſhewing a print or two thereof, to have defaced his doings therein: but Doctor *Cranmer* with a grave and fatherly ſobriety anſwered, that the print of S. *Hilaries* works, whereout he took his notes, was *verbatim* according to his Book, and that could his Books teſtifie if they were there to beſeen. Saying further, that he ſuppoſed D. *Smith* in that order rehearſed it in his Book of the Sacrament, to the which D. *Smith* there preſent (though he were demanded the anſwer thereof) ſtood in ſilence, As *Canis mutus non valens latrare.* But by and by *D. Weſton* without ſhame, to ſhadow D. *Smiths* ſilence, ſpitely ſaid to *Cranmer*; belike you took your learning out of Mr. D. *Smiths* Book.

All this already is teſtified before.

IT chanced at that preſent to be in the School one *William Holcot* Gentleman then a ſojourner in the *Univerſity Colledge*; he hearing the ſame untruth, and remembring that he had amongſt his Books in his ſtudy the ſaid Book of Doctor *Smith*, at his return to his ſaid ſtudy deſirous to ſee the truth therein, found it agreeable to the writing and affirmation of Doctor *Cranmer*. And the ſaid *Holcot*, then and there better remembring himſelf, found amongſt his Books the Book of *Stephen Gardiner*, intituled the Devils Sophiſtry. In which Book was the ſaid ſaying of Saint *Hilary* alledged by the ſaid *Stephen verbatim*, both in Latin and Engliſh according to Doctor *Cranmers* confirmation. Then the ſaid *William Holcot* intending (for the manifeſt opening and trial of the truth therein) to have delivered the ſaid *Gardiners* Book to Doctor *Cranmer*, brought it to *Bocardo* the Priſon of *Oxford*, where Doctor *Cranmer* then remained, but there in the delivery thereof he was apprehended by the Bailiffs and by them brought before Doctor *Weſton* and his Collegues then at dinner at *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge, who ſtraightways laid Treaſon to the charge of the ſaid *William Holcot*, for the maintenance of *Cranmer* in his naughtineſs (as they called it) and ſo upon ſtrait examination, to know who were privy to his doings in delivery of the ſaid *Gardiners* Book, committed him to the ſaid Priſon of *Bocardo*, where he ſojourned and ſlept in the ſtraw that night.

And in the morrow in the morning, Doctor *Cole* yet alive, then Dean of *Pauls*, and Doctor *Feffery*, two of them then Viſitors, further examined the ſaid *Holcot* of that his doings; threatning him to lay treaſon to his charge, and ſo to ſend him for the trial thereof to the then Lord Chancellor *Stephen Gardiner*, willing him preſently to ſubſcribe to the Articles then in queſtion, but he refuſed, deſiring reſpite until the Laws of the Realm had determined the ſame. And ſo was he again committed to the ſaid Priſon. And after three days Doctor *Weſton* and the reſidue of the Viſitors ſolemnly in Saint *Maries-Church* pronouncing ſentence againſt the late Biſhops, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*; amongſt other called there before them the ſaid *Holcot*, willing him to ſubſcribe to their three Articles. He demanding them then theſe demands, firſt, whether they thought in their Conſciences that the Articles, whereunto they willed him to ſubſcribe, were according to the Scriptures, and that the Religion then they went about to plant were the true Religion of Chriſt: they anſwered all with one voice, Yea, yea. Then asked he them whether they thought themſelves able to anſwer, and would anſwer before God for him if he ſubſcribed thereunto as they willed him: And they likewiſe anſwered, Yea, yea. And ſo he the ſaid *Holcot* through fear and frailty of the Fleſh (as *Noephitus*) upon their threats ſubſcribed. Then they with many fair and flattering words delivered him, but would not let him have again his Book brought to *Bocardo*, leſt (as it ſeemed) he

he ſhould ſhew it to their ſhame. And they privily willed the Maſter and the fellows of the ſaid Univerſity Colledge to ſee the ſaid *William Holcot* forth coming: And if they within a fortnight after did not hear from the then Lord Chancellor what ſhould be done with him, that then they at the fortnights end ſhould expel him out of the ſaid Colledge, which they would have done, if the then Vicechancellor had not willed them to the contrary. Which *Holcot*, though then an *Apoſtata*, is yet now a penitent Preacher.

An Epiſtle of Biſhop *Hooper* in Latin, ſent to the Convocation-Houſe touching matters of Religion.

Epiſcopis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, & cæteris Cleri Ordinibus in Synodo Londinenſi congregatis, gratiam & pacem a Domino.

NOn vos latet (Viri doctiſſimi) in rebus arduis, ambiguis, & cauſis difficilioribus, judicium apud veteres (juxta mandatum Dei) delatum fuiſſe ſemper ad Sacerdotes, Levitas, & ad Præſidem, qui pro tempore judicis munere fungebatur; ut omnes hi cauſas & lites difficiliores explicarent, ex præſcripto Legis Dei. Ita qualeſcunque controverſiæ fuerunt; ex ſententia Sacerdotum & Præſidis, ad normam & præſcriptum Legis Dei latæ, componebantur. Et ab eo quod judices partibus litigantibus ſtatuiſſent, nullo modo erat declinandum. Quod ſi quis contumacius Sacerdoti aut Præſidi non paruiſſet, juxta legem Dei ſententiam pronuncianti, pœnas contumaciæ morte luebat, quo populus, hac ultione & contumaciæ vindicta admonitus, metueret, & deinceps inſoleſcere deſiſteret. Quam difficiles, imo quam periculoſæ, inter nos & vos, de re Euchariſtica lites agantur, veſtræ conciones, ſcripta, & libelli teſtantur: nos vero qui meliorem, veriorem, & antiquiſſimam fidem ſuſtinemus, confiſcatione omnium bonorum noſtrorum, dura & inhumana carceris ſervitute ſentimus. Quare mei ipſius nomine, ac omnium fratrum qui mecum eandem Catholicæ ac ſanctæ religionis veritatem profitentur, vos omnes in Chriſto Jeſu obteſtor, ut cauſam hanc, vel aliquam quamcunque ob religionem ortam inter nos & vos, deferre dignemini ad ſupremam Curiam Parliamenti; ut ibi utraque pars coram ſacro & excelſo Senatu ſeſe religioſe, & animo ſubmiſſo, judicio & autoritati verbi Dei ſubjiciat. Et ſi veſtram religionem, quam ſanctam, orthodoxam, ac catholicam eſſe contenditis, ex verbo Dei aſſerere poteſtis, illam & nos libenter amplexabimur, noſtram, quam modo pro ſacroſancta defendimus, repudiantes, Gratias item Deo & vobis agentes quam maximas, quod per vos ab erroribus liberati, ad veritatis cognitionem revocemur. Non ſolum autem hoc à vobis obteſtamur, ut vos veſtramque cauſam judicio verbi Dei coram ſummo Parliamento deferatis; verum etiam ut nobis commodum detur tempus, quo veterum ſcripta & ſacras literas evolvamus, à ſancto Senatu impetrare dignemini. Et ſi ibi juſtas ac ligitimas rationes fidei noſtræ non reddiderimus, judicio magiſtratus nos ipſos ſubmittimus, ut arbitam ultionem noſtri ſceleris & impietatis nobis infligat. Si hæc facere non recuſaveritis, religio quam caſtam, illibatam, et ſalvam, ac ob omnibus amplectendam eſſe contenditis, glorioſius de veſtra fide & religione, ac de nobis ipſis (qui illam impiam eſſe & falſam conteſtamur) victoriam reportabit. Nam ſi veſtra Religio & cultus in cauſa Euchariſtiæ fontem & originem ducunt ex verbo Dei; procul dubio ſanctam & ſempiternam eſſe oportet. Et ſcitis quod res ſancta & vera quo magis examinatur, & per verbum Dei exploratur, eo fit illuſtrior & purior. Et quanto purior et illuſtrior fit, tanto magis ab omnibus deſideratur, & obviis ulnis excipitur. Quis enim non deſideraret & amplecteretur religionem & cultum à Deo mandatum, & ab illius verbo ſancitum ac confirmatum? Quare ſi veſtra religio & cultus Dei res ſit adeo vera, ſancta, & à Deo mundo exhibita; non eſt quod ei metuatis. Nam quod variis modis tentatur ac probatur, modo pium ac ſanctum fuerit, jacturam ab hoſtibus nullam ſentit, ſed potius hoſtes conculcat ac interficit. Selis radii ſterquilinicrum ſordibus non coinquinantur; veritaſque divini verbi errorum tenebris & caligine non offunditur. Nec eſt quod vobis ipſis metuatis; modo reipſa id præſtetis, quod ubique jactatis. Nam quotquot veſtras partes non ſequuntur, aliqua graviſſimo ignominiæ genere nimis ſuperbè afficitis: nos omnes omnino indoctos eſſe prædicatis, aut plane dementatos affirmatis. Vobis autem pluſquam divinam vendicatis prudentiam; nobis vero pluſquam belluinam ſtoliditatem tribuitis. Jam quam facile erit doctis indoctos, hominibus ſanæ mentis inſanis percitos, ingenio & prudentia flagrantibus ſtolidos & ignaros vincere; ſacer Parliamenti conventus nullo negotio intelliget. Ideo, ſi omnino ob Chriſtum & illius cauſæ gloriam quam nos defendimus, aut ob ſalutem noſtram, ut veſtra prudentia nos ſtultitiæ arguamur, veſtraque doctrina & eruditione nos ignorantiæ accuſemur, hoc facere non vultis; tamen, ut publice impietatis convincamur coram ſummo Senatu, hoc præſtate. Et ſi iſtis rationibus nihil moveamini; tamen veſtra ipſorum cauſa certè poſtulat, ut palam eæ lites inter nos componantur, idque coram competenti judice, ne apud omnes pios male audiat, & fortaſſis hac ſuſpicione laboret, quaſi lucem & publicum examen fugiat, ne impietatis, & Idololatriæ per verbum Dei deprehendatur. Et vos qui malam cauſam, imo peſſimam, ferro & igne defenditis, non tam docti nec pii, ut omnino videri & haberi vultis, invenimini: ſed potius ignorantiæ & ſtultitiæ, quas nobis impingitis, redarguamini. Non vos fugit quomodo publicè, palam, & in facie ac in præſentia omnium ſtatuum hujus regni, in ſumma curia Parliamenti, veritas verbi Dei per fidos, doctos, & pios miniſtros de veſtra impia Miſſa glorioſe victoriam reportavit: quamvis per trecentos annos non ſolum locum & templum Dei occupaverit, verum etiam corda hominum (tanquam Deus) inhabitaverit. Sed quocunque titulo, nomine, honore, reverentia, ſanctitate, tempore, patronis, univerſalitate ſplenduit, ubi per ſanctiſſimum Regem Edovardum ſextum ſanctiſſimæ memoriæ ad vivum lapidem lydium verbi Dei examinari per proceres, heroës, ac doctos hujus regni erat mandatum; ſtatim evanuit, & nihil aliud apparuit, quam ſpurciſſimum & immundiſſimum idolum ſub pallio & nomine Dei impie contectum. Æqua & juſta petimus, ut palam & publice lites inter nos componantur, Si igitur veſtræ cauſæ & vobis ipſis non diffidatis, una nobiſcum apud ſanctum Senatum agere dignemini, ut coram illo, authoritate verbi Dei, quis noſtrum veriorem partem defenderit, dignoſcatur. Nullis enim legibus ſanctis & juſtis unquam fuit permiſſum, ut una pars litigans de altera parte judex conſtitueretur. Nam in omnibus controverſiis et cauſis difficilioribus (maxime in Religione) medius aliquis, & neutra litigantium pars in judicem eligenda eſt. Nec Chriſtus ipſe (quamvis ipſa veritas) æterni Patris Filius, hanc poteſtatem & imperium judicandi ſibi vendicavit: quandocunque lites de ejus Doctrina, inter illum & Phariſæos, vel quoſcunque alios contigerunt. Sed ſemper ad legem appellavit, adverſarioſque ſuos ut legis præſcripto & ſententiæ ſtarent, rogavit; ſcrutamini (inquiens) Scripturas. Nos etiam à vobis nihil aliud in nomine Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, ſupplices petimus & rogamus, niſi ut cauſa de qua inter nos litigatur, ſententia & authoritate Verbi Dei decidatur ac finiatur. Et ſi per Verbum Dei fidem noſtram parum candidam & piam oſtendere valetis; porrigemus vobis herbam, dabimuſque dextras. Nec in impios Arrianos pii & ſancti Patres, hanc judicandi poteſtatem ſibi aſſumpſerunt; ſed adfuit diſputationi pius Princeps Conſtantinus Imperator qui rationes partium litigantium diligenter perpendit, & ſententiam atque judicium cauſæ ſoli authoritati Verbi Dei detulit. Quid hoc eſt igitur? quo jure contenditis? vultis & noſtri et cauſæ noſtræ teſtes, accuſatores, et judices eſſe? nos tantum Legem et Evangelium Dei, in cauſa religionis, judicem competentem agnoſcimus; illius judicio ſtet vel cadat noſtra cauſa. Tantum (iterum atque iterum) petimus, ut coram competenti judice detur nobis, qui vincula et carceres ſuſtinemus, amicum Chriſtianumque auditorium: atque haud dubitamus, quin noſtras rationes, et argumenta authoritate Verbi divini ſumus ſtabiliturі, ac veſtra planè ſubverſuri. Hactenus præjudicio injuſte gravamur; nec mirum, cum una pars litigantium judex alterius partis conſtituatur. Quapropter ad Verbum Dei, tanquam unicum et ſolum competentem, in cauſa religionis, ju-

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judicem appellamus. Si præter & contra hanc Legem Dei, falſa & impia (ut cepiſtis) vi & dolo promovere non deſiſtetis; ſed fratres veſtros truculenter perſequendo pergetis; nos in tantis periculis conſtituti ad miſericordiam Dei confugiemus, qui ſolus & poſſit & velit nos à veſtris erroribus incolumes & ſalvos conſervare. Præterea, ut olim aliqui ex nobis, pro ſalute & incolumitate aliquot veſtrum, apud Magiſtratum civilem interceſſimus; ſic & nunc pro omnium veſtrum ſalute in Chriſto Jeſu apud Patrem cæleſtem intercedere non deſiſtemus, ut tandem ad meliorem & ſinceriorem mentem reverſi unicum Chriſtum Jeſum quem præcinuerunt Prophetæ, prædicaverunt Apoſtoli, quemque omnes pii agnoſcunt jam (quoad humanitatem) ſedentem ad dextram Patris in cœlis amplectamini, & exoſculemini; repudiato confictо & ementito illo Chriſto, ex pane confecto, quem non ſolum juvenes virgines, & ſenes, verum etiam oves & boves, pecoraque campi, volucres cœli, & piſces maris panem agnoſcunt ac ſentiunt, & non Deum. Deſiſtite, rogamus, igitur enixe ulterius oculos piorum perſtringere. Verus enim Chriſtus, quatenus homo, jam amplius ſurſum ac deorſum per manus Sacerdotum agitari & immolari non poteſt. Infernum vicit, peccata veſtra in Cruce perlitavit, mortem deſtruxit, & jam aſtra tenet; quem olim videbitis venientem in nubibus cœli cum poteſtate magna & gloria, ſempiterniſque pœnis vos plangetis, niſi hic pœnitentiam falſæ & impiæ veſtræ doctrinæ egeritis. Si Deus autem, pro ſua inexhauſta bonitate & clementia, per Verbum ſuum lites iſtas inter nos componi dignetur; non dubito quin oculos veſtros ita ſit aperturus, ut quam horribiliter & impiè Dei ac hominm teſtimonio & ſcriptis vos abuti videatis. Sed ſi furioſo & excandeſcenti ſpiritu veſtræ partes, citra authoritatem Verbi Dei, defendere velitis; actum eſt omnino de veſtra æterna ſalute, quod Dominus propter filium ſuum unicum avertat. Cogitate etiam apud vos ipſos an hoc ſit piorum Miniſtrorum Eccleſiæ officium, vi, metu, & pavore corde hominum in veſtras partes compellere? Profectò Chriſtus non ignem, non gladium, non carceres, non vincula, non violentiam, non confiſcationum bonorum, non Regineæ Majeſtatis terrorem, media organa conſtituit, quibus veritas ſui verbi mundo promulgaretur: ſed miti ac diligenti prædicatione Evangelii ſui mundum ab errore & Idololatria converti præcepit. Vos non Chriſti ſed Antichriſti armis utimini, quibus populum invitum ad veſtra ſacra compellitis; & non volentem & inſtructum Verbo Dei trahitis. Sed quàm malus cuſtos perpetuitatis ſit timor, non ignoratis. Certè qui timet, niſi Dei Spiritu ſemper revocetur, odit. Tradite igitur ſaluberrima præcepta Legis & Evangelii populo Dei, ut pro Chriſti Miniſtris per verbum Chriſti ab omnibus agnoſcamini. Ideò enim Miniſtri Eccleſiæ Chriſti eſtis conſtituti, ut tantùm Chriſti Doctrinam populum Dei doceretis, & non ut novam, & à Chriſto alienam obtruderetis. Quæ jam vos in Eccleſia agitis, ſi coram æquo judice amicam ac Chriſtianam diſputationem non recuſaveritis; ex Verbo Dei oſtendemus, vel à Lege Moſaica mutata, vel per Antichriſtum, & pſeudominiſtros in Eccleſiam fuiſſe introducta, ut hoc brevi tractatu excelſæ Parliamenti Curiæ facilè conſtabit. Scio inter vos eſſe tam turgido & iniquo ſpiritu prædicatos, qui putant nos tantùm inanis gloriæ, ſuperbiæ, arrogantiæ, & famæ noſtræ fumo duci, & ideo velle potius ſemper malè currere, quam admonitos de errore bene recurrere. Sed hoc Deus novit, quod tantùm illius gloriam, noſtramque ſalutem in Chriſto quærimus, dicant adverſarii quid velint. Meminerint autem noſtri adverſarii & cogitent, quanquam apud illos nec pro doctis nec piis hominibus habeamur (& haud dubie nos ipſos omnis impietatis & peccati apud Deum quotidie accuſamus) tamen homines ſumus ratione præditi. Et quis (niſi inſanus) jactura & amiſſione omnium bonorum ſuorum, uxoris, liberorum, libertatis & vitæ redimeret famæ aut inanis gloriæ titulum? Profectò tanti pœnitere (ut dicitur) non emerimus. Igitur illius verbi veritatem noſtris bonis omnibus ac vitæ ipſi præferimus: Et ſi centies (Deo nos adjuvante) moriendum nobis fuerit; ad idololatriam & impium cultum Dei, quæ Dei miſericordia hactenus reliquimus, non revertemur. Domini ſumus, ſive vivimus, ſive morimur; ejus igitur voluntas in vobis & in nobis cum miſericordia fiat, Amen.

Veſtræ ſalutis in Chriſto

ſtudioſiſſimus,

Joh. Hooperus.

A Note of Biſhop Farrer.

DOctor *Leiſon*, Doctor of Law, a Civilian, a Juſtice of Peace, the ſame who is mentioned before, would not ſuffer Biſhop *Farrer* (when he was at the Stake to be burnt) to ſpeak his mind, and about half a year after the ſaid Doctor *Leiſon* died, and when he would have ſpoke himſelf he could not.

The Trouble and Examination of Thomas Hitton *Martyr, with his Examinations, Anſwers, Condemnation and Martyrdom*, Anno 1529. *the* 20th *of* February.

Read before: The Story and Martyrdom of Tho. Hitton.

THomas Hitton of *Martham* in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*, an honeſt poor man and religious, ever fearing God from his youth, and loving his Word; when perſecution for the ſame Word in the days of King *Henry* the Eighth grew to be ſomewhat hot, took his Journey toward *Rocheſter* in *Kent*, intending to have gone to *Dover*, and ſo to have croſſed the Seas into *France* and other Countries for a time, where repoſing himſelf a while, he might be free from the heat of Perſecution. As he was going on his intended Journey, one *Thomas Swaineſland*, Baily to *William Warrham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, meeting him by the way, and ſuſpecting him to be (as they called them) an Heretick, cauſed him to be ſtaied and brought before the ſaid *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, his Maſter; who demanded of him from whence he came, and whither he intended to have gone, if he had not been intercepted? The ſaid *Thomas* anſwered, that he came out of the Dioceſs of *Norwich*, and purpoſed to have gone beyond the Seas, if God had ſo permitted. Then the Biſhop asked him, if he had ever been beyond the Seas before, and what Books he had brought over. He anſwered, that he had been once beyond the Seas before, and had brought certain Books with him from thence, namely, two New Teſtaments, and one Primer in Engliſh. The Biſhop asked him to whom he gave the ſaid Books. He anſwered, he would not declare. For (ſaith he) ſuch is your bloody Cruelty, that you would never ſleep quietly till you have ſucked their Blood, as you mean to do mine. The Biſhop ſeeing he could extort no more out of him, and perceiving his conſtant ſpirit and fervent zeal to the Truth, commanded him to Priſon till further opportunity might ſerve for the ſhedding of his Blood.

W. Warrham Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The Examination of Tho. Hitton before the Archbiſhop.

The ſecond Appearance of Thomas Hitton *before the ſaid Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

WIthin a while after the Biſhop commanded the ſaid *Thomas* to be brought before him again, who demanded of him how he judged and believed of the Religion then in force, and of the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*. The ſaid *Thomas* anſwered, that the Religion then uſed was moſt abominable Idolatry, and contrary to the holy Word of God. And as for the Pope (quoth he) he is Antichriſt, the Firſt-born of Satan, and hath no more power or authority, than any other Biſhop hath in his own Dioceſs, nor ſo much neither. The Biſhop hearing this, was in ſuch a pelting chafe, that at that time he would talk no more with him, but returned him from whence he came, namely to *Bocardo*, with commandment to appear before him again upon the thirteenth day of the ſame Month following, at his Mannor of *Knoll*, to anſwer to ſuch Articles and Interrogatories as ſhould be objected *ex officio* againſt him.

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The third appearance of Thomas Hitton *before the ſaid Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

THe ſaid *Thomas Hitton* at the day prefixed, made his perſonal appearance before the Biſhop at the place appointed, to whom the Biſhop miniſtred certain Articles and interrogatories for him to anſwer unto, commanding him to ſwear, to anſwer truely and unfainedly unto them, and every part of them. The ſaid *Thomas Hitton* refuſed to ſwear, ſaying, It is againſt Gods Laws and good Conſcience for any man to ſwear to ſhed his own Blood, for ſo he ſhould be a Murtherer of himſelf, and become guilty of his own Death. But notwithſtanding that he refuſed to ſwear to anſwer, yet he anſwered truely and directly to every particular Article and Interrogatory propounded unto him, but ſo as was finally to their contentation, yet no doubt to the great glory of God, and comfort of the godly. This done, the Biſhop brake off his Seſſion for that time, and commanded him to Priſon again, and to appear before him in the place aforeſaid upon the *Friday* next following, to anſwer further as ſhould be demanded of him, granting him liberty withall to add to, or ſubtract from his former anſwers, or elſe utterly to deny and revoke the ſame.

Tho. Hitton refuſeth to ſwear againſt himſelf.

The fourth appearance of Thomas Hitton *before the ſaid Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

THe day and time approaching, the ſaid *Thomas Hitton* appeared again accordingly, and having heard his former anſwers and confeſſions diſtinctly by the Notary read unto him, hee reformed them in certain points; to ſome hee added, from other ſome he ſubtracted, but none hee denied. Then the Biſhop perceiving his unmoveable conſtancie in the truth, ſetting learning and reaſon apart, being not able to convince him by arguments and truth, nor yet to reprove the Spirit which ſpake in him, fell to exhorting of him to have reſpect to his Souls health, and not ſo wilfully (as they termed it) to caſt away himſelf for ever, but to repent, and abjure his errors, and in ſo doing, he would be good unto him, he ſaid. When the Biſhop with all his perſwaſions could do no good with him to withdraw him from the Truth of Gods Word, then the Doctors and other the aſſiſtants attempted the like: all which notwithſtanding, the ſaid *Thomas Hitton* would not deſiſt nor ſhrink one jot from the truth, but both affirmed and confirmed his former Articles and confeſſions to the end; Inferring withal, that they ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt, in as much as they knew that Gods Word was the Truth, and that the Maſs and all Popiſh Religion is nothing but Idolatry, Lies, and open Blaſphemy againſt the Majeſty of God and his word, and contrary to Gods Word in every reſpect, and yet they would allow and maintain the ſame, contrary to their own Conſciences: whereat all the Bench was greatly offended, and commanded him to Priſon again, aſſigning him a day to come before them again.

The conſtancy of Tho. Hitton in his confeſſion.

The fifth appearance of Thomas Hitton *before the ſaid Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

AT the day appointed, the ſaid *Thomas Hitton* appeared, to whom the Biſhop ſaid, *Thomas*, doeſt thou believe that any man either ſpiritual or temporal, is of ſufficient Authority to ſet forth any law or ſanction of himſelf, the breach whereof is mortal or venial ſin? To whom *Thomas Hitton* anſwered, that no man either ſpiritual or temporal might make any law or ſanction, the breach whereof is mortal or venial ſin, except the ſame law or ſanction be drawn out of the Word of God, or elſe grounded upon the ſame with a good Conſcience. And therefore the Church cannot ſet forth any law, the breach whereof is Mortal or Venial ſin, unleſs it be grounded upon the Word of God alſo. But if any man, or the Church of God it ſelf, do ſet forth any Law grounded upon the Word of God and good Conſcience, the breach thereof to the violator is mortal and deadly ſin. After all manner of ways and means attempted to draw this poor man from Chriſt and his T[illegible] Biſhop, ſeeing that he could not prevail, determined to ſend him to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and ſo did, who aſſayed by all means poſſible to remove him from his former profeſſed truth. But ſeeing all his endeavors fruſtrate, and that he profited nothing, he ſignified the ſame to the Archbiſhop, and withal both went himſelf unto him, and carried the poor Priſoner with him thither alſo.

Another appearance of Tho. Hitton before the Archbiſhop.

In the afternoon of the ſame day, the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and divers other aſſiſtants, called the ſaid poor man before them again, and cauſed all the former Articles, Interrogatories, and Demands to be read unto him in Engliſh, to the end he ſhould either have revoked the ſame, or elſe, recanted them altogether, uſing both threats and fair promiſes to the performance thereof, but all in vain: for his Faith was built upon the Rock Chriſt Jeſus, and therefore unable to be removed with any ſtorms of perſecution whatſoever.

The ſentence of condemnation againſt Tho. Hitton.

In fine, the Archbiſhop (with mature judgment you muſt believe) conſulting with the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and other, proceeded to his condemnation, reading the Bloody Sentence of Death againſt him, and ſo was he, being condemned, delivered to the ſecular power, who carried him to the Priſon, and ſoon after he was burned for the Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, as you may ſee more at large in his ſtory, for whoſe conſtancy in the truth, the everlaſting God be praiſed, Amen.

A Note of a certain good man troubled in Bulloyn *the firſt year of King* Edward *the ſixth, for the Goſpel.*

THe examination of mee *William Haſtlen* Gunner, in the Caſtle of high *Bulloyn*, in the year of our Lord, 1547. and the firſt year of the Reign of King *Edward* the ſixth. As I was in the Church of *Bulloyn*, called the *Stals*, upon the 10. of *April* being *Eaſter Tueſday*, reading of a godly Book, called the lamentation of a Chriſtian, againſt the Citizens of *London*, between the hours of three and four at afternoon, there came certain men to me as I ſtood at an Altar in the Church reading to my ſelf, and asked me what good Book I had, and I ſaid, they ſhould hear if they pleaſed: then they deſired me to read out that they might hear, and ſo did I very gladly; but I had not read long, but the Prieſts and Clerks were at their Latin Evenſong, I reading mine Engliſh Book, there came a tipſtaff for me, taking my two Books from me, and commanded me to go with him, for he ſaid I muſt go before the Councel of the Town. Then went I forthwith with him, and a little without the Church door, Sir *John Bridges* met us, and bade the Tipſtaff carry me to Sir *Leonard Beckwith* Knight, to be examined; and coming before his preſence, he asked me what Books they where that I had at the Church, and was reading of one of them openly in the Church to the people: and I ſaid ſo farr as I had read them they were good godly Books: and he ſaid, they were Hereſie, and with that he asked me how I did believe of the Sacrament of the Altar, whether I did not believe that to be the very Body of Chriſt, Fleſh, Blood, and Bones: and I asked him whether he meant that, that was in the Pixe or no? and he ſaid, Ye, even that in the Pixe: and I ſaid, that ſince I had ſure knowledge of Scriptures, I did not believe it to be the Body of Chriſt, but a bare piece of Bread, nor by Gods help will I ever believe it otherwiſe to be: then he ſaid, I was an Heretick, and asked me what I made of the Sacrament: and I ſaid, if it were duely miniſtred according to Chriſts inſtitution, that then I did believe that the faithful Communicants, in receiving that bleſſed Sacrament, did receive into their inward man, or Soul, the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. Then ſaid he, doeſt thou not believe it to remain the very Body of Chriſt after the words of Conſecration pronounced by the Prieſt? And I ſaid, No. Then ſaid he, What doeſt thou make of the Church? I ſaid, as it is now uſed, it is a Den of *Theeves*, and the Sinagogue of Sathan. Thou Heretick, ſaid he, there remaineth the very Body of Chriſt. But I ſaid, that Chriſt being God and man, dwelleth not in the Temples made with mens hands: much other communication had we at that time, but

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but this was the effect that day. Then he asked me whether I would be forth-coming till to Morrow. And I ſaid, Sir, if you think that I will not, you may lay me where as I ſhall be ſo. Then he let me go for that night, and ſaid, we ſhall talk further with thee to Morrow; ſo I departed home. And about the ſpace of two hours after, Mr. *Huntingdon* the Preacher (which did much good with his Preaching in *Bulloyn* at that time) came to me, and ſaid, that he heard me ſpoken of at my Lord *Grayes*, which was then Lord Deputy of the Town and Country of *Bulloyn*; and I perceive, ſaid he, that you are in great danger of trouble, if you eſcape with your life: for there are ſome of the Council marvellouſly bent againſt you. I ſaid, the Lords will be done: Well, ſaid he, without you feel in your ſelf a full purpoſe, by Gods help, to ſtand earneſtly to the thing that ye have ſpoken, you ſhall do more hurt than good: Wherefore, ſaid he, if you will go to *Calice*, I will ſend you where you ſhall be well uſed, and be out of this danger. Then I thanked Mr. *Huntington*, ſaying, I purpoſe by Gods aſſiſtance to abide the uttermoſt that they can do unto me. Well then (ſaid he) I can tell you, you will be ſent for to Morrow betimes before the whole Council: that is (ſaid I) the thing that I look for. Then roſe I betimes in the Morning and went into the Market-place, that I might ſpy which way the Officer ſhould come for me; I had not tarried there long, but I ſpyed a Tipſtaff and went toward him, and asked him whom he ſought; and he ſaid, A Gunner of the great Ordnance in the Caſtle of *Bulloyn*: and I ſaid, that I am he: Then ſaid he, you you muſt go with me to my Lords: and I ſaid, therefore I looked. When I came there, I ſaw my Lord and the whole Council were aſſembled together in a cloſe Parlour. Doing my duty to them, my Lord ſaid to me, It is informed me that thou haſt ſeditiouſly congregate a Company together in the Church, and there in the time of Service thou didſt read unto them an Heretical Book, and haſt not reverently uſed ſilence in the time of the Divine Service, what ſayſt thou to this? I ſaid, if it pleaſe your Honour, I was in the Church a good while before any Service began, and no Body with me, reading to my ſelf alone, upon a Book that is agreeable to Gods Word, and no Hereſie in it that I read, and when it drew toward Service time, there came Men to the Church, and ſome of them coming to me whom I knew not, asking me what good Book I had; I ſaid it was a new Book that I had not yet read over: then they prayed me that I ſhould read ſo that they might hear ſome part with me; and ſo I did, not calling, pointing, nor aſſembling any Company to me. And for the Service being in Latin, that for the ſtrangeneſs of the Tongue, beſides much Superſtition joyned with it, was not underſtood of the moſt part of them that ſaid or ſung it, much leſs of them that ſtood by and did hear it, whereas by the Word of God all things in the Church or Congregation ſhould be done to the edifying of the People: and ſeeing I could have no ſuch thing by their Service, I did endeavour to edifie my ſelf, and other that were deſirous of reading godly Books. And becauſe the Church is ſo abuſed contrary to the Word of God, being beſet round about with a ſort of abominable Idols, before whom no man ought to kneel, nor do any manner of reverence, becauſe the Scriptures do curſe both the Idol and the Idol-maker, and all that do any Worſhip or Reverence unto them, or before them, for that cauſe I uſed no Reverence there. Well, ſaid my Lord, I would thou couldſt anſwer to the reſt, as well as thou haſt done to this; but I fear me thou canſt not: for it is told me that thou haſt ſpoken againſt the bleſſed Sacrament: And I ſaid, if it pleaſe your Lordſhip that did I never in all my life, nor ever will do by the Grace of God. With that my chief Accuſer, Sir *Leonard Beckwith* Knight, ſaid to me, Didſt thou not ſay to me yeſterday, that thou didſt not believe the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Conſecration by the Prieſt, to be the very Body of Chriſt, fleſh, blood and bones, as it was born of the Virgin *Mary*? It is true indeed that I ſaid ſo; for neither do I believe it to remain Chriſts Body, nor ever will by the Grace of God believe it ſo to be: for I believe that Chriſt with that Body that was conceived and born of the Virgin *Mary*, did aſcend up into Heaven, and there (according to our Belief) he ſitteth on the Right hand of God the Father, and from thence that Body ſhall come at the Day of Judgment to judge the quick and the dead; and yet in the mean while I believe, that (the Sacrament duly miniſtred according to Chriſts Inſtitution) all the faithful Receivers of this Sacrament, lifting up the eyes of their mind into Heaven where Chriſts Body is, they do receive in that Sacrament into their Soul or Inward man, the very Body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: yea, and I believe further, that Chriſt concerning his Divine Power, or the Power of his Godhead, is whereſoever two or three be gathered together in his Name, that he is in the midſt even amongſt them; and that he is ſo with his faithful Flock even to the Worlds end. Then they laid their heads together and had privy talk: after that two of them ſaid to me, that it was rank Hereſie that I did believe it to remain bare Bread after the Prieſt had conſecrated it; and not believing it to be the very Body of Chriſt, I was worthy to be burned: then ſaid I earneſtly unto them, Think you not, though I be a vile Abject in your ſight, and he that is moſt buſie among you to ſeek my Blood, but that my Blood ſhall be required at his or their hands? Then had they privy talk together again, after the which my Lord ſaid unto me, Thou heareſt that they here lay Hereſie to thy charge, and I am a Man of War, and have no skill in ſuch high Myſteries, wherefore thine Accuſers ſay, that thou muſt ſuffer here as an Heretick, that all the reſt of the Garriſon may beware by thee that they fall not into the like Hereſie, and ſo caſt away themſelves. Then ſaid I, I appeal from this Council to the Council of *England*: then ſaid my Lord, I am very glad that thou haſt appealed to the Council of *England*, for there are Learned men and Divines that can skill of ſuch matters, thither ſhalt thou be ſent ere it be long. Then was I carried to Sir *John Abridges* Houſe, and having Pen and Ink, I was bidden to write mine Articles, which were in effect thoſe points of Religion which you have heard before in my Examination: then on the Morrow, being *Thurſday*, and the 15*th* of *April*, I was brought to the Priſon in the Town, called the *Marſhalſey*, where I was very gently uſed: for a good Gentleman, one Mr. *Waghan* was the Keeper there at that time; but ſurely when I was apprehended, I had not ſo much as one peny to help my ſelf with, for we had been long unpaid: furthermore I thought in that Town of War, that there were very few or none that favoured the Word of God, for I looked for no help there, but to be hated and deſpiſed of all Men there: for I knew not paſt two or three there that had any love to the Goſpel till I was in Priſon, and then there came very many Souldiers unto me that I never knew before, and gave me Mony, ſo that I had as good as three Pound given me in a ſmall time that I was in Priſon. The 14 day of *May* toward night, I was ſent into *England*, one M. *Meſſenger* and one other man brought me to *London* even the ſame day, being *Sunday* at Night and the 15*th* day of *May*. There was a great talk over all the City of one Doctor *Smith* that recanted that day, they brought me to the *Marſhalſea* and there left me, I hearing no more of them that brought me thither: but M. *Huntington* as a faithful Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, that gave me warning before of all this trouble, came from *Bulloyn* to *London*, cauſing my Articles to be ſeen, ſo that by his painful diligence to the Council for me, after that I had been there little more than one month, I was diſcharged out of Priſon, and bid get me home to *Bulloyn* to my Living again.

But ſurely if I had not appealed to the Council of *England*, I had been burned in *Bulloyn*; for it was told me of them that knew much in that matter, that it was already determined ſhortly to have been accompliſhed, if I had not appealed: for the which deliverance I give praiſe to the Everliving God.

This was laid in Queen *Maries* Cloſet upon her Desk, againſt her coming unto her Prayers.

O *Loveſom Roſe moſt redolent,*
Of fading Flowers moſt freſh:
In England *pleaſant is thy ſcent,*
For now thou art Peerleſs.

This Roſe which beareth ſuch a ſmell,
Doth repreſent our Queen:
O liſten, that I may you tell
Her colours freſh and green.
The Love of God within her heart,
Shall beautifie her Grace:
The fear of God on the other part,
Shall ſtabliſh her in place.
This Love and Fear her Colours are,
Whereby if ſhe be known;
She may compare both nigh and far,
Unable to be overthrown.
The Love of God it will her cauſe,
Unfained if it be,
To have reſpect unto his Laws,
And hate Idolatry.
If that ſhe have the Fear of God,
And be thereto right bent:
She will do that he her bode,
And not her own intent.
O Noble Queen take heed, take heed,
Beware of your own intent:
Look ere you leap, then ſhall you ſpeed,
Haſte maketh many ſhent.
Remember Saul *that Noble King,*
What ſhame did him befall:
Becauſe that unto the Lords bidding
He had no luſt at all.
The Lord hath bid you ſhall love him,
And other gods defie:
Alas take heed, do not begin
To place Idolatry.
What greater Diſobedience
Againſt God may be wrought,
Than this; To move mens Conſcience
To worſhip things of nought?
What greater folly can you invent
Than ſuch men to obey?
How can you ſerve your own intent
Not foreſeeing your own decay?
And whereas firſt ye ſhould maintain
Your Realm in perfect Unity:
To rent the Peoples hearts in twain
Through falſe Idolatry.
Is this the way to get you fame,
Is this to get you love?
Is this to purchaſe you a Name,
To fight with God above?
Is this your care to ſet up Maſs,
Your Subjects Souls to ſtroy?
Is this your ſtudy no more to paſs,
Gods Poople to annoy?
Is this to Reign, to ſerve your will,
Good Men in Bonds to keep;
And to exalt ſuch as be evil,
And for your Grace unmeet?
Such as made that fond Divorce,
Your Mother to deface;
Are nigheſt you in power and force,
And moſt bounden unto your Grace.
Well, yet take heed of had-I-wiſt,
Let Gods Word bear the Bell:
If you will reign, learn to know Chriſt,
As David *doth you tell.*
What great preſumption doth appear,
Thus in a week or twain;
To work more ſhame than in ſeven years
Can be redreſt again?
All is done without a Law,
For will doth work in place:
And thus all Men may ſee and know
The weakneſs of your caſe.
That miſerable maſking Maſs,
Which all good Men do hate;
Is now by you brought up again,
The root of all Debate.
Your Miniſters that love Gods Word,
They feel this bitter Rod;
Who are robbed from houſe and goods,
As though there were no God.
And yet you would ſeem merciful
In the midſt of Tyranny, Anno
And [illegible]reas you maintain 1558.
Moſt vile Idolatry.
For fear that thou ſhould hear the Truth,
True Preachers may not ſpeak;
But on good Prophets you make ruth,
And unkindly them intreat.
Him have you made Lord Chancellor,
Who did your Blood moſt ſtain:
That he may ſuck the Righteous blood,
As he was wont again.
Thoſe whom our late King did love,
You do them moſt diſdain:
Theſe things do manifeſtly prove
Your colours to be but vain.
Gods Word you cannot abide,
But as your Prophets tell:
In this you may be well compared
To wicked Jeſabel.
Who had 400 Prophets falſe.
And fifty on a rout:
Through whoſe falſe preaching poor Ely
Was chaſed in and out.
Gods Prophets you do evil intreat,
Baals *Prieſts defend your Grace:*
Thus did the Jews *put Chriſt to death,*
And let go Barrabas.
Hath God thus high exalted you,
And ſet you on a Throne:
That you ſhould priſon and deface
His Flock that maketh moan?
The Lord which doth his Flock defend,
As the Apple of an eye;
Of this full quickly will make an end,
And baniſh Cruelty.
Therefore my counſel pray you take,
And think thereof no ſcorn:
You ſhall find it the beſt counſel,
Ye had ſince you were born.
Put away blind affection,
Let Gods Word be Umpire.
To try our true Religion,
From this evil-favoured gear.

The Inſtruction of King Edward *the Sixth, given to Sir* Anthony Seyntleger, *Knight of his Privy-Chamber, being of a corrupt Judgment of the Euchariſt. Upon this ſaying of an ancient Doctor of the Catholick Church.*

Dicimus Euchariſtiam Panem vocari in Scripturis, Panis in quo gratiæ actæ ſunt, &c.

IN *Euchariſt then there is Bread,*
Whereto I do conſent:
Then with Bread are our Bodies fed,
And further what is meant?
I ſay that Chriſt in Fleſh and Blood
Is there continually,
Unto our Soul a ſpecial food,
Taking it ſpiritually.
And this Tranſubſtantiation I
Believe as I have read:
That Chriſt Sacramentally
Is there in form of Bread.
St. Auſtin *ſaith, the Word doth come*
Unto the Element:
And there is made, he ſaith in ſum,
A perfect Sacrament.
The Element doth then remain,
Or elſe muſt needs enſue:
St. Auſtins *words be nothing plain,*
Nor cannot be found true.
For if the Word, as he doth ſay,
Come to the Element:
Then is not the Element away,
But bides there verament.
Yet whoſo eateth that lively food,
And hath a perfect Faith,
Receiveth Chriſt's Fleſh and Blood,
For Chriſt himſelf ſo ſaith.

Not

Anno 1558.

Not with our Teeth his Fleſh to tear,
Nor take Blood for our drink:
Too great an abſurdity it were,
So groſly for to think.
For we muſt eat him ſpiritually,
If we be ſpiritual:
And whoſo eats him carnally,
Thereby ſhall have a fall.
For he is now a Spiritual meat,
And ſpiritually we muſt
That Spiritual meat ſpiritually eat,
And leave our Carnal luſt.
Thus by the Spirit, I ſpiritually
Believe, ſay what men liſt,
None other Tranſubſtantiation I
Believe of the Euchariſt.
But that there is both Bread and Wine,
Which we ſee with our eye:
Yet Chriſt is there by power Divine
To thoſe that ſpiritually
Do eat that Bread and drink that Cup,
Eſteeming it but light;
As Judas *did, which eat that Sop,*
Not judging it aright.
For I was taught not long agone,
I ſhould lean to the Spirit:
And let the Carnal fleſh alone,
For it doth not profit.
God ſave him that teaching me taught,
For I thereby did win,
To put from me that Carnal thought,
That I before was in.
For I believe Chriſt Corporally
In Heaven doth keep his place:
And yet Chriſt Sacramentally
Is here with us by Grace.
So that in this high Myſtery
We muſt eat Spiritual meat,
To keep his Death in Memory,
Leſt we ſhould it forget.
This do, I ſay, this have I ſaid,
This Saying ſay will I:
This Saying though I once denaid,
I will no more to die.

F I N I S.

This young Prince became a perfect School-Maſter unto old erroneous Men, ſo as no Divine could amend him, and therefore this piece is worthy of perpetual memory to his immortal fame and glory.

When Queen *Mary* came to her reign, a Friend of Mr. *Sentlegers* charged him with this his Pamphlet. Well, quoth he, content your ſelf. I perceive that a Man may have too much of Gods Bleſſing. And even here *Peter* began to deny Chriſt, ſuch is mens frailty.

Finis quod W. M. *as it is ſuppoſed.*

A Note of a Letter of one *John Melvin*, Priſoner in *Newgate*.

Chriſti Electis ſalutem, Eſdr. 4.

Hoc ſeculum fecit Altiſſimus propter multos; futurum autem propter paucos.

The Almighty Lord hath made this World for many, but the World or life to come but for a few.

Pauci electi. Matt. 20.

MOſt certain it is, dearly Beloved, that Chriſts Elect be but few in compariſon of that great number which go in the broad way into everlaſting perdition, which live after the fleſh, loving this preſent evil world, deny God in word and deed, whoſe eyes are blinded, and their hearts hardened.

Pauci qui ſalvabuntur, Luke 13. 2 Tim. 2. Cognovit Dominus qui ſunt ejus.

Moſt certain it is alſo, that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt hath and knoweth his own, whoſe Names are written in the Book of Life, redeemed with the moſt precious Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. So that the eternal Father knoweth them that be his.

The Almighty and Eternal God grant, that we may have the teſtimony of our Conſcience, and the Spirit of God to bear record with our Spirits, that we be his elect Children, walking in the Spirit, not fulfilling the luſts of the Fleſh, but as Chriſts Members, having Chriſt Jeſus fixed before our eyes, he being to us the true Way, the infallible Verity, and the eternal Life. Chriſt hath given us example, let us follow him as dear Children, for Gods delight is to behold his Saints which be in the Earth. Let us put on the whole Armour of God, and walk in the light in theſe evil days, in the which Satan in his Angels ſeeketh whom he may devour. The Almighty Lord deliver us from the mouths of thoſe unſhamefaſt Dogs. They truly ſeek ours, and not us unto the Lord. *Eſdras* ſaith and writeth truly, The World is made for them, and they for the World. Dearly bought, let us remember Chriſt which ſaith, I have choſen you out of the world, you ſhall be hated of all worldly Men. Did ever the Covetous, Idolaters, Oppreſſors, or Whoremongers love us? Nay, they love Maſs-mongers, which ſay, Peace, peace, when there is no peace. Nay, either they flatter the ears, or elſe they ſay nothing, as dumb Dogs not able to bark, of whom be you ware; for though they come in Sheeps cloathing, they be ravening Wolves, whoſe damnation ſleepeth not, from whoſe captivity the holy will of God ſave and preſerve you, *Amen.*

Sanctis qui ſunt in terra, & præclaris his toto animo delectabor.

Ego vos elegi è mundo. Regnum meum non eſt de hoc mundo.

Ezek. 33, & 34.

Dearly Beloved, we having the record of our Conſcience, that we be very Members in Chriſts Body, ſeparate from that malignant Antichriſts Church: Let us rejoyce in Conſcience, and in the Lord, having heavenly hope in all his Promiſes, which be eternal and moſt ſure to us in Chriſt our Saviour, who loſeth none of all them, whom the Eternal Father hath given him, but at his appearing to be our merciful Judge, ſhall raiſe us up at the laſt day; for the Trumpet of God ſhall blow, and be heard of all *Adams* Poſterity, ſounding, *Venite ad Judicium*, Come unto Judgment, come and be judged. Let us therefore be prepared, having the wedding Garment, yea, the whole Armour of God, the marriage Garment, clear Lamps, that is, pure hearts, and burning heavenly light in the ſame. Let us prepare our ſelves richly to reſtore to our Lord and Maſter our Talents, with the increaſe of heavenly living and occupying; then without all doubt, we ſhall hear that moſt bleſſed wiſh of our alone Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall then ſay, Rejoyce good Servants, I will make you Stewards over many things: Enter into the everlaſting Reſt and Kingdom, which hath been prepared for you from the beginning. This is the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, which at this preſent is in *Babylon*, and baniſhed to the Deſart, the troubleſom Waters of Satan in the Antichriſt and his Shavelings, ſpewed out of Chriſts mouth. The Lord be our aid, avenger and deliverer when his holy will is, *Amen.*

John 17.

Auguſtine.

Dearly bought with the moſt precious Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, that we be not deceived by the Antichriſt; let us ponder, weigh, mark and ſtudy the heavenly Doctrine of our Saviour Chriſt in his laſt Supper: the Text is, *Benedixit, dixit bene, gratias egit*; he ſpake heavenly and well, he gave thanks, he took Bread, brake it and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying, Take, eat this Sacramental Bread, and me the Bread of Life which came down from Heaven, which giveth life to the World; take true Faith, heavenly Hope kindled with Chriſtian Charity, thankſgiving for my death; Let theſe heavenly Vertues enter into your Souls, then enter I. This is my Body: This is the true eating of my Body, which is given to the death of the Croſs, for the ranſom and ſins of Gods Elect. Likewiſe after Supper he took the Cup, he ſpake well, gave thanks, and gave it them, ſaying, Drink ye all of this: drink, I ſay, by this infallible Verity and everlaſting Word joyned and annexed with this Cup, my Blood which is ſhed from before the beginning of the World, for many, in remiſſion of ſins: he or ſhe that thus dwelleth in me, and I in him, eateth my fleſh and drinketh my Blood. St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, Why prepareſt thou thy Tooth and Belly? believe and thou haſt eaten. St. *Bernard* ſaith, When Faith, Hope, Chriſtian Love, and thankſgiving for Chriſts death enter into a Chriſtian, Chriſt entereth.

Quid paras dentem & ventrem? crede & manducaſti.

Eccleſia cum paucis diebus habuit quantum ad humanitem, modo fide tenet, oculis non videt.

And again St. *Auguſtine* ſaith upon theſe words of Chriſt *Ye ſhall always have the poor with you, but me ſhall ye not have always with you*: The Church had him but a few days touching his humanity, now they have him by Faith, with theſe eyes they do not ſee him. O Jeſus Chriſt thou Son of the living God, which art in the boſom of thy Father, God with God, the very image of God the Father Eternal, give us victory over this Antichriſt in thy moſt precious Blood. Be faithful to the end, and our Saviour ſhall crown us in glory; let us ſanctifie the Name of God in thought, word and deed.

I ſay unto the Papiſt, and will not flatter,
Our God is in Heaven whom they will not ſee:
And is no ſuch little pretty matter,
As their god the Pope faineth him to be.
Pray for all the Preachers of the Verity,
That God may give us grace and conſtancy.
They ſing and ſay, they have him in a ſtring:
Tye not the Dog ſo, for fear of hanging.
To all the Faithful, whoſe Names in general,
In the Book of Life, by Chriſt are written all.
The godly thought and patient mind,
Doth liberty in Priſon find.
Whoſo to patience can attain,
Shall find in Priſon is no pain.
Thrall, trouble, bound or free,
As pleaſeth God, ſo ſhall all bee.
Wherefore I never will forſake
What pleaſeth God lay on my back.

John Melvin, *Preacher and Priſoner in* Newgate.

A Note concerning the Trouble of *Julius Palmer*, lately come to my hands.

To his aſſured Friend and Brother in Chriſt, Mr. Perry, *Preacher at* Beverſtone, *give theſe.*

MAſter *Perry*, after my hearty Commendations in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto you and your Wife, &c. whereas you have written unto me for my help in ſtopping the malicious and envious mouth of *Thomas Thackam*, I would be as glad as any man to teſtifie the Truth, both for that I know of the ſhameleſs malice of the ſaid party againſt the Members of Chriſt, as alſo the godly and vertuous behaviour of *Palmer* both before he was in Priſon, and after in Priſon, with the credit of that good and godly work of that Hiſtory: but ſurely many things are out of my head, which I cannot as yet remember. And for thoſe things I know, I write unto you. And firſt as touching the friendſhip ſhewed unto the Lady *Vane*, and his zeal therein uttered, truth it is that he received her into his houſe for Mony for a ſmall ſpace, in the which time they two did not well agree, for that ſhe could not ſuffer his wickedneſs of words and geſtures unreproved, but that his Wife many times, being of more honeſty, made the matter well again: but to be ſhort, ſuch was his friendſhip in the end towards that good Lady, being out of his houſe, that ſhe feared no man more for her life than him. And I being her Man, ſhe gave me great charge always to beware of him. As touching his friendſhip towards *John Bolton* in Priſon, I am ſure he never found any, as they that uſed to viſit him can ſomewhat ſay: Except you account this friendſhip, that he being bereft of his ſenſes, *Thackam* wrought him to yield unto the Papiſts, and as a right Member of them became his Surety that he ſhould be obedient unto them. And he, being burdened in Conſcience therewith, fled away unto *Geneva*: for the which flying *Thackam* had nothing ſaid unto him, which ſheweth that he was their Inſtrument. And this friendſhip to *John Bolton*; for *Downer*, I have heard no evil of him; for *Gately* and *Radley* now Vicar of St. *Lawrence*, and *Bowyer* a Tanner, they three left no means unpractiſed to catch and perſecute the Members of Chriſt, as I my ſelf can well prove. As touching *Palmer*, for that I many times frequented his company in his Lodging, he would utter ſometimes unto me the grief of his mind. Among other things once he told me, that for that he heard he was ſomewhat ſuſpected with the Woman of the houſe, he was much grieved withal, the which he uttered with many tears, I then counſelling him to depart thence to avoid the occaſion of offence, he ſaid no, but the Lord ſhould try him ere it were long: for, ſaid he, *Thackam* hath let me his School, and now would have it again, and becauſe I will not let him have it this he hath brought upon me, but God forgive him. Afterward being in Priſon, I talking with him at the Grate, he ſhewed me his Judgment of the Scriptures, and delivered it unto me, what became of it I know not now. He praiſed God highly for his eſtate, and then he ſaid he truſted it would appear whether *Thackam* had ſaid of him well or not. And further he ſaid, that now *Thackam* hath his will to have his School again: for if I would have yielded up the School, he would have ſent me away. I never truſted him ſo well, ſaid he, to communicate my mind unto him before witneſs, but ſometime alone, and therefore he hath deviſed a Letter in my Name, and brought it to light, to cauſe me to be examined of my Conſcience. This is as much as I can ſay at this time. Thus fare you well in the Lord, *Amen*. From *Croſly* this 18. of *May*.

Yours to Command in Chriſt
John Moyer Miniſter.

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Have me commended, I pray you, to all my Friends at *Reading*.

A Note of *Julius Palmer*.

ALſo being at *Magdalen Colledge* about a Month before he was burned, and reaſoning againſt one *Barwick* Maſter of Art, ſometime his familiar Friend and old Acquaintance in the ſaid Colledge; after much talk *Barwick* ſaid unto him, Well *Palmer*, now thou talkeſt boldly and ſtoutly at thy pleaſure; If thou wert brought to a Stake, thou wouldſt tell me another tale. Take heed, it is an hard matter to burn. Hereunto *Palmer* anſwered, Indeed it is a hard matter for him to burn that hath his Soul linked to his Body, as a Thiefs Foot is tied in a pair of Fetters. But if a man be once able, through Gods help, to ſeparate and divide the Soul from the Body, for him it is no harder thing to burn, than for me to eat this Crum of Bread.

A true Copy of the Confeſſion of Patrick Patingham, *ſent out of* Newgate *to certain of his Friends.*

I *Patrick Patingham*, being condemned for the Verity of Gods Truth, that is to ſay, in confeſſing of one God, which was the Creator of all things viſible and inviſible, and alſo that he made thoſe by his Son, whom he hath made heir of all things. And alſo I confeſs, that he is the only begotten Son of God, in whom we have redemption, even the forgiveneſs of ſins. And alſo in confeſſing Gods moſt holy Church, being builded upon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Chriſt Jeſus being the Head Corner-ſtone. In whom, ſaith St. *Paul*, every building coupled together groweth to an holy Temple in the Lord, in whom I believe I am builded together as a Member, and made an habitation for God in the Spirit. And alſo I confeſs, that Chriſt is the Head of the Holy Church, as St. *Paul* ſaith, and that God is Chriſts Head.

And alſo I had ten Articles, that is to ſay, againſt their wicked Traditions and Commandments which they uſe, which are againſt the Commandments of God, whereof they did condemn me, not ſuffering me to ſpeak in the Conſiſtory-houſe, but condemning me, my cauſe not heard. But yet I did proteſt unto them, that their Church or Synagogue is of Satan, that is to ſay, Satan being the Head thereof. Furthermore, my Friend or Friends unknown, I have received your Letter, and read it over, wherein you ſay that I am in a blaſphemous Error. Indeed Friends I confeſs, that it is an Error; If you will make my belief, that is to ſay, that Chriſt is the Son of the Living God to be an Error, and to believe that there is one God, as St. *Paul* ſaith, and one Mediator betwixt God and Man, even the Man Chriſt Jeſus. And although there be that are called Gods, whether in Heaven or in Earth, as there be Gods many, and Lords many, yet unto us there is but one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all

things,

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things, and we by him. I believe that there is but one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm, and one God in all, and above all, and through all, which only God, as Saint *Paul* ſaith, worketh in all Creatures that believe in him, and ſpeaketh in them, as St. *Paul* ſaith; God in times paſt diverſly and many ways ſpake unto the Fathers by Prophets, but in theſe laſt days he ſpake unto us by his Son, whom he hath made heir of all things. My Friend or friends, be it known unto you, that this is no errour, as ye ſuppoſe, but it is the Truth of Gods will, that we ſhould believe, as St. *John* ſaith; That Chriſt Jeſus is the Son of the living God and in ſo believing we ſhould have everlaſting life. Thus with love I write unto you, praying God night and day to deliver you from evil which is in you, and to keep you from it. Wherefore my Friend or Friends, you are not crucified with Chriſt, you are not dead with him in Baptiſm, nor do you know God, or his Son whom he hath ſent, or his commandments which he hath commanded and yet will ye teach other, with moſt hearty Prayer praying to God for you continually.

Patrick Patingham.

A note of a certain Letter of William Tyms.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through the mercies of his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord and only Saviour, with the comfort of his holy Spirit, that as you have full godly begun, even ſo you may continue to the end, to the Glory of God, and your everlaſting comfort, which thing to do I pray God to give you grace, who is the giver of all good and perfect gifts to the glory of his holy name, *Amen.*

My dear Siſters, after moſt hearty commendations unto you, and alſo moſt hearty thanks-giving unto you for all the great kindneſs that you have always ſhewed unto me moſt unworthy of the ſame: I certifie you that I am very glad to hear of your good health, which I pray God long to continue to his glory. And eſpecially I do much rejoyce in your moſt godly Conſtancy in the Goſpel of Chriſt, which is the Power of God unto Salvation, unto ſo many as believe it. Therefore (my dear hearts) go forward as you have godly begun: for the time will come that theſe cruel Tyrants, which now ſo cruelly perſecute the true Members of Chriſt, ſhall ſay for very anguiſh of mind; Theſe are they whom we ſometime had in deriſion, and jeſted upon. We fools thought their life to have been very madneſs, and their end to have been without honour: But lo how they are counted among the Children of God, and their Portion is amongſt the Saints. Therefore we have erred from the way of Truth. The light of righteouſneſs hath not ſhined unto us, and the Sun of underſtanding roſe not upon us. We have wearied our ſelves in the way of wickedneſs and deſtruction. Tedious ways have we gon, but as for the way of the Lord we have not known it. What good hath our pride done unto us? or what profit hath the Pomp of Riches brought us? All theſe things have paſſed away as a ſhadow, or as a meſſenger running before: As a Ship that paſſeth over the Waves of the Water, which when it is gon, by the Trace thereof cannot be found, neither the path it the floods, &c. For as ſoon as we were born, we began inordinately to draw to our end, and have ſhewed no token of vertue, but are conſumed in our own wickedneſs. Such words ſhall they that thus have ſinned ſpeak in the hell, &c. But the righteous ſhall live for evermore, their reward is alſo with the Lord, and remembrance with the Higheſt: therefore ſhall they receive a glorious Kingdom, and a beautiful Crown at the Lords hands; for with his right hand ſhall he cover them, and with his holy Arm ſhall he defend them &c. The Souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and the pains of death ſhall not touch them, but in the ſight of the unwiſe they appear to die, and their end is taken for very deſtruction, but they are in reſt. And though they ſuffer pain before men, yet is their hope full of immortality. They are puniſhed but in few things, nevertheleſs in many things ſhall they be well rewarded? for God proveth them, and findeth them meet for himſelf: yea, as the gold in the Furnace doth he trie them, and receiveth them as a burnt offering; and when the time cometh, they ſhall be looked upon, the righteous ſhall ſhine as the ſparks that run through the red Buſh, they ſhall judge the Nations, and have dominion over the People, and their Lord ſhall Reign for ever. They that put their truſt in him ſhall underſtand the Truth, and ſuch as be faithful will agree unto him in love, and he ſhall be a Pillar in the Temple of God, and ſhall no more go out, and there ſhall be written upon him the name of God. And they ſhall lie under the Altar (which is Chriſt) crying with a loud voice, ſaying: How long tarrieſt thou Lord, holy and true to judge and avenge our Blood on them that dwell on the earth? and they ſhall have long white Garments given unto them, and it ſhall be ſaid unto them, that they ſhould reſt yet for a little ſeaſon, till the number of their fellows and Brethren of them, that ſhould be killed as they were, were fulfilled. For, as St. *John* ſaith, they are worthy that thus overcome, to be cloathed in white Array, and their names ſhall not be put out of the Book of life, but ſhall be ſeperated from the Goats and ſet on Chriſts right hand, hearing his ſweet and comfortable voice, when he ſhall ſay; *Come ye bleſſed of my Father, and poſſeſs the Kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the World*: And the very ready way to obtain the ſame, is, as our Maſter Chriſt ſaith, to forſake our ſelves, taking up our Croſs, following our Maſter Chriſt, which for the joy that was ſet before him abode the Croſs, and deſpiſed the ſhame, and is ſet down on the Throne at the right hand of God: therefore let us follow his example in ſuffering for his Word, ſeeing that he of his merciful goodneſs ſuffered ſo much for us when we were his enemies: for it was our ſin that killed Chriſt, and he by his death hath made us alive. Therefore with joy (ſeeing all theſe his merciful benefits purchaſed for us only by his death and blood-ſhedding) let us with boldneſs confeſs his holy Word before this wicked generation, even to death, when we be called thereto, and ſo be well aſſured, that our lives be not in the hands of men, but in Gods hands. Therefore (my dear Siſters) as you have godly begun, ſo go forward even through many Tribulations, even into the everlaſting Kingdom of Heaven. To the which, God the Father of all mercy, for his dear Son Chriſts ſake, bring both you and all yours, *Amen.*

Yours to command, to my poor Power,
William Tyms.
Continue in Prayer,
Ask in Faith,
And obtain your deſire,
Praying for you, as I know that you do for me.

Wild. 5.

Hebrew 12.

Another Sermon of Maſter Latimer *concerning his playing at Cards*

NOw you have heard what is meant by this firſt Card, and how you ought to play with it, I purpoſe again to deal unto you another Card, almoſt of the ſame ſute; for they be of ſo nigh affinity, that one cannot be well played without the other. The firſt Card declared, that you ſhould not kill, which might be divers ways, as being angry with your Neghbour, in mind, in countenance, in word, or deed. It declared alſo how you ſhould ſubdue the paſſions of Ire, and ſo clear evermore your ſelves from them: and where this Card doth kill in you theſe ſtubborn Turks of Ire; this ſecond Card will not only they ſhould be mortified in you, but that you your ſelves ſhall cauſe them to be likewiſe mortified in your Neighbour, if that your ſaid Neighbour hath been through your occaſion moved unto Ire, either in countenance, word, or deed, Now let us hear therefore the Tenour of this Card.

When thou makeſt thine oblation at mine Altar, and there doſt remember that they Neighbour hath any thing againſt thee, lay down there thy oblation, and go firſt and reconcile thy Neighbour, and then come and offer thy oblation. This Card was ſpoken by Chriſt, as teſtifieth St. *Mark* in his fifth Chapter, againſt all ſuch as do perſume to come unto the Church to make

oblation

oblation unto God either by Prayer, or any other deed of Charity, not having their Nighbours reconciled. Reconciling is as much to ſay, as to reſtore thy Neighbour unto Charity, which by thy words or deeds is moved againſt thee: then if ſo be it that thou haſt ſpoken to, or by thy Neighbour, whereby he is moved to ire or wrath, thou muſt lay down thy Oblation. Oblations be prayers, almſ-deeds, or any work of Charity; theſe be called oblations to God. Lay down therefore thine oblation, begin to do none of theſe foreſaid works before thou goeſt unto thy Neighbour, and confeſs thy fault unto him, declaring thy mind, that if thou haſt offended him, thou art glad and willing to make him amends, as farr forth as thy words and ſubſtance will extend, requiring him not to take it at the worſt. Thou art ſorry in thy mind, that thou ſhouldeſt be occaſion of his offending. What manner of Card is this will ſome ſay? Why? What have I to do with my Neighbours or Brothers malice? as *Cain* ſaid; Have I the keeping of my Brother, or ſhall I anſwer for him and for his faults? This were no reaſon: As for my ſelf, I thank God I own no man malice nor diſpleaſure, if other own me any, at their own peril be it. Let every man anſwer for himſelf. Nay Sir, not ſo, as you may underſtand by this Card: for it ſaith; If thy Neighbour hath any thing, any malice againſt thee, through thine occaſion, lay even down, ſaith Chriſt, thine oblation; Pray not to me, do no good deeds for me, but go firſt unto thy Neighbour, and bring him again unto my flock, which hath forſaken the ſame through thy naughty words, mocks, ſcorns, or diſdainous Countenance, and ſo forth: and then come and offer thine oblation, then do thy devotion, then do thy almſdeeds, then pray, if thou wilt have me hear thee. O good Lord, this is an hard reckoning, that I muſt go and ſeek him out that is offended with me, before I pray or do any good deed. I cannot go unto him. Peradventure he is an hundred miles from me, beyond the ſeas, or elſe I cannot tell where; if he were here nigh, I would with all my heart go unto him, This is a lawful excuſe before God on this faſhion, That thou wouldeſt in thy heart be glad to reconcile thy Neighbour, if he were preſent, and that thou thinkeſt in thy heart, whenſoever thou ſhall meet with him, to go unto him, and require him charitably to forgive thee, and ſo never intend to come from him, until the time that you both depart one from the other true Brethren in Chriſt. Yet peradventure there be ſome in the world that be ſo deviliſh and ſo hardhearted, that they will not apply in any condition unto Charity. For all that, do that lieth in thee by all charitable means to bring him to unity: If he will in no wiſe apply thereunto, thou mayſt be ſorrowful in thy heart, that by thine occaſion that man or woman continueth in ſuch a damnable ſtate: this notwithſtanding, if thou do the beſt that lieth in thee to reconcile him, according to ſome Doctors mind, thou art diſcharged towards God. Nevertheleſs, St. *Auguſtin* doubteth in this caſe, whether thy oblations, prayers, or good deeds, ſhall avail thee before God, or no, until thy Neighbour come again to good ſtate, whom thou haſt brought out of the way. Doth this Noble Doctor doubt therein? what aileth us to be ſo bold and count it but a ſmall fault or none, to bring another man out of patience for every trifle that ſtandeth not with our mind? You may ſee what a grievous thing this is to bring another man out of patience, that peradventure you cannot bring in again with all the goods that you have: for ſurely after the opinion of great wiſe men, friendſhip once broken will be never well made whole again. Wherefore you ſhall hear what Chriſt ſaith unto ſuch perſons; Saith Chriſt, I came down into this world, and ſo took on mee bitter paſſion for mans ſake, by the merits whereof I intended to make unity and peace in mankind, to make man Brother unto me, and ſo to expel the dominion of Sathan the Devil, which worketh nothing elſe but diſſention: and yet now there be a great number of you that have profeſſed my name, and ſay you be Chriſtian men, which do rebel againſt my purpoſe and mind. I go about to make my fold; you go about to break the ſame, and kill my flock. How dareſt thou (ſaith Chriſt) preſume to come unto my Altar, unto my Church, or into my preſence, to make oblation unto me, that takeſt on thee to ſpoil my Lambs? I go about like a good Shepha[illegible]er them together: and thou doſt the contrary, evermore ready to divide and loſe them. Who made thee ſo bold to meddle with my ſilly beaſts, which I bought ſo dearly with my precious Blood? I warn thee out of my ſight, come not in my Preſence, I refuſe thee and all thy works, except thou go and bring home again my Lambs which thou haſt loſt: wherefore, if thou thy ſelf intend to be one of mine, lay even down by and by thine Oblation, and come no further toward mine Altar, but go and ſeek them without any queſtions, as it becometh a true and faithful ſervant. A true and faithful ſervant, whenſoever his Maſter commandeth him to do any thing, he maketh no ſtops nor queſtions, but goeth forth with a good mind: and it is not unlike he continuing in ſuch a good mind and will, ſhall well overcome all dangers and ſtops whatſoever betides him in his journey, and bring to paſs effectually his Maſters will and pleaſure. In the contrary, a ſlothful ſervant, when his Maſter commandeth him to do any thing, by and by he will ask queſtions, where, when, which way, and ſo forth, and ſo he putteth every thing in doubt, that although both his errand and way be never ſo plain, yet by his untoward and ſlothful behaviour, his Maſters commandment is either undone quite, or elſe ſo done, that it ſhall ſtand to no good purpoſe. Go now forth with the good ſervant, and ask no ſuch queſtions, and put no doubts, be not aſhamed to do thy Maſters and Lords will and commandment. Go, as I ſaid, unto thy Neighbour that is offended by thee, and reconcile him (as is aforeſaid) whom thou haſt loſt by thy unkind words, by thy ſcorns, mocks, and other diſdainous words and behaviours, and be not nice to ask of him the cauſe why he is diſpleaſed with thee, require of him Charitably to remit, and ceaſe not till you both depart one from the other true Brethren in Chriſt. Do not like the ſlouthful ſervant thy Maſters meſſage with cautels and doubts; come not to thy Neighbour whom thou haſt offended, and give him a penniworth of ale, or a banquet, and ſo make him a fair Countenance, thinking that by thy drink or dinner he will ſhew thee like Countenance. I grant you may both laugh and make good chear, and yet there may remain a bag of ruſty malice, twenty year old, in thy Neighbours Boſom; when he departeth from thee with a good Countenance, thou thinkeſt all is well then. But now I tell thee it is worſe then it was, for by ſuch cloaked Charity, where thou doeſt offend before Chriſt but once, thou haſt offended twice herein: for now thou goeſt about to give Chriſt a mock, if he would take it of thee: Thou thinkeſt to blind thy Maſter Chriſts commandment. Beware, do not ſo, for at length he will overmatch thee, and take thee tardy whatſoever thou be, and ſo as I ſaid, it ſhould be better for thee not to do his meſſage on this faſhion, for it will ſtand thee in no purpoſe. What? ſome will ſay, I am ſure he loveth me well enough. He ſpeaketh fair to my face, yet for all that thou maieſt be deceived. It proveth not true love in a man to ſpeak fair. If he love thee with his mind and heart, he loveth thee with his eyes, with his tongue, with his feet, with his hands and his Body; for all theſe parts of a mans Body be obedient to the will and mind. He loveth thee with his eyes that looketh chearfully on thee, when thou meeteſt with him, and is glad to ſee thee proſper and do well. He loveth thee with his tongue, that ſpeaketh well by thee behind thy back, or giveth thee good Counſel. He loveth thee with his feet, that is willing to go to help thee out of trouble and buſineſs. He loveth thee with his hands, that will help thee in time of neceſſity, by giving ſome almſ-deeds, or with any other occupation of the hand. He loveth thee with his Body, that will labour with his Body, or put his Body in danger to do good for thee, or to deliver thee from adverſity, and ſo forth, with the other members of his Body. And if thy Neighbour will do according to theſe ſayings, then thou maieſt think that he loveth thee well, and thou in like wiſe oughteſt to declare and open thy love unto thy Neighbour in like faſhion, or elſe you be bound one to reconcile the other, till this perfect love be ingendered amongſt you. It may fortune thou wilt ſay, I am content to do the beſt for my Neighbour that I can ſaving my ſelf harmleſs. I promiſe thee Chriſt will not hear this excuſe; for he himſelf ſuffered harm for

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our ſakes, and for our Salvation was put to extreame death. I wis if it had pleaſed him, he might have ſaved us and never felt pain; but in ſuffering pains and death, he did give us example and teach us how we ſhould do one for another, as he did for us all. For, as he ſaith himſelf, he that will be mine, let him deny himſelf, and follow me in bearing my Croſs and ſuffering my pains. Wherefore we muſt needs ſuffer pain with Chriſt to do our Neighbour good, as well with the Body and all his members, as with heart and mind.

Now I truſt you wot what your Card meaneth, let us ſee how that we can play with the ſame. Whenſoever it ſhall happen you to go and make your Oblation unto God, ask of your ſelves this queſtion, Who art thou? the anſwer as you know is, I am a Chriſtian man. Then you muſt again ask unto your ſelf, What Chriſt requireth of a Chriſtian man? by and by caſt down your trump, your heart, and look firſt of one Card, then of another. The firſt Card telleth thee thou ſhalt not kill, thou ſhalt not be angry, thou ſhalt not be out of patience. This done, thou ſhalt look if there by any more Cards to take up, and if thou look well, thou ſhalt ſee another Card of the ſame ſute, wherein thou ſhalt know that thou art bound to Reconcile thy Neighbour. Then caſt thy trump upon them both, and gather them all three together, and do according to the vertue of thy Cards, and ſurely thou ſhalt not loſe. Thou ſhalt firſt kill the great Turks, and diſcomfit and thruſt them down. Thou ſhalt again fetch home Chriſts Sheep that thou haſt loſt, whereby thou maieſt go both patiently, and with a quiet mind unto the Church, and make thy Oblation unto God, and then without doubt he will hear thee. But yet Chriſt will not accept our Oblation (although we be in patience, and have reconciled our Neighbour) if that our Oblation be made of another mans ſubſtance, but it muſt be our own. See therefore that thou haſt gotten thy goods according to the Laws of God and of thy Prince. For if thou getſt thy goods by polling and extortion, or by any other unlawful ways, then if thou offer a thouſand pound of it, it will ſtand thee in no good effect, for it is not thine. In this point a great number of executors do offend, for when they be made rich by other mens goods, then they will take upon them to build Churches, to give Ornaments to God and his Altar, to gild Saints, and to do many good works therewith; but it ſhall be all in their own name, and for their own glory. Wherefore (ſaith Chriſt) they have in this world their reward, and ſo their Oblations be not their own, nor be they acceptable before God. Another way God will refuſe thy voluntary Oblation, as thus: If ſo be it, that thou haſt gotten never ſo truly thy goods, according both to the Laws of God and man, and haſt with the ſame goods not relieved thy Poor Neighbour, when thou haſt ſeen him hungry thirſty, and naked, he will not take thy Oblation when thou ſhalt offer the ſame, becauſe he will ſay unto thee: When I was hungry, thou gaveſt me no meat; when I was thirſty, thou gaveſt me no drink; and when I was naked thou didſt not cloath me. Wherefore I will not take thy Oblation, becauſe it is none of thine. I left it thee to relieve thy Poor Neighbours, and thou haſt not therein done according unto this my commandment; *Miſericordiam volo, & non ſacrificium*, I had rather have mercy done, than Sacrifice or Oblation. Wherefore until thou doeſt the one more than the other, I will not accept thine Oblation. Evermore beſtow the greateſt part of thy goods in works of mercy, and the leſs part in voluntary works. Voluntary works be called all manner of offering in the Church, except your four offering days, and your tithes; ſetting up candles, gilding and painting, building of Churches, giving of Ornaments, going on Pilgrimages, making of High-ways, and ſuch other, be called voluntary works, which works be of themſelves marvellous good, and convenient to be done. Neceſſary works, and works of mercy are called the commandments, the four offering days, your tithes, and ſuch other that be long to the commandments; and works of mercy conſiſt in relieving and viſiting thy Poor Neighbours. Now then, if men be ſo fooliſh of themſelves, that they will beſtow the moſt part of their goods in voluntary works, which they be not bound to keep, but willingly and by their devotion; and leave the neceſſary works undone, which they are bound to do, they and all their voluntary works are like to go unto everlaſting damnation. And I promiſe you, if you build an hundred Churches, give as much as you can make to gilding of Saints, and honouring of the Church, and if thou go as many Pilgrimages as thy Body can well ſuffer, and offer as great Candels as Oaks, if thou leave the works of mercy and the commandments undone, theſe works ſhall nothing avail thee. No doubt the voluntary works be good, and ought to be done; but yet they muſt be ſo done, that by their occaſion the neceſſary works, and the works of mercy be not decayed and forgotten: If you will build a glorious Church unto God, ſee firſt your ſelves to be in Charity with your Neighbours, and ſuffer not them to bee offended by your works. Then when ye come into your Pariſh Church, you bring with you the Holy Temple of God; as St. *Paul* ſaith, you your ſelves be the very Holy Temples of God: And Chriſt ſaith by his Prophet; In you will I reſt, and intend to make my manſion and abiding place: Again, if yo liſt to gild and paint Chriſt in your Churches, and honour him in veſtiments, ſee that before your eyes the poor people die not for lack of meat, drink, and clothing. Then do you deck the very true Temple of God, and honour him in rich veſtures, that will never be worn, and ſo forth uſe your ſelves according unto the commandments; and then finally ſet up your Candles, and they will report what a glorious light remaineth in your hearts, for it is not fitting to ſee a dead man light Candles. Then, I ſay, go your Pilgrimages, build your material Churches, do all your voluntary works, and they will then repreſent you unto God, and teſtifie with you, that you have provided him a glorious place in your hearts. But beware I ſay again, that you do not run ſo far in your voluntary works, that ye do quite forget your neceſſary works of mercy, which you are bound to keep: you muſt have ever a good reſpect unto the beſt and worthieſt works toward God, to be done firſt and with more efficacy, and the other to be done ſecondarily. Thus if you do with the other that I have ſpoken of before, ye may come according to the tenor of your Cards, and offer your Oblations and Prayers to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who will both hear and accept them to your everlaſting joy and glory, to the which he bring us, and all thoſe whom hee ſuffered death for, Amen.

A Note of William Gie.

ONe *William Gie*, Servant with Maſter *Revet* Merchant, brought a Bible and Service Book of *Richard Waterſon*, who then dwelt with Maſter *Duixlie* in *Pauls Church-yard*, and one *Spilman* bound the Book: and when the ſaid *Gie*, had inquired for the ſaid *Richard* to have his Book at *Duixiles*, anſwer was made that he was not within, and ſo the ſaid *Gie* went his way to *Spilmans* for the Book; and becauſe he found it not done, he left it there, and immediatly ſearch was made in *Spilmans* houſe, and the ſaid Bible and Service Book was found and carried to *Boner* then Biſhop of *London*. He having the Books, commanded *Spilman* for the binding thereof to *Lollards Tower*; and as *Cluny* went for the key thereof *Spilman* conveighed himſelf away. After that, *Waterſon* and *Gie* being apprehended by *Robin Calie*, *John Hill*, and *John Avales*, and being two days in the *Counter*, were brought before *Boner* and other Commiſſioners. Being examined, Doctor *Story* demanded *Gie*; Wherefore, he brought the Bible? He anſwered, to ſerve God withal. Then ſaid *Boner*; Our Lady Mattins would ſerve a Chriſtian man to Serve God. The Bible, ſaid *Story*, would breed Hereſies; a Bible Bable were more fit for thee. So they concluded that either of them ſhould have forty ſtripes lacking one, and *Boner* ſaid it was the law. And they ſaid to *Waterſon*, if he would pay forty pound, he ſhould be releaſed of his ſtripes: at length they came to 10. pound, and when they ſaw he would not, they made a Warrant to Maſter *Grafton*, and ſent *Waterſon* and *Gie* to *Bridewel* to be beaten upon the Croſs. And becauſe the matter ſhould not be ſlightly handled, *Story* was ſent with them to ſee it done. *Gie* being whipped upon the Croſs, interceſſion was made that he might be forgiven part of his penance.

A Note

A Note of Michaels *Wife.*

Michaels Wife aforementioned, being Priſoner in *Ipſwich* for Religion, reſorted daily from the Priſon to her Husbands houſe, and returned again, keeping Faith and promiſe. And her Husband thereat being fearful, ſhe would comfort him, ſaying, ſhe came not to trouble him, neither ſhould he ſuſtain trouble by her. Wherefore ſhe would will him to be of good chear, for her coming was of good will to ſee him and her Children, and not to bring them into trouble, but to ſhew her duty therein while ſhe might have liberty.

A Note of John Spicer.

IN Queen *Maries* time there was one *John Spicer*, of whom mention is made before, he being at the Stake, ready to give his life for the Truth, a Bag of Gunpowder was brought him by his Son. And another ſtanding by (one named Maſter *Beckingham*) took the Gunpowder of his Son, and put it under the Girdle of the ſaid *Spicer*, and exhorted him to be ſtrong in the Lord; alſo divers of the Sheriffs Servants comforted him in like manner, and deſired him not to faint. Unto whom *Spicer* anſwered? Doubt you not of me (ſaith he) my Soul is quiet; but be ye ſtrong and ſtand faſt in the Lord Jeſus, and commit your ſelves to him in the confeſſion of his holy name, and profeſſion of his Truth.

A Note of Mandrel.

Mandrel ſtanding at the Stake, as is mentioned before, Doctor *Geffery* the Chancellor ſpake to him, wiſhing him to yield to the Doctors, who many hundred years had taught otherwiſe then he doth believe, &c. To whom *Mandrel* anſwered; Maſter Chancellor (ſaid he) trouble me with none of your Doctors whatſoever they ſay; but bring me the Book of God, the old Teſtament and the New, and I will anſwer you. What ſayeſt thou *Mandrel* (quoth he) by the Saints in the Church, the Image of our Lady, of the Crucifix, and other holy Saints? be they not neceſſary, &c. Yes, Mr. Chancellor (ſaid he) very neceſſary to roaſt a ſhoulder of Mutton. Then Doctor *Billing* a Frier once, ſtanding by, ſaid; Maſter Chancellor (quoth he) hear how theſe Hereticks ſpeak againſt the Crucifix and the holy Croſs; and yet the holy Croſs is mentioned in all the Tongues, both Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. For in Latin it is called *T* in Greek *Tau*, &c. Whereupon one *Thomas Gilford*, a Merchant of *Pool*, ſtanding by, ſaid; Ah merciful Lord (ſaid he) is not this a marvellous matter for a poor man thus to be charged, and put to the pains of fire for *T Tau*?

When *Mandrel* and *Spicer* were examined before the Chancellor, the Chancellor called them, ſaying: Come on, come on, ſaith he, thou *Spicer* art too blame, for thou haſt taught *Mandrel* theſe Hereſies. Thou art by thy occupation a Bricklaier: Yea, that I am. And can ſing in the Quire: Yea, that I can, ſaith he. And can play on the Organs. True, ſaith he. Well then, ſaid the Chancellor, and thou haſt marred this poor man, and haſt taught him all theſe Hereſies. No, Maſter Chancellor (quoth he) I have not taught him, but I have read him. He is able, thanks be to God, to teach both you and me.

A Note of Elizabeth Pepper.

Elizabeth Pepper before mentioned, when ſhe was burned at *Stratford*, was eleven weeks gone with Child, as ſhe then teſtified to one *Boſomes* Wife, who then unlooſed her Neckerchief; and moreover, when ſhe was asked, why ſhe did not tell them, anſwered; Why (quoth ſhe) they knew it well enough. Oh, ſuch are the bloody hearts of this cruel generation, that no occaſion can ſtay them from their miſchievous murdering of the Saints of the Lord, that truly profeſs Chriſt crucified only and alone, for the ſatisfaction of their Sins.

A Note of one confeſſing Gods Truth at the Gallows.

Anno 1558.

A Notorious Felon, one *Dick Adams*, being upon the Gallows, making his confeſſion, and ready to be caſt down from the Ladder, was deſired at that inſtant by one Mrs. *Harris*, the Gram mar-Schoolmaſters Wife, to remember the bleſſed Sacrament before he died, to whom the ſaid *Adams* ſaid; Marry Miſtreſs never in better time, who went up to the Top of the Ladder, and ſaid it was the moſt abominable Idol that ever was, and willed all men to take it ſo; for we have been greatly deceived thereby. Whereupon the Sheriff cauſed him to hold his peace, and to take his death patiently. He went down to his place, and was caſt from the Ladder, ſpeaking to his laſt word, that it was an abominable Idol: his Body therefore was buried out of the Churchyard by the High-way; who although he was a Thief in his life, yet he earneſtly repented thereof, ſo that I doubt not but he died the Child of God, and not unworthy to be put in the Regiſter of the Lords accepted Confeſſors.

A note of Gertrude Crockhay.

IN the late days of Queen *Mary*, among other ſtrange dealings, of the Papiſts with the faithful, this is not with the reſt to be forgotten, that a godly Marton named *Gertrude Crockhay*, the Wife of Maſter *Robert Crockhay*, dwelling then at St. *Katherines* by the Tower of *London*, abſtained her ſelf from the Popiſh Church. And ſhe being in her Husbands houſe, it happened *in Anno* 1556. that the fooliſh Popiſh Saint *Nicholas* went about the Pariſh, which ſhe underſtanding, ſhut her doors againſt him, and would not ſuffer him to come within her houſe. Then Doctor *Mallet* hearing thereof (and being then Maſter of the ſaid St. *Katherines* next day came to her with twenty at his Tail, thinking belike to fray her, and asked why ſhe would not the night before let in St. *Nicholas*, and receive his bleſſing, &c. To whom ſhe anſwered thus; Sir, I know not Saint *Nicholas*, ſaid ſhe, that came hither. Yes (quoth *Mallet*) here was one that repreſented Saint *Nicholas*. Indeed Sir, (ſaid ſhe) here was one that is my Neighbours Child, but not Saint *Nicholas*. For Saint *Nicholas* is in Heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him to have had my purſe cut by them. For I have heard of men robbed by Saint *Nicholas Clerks*, &c. So *Mallet* perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and ſhe for that time ſo eſcaped.

Refer this to the year of the Lord, 1556.

Then *in Anno* 1557. a little before *Whitſontide*, it happened that the ſaid *Gertrude* anſwered for a Child that was baptiſed of one *Thomas Saunders*, which Child was chriſtened ſecretly in a houſe, after the order of the Service Book in King *Edwards* time, and that being ſhortly known to her Enemies, ſhe was ſought for, which underſtanding nothing thereof, went beyond the Sea into *Gelderland*, to ſee certain Lands that ſhould have come to her Children in the right of her firſt Husband, who was a ſtranger born. And being there about a quarter of a year, at the length coming homeward, by *Antwerp*, ſhe chanced to meet with one *John Johnſon* a Dutchman, *alias John de Wille* of *Antwerp Shipper*, who ſeeing her there, went of malice to the *Margrave*, and accuſed her to be an Anabaptiſt, whereby ſhe was taken and carried to Priſon. The cauſe why this naughty man did thus, was for that he claimed of Maſter *Crockhay* her Husband a piece of mony, which was not his due, for a Ship, that the ſaid Maſter *Crockhay* bought of him; and for that he could not get it, he wrought this diſpleaſure. Well, ſhe being in Priſon, lay there a fortnight; in which time ſhe ſaw ſome that were Priſoners there, who privily were drowned in Rheniſh Wine fats, and after ſecretly put in Sacks and caſt into the River. Now ſhe good Woman, thinking to be ſo ſerved, took thereby ſuch fear, that it brought the beginning of her ſickneſs, of the which at length ſhe died.

Then at the laſt ſhe was called before the *Margrave*, and charged with Anabaptiſtry, which ſhe there utterly denied, and deteſted the Errour, declaring before him in Dutch

Anno 1558. Dutch her faith boldly without any fear. So the Margrave hearing the ſame, in the end being well pleaſed with her profeſſion, at the ſute of ſome of her Friends delivered her out of Priſon, but took away her Book, and ſo ſhe came over into *England* again. And being at home in her Husbands houſe, he thinking to find means to get her to go abroad, made one *Vicars* a Yeoman of the *Tower* his Friend, who was great with *Boner*, to work that liberty for her. Now this *Vicars* making means to *Boner* for the ſame, *Boner* put the matter over to *Darbiſhire* his Chancellor who enjoyned her to give certain mony to poor folks, and to go on the *Wedneſday* and *Sunday* after to Church to Evenſong, which ſhe ſo did, and afterward had ſuch trouble in her Conſcience thereby, that ſhe thought verily God had caſt her off, and that ſhe ſhould be damned, and never be ſaved: ſo not long after this, it hapned that Mr. *Rough*, of whom mention is made before, came to her houſe, unto whom ſhe made moan of her unquietneſs for going to Church, and deſired his Counſel what ſhe might do, that ſhould beſt pleaſe God, and eaſe her troubled Soul, &c. Unto whom Mr. *Rough* replyed many comfortable Sentences of Scripture to comfort her, and in the end gave her Counſel to go to the Chriſtian Congregation, which ſecretly the perſecuted had, and confeſs her fault unto them, and ſo to be received into their fellowſhip again; who hearing that was glad, and intended ſo to do, and ſo would have done, if ſore ſickneſs had not immediately prevented the ſame. But when Doctor *Mallet* heard by one *Robert Hemmings* Woodmonger, that ſhe lay very ſick indeed, which *Hemmings* was her great Enemy, he came to her twice to perſwade her to recant, and to receive (as the Papiſts term it) the Rites of the Church. Unto whom ſhe anſwered, ſhe could not, nor would, for that ſhe was ſubject to vomit; and therefore he would not (ſhe was ſure, ſhe ſaid) have her to caſt up their God again, as ſhe ſhould do, if ſhe did receive it. And ſo immediately vomited indeed? wherefore he ſeeing that, went from her into the Hall to her Daughter named *Clare Sacke*, and told her, if her Mother would not receive, ſhe ſhould not be buried in Chriſtian burial, as he termed it. Then *Clare* went and told her ſick Mother what he ſaid unto her. Who hearing the ſame, ſpake theſe words following; Oh (ſaid ſhe) how happy am I, that I ſhall not riſe with them, but againſt them. Well (quoth ſhe) the earth is the Lords, and all that therein is; and therefore I commit the matter to him, &c.

Read before.

Shortly hereupon, that is, the 27. day of *March* 1558. the ſaid Doctor *Mallet* came again to her with one Doctor *Weſt*, Queen *Maries* Chaplain. And coming in, he ſaluted her, and told her that he had brought her a good learned man to perſwade her, who was one of the Queens Chaplains, &c. and therefore he deſired her to hear and believe him in that he ſhould ſay, &c. Then Doctor *Weſt* exhorted her to receive their Sacrament, and to be aneled, for he ſaid, ſhe was ſtrong enough for it, &c. Unto whom ſhe anſwered, that ſhe was able and ſtrong enough to receive it indeed, but ſhe would not, for that it was abominable, &c. Then ſaid *Weſt*, ye be in an ill mind; Do ye think to die a Chriſtian Woman? Yea, ſaid ſhe, that I do. I pray you, ſaid *Weſt*, how came you firſt into that Opinion. Marry, ſaid ſhe, there is he that firſt taught it me (meaning Doctor *Mallet*) at the Marriage of my Brother and his Siſter, where I heard him earneſtly preach this Doctrine, which I now do hold. And if God ſhall lay our ſins to our charge, if we repent not, much more damnable is his offence, being once a publick Preacher of the ſame, and now to turn from it. Then *Mallet* told her he was then deceived by little new-fangled two-peny Books, as you be now (ſaid he) but now I am otherwiſe perſwaded, as I would have you; and to receive the Sacrament, which if you would, you ſhould, I warrant you, be ſaved, my Soul for yours. At whoſe words ſhe earneſtly deſired them to be content: for (ſaith ſhe) ye be come to rob and to draw me from my Chriſt, which I tell you Truth you ſhall not do, for I will never conſent to you while I live. When *Weſt* heard her ſay ſo, he drew his ſtool nigher to hear her ſpeak, and being drunken, he fell down, whereby *Mallet* was fain to help him up again, and ſo immediately after they departed thence. And the thirteenth day of *April* next after that, ſhe died conſtantly in the Lord, and yielded her Soul and life into his holy hands, with theſe words? *Oh Lord, into thy hands receive my Soul*, and ſo immediately gave up her life unto the Lord, to whom be praiſe for ever, *Amen.*

While ſhe was beyond Sea, as it is ſaid before, Maſter *Crockhay* her Husband, by the procurement of Doctor *Mallet*, was cited to come before Maſter *Huſſey* the Commiſſary who (had it not been for that he made means unto the ſaid *Huſſey* before) would have ſent him to Priſon, and bound him in Recogniſance to ſeek her out. But he more eaſily eſcaped their hands by friendſhip, as before I have ſaid.

Now when Dr. *Mallet* heard of her death, Maſter *Crockhay*, and one *Robert Hemmings* Bayliff of Saint *Katherines*, being before him for the burying of her, he ſaid plainly, ſhe ſhould be buryed nigh to ſome Highway, and a mark ſet up, in token that an Heretick was buryed there. Then the ſaid *Hemmings* told him, the Hogs would ſcrape her up, which were not decent, nor beſt? and Mr. *Crockhay* intreated ſhe might be buried in his Garden, which at length he granted, and willed the ſaid *Hemmings* to ſee it done, and that he ſhould be ſure he buried her there indeed.

After, when the Corps was brought to the ſaid Garden the ſaid *Robert Hemmings* the Bayliff would needs ſee it opened: which when the Cover was taken off, the Wife of the ſaid *Hemmings* put her hand within the ſheet, and felt the hair of the ſaid dead Corps, ſaying; Now will I juſtify that ſhe is here, and ſo ſhe did, telling *Mallet* that thoſe her hands did feel her; this is the effect of this Story.

Now ſince the coming in of Queen *Elizabeth*, the ſaid Doctor *Mallet* came to the ſaid Maſter *Crockhay*, and asked him forgiveneſs, alledging this Verſe of the Poet.

Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio eſt.

The Lord give him repentance and grace to ſeek perfect friendſhip with him, if it be his bleſſed will, *Amen.*

A *Note of* William Wood.

ACcording as I have ſent unto you the true record of my Examination before the Doctors above mentioned, ſo I thought it not inconvenient to ſend you likewiſe certain Notes of my other two deliverances in Q. *Maries* time, and this I do not (as God knoweth) to get any praiſe to my ſelf, or to reproach any other, but that God may be glorified in his works, and that our Brethren may know, that though there be many times but little help on earth, yet that there is more in Heaven. About a month after my Examination, one *Apleby* and his Wife (that were perſecuted from *Maidſtone* in *Kent*) came to my houſe in *Strowd*, and deſired me that he might have a place in my houſe for him and his Wife for a time, becauſe Perſecution was ſo hot, that he could no longer ſtay there; and I at his inſtance let him have a place with me: but within a fortnight after the Papiſts eſpied him, and complained of him to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and the Biſhop ſent his chief man, called *Ralph Crowch*, and he carried him to *Rocheſter* before the Biſhop, and the ſaid *Apleby* ſtood in the defence of the Truth boldly, and the Biſhop ſent both him and his Wife to the Jayl of *Maidſtone*, and there they were burned for the Teſtimony of the Goſpel of God. And the *Friday* fortnight after I was in the Market at *Rocheſter* talking with another man, and the ſaid *Ralph Crowch* was ſent for me; and he coming within a Stones caſt of me where I was talking with my Neighbour *George Smally*, one *William Stanley* a Papiſt, dwelling alſo in *Strowd*, met with the ſaid *Crowch*, and they two talked together a while, and I doubted that they talked of me, becauſe many times in their talk they looked on me, and then the ſaid *Ralph Crowch* went over the ſtreet to another Officer or Conſtable which knew not me, and ſent the ſaid Conſtable for me, and coming for me, knowing my Neigbour *George Smally*, took him inſtead of me, and carried him to the Biſhop, and when he came before him, the Biſhop ſaid to the Officers, this is not the Knave, this is not

The notable deliverances of W. Wood.

not be Knave, and the Biſhop checked the Major and his Officers, and ſaid that they mocked him, becauſe he carried the other man for me, ſuch was the mighty providence of God to defend me, and the Maior the ſame night ſent forty bils and men with other weapons to beſet my houſe to take me; but the Lord kept me from them and delivered me out of their hands, to him be glory therefore, Amen.

The third time that the Lord delivered me was on *Faſter* day next after. I had been at *London* all the Lent, and on *Eaſter* Even at night I came home to *Strowd* to my wife, and a Child of three years old told one of the Neighbours that her Father was come home. And on *Eaſter* day, after their Popiſh Evenſong was done, came Maſter *Reade*, *Thomas Crowch*, Brother to the above ſaid *Ralph Crowch*, *William Stanly*, *Thomas Bets*, *Lionell Newman*, *and Roger Braunch*, with threeſcore people or thereabouts, and ſearched my houſe very ſtraitly for me: but as Gods Providence was there was Mault a drying upon the Kill, and they ſearched ſo narrowly for me, that I was glad to heave up a corner of the hair whereon the Mault lay, and went into the Kill-hole, and there ſtood till they were gone, and ſo I eſcaped from them; but within an hour after there came a Woman to my Wife to borrow a bruſh, and ſpied mee thorow the key-hole of the door, and there ſhe carrying tydings abroad, immediately came a great company of men and beſet my houſe round about, and I ſaid to my wife, You ſee that theſe four men ſeek for my life, that is, Maſter *Reade*, *Thomas Crowch*, *William Stanley*, and *Thomas Bets*: for I do think that none of the reſt will lay hands on me; and therefore I pray thee wife follow theſe four men, and talk loud to them that I may hear, and ſo eſcape, and if they ſearch on the backſide, I may avoid on the ſtreet ſide; and be of good comfort, for our lives are in Gods hand, and though there be little help here on Earth, yet there is help enough from Heaven; and when theſe men were ſearching on the backſide, I went into the ſtreet, among (as I gheſs) an hundred people, and none of them laid hands on me, neither ſaid they any thing to me, ſo I went out of the Town, and lay there at an honeſt mans houſe at the Pariſh of *Cobham* that night.

And at the ſame time alſo two of my Neighbours, honeſt men and of good wealth, the one called *John Pemmet* a Fiſherman, the other named *John Baily* a Glover, becauſe they came not to their Popiſh Church to buy ſome of their Idolatrous wares, were complained of to the Juſtices, who did bind them to anſwer for their faith before the Judges at the Aſſiſes which were holden at *Midſummer* after (as I remember) at *Rocheſter* in the Palace-yard; and there was at that time a Sail cloth of a ſhip tied to the top of the Biſhops Palace wall, to keep away the Sun from the Judges, becauſe it was hot, and the wind blew and ſhook the Sail, ſo that when theſe two men were called to be examined, and when they ſhould have anſwered, there fell from the top of the wall three or four great ſtones upon the Judges necks, ſo that ſome of them which ſate on the Bench were ſore hurt and maimed, ſo that they aroſe ſuddenly all amazed, and departed, and the two men were delivered.

From Tuddenham *in* Suff. *the* 25. *day of* July, 1583. *Per me Gulielmum Wood, Vicarium de* Tuddenham.

The Story of John Alcocke.

THis *John Alcoke* or *Aucoke*, of whom mention is made before, was a very faithful honeſt man, by his occupation a Woad-ſette, ſingularly well learned in the Holy Scriptures, and in all his Converſation a juſt and righteous man that feared God, and ſtudied to do indeed that thing that he had learned in the Scriptures. Now after that Sir *Richard Yeoman* was driven away, and the people on *Sundays* and other days came to the Church, and had no man to teach them any thing (for as yet Parſon *Newel* was not come to *Hadley* to dwell, nor had gotten any Curate. Beſides that, the Laws made by King *Edward* were in force, and the Latine mumblings not received every where.) *John Alcocke* therefore took the Engliſh Book uſed by King *Edward*, exhorting the people to pray with him, and ſo read certain prayers in Engliſh before them: and moreover, he gave them godly leſſons and exhortations out of Chapters that he read unto them. For this, the Biſhop of *Winchester Stephen Gardiner* ſent for him, and caſt him into *Newgate* at *London*: where after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not ſubmit himſelf to ask forgiveneſs of the Pope, and to be reconciled to the Romiſh Religion, he was caſt into the lower Dungeon, where with evil keeping, and ſickneſs of the houſe, hee died in Priſon. Thus died he a Martyr of Chriſts Verity, which hee heartily loved and conſtantly confeſſed, and received the Garland of a well foughten battel at the hand of the Lord. His Body was caſt out, and buried in a dunghil; for the Papiſts would in all things be like themſelves; therefore would they not ſo much as ſuffer the dead Bodies to have honeſt and convenient Sepulture. Anno 1558.

He wrote two Epiſtles to *Hadley*, which follow here.

The firſt Epiſtle of John Alcocke.

GRace be with you, and peace from the Father, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which gave himſelf for our ſins, that he might deliver us from this preſent evil world, according to the will of God our Father, to whom be praiſe for ever and ever, Amen. Gal. 1.

Oh my Brethren of *Hadley*, why are ye ſo ſoon turned from them which called you in the Grace of Chriſt, unto another Doctrine? which is nothing elſe but that there be ſome which trouble you, and intend to pervert the Goſpel of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. Nevertheleſs though theſe ſhould come unto you that have been your true Preachers, and preach another way of Salvation, than by Jeſus Chriſts death and paſſion, hold them accurſed. Yea, if it were an Angel came from heaven, and would tell you that the ſacrifice of Chriſts Body upon the Croſs once for all ever, for all the ſins of all thoſe which ſhall be ſaved, were not ſufficient; accurſed be he. If he were an Angel, or whatſoever hee were, that would ſay that our Service in Engliſh were not right Gods Service, but will better allow the moſt wicked mumming that you now have: Thoſe, whatſoever they bee, except they do repent and allow the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, they ſhall never come into that Kingdom that Chriſt hath prepared for thoſe that be his. Wherefore, my dearly beloved Brethren of *Hadley*, remember you well what you have been taught heretofore of the Lord Gods true and ſimple Prophets, that only did wiſh your health and Conſolation. Heb. 9. 10 Chriſts ſacrifice. Church Service. True Prophets.

Do not (my good Brethren) I pray you, forget the comfortable word of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Matthew* 11. Come unto me all you that are troubled and laden, with the dangers that ye are in the ſtormy daies, and hear my words, and believe them, and you ſhall ſee the unſpeakable comfort that you ſhall receive. The Lord is my Shepheard, ſaith the Prophet *David*, ſo that I can want nothing, *Pſal.* 23. He feedeth his Sheep in green paſtures, and leadeth them unto clear and wholſome waters of comfort. I am that good Shepheard, ſaith our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *John* 10. for I give my life for my Sheep, and I know my Sheep, and my Sheep know me; but my Sheep will not know an hireling: for he careth not but only for his god the belly, and ſo ſeeketh the deſtruction of their Souls. Therefore beware of hirelings, you that count your ſelves the Sheep of Jeſus Chriſt. Be ſure that ye know his voyce and obey it, and be not deceived through ſtrange voyces, but go from them, and earneſtly abide by your profeſſion that you have made in your Baptiſm, and ſhrink not from it. For if you do, you ſhall declare your ſelves to be a vain people, and without underſtanding. And for this cauſe doth God plague his People, and ſuffereth them to be deceived with falſe Prophets and wicked men. I pray you note what the Prophet *Eſay* ſaith to the people of thoſe days, *Eſay* 1. becauſe they were ſlipping from the Lord their God, which had done ſo Marvellous works for them, as you well do know in the Hiſtories of the Bible. Hear O Heaven (ſaith he) and hearken thou Earth, for the Lord hath Hirelings. A vain people.

Anno 1558.

hath ſpoken, I have nouriſhed and brought up Children, but they have done wickedly againſt me. The Ox hath known his Owner, and the Aſs his Maſters Crib; but *Iſrael* hath received no knowledge, my People hath no underſtanding. Alas for this ſinful Nation, a People of great Iniquity, a froward Generation, unnatural Children.

They have forſaken the Lord, they have provoked his wrath, and are gone backward. Hearken alſo what the Prophet *Jeremy* ſaith, *Jer.* 2. Be aſtonied ye Heavens, be afraid and aſhamed at ſuch a thing, ſaith the Lord, for my People hath done two evils. They have forſaken me, the Well of the waters of Life, and digged them broken Pits that can hold no Water. Is *Iſrael* a Bond-ſervant or one of the houſhold of the Lord? Why then is he ſo ſpoiled? Why then do they roar and cry upon him as a Lion? Underſtand thoſe things now in theſe days that the Prophet ſpake of them. Oh my Brethren of *Hadley*, why cometh this plague upon us, that we have now in theſe days and other times? Hearken what the Prophets ſay, Cometh not this upon thee becauſe thou haſt forſaken the Lord thy God? Thine own wickedneſs ſhall reprove thee, and thy turning away ſhall condemn thee, that thou maiſt know and underſtand how evil and hurtful a thing it is, that thou haſt forſaken the Lord thy God, and not feared him, ſaith the Lord God of Hoſts, the holy One of *Iſrael*; that is to ſay, he that maketh *Iſrael* holy. And underſtand by *Iſrael* the Children of God, and thoſe things that were ſpoken to the carnal *Iſrael*, are ſpoken unto us, that are or ſhould be the ſpiritual *Iſrael*. Grace be with you all, *Amen*.

An evil and hurtful thing.

Iſrael.

Your, John Alcocke, *Priſoner for Gods Word in* Newgate *at* London.

The ſecond Epiſtle of John Alcocke.

A Letter.

MY Brethren of *Hadley*, note well what St. *Paul* ſaid in the tenth Chapter to the firſt of the *Corinthians*; Brethren, I would you ſhould not be ignorant of this, that our Fathers were all under the Cloud, and all paſſed through the Sea, and were baptized under *Moſes* in the Cloud and in the Sea, and did eat one ſpiritual meat and drank of one ſpiritual drink. They drank of that ſpiritual Rock that followed them, which Rock was Chriſt: Nevertheleſs in many of them had God no delight, for they were over-ſmitten in the Wilderneſs. Theſe are examples unto us, that we ſhould not luſt after evil things as they luſted; that is to ſay, we ſhould ſtand forth to defend the Verity of God, which we would do right well, alas, were it not for loſs of goods: we do ſo much luſt after them, that we will rather ſay there is *no God*, than we will profeſs his Word to be truth to the loſing of our goods. And our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, *Mark* 10. He that is not content to forſake Father and Mother, Wife and Children, Houſe and Land, Corn and Cattel, yea, and his own life for my Truths ſake, is not meet for me. And if we be not for our Lord God, then we muſt needs be meet for the Devil, and we muſt needs be ſervants to one of them. If we be not aſhamed of the Goſpel of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, but earneſtly confeſs it to the uttermoſt of our power, then are we ſure to be confeſſed of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and that before the Angels in Heaven, to be his Servants. But if we will ſo luſt to keep our goods, and rather deny him than to loſe our goods, then doth it follow whoſe Servants we are. Therefore (my dear Brethren of *Hadley*) beware that you do not conſent to any thing againſt your Conſcience. For if you do, beware of Gods great wrath: I exhort you therefore (my beloved Brethren in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt) to ſtand faſt in your Profeſſion, and become not manifeſt Run-aways from the truth of our Lord God, but ſtick earneſtly to it, and doubt not but our God will be unto you a ſtrong defence and refuge in the needful time. Bow down thine ear, O Lord, (ſaith *David*, *Pſal.* 86.) and hear me: for I am poor and in miſery. Be merciful unto me, O Lord, for I will call daily upon thee: comfort the Soul of thy Servant; for unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my Soul. For thou Lord art good and gracious, and of great mercy unto all them that call upon thee. Give ear Lord unto my prayer, and ponder the voice of my humble petition. All Nations whom thou haſt made ſhall come and worſhip thee, O Lord, and ſhall glorifie thy Name. For thou art great, and doſt wonderful things: Thou art God alone. Teach me thy ways, O Lord, and I will walk in thy Truth: Oh knit my heart unto thee, that I may fear thy Name. I will thank thee, O my God, with all my heart, and will praiſe thy Name for ever. O you Chriſtian People of *Hadley*, comfort your ſelves one another in theſe notable *Pſalms* of *David*, and the whole Bible. Embrace the noble Jewel of our Lord God the Bible, and endeavour your ſelves to walk the way that it doth teach you.

Luſt after evil things.

Confeſſion of the Goſpel. Luke 12.

Invocation and Prayer.

Pſalms of *David* are comfortable.

The Bible is a Jewel.

My good Brethren, we as helpers, ſaith St. *Paul*, 2 *Cor.* 6. do exhort you, that you receive not the grace of God in vain. For behold now is the accepted time, now is the day of Salvation. Let us beware that we take ſure hold while we have time; for time will away. While ye have the light walk in it, leſt when ye would deſire it, ye cannot have it. Underſtand the Light to be the knowledge of Chriſt, and to obey, that is to have the light. For that cauſe came our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to make himſelf known, *John* 12. Unto thoſe that did receive him he gave power to be the Sons of God, and ſo to be made Inheritors of his Kingdom, which ſhall never end, *John* 1. who would not be glad to become the Kings Son, that he thereby might be partaker of the Kingdom that never ſhall have end? O vain man, what art thou that wilt refuſe everlaſting life for a day or two, or an hour? thou canſt not tell how ſhort. Open thine eyes, and ſee thine own comfort and refuge to Chriſt. O fly and refuſe this worldly wiſdom; for worldly wiſdom doth ſhut out the wiſdom of God. For the word of the Croſs is fooliſhneſs unto them that periſh; but unto us which are ſaved it is the power of God. For it is written, 1 *Cor.* 1. I will deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe, and will caſt away the underſtanding of the prudent. Where are the wiſe? where are the Scribes? where are the Diſputers of this world? hath not God made the wiſdom of this world fooliſhneſs? For inſomuch as the world by the wiſdom thereof knew not God in his wiſdom, it pleaſed God through fooliſhneſs of preaching to ſave them that believe. For the Jews require tokens, and the Greeks ask after wiſdom; but we preach Chriſt crucified, ſaith St. *Paul*, to the Jews an occaſion of falling, and unto the Greeks (a People that are wiſe in their own conceits) to them is the preaching of Chriſt crucified fooliſhneſs. But unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, we preach Chriſt, the power of God and the wiſdom of God. For the fooliſhneſs of God is wiſer than men, and the weakneſs of God is ſtronger than men.

Vanity of this life. Worldly wiſdom.

Brethren, look upon your Calling, how that not many wiſe men after the fleſh, not many mighty, not many of high degree are called. But that which is fooliſh before the world hath God choſen, that he might confound the wiſe; and that which is deſpiſed before the world hath he choſen, and that which is nothing, that he might deſtroy that which is ought, that no fleſh ſhould rejoyce. Of the ſame are ye alſo in Chriſt Jeſus, which is made of God unto us wiſdom and righteouſneſs, and ſanctifying and redemption, according as it is written, that he that rejoyceth ſhould rejoyce in the Lord, that your Faith ſhould not ſtand in the wiſdom of men, but in the power of God. We ſpeak of this wiſdom among them that are perfect, not the wiſdom of this world, nor the Rulers of this world, which go to nought; but we ſpeak of the wiſdom of God, which the carnal man doth not underſtand. The natural man perceiveth nothing of the Spirit of God. It is fooliſhneſs with him. But God hath opened it to us by his Spirit; for the Spirit ſearcheth out all things. Wherefore (my dear Brethren) try your ſelves well, whither you have the Spirit of Chriſt, or no. If you have the Spirit of Chriſt, then are ye dead concerning ſin; but ye are alive unto God through Jeſus Chriſt. If this Spirit dwell in you, then will ye increaſe and go forward in your Profeſſion, and not fear what fleſh may do unto the Carkaſs. Therefore ſtand faſt in the liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made you free, and be not wrapped up again in the yoke of bondage, that is to ſay, to go from God by wicked life, or ſerve God another way than he hath commanded in his holy Word.

Spirit of Chriſt.

Galat. 5.

I truſt you go forward (my dear Brethren and Siſters) in your promiſe that you made to your Lord God in your Baptiſm: I pray God open unto you the knowledge of himſelf, and lighten the eyes of your underſtanding, that you may know what is the hope of your calling, and what the riches of his glorious Inheritance is upon the Saints. For ye are the choſen Generation, the kingly Prieſthood, that holy nation, that peculiar people, that ſhould ſhew the vertues of him which hath called you out of darkneſs into his marvellous light, that is to ſay, to fear God, and to work righteouſneſs and ſo to receive the end of your Faith, the ſalvation of your Souls. This is a true ſaying; If we be dead with Chriſt, we ſhall live with him alſo. If we be patient, we ſhall alſo Reign with him. If we deny him, he alſo will deny us. If we believe not, yet he abideth faithful, he cannot deny himſelf. The very God of peace ſanctifie you throughout, and I pray God that your Spirit, Soul, and Bodies be kept blameleſs, unto the coming of our Lord Jeſus. Faithful is he that hath called you, which will alſo doe it. Brethren, pray for us, and greet all the Brethren among you.

1. Pet 2.

2. Tim. 1.

1. Theſ. 5.

By me your Brother in the Lord and Saviour Chriſt, *John Alcocke*, Priſoner of the Lord at *Newgate*.

Give glory to God.

GOd be merciful to thee (*O England*) and ſend thee a great number of ſuch faithful Fathers and godly Paſtors, as Doctor *Tailor* was, to guide thee, feed thee, and comfort thee after thy great miſeries and troubles, that thou haſt ſuffered under the Tyrannous captivity and rage of the Roman Antichriſt, and ſuch ravening Wolves, as have without all mercy murdered the godly and learned Preachers, and give all men grace to conſider that ſuch horrible Plagues and mutations have juſtly fallen upon this Realm for Sin, and with unfained hearts to turn to God, who as he hath ſcourged us with leſs Plagues then we deſerved, ſo he calleth us again by his undeſerved and unſpeakable mercy unto repentance and amendment of our living. It is doubtleſs now high time to turn unfainedly to God, and to correct our ſinful livings, and to remember what Saint *John Baptiſt* ſaith, *Matth.* 3. The Ax is now ſet to the Root of the Tree, and every Tree that bringeth not forth good fruit ſhall be hewen down and caſt into the Fire. For this may all men aſſure themſelves of, both rich and poor, high and low, old and young, that the Almighty, Jealous, and Righteous God, will not ſuffer the ſinful and wicked life of the ungodly unrepentant that contemn his mercy now profered unto them, to be unpuniſhed, but as he hath from the beginning of the World ſhewed himſelf a Righteous Judge, and puniſher of wickedneſs, even ſo will he do ſtill now. God expulſed our firſt Parents *Adam* and *Eve* from Paradiſe, and laid upon them and upon us all theſe miſeries, ſickneſs, calamities, and death, that we daily feel, and miſerably are oppreſſed withal, *Gen.* 3. God in *Noahs* days drowned the whole World, onely eight perſons were preſerved, *Geneſ.* 8. 9. God burnt up *Sodom* and *Gomorah* with Fire and Brimſtone from Heaven, and deſtroyed thoſe Cities and all the Country about, *Geneſ.* 18. God gave over *Jeruſalem* called the holy City of God, and delivered his own people the Jewes into perpetual Captivity, *Luke* 19. If we ſeek the cauſe of theſe puniſhments, was it not ſinful living and unrepentant hearts? What ſhould I recite the calamity of other lands, ſeeing Gods judgments have not been unexecuted upon this Realm of *England* for ſinful living? The old *Britains* were with *Cadwallader* their King conſtrained to flee and leave this land, becauſe of Peſtilence and Famine: What miſeries and deſtructions brought the *Danes* in with them? and what troubles ſuſtained the Inhabitants of this Realm afore the ſame were again driven out? What bloodſhed was here in King *William* Conquerors days? were not the Noble men ſlain, and Gentlemen brought into Bondage? were not their Matrons defiled, and their Daughters given to be Kitchin Drudges under the *Normans* proud *Ladies*? were not their lands, houſes, and poſſeſſions divided by lot unto ſtrangers? Their gold and ſilver wherein they truſted, was the bait that their enemies hunted after: What a plague was the Civil War between the King and Barons? what horrible bloodſhed was in this Realm? till at the laſt Gods merciful providence ended thoſe miſeries by the happy joyning of the two Regal houſes together in the Marriage of King *Henry* the Seventh. What miſeries have chanced in our time, we have not onely ſeen and heard, but we have felt them; and God be praiſed, had our parts of them. Doubtleſs this all hath chanced for the ſins of the people, as the Prophet *Jeremy* plainly teacheth, ſaying, *Iere.* 6. Who is a wiſe Man that underſtandeth this? And to whom ſhall the word of the Lords Mouth come, that he may Preach it forth? why hath the land periſhed, and is burnt like a Wilderneſs, ſo that no man may paſs through it? And the Lord ſaith, becauſe they have forſaken my Law which I have given them, and they have not heard my voyce, and have not walked in them, and have gone after the vanity of their own hearts, and after *Baalim* the Images of *Baal*, which they have learned of their Fathers. We ſee here plainly the contempt of Gods Word, and of the Preachers of the ſame, walking after their covetous minds and lewdneſs of their Hearts, and following of their Idolatrous inventions, brought the Wrath of God upon the people, as witneſſed alſo *Jeſus Syrach*, ſaying, *Eccleſ.* 10. Becauſe of unrighteous dealing, wrong, Blaſphemies, and divers deceits, a Realm ſhall be tranſlated from one people to another. And a little after he ſaith; The Lord hath brought the Congregation of the wicked to diſhonour, and deſtroyed them unto the end. God hath deſtroyed the ſeats of proud Princes, and ſet up the meek in their ſtead. God hath withered the Root of proud Nations, and planted the lowly among them. God hath overthrown the Lands of the Heathen, and deſtroyed them unto the ground. He hath cauſed them to wither away: He hath brought them to nought, and made the memorial of them to ceaſe from the Earth. But what availeth it to read ſuch threats of God, if we believe them not? Or, if we believe them to be Gods threats, and deſpiſe them? Doubtleſs, the Lord is Righteous, a Jealous God, a puniſher of ſin, as he himſelf ſaith, *Exod.* 20. I puniſh the ſins of the Fathers upon their Children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me. God give us grace to remember this, and with ſpeedy and unfained repentance to turn unto God. I ſay (unfained repentance) and not (alas) as we have done in times paſt like Hypocrites to diſſemble with God and Man, making Gods holy Word nothing elſe but a Cloak to cover our malice, covetouſneſs, whoredom, pride, exceſs, gluttony, wrath, envy, hatred, murder, with all other wicked living moſt deteſtable in the ſight of God. If men will well conſider themſelves, they have long enough diſſembled, and heaped the wrath of God heavy enough upon their heads. It is now high time to become a new people, to amend indeed, and to follow the Counſel of the holy Ghoſt, ſaying unto us by the Prophet *Jeremy*, *Ierem.* 3. Why do mortall men murmure againſt God? let them murmure againſt their own ſins. Let us ſearch our own ways, and let us ſeek and return unto the Lord. Let us lift up our Hearts and Hands unto the Lord in Heaven, for we have done wickedly, and provoked the Lord to wrath: and therefore wilt thou not be intreated. Doubtleſs, the Lord will not be intreated, except men very earneſtly turn unto him. We have felt in our ſelves, and ſeen before our eyes, that when God ſtriketh, no man can be able to abide the heavy ſtroak of his fiſt. He hath hitherto corrected us with mercy, as a Father, let us thank him, and return unfainedly, ſo will he not extend his wrath as a Judge. His will is, that we ſhould return and live, and not periſh with the wicked. I live (ſaith the Lord) and will not the death of a ſinner, but that he be converted and live, *Ezech.* 33. Here the godly Oath certifieth us of forgiveneſs, and requireth an unfained Converſion unto God, that is, that men acknowledge in heart their wicked living, and be ſorry that ever they have with wicked living offended againſt that ſo good and loving a Father, and truſt to have forgiveneſs through Chriſts Blood, and fully and firmly ſet their hearts to ſerve God, and to walk the ways of his commandments all the days of their life. Then ſhall we be true Chriſtians, built upon the Corner-Stone Chriſt, not

Anno 1558.

Sin is the cauſe of plagues.

High time to turn to God.

Read Beda and our Engliſh Chronicles.

Anno 1558. not wavering or changing at every puff of wind, not ſeeking an Epicuriſh life in all voluptuous and vain vanity, not ravening, extortioning, or with uſury, oppreſſing the poor and needy, but ſtedfaſt, unmoveable, living in the fear of Gods judgments, and truſt upon his mercy, mortifying our bruiſh and carnal luſts, being merciful and helpful to the poor and needy, waiting for the bleſſed time when Chriſt ſhall call us, to be ready and accepted before him. Our merciful Lord and good Father grant us grace ſo to do, for the love of his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, our certain and moſt dear Saviour, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour for ever and ever, Amen.

Pſal. 115.

Precious in the ſight of the Lord is the death of his Saints.

Apocalyps 6.

Theſe are they which are come out of great troubles, and have waſhed their clothes, and made them white in the Blood of the Lamb.

Certain Cautions of the Author to the Reader, of things to be conſidered in reading this ſtory.

AMongſt other eſcapes and overſights in the Edition of this ſtory committed, part of them we leave to thine own gentle Caſtigation, gentle Reader: certain other ſpecialities there be, whereof we thought it good and expedient to give thee warning, as hereafter followeth.

Cautions of the Author to the Reader.

Firſt, when mention is made of *Peters* being at *Rome*, and ſuffering at *Rome*, following certain Authors; yet foraſmuch as other Writers there be, and reaſons to prove that he was not at *Rome*, I deſire therefore that this my affirmation may not prejudice other mens judgments, if any ſee or can ſay further in that matter.

Touching the ſtory of the Turks, whereas I in following our Chriſtian Authors writing of the Turks, have noted *Solimannus* to be the 12. Turk after *Ottamannus*, as they do all record: I have found ſince by the computation of the Turks ſet forth in the Table of their own deſcent, the ſaid *Solimannus* to be the ſixth Emperour of the Turks; and this *Solimannus* his Son, which now Reigneth, to be but the twelfth. Which I thought here to ſignifie unto thee, becauſe of their own Turkiſh propheſie noted before, leſt in conſtruing of that prophecy, being in the ſame place expounded, thou be deceived.

Item, where Maſter *George Blag* is named to be one of the privy Chamber; here is to be noted alſo, that although he were not admitted as one of the privy Chamber, yet his ordinary reſort thither, and to the Kings preſence there was ſuch, as although he were not one of them, yet was he ſo commonly taken.

Item, in the ſtory of the Duke of *Somerſet*, where it is ſaid, that at the return of the Earl of *Warwick* out of *Norfolk*, there was a conſultation amongſt the Lords aſſembling themſelves together in the houſe of Mr. *York*, &c. againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*; here is to be noted that the coming of the Lords to the ſaid houſe of Mr. *York* was not immediately upon the Duke of *Northumberlands* return, but firſt he went to *Warwick*, and from thence after a ſpace came to the houſe aforeſaid.

Item, here is alſo to be noted touching the ſaid Duke of *Somerſet*, that albeit at his death relation is made of a ſudden falling of the people, as was at the taking of Chriſt, this is not to be expounded, as though I compared in any part the Duke of *Somerſet* with Chriſt.

And though I do ſomething more attribute to the commendation of the ſaid Duke of *Somerſet*, which dyed ſo conſtantly in his Religion, yet I deſire thee (gentle Reader) ſo to take it, not that I did ever mean to derogat or impair the Martial praiſe or facts of other men, which alſo are to be commended in ſuch things where they well deſerved.

Item, touching the ſame Duke of *Somerſet*, where the ſtory ſaith, he was attainted, rea l, indicted.

Item, where mention is made of one *Nicholas Underwood* to be the betraier of the Duke of *Suffolk*; joyn with the ſaid *Underwood* alſo *Nicholas Laurence*, *alias Nicholas Ethel*, Keeper of *Aſteley-Park*, who taking upon him and promiſing to keep the Duke for two or three days, until he might find ſome means to eſcape, conveighed him into an hollow Tree, and after moſt traiterouſly bewraied him.

This *Nicholas Underwood* dwelleth now at *Coten* by *Nunn Eaton*, and *Laurence* in *Nunn Eaton*.

Item, in the ſtory of Sir *Thomas Wyat* there is alſo to be corrected, that where the ſtory ſaith, that he was taken by Sir *Clement Parſon*, which was not ſo, and he no ſuch Knight, amend it thus: that he firſt came to *Clarentius*, being ſent unto him, and afterward yeilded him to Sir *Moris Bartley*. Briefly and in general, beſides theſe caſtigations above noted, if thou find any other committed in the printing hereof, gently I deſire thee (gentle Reader) to beſtow a little pains with thine own hand to amend them.

Notes omitted of them that were burnt at Briſtow.

THe eighth day of *Auguſt* was brought *William Sarton*, Weaver of *Briſtow*, before one *Dalby* Chancellor of *Briſtow* aforeſaid, and by him committed to Priſon, and alſo condemned, for holding that the Sacrament was a ſign of an holy thing; alſo he denied, that the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt is there after their words of Conſecration: he was burned the eighteenth of *September*, *Anno* 1556. and as he went to the fire, he ſung Pſalms. The Sheriff, *John Griffith*, had prepared Green-wood to burn him; but one Maſter *John Pikes*, pitying the man, cauſed divers to go with him to *Ridland*, half a mile off, who brought good ſtore of Helme-ſheaves, which indeed made good diſpatch with little pain, in compariſon to that he ſhould have ſuffered with the Green-wood. In the mean ſpace, whileſt they went for the ſheaves, the ſaid *Sarton* made many good exhortatious to the People, and after died conſtantly and patiently with great joyfulneſs.

William Sarton, Martyr, burnt at Briſtow.

A Note of Preſts *Wife of Exceter.*

IN *Cornwal*, not far from *Lanceſton*, within the Dioceſs of *Exceter*, in Queen Maries days, dwelled a poor man, whoſe name was *Preſt*, his Wife being an honeſt Woman, very ſimple, but of good zeal and upright life, being taught by God in hearing of his Word (albeit it was in thoſe days very ſeldom preached any where) and feeling a ſweet taſte thereof, framed her life anew after the Rule of the ſame. And baniſhed quite from her all the Popiſh dregs of Superſtition and Hypocriſie, and gave her ſelf wholly to Prayer, and invocating the name of God, both for the afflicted Church of Chriſt in thoſe days very dangerouſly toſt and turmoiled; as alſo for her own inward contentation and ſpiritual conſolation, which ſhe not a little felt to her unſpeakable joy and incomparable comfort. And when ſome, who before had known her, ſaw that marvellous change in her and (as the cruel Serpent) envied her felicity, they went upon the ſame immediately, and accuſed her to certain Juſtices of the Shire, being extream enemies to the truth, and very perſecutors of the ſame; who taking the matter in hand, as very glad of ſuch occaſion, ſent for her to the place where ſhe was, and began at the ſecond, if not at the firſt daſh, to demand her belief in their Popiſh Sacrament of the Altar.

Preſts Wife of Exceter, Martyr.

The good poor woman, who had learned not to be aſhamed to confeſs her Maſter Chriſt before men, and to render account of her Faith when it was asked, told freely and frankly her opinion therein, and hid back nothing that either ſhe thought might profit them, if they had any Grace to receive it, or elſe might ſound to Gods glory and praiſe, though it were never ſo much by them threatned and rebuked. Whereupon ſhe was forthwith committed to the Goal of *Lanceſton*, where ſhe remained a quarter of a year, or thereabouts, and afterwards was diſpatched of that vile and filthy Priſon, and delivered over to the hands of two Champions of the Popes, the one called Doctor *Raynolds*, Dean of *Exceter*, and the other named Maſter *Blaxton*, Treaſurer of the ſame Church, men ſurely fervent hot in the furtherance of the

Romiſh Affairs, and in withſtanding the truth of the pure Evangelical Goſpel. So the time that this good poor Woman was under their hands, ſhe had many ſore conflicts by them. And the ſaid *Blaxton* having a Concubine, which ſundry times reſorted to him with other of his Goſſips, always when they came, this ſaid good Woman was called forth to his houſe, and there to make his Minion with the reſt of his company ſome mirth, he would examine her with ſuch mocking manner, deriding the Truth, that it would have vexed any Chriſtian Soul to have ſeen it. Then when he had long uſed his fooliſhneſs in this ſort, and had ſported himſelf enough in deriding this Chriſtian Martyr; in the end he ſent her to Priſon again, and there kept her very miſerably, ſaving ſometimes he would ſend for her, when his foreſaid Gueſt came to him, to uſe with her his accuſtomed folly aforeſaid. But in fine, the vile Wretches (after many combats and ſcoffing perſwaſions) when they had played the part of a Cat with a Mouſe, at length they condemned her, and delivered her over to the Secular Power, who within ſhort ſpace after moſt cruelly brought her forth to the place where ſhe ſhould ſuffer, and there in great contempt of the Truth (which ſhe moſt conſtantly confeſſed) they conſumed her Carkaſs immediately with fire into Aſhes; which ſhe very patiently ſuffered and moſt joyfully received, yielding her Soul and Life unto the Lord and her Body to the Tormentors; for the which the Lords Name therefore be praiſed, *Amen.*

The Martyrdom of one Snel, *burned about* Richmond *in Queen* Maries *time, omitted in this Hiſtory.*

The Martyrdom of one *Snel* by *Richmond.*

AT *Bedaile* a Market Town in *Yorkſhire*, were two Men in the later days of Queen *Mary*, the one named *John Snel* and the other *Richard Snel*. Who being ſuſpected for Religion were ſent unto *Richmond*, where Dr. *Dakins* had Commiſſion from the Biſhop of *Cheſter* to have the Examination of them.

This Dr. *Dakins* many times conferred with them, ſometimes threatning Fire and Fagot if they would not recant, and ſometimes flattering them with fair Fables if they would return into the holy Catholick Church. But they ſtood conſtantly to the ſure Rock Jeſus Chriſt, in whom they put their whole truſt and confidence, whilſt at laſt being ſo ſore impriſoned, that their Toes rotted off, and the one of them could not go without Crouches, they brought them to the Church by compulſion, where the one of them heard their abominable Maſs, having a certain ſum of mony given him by the benevolence of the People, and ſo departed thence: but the firſt News that was heard of him within three or fours days, was, that he had drowned himſelf in a River running by *Richmond*, called *Swaile.*

Gods puniſhment upon the Doctor that condemned *Snel.*

Immediately after, Dr. *Dakins* giving Sentence that the other ſhould be burnt, came home to his houſe and never joyed after, but died. The Commiſſary of *Richmond*, named *Hillings*, preached at his burning, exhorting him to return to the Church; but his labour was in vain, the conſtant Martyr ſtanding ſtrongly to the Faith which he profeſſed.

Then being brought to the Stake, whereunto he was tied by a Girdle of Iron, there was given unto him Gunpowder, and a little Straw was laid under his feet and ſet round about with ſmall Wood and Tarr-barrels; the fire was put in the Straw, which by and by flaming about his head, he cried thrice together, *Chriſt help me:* Inſomuch that one *Robert Atkinſon* being preſent, ſaid, Hold faſt there, and we will all pray for thee. Thus this bleſſed Martyr ended his life.

A Story of one Laremouth, *omitted in the body of this Story.*

ALbeit I am loth to inſert any thing in this Book which may ſeem incredible or ſtrange to ordinary working for quarrelling Adverſaries, which do nothing but ſpy what they may cavil: yet forſomuch as beſides other Reporters, the perſon is yet alive, called *Thorne*, a godly Miniſter, which heard it of the mouth of the party himſelf, I thought therefore firſt for the incredible ſtrangeneſs thereof, neither to place this Story in the body of theſe Acts and Monuments, and yet in ſome out-corner of the Book not utterly to paſs it untouched, for the Reader to conſider it, and to credit it as he ſeeth cauſe. The Story is this: There was one *Laremouth*, otherwiſe called *Williamſon*, Chaplain to the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, a Scotiſhman, to whom being in Priſon in Queen *Maries* days, it was ſaid (as he thought) thus ſounding in his ears, Ariſe and go thy ways. Whereunto when he gave no great heed at the firſt, the ſecond time it was ſaid to him again in the ſame words. Upon this, as he fell to his Prayers, it was ſaid the third time likewiſe to him, Ariſe and go thy ways; which was about half an hour after. So he ariſing upon the ſame, immediately a piece of the Priſon-wall fell down, and as the Officers came in at the outward Gate of the Caſtle or Priſon, he leaping over the Ditch eſcaped, and in the way meeting a certain Beggar changed his Coat with him, and coming to the Sea-ſhoar, where he found a Veſſel ready to go over, was taken in, and eſcaped the ſearch, which was ſtraitly laid for him in all the Country over. Anno 1558.

The marvellous deliverance of one *Laremouth.*

A little ſhort Letter of *William Hunter* ſent out of Priſon to his Mother a little before his Martyrdom, to be referred and placed in his Story.

A Letter of W. Hunter to his Mother a little before his burning.

MOſt reverend and loving Mother, after my moſt humble wiſe I have me moſt heartily commended unto you, deſiring you to pray unto God moſt heartily for me, that I may have his Bleſſing and yours, the which I eſteem more worth unto me than any worldly Treaſure. In this preſent Letter you ſhall underſtand the cauſe of my writing unto you at this time, that I am in good health and proſperity, as ever I was in this preſent life. Wherefore I render thanks unto Almighty God for it, who alone is moſt worthy of all praiſe, truſting in God you be in health alſo. Furthermore, I certifie you wherefore my Father continueth here, to the intent to hear ſome godly and joyful tidings both for Soul and Body, which I truſt it ſhall be to your ſingular comfort and conſolation, and to the great rejoycing of all other of my Friends. Therefore I deſire you (gentle Mother) to admoniſh my Brother unto a godly life with diligent attendance, and to pray for me, conſidering his bounden duty, that God may by your faithful Prayer aid and ſtrengthen me in this my proſperous journey and courſe which I run, truſting to obtain a Crown of everlaſting Life, which doth ever endure.

No more unto you at this time, but God preſerve you unto everlaſting Life.
So be it.

The Oration in effect of Sir Nicholas Bacon *Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of* England, *ſpoken in the* Star-Chamber *the* 29th *of* December, *in the* 10th *year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady* Elizabeth, *by the Grace of God, of* England, France *and* Ireland, *Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. And in the year of our Lord God* 1567. *Then being preſent.*

Matthew Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*
William Marqueſs of *Northampton.*
Francis Earl of *Bedford.*
Lord *Clinton* Admiral of *England.*
William Howard Lord Chamberlain.
Biſhop of *London.*
Lord *Gray* of *Wilton.*
Sir *Edward Rogers* Knight.
Sir *Ambroſe Cave* Kt. Chancellor of the Dutchy.
Sir *William Cecil* Knight, Principal Secretary.
Sir *Francis Knolls* Knight, Vice-Chamberlain.
Sir *Walter Mildmay* Kt. Chancellor of the *Exchequer.*
Lord *Cattelene* Chief Juſtice of the *Kings-Bench.*
Lord *Dyer* Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas.*
Sir *William Cordale* Knight, Maſter of the *Rolls.*
Juſtice *Weſton*, Juſtice *Welch*, Juſtice *Southcotes*, Juſtice *Canowes.*

IT is given to the Queens Majeſty to underſtand, that certain of her Subjects by their evil diſpoſitions do

Anno 1558. do ſow and ſpread abroad divers ſeditions, to the derogation and diſhonour, firſt of Almighty God, in the ſtate of Religion ſtabliſhed by the Laws of this Realm, and alſo to the diſhonour of her Highneſs, in diſproving her lawful right of Supremacy amongſt her Subjects. And this that they do, is not done as in ſecrecy or by ſtealth, but openly avouched, and in all Companies diſputed on And thus by their bold attempts they ſeem not to obey or regard the Authority of Laws, nor the quiet of her Subjects. As for example, by bringing in and ſpreading abroad divers lewd Libels, and ſeditious Books from beyond the Seas, and in ſuch boldneſs, that they do commend thoſe writers in their Seditious Books, containing manifeſt matter againſt the eſtate eſtabliſhed. Which boldneſs of men, ſo univerſally and every where ſeen and heard, cannot be thought to be done but by the comfort and aid, or at the leaſt way winkt at by them whom the Queens Highneſs hath placed in Authority to repreſs theſe inſolencies. And the Queens Highneſs cannot more juſtly charge any for this diſorder, than ſuch who be in Commiſſions choſen to repreſs theſe diſorders. If it be anſwered me, that they cannot ſee ſuch open boldneſs and Factious diſorders, I muſt ſay that they have no eyes to ſee? and if they hear not of ſuch contemptuous talk and ſpeech, I may ſay that they have no ears. I would have thoſe men judge what will come of theſe unbridled ſpeeeches in the end, if reformations be not had thereof. What cometh of Factions and Seditions, we have been taught of late years, and what the fruits thereof be, which I beſeech God long to defend us from. If ſuch diſorders be not redreſſed by Law, then muſt force and violence reform. Which when they take place, may fortune to fall as ſoon on them that ſeem to have leaſt conſideration in this matter. If force and violence prevail, then ye know that Law is put to ſilence, and cannot be executed, which ſhould only maintain good order. If it be replyed againſt me, that to the ſuppreſſing of theſe open talks there is no Law, which by ſpecial Letter can charge any man offender; I muſt ſay, that whatſoever the Letter of the Law be, the meaning of the Law was and is clean contrary to the liberty of theſe doings. If it be ſaid, that no man can be charged by the Law, except it can be proved againſt him, that his ſpeech and deeds be done maliciouſly; what ye call malice I cannot tell. But if the bringing in of theſe Seditious Books make mens minds to be at variance one with another, diſtraction of minds maketh Seditions, Seditions bring in Tumults, Tumults work Inſurrections and Rebellion, Inſurrections make Depopulations and Deſolations, and bring in utter ruine and deſtruction of mens Bodies, Goods, and Lands: And if any ſow the Root whereof theſe men come, and yet it can be ſaid that he hath no malice, or that he doth not maliciouſly labour to deſtroy both publick and private wealth, I cannot tell what Act may be thought to be done maliciouſly. And further, if it be ſaid to me, that the man which ſhould be charged with offence, muſt be proved to have done his Act adviſedly: To that I anſwer, If any bring in thoſe Books, diſtribute them to others, commend and defend them, and yet cannot be charged to have done adviſedly, I have no skill of their adviſedneſs. If it be ſaid, that the Law entreateth of ſuch Acts as be directly derogatory and of none other, what is direct overthwarting the Law, when the contrary thereof is plainly treated, holden, and defended, and the Truth by Arguments condemned? It may be ſaid again, that the world doth not now like extremity in Laws Penal, and calleth them bloody Laws. As for extream and bloody Laws, I have never liked of them; But where the execution of ſuch Laws toucheth half a dozen offenders, and the not excution may bring in danger half a 100, I think this Law nor the execution thereof may juſtly be called extreme and bloody. In ſuch like compariſon I may utter my meaning, as to make a difference between whipping and hanging. Indeed, though whipping may be thought extreme, yet if by whipping a man may eſcape hanging, in this reſpect, not whipping bringeth in this bloodineſs and extremity, and not the execution of the Law; and better it were, a man to be twice whipped, then once hanged: The pains do differ, but wiſe men will ſoon conſider the diverſity. The Truth is, to ſuffer diſobedient Subjects to take boldneſs againſt the Laws of God and their Prince, to wink at the obſtinate minds of ſuch as be unbridled in their affections; to maintain a forain power of the Biſhop of *Rome*, directly againſt the Princes Prerogative ſtabliſhed by Laws, is not this to hatch Diſſention, and to cheriſh Sedition? To extol the writings of ſuch, who by all their wits deviſe to ſupplant the Princes lawful Authority? If theſe doings be not means to the diſturbance and utter ruine of this Realm, I know not what is good governance. If theſe be not the ſparks of Rebellion, what be they? Thus much having ſpoken to your Wiſdoms, I doubt not of your aſſenting with me; the rather alſo becauſe I utter them unto you as from the Queens Majeſty by commandment, who doth require of us all a more diligence in execution of Laws, than is ſpied commonly abroad: Whereby we ſhall do our duties to Almighty God the better, declare our allegiance to our Soveraign, regard the Majeſty of the Laws, love the quiet of our Country, and procure the ſafety of our ſelves.

God ſave the Queen.

And here I truſt, we are now come to an end of all our Engliſh Martyrs which hitherto have been burnt for the verity of the Goſpel, if we add beſides to the ſame a godly Countriman of ours, one named *Richard Atkins* an *Hartfordſhire* man, who of late about two years paſt in the Reign of this our gracious Queen, *Anno* 1581 moſt miſerably was tormented at *Babylon*, that is, in the City of *Rome*. The cauſe and manner of whoſe ſuffering and Martyrdom here enſueth, taken out of a certain late printed Story, and teſtified by ſuch as were preſent witneſſes and beholders of the ſame moſt tragical execution. The purport of which Story in words, as it is put down by the ſaid Reporter, here under followeth.

A true report of the horrible and mercileſs Martyrdom of one Richard Atkins, *an Engliſh-man, with extreme Torments, and moſt cruel rage of furious Tyrants, Perſecutors, put to death at* Rome.

ABout the month of *July*, *Anno* 1581. one *Richard Atkins* born in *Hartfordſhire*, an Engliſhman, came to *Rome*, and having found the Engliſh Colledg, knocked at the door, To whom divers of the Students there came out, to welcom him, underſtanding that he was an Engliſh-man. Among other talk had with him they willed him to go to the Hoſpital, and there to receive his meat and Lodging, according as the order was appointed: whereunto he anſwered, I come not (my Countrimen) to any ſuch intent, as you judge, but I come lovingly to rebuke the great miſorder of your lives, which I grieve to hear, and pity to behold: I come likewiſe to let your proud Antichriſt underſtand, that he doth offend the heavenly Majeſty, rob God of his honour, and poyſoneth the whole world with his abominable blaſphemies, making them do homage to Stocks and Stones, and that filthy Sacrament, which is nothing elſe but a fooliſh Idol. When they heard theſe words, one *Hugh Griffin*, a Welchman, and Student in the Colledge, cauſed him to be put in the Inquiſition? where, how they examined him, and how he anſwered them I know not, but after certain days he was ſet at liberty again And one day going in the ſtreet, he met a Prieſt carrying the Sacrament; which offending his Conſcience, to ſee the People ſo crouch and bow down to it, he caught at it to have thrown it down, but miſſing of his purpoſe, and it being judged by the People, that he did catch at the holineſs that (they ſay) cometh from the Sacrament, upon meer devotion, he was let paſs, and nothing ſaid to him: few days after he came to St. *Peters* Church, where divers Gentlemen and other were hearing Maſs, and the Prieſt at the elevation; he uſing no reverence, ſtepped among the People to the Altar, and threw down the Chalice with the Wine, ſtriving likewiſe to have pulled the Cake out of the *Prieſts hands*; for which divers roſe up and beat him with their fiſts, and one drew his Rapier, and would have ſlain him: ſo that in brief he was carried to Priſon, where he was examined, wherefore he had committed ſuch a haynous offence; whereunto he anſwered, that he came purpoſely for that intent, to rebuke the Popes wickedneſs and their Idolatry. Upon

this he was condemned to be burned; which Sentence (he ſaid) he was right willing to ſuffer, and the rather, becauſe the ſum of his offence pertained to the glory of God. During the time he remained in Priſon, ſundry Engliſh men came unto him, willing him to be ſorry for that he had done, and to recant from his damnable Opinion; but all the means they uſed were in vain, he confuted their dealings by divers places of Scripture, and wiſhed them to be ſorry for their wickedneſs, while God did permit them time, elſe they were in danger of everlaſting damnation; theſe words made the Engliſhmen depart: for they could not abide to hear them. Within a while after, he was ſet upon an Aſſe without any Saddle, he being from the middle upward naked, having ſome Engliſh Prieſts with him to talk with him, but he regarded them not, but ſpake to the People in ſo good Language as he could, and told them they were in a wrong way, and therefore willed them for Chriſts ſake, to have regard to the ſaving of their Souls. All the way as he went, there were four that did nothing elſe but thruſt at his Body with burning Torches, whereat he never moved, nor ſhrunk one jot, but with a chearful countenance laboured to perſwade the People, often bending his body to meet the Torches, as they were thruſt at him, and would take them in his own hand, and hold them burning ſtill upon his Body, whereat the People not a little wondred. Thus he continued almoſt the ſpace of half a mile, till he came before St *Peters*, where the place of Execution was. When he was come to the place of execution, there they had made a device, not to make the fire about him, but to burn his Legs firſt, which they did, he not diſmaying any whit, but ſuffered all marvellous chearfully; which moved the People to ſuch a quandary as was not in *Rome* many a day. Then they offered him a Croſs, and willed him to imbrace it, in token that he died a Chriſtian; but he put it away with his hand, telling them that they were evil men to trouble him with ſuch paltry, when he was preparing himſelf to God, whom he beheld in Majeſty and mercy, ready to receive him into eternal reſt. They ſeeing him in this mind, departed, ſaying, Let us go and leave him to the Devil, whom he ſerves. Thus ended this faithful Souldier and Martyr of Chriſt, who is, no doubt, in glory with his Maſter: whereunto God grant us all to come, *Amen*.

This is faithfully avouched by *John Young*, who was at that time, and a good while after in *Rome*, in Service with Maſter Doctor *Morton*; who ſeeing the Martyrdom of this man, when he came home to his houſe, in preſence of Maſter *Smith* his Son, Mr. *Creed*, and the ſaid *John Young*, ſpake as followeth. Surely this Fellow was marvellous obſtinate, he nothing regarded the good counſel which was uſed to him, nor ſhrunk all the way when the Torches were thruſt at his naked Body. Beſide, in the place of execution he did not faint nor cry one jot in the fire, albeit they tormented him very cruelly, and burned him by degrees, as his Legs firſt to put him to the greater pain; yet all this he did but ſmile at. Doubtleſs, but that the Word of God cannot be but true, elſe we might judge this Fellow to be of God; for who could have ſuffered ſo much pain as he did? but truely I believe the Devil was in him.

The curſed Life and bloody End of Dr. Story, *a cruel Perſecutor of Chriſt in his Members.*

I Had thought (Chriſtian Reader) here to have made an end, and to have concluded the Volume of this Book, had not the remembrance of Dr. *Story*, an Arch-enemy to Chriſts Goſpel, and bloody Perſecutor of Gods People, come into my mind. The diſcourſe of whoſe life and doings, I thought good here briefly to lay open to the view of the world, as followeth. This Dr. *Story* being an Engliſh man by birth, and from his infancy not only nuſled in Papiſtry, but alſo even as it were by nature earneſtly affected to the ſame, and growing ſomewhat to riper years, in the days of Queen *Mary* became a bloody Tyrant, and cruel Perſecutor of Chriſt in his Members (as all the Stories in this Book almoſt do declare.) Thus he raging all the Reign of the foreſaid Queen *Mary* againſt the infallible Truth of Chriſts Goſpel, and the true profeſſors thereof, never ceaſed till he had conſumed to Aſhes two or three hundred bleſſed Martyrs, who willingly gave their lives for the Teſtimony of his Truth; and thinking their puniſhment in the fire not cruel enough, he went about to invent new Torments for the holy Martyrs of Chriſt, ſuch was his hatred to the Truth of Chriſts Goſpel: but in the end the Lord God looking upon the affliction and cruel bloodſhedding of his Servants, took away Queen *Mary* the great Pillar of Papiſtry. After whom ſucceeded Lady *Elizabeth* now Queen of *England*, who ſtaying the bloody Sword of Perſecution form raging any further, cauſed the ſame Doctor *Story* to be apprehended, and committed to ward, with many other his complices, ſworn enemies to Chriſts glorious Goſpel. The ſaid *Story* having been a while detained in Priſon, at the laſt, by what means I know not, brake forth of hold, and conveighed himſelf over the Seas, where he continued a moſt bloody Perſecutor, ſtill raging againſt Gods Saints with fire and Sword. Inſomuch as he growing to be familiar and right dear to Duke *Dalva* in *Antwerp*, received ſpecial Commiſſion from him to ſearch the Ships for goods forfeited, and for Engliſh Books, and ſuch like.

And in this favour and authority he continued there for a ſpace, by the which means he did much hurt, and brought many a good Man and Woman to trouble and extreme Peril of life through his blood-thirſty cruelty: but at the laſt the Lord (when the meaſure of his iniquity was full) proceeded in judgment againſt him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the prayers of many a good man; which came to paſs in order as followeth. It being certainly known (for the bruit thereof was gone forth into all Lands) that he not only intended the ſubverſion and overthrow of his native Country of *England*, by bringing in forain Hoſtility, if by any means he might compaſs it; but alſo daily and hourly murthered Gods People, there was this Platform laid (by Gods providence no doubt) that one Maſter *Parker*, a Merchant ſhould ſaile unto *Antwerp* and by ſome means conveigh *Story* into *England*.

This *Parker* arriving at *Antwerp*, ſuborned certain to repair to Dr. *Story*, and to ſignifie unto him, that there was an Engliſh Ship came, fraught with Marchandize, and that if he would make ſearch thereof himſelf, he ſhould find ſtore of Engliſh Books, and other things for his purpoſe. *Story* hearing this, and ſuſpecting nothing, made haſte towards the Ship, thinking to make the ſame his Prey; and coming abroad, ſearched for Engliſh Heretical Books (as he called them) and going down under the Hatches, becauſe he would be ſure to have their Blood if he could, they clapped down the Hatches, hoiſed up their Sails, having (as God would) a good gale, and ſailed away into *England*? where they arriving preſented this bloody Butcher, and Traiterous Rebel *Story* to the no little rejoycing of many an Engliſh heert. He being now committed to Priſon, continued there a good ſpace: during all which time he was laboured and ſolicited daily by wiſe and learned Fathers to recant his deviliſh and erroneous opinions, to conform himſelf to the Truth, and to acknowledge the Queens Supremacy. All which he utterly denied to the death, ſaying, that he was ſworn Subject to the King of *Spain*, and was no ſubject to the Queen of *England*, nor ſhe his Soveraign Queen; and therefore (as he well deſerved) he was condemned (as a Traitor to God, the Queens Majeſty, and the Realm) to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; which was performed accordingly, he being laid upon a Hurdle, and drawn from the Tower along the ſtreets to *Tiborn* where he being hanged till he was half dead, was cut down and ſtripped; and (which is not to be forgot) when the executioner had cut off his privy Members, he ruſhing up upon a ſudden, gave him a blow upon the ear, to the great wonder of all that ſtood by: and thus ended this bloody *Nimrod* his wretched life, whoſe judgment I leave to the Lord.

Anno 1558.

Story inventing new torments for the Martyrs.

Story apprehended.

Story conveighed himſelf over the Seas, where he continued a bloody Perſecutor.

Story obtained a Commiſſion to ſearch for Engliſh Books.

Story intendeth the overthrow of *England*.

A Platform laid to apprehend *Story*.

Story ſearched the Engliſh Ships for Books, and is apprehended, and brought into *England*.

Story a Traitor hanged, drawn and quartered.

Stories education and Birth.

Story a bloody Perſecutor.

A Note of Ralph Lurdane, *Perſecutor of* George Eagle.

IN the hiſtory of *George Eagles, alias Trudgeover-the-world*, mention is made of his apprehenſion in a corn field, where, by the benefit of the height of the

Anno 1558. the corn, and breadth of the field, he had eſcaped, had not one of his perſecutors with more malicious craft climbed a high tree to view over the place, and ſo deſcried him. This perſecutor named *Ralph Lurdane* (as we have ſince learned) a lewd fellow of life for theft and whoredom, was, within few years after he had apprehended the foreſaid *George Eagles* for gain of Mony, attached of felony for ſtealing an horſe, condemned, and hanged in the ſame place and Town of *Chelmsford*, where *George Eagles* before ſuffered Martyrdom.

A brief Note concerning the horrible Maſſacre in France, *Anno* 1572.

The cruel Maſſacre in *France*.

HEre, before the cloſing up of this Book, in no caſe would be unremembred the tragical and furious Maſſacre in *France*, wherein were Murthered ſo many hundreds and thouſands of Gods good Martyrs. But becauſe the true narration of this lamentable ſtory is ſet forth in Engliſh at large, in a Book by it ſelf, and extant in print already, it ſhall the leſs need now to diſcourſe that matter with any new repetition; onely a brief touch of ſummary notes for remembrance may ſuffice. And firſt for brevity ſake to overpaſs the bloody butchery of the Romiſh Catholicks in *Orange* againſt the Proteſtants, moſt fiercely and unawares breaking into their houſes, and there, without mercy, killing Man, Woman, and Child; of whom ſome being ſpoyled and naked, they threw out of their loſts into the ſtreets; ſome they ſmothered in their houſes with ſmoak, with ſword and weapon ſparing none, the Carkaſſes of ſome they threw to dogs, with was *An.* 1570. in the Reign of *Charles* 9. Likewiſe to paſs over the cruel ſlaughter at *Roane*, where the Proteſtants being at a Sermon without the City Walls upon the Kings Edict, the Chatholicks in fury rann upon them coming home, and ſlew of them above 40. at leaſt, many more they wounded. This example at *Roane*, ſtirred up the Papiſts in *Diepe* to practiſe the like rage alſo againſt the Chriſtians there returning from the Sermon; whoſe ſlaughter had been the greater, had they not more wiſely before been provided of weapons for their own defence at need. All which happened about the ſame year aforeſaid *Anno* 1570. But theſe with ſuch like I briefly overſlip, to enter now into the matter above promiſed, that is, briefly to entreat of the horrible and moſt barbarous Maſſacre wrought in *Paris*, ſuch as I ſuppoſe was never heard of before in any Civil diſſenſion amongſt the very Heathen. In few words to touch the ſubſtance of the matter.

Perſecution in the City of *Orange*.

Anno 1570 Perſecution at *Roane*.

40 Slain coming from a Sermon.

Perſecution at *Diepe*.

The horrible Maſſacre at *Paris*.

After long troubles in *France*, the Catholick ſide, foreſeeing no good to be done againſt the Proteſtants by open force, began to deviſe how by crafty means to entrap them, And that by two manner of ways: The one by pretending a power to be ſent into the lower Countrey, whereof the Admiral to be the Captain; not that the King ſo meant indeed, but onely to underſtand thereby what power and force the Admiral had under him, who they were, and what were their names. The ſecond was by a certain marriage ſuborned, between the Prince of *Navarre*, and the Kings Siſter. To this pretenſed marriage, it was deviſed that all the chiefeſt Proteſtants of *France* ſhould be invited, and meet in *Paris*. Among whom firſt they began with the Queen of *Navarre*, Mother to the Prince, that ſhould Marry the Kings Siſter, attempting by all means poſſible to obtain her conſent thereunto. She being then at *Rochel*, and allured by many fair words to repair unto the King, conſented at length to come, and was received at *Paris*; where ſhe after much ado, at length being wone to the Kings mind, and providing for the marriage, ſhortly upon the ſame fell ſick, and within five days departed, not without ſuſpition, as ſome ſaid, of poiſon. But her Body being opened, no ſign of poiſon could there be found, ſave only that a certain Apothecary made his brag, that he had killed the Queen by certain venemous odours and ſmels by him confected.

The Kings diſſembled pretence.

The names of all the favourers of the Admiral deſcribed.

A Bloody marriage between the Kings Siſter and Prince of *Navarre*.

After this notwithſtanding the marriage ſtill going forward, the Admiral, Prince of *Navarre*, *Condè*, with divers other chief States of the Proteſtants, induced by the Kings Letters and many fair promiſes, at laſt were brought to *Paris*. Where with great ſolemnity they were received, but eſpecially the Admiral. To make the matter ſhort, The day of the marriage came, which was the eighteenth of *Auguſt*. *Anno* 1572. Which marriage being celebrate and ſolemnized by the Cardinal of *Eorbone*, upon an high ſtage ſet up of purpoſe without the Church Walls, the Prince of *Navarre* and *Condè* came down, waiting for the Kings Siſter being then at Maſs. This done, they reſorted all together to the Biſhops Palace to dinner. At evening they where had to a Palace in the middle of *Paris* to ſupper. Not long after this, being the two and twentieth of *Auguſt*, the Admiral coming from the Councel Table, by the way was ſtrucken with a Piſtolet, charged with three Pellets, in both his Arms. He being thus wounded, and yet ſtill remaining in *Paris*; although the Vidam gave him Counſel to flee away, it ſo fell out that certain Souldiers were appointed in divers places of the City to be ready at a Watch-word at the commandment of the Prince, Upon which Watch-word given, they burſt out to the ſlaughter of the Proteſtants, firſt beginning with the Admiral himſelf, who being wounded with many ſore wounds, was caſt out of the Window into the ſtreet, where his Head being firſt ſtriken off, and embalmed with ſpices to be ſent to the Pope, the ſavage people raging againſt him, cut off his Arms and Privy Members, and ſo drawing him three days thorow the ſtreets of *Paris*, they dragged him unto the place of execution out of the City, and there hanged him up by his heeles to the greater ſhew and ſcorn of him.

Admiral Wounded with a Piſtolet ſhot out of a Window.

Admiral ſlain in his bed, and thrown out of the Window.

After the Martyrdom of this good Man, the armed Souldiers with rage and violence ran upon all other of the ſame profeſſion, ſlaying and killing all the Proteſtants they knew or could find within the City gates incloſed. This Bloody ſlaughter continued the ſpace of many days, but eſpecially the greateſt ſlaughter was in the three firſt days, in which were numbred to be ſlain, as the ſtory writeth, above ten thouſand, Men, Women, old and young, of all ſorts and conditions. The Bodies of the dead were carried in Carts to be thrown in the River: ſo that not onely the River was all ſtained therewith, but alſo whole ſtreams in certain places of the City did run with gore Blood of the ſlain Bodies. So great was the outrage of that Heatheniſh Perſecution, that not only the Proteſtants, but alſo certain, whom they thought indifferent Papiſts, they put to the ſword in ſtead of Proteſtants. In the number of them that were ſlain of the more learned ſort, was *Petrus Ramus*, alſo *Lambinus*, another notorious learned man; *Plateanus*, *Lomenius*, *Chapeſius*, with others.

10 Thouſand ſlain in three days. Ex hiſtoria Rie. Dinothi, lib. 5.

Petrus Ramus Lambinus, with other, ſlain.

And not onely within the Walls of *Paris* this uproar was contained, but it extended further into other Cities and quarters of the Realm, eſpecially *Lyons*, *Orleans*, *Tholous*, and *Roane*. In which Cities it is almoſt incredible, nor ſcarce ever heard of in any nation, what cruelty was ſhewed, what numbers of good men were deſtroyed; inſomuch that within the ſpace of one Month thirty thouſand at leaſt of Religious Proteſtants are numbred to be ſlain, as is credibly reported and ſtoried in the Commentaries of them which teſtifie purpoſly of the matter.

Commentaria de ſtatu Galliæ part. 3

Furthermore here is to be noted, that when the Pope firſt heard of this Bloody ſtir, he with his Cardinals made ſuch joy at *Rome*, with their Proceſſion, with their gunſhot, and ſinging of *Te Deum*, that in honour of that feſtival act, a jubile was commanded by the Pope with great indulgence, and much ſolemnity. Whereby thou haſt here to diſcern and judge, with what Spirit and Charity theſe Catholicks are moved to maintain their Religion, which otherwiſe would fall to the ground without all hope of recovery. Likewiſe in *France* no leſs rejoycing there was upon the 28. day of the ſaid Month, the King commanding publick Proceſſions thorow the whole City to be made, with bonefires, ringing, and ſinging; where the King himſelf, with the Queen, his Mother, and his whole Court reſorting together to the Church, gave thanks and laud to God, for that ſo worthy victory atchieved upon St. *Bartholomews* day againſt the Proteſtants, whom they thought to be utterly overthrown and vanquiſhed in all the Realm for ever.

The Spirit and Charity of the Pope to be noted.

28. of *Auguſt* St. Bartholomew; a bloody day.

And

The great diſtreſs of the Proteſtants in *France.*

And in very deed to mans thinking it might appear no leſs after ſuch a great deſtruction of the Proteſtants, having loſt ſo many worthy and Noble Captains as then were cut off, whereupon many, for fear revoking their Religion, returned to the Pope, divers fled out of the Realm, ſuch as would not turn, keeping themſelves ſecret, durſt not be known nor ſeen, ſo that it was paſt all hope of man, that the Goſpel ſhould ever have any more place in *France*: but ſuch is the admirable working of the Lord, where mans help and hope moſt faileth, there he moſt ſheweth his ſtrength and helpeth, as here is to be ſeen and noted. For whereas the little ſmall remnant of the Goſpel ſide, being now brought to utter deſperation, were now ready to give over unto the King, and many were gone already againſt Conſcience, yet ding to time, yet the Lord of his goodneſs ſo wrought, that many were ſtaied and reclaimed again through the occaſion firſt of them in *Rochel*: Who hearing of the cruel Maſſacre in *Paris*, and ſlaughter at *Tholous*, moſt conſtantly with valiant hearts (the Lord ſo working) thought to ſtand to their defence againſt the Kings power by whoſe example certain other Cities hearing thereof took no little courage to do the like: as namely *Montalbane*, the City called *Nemanſium*, *Sanſer* in *Occitamia*, *Millialdum*, *Mirebellum*, *Fuduzia*, with other Towns and Cities more: who being confederate together, exhorted one another to be Circumſpect, and take good heed of the falſe diſſembling practices not to be be truſted of the mercileſs Papiſts, intending nothing but Blood and deſtruction.

Gods helping hand at need.

The Town of *Rochel* example to other Towns

The Cities of the Proteſtants take courage to defend themſelves.

Theſe things thus paſſing at *Rochel*, the King hearing thereof, giveth in commandment to Captain *Strozzius* and *Guardius* to ſee to *Rochel*. After this he ſendeth a Noble man, one *Bironius*, requiring of the *Rochel* men to receive him for their Governour under the King. Of this great Conſultation being had, at length the *Rochel* men began to condeſcend upon certain conditions; which being not eaſily granted unto, and eſpecially they hearing in the mean time what was done to others of their fellows, which had ſubmitted themſelves, thought it ſo better to ſtand to the defence of their lives and Conſciences, and to adventure the worſt. Whereupon began great ſiege and battery to be laid againſt *Rochel* both by land and ſea, which was *Anno* 1572. about the fourth day of *December*. It would require another Volume to deſcribe all things, during the time of this ſiege, that paſſed on either ſide, between the Kings part, and the Town of *Rochel*; briefly to run over ſome parts of the matter: In the beginning of the next year following, which was *Anno* 1573. in the Month of *January*, commandment was given out by the King to all and ſundry Nobles and Peers of *France*, upon great puniſhment, to addreſs themſelves in moſt forcible wiſe to the aſſaulting of *Rochel*. Whereupon a great concourſe of all the Nobility, with the whole Power of *France*, was there aſſembled, amongſt whom was alſo the Prince of *Anjou*, the Kings Brother (who there not long after was proclaimed King of *Polonie*) accompanied with his other Brother Duke *Alanſon*, *Navarre*, *Conde*, and other a great number of States beſides. Thus the whole power of *France* being gathered againſt one Poor Town, had not the mighty hand of the Lord ſtood on their ſide, it had been unpoſſible for them to eſcape. During the time of this ſiege, which laſted about ſeven Months, what Skirmiſhes and Conflicts were on both ſides, it would require a long tractation. To make ſhort, ſeven principal aſſaults were given to the poor Town of *Rochel*, with all the power that *France* could make. In all which aſſaults ever the Popes Catholick ſide had the worſt. Concerning the firſt aſſault thus I find written, that within the ſpace of 26. days were charged againſt the walls and houſes of *Rochel*, to the number of thirty thouſand ſhot of Iron bullets and Globes, whereby a great breach was made for the Adverſary to invade the City: but ſuch was the courage of them within, not men onely, but alſo of Women, Matrons, and Maidens, with ſpits, fire, and ſuch other weapon as came to hand, that the Adverſary was driven back, with no ſmall ſlaughter of their Souldiers: onely of the Townſmen were ſlain and wounded to the number of ſixty perſons. Likewiſe in the ſecond aſſault 2000. great Field-pieces were laid againſt the Town; whereupon the Adverſary attempted the next day to invade the Town, but through the induſtry of the Souldiers and Citizens, and alſo of the Women and Maids, the Invaders were forced at length to flie away faſter then they came. No better ſucceſs had all the aſſaults that followed: whereby conſider (gentle Reader) with thy ſelf, in what great diſtreſs theſe good men were, not of *Rochel* onely, but of other Cities alſo, during theſe ſeven Months above mentioned, had not the mighty hand of the Lord almighty ſuſtained them. Concerning whoſe wondrous operation for his Servants in theſe hard diſtreſſes, three memorable things I find in Hiſtory to be noted.

Bironius.

Rochel men ſtand to their defence.

Rochel firſt beſiegedby *Bironius*. *Anno* 1573.

The whole power of *France* ſet againſt *Rochel*

The ſiege of *Rochel* during ſeven Months.

7. Aſſaults againſt *Rochel*.

Anno 1558.

The one concerning the ſiege of *Sanſer*; which City being terribly battered and razed with Gunſhot of great Canons, and Field-pieces, having at one ſiege no leſs then three thouſand Bullets and Gunſtones flying upon them, wherewith the creſts of their helmets were pierced, their ſleeves, their hoſe, their hats pierced, their weapons in their hands broken, their wals ſhaken, their houſes rent down; yet not one perſon ſlain nor wounded with all this, ſave onely at the firſt a certain Maiden, with the blaſt of the ſhot flying by her, was ſtrucken down, and died.

Three notable examples of Gods great mercy in preſerving his ſervants.

The ſecond thing to be noted is this, that in the ſame City during all the time of the ſiege, which laſted ſeven Months and a half, for all the Ordinance and Battering-pieces diſcharged againſt them, which are numbred to ſix thouſand, not ſo much as 25. perſons in all were ſlain.

The ſecond example.

The third example, no leſs memorable, was at *Rochel*: Whereas the poorer ſort began to lack corn and victual, there was ſent to them every day in the river (by the hand of the Lord no doubt) a great multitude of fiſh (called *Surdones*) which the poorer people did uſe in ſtead of bread. Which fiſh, the ſame day as the ſiege brake up, departed and came no more. Teſtified by them which were preſent there in *Rochel* all the time.

The third miraculous work of God, in ſending fiſh.

What number was loſt on both ſides during all this ſeven Months Warr, it is not certainly known. Of the Kings camp what number was ſlain, by this it may be conjectured, that 132. of their Captains were killed and ſlain, of whom the chiefeſt was Duke-*Damoule*.

132 Captains of the Kings Army ſlain.

To cloſe up this Tragical Story, concerning the breaking up of this ſeven Months Siege: thus it fell out, that ſhortly after the ſeventh aſſault given againſt *Rochel*, which was *Anno* 1573. about the Month of *June*, word came to the Camp, that Duke *Anjou* the Kings Brother was proclaimed King of *Polonie*. Whereat great joy was in the Camp. By occaſion whereof the New King, more willing to have peace, entred talk with them of *Rochel*: who, as he ſhewed himſelf to them not ungentle, ſo found he them again to him not unconformable. Whereupon a certain agreement pacificatory was concluded between them upon conditions. Which agreement the new *Polonie* King eftſoons preferred to the French King his Brother, not without ſome ſuite and interceſſion to have it ratified. The King alſo himſelf, partly being weary of theſe chargeable Wars, was the more willing to aſſent thereunto. And thus at length, through the Lords great work, the Kings Royal conſent under form of an Edict was ſet down in writing, and confirmed by the King, containing 25. Articles. In which alſo were incluided certain other Cities of the Proteſtants, granting to them benefit of Peace and liberty of Religion. This Edict or Mandate ſent down from the King by his Herald at Arms, *Bironius* in the Kings name cauſed to be ſolemnely proclaimed at *Rochel*. *An.* 1573. the tenth day of *June*.

Peace concluded between the King and the Proteſtants.

Duke *Anjou* the Kings Brother made King of *Poland*.

Peace agreed and concluded between the King and Proteſtants of *Rochel*, & certain other Cities.

Anno 1573. *Junii* 10.

The year next following, 1574. for two things ſeemeth fatal and famous; for the death firſt of *Charles* the ninth th French King, alſo moſt of all for the death of *Charles*, Cardinal of *Loraine*, Brother to *Guiſe*. Of the manner of the Cardinals death, I find little mention in ſtories. Touching the Kings death, although *Ric. Dinothus* ſaith nothing, for fear belike, becauſe he being a French-man, his name is expreſſed and known: but another ſtory (whom the ſaid *Dinothus* doth follow) bearing no name, ſaith thus: That he died the 25. day of *May* upon *Whitſon* even, being of the age of 25. years: and addeth more; *Pro fluvio ſanguinis illum laboraſſe certum eſt*,

The Death of *Charles* the ninth the *French* King, and of the Cardinal of *Loraine*.

Certain

Anno 1558.

The manner of *Charles* the French Kings death, to be noted.

Certain it is, that his ſickneſs came of Bleeding. And ſaith further: *Conſtans fert fama, illum dum è variis corporis partibus ſanguis emanaret, in lecto ſæpe volutatum, inter horribilium blaſphemiarum diras, tantam ſanguinis vim projeciſſe, ut paucas poſt horas mortuus fuerit.* That is, The conſtant report ſo goeth, that his Blood guſhing out by divers parts of his Body, he toſſing in his Bed and caſting out many horrible Blaſphemies, laid upon Pillows with his Heels upward and Head downward, voided ſo much blood at his mouth that in few hours he died. Which ſtory, if it be true, as is recorded and teſtified, may be a Spectacle and Example to all perſecuting Kings and Princes polluted with the Blood of Chriſtian Martyrs. And thus much briefly touching the late terrible Perſecution in *France*.

Ex comment. de Stat. Gallic. part. 4.

The Concluſion of the Work.

AND thus to conclude (good Chriſtian Reader) this preſent Tractation, not for lack of matter, but to ſhorten rather the matter for largneſs of the Volume, I here ſtay for this preſent time, without further addition of more diſcourſe, either to over-weary thee with longer tediouſneſs, or overcharge the Book with longer prolixity, having hitherto ſet forth the Acts and Proceedings of the whole Church of Chriſt, namely, of the Church of England, *although not in ſuch particular perfection, that nothing hath overpaſſed us; yet in ſuch general ſufficiency, that I truſt not very much hath eſcaped us, neceſſary to be known, touching the principal affairs, doings and proceedings of the Church and Churchmen. Wherein may be ſeen the whole ſtate, order, deſcent, courſe and continuance of the ſame, the increaſe and decreaſe of true Religion, the creeping in of Superſtition, the horrible troubles of Perſecution, the wonderful aſſiſtance of the Almighty in maintaining his Truth, the glorious conſtancy of Chriſts Martyrs, the rage of the Enemies, the alteration of Times, the travels and troubles of the Church, from the firſt Primitive age of Chriſts Goſpel, to the end of Queen* Mary *and the beginning of this our gracious Queen* Elizabeth. *During the time of her happy Reign, which hath hitherto continued (through the gracious protection of the Lord) the ſpace now of 24. years, as my wiſh is, ſo I would be glad the good will of the Lord were ſo, that no more matter of ſuch lamentable Stories may ever be offered hereafter to write upon. But ſo it is, I cannot tell how, the elder the World waxeth, the longer it continueth, the nearer it haſteneth to its end, the more Satan rageth, giveth ſtill new matter of writing Books and Volumes: Inſomuch that if all were recorded and committed to Hiſtory, that within the ſaid compaſs of this Queens Reign hitherto hath happened, in* Scotland, Flanders, France, Spain, Germany, *beſides this our own Country of* England *and* Ireland, *with other Countries more, I verily ſuppoſe one* Euſebius *or* Polyhiſtor, *which* Pliny *writeth of, would not ſuffice thereunto. But of theſe incidents and occurrents hereafter more, as it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to give grace and ſpace. In the mean time the Grace of the Lord Jeſus work with thee (gentle Reader) in all thy ſtudious Readings. And while thou haſt ſpace, ſo imploy thy ſelf to read, that by reading thou maiſt learn daily to know that which may profit thy Soul, may teach thee experience, may arm thee with patience, and inſtruct thee in all Spiritual knowledge more and more to thy perpetual comfort and ſalvation in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord; to whom be all glory in* Secula Seculorum, *Amen.*

Edward Bulkley to the Chriſtian Reader.

WHereas that excellent Man, both for learning and godlineſs, Mr. John Fox *of bleſſed memory, ended this worthy Work with this ſhort declaration of that horrible Maſſacre and Murther of Gods Saints and Servants in* France; *I have thought good to ſet down the ſame more particularly and largely, and afterward to add thereunto a Declaration of other outragious Cruelties, committed in* France *by the Favourers and Followers of the Church of* Rome *upon faithful Chriſtians, both before and after the ſaid Maſſacre: All faithfully collected and taken out of the Hiſtory of that honourable man* James Auguſt Thuanus, *Preſident of the Parliament of* Paris, *and Counſellor of State to the late French King* Henry *the Fourth. And thus I have done, that we may thereby be the more moved to hate and abhor that bloody* Babylon *of* Rome, *and to take the better heed, that by our ſins and contempt of Gods holy Word, by his great mercy committed unto us, we do not again fall into the cruel claws thereof, and into the bloody hands of her Followers; as moſt certainly we had done, if God in great mercy had not prevented that ſavage, barbarous, and monſtrous* Powder-Treaſon: *of which great and merciful Deliverance God make us mindful and truly thankful in glorifying his Name, and ſerving him in true holineſs and righteouſneſs all the days of our life,* Amen.

Jacob. Auguſt. Thuan. Hiſtor. li. 52. pag. 17.

WHen the Admiral was wounded in both his Arms, he immediately thereupon ſaid to *Maure*, Preacher to the Queen of *Navarre* deceaſed; O my Brother, I do now perceive that I am beloved of my God, ſeeing that for his moſt holy Names ſake I do ſuffer theſe wounds. Then he whiſpered in the ear of one of them that bare up his Arm, that he ſhould deliver an hundred Crowns to *Marlin* his Preacher, to be given to the Poor of the Church of *Paris*.

Pag. 18.

Pag. 36.

The Admiral was ſlain by *Bemjus*, of whom *Alineus* (one of them that came to kill him) did afterwards report, that he never ſaw man in ſo preſent peril, ſo conſtantly and confidently ſuffer death.

Pag. 38.

Many honourable Men and great Perſonages were then murthered, as Count *Rochfulcaud*, *Telinius* the Admirals Son-in-Law, *Antonius Claromontus* Marqueſs of

Pag. 39.

Ravely, *Lewes Buſſius*, *Bandineus*, *Pluvialius*, *Bernius*, *&c.*

Pag. 41.

Francis Nompar Caumontius, being in Bed with his two Sons, was ſlain with one of them: the other was ſtrangely preſerved, who after came to great honour and dignity.

Pag. 43.

Stephen Cevalerie Prime, chief Treaſurer to the King in *Poytiers*, a very good man, and careful of the Common-wealth, after he had paid for his life a good ſum of Mony, was cruelly murthered by ſome Cut-throats, whom *Stephen Fargon Patandery*, that gaped for his Office, had ſent for that purpoſe.

Pag. 48.

Magdalen Briſſonet, an excellent Woman and learned, the Widow of *Ivermus*, Maſter of Requeſts to the King, flying out of the City in poor apparel, was taken, cruelly murthered, and caſt into the River.

Two thouſand were murdered in one day; and the ſame liberty of killing and ſpoiling continued certain days after. Pag. 52.

Peter Placie was ſtabbed in with Daggers, and killed. Pag. 55.

At *Meldis* two hundred were caſt into Priſon, and being brought out as Sheep to the ſlaughter, were cruelly murthered. There alſo 25 Women were ſlain, Pag. 63 Pag. 62.

At *Orleance* a thouſand of Men, Women and Children were murthered. Pag. 63.

The Citizens of *Auguſtobona*, when they heard of the Maſſacre at *Paris*, ſhut the Gates of their Town that no Proteſtant might eſcape, and caſt all that they ſuſpected into Priſon, which afterward were brought forth and murthered. Pag. 64.

At *Avaricum* in like manner the ſuſpected for Religion were caſt into Priſon, and afterward murthered. Pag. 65.

At the Town of *Charite*, a Troop of *Lewes Gonzaga*'s Horſemen killed 18 Perſons. Ibidem.

At *Lions* there were 800 moſt miſerably and cruelly murthered; the Children hanging at their Fathers necks, and the Fathers imbracing their Children, &c. Three hundred were ſlain in the Archbiſhops houſe. The Monks would not ſuffer their Bodies to be buried. Pag. 68. Pag. 69.

At *Romanium* ſeven were killed, *Pag.* 71.

At *Tholoſſa* 200 were murthered. Pag. 72.

At *Roan* 500 were put to death. At the laſt *Thuanus* writeth thus; This example paſſed unto other Cities, and from Cities to Towns and Villages, ſo that it is by many publiſhed, that in all the Kingdom above 30000 were in theſe tumults divers ways deſtroyed; although I think the number was ſomewhat leſs. Pag. 73.

A little before this Maſſacre, a Man, Nurſe, and Infant
Pag. 23. carried to be baptized, were all three murthered.

There was wonderful great joy in *Rome* for this Maſ-
Lib. 5. Pag. 27. ſacre, and the Pope with his Cardinals went in ſolemn Proceſſion to the Church of Saint *Mark*, to give thanks unto God for this great benefit beſtowed upon the See of *Rome* and the Chriſtian world. And the *Monday* following there was ſolemn Service in the Church of *Minerva*, at which the Pope and the Cardinals were preſent. A Jubile alſo was publiſhed, and in the evening the
Pag. 88. great Ordnance was ſhot off in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*. The Cardinal of *Lorain* gave a thouſand Crowns to him that brought News of it.

Bricamotius an old Man of ſeventy years, and *Cavag-*
Pag. 112. *nius*, were laid upon Hurdles and drawn unto Execution: and being in the way reviled, and defiled with dirt caſt upon them, they were hanged. *Bricamotius* might have been pardoned, if he would publickly confeſs, that the Admiral had conſpired againſt the King; which he refuſed to do.

Pag. 117. *Caſter* a City in the County of the *Albingens*, held by the Proteſtants, being upon the Kings great promiſes of their ſafety, delivered up into the hands of *Crucete* a Noble man, was notwithſtanding with murthers and ſpoil cruelly waſted.

Pag. 120. 121. At *Burdeaux*, by the inſtigation of a Monk, called *Enimund Angerius*, were 264. cruelly murthered, of whom ſome were Senators. This Monk continually provoked them in his Sermons to this ſlaughter.

Pag. 177. There was great rejoycing in the Camp of the Duke *Alba*, for the murther in *Paris*.

I have thought good to add hereunto the like Cruelty, committed at ſundry other times before this Maſſacre, by the followers of the Church of Rome, *againſt the true Profeſſors of Chriſt his Goſpel; taken alſo out of the Hiſtories of the ſaid honourable man* James Auguſt Thuanus, *who in the firſt part of his ſecond* Tome, *lib.* 29. *writeth thus.*

Pag. 195. Anno Dom. 1562. AT *Agendicum* in *Main*, a cruel ſlaughter of the Proteſtants was committed by the inſtigation of *Æmarus*, Inquiſitor of Criminal cauſes, Cardinal *Guiſe* (as was thought) not being ignorant thereof, being Archbiſhop of that City, who, to the ſtirring up of more hatred againſt him, was accuſed to have been at the ſtir and ſlaughter at *Vaſſey*. A rumour being ſpread abroad, that the Proteſtants had taken ſecret Counſel to invade and ſpoyl the Churches, above an hundred of every eſtate and ſex were by the enraged People killed or drowned in the River *Igonna*, which runneth by the City, the houſes of many were ſpoiled; the Church without the City where the Proteſtants aſſembled, was pulled down and made equal to the ground, and their Vines pulled up by the Roots.

Lib. 30. Pag. 232. The Duke of *Guiſe* entred into *Bloeſe*; which although he got without any fight, yet all furious liberty was permitted to the Souldiers, houſes were ſpoiled, many Proteſtants which had remained were ſlain, or drowned in the River; neither were Women ſpared, of whom ſome were defiled, and more murthered. Amongſt whom one Matron of good birth, having eſcaped drowning in Water, could not eſcape from the hands of the murtherers. From thence he went to *Mere*, a Town two Leagues from *Bloeſe*, were Proteſtants had frequent aſſembly at Sermons; which for many days together was ſpoiled, and many killed, and *Caſſobonius* the Paſtor was drowned in the next River.

Pag. 233. At *Ligolium* certain men were ſtrangled, the Preachers eyes pulled out, and he burned by a ſoft and ſlow fire.

Pag. 236. At *Anjou*, *Albiacus* the Paſtor was murthered, certain Women ſlain, and ſome defiled; amongſt which, two Siſters were abuſed in the ſight of their Father, who was bound to a Well to behold that ſight.

Pag. 238. *John Turry* a Preacher, above 70. years old, being taken was drowned in the River *Clavium*.

Pag. 239. An hundred and twenty being put into the Church at *Ceſarodum*, were cruelly murthered and drowned in the
Ibidem. River *Liger*. Many more Men and Women, which would not go to Maſs, were ſlain by the procurement of one *Antonie Pleſſiac Richel*, who had been a Monk and was then a leader of footmen. Children that had been baptized by the Proteſtants, were by them rebaptized. Anno 1558. Ibidem.

John Burgeolus, Preſident of *Turen*, an old man, being ſuſpected to be a Proteſtant, having bought with a great ſum of mony his life and ſafety, was notwithſtanding taken and beaten cruelly with Clubs and Staves, and being ſtripped of his Cloaths, was brought to the Bank of the River *Liger*, and was hanged his feet upward, and head downward in the Water up to his breaſt; then (he yet alive) they opened his Belly, pulled out his Guts, and threw them into the River, and taking his heart, put it upon a ſpear, carrying it with contumelious words about the City.

Renatus Campanus did throw above fifty whom either Pag. 241.
for Religion he ſuſpected, or otherwiſe hated, into his great Water Pond, which in jeſt he uſed to call his great Cup. In the Water Pools of one *Bojordanus* were found above fifty Bodies of men that had been cruelly ſlain.

At *Samararobridge* certain were ſlain, Bibles in the Pag. 242.
French Tongue and other Books were burned, and the Pulpit overthrown.

At *Abbatſ-villa*, *Robert Sandeliſius Allocurius* was ſlain, and his Son *Francis*, who firſt was wounded and left in the way for dead, and after being alive, and carried into an Inn, was taken out and killed. *Francis Cantalupe Seconvilla*, and *Antony Cancelerie Altamrius* Kinſman flying away, were taken and killed.

At *Valonia* a Tumult of purpoſe was raiſed, *Huſuill*, Pag. 246.
and *Cocavill* dwelling thereby were ſlain with certain men of the Town, of whom was one *John Gifford*; who being overwhelmed with Stones, and being ſuppoſed to be dead, yet after lifting up his head, and calling for help, was with Spits and Spears thruſt thorow and killed; the hatred of the furious People being ſcarcely ſatisfied with his double death.

In *Andomaribridge* the Paſtor or Preacher lying ſick, Pag. 249.
was taken, and having his eyes put out, and his ears cut off, was ſlain, and his Body was drawn thorow the Town unto the Gallows.

Three Women were drawn thorow the ſtreets and caſt Lib. 31.
into the River, and drowned. Pag. 248. Ibidem.

The Town of *Barre* being taken by the Papiſts, all kind of cruelty was there uſed, Children were cut up, and the Guts of ſome of them and hearts pulled out, which in rage they gnawed with their Teeth. They that were in the Caſtle, when they had yielded themſelves to the will of the Conqueror, were almoſt all hanged. One *Ralet* ſpared not his own Son, but ſuffered him in that Tumult to be hanged.

The Italians, which ſerved the King did for hatred of Pag. 292.
Religion break forth into ſuch fury, that they did rip up a living Child, did take his Liver, being as yet red hot, and eat it as meat.

A young Maid of 16. yearsold was murthered. Pag. 294.

When the City *Matiſcon* was taken by corrupting Pag. 300.
the Keeper of the Keys, whom yet they killed, great cruelty was ſhewed, ſo that they counted it a ſport to cut off mens Legs and Arms.

Sanpontius inviting Gentlewomen to Supper, would Pag. 308.
walk with them, and having his Souldiers about him uſed to caſt ſome of his Priſoners (of which he had many) from the Bridge into the River, and with that Spectacle did ſatisfie the eyes of his gueſts; of whom he would often ask, whether they did ever ſee men leap better.

When *Gondrinius* a follower of the Duke of *Guiſe* Pag. 304.
was ſlain, there were found among his Papers Letters of Anno Dom. 1562.
the ſaid Duke; wherein he gave commandment for ſlaying of the Proteſtants in every City of his Government.

Somarivius having taken without bloodſhed the Town Pag. 342.
of *Ciſtertion*, yet abſtained not from ſhedding of Blood; but having killed above 200. of them that did not reſiſt him ſpoiled the Town.

At *Albia* of *Cahors* upon the Lords day the 16 kal. Lib. 32.
of *December*, the Papiſts at the ringing of a Bell did Pag. 376.
break open the doors, where the Proteſtants were aſſem- Anno 1562.
bled, and killed without difference, ſome in the place, ſome as they were fleeing away, were here and there ſlain, among whom was one *Guacerius* a Rich Merchant;

who

Anno 1558. who being drawn into his own houſe, was with his Wife and Children murthered, and his houſe ſpoyled. About 45. were in that Tumult murthered, and their bodies contumelioufly uſed.

Pag. 395. At *Galliacum*, which is a Town by the River *Tarvis*, a great ſlaughter of Proteſtants was committed by the means of *Laureſce Stroſſius* Cardinal, Biſhop of *Albiens*, in which, above 150. were murthered: of which, ſome were drawn thorow the ſtreets, and after death caſt into the fields, to be eaten of Kites; other Ibidem. were drowned in the River, or caſt head-long from an high place. Proteſtants houſes were marked with Chalk to be murthered.

Lib 33. Pag. 427. In a Town called *Penna*, 300. (notwithſtanding the ſafety of their lives was promiſed to them) were cruelly murthered by Spaniards, which were newly come to ſerve the French King; who alſo killed certain Women there ſcoffingly ſaying, that they were Lutheran men, diſſembling their Sex by their apparel.

Lib. 34. Pag. 512. Anno 1563. *Columbarius* was ſlain in the ſiege of *Montalbane*, whoſe cruelty had been ſo great, that he counted it but a ſport to burn Women, Children, and old Men in an houſe together.

Pag. 514. The Town of *Nonne* being yielded to the Papiſts, upon condition, that the forain Souldiers ſhould depart ſafe with horſe and Armour, leaving their Enſigns, and that the Enemies Souldiers that were foot-men ſhould not enter into the Town, and that no harm ſhould be done to the Townesmen; but that they might (if they would) go into the Caſtle: after the yielding of it, the Gates were ſet open, and ſtraight they came to murthering and ſpoyling without any regard of the forcſaid conditions. Men and Women without difference were killed; the ſtreets founded with miſerable mourning, Blood flowing in the ways, and the laſcivious Souldiers Swords ſhining in the flames of the fire, which they had caſt upon the houſes. Many were cruelly killed, being thrown down headlong from on high. Among others, this example of inordinate filthineſs and cruelty is reported. A certain Woman being drawn out of a privy place, into the which to avoid the rage of the Souldiers ſhe had fled with her Husband, was in his ſight ſhamefully defiled: and then being commanded to draw a Sword, not knowing to what end, was forced by others, who ordered her hand, to give her Husband a deadly wound, whereof he died; the Souldiers not being content to defile her Body, but alſo to make her to defile her hands with the ſlaughter of her Husband.

Pag. 628. Anno 1564. *Thuanus* in his 36. Book, maketh a large declaration of a horrible conſpiracy of ſome in *France* with King *Philip*, for the taking and deſtruction of the Queen of *Navarré*, her Son *Henry*, and *Katherine* her Daughter, which was by Gods providence ſtrangely diſcovered and defeated, but the Conſpirators not puniſhed.

Pag. 638. In *Turone* the Proteſtants being aſſembled to hear a Sermon, ſome were beaten, and ſome ſlain; the preacher in the Pulpit thruſt thorow and ſlain.

Ibidem. *Philibert Cureus*, a noble and vertuous man, and an earneſt Proteſtant, was by Conſpiracy of adverſaries ſlain, as he was hunting and going to his Brother.

An *Auguſtinian* Frier called *Pulvarelius*, coming to the Town *Fuxium*, and falſly lying, in ſaying that the Proteſtants, whom he called *Hugonites*, had killed all the Catholicks in *Apamea*, cauſed 35. Proteſtants to be Lib. 39. Pag. 880. Anno 1566. pulled out of their houſes, and to be murthered.

Lib. 44. Pag. 271. Anno 1598. At *Samarobridge* in *Picardy*, in the time of Peace, above an hundred Proteſtants were murthered: and at *Autiſſiodore*, which the Proteſtants having held in the laſt War, had now yielded up, 150. were cruelly killed, and their dead Bodies were drawn, and caſt partly into Jakes, and partly into the River.

Pah. 272. Anno 1568. *Cipierius*, the Count of *Tendas* his Son, as he was returning from the Duke of *Savoy* his Kinſman, was with his retinue, to the number of 35. cruelly murthered at *Forum Julii*.

Pag. 273. Within the ſpace of three months, in time of Peace were about 10000. murthered.

Pag. 309. *Bordius* a Captain under the Prince of *Conde* at *Mirabellum*, was coutrary to promiſe cruelly killed, and his naked Body caſt into the ſtreet, that being unburied the Dogs might eat it.

The Prince of *Conde* being taken Priſoner, and his life promiſed him, was ſhot in the Neck by *Montiſquius*, Captain of the Duke of *Anjous* Guard of whom *Thuanus* writeth thus; *Hic exitus fuit Ludovici Borbonii Condæi regiæ ſtirpis viri ſupra natalium ſplendorem magnitudine animi ac virtute illuſtriſſimi; qui fortitudine, conſtantia, ingenio, ſolertia, rerum uſu, comitate, facundia, liberalitate, quæ omnes ſimul virtutes in illo uno excellebant, paucos æquales, neminem ſua ætate, vel inimicorum confeſſione, ſuperiorem habuit*: That is, This was the end of *Lewis Bourbon* Prince of *Conde*, of the Kings Blood, a man above the honour of his birth moſt honourable in courage and vertue; who in valiancy, conſtancy, wit, wiſdom, experience, courteſie, eloquence, and liberality, all which vertues excelled in him, had few his equals, and none, even by the confeſſion of his Enemies, ſuperior to him. Lib. 45. Tag. 337. Anno 1569

Pag. 338. *Robert Stuart* (a valiant Scotiſh Gentleman) being taken Priſoner, was notwithſtanding ſtabbed with Daggers, and killed.

Pag. 380. At *Orleance* an hundred Men and Women being committed to Priſon, were by the furious People that ruſhed in moſt cruelly murthered.

Lib. 46. *Nucetium* was yielded up by the Souldiers, upon promiſe made to them of the ſaving of their lives; yet moſt of them being brought to *Aguſtobona*, were cruelly ſlain by the furious People.

Lib. 50 Many Men and Women were murthered for the ſpace Pag. 777. of 3. daies at *Orange*. Anno 1571.

Hitherto out of the hiſtory of *Jacobus Auguſtus Thuanus* (who is reported to be a Catholick) which endeth in the year 1578. wherein I have for ſhortneſs ſake omitted ſundry particular outrages and murthers committed by that bloody Babylonical Generation; from whoſe boody hands God in mercy defend and preſerve us.

Hereunto I will only ad the murthering of *Henry* the third, and *Henry* the fourth, late French Kings, by Papiſts: the former murthered by *Clement* a Monk; the other by *Francis Ravilliac* a *Franciſcan* Frier: and to make up the full meaſure of impiety and cruelty, the Barbarous and monſtrous Powder Plot ſhall follow; whereby it was intended and purpoſed to have blown up the Parliament houſe, when our gracious King *James*, Prince *Henry*, all the Nobility, Biſhops, Knights and Burgeſſes ſhould be aſſembled therein. To the effecting of which deviliſh device, about thirty four Barrels of Gunpowder were laid under the ſaid Parliament houſe, and there found. This bloody conſpiracy was practiſed by preciſe Papiſts, whoſe Conſciences would not permit them to come to our Churches; but did eaſily ſuffer and allow them to attempt this ſavage and horrible practice: *Viz. Francis Treſham*, two *Winters*, Sir *Everard Digby*, *Percy*, *&c. Hereunto alſo three Jeſuits* (or rather *Jebuſites*) *Heny Garnet* (who ſuffered death for it) *Oſwald Teſmond*, and *John Gerrard* were privy and conſenting. *Teſmond* encouraged *Bates* unto it, abſolved him; and miniſtred the Sacrament to him. *Gerrard* miniſtred the Oath of ſecrecy to *Catesby*, *Percy*, *John Wright*, *Thomas Winter*, and *Fawkes*; abſolved them, and miniſtred the Sacrament unto them, as it is more largely declared in the Book intituled, *The Relation of the proceedings againſt the barbarous Traitors, Garnet a Jeſuit, and his confederates*, *Pag.* 50. & 62. & 133. This bloody device ſhould have been executed the fifth of *November*, 1605. but was by Gods great mercy diſcovered and defeated, to the juſt deſtruction of thoſe deteſtable Traitors, who fell into the Pit that they digged for others, and to the eternal ſhame and confuſion of that bloody *Babylon* of *Rome*, and her favourers and followers.

John 8. 44.

Ye are of your Father the Devil, and the luſts of your Father ye will do: he hath been a murtherer from the beginning, and abode not in the Truth, becauſe there is no Truth in him. When he ſpeaketh a lye, then ſpeaketh he of his own; for he is a lyar, and the Father thereof.

FINIS

A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

HISTORIES

OF

Forreign Martyrs:

From the happy Reign of the moſt Renowned

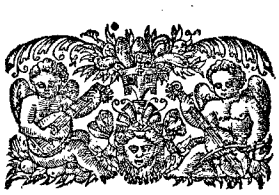
QUEEN ELIZABETH,

TO THESE TIMES.

With ſundry *RELATIONS* of thoſe Bloody *MASSACRES* executed upon the *PROTESTANTS* in the Cities of *FRANCE*, in the Year 1572.

Whereunto are annexed the two famous Deliverances of our *Engliſh* Nation: The one from the *Spaniſh Invaſion* in 1588. The other from the *Gunpowder Treaſon*, in the Year 1605.

Together with the Barbarous Cruelties exerciſed upon the *PROFESSORS* of the GOSPEL in the *Valtoline*, 1621.



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MDCLXXXIV.

A TREATISE OF AFFLICTIONS and PERSECUTIONS of the FAITHFUL, preparing them with Patience to ſuffer Martyrdom.

CHAP. I.

Shewing, That ſuch as will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt needs ſuffer Afflictions.

WE are all prone by Nature to decline *Afflictions, each one ſuppoſing to find out ſome back way to eſcape them. Firſt, Some are of opinion, that they can ſhift themſelves by playing the Temporizers: Secondly, Others, by hiding and concealing themſelves: Thirdly, Another ſort, by flying from thoſe places where Tyrants vex and domineer: Fourthly, A fourth, thinking to bear off blows by their greatneſs and credit they have gotten in the World: Fifthly and laſtly, A fifth ſort imagining to find ſome evaſion, either by reaſon of their Allies, or good Services which they have done; dreaming forſooth, that either theſe or the like projects ſhould yield them good reſpect, and preſerve them from being called into queſtion by thoſe that hate them. In a word, which of us hath not ſome fetch or other to break looſe, if he ſhould be either examined or purſued?*

This is the true cauſe that ſo few are prepared, and careful timely to foreſee what belongs to ſuffering ſhame and diſgrace for the truth, as the diſcommodities of long impriſonment, or what appertains to the conſtant and patient bearing of hideous torments and death for the Cauſe of the Goſpel. But alas, all theſe are but as fig-leaves, and vain hopes, which being ſomewhat pleaſing to the fleſh do only dull and deceive us; cauſing us to grow ſecure and careleſs, and ſo unprovided to ſuffer till we be ſurpriſed, and in ſafe cuſtody in our enemies hands. So that 1 Pet. 3.15. *when we ſhould be able to give a reaſon of the hope that is in us, we have not a word to ſay.*

To prevent theſe ſo great inconveniences, let us hold this for a ſure Principle, That it is impoſſible to live godly, and not ſuffer perſecution. For God hath ſo decreed, 2 Tim. 3.12. Rom. 8.20. *That if we will partake of the glory of his Son, we muſt firſt be conformed to him in his Sufferings. Yea, this is* Matth. 7.14. *that ſtrait gate and narrow way which leadeth unto life. Through much tribulation we muſt enter into the Kingdom of God,* Acts 14. 22. *and whoſoever bears not the* Luke 14.27. Hebr. 12.7. *Croſs of Chriſt, following him, cannot be his Diſciple. The Apoſtle in the Epiſtle to the* Hebrews *plainly tells us, That if we be Children, we muſt taſte of that Diſcipline which God nurtures his withal in his Family. It is and* Matth. 10.16. *muſt be the portion of Gods beloved ones, to live in this World as ſheep amongſt Wolves.*

Indeed, if we could live without ſin, we might then conceive ſome hope of freedom from the Croſs. But whilſt corrupt Nature lives in us, and brings forth ſuch bitter fruits, God hath, and will in all Ages raiſe up ſome Tyrant or other, as means to mortifie and tame the pride and rebellion thereof. Devils may as ſoon ceaſe to be, as that enmity ſhould ceaſe between the Seed of the Woman and the Seed of the Serpent. As long as the Church Gen. 3.15. Matth. 8.24. *continues to be Chriſts poor Barque in the Salt Sea of this World, ſhe muſt make her account to be toſſed with ſtorms and tempeſts of Perſecutions.*

What ſhould I ſay, no Crown is to be expected in Heaven, if we will not fight the good fight of faith here on 2 Tim. 4. 7. Pſal. 126. 5. *earth; nor to reap in joy, if in this world we refuſe to ſow in tears: The life of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt cannot* 2 Cor. 4. 10. *be manifeſt in us, except we bear about in our body the dying of the Lord Jeſus.*

Let every Chriſtian then hold this for certain, That when the World ceaſeth to hate the Children of God, and the Devil to envy them, then may they look, and not before, to live in the World without Perſecutions.

Hath not the Way, the Life, and the Truth ſaid it? John 16. 33. In the World you ſhall have tribulation. *And therefore let not the great ones of the World think to be exempted out of this rank, more than the ſmall: For to the Saints and Members of the true Church afflictions are even as ordinary, as is Baptiſm, Faith, and the Spirit of Adoption.*

Was not Moſes *the adopted Son of* Pharoahs *Daughter,* Exod. 2. 15. Acts 7. 29. *fain to fly out of* Egypt *to ſave his life? Was not* David, Hebr. 11. 27. *though anointed King, hunted by* Saul *his purſuer, as a* 1 Sam. 26. *Partridge into the Mountains?* Iſaiah *and* Daniel *were of* 20. S. Jerome in his Commentary upon Iſaiah. Dan. 6. 16. *the blood Royal, yet they eſcaped not; the one, from being cruelly rent in ſunder with a ſaw, after he had preached to his Nation ſixty years; nor the other (although next unto the King he ſwayed the affairs of the Babyloniſh Empire) to be caſt into the Lyons Den.*

In the times of the great Perſecutions under Dioclefian *the Emperour of* Rome, *who were the firſt that were ſacrificed, but* Nicomede, *and the principal Favourites of the Court? Who is ignorant that two of the moſt noble Princes of our times that ever* Germany *had, notwithſtanding their munition and means, were taken Priſoners by the Emperour, or held captive five or ſix years in great diſtreſs? What ſhould I here mention Lady* Jane Gray *proclaimed Queen of* England, *and yet cruelly put to death? Or* Thomas Cranmer *Primate of* England, *burned to aſhes at* Oxford? *Or the Lord* Cobham *that religious and valiant Knight, hanged, and burned hanging in S.* Giles's *in the Fields? All theſe, with many more, were apprehended, and not long after put to death, even then when they might ſeem moſt to have flouriſhed in the World.*

Seeing then that neither Age, Sex, Power nor Place can ſecure us from ſufferings, which are every where foretold in the holy Scriptures to abide us, whether we be high or low; let us in the name and fear of God prepare to take up Acts 20.23.

the Cross of Christ betimes; learn we of the silly Ant in
Prov. 6. 6. *Summer, to store up food against the cold and stormy Winter of Affliction: Imitating those, who dwelling in the defenced Cities, are careful to provide themselves of munition before they be besieged.*

CHAP. II.

Shewing, How the Faithful ought to bear Persecutions patiently.

FOr*asmuch as Afflictions are thus necessary and inevitable to Believers, that whether they will or no, they must pass this strait way: they ought to bethink them how to make hard things easie. And herein to follow the dealing of the Physician with his Patient, who, intending to give him some bitter Potion or Pill, is wont to sweeten the one with Syrrup, and to wrap up the other in Gold, lest he should abhor to take in, or swallow down, either the one or the other. Even so are we, by committing to memory some elect and choice Sentences of Holy Scriptures concerning the Cross, to cover over the same therewith, that it may not appear so dreadful unto us, as we apprehend it to be. For that which causeth us to fly and fear Persecution, is a prejudicate opinion we have conceived in our minds, that some deadly Poison lurks under it. And therefore we shun so much as to taste a little sup thereof, in regard we imagine it to be the only bitter drug in the World.*

Now, that which makes us fall into, and breeds in us this Error, is because (as therein so almost in all things else) we are led rather by sense, than by the word, by which we ought to ballance and regulate all our perswasions and resolutions. For could we believe what the Prophets and Apostles (inspired of God) have preached and written for the use of Posterity, as touching Persecutions, we would not only have them in a more honourable esteem, but thankfully and patiently bear them.

To which end, let us endeavour firmly to imprint in our minds these and the like Sentences. S. Paul *tells us,* That if we be reproached for the Name of Christ, we may think our selves happy; for the Spirit of Glory and
1 Pet. 4. 14. of God *(saith he)* resteth upon you. *And* S. Paul *speaking of himself and his Associates, saith thus,* And not
Rom. 5. 3. only so, but we glory in tribulation also, knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, *&c.*
Gal. 6. 14. *And in another place,* God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. *These places, with sundry others to the same purpose, do sufficiently manifest how much the true Christian ought to think himself honoured of God, when it pleaseth him to call such an one forth to suffer for his name in the defence of his Truth.*

What other thing else, I pray you, was the cause of S.
2 Tim. 4. 7, 8. Pauls *glorying, and that glory in an higher degree, which Christ hath ordained for us by his death; with which glory*
Hos. 13. 14. *he is now invironed in the Kingdom of his Father? What else is it which is promised to the Elect, as a recom-*
Isa. 24. 16. *pence of their Faith in Gods promises and all their loyal services, but glory to the righteous? What is the principal glory which we attribute to the Martyrs? Is it not in regard of their invincible patience and constancy of faith, by which they overcame the world and their own flesh, which is not to be esteemed a small or mean victory?*

If Alexander *obtained so great renown by conquering* Darius; *and* Scipio *for discomfiting* Hannibal, &c. *who slew but a few mortal men like themselves; how much are we, in comparison of them, to admire their valour, who have not only warred against men, but against their threats, gibbets, fires, yea against death it self, and in the end triumphed over it? We worthily magnifie the prowess of* Sampson *and* Shamgar; *the one for killing a*
Judg. 15. 15. Chap. 3. 31. *thousand men with the Jaw-bone of an Ass; the other for killing six hundred men with an* Ox-goad. *Yet did the force of the Martyrs far excel theirs, who with the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, were*
Eph. 6. 17. *inabled to overcome the Devil with all his Retinue.*

Tertullian *tells us,* That there is no better Order of Knighthood, nor Chains of greater price, than those to which the Martyrs of Jesus Christ are fastened, nor richer Bracelets than the Manacles wherewith their hands are bound. *In the* Ecclesiastical Historie *it is reported of a good Bishop, who by the Emperor* Decius *being cast into a filthy stinking Prison or Hole for the Name of Christ, with as many Irons as he could bear, intreated his Friends (who sometime came to visit him)* That after his death they would bury with him the signs and tokens of his Valour; *meaning his Bolts and fetters which were put upon his legs and hands; teaching us, That when we see it is the will of God to impose them upon us, and thereby to dub us Knights of his Order, we should esteem our selves no less honoured, than if a King, by way of gratifying a valiant Champion for some great Services done for him, should reward the same with some of his own precious Jewels, and then no less to brave it out in these our Ornaments, than a woman when she sees her self decked with all costly array from top to toe.* In his Epistle to the Martyrs of his time. It was Babylas Bishop of Antioch in the year 250. Ex Chrys. li. contra Gentiles.

If that which Cicero *writes be true,* That no vertue gives to man greater lustre than Magnanimity: *we may thence safely conclude, That none ought in this kind to be preferred before a Christian Martyr; who neither loves, desires, or admires ought, save that which is honest and praise-worthy, nor gathers any riches to himself but what he knows to be lasting, and hopes to possess for ever in the Kingdom of Heaven: and therefore sleighting either mens favours or displeasures, as those that are High-born contemn the one, when they seem to smile, and are not much daunted with the frowns of the other, knowing right-well that all things under the Sun are but vanity, and subject to change with their Ages and Seasons.* In his Book of Offices.

We read in the Ecclesiastical Story of one Phanutius *Bishop of* Thebaides, *who under the tyranny of* Maximinus, *having one of his eyes put out, never presented himself before* Constantine *the Great, but that good Emperor embracing of him would kiss that eye, which being lost, we know how unseemly it causeth that part to be. But thus the Emperor would shew, That nothing ought to be in higher esteem with us, than the Cross of Christ, and the marks thereof when we bear or wear them on any part of our Bodies.*

If the good and holy life of a Christian be so much set by of us, then must the death of such a one be much more glorious, when for the Name of Christ, he takes the same joyfully. Who could be more dear in the eye of God the
Matth. 3. 17. *Father, than his Son Jesus Christ? Yet gave he him to suffer death for our sins, and by suffering the same, according to the will and appointment of his heavenly Father, hath he not obtained a name which is above every name,* That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, &c?

If Gods glory ought to be preferred before all things, yea, our own salvation; and that Christ by dying to save us, hath obtained the greatest glory that ever was; what may we judge of that death we endure for his Honour, his Word, and for the maintenance of his pure Worship and Service?

Abraham *never performed a more honourable act, than in offering up his Son* Isaac *at Gods command, nor for which he is more praised. I demand then, that seeing our own life is more dear and precious to us than the life of another, whether the Martyrs, who according to the will of God, and for his honour, have been so prodigal of their blood, have not deserved greater, or at least an equal praise and commendation with* Abraham?

The Bishops of old had such an honourable esteem of Martyrdom, that they preferred it before their Episcopal Dignities; so as both themselves, and their Disciples and Followers whom they had taught, were so ambitious thereof, that when they wanted opportunity to suffer, being excluded therefrom by the interceding of Friends, or were not the first that suffered, they took it so to heart, that some of them carried the grief thereof to their Graves.

Think, I pray you, what a shame it were for a Gentleman, who, being called by his Prince to fight in his wars, should busie himself only about combing, curling, and perfuming his hair, tooting all day long in a Looking-glass, to deck and attire himself: and then judge by that, what valiant Souldiers we are, and what a goodly reputation

tation we shall reap either at the hands of God, or of good men, if in our spiritual warfare, wherein we are to be imployed during our whole life, whilst the alarm is struck-en up, and every one mounted to give the onset in the face of the enemy, we in the mean-time will play least in sight, hiding our selves behind every bush, as Scholars that are loth to go to School for fear of the Rod.

Good God! That men of noble spirits should so much affect the renown of being valiant, fearing nothing more than to be reputed for base Fellows and Cowards; yea some are so jealous thereof, that they cannot endure to hear so much as a suspicion of flying, and yet all this their valour tends only to covet a fame which consists in skill how to kill and destroy mens lives.

Now we being Kings then and the adopted Children of God, if either greatness of our Courage, or nobleness of our House or Birth whence we are descended, may prevail any thing with us: then who, I pray you, ought to shew forth more valour than the faithful, or more dread the staining of their honour by playing the Dastards? This being yet one Argument more to put Spirits in them; namely, that their prowess tends not to kill and slay mens bodies, as that of worldlings doth, but to save, heal, support and succour, as the Arm and Power of God, which is far more honourable than the other.

CHAP. III.

Manifesting the great profit and benefit which the Faithful reap by Persecution.

HAving shewen in the former Chapter that a more honourable Condition cannot befall a Christian than to suffer Affliction for the Name of Christ; we are here to shew how nothing is more beneficial and profitable, which will the better appear if we reckon up some few particulars thereof. To begin with the first then. In affliction God manifests his readiness to comfort us, and his power in sustaining and upholding us, that we sink not under the weight of them. Examples whereof we have in Joseph and David, and sundry others; who, by the afflictions they suffered for righteousness sake, were prepared (in that which God had appointed) the one to be Governour over the Land of Egypt, the other over the Kingdom of Israel. For as in the time of war, a Simi- Captain or a General of an Army, takes occasion there to let his Souldiers see his fidelity, vigilancy, fortitude and skill he hath in leading them out and in; and as a Physician among the sick and diseased, is occasioned to exercise the profundity of his Art and Experience he hath atchieved; Or as Friends, when we are in distress, do give us to understand what love they bear towards us, and how mindful they are of us; Even so, or much more, doth God declare how greatly he loveth us, and how faithful he is in performing his promises, in the time of our distresses, which is no mean benefit.

For the Experience which we get from his bounty, love, power, and care of our welfare, causeth us with greater confidence to stay and rest our selves wholly upon him; and the trial also of his fidelity doth more and more confirm us in waiting for the performance of his promises, which consequently occasions him to accomplish the same in us.

Again, had we no other good for which we ought to rejoyce in afflictions, and accustom our selves to bear them both patiently and thankfully, but this, that they serve to set forth Gods glory, which after a sort shines in us, while during our troubles he upholds us in them, and in due time delivers us out of them; what can we desire more? For his glory ought to be so dear unto us, that if our damnation it self might be a means to advance it, we should not refuse to undergo it, but freely and willingly offer our selves to be cast into Hell. Subjects and Servants joy in nothing more than in seeing their Lords and Masters highly honoured, as on the contrary nothing vexeth them more, than when they see them disesteemed, or ought to be breached tending to the impeaching or obscuring their estimation or honour. Shall we then, who are not only Subjects and Servants, but have obtained the Prerogative to be accounted Sons and Friends in our Fathers House and Family, shall not we, I say, rejoyce? The second fruit which we reap from afflictions, is, that hereby God multiplies his gifts and graces upon us, as it is written, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my power 2 Cor. 12.9. is made perfect in weakness, 2 Cor. 12. 9. Humility, Faith, Patience, Prudence, and Repentance, are augmented and increased in us by suffering persecutions. For look as bodily exercise is an help to increase health, strength, and heat in the outward man; and catechising or posing of children (to which we often call them) is the way whereby they grow in knowledge; even so the several trials and troubles, through which God exerciseth, and makes proof of our faith, cause it to go from a less measure and degree thereof unto a greater.

A Captain, who hath once or twice besieged a City or Castle, becomes much more expert, hardy, and wary than a fresh-water Souldier; so also is the prudence, counsel, courage, fortitude, and zeal much greater, and resolution stronger, in such as have often passed through the pikes of tribulations, than theirs who never knew what such trials meant. Yet I affirm not that Persecutions have always this effect in all, who have but once burnt their fingers in this fire of afflictions; as if they should not cause them sometimes to grow cold, and forsake their Standing: for as concerning such, their faith was never truly grounded in them, they have only had the outside and shadow of Faith. Even as the Seed sowed upon the stones easily drieth away for lack of good moisture, and rooting, by the excessive heating of the Sun; so this formal Professor, with his painted shews of Religion, and outward appearance of Faith, when the heat of Persecution approacheth, vanisheth away and comes to nothing.

But where Faith is lively rooted in the heart of the Believer, and always watered by the Holy Ghost, although through storms and tempests it may come to be shaken, yet do the roots therefore grow more strong and setled; as the Root of a Tree planted in a high place, which hath the winds still beating upon it, is fortified, and grows daily by the sap, which the other wants that is seated in a low and shady place. In a word, Persecution may be compared to fire, which hardens the clay, and melts the wax, and consumes the stubble: so it works divers effects, according as it meets with sundry subjects; for either it adds courage to one strong in Faith, or else softens such as are yet weak, or in the end ruins such as are Backsliders and Apostata's. So did the red Sea save Exod. 14.22, the people of God, who believed in him and his promises, 28. and drowned Pharaoh and his Host (being Infidels) in the bottom thereof as a stone.

Now whereas I said, That Persecutions do cause unto us the multiplying of Gods spiritual gifts and graces, my meaning is not only concerning the spiritual, but even of temporal good things also: for howsoever the latter of these happens not so usual to the faithful as the first, because the Lord according to his wise dispensation (knowing mans Nature to be altogether corrupted) would not occasion such, by enriching them, to forget him, and fixing their minds on things earthly, to make them their Treasure; yet it oft comes to pass, that the Faithful have been greatly enriched even by Persecutions.

Among others, Abraham prospered more in power and Gen. 13. 2, 6. worldly substance amongst heathens and strangers, than ever he had like to have done in his own Country. Also Joseph, in his Fathers house but a silly Sepheard, being Gen. 27.21. & 41.45. banished thence by the hatred and persecutions of his Brethren, became the Governour of a whole Kingdom, Gen. 42. 6. Did not Daniel also obtain such honours and dig- Dan. 2. 48. nities in Babylon among Idolaters, as he could never have & 5. 29. expected to be raised to the like in Judæa? But to say no more of ancient examples, I could alledge many the like, and that of late years. But these formerly mentioned may suffice; but only this I think, that of all such as have been persecuted for the Truths sake, there is not one (if he would speak uprightly) but must acknowledge, that he was never unprovided for in his afflictions, nor left altogether without necessaries; God thereby teaching him by

experience, what care he had over him.

Let not Persecution therefore too much daunt us, lest we or our Posterity should by means thereof fall into Poverty. For as we read in the History of Job, *after the* Sabeans *and* Chaldeans *had stripped him of all that ever he had, yet God in the end restored to him more than he had lost. Say then that our Goods be confiscated by Tyrants, let us not fear we shall be utterly impoverished thereby; for it is the course which God takes in providing as of food and raiment, by way of rendring us a reward when we have lost our livelyhood in his service.*

Simile. *Kings are usually wont to recompence such as have ventured the loss of their Lives and Livings in their quarrel. And do we not see many* Italians *banished out of* Naples, *and other parts, who have obtained great Pensions in* France? *Shall we think then, that God hath less love or respect of his, who shew themselves forward to defend his Kingdom and Honour? We may therefore assure our selves, that if we walk with a right foot in the way of Gods Commandments, it is in a manner impossible for us to escape Persecution; but yet on the other side, we ought much more to believe, that his blessings shall never cease to accompany us, and to restore unto us an hundred fold back again that which Tyrants either can or would snatch away from us, be it food or rayment.*

Afflictions serve in the Church, as rods hanged up here and there in Schools. *The third fruit which we may reap out of our Afflictions, is, That God useth them as his Fatherly rods to correct the offences which we his Children have and daily do commit against him: So as they are no less needful for a Church than rods in a School, or household Discipline in a well governed Family. For we cannot long persist in the right way without them, our Nature being so corrupt as it is; we should grow to be disordered, if we were not held in by Persecutions and Afflictions. What should become of a Commonwealth, if every one were left to do as him listed? So if God should forbear to correct his Children, the City of God would in time come to be a* Sodom, *and the Sheepfold of Christ an Hogstie or a Colledge of Devils.*

Simile. *A loving Father, that puts forth a Son to be a Scholar, intreats his Master now and then to correct him: And if through indulgency he neglects to do it, the Father will complain of him that he marrs his Child. Would we be Scholars in Christs School, and not suffer him to do that to us, which we would a Schoolmaster should do to our Children? So indeed, if we shall refuse to bear the yoke in your youth, we may worthily be condemned with the world when we are old.* It is good for a man, *saith* Lam. 3. 27. *the holy Prophet,* That he bear the yoke in his youth; *for such is the untamedness of our simple* Nature, *that if it be not betimes curbed, and continually kept short, it will hardly be reclaimed or brought within compass. But if God once take the rod into his hands, we begin then to have some fear of offending him; and if we do, we are ready to confess it. The rod wakens the dead and drowsie Conscience: It makes us mourn and weep, as also to accuse and condemn our selves for our ingratitude towards so good and gracious a Father; we begin to toss and roul our selves this way and that way to find ease, waiting from whence it will spring forth unto us.*

In this perturbation and anxiety of Conscience the holy Spirit of God, seeing us cast down and humbled, sets before our eyes Gods mercy in Christ: Whose blood applyed by faith, purgeth and heals the wound which is made therein. This done, he will carry such an hand over us, as shall withhold us from vice, and draw us on to the love of vertue. And thus we see how the Lord doth by little and little correct our sinful disposition, by exercising us with manifold Afflictions; whereby the whilst he provides for his own glory. Let us therewith consider his admirable bounty, seeing thus he covers our shame: for whereas he might justly cause us to suffer for our sins which we have committed against his Majesty, he instead thereof turns it to suffering for his Truth and holy Names sake; putting this honourable Title as a veil over us, to shadow our nakedness.

For first he alters the nature of the punishment, which is due unto us for our misdeeds, into an assured hope of recompencing all our labour and travel we undergo for righteous causes. And in the second place, he turns the dishonour which we ought to receive, as a token of the vengeance which he might to our ignominy execute upon us, into an immortal Trophee of Honour, wherewith we are crowned in the presence of God and of his Angels. Thirdly, hereby he graciously provides for the peace of our Consciences, which, instead of sorrow and grief wherewith they might be wounded for guilt of sin, on the contrary do sensibly rejoyce and glory in these sufferings for the Name of Christ. And fourthly, in the midst of all these joyes, and most singular consolations, yet the Conscience (for all that) ceaseth not to retain a scruple or dram of Rubarb *mingled herewith, to purge out now and then some corrupt humours, and by Persecutions to put us in mind of our sins committed against the Lord in times past.*

But yet he so tempers and moderates these his Drugs, and that in so exquisite and artificial a manner, that while he humbleth us with his left hand, he supporteth us with his right hand; if he causeth grief, by and by he comforts us; in smiting he heals us; in which mixture and tempering of things, so much differing in nature and quality, consists the salvation of our souls: Even as the skilful and expert Physician, by measuring out an equal and just proportion of contrary Drugs, meeting with our corrupt humours, provides for the safety of our Bodies.

Simile. *We see that an hot or dry Summer, or a fair Spring time, brings many Diseases therewith; and how fast Weeds sprout forth among the good Herbs; besides filling our Houses with flies, fleas, and like annoyances; the air and streets with unsavory and infectious smells: all which in Winter, in cold and frosty weather, do take their leave, and are gone: So whilst outward joy and prosperity, with other contentments last, the Body of the Church is pestered with sundry and divers spiritual bad humours and dangerous diseases; which on the contrary it is preserved and freed from by the variety of Gods fatherly rods and chastisements.*

(4) *Now to proceed to the fourth benefit of Afflictions, which is to kill the pride of our rebellious Nature: The* Hebrews *use these two words, to* afflict *and* humble, *for one and the same thing; as if the later were the fruit of the former. Nor do we want examples which may sufficiently admonish us, that as worldly prosperity usually causeth our hearts to swell, and to be puffed up; so on the contrary,* adversities *and* afflictions *dejects and humble us. Whilst* Nebuchadnezzar *abounded in all his delights, his* Dan. 4. 30. Dan. 3. 15. *heart was swoln so far with pride, that he began not only to oppress his Subjects, but to justle even against God himself by his Blasphemies. But when God had once cast him into the Furnace of Affliction, he then became as meek and humble a person as was in all his Kingdom.*

Manasses reigning in peace and liberty over the people Dan. 4. 37. 2 Chron. 33. from verf. 1. to verf. 24. *of* Judah, *grew so insolent, that there was no impiety or injustice wherein he overflowed not; but being surprised by his enemies, and laid in iron bands and fetters, he was changed in an instant, and became as low in his own esteem as ever he thought himself high: which appeareth in his Prayer made to God in his Affliction, wherein he prostrates himself before him, confessing his offences with great compunction of heart and humility.*

Acts 9. from verf. 1. to verf. 24. *S.* Paul *bare himself like a fierce and cruel Lion all the while he enjoyed favour from the High Priests, raging hither and thither, breaking forcibly into houses, and apprehending such as he found to be Professors of the Gospel; but the same man, being touched by Gods hand in the way as he was journying towards* Damascus (*intending there to exercise his Commission upon the Saints and Servants of Christ*) *suddenly became also as meek as a Lamb, and was ready to proffer his service in whatsoever the Lord would enjoyn him to do.*

Eusebius, *in his Prologue to the eighth Book of his Ecclesiastical History, relates, how God seeing the pride which began to bud and spring forth in the Church, and principally among the Pastors thereof (who out of their ambition strove about Dignities and Preferments therein) was moved for that very thing to raise up that great Persecution which befell the Church under the reign of* Diocletian *and* Maximian, *to crack their pride, and to provoke*

voke them to prayer, yea rather to watch over their flocks, than to contend who should be the greatest.

Wherein we may see, that by the blessing of God there is a kind of vertue in afflictions, to humble and bring those home who through prosperity have forgotten themselves, and strayed out of the right way. Nay, so forcible are they to abate and take down the pride of such who otherwise are hardened and grown obstinate, that even Pharaoh, as rebellious and stiff-necked as he was, seemed sometimes to bend and bow under the mighty hand of God. Whilst God gave him some respite, it is true, he still hardened his heart; but when the next judgment fell upon him and his people, he by and by became as pliable as a glove for ones hand.

Exod. 8. & 9.27. & 10.16.

Seeing then all of us naturally are thus inclined to wax proud by prosperity, a vice which God sets and opposeth himself against above other, as most abominable in his sight, we ought not methinks so much to be terrified at the approach of Persecutions, foras much as they withhold from, and correct in us the same our pride, sooner than all the instructions which are taught us by word of mouth.

The next benefit Afflictions bring us, is to quicken us up to the prayer of faith, which is never better discerned than when Afflictions lye heaviest upon us. In my distress (saith David) I cried unto the Lord. For as our desires to obtain mercy grow stronger, so are our requests more or less fervent; our desire alway being according to our necessity. Let a man be sick, poor, or lye under any other greater trial, the prayers of such do beyond comparison exceed in earnestness and fervour theirs, who are well and at their hearts ease. David in many of his Psalms pressed the Lord in such wise by prayer, when troubles lay heavy upon him, as if he meant to take no denial.

Psal. 120.1.

Psal. 17.1,2. & 28.1,2.

With what vehemency prayed the Apostles to God for strength, being persecuted by the Rulers, Elders, and Scribes of Jerusalem, insomuch as the place was shaken where they were assembled? He that shall duly weigh with what prayers and tears our Lord Jesus Christ solicited his Father in his passion, being nigh unto his death, will confess that fire is not more apt to be kindled by the winds which blow upon it, than the prayer of Faith is fired and augmented by Affliction. Would any man have imagined that ever such voices of prayers and praises should have been made in the belly of a Whale, as Jonas made, being there as it were in the bottom of Hell?

Acts 4. 5,6. 24. 29.

Hebr. 5.7. Luke 22.44.

Jonah 2. read the whole Chapter.

CHAP. IV.

Wherein is shewed that Afflictions are not only profitable, but pleasant also.

I Grant that Afflictions considered in themselves are no way joyous but grievous, as the Apostle declareth, Heb. 12. 11. because they are rather Messengers of Gods displeasure; the root also from whence they spring being indeed our sins. But as we see how our Apothecaries in their Shops have the skill to mix poisons with good and healthful Medicines: So our God, being infinitely more wise, knows so to temper our afflictions for our good, that out of things, bitter and distastful to us in their own nature, he can compose not only a profitable, but a most pleasant potion.

Yea, even as Bees out of the bitterest Herbs draw the most sweet honey, so the Lord out of the tartest troubles extracts such sweets, that at length we shall with Samson be forced to say, Out of the Eater came forth meat, and out of the Strong came forth sweetness. Hunger in it self is sharp, and hard to be endured; yet our taste is greatly delighted, when we can eat with an appetite. Could any man judge how beneficial a fire were, if he were not some times pinched with cold? Or with what delight could we accept of drink in the heat of Summer, if we were not almost dried up with thirst? Or how acceptable rest is, if we were not tired out with travel and labour? As we see then, that these accidents (how grievous or incommodious soever, now incident unto our nature corrupted by sin) do notwithstanding dispose us to receive exceeding contentments therefrom: So Persecutions, albeit in and of themselves naturally abhorred, proceeding partly (as we have said) from Gods displeasure, and partly from Satan and his Instruments; yet do they fit and prepare us for the injoying of those great Consolations which God hath promised to his Elect. Afflictions cause us to feel, first, That God is the Father of Mercies, and of all Comfort: Secondly, That the Office of Christ his Son is, to revive the desolate and broken in heart; Thirdly, That the Holy Ghost is the Comforter of his Church: Fourthly, That the Word of God is it that ministers comfort to us in all our tribulations and adversities which for the most part befall us for adhering thereto.

Judg. 14.14.

2 Cor. 1.1. Mat 11.28. John 14.16. Rom. 15.4.

For as he who would taste meat savoury to his palate, useth salt therewith; so if we would (to purpose) find the Word of God tasteful to us, commonly it is when we are in affliction. When did the Apostles rejoyce more, than after they had tasted of the whip for the Name of Christ? When did S. Stephens face appear as if it had been the face of an Angel, but when he stood before the Councel at Jerusalem to answer for his life? He that looked upon the three young men in the hot fiery furnace, saw them walking up and down there, as in some pleasant and delightful Medow or Garden. Behold that ancient Father Ignatius, who (as himself records) being led from Syria to Rome, there to be devoured, accompanied by Sea and Land with a Band of Souldiers (which he tearms ten Leopards) wished by the way as he went) that he were in the midst of those Beasts which were ready to rent him in pieces, and that their appetites might be whetted to dispatch him quickly; fearing lest it should happen to him as to some other Martyrs, that the Beasts out of a kind of reverence and humanity would not dare to approach unto him; being ready, he said, rather to provoke them to the fight, than that they should suffer him so to escape: Pardon me, I pray you, saith he, for I know what is profitable for me: I now begin to be a Disciple of Christ, I affect nothing this world affords: What is so dear to me as Christ? If it be not sufficient for me to be torn with Beasts, let Fires and all the Tortures of Men and Devils be prepared for me; let all my Body be dismembred, my Bones bruised to pieces, so that I may enjoy communion with my God, and come into the presence of my Saviour. And when he heard the Lions roaring, he said, I am the Lords wheat, I must be ground with the teeth of wild Beasts, that I may be found pure bread.

Acts 5. 4. Acts 6. 15. Dan. 3.25.

Simile.

May we not now conjecture by the wishes of this holy Bishop, what sweet delight he found in himself in approaching nigh unto his Martyrdom? As a Queen then, or great Lady takes no greater content than when she perceives in her Husband some apparent signs of his favour, especially then when she hath conceived some suspicion of alienating his affection from her, or it seems to be any way cooled or abated: So the faithful soul, who loves the Lord entirely, desires nothing more, nor taketh at any time more delight, than when she feels from her Husband Christ, love for love, but chiefly in the hour of temptation and tribulation, which oft times causeth our heads and hearts to be possessed with jealousies and suspitions that we are out of his favour. Let us conclude then, that seeing (in regard of the reasons heretofore alledged) Persecutions are so honourable, every way profitable and delectable to the true Christian; What cause hath he either to be grieved or terrified when they befall him? Nay, he ought with the Apostles and Martyrs to triumph and rejoyce.

To which purpose may fitly be applyed that saying of Themistocles to his Children, when he saw the great honours that the King of Persia had conferred upon him by their Exile, finding kinder entertainment among Strangers than in their own Country; We had perished, said he, if we had not perished. So may we say, That did not our natural life perish here by Persecutions, we had never been saved in the Kingdom of Heaven.

Run we then (my Brethren) with patience the race that is set before us; let us not be ashamed, with Simon the Cyrenian, to carry the reproachful Cross of Christ; and seeing we must dye once, let us desire rather to dye gloriously for righteousnes sake, than ignominiously by shunning it. If Princes had rather dye in a breach than in their bed; and to lose their life in the field, than an

eye

eye at Tilt or Tourney; let us imitate them in this our ſpiritual Conflict, earneſtly intreating the Lord, if it be his bleſſed will, that we may fight and dye valiantly in the defence of his Truth, and for the honour of his Son If worldly minded men can and will ſuffer many hard adventures, ſome for their honour, others for their profits and pleaſures, though but vain and temporary; with what longing ſhould we aſpire to that certain and eternal happineſs, reſt, and glory, wherewith all thoſe ſhall be crowned who fight manfully and conſtantly for the cauſe of Chriſt?

But the world and worldlings ſmile at this wiſdom, counting it fooliſhneſs; the fleſh alſo joyning therewith, thinks all we have ſaid to be either idle phantaſies, or meer paradoxes; and no marvel, for both of them being from the earth, can ſavour nothing but what is earthly, as Chriſt ſaith. Between the judgment of the Church, and that of the World, there is a broad difference, when the queſtion is of determining what is true honour, profit, or pleaſure; whence it is that in a manner the one ſcorns that which the other admires and adores. So as they never conſent in approving or condemning with one voice that which is queſtioned; for the belly hath no ears. If therefore we mean to be ruled aright either in the matter of faith or outward manners, let us not be guided therein either by the worlds judgment, or yet that of the fleſh; for the world is poreblind, and the belly, as we have ſaid, hath no ears.

Ponder we then theſe things, that ſo we may be prepared to obey the will of God: let us not wilfully ruſh into danger; only if God ſhall call us forth to ſuffer, purpoſing thereby to conform us to our Head, and ſo to accompany that great cloud of Witneſſes through the narrow way that leads to his Kingdom, yield we our necks to bear the ſweet and eaſie yoke of Chriſt. Be it that Satan and his Confederates do perſecute the Church of Chriſt, yet hath ſhe an aſſured liding place. The faithful may be impriſoned, but in the mean while they leave the world in a worſe Priſon, viz. ſhut up under the wrath of God. They may be in bonds, yet is not that ſo bad as to lye bound in the bonds of iniquity; they are oft ſhut up in dark and unſavoury places, but how can darkneſs be grievous to them who are the children of light, eſpecially when God ſhines upon them with the light of his countenance? Stinking holes and odious ſmells cannot ſo offend and annoy them, but that the ſweet ſavour of a good conſcience, purified by faith, ſurmounts all. They may be put into dungeons in the world, yet being choſen of God out of the world, they have their converſation in heaven. Be it that they loſe a few commodities here, it is but as if they forſook counters to receive gold, things terreſtrial for celeſtial. A Chriſtian may ſuffer, but he cannot dye; he may loſe his life, but he cannot loſe Chriſt; when he leaves the world he goes to God.

Wherefore let us then put on the whole armour of God, Eph. 6. 11. *and as good ſouldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, enure our ſelves to* 2 Tim. 2. 3. *endure hardneſs. So ſhall it come to paſs, that continuing faithful in this ſpiritual welfare unto the death, we ſhall at length receive the Crown of Eternal Life.* Rev. 2. 10.

THE

THE HISTORY OF

Four MARTYRS Burnt at *Liſle* in *Flanders*, in the Year 1556. whoſe Names are *Robert Oguier*, and his Wife, *Baudicon* and *Martin*, their two Sons.

THe example which is ſet before us in this ſo Godly a Family may well ſerve for an entrance to the Continuation of the Hiſtory of forein Martyrs, in that we may thence learn, what thoſe true Ornaments are wherewith both Parents and their Children ought to be decked and adorned, namely with ſuch a light ſhining forth from the ſound knowledge of the Goſpel, as whereby the Church of God may be edified and confirmed in ſeeing them to hold the profeſſion of their Faith conſtantly even unto the death.

THe City of *Liſle* may well be placed in the firſt rank of thoſe Cities of Merchandize in the Low Country of *Flanders*, *Artois* and *Haynault*, upon which the Lord hath multiplied his bleſſings, not ſo much of Worldly good things, as of his Spiritual Graces; yea; in ſo abundant meaſure, that even under the Tyranny of Antichriſt in the Countries aforenamed, few places can be named where the Goſpel in that time was more freely publiſhed and preached, or with greater zeal received than there.

For, for three years together the Goſpel was ſecretly taught among them, ſometime in Houſes, then in woods, in Fields, and in Caves of the Earth, not without the hazarding of their deareſt life, if they had been diſcovered: yet could not theſe apparent dangers under ſuch tyranny cool or abate the burning zeal which almoſt conſumed the heart of this people, hungring and thirſting after the ſpiritual food of their Souls.

What was among them preached, was accordingly practiſed: works of mercy and charity were there exerciſed, not only towards thoſe of the houſhold of Faith, but even towards them which were without; ſo as many by means hereof were drawn and brought on to the knowledge of Chriſt. They ordained in their aſſembly certain Deacons to receive the Alms which were given, men fearing God, being well approved of, who went weekly from Houſe to Houſe to collect the Alms of ſuch as they knew to be Faithful: admoniſhing every one how to carry themſelves in their vocations, and of their duty in contributing towards the relief of the poor Saints.

And thus each one according to his place endeavoured to expreſs and manifeſt his Faith by the fruits thereof, namely good works.

In a very ſhort ſpace of time, the Lord by the Miniſtry of his Word (though preached in ſecret) erected here a flouriſhing Church, ſo as the Congregation conſiſted of a competent number of Men, Women and Children, not only of the City, but out of four or five Villages beſides bordering nigh unto it, who came alſo with an eager appetite to be inſtructed.

In the mean while, you may conceive that Satan and his adherents ceaſed not to ſtorm and rage hereat, not being able long to endure theſe their holy meetings; but when the time was now come, that God had given them power to prove and try his Church, they foreſlowed not to exerciſe their cruelty upon it, which long before they had plotted and contrived.

Upon *Saturday* then the ſixth of *March*, *Ann.* 1556. between nine and ten of the Clock in the Night, the *Provoſt* of the City with his Sergeants Armed themſelves to make ſearch, if they could find any met together in Houſes; but as then there was no aſſembly. Therefore they came to the Houſe of one whoſe Name was *Robert Oguier*, which was a little Church, for all both great and ſmall, men-ſervants and maids were familiarly inſtructed there in the knowledge of God, as the iſſue well manifeſted.

Being violently entred into the ſaid Houſe, and ſeeking here and there for their prey, they found certain Books which they carried away. But he whom they principally aimed at was not then in the Houſe; *viz. Baudicon* the Son of the ſaid *Robert Oguier*, who at that time was gone abroad to commune and talk of the Word of God with ſome of the Brethren, as he oft uſed to do. Returning home, he knocked at the door: *Martin* his younger Brother, watching his coming, bad him be gone, willing him not to come in. But *Baudicon*, thinking his Brother miſtook him for ſome other, ſaid, it is I, open the door: with that, the Sergeants approaching nigh unto it, opened the ſame, and cauſing him to enter in, ſaid, Ah Sir, you are well met; to whom he anſwered, I thank you my friends, you alſo are welcome hither.

Then ſaid the *Provoſt*, I arreſt you all in the Emperors Name, and with that commanded each of them to be bound, to wit, the Husband and his Wife with their two Sons, leaving their two Daughters to look to the Houſe. Now as they conveyed them along through the Streets, *Baudicon* with a Voice ſomewhat extended (which might eaſily be heard at that time of the night) ſaid, O Lord, aſſiſt us by thy Grace not only to be Priſoners for thy Name ſake, but to confeſs thy holy truth in all purity before Men, ſo far as to Seal the ſame with our Bloods for the edification of thy poor Church. The Prayer which Baudicon made as he was led to Priſon.

Thus were they brought into ſeveral Priſons, where they were ſeverally handled; yet ceaſed they not to praiſe and bleſs the Lord with one conſent; within a few days after, the Priſoners were preſented before the Magiſtrates of the City, and examined as touching their courſe of life, who directed their Speech firſt to *Robert Oguier* in theſe words: It is told us that you never come to Maſs, yea, and alſo diſſuade others from coming thereto; we are further informed that you maintain Conventicles in your Houſe, cauſing erroneous Doctrines to be preached there contrary to the ordinance of our Holy Mother the Church, where-

whereby you have tranſgreſſed the Laws of Imperial Majeſty.

Robert Oguier anſwered, whereas firſt of all you lay to my charge that I go not to Maſs; I refuſe ſo to do, indeed, becauſe the death and pretious Blood of the Son of God, and his Sacrifice is utterly aboliſhed there, and troden under foot. *For Chriſt by one Sacrifice hath perfected for ever them that are ſanctified.* The Apoſtle ſaith *by one offering.* For do we read in all the Scriptures, that either the Prophets, Chriſt, or any of his Apoſtles ever ſaid Maſs? for they knew not what it meant. Chriſt indeed inſtituted the holy Supper, in which all Chriſtian people do communicate together, but they Sacrificed not. If you pleaſe to read the Bible over, you ſhall never find the Maſs once mentioned therein. And therefore it is the meer invention of Men. You know then what Chriſt ſaith, *In vain do they worſhip me, teaching for Doctrines the commandments of Men.* If either my ſelf, or any of mine had been at Maſs, which is ordained by the commandment of Men, Chriſt would have told us, *we had worſhipped him in vain.*

Heb. 10.14.

Mat. 15.9.

As for the ſecond accuſation, I cannot nor will deny, but there have met together in my Houſe honeſt people fearing God; I aſſure you not with intention to wrong or harm any, but rather for the advancement of Gods Glory, and the good of many. I knew indeed that the Emperor had forbidden it, but what then? I knew alſo that Chriſt in his Goſpel had commanded it. *Where two or three,* ſaith he, *are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midſt of them.* Thus you ſee I could not well obey the Emperour, but I muſt diſobey Chriſt. In this caſe then, I chooſe rather to obey my God, then Man.

Mat. 18. 20.

One of the Magiſtrates demanded what they did when they met together.

To which *Baudicon* the eldeſt Son of *Robert Oguier* anſwered; if it pleaſe you my Maſters to give me leave, I will open the buſineſs at large unto you.

The Sheriffs ſeeing his promptneſs, looking one upon another ſaid, well, let us hear it then. *Baudicon*, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, began thus: when we meet together in the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to hear the Word of God, we firſt of all proſtrate upon our knees before God, and in the humility of our Spirits do make a confeſſion of our Sins before his divine Majeſty. Then we pray that the Word of God may be rightly divided, and purely preached: we alſo pray for our Soveraign Lord the Emperour, and for all his honourable Counſellors, that the Common-Wealth may be peaceably governed to the Glory of God; yea we forget not you whom we acknowledge our ſuperiours; intreating our good God for you, and for this whole City, that you may maintain it in all tranquillity. Thus I have ſummarily relâted unto you what we do: think you now, whether we have offended ſo highly in this matter of our aſſemblies. Moreover if you will not be offended to hear the tenour of the Prayers we make there, I am ready to recite the ſame unto you.

One of the Magiſtrates gave him a ſign by which he might underſtand that they deſired to hear it. *Baudicon* then kneeling down before them, prayed with ſuch fervency of affection, that the like ardency of zeal never appeared in him in ſo admirable a manner as at that time; Inſomuch that the Magiſtrates were forced to burſt forth into tears; beholding what a gratious Spirit the young man was endued withal. Then ſtanding up, he ſaid, now your Maſterſhips may take a ſcantling by this, how we are imployed in our meetings.

Whilſt they were thus examined, each of them made an open confeſſion of the Faith which they held. After this being returned again into Priſon, they not long after were put to the torture, to make them confeſs who they were that frequented their Houſe, but they would diſcover none, unleſs ſuch as were well known to the Judges, or elſe were at that time abſent. About four or five days after, they were convented again before their Judges, namely, the Father and his two Sons: and after many words paſſed, they asked them whether they would ſubmit themſelves to the will of the Magiſtrates. *Robert Oguier* and *Baudicon* his Son, with ſome deliberation, ſaid, yes, we will.

Then demanding the ſame of *Mart.* the younger brother, he anſwered, that he would not ſubmit himſelf thereto, but would accompany his Mother; ſo he was ſent back again to Priſon, whilſt the Father and the Son were adjudged to be burnt alive to aſhes. Now as they went to receive the Sentence, one of the Judges ſitting in his place, after ſentence pronounced, ſaid, to day you ſhall go to dwell with all the Devils in Hell fire (which he ſpake as one tranſported with *fury in* beholding the great patience of theſe two Servants of Chriſt) for they took all things quietly, vanquiſhing their enemies cruelty by patient bearing the Croſs, and in praying God for the ſame. Having received the ſentence of death, they were returned to the Priſon whence they came, being joyful that the Lord did them that honor to be enrolled in the number of his Martyrs. No ſooner entred they the Priſon, but a band of fryers came in thither: one amongſt the reſt told them, the hour was come in which they muſt finiſh their days. *Robert Oguier* and his Son anſwered, we know it well. But bleſſed be the Lord our God, who now delivering our Bodies out of this vile Priſon, will receive our Souls into his glorious and Heavenly Kingdom.

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One of the Fryers whoſe Name was *Lazard*, a notable limb of Antichriſt, endeavoured to turn them from their Faith, ſaying, Father *Robert*, thou art an old Man, let me intreat thee in this thy laſt hour to think of ſaving thine own Soul. And if thou wilt give ear unto me, I warrant thee thou ſhalt do well.

The old Man anſwered, poor Man, how dareſt thou attribute that to thy ſelf which belongs to the Eternal God, and ſo rob him of his honour? for it ſeems by thy ſpeech, that if I will harken to thee, thou wilt become my Saviour. No, no, I have one only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who by and by will deliver me from this miſerable World. I have one Doctor, whom the Heavenly Father hath commanded me to hear, and I purpoſe to hearken to none other.

A Fryer, called the Father of Saint *Clare*, exhorting him to take pity of his Soul which Chriſt hath redeemed: Thou willeſt me, ſaid *Robert*, to pity mine own Soul, doſt thou not ſee what pity I have on it, when for the Name of Chriſt I willingly abandon this Body of mine to the Fire, hoping to day to be with him in Paradiſe? I have put all my confidence in God, and my hope wholly is fixed upon the merits of Chriſt his Death and Paſſion, he will direct me the right way to his Kingdom. I believe whatſoever the holy Prophets and Apoſtles have written, and in that Faith will I live and dye.

Mat.

The Fryer hearing this, ſaid, Out Dog, thou art not worthy the Name of a Chriſtian; thou and thy Son with thee are both reſolved to damn your Bodies and Souls with all the Devils in the bottom of Hell.

As they were about to ſever *Baudicon* from his Father, he ſaid, Let my Father alone, and trouble him not thus, he is an old Man, and hath an infirm Body, hinder him not I pray you, from receiving the Crown of Martyrdom.

Another of the Fryers ſaid, Away varlet, thou art the cauſe of thy Fathers perdition. The Friers then returning themſelves towards the Executioner, ſaid, On, on, Officer, do thine Office, for we will be gone, we loſe but our labour, ſeeing the Devil hath betwitched them.

Baudicon was then conveyed into a Chamber apart, and there being ſtripped of his Clothes was fitted to be ſacrificed; now as one brought him Gunpowder to put to his Breaſt, an odd fellow ſtanding by ſaid, Wert thou my Brother, I would ſell all that I am worth to buy Fagots to burn thee, thou findeſt but too much favour. The young Man anſwered, Well, Sir, the Lord ſhew you more mercy. Some that were preſent, ſaying, Good God, is it not a pitiful ſight to behold theſe poor Men? A Doctor being by anſwered, And what pity would you have ſhewed towards them? I would in ſtead of allowing them this powder have them fryed on Gridirons, as S. *Laurence* was.

Saint *Laurence* was roſted on a Gridiron by *Pagans*: In this age the Godly find in a manner the like from falſe and fained Chriſtians.

Whilſt they ſpake thus to *Baudicon*, ſome of the Friers cloſed in with the old Man, perſwading him at leaſt to take a Crucifix into his hands, leſt the people (ſaid they) ſhould murmure againſt you; adding further, that he might for all that lift up his heart to God, becauſe you know; ſaid they, it is but a piece of Wood.

A gentle perſwaſion.

Thus they faſtened it between his hands, but as ſoon as *Baudicon* was come down, and eſpied what they had done

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done to his Father; he ſaid, Alas Father, what do you now, will you play the Idolater even at our laſt hour. And then pulling the Idol out of his hands which they had faſtned therein, he threw it away, ſaying, What cauſe hath the people to be offended at us, for not receiving a Jeſus Chriſt, of Wood? We bear upon our hearts the Croſs of Chriſt the Son of the everliving God, feeling his holy Word written therein in Letters of Gold.

As they were led to execution, a band of Souldiers were attendant upon them, no leſs then if a Prince had been conducted into his Kingdom. Being come to the place where they were to ſuffer, they aſcended up the Scaffold which was there prepared for them. Then *Baudicon* asked leave of the Sheriffs to make a Confeſſion of his Faith before the people. Anſwer was made, That he was to look unto his Ghoſtly Father and Confeſſor; confeſs your ſelf (ſaid they) to him. He was then haled rudely to the Stake, where he began to ſing the ſixteenth Pſalm. The Fryer cryed out, Do you not hear my Maſters, what wicked errours theſe Hereticks ſing, to beguile the people withal. *Baudicon* hearing what he ſaid, replyed thus; Now ſimple Idiot, calleſt thou the Pſalms of the Prophet *David*, errors? But no marvel, for thus you are wont to Blaſpheme againſt the Spirit of God.

Then turning his eyes towards his Father, who was about to be chained to the Stake, he ſaid, Be of good courage Father, the worſt will be paſt by and by. As the Executioner was faſtening him to the Poſt, he chanced to hit him with his hammer on the foot, to make him ſtand nearer to the ſame. The old Man being ſenſible of the blow, ſaid, Friend, thou hurteſt my foot, why doſt thou abuſe me thus? The Frier hearing this, ſaid, Ah theſe Hereticks; They would be counted Martyrs forſooth; but if they be but touched a little, they cry out as they were killed. To which *Baudicon* thus replyed: Think you then that we fear the Tormentors? No ſuch matter; for had we feared the ſame, we had never expoſed our Bodies to this ſo ſhameful and painful a kind of death.

Then he often reiterated theſe ſhort breathings, O God, Father everlaſting, accept the Sacrifice of our Bodies, for thy well beloved Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake. One of the Friers cryed, Heretick, thou lyeſt, he is none of thy Father, the Devil is thy Father. And thus, during theſe conflicts, he bent his eyes to Heaven, and ſpeaking to his Father, ſaid; Behold, for I ſee the Heavens open, and millions of Angels ready preſt to receive us, rejoycing to ſee us thus witneſſing the truth in the view of the World. Father let us be glad and rejoyce, for the joys of Heaven are ſet open to us.

Then ſaid one of the Friers, I ſee Hell open, and millions of Devils preſent to carry you thither. But the Lord, who never forſakes any that put their truſt in him, ſtirred up the heart and opened the mouth of a poor Man who ſtood among the multitude, beholding this ſpectacle, who being moved with compaſſion, cryed aloud, Be of good comfort *Baudicon*, ſtand thou to it, thou fighteſt in a good quarrel, I am on thy ſide; after which words he departed thence; and a way being made for him, ſaved himſelf from danger.

Fire was forthwith put to the Straw and Wood which burnt beneath, whilſt they (not ſhrinking for the pains) ſpake one to another; *Baudicon* often repeating this in his Fathers ears, Faint not Father, nor be afraid, *Yet a very little while and we ſhall enter into the Heavenly Manſions.*

In the end the Fire growing hot upon them, the laſt words they were heard to pronounce, were *Jeſus Chriſt thou Son of God, into thy hands we commend our Spirits.* And thus theſe two ſlept ſweetly in the Lord.

Within eight days after, *Jane* the Mother, and *Martin* her Son, were executed in the ſame City of *Liſle*; but of this more hereafter.

Jane *the Wife of* Robert Oguier, *and* Martin *her Son, Martyrs.*

THe Wife here follows her Husband, and accompanies her Son: her Converſion is admirable; for being ſevered from him, the Friers having ſeduced her, laboured with her to turn her Son alſo out of the right way; but he underſtanding thereof recovers his Mother again, and ſo they both gave their lives for the truth, to the great confuſion of their enemies.

But before we come to deſcribe their happy ends, we will, as briefly as may be, note by the way the great conflicts of Spirit which both of them ſuſtained.

There were ſent unto them many of the Popiſh rabble, to turn them from their Faith. Now that this their deviliſh enterpriſe might the rather be effected, they ſundred one of them from the other, ſo as by the politick device of a Monk, the poor Woman began to waver, and let go her firſt Faith. At this their enemies rejoyced not a little, whilſt the poor little flock of Chriſt, hearing ſuch ſad news, were in continual perplexity, but the Lord left them not in their mournful condition.

For on a day one of the Monks reſorted to her in the Priſon, counſelling her to win her Son *Martin*, and to draw him from his errors: which ſhe promiſed to do. But when he was come to his Mother, and perceived that ſhe was not only fallen, but alſo quite turned out of the right way, he began with tears to bewail her miſerable eſtate.

O Mother, ſaith he, what have you done? Have you denied him who hath redeemed you? Alas, what evil hath he done you, that you ſhould requite him with this ſo great an injury and diſhonour. Now I am plunged into that woe, which I have moſt feared. Ah good God, that I ſhould live to ſee this, which pierceth me to the very heart.

His Mother hearing theſe his pitiful complaints, and ſeeing the tears which her Son ſhed for her, began again to renue her ſtrength in the Lord, and with tears cryed out, O Father of mercies, be merciful unto me miſerable Sinner, and cover my tranſgreſſion under the righteouſneſs of thy bleſſed Son; Lord enable me with ſtrength from above, to ſtand to my firſt Confeſſion, and make me to abide ſtedfaſt therein even unto my laſt breath.

It was not long after this her change, but the ſame Inſtruments of Satan, who had ſeduced her, came in, ſuppoſing to find her in the ſame mind wherein they left her: whom ſhe no ſooner eſpied, but with deteſtation ſaid, *Avoid Satan, get thee behind me: for henceforth thou haſt neither part nor portion in me.* I will by the help of God ſtand to my firſt Confeſſion; *And if I may not ſign it with Ink, I will Seal it with my Blood.* And ſo from that time this frail Veſſel, who for a while relented, after her recovery grew ſtronger and ſtronger.

The Judges ſeeing their conſtancy, delayed not to diſpatch them out of the way, condemning them to be burned alive, and their Bodies being reduced to aſhes, the ſame to be ſcattered and diſperſed in the air. The Mother and the Son having heard their Sentence read, in the way as they were going back again to Priſon, ſaid, now bleſſed be our God, who cauſeth us thus to triumph over our enemies: *This is the wiſhed hour, our gladſome day is come.* Let us not then, ſaid *Martin*, forget to be thankful for the honour he doth us, in thus conforming us unto the Image of his Son. Let us remember thoſe who have traced this path before us: for this is the High-way to the Kingdom of Heaven. Let us then, good Mother, go on boldly out of the Camp with the Son of God, bearing his reproach, with all his holy Martyrs; for ſo we ſhall find paſſage into the Glorious Kingdom of the everliving God. Heb. 13. 13.

Some of the company hearing, but not being able to brook theſe words, ſaid, We ſee now thou Heretick that thou art wholly poſſeſſed, Body and Soul, with a Devil, as was thy Father and Brother, who are both in Hell. *Martin* ſaid, Sirs, as for your railings and curſings, our God will this day turn them into bleſſings in the ſight of himſelf and of all his holy Angels.

A certain temporizer ſaid to *Martin*, Thou ſilly youth, thou ſayeſt thou knoweſt not what; thou art too well conceited of thy ſelf and of thy cauſe. Seeſt thou not all this people here about thee? what thinkeſt thou of them? they believe not as thou doſt, and yet I doubt not but they ſhall be ſaved. But you imagine to do that which will never come to paſs, though you pretend never ſo much that you are in the Faith, and have the Scriptures for you. See here the ſundry ſlights of Satan.

The good Woman hearing this, anſwered, Sir, Chriſt Jeſus our Lord ſaith, That it is the wide gate and broad Mat. 7. 13.

way

way which leads to deſtruction, and therefore many go in thereat: but the gate, ſaith he, is narrow that leads to life, and few there be that find it. Do ye then doubt whether we are in the ſtraight way or no, when ye behold our ſufferings? would you have a better ſign than this, to know whether we are in the right way or no? Compare our Doctrine with that of your Prieſts and Monks: we for our parts are determined to have but one Chriſt and him crucified; we only embrace the Scriptures of the old and new Teſtament. Are we deceived in believing that which the holy Prophets and Apoſtles have taught?

Mat. 7.12. How we may know we are in the right way.

One of the Friers turning towards *Martin*, ſaid, Young Man, be well adviſed; for thy Father and thy Brother have acknowledged the ſeven Sacraments of the Church together with us: and thou poor ſilly youth haſt heard ſome wicked Heretick who hath deluded thee: thinkeſt thou thy ſelf wiſer than ſo many learned Drs. as have lived in ſo many Ages? *Martin* anſwered, I pray you Sir, doth not Chriſt our Lord tell us, that his Father hath hid the ſecrets of his Kingdom from the wiſe and prudent, and revealed them to Babes? And doth not the Lord oftentimes catch the wiſe in their own craftineſs?

Mat. 11.25. Job. 5.13.

And whereas you ſay my Father and Brother have confeſſed ſeven Sacraments, I well perceive by this that I ought not to give credit to ought you ſay; know ye not that the Devil is the Father of lies, and all liers? Is it not ſufficient that I acknowledge ſo many Sacraments as God himſelf hath inſtituted and ordained, to wit, Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord?

Then came there into the Priſon two Men of great Authority in the City of *Liſle*, the one called *Mounſieur Barras*, the other *Beaufremes*, who promiſed *Martin* great matters, if he would recant and return to the Roman Church. *Beaufremes* among other ſpeeches ſaid thus unto him, Young Man, I have compaſſion on thy tender years, if thou wilt be ruled by us, I will promiſe thee thou ſhalt not dye this ſhameful death: moreover, I will give thee one hundred pounds Sterling.

1000*l.* amount to twohundred Crowns, but this Faithful Martyr of Chriſt was not like *Judas*, who for love of Money ſold his Maſter.

Martin gave him this anſwer. Sir, you preſent before me many temporal commodities: but alas, do you think me ſo ſimple, as to forſake an eternal Kingdom for enjoying of a ſhort tranſitory life? No ſir, it is too late to ſpeak to me now of worldly commodities, but of thoſe ſpiritual, which God hath prepared for me to day in his Kingdom: nor do I purpoſe to hearken after any other: only, I pray you let me crave one hours reſpite to give my ſelf to prayer, and calling upon the Name of my God: for you know now it is eight days ſince my Father departed this World, and hitherto I have ſcarce enjoyed an hours reſt; That which I have had, hath rather been to ſlumber in, than have any quiet ſleep, having continually had eight or nine perſons invironing me about, and talking unto me.

After theſe great Men were forced to go even as they came, *Martin* declared the effect of this his combat to certain Brethren who were there detained with him in Priſon; ſaying moreover. Let us lift up our heads, Brethren, the brunt is over, this I hope is their laſt aſſault; forget not, I pray you, the holy Doctrine of the Goſpel, nor thoſe good leſſons which you have learned from our Brother * *Guy*. Manifeſt it now to all, that you have received them not only into your Ears, but alſo into your Hearts; follow me, we lead you the way; fear not, God will never leave nor forſake you: farewel Brethren, ſaid he, and ſo departed from them.

*It is very likely he means *Guy de Brez*, a Godly Miniſter, of whom you ſhall read more, Godwilling, hereafter.

Soon after *Martin* and his Mother were bound and brought to the place of their Martyrdom: His Mother having aſcended the Scaffold, cryed to *Martin*, Come up, Come up my Son. And as he was ſpeaking to the people, ſhe ſaid, ſpeak out *Martin*, ſaith ſhe, that it may appear to all, that we dye not Hereticks. *Martin* would have made a Confeſſion of his Faith, but could not be ſuffered. His Mother being bound to the Stake, ſpake in the hearing of the Spectators, We are Chriſtians, and that which we now ſuffer is not for Murther or Theft, but becauſe we will believe no more than that which the Word of God teacheth us: Both rejoycing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the ſame.

The Fire being kindled, the vehemency thereof did nothing cool or abate the fervency of their zeal, but they continued conſtant in the Faith, and with lifting up their hands to Heaven, in an holy accord ſaid, *Lord Jeſus into thy hands we commend our Spirits.* And thus they bleſſedly ſlept in the Lord. Theſe were the fruits which theſe holy aſſemblies in the City of *Liſle* brought forth. None need to enquire whether the reſt were ſuffered to live in peace; for what other ſpectacles were to be eſpied in the High-ways and Fields, but poor fugitives flying hither and thither, for ſafeguard of their lives. So great was the cruelty which was then and there exerciſed among them: and yet, when all is done, God will be glorified in his Saints and Children.

Anno 1556.

The happy death of the Mother and her Son.

John Rabec, *Martyr, burned at* Aniers *in* France, *the* 24. *of* April, 1556.

THis *Robert* had his Tongue cut out becauſe he would not pronounce *Jeſus, Maria*, to joyn them both in one Prayer; for being urged thereunto with great threats, he boldly anſwered, that if his Tongue ſhould but offer to utter thoſe words at their bidding, himſelf would bite it aſunder with his teeth.

A Martyrs Tongue cut out for refuſing to kiſs upon the Virgin *Mary*.

Bartholomew Hector, *Martyr, was burned according to the Sentence of the Parliament of* Turin *in* Piedmont, *in the year* 1556. *June the* 19.

BEing called before Authority to be examined he would anſwer them to nothing before he had made his prayer to God. Whereupon falling down there on his knees, he beſought him to open his Mouth, and to direct his Speech only to utter that which might tend to his honor and glory, and to the edification of his Church. Afterwards, when he was bound to the Stake, Gunpowder and Brimſtone was brought to be placed about him, he lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, and ſaying, *Lord how ſweet and welcom is this to me?*

The Martyr would not anſwer the Adverſary till he had firſt craved aſſiſtance from God.

Charles Covinck, *or* le Roy de Gand, *once a Frier* Carmelite *at* Gand *in* Flanders *was apprehended and executed at* Bruges *in the ſame Countrey*, Anno 1557. April 27.

BEeing perſwaded by his Brother to return again to his Order, and take upon him his Friers habit; he made him this direct anſwer, what needs that, ſaith he? now I have caſt off that Popiſh weed, I will never reſume it again. Chriſt hath now ſet me free, I will be no longer of the Order of the Slaves of Satan.

Charles would none of his Popiſh habit which he had once rejected.

One of the Magiſtrates of *Bruges* conferring with him, promiſed to procure his deliverance if he would yield but a little; and if his Friers Coat diſpleaſed him, he would get him a diſpenſation from the Pope to forbear the wearing of it, and provide him a Canonſhip. Sir, ſaid *Charles*, I give you many thanks for your good will and theſe your kind offers: would to God I could accept of them without offending his Majeſty; you offer me a Canonſhip, that I might live quietly and in ſecurity; but know you Sir, *That reſt is no true reſt and quietneſs which is obtained againſt the peace of a good Conſcience?*

That is not worthy the name of reſt which is procured with offence of Conſcience.

A few days after his execution, one of them, who had his hand deepeſt in procuring his cruel death, died himſelf in ſuch terror and horror of Conſcience, that it gave ſufficient teſtimony to thoſe of *Bruges*, that they had put to death an Innocent, and that God was highly offended with thoſe that had perſecuted him.

A judgment of God upon a perſecutor.

Philibert Hamelin *of* Tournay, *Miniſter and Martyr, was there executed in the year* 1557.

WHilſt he remained Priſoner ſome of his friends dealt with him to break Priſon, and offered him means tending thereto. But he on the contrary, having reſolved to give his Life for ſo juſt a quarrel as he maintained, refuſed, ſaying, *I eſteem it altogether unbeſeeming for a Man that is called to preach Gods Word to others, to run away and break Priſon for fear of danger, but rather to maintain the Truth taught even in the midſt of the flaming Fire.*

Preachers muſt be no breakers of Priſons.

After Sentence of death was paſſed upon him by the Court, whereby he knew he had not long to live, yet did he eat

Anno 1557. eat his dinner with the reſt of the Priſoners, as joyfully as though he had been in no danger, ſpeaking unto them of the happineſs of eternal life, comforting all that ſate at Table with him in the *Conſciergery*.

A good conſcience is a continual feaſt.

That none might hear what he ſaid at the place of Execution, the Trumpets were cauſed to be ſounded continually; yet might it be ſeen, both by his geſtures and chearfulneſs of his countenance, that they could not let him from ſpeaking to God.

Archambant Seraphon *Martyr, in the year* 1557.

A practiſe of the Papiſts.

BEing demanded what he thought of the Pope and his Authority, he anſwered, I think verily the ſame is he of whom S. *Paul* ſpeaks in his ſecond Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*, Chap. 2. Which words he being willed to ſign with his hand; *Yea, yea Sir*, ſaid he, *I am now ready to ſign it with my Blood rather than with Ink.*

The Martyrs ready to ſeal the truth with their blood.

He reports in a Letter written to his Wife and Friends, that whereas this Jaylor was wont to carry himſelf as ſternly towards him as a Lion, roaring always in ſuch wiſe upon him, that all the Priſoners were amazed at it, the Lord had now ſo mollified his heart, that he became as meek as a Lamb, declaring how he would come and viſit him himſelf in his Priſon, and as well as he was able, comforted him, ſaying, Take no care, God will aſſiſt you; nor ſhall it be ſo ill with you as you think for. For what do your Enemies ſay? Alas! he is but a ſilly Pedlar, who, paſſing along this way, broached his Opinions to none: that alſo which he holds concerning the ſame, he keeps to himſelf; therefore be of good cheer. Sir, ſaid he, I praiſe God I am of good comfort, being ready to receive whatever it ſhall pleaſe him to appoint; *If life, life; if death, death be it.*

A Jaylor of a Lion became a Lamb.

One thing I had like to have omitted concerning him, which yet is worth the noting, namely, this:

An exhortation to get the Pſalms without Book.

This Archambant, in a Letter to his Wife, puts his Brethren in mind to learn *Davids* Pſalms; *My Brethren*, ſaith he, *I exhort you in the Name of God, that you would learn, yea, learn the* Pſalms *without Book whilſt you have time and leiſure; for when you ſhall be caſt into dark Priſons (I ſay, when God ſhall call you to ſuffer for his ſake) you ſhall then have no Book with you, whether of a ſmall or great print, to ſee what part ſucceeds another, which I now utter to my great grief and ſhame; for if I ſhould tell you I lacked forewarning long ago, you can bear witneſs to the contrary: Nor do I know now what to do, but even to humble my ſelf before the Lord, crying unto him, Mercy, mercy, Lord have mercy upon me. Bleſſed and happy are they who are careful to get knowledge and faith, as* Oyl *into their Veſſels, before the Bridegroom come.*

When he looked on his hands, he was wont to ſay, O *Fleſh, thou muſt ſuffer and be turned into aſhes, until the laſt day.*

Jeffery Vergale *Martyr, in the year* 1557. *he was burned at* Turin *the laſt of* December.

STanding upon a ſtool at the Stake, the Executioner, according to the cuſtom, prayed him to forgive him his death.

The death of the Martyrs is not without fruit.

Jeffery anſwered him, *I not only forgive thee, but thoſe alſo who firſt impriſoned me at* Burges, *yea, thoſe that brought me to this City, and have condemned me to this death. Be not afraid, do thine office, my death ſhall not be unprofitable.*

Nicholas Jeuville *Martyr, in the year* 1557. *who with two others mentioned hereafter, were burned in the place called* Mawbert *without* Paris *in* France.

THis godly Martyr being condemned to be burned alive, and his Tongue to be cut out, the Tormentor being there preſent offered to put the Halter about his neck, but he repulſed him twice, appealing from the Sentence. But becauſe he was preſſed upon to receive it the third time, and thinking his appeal would not take place, he took it, ſaying; *Praiſed be God, for I am now counted worthy to be one of the heavenly Order.*

Two Innocents condemned to ſuffer death, the one of them being called Henry *the Taylor.*

THis *Henry* rejoyced at the hearing of the Sentence read, ſaying, *This is the day we have long expected, and therefore give our ſelves willingly to dye, but as for the puniſhment, my Maſters, that we leave to you: yet we pray that God would pardon you this injuſtice.*

These two were burnt at *Antwerp*. The Martyrs willingly give their necks to the block, but left the puniſhment to their Perſecutors.

At which ſpeeches the Magiſtrates turned away their faces, not willing to hear it; but *Adrian*, who was the other Martyr, told them boldly, That God would require the Blood of the Juſt at their hands, whom they daily put to death.

The next day being appointed for their Execution, a great multitude were aſſembled into the Market place, to behold the behaviour of theſe godly men, who, as they were led to death, proteſted, That the cauſe why they died, was only for bearing witneſs to the truth of the Goſpel, which words they uttered with ſuch courage, that the Officers, who inviroined them round about, ſtrove to damp the ſame by a great noiſe; which they made, leſt their voice ſhould be underſtood. Whilſt the Executioner faſtened them to the Stake, there was on an inſtant ſuch an hurly burly amongſt the people, that with one voice they cried, *Kill, kill*, ruſhing one in upon another. By and by the Shops and doors of Houſes were ſhut up. The Hangman let fall all his preparations, leaving the two Patients ſtanding at the Stake. The *Margrave* being on Horſeback, could by no means get away, being compaſſed in on each ſide. The Officers trembling for fear, threw down their Halberds. The Spy who attended there to hearken, not knowing where to beſtow himſelf, forſook his Horſe, and ran into a Church for fear.

There were they in great fear, where no fear was, for as ſaith the Pſalmiſt, *God is in the generation of the righteous.* Pſal. 14. 5.

And though one told him that a Cutpurſe had cauſed all this ado, he would not be drawn to believe him, but ſaid, I know we are but dead men; *it* is not the Thief, but the ſeditious People who now begin to work their revenge. Thus God confounded theſe blood-thirſty, ſhewing how he could have brought all their preparations to nothing, if it had pleaſed him.

As ſoon as this Hubbub was quieted, the Servant of the Executioner ran and ſtrangled the two Martyrs, who had now a good ſpace been faſtened to the Stake, ſtill calling upon the Name of the Lord. The Fire being afterward kindled, the Bodies were conſumed to aſhes the 19. of *January*, 1559.

A Recantation fathered upon a Martyr called Cornelius Hallewin, *which he never conſented to, and how he took the ſame, in the year* 1559.

THe Father of this *Cornelius*, ſoliciting the *Margrave* and his Wife (who as it was thought was Godmother to *Cornelius*) to get his Son out of Priſon; It was ſo agreed among them, that a Libel ſhould be framed under the name of *Cornelius*, wherein he ſhould now acknowledge his Error, be confeſſed to a Prieſt, would alſo receive his Maker, and come again into the ſtate of Grace, as a good Child of his holy Mother the Church. And further ſhould ſay, That Sermons were of no worth, becauſe they were not made upon holy ground. Alſo requiring that if he had failed in ought elſe, the ſame ſhould be attributed to his young years, and therefore craved pardon. Howbeit the ſaid *Cornelius* wrote Letters daily in the mean while to the Brethren, ſhewing forth an admirable conſtancy in defending the Faith; gladding the hearts of many, who gave God thanks for the Graces of his good Spirit wherewith he had indued him.

The Miniſter of the Flemiſh Church hearing of this Libel, by the means of ſome friends, got a Copy thereof, and having read it, conſidering how the tenor thereof tended to a great ſcandal, made the Elders and Deacons of the Church acquainted therewith, who were not a little grieved for the infirmity of their weak Brother. Whereupon, the Miniſter wrote a ſharp Letter unto him, willing him to turn and repent him of his backſliding, by making a true Confeſſion thereof before the Councel. When *Cornelius* had received this Letter, and read it, he was ſo vexed and perplexed in his ſpirit, that he knew not how

to demean himſelf, ſo as all the godly his Priſon-fellows had much ado to ſtay and comfort him. The blood guſhed out of his noſe, he ſpread abroad his arms, and made pitiful outcries. What, to deny the truth (ſaid he) God forbid? Oh that the faithful ſhould conceive ſo hardly of me! Good God, thou knoweſt that I am guiltleſs, nor have I this way offended. Then the reſidue of the Brethren adviſed him to get a ſight of his Indictment, which if it contained no ſuch thing, then to ſend it to the Church, and ſo manifeſt to them his innocency touching that whereof he was accuſed: beſides, making a plain confeſſion of his Faith, to impart the ſame to the Counſel, and therewithal to ſhew how he was abuſed by the *Margrave* and his Parents, which he accordingly did.

The ſaid *Cornelius* being condemned to dye, the *Margrave* offered him ſo much more favour as to dyea more eaſie kind of death, if he would but give ear to the Prieſts whom he had brought with him into the Priſon. *Cornelius* replied, No Sir, God forbid I ſhould do ſuch a thing: do ye with my body what ye will. As they bound him and *Herman Janſſen* (who both ſuffered together) *Herman* willed the *Margrave* to take heed what he did: for, ſaith he, this will not go for payment in Gods ſight in bereaving us thus of our lives. I wiſh you to repent therefore before it be too late, you cannot long continue this tyrannous courſe, for the Lord will ſhortly avenge it. The *Margrave* commanded they ſhould have a Croſs or Crucifix put into their hands, promiſing *Cornelius* that if he would ſo do, he ſhould only be beheaded, and not burned: but they both rejected the Croſs, ſaying, *They would not give the leaſt ſign that might be of betraying the Truth, and that it was all one to them what death they put them to, ſo they died in and for the Lord.* The puniſhment, they ſaid, could laſt but for a while, but the glory to come was eternal.

Then were they led towards the Market place, and *Herman* rejoycing in the Lord, ſung the hundred and thirtieth *Pſalm*. *Cornelius* followed him, and gave the people godly Exhortations. Being come to the place of Execution, the Sword was laid there ready to behead them, if they would take the Croſs into their hands, and admit the Friers into their Company? But becauſe they would not yield one whit unto them, wood was made ready to burn them. Then *Cornelius* fell on his knees, praying God to forgive his Enemies, who had ſinned through ignorance. After which they were put into a little Lodge made of Fagots, and ſtrangled at the Stake. But whilſt this was a doing, there fell out ſuch a tumult amongſt the People, that they were not a little afraid of an uprore; the Hangman, he caught hold of his Sword to defend himſelf, thinking they would kill him firſt; but the buſineſs was as ſuddenly quieted as raiſed. The fire being kindled, flamed forth upon the Bodies of theſe holy Martyrs. The *Margrave* thought, according to the uſual courſe, to have quenched the fire, that ſo conveying the Bodies away half burnt, they might be laid upon the Wheels nigh unto the City, in the accuſtomed places where they were to lye, as Spectacles to be gazed on. But the peoples wrath being ſtirred, croſſed him in his purpoſe, ſo as his Serjeants and Halberdiers leaving him, he ſtood as one aſtoniſhed, cauſing the Executioner to finiſh out the reſt of this Tragedy.

Notes upon the occaſion of a Sedition at Paris, *the fifth of* March, 1559.

THe fifth day of *March*, there was a great uprore raiſed in the Church of S. *Innocents* in *Paris*. The Preachers all the *Lent* never ceaſed to move the people to kill all the *Lutherans* they could meet withal, and not leave the execution thereof to the Magiſtrates. Amongſt the reſt a *Minorite*, who preached in the ſaid Church, ſpent all his Sermons upon that Subject. The ſame day taking his Text out of the eighth of S. *Johns* Goſpel, concerning the Woman taken in Adultery being brought to Jeſus Chriſt; he uttered execrable things againſt the Magiſtrate: ſhewing that it was no wonder if the Judges did not caſt the firſt ſtone at the *Lutherans*, becauſe they themſelves were alſo *Lutherans*: and therefore the people were not to attend them any longer, but to riſe and make open war againſt them, yea, upon the chiefeſt of them, which were but ſuſpected to hold that Doctrine. In this garboil a poor Prieſt (with a brother of his, a Captain, paſſing by, and thinking by fair Language to pacifie the diſordered Tumult) had his foot no ſooner out of the Church door, but he was ſet upon by this Blood-thirſty Crue, who although he asked forgiveneſs in the name of the Saints, deſiring to be confeſſed, and ſhewed all outward ſigns of being one of their own ſide, yet could he of this headleſs Beaſt, the Multitude, obtain no favour, but was ſtabbed into the belly with a Dagger, and fell down dead. And yet they were not ſatisfied ſo, but the very meaneſt among them had a blow at him, raking with their hands in his wounds, and then in triumph lifting him up, bragged that they had bathed their hands in the blood of a *Lutheran*.

Anno 1559.

And thus thinking to martyr the Chriſtians, by the providence of God, it fell on thoſe of their own ſide.

The Captain with much ado getting into the Vicars Houſe, they beſet the Houſe leſt he ſhould eſcape their fingers. And hearing that the Magiſtrate was coming to deliver him, they feared not with one voice to ſay, That they would ſpare none, no not the King himſelf, though he came in his own Perſon. If any more pitiful than the reſt uttered but ſo much as the leaſt word tending to compaſſion, they were cruelly handled on all ſides, ſo as many met with hard uſage even for that.

Not fully a year before this, there fell out the like, if not a worſe Spectacle of Cruelty in the Church of Saint *Euſtace*,

For a Doctor of the *Sorboniſts*, commonly called the *Soul of Picardy*, who in his Sermons preached out nothing but Fire and Fagots, incouraged the *Pariſians* to ſlaughter the *Lutherans*, making many goodly promiſes to all ſuch as would undertake ſuch a bloody deſign: which was not ſo ſoon propounded, as accepted of by the peeple. For a poor Scholar, who out of devotion was preſent at the Sermon, happening [illegible] accident) to laugh at his Fellow Pupil; an old Tuſcoat ſitting by and obſerving it, cried out forthwith, That a *Lutheran* mocked the Preacher. The people at the ſound of this voice began to ſtir, not knowing upon what ground: and haling him out of the Church, miſerably maſſacred him, till they had forced both his eyes out of his head, buffeting him with their fiſts; and one among the reſt, cauſed his Horſe to trample upon him thrice.

John Barbeville of *Normandy*, being queſtioned by three of the Counſel about the Sacrament; anſwered, That in the holy Supper, being adminiſtred according to Chriſts Inſtitution, he received by Faith the Body and Blood of the Lord, but not after any carnal manner: foraſmuch as being now aſcended into Heaven, he ſhall not return thence, till he come to judge the quick and the dead. Upon which Article one of the Councel added this ſcoff, Which aſcended into Heaven, and drew the Ladder up after him.

See here what mockgods theſe be who condemn the poor Chriſtians.

Upon ſome occaſion they ſaid unto him, That he was but a ſilly Aſs, and therefore could not underſtand the Scriptures. Well, ſaith he, be it that I am an Aſs, yet did you never read, that God opened the mouth of the Prophet *Baalam*'s Aſs to reprove him, for loading him with ſtripes when he was going to utter his lies againſt the Children of God? If God opened the Aſſes mouth, do ye now wonder if he opens mine, to cauſe me to ſpeak againſt the falſhood and lies which you ſpread abroad againſt the people of God? For as the Aſs ſpake being overcharged with blows, which the falſe Prophet gave him, ſo now in regard of the heavy burden wherewith in times paſt you have oppreſſed me by your Traditions, I am conſtrained to ſpeak as I do.

A retorting ſpeech well applyed.

Another Inquiſitor, a Monk called *Benedict*, told him, That he was come to comfort and inſtruct him in the Truth. How can you, ſaid *Barbeville*, ſay, you come to inſtruct me in the Truth, when your ſelf doth wear the habit of a Lyar? I cannot expect it from you; for no man can gather Figs of Thiſtles, or Grapes of Thorns.

God

Anno 1559. *God ſo wrought here, and the Truth ſo prevailed, that though it was plainly confeſſed, yet the Priſoners were delivered* Anno 1559.

THe Court of the Parliament of *Paris*, willing to moderate the Cruelties uſed againſt thoſe of the Reformed Religion, ſolicited them what they could, to diſſemble and to yield in ſome points; wherein the well-minded of that ſide were not yet rightly informed: but to this their advice they would by no means conſent. Then they took another courſe, and that was ſimply to examine them touching the manner of eating Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, without mentioning Tranſubſtantiation, or any Carnal Preſence; hoping this way to free them from the Crime of Sacramentaries, upon which point for the moſt part the Sentence of Death was pronounced: ſeeing they had heard formerly from the Priſoners, *That the Churches of* France *held, how the Body of Chriſt was received by the Faithful, not in imagination, but truly and indeed, and that the ſigns were neither naked nor empty Elements, but exhibited that whereof they were ſigns.*

This was propounded to four young men who were in the flowre of their Age, and lying Priſoners in the *Conſciergery* of the Palace, if it might be, to ſatisfie them. Now when this Confeſſion was preſented in the Court, all that were well affected were glad of it, in regard it was drawn ſo favourably; ſome being of opinion that it would work their deliverance. Others there were which oppoſed this Project, and requeſted they might be examined what they thought of the Maſs, it being ſo neceſſary an Article; provided, that there might be ſome moderation in the ordinary courſe of ſuch Interrogations. Notwithſtanding it was thought, that this would rather hinder than further their deliverance; yet did the better part perſiſt in their purpoſe of freeing them.

[redacted] asked again what they thought of the Maſs; they anſwered, That they would ſtand to their firſt Confeſſion. It was replyed, That the Court would reſt ſatisfied with that Anſwer, if ſo be they would now only go to Maſs. But with one voice they affirmed, That they would never yield to come there where God was ſo diſhonoured. The Court, to make it appear that no advantage ſhould be taken againſt them for this their Anſwer, gave them leave ſeverally to ſhew their Reaſons. This pleaſed the Priſoners well, and therefore they ſpared not to paint forth the Maſs in its lively colours; that all might perceive there was cauſe ſufficient why they ſhould deteſt it.

The Maſs deciphered in its colours.

Firſt, one of them by way of oppoſition ſhewed how contrary the Maſs was to the Lords Supper. The ſecond declared, it was Blaſphemy to affirm, that there was any other Propitiatory Sacrifice for ſins than the Blood of Chriſt. The third avouched, That if the Article of Tranſubſtantiation (wheron the Maſs depends) were allowed, Chriſt his Deity and his Humanity ſhould be aboliſhed, and therefore it muſt be flat Idolatry to worſhip Almighty God in a corruptible piece of Paſte. The fourth told them, That the fruits of the Sacrament could not be received where the Word was not joyned with the ſign, where one of the ſigns were withheld, or where there was no Communion.

Thus was the Maſs anatomized, with the abominations thereof, with all boldneſs; ſo as ſome of the Judges were conſtrained to aver openly, That there was a great abuſe in it indeed, being a manifeſt wrong done to the Inſtitution of Chriſt; as alſo that the Laity were there deprived of the Cup, and the Bread only given, the whole being performed in a Language which the poor people underſtood not.

It was beyond the expectation of all men, that ſo free a Confeſſion would have paſſed for currant in that place, in which whoſoever came before them formerly, and made the like, was condemned to dye. But now the Truth ſo prevailed, that againſt all hope and ordinary proceedings in times paſt, yea, contrary to the minds of thoſe which were Gods chiefeſt enemies, the order was this, *That howſoever Sentence of Death had been pronounced againſt three others of this Company, by the inferiour Judges, yet theſe four ſhould have their lives ſaved; provided, that they departed the Country within fifteen days.* Which exception, though it ſavoured of ſome Injuſtice, yet was it nothing in compariſon of the former Cruelties; and this baniſhment turned rather for a benefit to them, than any hurt, for by this means they had liberty to go to ſuch places where God was purely ſerved.

Four witneſſes of the Truth gently entreated by their Judges.

The Story of Peter Chevet, *Martyr.*

BEing asked whether he durſt affirm that he had the Spirit of God? Yea, ſaid he, for I am one of Gods Children, and therefore have the Spirit of God given unto me, as the earneſt of my Adoption.

He was in outward appearance a ſilly poor man, a Vine-dreſſer, of the age of 60 years and upwards.

It is to be feared, ſaid ſome, that you will bring your ſelf in danger of the Law, and ſo be burned. Truly, ſaid he, I do not think to eſcape better cheap; and though you ſcorch and roaſt me alive, yet will I never renounce Jeſus Chriſt. Is it not written, *He that ſhall confeſs me before men, him will I confeſs before my Father which is in Heaven, &c.* Being asked whether he deſired not to be abſolved, confeſſed, and to receive Pardon, having ſtood excommunicate now three years: He anſwered, I confeſs my faults every day to my God; but where is that godly Abſolver that will take upon him to pardon me? The Official anſwering, ſaid, That is even I. Now poor man, ſaid *Peter*, it is a queſtion whether thou canſt ſave thy ſelf, and wilt thou take upon thee then to ſave others? The Official finding himſelf galled with this Anſwer, threatned him with longer Impriſonment. Alas, alas, ſaith he, though I ſhould rot in Priſon, yet ſhall you ſtill find me the ſame man.

Mat. 10. 32.

He could ſay the New Teſtament by heart, and was ſo prompt therein in all his anſwers, that the people who heard him, ſaid if he were ſuffered to ſpeak, he would convert all the City of *Paris*.

Being come to the place where he was to ſuffer, the Executioner would not take the pains to help him from off the Cart, but tumbled him down with his head forward. Notwithſtanding all this and other Cruelties, he manfully overcame the ſame with invincible Conſtancy. And when they pulled off his Clothes, he was heard to ſay intelligibly, *How happy, how happy, O how happy am I!* with his eyes ſtill lifted up to Heaven.

He was burned in the place called *Maubert*, nigh to the City of *Paris*, the 11. of *March*, 1559.

A notable Speech uttered by Anne du Burg, *Counſellor for the King in Parliament, in the Month of* June, Anno 1559.

AMong the reſt there was a Counſellor called *Anne du Burg*, a man of ſingular underſtanding and knowledge, bred and nurſed up in the boſom of the Church of Chriſt. This man having rendred thanks to God, for moving the Kings heart to be preſent at the deciſion of ſo weighty a cauſe as that of Religion is, and having exhorted himſelf well to conſider thereof, being the Cauſe of Chriſt himſelf, which of good right ought to be maintained by Princes, ſpake boldly thereto, as God gave him utterance: It is not, ſaith he, a matter of ſmall conſequence, to condemn ſuch as in the midſt of the fiery flames call upon the Name of Jeſus Chriſt. This I do but note here by the way, becauſe the conſequence is touched before by Maſter *John Foxe*, where he mentions the terrible end of ſuch as were Perſecutors of the Truth.

Only one thing more touching the ſaid *Anne du Burg* I could not here omit, and it is this; A certain woman being Priſoner (for the ſame Cauſe) right over againſt him, had a little window in her Chamber which opened towards that where Mr. *Du Burg* lay; from whence either by words or ſigns (when ſhe was not otherwiſe letted) ſhe encouraged him to perſevere conſtantly in the Truth; by whom he was ſo comforted, that the ſame *Du Burg*, being importuned by ſome of his Friends to recant, uſed theſe words: *Nay, I trow not*, ſaid he, *for a woman hath taught me my Leſſon, how I ought to carry my ſelf in this buſineſs to which God hath called me:* feeling in himſelf, as it ſeemed, the force and power of the godly admonitions of this poor woman.

In the Hiſtory of the Martyrs mention is made of one *Peter Arundian*, whoſe conſtancy was ſo admirable in ſuffering the extremity of death, that it was the means to imbolden this worthy Counſellor *Anne du Burg*, with others, to ſuffer for the Cauſe of the Goſpel.

Whoſe godly zeal was ſuch, as that her ſtory may not (as I think) be well omitted, but fully ſet down as I find it recorded in the Volume of the French Martyrs. Her name was *Margaret Rich*, who ſuffered the nineteenth of *Auguſt* in the place called *Maubert*, not far from the City of *Paris* in *France*.

Chriſtian women, ſaith the Hiſtorian, behold here the courage and zeal of this *Margaret* your Siſter, who is ſet before you for a pattern to imitate: ſhe encouraged both great and ſmall, who at the ſame time were Priſoners with her.

Margaret Rich was born in *Paris*, the wife of *Anthony Ricant* Bookſeller, dwelling in *Paris*, in the place called the *Mount of Saint Hillary*, at the ſign of the great *Quail*. This woman was as vertuouſly diſpoſed as could be; ſhe had gotten ſome ſmall inſight into the myſtery of iniquity, by means of her husband, who yet ſuffered her to obſerve the Superſtitions of Popery, without urging her any further; for he was a man indifferent in the matter of Gods Service: but yet her Conſcience gave her, that knowing her courſe to be evil, it was not ſufficient to forſake that, unleſs ſhe did cleave to the contrary good which leads to life and ſalvation, namely to ſerve God according to his Word. Underſtanding then, that there were godly meetings of good Chriſtians, which aſſembled together in the City, ſhe found the means to come in amongſt them, and profited ſo well thereby, that ſhe reſolved in her ſelf never to go again to Maſs, but to dye rather.

At length, being hardly uſed by her husband becauſe of this her ſudden change, he threatned her ſo far as to carry her himſelf to the Maſs, (the next day which was *Eaſter Sunday*) rather than that ſhe ſhould not go. After ſhe had endured much from this man, who would have her to play the diſſembler, ſhe to preſerve her ſelf therefrom, being alſo afraid of her husbands fury, upon *Eaſter-day* withdrew her ſelf to a friends houſe of hers: thinking it ſafer to diſpleaſe her husband, than God, to whom ſhe had dedicated her ſelf.

This day being paſt, becauſe ſhe would not over-long abſent her ſelf from her own home, ſhe determined to return back again to him, whom God had bound and conjoyned her with, though ſhe could not but foreſee the great evils and inconveniences which would follow thereupon, in regard of her ſaid husbands crooked diſpoſition. She came no ſooner home, but ſhe was diſcovered by the Curate of S. *Hillary*, committed Priſoner, and brought into the *Conſciergery*. They asked her where ſhe had kept her *Eaſter*: ſhe without feigning told them, ſhe abſented her ſelf from home, that ſhe might abide a while with ſome of her loving Friends, leſt ſhe ſhould be urged to prophane the Supper of the Lord, as others uſually did; and therefore had kept the ſame according to Gods Ordinance, in the Aſſembly of faithful and devout Chriſtians. Being asked whether indeed ſhe had been preſent at thoſe ſecret Meetings: ſhe anſwered, Yea, and eſteemed her ſelf happy that ever ſhe came among them. And thus being queſtioned by the Councel, with other Priſoners about the Maſs, Purgatory, Auricular Confeſſion, and ſuch other points, ſhe freely told them what ſhe had learned concerning the ſame out of Gods Word; ſo as the fifth of *May* ſhe was ordered to be ſent to the Biſhop or his Official, to ſee if by any means ſhe might be reclaimed. But the Official prevailing nothing with her, becauſe ſhe perſiſted conſtant in the profeſſion of the Truth, he pronounced Sentence againſt her, declaring her to be a pertinacious and obſtinate Heretick; yea, ſuch a one as was to be redelivered over to the Secular Power, and thence to be ſent back to the *Conſciergery*.

Being brought back into the Court, certain Doctors and others were ſent to reaſon with her: yet her faith for all that ſtaggered not, but remained victorious, notwithſtanding all their batteries laid againſt it.

Then by the Sentence of the Court ſhe was condemned to be carried in a Dung-cart to the place called *Maubert*, a gagg to be put into her mouth, and there to be burned and conſumed to aſhes. But before ſhe ſhould ſuffer death, ſhe was ſentenced to be put to the extraordinary Torture, to make her confeſs whom ſhe knew, and was converſant withal, and to name the Houſe where ſhe received the Communion: yet did this woman undergo all theſe her afflictions, with incredible joy, ſinging Pſalms, and praiſing God continually: ſhe was never ſeen to ſhrink at her impriſonment, ſhe daily exhorted the women who were Priſoners with her, and comforted them. Such of the Martyrs as went from the *Conſciergery* to ſuffer death, paſſed by the Chamber where ſhe lay, yet was ſhe not diſheartned to ſee them in the hands of their Executioners, but cried to them, exhorting them to rejoyce, and with patience to bear the reproach of Chriſt. Anno 1559.

But to return to the manner of her death; after Sentence ſhe was led to the Chappel, as the manner is; yet ſhe ceaſed not all the way to exhort the people, and to ſing Pſalms, till ſhe was put into a Dung-cart to be conveyed to the place of Execution. The renown of her conſtancy was ſo famous from the beginning of her troubles, that no ſmall multitude of people were gathered together in the ſtreets, for the deſire they had to behold her: God ſo appointing that the great and more than ordinary graces of his Spirit (which were in this woman) might be manifeſted before ſo great a confluence of Spectators and Eye-witneſſes. She paſſed on then, as it were triumphing, through the midſt of this Aſſembly, not ſhewing any ſign of the fear of death, but with a freſh colour and cheerful countenance paſſed on with her eyes lifted up to Heaven, nor did her Gagg ſo diſfigure her, but that ſhe ſhewed an amiable aſpect upon all that viewed her. So as even the rude and obſtinate Multitude admired her, ſaying one to another, *Do you not ſee how this Heretick ſmiles and laughs?*

Coming to the place of her Martyrdom, they told her, if ſhe would relent, ſhe ſhould be ſtrangled. She anſwered, That her Reſolution was ſo rightly founded upon the Word of God, that ſhe never meant to change. And to let them ſee that Death terrified her not, ſhe began to diſrobe her ſelf without troubling the Hangman at all. Being hoiſed up in the air, they asked her again, if ſhe would not accept of the grace which the Court offered her, to be ſtrangled. She gave them a ſign, that ſhe would not. Then was the fire kindled, and ſo ſhe yielded up her Soul into the hands of God.

How one that was naturally deaf helped himſelf.

IT is recorded of *John Beſſroy* a Lock-ſmith, dwelling in *Paris*, that he had a long time behaved himſelf very religiouſly, never denying his Houſe for Chriſtian Meetings, what danger ſoever might enſue thereupon. He had an incredible deſire to profit by the preaching of the Goſpel. And therefore being hindered by a natural infirmity of deafneſs to underſtand what was ſpoken, he uſed this help, commanding a Lad which he kept to hearken to the Sermon attentively, and at his return home made the ſaid Boy to tell him in his ear all that he had heard. Inſomuch that he became exceedingly expert in the knowledge of the Truth, wherein he perſiſted conſtantly to the death, and was (after he had received the extraordinary Torture) burned for the ſame in the place called the *Grave*, in the Month of *September*, *Anno* 1549.

He was exceedingly maligned of his neighbours for his piety, but eſpecially becauſe he had a little Infant of his baptized ſecretly, and then for working upon a light Holiday, which was the cauſe of his apprehenſion and death.

Another Relation of Anne du Burg.

Du Burg being asked if he had conferred with any about certain Articles formerly mentioned, anſwered, *That he had conferred with his Books, but eſpecially the holy Scriptures.*

Having framed a Confeſſion of his Faith which he intended to have preſented to the Court of Parliament, certain Counſellers which were Advocates in the ſaid Court, pretending Friendſhip towards him, being yet but time-ſervers, ſhewing themſelves alſo diſcontented therewith, laboured with him to make another Confeſſion, not directly contrary to the Truth, but ſomewhat ambiguous and doubtful, ſo as it might give ſatisfaction to his Judges. *Du Burg* having of a long time reſiſted, was in a manner overcome (by their intreaties) to conſent to their counſel; telling him, it ſufficed that himſelf underſtood his own true meaning, though ambiguouſly expreſſed; as alſo that his Judges would not ſtand ſtrictly to examine ſuch a Confeſſion as had only an outward appearance of conſenting to their Doctrine. Now this diſguiſed Confeſſion was no ſooner come into the hands of his Judges, but great hopes were conceived of his inlargement. But when the Aſſembly had got a true Copy thereof, they were greatly grieved, being more careful of the ſaving his ſoul, of Gods glory, and the edification of his Church, than of ſuch a deliverance, which could not be obtained without great diſhonour to God.

And

Anno 1559

And therefore they gave order to M. *Auguſtin* * *Marlorate* to write a large diſcourſe concerning the duty of ſuch as were called of God to bear witneſs to his eternal truth before the Magiſtrate; wherein were alſo ſet down Gods threatnings and Judgments againſt ſuch as either directly or indirectly in what kind ſoever did diſavow the ſame. Exhorting him more highly to prize the Glory of God, than his own liberty; the truth of the Goſpel, than a ſhort and tranſitory life. That it beſeemed him not now to give over, having already made ſo happy a beginning, and ſo good a progreſs in his Chriſtian courſe. That the report of his conſtancy was ſpread not only through the Kingdom of *France*, but throughout all Chriſtendom. That he had been a means to confirm many weak ones; and cauſed others to enquire after the means of Salvation. That the eyes of all were fixed on him, to expect the manner of his coming out of Priſon. So as if now through fear, or faint heartedneſs he ſhould enterpriſe ought that might contradict his firſt confeſſion, he would thus become an occaſion of much ſcandal and offence. And there exhorted him to give glory to God, to edifie his Church, aſſuring him that God would never leave nor forſake him. Theſe Letters wrought in the Conſcience of Du. *Burga* ſenſe of his Sin: for which asking pardon of God, without any further delay, he ſent a petition to his Judges, in which retracting this his laſt Confeſſion he proteſted to ſtand unto his firſt.

* Of the manner of whoſe death you ſhall read hereafter.

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Slanders raiſed by the Sorboniſts againſt the Proteſtants of Roan *in* France, *and what was the iſſue thereof.*

THree Doctors of the *Sorboniſts*, whoſe Names were *Secard*, *Columbell*, and *Francillon*, in their Collations to their Pariſhioners accuſed thoſe of the Religion with their wonted ſlanders, as, that they committed Whordom one with another after the candles were put out, and were taught to rebel againſt their King and Governors; which Governors and theſe *Sorboniſts* accuſed to connive and hold with them, inciting the people to run upon thoſe of the Religion, ſince the Magiſtrates forbare to do their duty. But here God catched the wiſe in their own craftineſs; for by means hereof many began to look into theſe matters whereof the Godly were accuſed; Namely, to enquire both what they did and ſpake in their Aſſemblies. Where ſeeing and finding the clean contrary to theſe accuſations before mentioned, they were drawn to abhor theſe lying Spirits, and by little and little came to cleave unto the ſaid Aſſemblies themſelves; yea many who were lewdly given, and came in among them to another end.

But theſe accuſers, not content herewith, went in the night into Churches, not ſparing to deface the Images that ſtood therein, and then charged the Proteſtants to be the only actors thereof. Whereupon the Cardinal of *Burbon* Archbiſhop of *Roan* was often fain to repair them with many Ceremonies. But at laſt a Monk of *Magdalens* Hoſpital was taken with the manner of breaking down theſe Images in the Churchyard of Saint *Mark*. For which he received no correction, excuſing the matter, by ſaying, that whatſoever he had done therein proceeded from a good meaning. Yet among all theſe diſorders the Church of *Roan* ſtill ſubſiſted, though not without great peril and danger.

The Story of a Lockſmith, Martyr, who being dry had holy Water given him to drink.

ABout this time was a Lockſmith burnt in the City of *Agen*, upon the clamours and Seditious Sermons of a Frier called *Melchior Flavin*, who denounced this Lockſmith to be an Heretick, becauſe he had made a Chriſtian and good confeſſion, and therefore purſued him unto the death. A little before he was to dye, *Redon* the Lieutenant of *Agen* asked him if he would drink. Sir, ſaith the Priſoner, if you pleaſe to give me drink, I will. Then the Lieutenant brought him a glaſs of Water, of which he drank a little. Now, ſaid the other unto him, what haſt thou drunk? the Priſoner anſwered, Water. Saith the other, Thou haſt drunk holy-water, which I gave thee to drive the Devil out of thee. I know, ſaith the poor Man, that every Creature of God is good in its own nature; but had you told me it had been ſuch as now you ſay it is, I would not have drunk it, for it is defiled with Idolatry. At this anſwer the Lieutenant hurled the glaſs of Water at the poor Mans face with ſuch force, that the glaſs breaking to pieces hurt him. For which inhumane act he was reproved by his fellows, and amerced to pay ten pounds. But the Lockſmith took his death patiently, and endured it conſtantly.

The miſerable death of a Conſul who was both an Accuſer and a Judge.

JOſias *Simler*, a learned Divine of our time, in the Life of Maſter *Henry Bullinger*, a worthy Servant of God, and a Faithful Miniſter of the Church of *Zuricke*, recordeth an Hiſtory which he ſaith hapned in a City of *Suitzerland* among the papiſts, An. 1559. He expreſſeth neither the Conſuls Name, nor the City, the thing being ſufficiently known to the Inhabitants thereabouts. This Conſul, being a rich and potent Man, intending to build a brave and magnificent Houſe, ſent far and near for the rareſt and moſt exquiſite Workmen he could hear tell of. Amongſt the reſt he ſent to the City of *Trent* (ſo much renowned among Papiſts in regard of the laſt Councel the Pope had there) for an excellent carver and Maſter Builder called *John*, a Man very Religious, and a lover of the Truth: for which cauſe the ſaid *John* refuſed at the firſt to go thither, alledging for himſelf that he was of a contrary Religion to that which the Conſul profeſſed, and therefore could not ſafely inhabit among ſuch as would obſerve his contempt of the Maſs and their other Ceremonies. The Conſul promiſed him ſafety in reſpect of his perſon, and that he ſhould be forced to nothing againſt his Conſcience. Upon this his promiſe *John* came and wrought a long time with the Conſul: but when he came to demand his wages they entred into ſome terms of diſcontent. In the end at the command of this Conſul, *John* was committed to Priſon, and by the ſame Conſul accuſed for a ſleighter of the Romiſh Religion, yea, to have ſpoken unreverently thereof; wherefore he was Condemned to be beheaded.

As they led him to Execution he went towards it with undaunted courage, and dyed very conſtantly; proteſting in the preſence of all the Spectators, that he moſt gladly laid down this life preſent, for the maintenance of that Religion whereof he had made profeſſion, believing undoubtedly that it was the Truth; but added, that the Conſul who was the Author of his Death ſhould himſelf dye within three days, and appear before Gods Judgment Seat to render an account of his Sentence. Which came to paſs according as this pious Man foretold: for the Conſul being then in the prime of his youth, and of an healthful diſpoſition of Body, from that day began to be aſſailed firſt with an exceeding heat, and then with an extraordinary cold; and thus was he ſmitten with a new kind of ſickneſs, ſo as within three days he followed him, of whom he had bin both the moſt unjuſt Accuſer and Judge.

The ſpeech of a poor Porter called Chevillon, *whipped for the Truth, and after confined to the Gallies.*

BEing whipped thorow the Streets of *Romans*, he ſaid to him that laſhed him, *Lay on my friend, lay it on and ſpare not, chaſtiſe this Fleſh which hath ſo often rebelled againſt his God:* thinking himſelf happy that he ſuffered in ſo good a quarrel.

The miſerable end of one called Aubeſpine, *a Counſellor of* Grenolle, *and a perſecutor.*

AFter theſe Bloody Perſecutions, this *Aubeſpine* fell in love with a Gentlewoman, and therein gave ſuch way to his paſſion, that he forſook his calling, caſting off all care of his own welfare, to follow her whitherſoever ſhe went. But ſhe diſregarding him, he took it ſo to heart, that he neglected his own perſon: by reaſon whereof ſwarming full of lice, he could by no means be rid of them; for they increaſed upon him, and came out at all the parts of his Body, as they are ſeen to iſſue out of a dead carkaſs. It was not long before his death, but feeling himſelf ſmitten with Gods hand, he began to deſpair of his mercy,

and to ſhorten his days he concluded to famiſh himſelf: in the mean while the lice gathered ſo thick about his throat, as if they would ſtrangle him. Some beholding this ſo lamentable aſpectacle, being much moved therewith in commiſerating his eſtate, agreed to make him eat whether he would or no, forcing him to take ſome broth, or a *Cullis*, which he reſiſting with all his might, they bound his Arms, gagging his Mouth with a ſtick to keep it open, whilſt they put ſomewhat thereinto. Being thus gagged he died like an inraged Beaſt, with the abundance of lice which crept towards his Throat. And thus it was ſpoken even by ſome of the Romiſh Religion, that look what torment he had deviſed for the Miniſters of *Valence*, ſending them gagged to their Execution, he was by the juſt Judgment of God puniſhed after a ſort in the ſame kind.

Gag them ſaid he, for if we ſuffer them to ſpeak, they will do more harm at their death than in their life: which practiſe was not only liked but executed.

John Ponce *of* Leon *a Gentleman of* Sevil *in* Spain.

AMong thoſe that with a firm faith ſealed the truth of the Goſpel with their Blood in the Spaniſh Inquiſition at *Sevil* the four and twentieth of *September* 1559. *Don John Ponce* of *Leon*, the Son of *Roderic Ponce* of *Leon* Count of *Baylen*, may of good right deſerve to be placed in the firſt rank. For beſides the Noble Race from whence he ſprang, the Lord had indued him with ſingular vertues well beſeeming ſo worthy and Chriſtian a Gentleman. Thoſe who were of his familiar acquaintance, and did well obſerve his converſation, gave this teſtimony of his ſincerity, that his like was not known in *Spain* of a long time, in that a Man of his Eſtate was ſo forward to exerciſe his charity towards ſuch in whom he ſaw but any good inclination to Religion: Yea, his yearly revenues, which were alſo great, were not only imployed that way, but he ſeemed to exceed the chiefeſt of his Rank, in yielding his help and aid towards the relief of the poor. All which the World taking knowledge of, attributed (as it is wont) that which proceeded from his ſo Chriſtian bounty, rather unto waſtfulneſs and prodigality.

The Inquiſitors of *Sevil* envying the ſweet ſavour of ſuch a Life and converſation as he led before them, flowing from an inward taſte of true Religion, ſpared him no more than thoſe of meaner condition. For having gotten him into their hands, they left no means unaſſayed, but uſed the utmoſt of their devices to weaken his Faith. The truth is, that at the firſt this noble perſonage was much perplexed, but at the laſt the Lord fortified him ſo with his Grace, that he was ſet in the firſt round of the guilty. Concerning his Sentence (howſoever this holy Tribunal mixed the ſame with many untruths to blear the eyes of the ignorant withal) yet may it eaſily be collected out of the tenor of his Sentence, what he confeſſed and profeſſed.

For in the ſaid Sentence were read his Articles for which he was principally condemned to the Fire; Namely, That he abhorred the Idolatry which is committed in adoring the Sacrament, calling it a breaden God. Alſo, that when he met it as it was carried through the Streets, either in ſolemnity or to ſome ſick Body, he paſſed into another Street going apace before it, that he might give no reverence unto it. That coming often into the Cathedral Church where Maſs was ſaid, he turned his back towards the Prieſt, becauſe he would not ſee him elevate his God. That he uſed much to walk to and fro about the Scaffold where the Faithful were executed, with a kind of delight, coveting to ſtand near unto them, that by accuſtoming himſelf in beholding the place and torments he ſaw others indure, he might be the better emboldned to ſuffer the like when God ſhould call him thereunto.

Theſe were in effect the Articles which were inſerted in his Sentence, a part whereof alſo was drawn out of the Confeſſion of his Faith, the ſum being this: Firſt. That a Man is juſtified and accepted of God only for the merit of Jeſus Chriſt apprehended by Faith. That the Popes Pardons and Indulgences ſent from *Rome* are meer deluſions, and that the Pope is Antichriſt, &c. That it was the deſire of his heart to be burned, or to ſuffer ſome other extremity for the maintenance of the Faith which he profeſſed. That he endeavoured to imploy the goods and riches wherewith God had bleſſed him, only for the defence and further inlarging of the Doctrine of the Goſpel; Yea, to forſake life, Wife, Children, and all, for the ſame: to which end he had daily ſent up many hearty Prayers to God. Anno 1559.

In all this buſineſs, the holy Tribunal laboured by cunning devices to obſcure this Confeſſion, cauſing it to be ſuited that he held not out to the end, with many other like inventions to make the people believe they had turned him to their Law: but herein they ſhewed themſelves not well adviſed, in that they belied both him and themſelves. For in publiſhing his crimes and offences with the manner of his death, what did they elſe but declare and manifeſt the truth of the fact, which plainly appeareth in theſe words of the Sentence; *John Ponce of Leon*, burned for an Heretick and obſtinate *Lutheran*, &c. Which words made their fraudulent dealing apparent to ſuch as doubted any way of the conſtancy and perſeverance of this pious Chriſtian Knight.

John Gonzalve *a Preacher in* Sevil, *Martyr: with whom were executed two of his Siſters, their Mother remaining in Priſon, reſerved to act her part in another Tragedy.*

Gonzalve a renowned Preacher throughout the Country of *Andalouſie*, was alſo led in this Inquiſitorial triumph: who forſaking his School Divinity, in which learning he excelled all his fellows, gave himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures, according to the purity whereof his whole converſation was ordered, both inwardly and outwardly. He was often obſerved in all his Sermons to aym at this mark, namely to deliver Mens minds from that blind conceit of meriting by works; that ſo way might be made for juſtification only by Faith in Chriſt Jeſus, and deeply to ingraft into them the knowledge of the ſole merit of his plenary ſatisfaction. For which his labour he expected to receive from Man the ſame reward which all the true Servants of God had in their times.

Being then ſeized upon by thoſe of this Spaniſh Inquiſition, he yielded a reaſon of his Faith in that Purity and ſincerity, as did the aforeſaid *John Ponce*; who as they had been friends and of familliar acquaintance, ſo were they joyned together in the ſame confeſſion, and led to the ſame execution together. The night before he ſuffered he had a ſore conflict with an old Sect of Prieſts, who were of the Inquiſition, but in the end he cauſed them to return vanquiſhed and aſhamed. He was led from the Caſtle and Priſon of *Trion* with his two Siſters unto the place appointed for his end, that they with him might drink of the ſame Cup, leaving his Mother and one of his Brethren behind him in Priſon, reſerved to be executed when their turn came about. He never ſhewed the leaſt ſign of being diſmaid; but contrariwiſe with great conſtancy and courage of heart ſtanding above all the people, to whom he had formerly preached and delivered the pattern of ſound Doctrine; He began with a loud voice to recite the Pſalm which begins thus, O Lord my Rock be not thou ſilent to me, &c. not changing his countenance at all upon the Scaffold, though they had gagged him there, becauſe he comforted and freely exhorted one of his Siſters to be conſtant: whoſe ſpirit he feared might otherwiſe faint. Hearkening very attentively to his Sentence which was there again recited, he was not any thing at all abaſhed or troubled thereat, but took his ſolemn degrading patiently, receiving the marks and garments of his confeſſion, to wit, his yellow Robe, an Haltar, and a painted Miter, with a joyful and a chearful heart; knowing that howſoever they were diſgraceful in the eyes of the World, yet he eſteemed of them as ornaments of honour in the ſight of God and his Angels, abhorring his Maſſing attire, whereof they had diſrobed him.

When the time was come that thoſe which ſhould be burned were brought to the place of Execution, they were every one commanded to recite the Articles of their belief, which they willingly did: but when they came to the Article, *I believe the holy Catholick Church*, they were bidden to add this word *Romane*, whereupon they were ſilent: then, did the Monks and Friers importune *Gonzalves* Siſters, and other Chriſtian Women who were to be burned with them, to repeat the

ſaid

Anno 1559. ſaid word *Romane*; who anſwered they would, if they might hear *John Gouzalve* pronounce it (not that they intended ſo to do, but being confident of his renouncing the ſame) hoping by this means to free him of his gagge, and ſo to obtain the liberty of ſpeech, by which he might render a reaſon of his Faith, and ſo of this Article among the reſt. Being ungagged, the firſt word he ſpake was, that they ſhould be of good courage, and not to add one word more than what they had recited. Upon this their laſt confeſſion they were forthwith ſtrangled, as the Fire was kindled upon them, to burn and conſume them.

Iſabel *of* Vacnia, Mary *of* Viroes, Cornella Mary *of* Bohorques, *and* Jane *her Siſter burnt at* Sevil *in* Spain.

AMong all the moſt ancient profeſſors of true Religion that had their abode in the Church of God at *Sevil* (who in a manner were all waſted by the Tyranny of the Inquiſition) the power of faith appeared in theſe four women above ſpecified. Now howſoever they were all endued with ſingular piety and godlineſs, yet the younger of them named *Bohorques*, being under the age of one and twenty, was inſtructed above the reſt in holy Letters, and by dayly reading and conference with good and Godly Men, wherewith *Sevil* at that time was well furniſhed, ſhe had obtained ſuch promptneſs in the knowledge of the Texts of the old and new Teſtament, that many who were eſteemed learned in that City, have confeſſed they were often put to a non-plus by ſuch reaſons as ſhe alledged out of the Scriptures.

As touching the firſt of theſe, *Vaenia*; her Houſe was a School or Colledge of piety, being the place alſo where all the meetings were, to publiſh the praiſes of God. No evil example was to be ſeen there, nor ought that ſavoured of feigned holineſs, but ſuch as proceeded from uprightneſs of Heart and Sincerity. But the Inquiſitors, who always lye in wait to take hold, though but with the leaſt threed of their net, caught theſe four Women with other their Neighbours, in the ſame, when God knew they were fitted for the confeſſion of his holy truth. Now as the Latin Tongue did much aid the ſaid *Mary Bohorques* to retain her in reading of the Holy Bible, whilſt the Popes Tyranny forbad the ſame to be read in the vulgar Tongue; ſo ſhe came quickly to be invironed with the more adverſaries during her captivity. Doctor *Egidus* (whoſe memory was renowned throughout *Spain* among all ſuch as truly worſhipped God) had been her Inſtructor, and was wont to ſay of this Maid, that he always went from her more learned by conferring with her, then when he came to her.

Would to God many maids in theſe days might deſerve to be ſo commended.

During her Captivity there came many Monks to diſpute and reaſon with her, above all, thoſe of the order of Saint *Dominick*, who were enforced to admire the Spirit of Wiſdom, wherewith this *Damoſel* was inſpired, as alſo at the pregnant anſwers which ſhe gave to their demands. She ſuffered ſo many kinds of torments, that by the violence thereof they forced her to nominate her Siſter *Jane Bohorques*, and to confeſs that ſhe had often been preſent at the Preaching of the Goſpel. This *Jane* was the Wife of one called *Frances Varquis*, Lord of *Higueras*, a Man of excellent Note. She was ſix Months gone with Child when ſhe was committed to Priſon, and therefore was not ſo ſtraightly uſed, nor hardly dealt with all as other of the Priſoners were. But within eight days after her delivery, her Child was taken from her, and then giving her no longer time of breathing, they began to deal with her after the guiſe of the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, forming her Inditement agreeable to the rigour and ſeverity thereof. To which her extremity ſhe had comfort of none, but of a vertuous young Maiden, who afterwards was burned for the profeſſion of the truth: which maid being one day brought by the Inſitors to the torture, was in a manner diſmembred, and then laid upon a Bed of Straw, whereon both were laid in the Priſon, ſerving rather to vex then any way to eaſe them, yet did the other yield her all the relief which her ſelf or the place could poſſibly afford. Scarce had this poor *Damoſell* recovered ſome eaſe after theſe intolerable bruiſes, but this aforeſaid *Jane Bohorques* taſted of the ſame bitter Cup, where ſhe was ſo cruelly tormented on the *Burro*, as they call it, which is a bench or form whereon they give the Towel or Napkin, that the cords pierced through the Fleſh into the Bones, both of her Arms and Leggs: and in this pitiful plight the Blood guſhing out, ſhe was returned to her Priſon, where within eight days after it pleaſed God to free her out of the clutches of theſe bloodthirſty, into his eternal happineſs and Glory. Now they were very loth it ſhould be bruited abroad that this Gentle, ſo well born and delicately bred, ſhould dye under ſo cruel Torments: but they who were the beholders of ſuch inhumanity could not be ſilent. Yet theſe good Fathers, being under no controle, take their liberty thus to imbrue their hands in the Blood of Gods Saints.

Her Siſter *Mary* being led with the reſt of her fellows to the place where they were to ſuffer, ſhe went thereto with ſuch joy and gladneſs, as one triumphing over her enemies: which the whole tribunal obſerving, and fearing leſt others would be imboldned by her conſtan defence of the truth and ſinging of Pſalms as ſhe went, gagged her. And when ſhe came to the place of Execution, that they might obſcure the glory of this Heavenly conſtancy they preſently ſtrangled her.

Julian Hernaudes *burned in* Sevil *in* Spain, *Anno* 1559

THis *Julian*, who for his ſmall ſtature was called, *le petit*, was Servant to *John Piers* a Spaniard, and Miniſter of the Goſpel in *Geneva*, where, through much reſort of many learned Men thither, Religion flouriſhed. At which time being moved with Godly zeal, rather then being counſelled thereto, he undertook a buſineſs, which as it was of great importance, ſo of no ſmall peril and imminent danger; for he brought with him thence and cauſed a great number of Books of the holy Scriptures in Spaniſh to be conveied into *Spain*, earneſtly thirſting after the increaſe and growth of the light of the Goſpel in his Native Country; which Godly enterprize of his the Lord ſo guided, that he brought the ſame to a proſperous Iſſue; Yea, which is yet the more admirable, even within the Walls of *Sevil*, notwithſtanding all the watch and ward the Officers of the Inquiſition uſed.

Theſe Books to the poor Chriſtians there were welcomed with no leſs joyfulneſs, then the rain when it ſhowers down upon the parched ground. For the Goſpel by means hereof grew, and was enlarged; ſo as the Lord thereby reaped a very great Harveſt. But the news hereof coming to the ears of the holy Fathers, firſt, by the indiſcretion and fool-hardineſs of one more zealous then wiſe, and then by the treachery of wily ſpies of the Inquiſition, who counterfeited a profeſſion of the Goſpel, meerly to enſnare and betray the ſincere profeſſors thereof, by their diſloyal practiſes: no ſooner had theſe venerable Fathers, or hunters rather, gotten a ſent of this game where it lay, but coming violently upon them, took the Dam with her young ones. By which great ſurpriſal the whole flock was ſcattered; but ſo many was the number of them even at their firſt apprehenſion, that it amaſed the huntſmen themſelves.

Pſal. 72. 6.

Deut. 21. 6.

For the Priſons were ſo repleniſhed, that they were fain to borrow private Houſes to ſhut up the Priſoners in. At once they burned twenty and upwards of them together, whilſt in *Sevil* they detained in bonds 800. Amongſt whom this *Julian* was one of the firſt which they met withal, whom they kept in Priſon above three years laden with Irons: during which time, every day afforded new ſpectacles of catching their prey. But ſuch was his wonderfull conſtancy, that he wearied his Tormentors from vexing him any more; ſo as new forces never failed this little lean Body, to ſuffer any torture the Inquiſition could deviſe. He was naturally of a chearful Spirit, and God ſo increaſed the ſame in him, that he came from the torture with no leſs courage then when he was wont to come unto it: ſo as neither pain of the rack, nor the threats of the Officers, nor yet the cruelties they exerciſed upon him could withhold him from manifeſting to his Priſon-fellows, as he went along by them his conqueſt and victory, to the ſhame and reproach of his adverſaries, uſing to ſay in Spaniſh; Theſe Hypocrites are gone away confounded, no leſs then Wolves which have been long hunted.

See what great increaſe God can bring out of weak beginnings.

Such honor have all Gods Saints.

After

After many fierce encounters and ſharp diſputes with the Monks and others of the Popiſh crew, being brought out of the Priſon into the Caſtle, there to receive the mark and livery of Chriſt the Son of God, with the reſt of the Priſoners, it was reported, that he with a bold courage and ſetled countenance thus ſpake unto them, *Courage my valiant and conſtant Brethren, now is the hour come in which, as the true Champions of Jeſus Chriſt, we muſt witneſs his truth before Men, and for a ſhort trial for his ſake we ſhall triumph with him for ever and ever.* But the Officers of the Inquiſition interrupted him inſtantly, by putting a gagg in his Mouth, with which he continued untill a little before he dyed. Mounting then upon the Scaffold where he was to ſuffer, by manifold ſigns he ſhewed the conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſs of his Faith, which by words he could not. For in aſcending up the ſteps of the Scaffold, kneeling down he kiſſed them; and being faſtned to the Stake, invironed and compaſſed round about with Fagots, he ſundry times bowed his head within the pile of Wood, as if he deſired to dye by Fire, and ſo rendred up his Soul into the hands of God, to the great admiration of the Spectators, and the animating of his fellow Martyrs who were to ſuffer with him. When he was to dye, a certain Doctor called *Ferdinando Rodrigo*, contrary to his intention, made the Faith of this our little *Julian* much more glorious: for he thinking by terrifying him with the apprehenſion of the preſent torment he was to endure, obtained ſo much favour of the Sheriff, as to permit him to ſpeak; thinking thereby to give the people ſome intimation of his recantation; which is the utmoſt triumph that theſe holy Fathers of the Inquiſition thirſt after: but it proved clean contrary: for *Julian* recovering liberty of ſpeech, did yield a more clear evidence and demonſtration of his Faith than formerly he had done, and ſo confuted this Doctor *Rodrigo* (calling him a Seducer, and one that ſpake againſt his Conſcience) that by and by in an outrage, to cover his ſhame, he cryed out like a Bedlam; Muſt *Spain*, which commands ſilence to ſo many, be thus troubled now with this ſo contemptible a wretch? Kill him, diſpatch him, &c. At which words, the Tormentors being there at a beck, forthwith kindled the Fire upon him.

When the Martyrs were hindred to manifeſt their Faith by ſpeech, yet they would by outward geſtures do it as well as they could.

¶ Now having thus formerly mentioned what tortures are exerciſed upon the Bodies of Gods Saints by the mercileſs Inquiſitors of *Spain*: and that alſo upon thoſe of their own Nation: it ſhall not be much from the purpoſe if from thence we take occaſion more particularly here to relate unto thee (Chriſtian Reader) with what inhumanity ſuch are uſed who for the cauſe of Religion fall into the hands of theſe carnal Tyrants, according as I find the ſame ſet forth at large by my Author, whoſe footſteps in the whole Work I endeavour to follow.

WHen they purpoſe to torture any one, the Jaylor is commanded to bring forth his Priſoner into the accuſtomed place where it is to be given: which place is under the earth, and very obſcure. Then going thorow many turnings, and thorow ſundry doors, ſo as the horrible cryes of thoſe who are there tortured can in no wiſe be heard, there is a ſeat prepared for the Inquiſitors on high, with a Regiſter alſo to behold that tragical act. The torches being lighted, thoſe who are to act their parts in this woful Tragedy are brought in: the Tormentor who attends their coming, is covered all over with a black Garment, cloſe to his Body, on his Head a black Hood, which hides his face from being ſeen; having only two or three holes made therein for himſelf to ſee and breath at; and all this is the way to terrifie the poor Patient, who beholdeth as it were a grim Devil ready to torment him. Theſe Fathers being ſet upon their ſeat begin again to charge the Priſoner voluntarily to confeſs the truth: which if he refuſe to do, and if it then happen that an Arm or any other Member of his Body be broken, or that they dye on the torture (for that is all the favour he hath ſhewed him) they make it his own fault and none of theirs. After, they have uſed all the terrible threats that can be, they cauſe him to be ſtripped ſtark naked, wheher Man, Woman, or Maid, though they be never ſo modeſt and baſhful. Many having fallen into their Bloody fingers, thus to have their ſhame diſcovered to the ſight of others, was more grievous than all their torments beſides which they indured. Laying aſide then all Humanity in unclothing them, they put upon them (a ſhame it is to ſpeak it) linnen breeches, as if their ſecrets parts were better and more honeſtly covered with breeches than with a ſhirt or ſmock, or as if the torments they meant to put them to would not pierce deep enough as well in the one as in the other: with ſuch ſhameleſs ſpectacles the chaſt Inquiſitors fed their Ages, and with ſuch a cruel luſt ſatisfied their infamous and deteſtable virginity. Anno 1559.

The Man or Woman ſtanding naked then, and their nakedneſs covered only with little breeches, as was ſaid, they becken to the Tormentor, ſignifying thereby what kind of torture he is to put them to. For herein, as alſo in many things of a like nature, they have ſome ſecret watch-word or ſign among themſelves; and the Officers being well acquainted therewith can readily diſcern what torments the holy Fathers would have Men put unto, to teach them the Faith of the Roman Church. The moſt uſual are the cords with the pullies, ſinews, fire, and water, of all which we will ſpeak in place convenient. Whilſt they thus ſtand naked, they exhort them once again to tell the truth. If the Patient be to endure the Cord, they tye his hands behind his back, pulling him up eight or ten times, according to the number of twitches limited by the Inquiſitor to the Tormentor; that ſo nothing may be done (there forſooth) without order. At the firſt incounter are reckoned up to him all his Articles; and then, beſides the binding of his hands, they tye his thumbs very hard together with a ſmall Cord, then they tye his hands and thumbs unto a greater Cord, hoiſing him up by a pully very high, which done, they put upon his legs heavy bolts, if he have them not on before: to which are yet added, for the firſt pull, an Iron weight of five and twenty pound, which is hanged to theſe bolts between his feet. Being thus arayed the Tormentor draws him up on high, the Regiſter and the Inquiſitor mixing therewith their former exhortations to confeſs. When he comes touch the pulley with his head, they will him yet then to confeſs: if he obey, they preſently let him down; if not, then they let him hang in this condition, until he have anſwered their demands. Now, after he hath hung thus without making any confeſſion, they let him down, to redouble on his feet the former weight. And then pulling him up again, threaten him to hang till he there dye, if he declare not to them that which they ask of him; commanding the Tormentor to let him hang a long while in the air, that through the heavineſs of the weight which hangs at his feet, all his members and joynts be ſtretched out beyond meaſure. When the Patient through extremity of torment, which he endures, cryes out, they in like ſort cry as loud as they can, that he ſhould now confeſs what he knows: if not, then they let him fall. For when they perceive he continues conſtant, then they command the Officer to let go the Cord, which is as ſoon done as ſpoken, yet not wholly and altogether to the mid way, but to a certain ſtop, which hinders his falling to the ground, by reaſon whereof he receives ſuch a ſudden check, that there is neither nerve, muſcle, ſinew, nor joynt in the Arms or Legs, nor in the whole Body, which are not with extream torture disjoynted and diſplaced; ſo as being thus ſtopped in his fall in the mid way, his Body is pitifully and miſerably ſtretched out.

But yet this ſufficeth not. For if then through their importunity he will confeſs nothing, they augment the weight the third time, and thus in a manner being as good as dead cauſe him to be pulled up: to which cruelty they add railing and reviling ſpeeches, calling him Dog and Heretick, who being obſtinate conceals the truth from them, and therefore deſerves to be left dying there. If the poor creature in regard of his intolerable agony cryeth unto Jeſus Chriſt to help him, and to have mercy upon him (as all ſuch do as ſuffer for the truth) then they ſcoff and mock him, ſaying, *Jeſus Chriſt, Jeſus Chriſt, let this Jeſus Chriſt alone a while, and tell us what that Jeſus Chriſt is thou calleſt upon?* Confeſs to us that which we demand of thee; the which reſtifies to their Faces how odious and hateful a thing it is unto them to hear ſuch as ſuffer in the quarrel of Chriſt to call upon his name. If the ſorrowful wretch deſire to be let down, promiſing to confeſs and to tell them ſomwhat, they will for all

that

Anno 1560.

that torment him again. For having pauſed a little, then they tell him that is not all, and ſo continue threatning him with the Strappado as before.

This helliſh Torture beginneth at nine of the Clock, and laſts till noon, or one of the Clock; and when they pleaſe to make an end, then they ask of the Tormentor if he have his other Engines ready, which they do to ſtrike the greater terror into the bruiſed and Martyred Patient, whom they now have in their hands. He anſwers he hath them not there, then they command him to fit and prepare them againſt the next day, and not to fail: we will ſee, ſay they, whether we can fetch the whole truth out of this fellow or no. And at their going out, they comfort the deſolate Soul thus; *This ſhall ſuffice for this time, but look between this and tomorrow thou adviſeſt thyſelf well, what thou oughteſt to confeſs, otherwiſe thou art like to dye on the Torture; nor think to eſcape by what thou haſt endured, for that is but as a Bed of Roſes in regard of the torment which is to come.* Being gone, the Hangman indeavours to ſet together the joynts of the Patients Leggs and Arms, as well as he can. Then his Clothes being put on, he is brought again into his Priſon, and if he be not able to go, then he is carried thither; and ſometimes this help proves a vexation unto him, in that they churliſhly hale him by his Arms and Leggs. The Jaylor alſo in ſcorn asks of him, if he need a Chirurgion: now if they mean to torture him no more, then he is called for two or three days after, and as he paſſeth from the Priſon, they make him come nigh the door where he was tortured, where the Tormentor preſents himſelf before him in all points as hath formerly been related, that at this very ſight the Priſoner in his paſſage might be put in mind of what he had but a while ſince ſuffered. When he is come before them, there he finds the Inquiſitor, the Regiſter with others ſet in their Seats attending for him, where according to the guiſe, they adjure him to ſpeak the truth: If at that time they can draw nothing out of him, they ſend him to Priſon again. But if he happen to diſcloſe ought ſerving their turn, then they ply him hard to utter all: and thereupon make him turn thence to the Torture, hoping thereby to get ſomething more out of him.

If they purpoſe to exerciſe this their cruelty with all extremity upon the ſame Patient, they ſend for him the third day, whilſt his ſinews and joynts are in the prime of their pain, and ſo renew their horrible threats unto him, to reveal his Hereſies, and thoſe which he had formerly mentioned, and who they be that are of his opinion; otherwiſe he muſt prepare himſelf for the Torture, wherein if he any way miſcarry in his Body, or if death it ſelf do follow, the fault ſhall be his, and not theirs. If he continue unmovable in his mind, they cauſe the Jaylor to bring him to the place of Torture, and there they ſitting in their Tribunal, command him to be ſtripped naked, and then tormented as you have formerly heard. Beſides, as an addition thereto, they tye his thighs and hamſtrings together with a ſmall cord, forcing the ſame ſo with pieces of wood, that the ſaid cords do eat into his very Fleſh; in which extremity they leave him for ſome three or four hours, or as they pleaſe, plying him the while with infinite threats and deriſions, which is all the comfort they miniſter to him in this his miſerable condition.

They have yet another kind of torment, which Juſtices in other places exerciſe upon ſuch as are the moſt notorious offendors, whereof this holy Tribunal make uſe, as fitting well to their cruel humour. They call it the *Burno*, which is a plank of timber made hollow in form of a gutter or trough, wherein a man may lye on his back; Now juſt where the Back-bone ſhould repoſe it ſelf, there is a round piece of Wood lying overthwart, keeping up the back from reſting in the bottom of the hollow place, ſo as it giveth no reſt to him that is tormented thereon. Now this Trough is ſo framed, that the Heels of him who is put therein lye much higher than his Head. Being put into his Caſe or Coffin, his Leggs, Arms, and Thighs are bound hard with ſmall cords, which by little and little are ſo ſtrained with certain ſticks, that they eat into the Fleſh, yea pierce to the bare Bone. Then they lay a linnen cloth on his face, to hinder his breathing at the noſtrils, whilſt they pour water into his Mouth, which is diſtilled from above by this cloth to a certain quantity, (as it ſeems good to his Judge) not by drops, but ſtreaming down, to cauſe the ſaid cloth to go down into his throat. The poor patient the whilſt lies in this torment as one in a manner dead, not being able either to ſtir or breath. Now when this wet Cloth is pulled out of the depth of his throat, to make him to anſwer unto their demands; If you ſhould behold how Blood and Water comes out together, you would imagine they had plucked the very Bowels out of his Belly: in which woful plight he is held as long as they think good, even until with horrible threats and torments he be returned back again to Priſon.

If they pleaſe to proceed further in adding more torments, within a Month or two after the ſaid cruelties are renewed, either in more terrible or moderate manner, to ſome once, to others to the ſixth time.

This is yet another torment which is peculiar to this holy ſeat of the Inquiſitors. They cauſe a great fire of hot burning Coals to be brought, which they apply nigh unto the Soles of his Feet whom they intend to torment, which are firſt thorowly anointed with greaſe or ſuet, that the heat of the fire may pierce more deeply.

Thus much be ſaid as touching theſe Torments uſed by thoſe cruel Tormentors of the Bloody Inquiſition of *Spain* upon the Bodies of poor Chriſtians.

A Note of Francis Oliver *Chancellor of* France.

THis Chancellor, who in the former Perſecutions not behaving himſelf according to a good Conſcience, (being in times paſt ſo far enlightned as to make profeſſion of the truth,) was viſited with a mortal diſeaſe; in which ſickneſs he was obſerved to caſt forth hideous ſighs without ceaſing. In which perplexity the Cardinal of *Lorrain* came to viſit him, ſtanding aloof off from him. To whom the Chancellor uttered theſe words; *Ah Cardinal, thou wilt damn us all.* It is alſo reported, that he much and often bewailed the death of *Anne du Burg*, of whom mention was made heretofore. And thus living a while in this miſerable condition he ended his days.

Gods judgment upon an Apoſtata.

A Papiſt defined by Jaques de Lo.

HAving called the vows of Papiſts papiſtical vows, he was asked what a Papiſt was. He is a Papiſt, ſaid *De Lo*, who ſquares his actions and converſation according to the Popes Laws. *Anno* 1560.

Being preſſed by the Papiſts to confeſs whom he knew of the Reformed Religion, he would name none but ſuch as had ſuffered; and withal further added, I entreat you my Brethren in the name of God, that you conceive no ſiniſter opinion as touching me in this behalf: for I am reſolved, by the help of my God (without whoſe aſſiſtance I can do nothing, and with which I can do all things) to ſuffer my Fleſh rather to be rent in pieces, then to reveal any whoſe perſons might thereby be endangered.

Note his admirable conſtancy.

The notable converſion of a notorious evil liver, by Name John Herwin, *of* Houtkerk *in* Flanders, *Martyr; who by degrees was ſo far brought into Chriſts Fold, that he was called forth to bear witneſs of the Truth, from which he was once as far remote as the Heavens are from the Earth, in the year* 1560.

THis *John Herwin*, born in *Geeſtercorn*, &c. in the Weſt ſide of *Flanders*, was of a diſſolute life, ſuch as Souldiers for the moſt part are of; but God having a purpoſe to ſhew forth in him the admirable work of converſion, to draw him to Chriſt, put it into his heart to leave his own Country, and come to the City of *London*. Being arrived there about *Eaſter*, the Lord going on with his work brought him by his providence into a Brew-houſe, being a Brewer by his calling, where he met with a Maſter and fellow Servants fearing God; a thing ſeldom ſeen in Men of that Profeſſion, ſeeing ordinarily they are exceſſive drinkers. His Maſter cauſed him oft to reſort to the Dutch Church in the ſaid City of *London*, where by ordinary hearing of the Word Preached he began firſt to taſt, and after to increaſe more and more in the ſaving knowledge of Chriſt. News coming over,

over, that Wars were likely to be in *Flanders*, cauſed him to leave *England*, and to return again into his own Country. He came thither at the ſame time that three other Martyrs were there apprehended, but he was not taken with them.

The Bayliff of *Furne* when he ſaw he could not meet with him, underſtanding that he was at *Houſcot*, advertiſed the Bailiff of the ſaid place, that he might take him at his Sifters Houſe. As ſoon as he heard thereof he delayed no time, but in the night time came with his Serjeants and apprehended him. Now leading him to Priſon, the Bailiff meeting certain drunkards in the Streets, ſaid, They ſay, We have many Goſpellers in *Houſcot*, but it little appears by theſe diſorders.

John Herwin hearing him ſay ſo, and not willing to balk it, replyed, Is drunkenneſs a ſin, Maſter Bayliff? Then ſaid the Bayliff, What of that? *Herwin* made this concluſion; Why then commit you not theſe fellows to Priſon, ſeeing it is your Office to puniſh vice, and to protect ſuch as fear God. The Bayliff was mute: yet for all that *Herwin* was fain to take up his lodging in Priſon, where he behaved himſelf ſo vertuouſly, that every one admired it. But becauſe he was not called forth before the Magiſtrates of *Houſcot* ſo ſoon as he deſired and expected, he grew heavy and ſad, asking of ſome whom he knew well, if they could tell why they ſo delayed the matter? For his heart was fixed with an holy zeal to confeſs Jeſus Chriſt before his Judges. Many feared him much, who knew what he had been in times paſt; he being as yet but a Novice, and a new comer on in the profeſſion of the Goſpel; in which caſe men for the moſt part have but ſome glimmering of the light, and are unſetled in their Judgments.

At length he was brought before the Sheriffs of the Town, who commanded a Prieſt to diſpute with him. At the firſt Encounter he asked *Herwin* how long it was ſince he was confeſſed? alſo what he thought of confeſſion, asking him ſundry other trivial queſtions, to which *Herwin* anſwered no leſs modeſtly than Chriſtianly, in ſo much as they who were of ſound Judgment eaſily diſcerned how he was not the Man he had been in times paſt, but that his Priſon had been to him a good School where he had well conned his leſſon. The Prieſt demanded further whether he believed there were ſeven Sacraments or no? The Bayliff helping the Prieſt, ſaid, whats that to the purpoſe, whether there be ſeven or two, he will acknowledge no more then he liſt (for he had confeſſed there were but two.) The chief Sheriff demanded of him in theſe terms, whither he believed that the Lord remained upon the Altar, Fleſh, Body, and Bone. I anſwer (ſaith *Herwin*) with Saint *Steven*, that the higheſt dwelleth not in Temples made with hands. Heaven, ſaith the Lord, is my throne, and the Earth is my footſtool; what houſe will ye then make unto me, and where is the place of my reſt? Hath not my hand made all theſe? And then took occaſion to admoniſh the Judges which ſate there, to examine the Doctrine of the Roman Church, by the true touchſtone which is the holy Scripture, that ſo they might diſcern how oppoſite and contrary the one is to the other. Conſider alſo, ſaith he, what the words of Saint *Peter* import, where he affirms that we ought to obey God rather then Man. Yea it is high time for you to think upon what I ſay, and that ſeriouſly alſo, for at the laſt day it is neither your Prieſts, nor your placcards (which you think to ſtop our Mouths withal) that ſhall any way excuſe you then. And as for the Title of the Roman Catholick Church, which you hold out againſt us; I deny not but in the Apoſtles time and afterwards there was a true Church in *Rome*, as well as in *Corinth*, *Galatia*, among the *Philippians*, and in other Churches; but after that ſhe fell from the pure Word of God, and falſified the Sacraments thereof, turning Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline into Auricular Confeſſion, God hath alſo forſaken her, and ſhe ought now no more to be called a Church of God, but rather the Synagogue of Satan. As ſoon as the chief Sheriff (who is called the firſt ſpeaker) heard this, he commanded him away.

Iſai. 66. 1. 2

Act. 4. 19. & 5. 29.

A godly admonition to Judges and Magiſtrates.

When the Church of Rome was a true Church.

Having then given ſufficient Teſtimony of his Faith, before thoſe of *Houſcot*, he craved for Juſtice either one way or another. But they on the contrary urged him to deſiſt from his opinion. To which he anſwered, that his faith was not built of an opinion, but ſaid he, the Lord hath taught me to eſchew evil and do good. Yea, ſaid they, but ſeeſt thou not how theſe opinions have troubled the World? And alſo how many of the learneder ſort do contradict them? Anſwer. So far is it off that the Doctrine of the Goſpel ſhould be the cauſe of troubles, that it only is the means of quieting the debates, and ſtrifes which Reign in the World. Theſe troubles ariſe indeed from the malice of Men. And as touching your learned Men you ſpeak of, it is impoſſible for humane wiſdom to comprehend the Doctrine of God: for which cauſe Chriſt ſaith. *Father I thank thee, that thou haſt hid theſe ſecrets from the wiſe Men of the World, and haſt revealed them to Babes.* Now as the Sergeants conveyed him to Priſon, they counſelled him to ſpeak more mildly, and then he might do well enough.

Anno 1559.

Pſal. 14.

Mat. 11. 25. Luke 10. 21.

Before his death he was ſorely ſet upon by certain *Sophiſters*, who alledged to him the ſayings of many of the ancient Fathers upon the point of the Lords Supper, but he overcame them, by holding cloſe the true ſenſe of Chriſts Words. In Priſon he comforted himſelf in ſinging of Pſalms and ſpiritual Songs, ſome of which he indited himſelf. The Canons and Prieſts ſeeing the people flock together to the Priſon door to hear him, eſpecially upon the Sundays and holy days, ſtrove by all means to put him by his ſinging. They coupled him with two malefactors, to be a grief unto him: who obtaining certain Inſtruments by the help of their conſorts, brake Priſon and fled. *Herwin* might thus have eſcaped if he would; but fearing his flight might be imputed to the Godly Chriſtians in the City, he reſolved rather to remain there, than to flie. His Sentence in the mean while coming from the Court, he was no ſooner advertiſed of it, but he thanked God for advancing him to ſo high an honour as to be counted worthy to ſuffer for his Name: Teſtifying the joy he inwardly had, by a Letter which he ſent to the Brethren; praying and exhorting them to be conſtant and to perſevere in that Doctrine which they had received from God.

The fourth day of *November* between four and five of the Clock in the morning *Herwin* was ſent for by the Magiſtrates from Priſon into the place of Judgment, where by intreatings and goodly promiſes they urged him to recant and receive their breaden God, which was then to be offered up; or at leaſt to confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt was there corporally preſent, upon which he ſhould by and by be delivered out of all dangers. Now *Herwin* refuſing their offer was bound and brought by force into the Chappel: but he in ſign of his deteſtation, turned his back always upon it, ſhutting his eyes, and ſtopping his ears. At the elevation of their Hoſt, one who was kneeling to it, aſked him if Jeſus Chriſt was not now between the Prieſts hands, No, no, ſaid *Herwin*, he is in Heaven at the right hand of his Father.

Soon after the Sentence of death was read againſt him, and ſo was he delivered into the hands of the Tormentor. As he paſſed out of the Townhouſe, ſtanding upon the firſt ſtep, and viewing the people who waited to ſee him, See here (ſaith he) how this wicked World rewards the poor Servants of Jeſus Chriſt. Whilſt I gave my ſelf to drunkenneſs, to playing at Cards and Dice, living in all diſſolution and ungodly behaviour, I was never in danger of theſe bands (lifting up his hands which were bound) I was then counted a good fellow, and at that time who but I? But no ſooner began I by converſion to ask after a Godly life, but the World made war upon me, and became my enemy, perſecuting and impriſoning me, and now laſt of all ſending me to the place where I muſt pay my laſt debt. But the Servant is not better than his Lord: For ſeeing they perſecuted him, no queſtion they will perſecute us.

Being come to the place where he was to ſuffer, one of the aſſembly reaching him forth his hand drew nigh unto him, comforting him, never leaving him till he enterd into the Cabbin of Wood in which he was to be burnt. He then began to ſing the thirteieth Pſalm, of which having ſung only the firſt ſtaff, a Fryer hearing the ſame haſtned towards him (not without much difficulty) through the throng, that he might come near to interrupt him, who kneeling on his knees ſaid, Oh *John*, turn, there is yet time and ſpace. The Martyr, ſleighting his gloſing words,

turned

Anno 1561. turned his back upon him. And many there preſent cryed to the Fryer, *Turn thou, thou Hypocrite*: and thus was he ſuffered quietly to finiſh the Pſalm. The Frier ſeeing himſelf diſappointed this way of his purpoſe, continuing ſtill in his impudency, ſaid to the people, be ye not offended good people in hearing this Heretick ſing of God. They cryed again to him, Hold thy peace thou *Balaamite*, here is no Body offended. Many ſung with a ſoft voice with the Martyr, and ſome again ſung aloud without faining.

There were more than four hundred which encouraged him to continue to the end, as he had well begun. Then he ſaid unto them, Brethren, I fight under the Standard and in the quarrel of my great Lord and Captain Chriſt.

Having ended the Pſalm he made his Prayer to God upon his Knees. Then riſing up, and being about to enter into his Lodge made with an heap of fagots, he ſaid to the people, *I am now going to be ſacrificed; follow you me when God of his goodneſs ſhall call you to it.* When he was gone in, the Frier put him in mind again, that yet there was time to repent: but he, as one little minding what this deceiver ſaid, commended his Spirit into the hands of God. He that reached him forth his hand ſtood in the midſt of the Sergeants, and not far off from the Tormentor, ſtill encouraging the Patient, and yet none laid hold on him; they were ſtricken with ſuch aſtoniſhment, partly with the Martyrs courage, and partly with their own ſhame in putting to death an Innocent. The Executioner not being his craftſmaſter ſtrangled and burnt him moſt cruelly, ſo as the people were heard to bewail the manner of it, whilſt the Martyr yielded up the ghoſt the ſaid fourth day of *November*, *Anno*. 1560. His Body was conſumed to aſhes, which were buried in the Market-place of *Houſcot*.

Here ſhall not be amiſs to inſert a Godly Prayer which a like notorious wretch (before his converſion) made at his death after he was converted, and ſuffered for the ſame cauſe. His name was Lievin Blekere, *by his Trade a Painter who dwelt in a little Village in the Low Countries, called* Pamelle, *Anno* 1566.

O Heavenly Father, I give thee thanks that thou haſt pulled me out of darkneſs, and haſt revealed the light of thy Goſpel unto me, for elſe I had periſhed everlaſtingly. O Father, thou didſt ordain me to be one of thy Witneſſes, even from my Mothers Womb, yea, before the Foundation of the World was laid. Now therefore Lord let this Sacrifice be acceptable unto thee, receive me thy poor Servant into thy Grace and favour, and pardon the Sin of my Perſecutors.

To one that ſtood by he ſaid, Brother, fight the good fight of Faith with me, and pray for me ſo long as you ſee life to be in me. And while he was yet ſpeaking the Tormentor ſtrangled him. The dead Body, being a little ſcortched with the Fire was taken thence and hanged on a gibbet by *Pamelle*, whence he was taken down in the night and buried.

John de Boſchane *drowned in a tub in Priſon, the twenty eighth day of* February *in the City of* Antwerp, *Anno* 1561.

THe evening before he ſuffered many of the Faithful expected what ſhould be done unto him. But the Magiſtrates of the Town fearing an uprore, knowing that he was a Man free of Speech, and beloved of the people, took Counſel to drown him ſecretly in the Priſon, which could not be executed without Murther, and cruel Torment. For the Tub (in which he ſhould be drowned) being neither large nor deep enough, the Martyr himſelf being tall of ſtature, and the Executioner having provided ſo little Water that he could not poſſibly be drowned therein; therefore he was conſtrained, for the ſhortning of this ſo cruel a torment, to wound him in the Body with divers ſtabs of a Dagger, which were to be ſeen thereon after he was dead. Thus finiſhed this *Boſchane* Martyr his life, being twenty ſix years of Age, in the City of *Antwerp*, in the year of our Lord 1560.

A ſure way to make an end of him.

The Story of one John de Buiſons, *who was beheaded in the Priſon, as* John *the* Baptiſt *was in the night.*

THis holy Servant of Chriſt having valiantly ſtood to the profeſſion of the Goſpel, was ſoon after condemned to dye. Now fearing leſt any Tumult or Sedition ſhould be raiſed in the City of *Antwery*, he was beheaded in the Priſon about one or two of the Clock in the night, to the Glory of God, and the Confuſion of his Adverſaries, *Anno* 1561.

Simon Harm *Martyr, who had Sentence of death pronounced two ſeveral times upon him in the City of* Liſle *in* Flanders.

THis *Simon* was accuſed to have uttered ſome ſpeeches long ſince againſt the Church of *Rome*. Witneſs being produced againſt him in the Town-houſe, the Magiſtrate condemned him to be, beheaded. Now according to their cuſtom in that place, his Hat being taken from him after Sentence pronounced, he was returned back again to Priſon, expecting the hour of his Execution. Then were ſent unto him certain Friers to confeſs, or rather to vex and torment him. But this godly man being throughly fenced with the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, made them know to their ſhame that they were greatly miſtaken: for the Friers returning back to thoſe who had imployed them in this buſineſs, reported that this *Simon* was a moſt notorious Heretick; which the Magiſtrates of the City hearing, cauſed him by and by to be called to judgment, ſending him his Hat again which they took from him, in token that they had revoked the Sentence firſt pronounced, to enter a new Proceſs againſt him. Thus got *Simon* ſome leaſure the better to diſpoſe of his affairs, alſo to comfort and counſel his Friends by Letters, not weighing the torments of death which he was to endure. Three days before he ſuffered, Sentence was pronounced touching another kind of death, namely to be burned, and his Body to be conſumed to Aſhes. which kind of Martyrdom did manifeſt to all the People of the ſaid City the admirable power of the Lord, by how much more the pains were exceeding great, beholding how this his Servant ſweetly gave up the Ghoſt in peace in the midſt of the fiery Flames.

The Martyr had his hat ſent him which was taken from him.

A Note of one John Martin, *who bragged he would cut off a Miniſters Noſe.*

THe Church of God increaſing ſo far in the Valleys of *Angrongne* in *France*, that they were fain to build a Church wherein to preach the Word publickly, in regard of concourſe of People reſorting thither, it happened that the forenamed *John Martin*, boaſting every where that he would cut off the Miniſters Noſe of *Angrongne*, was ſoon after ſet upon by a mad Wolf who did indeed eat his Noſe from his face, dying mad thereof himſelf, and yet it was never obſerved that this Wolf had ever hurt any before. Which terrible Judgment was ſo manifeſt, that it was noyſed among all the Neighbour Villages thereabouts, *Anno* 1561.

A remarkable judgment of God.

A miſchief mercifully prevented by the means of Prayer and calling upon the name of God.

A Certain Preſident being come into the City of *Pigneroll*, ſent for one of Saint *John's* (very near unto *Angrongne*) who at that time dwelt there, asking him if he had not cauſed a Child of his to be baptized at *Angrongne*, and why he had done ſo? The poor ſilly man anſwered, he had done it becauſe Baptiſm was there adminiſtred according to Chriſts Inſtitution. The Preſident hearing him ſay ſo, in great fury, commanded him in the Kings name, upon pain of being burned, to get it re-baptized, The Father of the Child beſought him that he would permit him to pray unto God before he gave him his anſwer. Which being done in the Hall before all the Company, he further intreated him under his hand and Seal to cauſe it to be ſet down, how he could diſcharge him of committing ſo great a ſin; and that if he would take the guilt thereof upon himſelf and his, then he

he would anſwer him. The preſident hearing how he can e about him, was ſo confounded in himſelf for a while, that he could not ſpeak. But by and by he bad take away the Villain, and ſo he was never called before him again.

Papiſts committed their Children to Proteſtants, to be preſerved from being deflowred.

AMong other things (ſaith my Author) this is to be obſerved, that during theſe troubles in the Valleys of *Angrongne* from the year 1555. unto the year 1561. The Papiſts which dwelt in the Country conveyed their daughters away into the Mountains, and committed the cuſtody of them to theſe poor perſecuted Chriſtians of *Vandois*, for fear leſt their chaſtities ſhould be violated by the common Souldiers, according as they had been threatned by them, who were given over to all villany & cruelty.

An Aſſembly of the Faithful, deſcried nigh to Antwerp, *was by the enemies of the Goſpel put to flight, of which three being apprehended, two eſcaped, and one named* Barthelemi de Hoy *was executed, Anno* 1561.

THe third day of the Month of *Auguſt* in the year 1561. when great triumphs were uſually made in the City of *Antwerp* about the plays and prizes of Rhetorick (as they call them) to the ſight and hearing whereof there commonly came great multitudes from many places: thoſe of the Religion being willing to take all opportunities to meet together in the fear of God, whilſt others were buſied in ſeeing and beholding thoſe vanities: a great number withdrew themſelves out of the City, and entered into a Wood, nigh unto *Markſem*, that there they might hear the Word of God preached with lively voice by the Preachers thereof.

The *Dorſart* of *Markſem*, being adverтiſed thereof, reſorted thither with his Officers, being conducted to the place by certain poor youths, being Nete-heards, whom he promiſed to apparel, if they could bring him to any place of the wood where the Aſſembly was; Whilſt himſelf ſtaying without, with two or three other on Horſeback, ſent the reſt of his Officers with the Boys into the Wood. At the appearing of theſe Wolves the poor Sheep of Chriſt began to be affrighted, and to flie. The Miniſters and others ſeeing this diſorder admoniſhed the Aſſembly not to ſtir, ſhewing how great inconveniences would follow upon ſuch an inconſiderate flight. The Perſecutors were not above five or ſix, but the perſecuted were about four or five hundred perſons; ſo as without any great difficulty they might have had the better hand of them. The principal aim which the Officers had, was to apprehend the Miniſter. For having caught one of the Aſſembly, thinking he had been the Man. they cryed one to another, Hold the Prieſt faſt, ſtriking him with their Piſtols and ſtaves, and ſo brought him out of the wood. The *Dorſart*, perceiving that this was not the Miniſter, kept him notwithſtanding as his prey, and left not purſuing this ſcattered flock until night. After this he took two other in the Lordſhip of *Akeram*.

Thus having apprehended theſe three Priſoners, and withal having taken up many Cloaks, Hats, and Vails, Foreparts, and other Accoutrements, which the poor diſperſed had loſt and let fall, theſe hey took away as a ſpoyl, and returned to *Markeſem*. This *Dorſart* lay hold on two others by the way, whom he ſuppoſed to be of that number, one of which was *Barthelemi de Hoye*, a Joyner of the age of twenty four years. Theſe five were committed to Priſon one from another, ſome at *Markſem*, and others at *Damme*. Soon after the firſt three which had been taken in: the Juriſdiction of *Akeram* had the means to eſcape without any danger or detriment, by the aſſiſtance of their friends. *Barthelemi* only remained in the cuſtody of the *Dorſart*, before whom he endured many baitings through the Parſon of that place, being ſet on by him: Beſides many others who daily by way of ſcorn queſtioned with him; asking, Why ſuch a young Man as he could not content himſelf with their Religion and glorious Church, adorned with Silver, Gold, and precious ſtones, in which there was ſuch melodious muſick, both of Voices and Inſtruments, but muſt needs joyn himſelf to that Church which was hated, deſpiſed, and expoſed to all inconveniences whatſoever. But *Barthelemi* overcame all theſe temptations by the grace and power of the Almighty, manifeſting it to all, that that which is greatly eſteemed amongſt Men is altogether an abomination in the ſight of God. Having then often juſtified the cauſe of God, and reproved the Roman Church of falſe Doctrine, known by the fruits thereof, *viz.* the hateful lives of the Prieſts, &c. he was after a few days brought out of Priſon, and at laſt beheaded the nine and twentieth of *Auguſt*, between four and five of the Clock, in the morning, *Anno* 1561.

Carnal reaſons uſed by Carnal people.

Anno 1561.

Luk. 16.45.

A relation touching the Maſſacre at Vaſſy *in the Country of* Champaigne *in* France.

THe Duke of *Guiſe* being arrived at *Joinville*, asked of ſuch as he was familiar withal, whether thoſe of *Vaſſy* uſed to have Sermons preached conſtantly by their Miniſter. It was anſwered they had, and that they encreaſed daily more and more. At the hearing of which report falling into a grievous chafe, upon *Saturday* the laſt of *February* 1562. that he might the more covertly execute his conceived wrath againſt the Religious ſort in *Vaſſy*, he departed from *Joinville*, accompanied with the Cardinal of *Guiſe* his Brother, and thoſe of their train, and lodged in the village of *Dammartin* the free, which is diſtant from *Joinville* about two French miles and a half.

The next day being *Sunday*, which was the firſt of *March*, after he had heard Maſs very early in the morning, being attended with about two hundred Men armed with Harquebuſes, Piſtols, and Coutelaxes, he left *Dammartin*, paſſing along to *Vaſſy*. As he went by the Village of *Bronzevall*, which is diſtant from *Vaſſy* but a ſmall quarter of a mile, the Bell (after the uſual manner) rang to the Sermon. The Duke hearing it, asked ſuch as he met with by the way, why the Bell rang ſo loud at *Vaſſy*. They told him it was to give the people warning of the Sermon which was to be made there. Then one called *La Montague* ſaid, it is for the aſſembling of the *Huguenots*: adding moreover, that there were many in the ſaid *Bronzevall* who frequented the Sermons preached at *Vaſſy*; and therefore that the Duke ſhould do well to begin there, and offer them violence. But the Duke anſwered, March on, march on, we ſhall take them among the reſt of the Aſſembly. Many who followed the Duke, to wit, Pages and Footmen, rejoyced not a little concerning this bloody enterpriſe; not ſticking to ſay, that the booty and pillage would fall to their ſhares; ſwearing by Blood and Wounds, that there would be good ſtore of *Huguenots* there.

Now there were certain Souldiers and Archers accompanying the Duke, who compaſſed about *Vaſſy*; for having been muſtered at *Monthierender*, in ſtead of returning home, as they were wont to do after the muſter was ended, they took their way thence to *Vaſſy*, moſt of them being lodged in the Houſes of Papiſts. The *Saturday* before the ſlaughter they were ſeen to make ready their Weapons, Harquebuſes, and Piſtols: but the Faithful not dreaming of ſuch a conſpiracy, thought the Duke would offer them no hard meaſure, being the Kings Subjects; alſo, that not above two Months before the Duke and his Brethren paſſing by nigh unto the ſaid *Vaſſy*, gave no ſign of their diſpleaſure.

The Duke of *Guiſe* being arrived at *Vaſſy* with all his Troops, a young Man a Shoomaker ſtepping out of his Houſe not far from the door where the Aſſembly was, *Montague* pointing to him with his finger ſaid he was one of the Miniſters. Whereupon the Duke called this Shoomaker to him, and asked of him whether he were a Miniſter, and of what Univerſity he was. He anſwered, that he was not of that Calling, neither was he a Scholar. Notwithſtanding he hardly eſcaped from this Troop, which had invironed him round about: only one of the company told him, That if he had been a Miniſter he had taken upon him a very baſe Calling.

So it is deemed in the eye of the world.

From thence the Duke, *La Boſſe*, and *La Mountague* paſſed on in the ſaid City with their Souldiers, as if they minded to take their way towards the Village of *Eſclairon*, where it was given out he meant to dine. But paſſing

Anno 1561. paſſing by the Market-houſe of *Vaſſy*, which is right over againſt and nigh unto the Monaſtery in the way leading to *Eſclairon*, he turned and went directly toward the Common Hall or Market-houſe, and then entred into the Monaſtery; where having called to him one named *Deſſalles*, the Prior of *Vaſſy*, and another whoſe name was *Claude le Sain*, being the Provoſt of the ſaid *Vaſſy*, he talked awhile with them, and iſſuing haſtily out of the Monaſtery was attended by many of his Followers. Then commandment was given to ſuch as were Papiſts, to retire into the Monaſtery, and not to be ſeen in the ſtreets, unleſs they would venture the loſs of their lives. The Duke perceiving others of his Retinue to be walking to and fro under the Town Hall and about the Church-yard commanded them to march on towards the place where the Sermon was, being in a Barn diſtant from the Monaſtery, about ſome hundred paces, quite oppoſite to that way whith the Duke ſhould take to *Eſclairon*. This command was by and by put in execution by ſuch of the company as went on foot, going directly thither. Hee that marched formoſt of this Rabble was *La-Broſs*, and on the ſide of theſe marched the Horſemen, after whom followed the Duke with another company, as of his own followers, ſo likewiſe of thoſe of the Cardinal of *Guiſe* his Brother.

By this time Maſter *Leonard Morel* the Miniſter, after the firſt prayer ended, and having begun his Sermon before his Auditors, which might amount to about 1200 perſons, conſiſting of Men, Women, and Children: The Horſemen firſt approching to the Barn within a matter of twenty five paces, ſhot off two Harquebuſſes right upon thoſe who were placed in the Galleries joyning to the Windows. The people within perceiving that, they who were nigh to the Dore uſed means to ſhut it, but were diſappointed, becauſe this diſordered company preſſed in upon them: who forthwith unſheathing their ſwords, cried furiouſly out, Death of God, *kill*, kill theſe Huguenots.

The firſt they ſeized on was a poor Cryer of Wine, who ſtood next the door, asking him, if he were not a *Huguenot*, and in whom he believed? Having anſwered that he believed in Jeſus Chriſt, they ſmote him twice with a ſword upon his Body, which felled him to the ground. Being got up again thinking to recover himſelf, they ſtruck him the third time, whereby being overcharged with wounds he fell down and dyed inſtantly. Two other men at the ſame time were ſlain at the entry of the ſaid Dore as they were preſſing out to eſcape.

Then did the *Guiſe* with his company violently enter in among them, ſtriking down main blows upon the poor people with Swords, Daggers, and Coutelaxes, not ſparing any Age or Sex. Beſides, they within were ſo aſtonied that they knew not which way to turn them, but running hither and thither fell one upon another, flying as poor ſheep before a company of ravening Wolves entring in among the flock.

Some of the Murtherers ſhot off their Pieces againſt them that were in the Galleries; others cut in pieces ſuch as they lighted upon; others had their heads cleft in twain, their Arms and Hands cut off, and did what they could to hew them all to pieces; ſo as many of them gave up the ghoſt even in the place. The Walls and Galleries of the ſaid Barn were Dyed with the Blood of thoſe who were every where Murthered: yea, ſo great was the fury of the Murtherers, that part of the people within were forced to break open the Roof of the Houſe, if peradventure that way they might ſave themſelves upon the top thereof.

Being got thither, and then fearing to fall again into the hands of theſe cruel Tygers, ſome of them leaped over the Walls of the City, which were very high, flying into the Woods and amongſt the Vines, which with moſt expedition they could ſooneſt attain unto; ſome hurt in their Arms, others in their Heads and other parts of their Bodies. The Duke preſented himſelf in the houſe with his ſword drawn in his hand, charging his men to kill, eſpecially the young men. Onely in the end Women with Child were ſpared. But purſuing thoſe who preſſed to get upon the houſe top, they cryed, *Come down ye dogs, come down*, uſing many cruel threatning ſpeeches unto them.

The cauſe why Women with Child eſcaped, was, as the report went, for the Dutcheſs ſake his Wife, who paſſing along by the Walls of the City, hearing ſo hideous out-cries which were made amongſt theſe poor creatures with the noyſe of the pieces and piſtols continually diſcharged; ſent in all haſte to the Duke her Husband with much intreaties to ceaſe this perſecution, for frighting Women with Child.

The dutcheſs intreats for a Pacification; that thoſe of her Sex being with Child might not be affrighted.

During this ſlaughter the Cardinal of *Guiſe* remained before the Church of the ſaid City of *Vaſſi*, leaning upon the Walls of the Church-yard, looking towards the place where his followers were buſied in killing and ſlaying whom they could. Many of this aſſembly being thus hotly purſued, did in the firſt brunt ſave themſelves upon the roof of the houſe, not being diſcerned of thoſe which ſtood without: but at length ſome of this bloody crue eſpying where they lay hid, ſhot at them with long pieces, wherewith many of them were hurt and ſlain. The Houſhold Servants of *Deſſalles Prior* of *Vaſſi*, ſhooting at the roof people, cauſed them to fall down from the roof like pigeons: one of that wretched company was not aſhamed to boaſt after the Maſſacre was ended, That he for his part had cauſed ſix at the leaſt to tumble down in that pitiful plight, ſaying, that if others had done the like, not many of them could poſſibly have eſcaped.

A lamentable ſpectacle

The Miniſter in the beginning of the Maſſacre ceaſed not to preach ſtill, till, one diſcharged his piece againſt the Pulpit where he ſtood, after which falling down upon his knees, he entreated the Lord not onely to have mercy upon himſelf, but alſo upon his poor perſecuted flock. Having ended his prayer, he left his gown behind him, thinking thereby to keep himſelf, as unknown: but whileſt he approached towards the Dore, in his fear he ſtumbled upon a dead Body, where he received a blow with a ſword upon his right Shoulder. Getting up again, and then thinking to get forth, he was immediately laid hold on and grievouſly hurt on the head with a ſword, whereupon being felled to the ground, and feeling himſelf mortally wounded, he cryed, *Lord into thy hand I commend my Spirit, for thou haſt redeemed me, thou God of Truth.* Pſal. 31. 5.

Whileſt he thus prayed, one of this Bloody crue ran upon him to have houghed him, but it pleaſed God his ſword brake in the hilts. Now to let you underſtand by what means he was delivered from ſo imminent a death, two Gentlemen taking knowledge of him, as the reſt were about to kill him, ſaid, it is the Miniſter, let him be conveyed to my Lord Duke. Theſe leading him away by both the Arms, brought him before the gate of the Monaſtery, from whence the Duke and the Cardinal his Brother coming forth ſaid, come hither, and asked him, ſaying, Art thou the Miniſter of this place? who made thee ſo bold to ſeduce this people thus? Sir, ſaid the Miniſter, I am no Seducer, for I have preached to them the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. The Duke perceiving that this ſhort and pithy anſwer condemned his cruel fact, began to curſe and ſwear, ſaying, Death of God, doth the Goſpel preach Sedition? Provoſt, go and let a Gibbet be ſet up, and hang this Bougrer.

At which words the Miniſter was delivered into the hands of two Pages, who miſuſed him vilely. The Women of the City being ignorant Papiſts caught up dirt to throw in his face, and with extended outcries ſaid, Kill him, kill this varlet, who hath been the cauſe of the ſlaughter of ſo many. Much ado there was to hold off the Women from being revenged upon the poor Miniſter.

Whilſt the Pages had him thus in their handling, the Duke went into the Barn, to whom they preſented a great Bible, which they uſed for the ſervice of God. The Duke taking it into his hands, calling his Brother the Cardinal ſaid, Lo here the Title of the *Huguenot* Books. The Cardinal viewing it, ſaid, There is nothing but good in this Book, for it is the Bible, to wit, the holy Scriptures. The Duke being offended for that his anſwer ſuited not to his humor, grew into a greater rage than before, ſaying, Blood of God how now? what? the holy Scripture. It is a thouſand and 500 year ago ſince Jeſus Chriſt ſuffered his Death and paſſion, and it is but a year ſince theſe Books were imprinted, how then ſay you that this is the Goſpel? by the death of God you ſay you know not what. This unbridled fury of the Duke diſpleaſed the Cardinal, ſo as he was heard ſecretly to mutter; *An unworthy Brother.*

This Maſſacre continued a full hour, the Dukes Trumpeters ſounding the whilſt two ſeveral times. When any of theſe deſired to have mercy ſhewed them for the love of Jeſus Chriſt, the Murtherers in ſcorn would ſay unto them, you uſe the Name of Chriſt, but where is your Chriſt now become? And when they ſaid Lord God, they blaſphemingly would ſay, Lord Devil.

A grievous ſcorn.

There died in this Maſſacre within a few days fifty or threeſcore perſons; beſides theſe, there were about two hundred and fifty others, as well Men as Women, who were wounded and ſpoiled, whereof ſome died, ſome were maimed, loſing ſome a Leg, ſome an Arm; ſome their Fingers cut off from their Hands and carried away. The Poors Box, which was faſtened to the Door of the Church with two Iron-hooks, was wreſted thence, with twelve pounds therein, and never reſtored again. Nothing was to be ſeen in the Streets but Women with their hair hanging about their ears, faces beſmeared with blood, being wounded in many places with Swords and Daggers, with weepings and lamentations. Barbers and Chirurgeons were ſo ſet on work, that he that had leaſt had threeſcore under his hand to be dreſſed, and many periſhed for want thereof.

The Poors Mony violently taken away, and never after reſtored.

The Miniſter was kept cloſe Priſoner, ſo as for four and twenty hours none were permitted to ſupply him with any neceſſaries at all, nor any ſuffered to ſee him or ſpeak with him, and was oft threatned by his Keepers to be ſowed up in a Sack and drowned. Fain would they have drawn him to have kept his Eaſter after the Popiſh guiſe, under fair promiſes of his inlargment; but he would by no means conſent thereto. Thus continued he Priſoner until the eighth day of *May* 1563. at which time he was ſet free by the ſuit of the moſt Illuſtrious Prince of *Portien*.

Whilſt the Duke was at *Eſclairon*, the Lackeys and other of their ſort put to ſale, unto ſuch as would give moſt, Cloaks, Hats, Girdles, Coifs, Kerchiefs, with other things which they had ſpoiled the maſſacred of; Crying them with a loud voice, as if a common Crier had cried Houſhold-ſtuff to be ſold.

A memorable Deliverance.

ONe called *John of the Gardens*, having lived a long time with his Wife and Child (in regard of the preſent Troubles) abroad in the fields nigh to a City called *Seulis* in *France*, at length determining to go back again into the City, caſting himſelf and his upon the Providence of God, were met in the Suburbs by two of the City, who willed the Souldiers to put them to the Sword. The Mother of the Child kneeling down asked not her own life, but requeſted that if they muſt needs die, they would firſt kill her Child, becauſe ſeeing it die before her, ſhe might die with the leſs ſorrow, fearing leſt the poor Babe ſhould otherwiſe (in ſuch a time of trouble) be left to ſhift for it ſelf; which ſpeech of hers ſo wrought upon the Souldiers, that they ſaved all their lives.

The ſtrange deliverance of a godly Miniſter of the Church of Chaalons *in* Champaign *called* J.* Fournier, *after he had indured many hard uſages.*

* He at the firſt was Doctor of the *Sorbonniſts*; a man well learned and of an unblameable life.

FIrſt, being apprehended and ſpoiled of all that he had, they ſtripped him of his good Apparel, and then put an old thred-bare Cloak upon him, and carried him away in a Cart, in regard of a hurt which he had formerly gotten in one of his feet; by reaſon whereof he was diſabled to go, and ſo was conducted with infinite Jeſts broken upon him, and at every moment in danger of his life for ſix miles together, till he came to *Manehon*, where he had like to have been pulled in pieces by the rude multitude, but was preſerved notwithſtanding even by thoſe who had already determined to be his death; the Priſon alſo being nigh unto the Gate of the City.

The *13th* of *September*, a Captain called *Fraiſne* came to the Priſon where he was detained, accompanied with many Souldiers, who with mocks and threats mingled together ſware that within three hours he ſhould be hacked and hewed to pieces, and ſo ſhould be made a Maygame to all the City, with which words he left him. *Godet* the Kings Lieutenant with other of the Juſtices came in after him, demanding wherefore he was brought to S. *Manehon*, and forthwith commanded the Gaoler to load him with Irons, telling him in ſcorn, you are no better than St. *Peter* I am ſure, whom they laid in Iron. But if you have as much faith as he, God will then deliver you, as he did him, by ſending an Angel unto you. I will not, ſaid the Priſoner, compare my ſelf with St. *Peter:* yet it is not 12 years ago ſince (for preaching the ſame Doctrine that St. *Peter* did) I was impriſoned at *Toulouſe*, and yet admirably delivered: and though St. *Peter* was delivered out of Priſon, yet in the end he glorified God by his death. And if I ſhould be counted worthy to ſuffer with him for the Truth, may it not be ſaid that I have the like precious Faith as St. *Peter* had? but for that time he eſcaped thoſe bolts, having hurt his foot and leg very ſore at his apprehenſion: his Shackles at that time were turned into a far more ſtraight Priſon. Anno 1559.

The Duke of *Nevers* was a good Friend unto this *Fournier*, by whoſe mediation he was the rather ſpared. But the ſaid Duke receiving an hurt at *Dreux* whereof he died, and the Duke of *Guiſe* ſucceeding him in the government of *Champaign*, his Enemies began to renew their former grudge againſt him, who brought him to be examined by torture.

Where firſt they ſtrained both his Thumbs ſo hard with a ſmall Cord, that the blood came forth. Then turning his Arms behind his Back, they hoiſed him with a Rope put between his Thumbs ſo tied; twitching him up five or ſix times thereby, ſometimes letting him down, and then letting him hang again till his ſpirits and ſpeech failed him. But not content therewith they tied a great Stone to both the great Toes of his Feet, and then examined him; firſt if he had not a purpoſe to preach at *Verdun*, if the Company who conducted him thither came together; his anſwer was, That he could not determine to do that which he had no hope to perform, nor came it into his thought.

Then they asked him where he had thoſe Cloaths he wore, ſeeing he was but barely cloathed when he came into Priſon? He anſwered, That the Marqueſs *d'Ile* when ſhe ſent from *Chaalons*, ſent them unto him by her Taylor. Being further asked who taught him to refuſe his Judge; his anſwer was, That his own reaſon counſelled him ſo to do, and none elſe. This was the effect of that for which he was ſo miſerably tortured, and ſo in concluſion they let him fall with ſuch violence on his face, that he was grievouſly hurt thereon.

Being from thence removed to another Priſon according to their cuſtom for two or three hours, and then returned to that he was in before, he could not be permitted to have ſo much as a Chirurgion to cure him of the gaſhes the Cords had made in his Fleſh, even to the bare Bones: by reaſon whereof he continued in exceeding torment and anguiſh, not being able to bring his hands to his mouth, which were alſo ſo wrung, that he thought if God ſhould grant him life, yet he ſhould yet be deprived of the uſe of his Limbs.

His Indictment being framed, and his condemnation ſubſcribed by ſundry Judges thereunto appointed, ſome other being of another opinion diſappointed that determination. The News alſo of the Duke of *Guiſes* death coming in the neck of it, changed theſe Foxes into another ſhape. The Names of the principal whereof were *Cocot* and *Buſſi*. Some that had been his Judges coming into the Priſon, demanded of him if he bare them not ill-will: He anſwered that men of his Profeſſion and Religion ought not to malice any, no not their Enemies, being rather enjoyned by God to love and pray for thoſe that perſecuted them; ſhewing furthermore, that whatſoever troubles had befallen him were none other but ſuch as God had before ordained for the ſetting forth of his own glory; for which he eſteemed himſelf moſt happy: only he warned them to bethink themſelves well what wrong they had offered him, leſt the vengeance of God might ſometime or other overtake them.

This *Buſſi* was a Governor of *Champaigne*, a covetous Wretch, and an Enemy to Religion.

The next day, being the twelfth of *April*, *Buſſi*, having received Letters from the Conſtable for the enlargement of *Fournier*, being ſolicited thereto by the Captain of *la Tournelle*; inſtead of obeying the Conſtables command ſware that he ſhould be delivered indeed, that is to ſay, into the hands of the Multitude: and thus ſtiffly

Anno 1562. ſtiffly refuſing either the publication of the Letters, or to obſerve the Edict, cauſed three of his Priſoners of the Religion to be put into the Dungeon, becauſe he heard them ſing Pſalms.

In the mean while the Prince of *Portien* bringing back the *German* Souldiers, and paſſing by *Chaalons*, the cheif men of that City, fearing to be over-run, met him; whom he threatned to leave neither Village nor houſe ſtanding, unleſs they reſtored him the ſaid *Fournier* in ſafety. Which they promiſing to do at their return they ſo far prevailed with *Buſſi*, that he conſented to what they had ſo promiſed. And thus on the laſt of *April* (which was eight Months ſince *Fournier* was firſt impriſoned) the Leiutenant *Godet*, and the Abbot of *All-Saints*, with ſome others reſorted to him, declaring that they were willing now to ſet him at liberty? entreating him now to forgive and forget that which was paſt, that the Prince might ſee how forward they were to gratifie him herein. *Fournier* was brought into a Cathedral Church not far from the Priſon, where he found the Captain of the City with a great Company of armed men ready to conduct him out of the Town. But the place was forthwith beſet with People whom *Buſſi* to that purpoſe had ſtirred up, ſo that had it not been for thoſe who defended him within, and an extraordinary ſhower of Rain coming between of long continuance, which cauſed the greater part of the Seditious to depart, *Fournier* had hardly eſcaped their hands, if a means had not been found to let him out by a back door.

It is here to be noted, that upon the eighth day of *October* the Biſhop of *Chaalons* calling *Fournier* into his Garden, endeavoring to turn him from the faith, ſaid, I marvel how you, being an ancient Doctor in Divinity, of the age of fifty eight years, and ſo well learned in the Tongues, ſhould thus be led aſide with theſe Opinions, giving credit ſo ſuddenly to the writings of *Calvin* and others. To *Calvin*? ſaid *Fournier*, you ſhould rather have ſaid, by believing and giving credit to the Word of God.

Godet beſtirring him, and being now far more willing to ſave the ſaid *Fourniers* life, than he had been formerly to deprive him of it, in the evening bringing him to his own houſe, and Lodging him in his own Bed, did what he could the next day very early to ſend for the Keys of the City Gates. Which when he could not obtain of *Buſſi*, who kept the Gates faſt ſhut for fear of the *Swart Ruttors*, he then endeavoured to bring the ſaid *Fournier* ſecretly by a back way, to an houſe near to the Gate of the ſaid City; ſo as at eleven of the Clock, certain Coaches going out, he was ſhuffled out amidſt them, and himſelf brought him on the way about a quarter of a mile; where he was by and by received by thoſe who attended there for him, with a charge to bring him to their Prince, who at that time was in the Caſtle of *Songz*; Where he was kindly welcomed of the ſaid Lord, and of all his Friends beſides, having compaſſion on him, in regard that now being fifty eight years old, he had ſuffered ſo many hard encounters. And within two days after he preached before the Prince and all his Followers, and the day following, at the inſtant requeſt of thoſe of *Vitri*, went thither to preach and baptize Children, the Prince being preſent there in his own Perſon. At length *Fournier*, gathering a Church together at a place called *Ver*, ſpent ſome ſmall portion of time among his Flock there, with wonderful fruit: being ſore weakned when he was in Priſon, (what with ſtrait dyet, and the extremity of the torture) he ſoon after finiſhed his courſe, leaving to Poſterity a rare memory of his conſtancy and piety.

Savage cruelties committed upon the Perſons of the godly at Bar *upon* Seine.

SUch was the cruelty of the Executioners after they had ſlain thoſe of the Religion, that cleaving their bodies in twain, they ſtuck not to pluck their hearts thence, as they lay upon the ground, gnawing them between their Teeth, and ſo reaching them from one to another, ſaying, now they knew they had eaten the heart of an *Huguenot* before they died.

The violent rage of the Souldiers at Iſſondon, *who proceeded ſo far as to re-baptize the young Children of Proteſtants after the Popiſh manner.*

THe Souldiers in this City of *Iſſondon* took little Children who had been baptized by the Miniſters of the Church there, and cauſed them to be re-baptized by their Prieſts, impoſing upon them other names; yea, they re-baptized a Girl of thirteen years old, whom they preſented ſtark naked to the *Font*. Yet the young Infants which began only to ſpeak declared both by evident ſigns and words that they would not be re-baptized, ſo as a Girl of two years old, being brought naked to the *Font*, with much ſtruggling cryed with a loud voice, that their doings were too ſhameful; ſaying that ſhe would not be baptized again, and therewithal ſtrook the Prieſt with all the Power ſhe had. Alſo the Son of *Jean Haies*, of the ſame age, took the Prieſt by the Beard, and defended it ſelf as well as it could. But for all this the Prieſts would not give over.

Another barbarous cruelty committed by the Peſants of Freſnay *in the County of* Main.

IN the Village of *Freſnay*, diſtant about ſome ten miles from the City of *Mans*, a little after that thoſe of the Religion had forſaken the City, a certain Weaver called *Hagannot*, who was wont to read the prayers in the Aſſembly among ſome few of the godly in that place, was haled in the night out of his houſe by the Peſants there, who having cut his throat afterward filled his mouth with the Leaves of a New Teſtament which they found about him.

Execrable blaſphemies and outrages committed in the City of Angiers.

A Company of Rake-hels breaking into a Merchants houſe, found there many Bibles, which they burned in the City; but chooſing out a great Bible amongſt the reſt, gilt and fair ruled, they faſtned it upon the Point of an Halberd, and going thence, went in Proceſſion therewith through the High ſtreets of the City, with a great cry, ſaying, *Lo, here the Truth hangeth, the verity of the* Huguenots, *the Truth of all the Devils; lo, here the God, the mighty God hath ſpoken.* And in this manner they paſſed along until they came to the Bridge, where they threw it into the River, ſaying, *Behold the Truth of all the Devils drowned.*

Voila la verité pendue, la verité des Huguenots, la verité de tous les Diables: voila la Dieu le fort, l'eternel parlara, &c.

A ſtrange courſe to make Victuals Cheap.

IN the City of *Bloys*, whilſt thoſe of the Religion were cruelly handled, it ſo fell out, that in ſuch a diſorder even the Roman Catholicks themſelves drank with them of the ſame Cup; in regard whereof complaint was made on both parts, to the Duke of *Guiſe*, in hope of ſome redreſs. His anſwer was, that the Kingdom was but too much repleniſhed with People, and therefore his purpoſe was to cut off as many as he could, that ſo all kind of Victuals might be ſold better cheap.

An outrage done to poor Women, who met together to comfort one another.

THere was an honeſt Woman of the City of *Blois*, whoſe name was *Nichole*, the Wife of one *John le Manchet*, a maker of Sun-Dials, in whoſe houſe certain Neighbours meeting together to comfort and edifie one another, and to pray one with and for another, to the number of 9 or thereabouts, with their Daughters, theſe Murtherers hearing of it ran violently in among them, thinking to have found a Miniſter preaching to them; but when they ſaw how they were miſtaken, they dragged them out by the hair of the head into the midſt of the ſtreet; where loading them with abundance of ſtripes they caſt them into the River: in which calamity God endued them with ſuch ſtrength and skill, being unbound, that endeavouring to ſwim, at length they arrived at an Iſle: where being ſeiſed upon again by certain

Ferrimen they were ſtripped naked, and then thrown again into the River: and thinking yet to ſave themſelves, they were in the end knocked down by the Seditious in the Suburbs of *Vienna*.

A pitiful and Tragical Spectacle.

A Certain poor Woman of *Tours*, whoſe Husband they had not long before drowned, having an Infant about ſix or ſeven weeks old ſucking at her breaſts, and holding by the hand a Daughter of hers, very beautiful to look upon, of the Age of 15. or 16. years, was by many inſolencies haled to the River ſide, where having made her Prayer upon her knees, the Child ſucking at her breaſt, ſhe ſhifted it there in the Sun, and after laid it upon the graſs, then kneeling down again, commended it to God. Mean while this Iliſh-rabble uſed many words to turn the young Maiden from her Religion, ſome uſing ſore threats, others making her many fair promiſes. One of the Souldiers, being a braver gallant than the reſt, promiſed her marriage, ſo as the poor wench ſtood in a mammering, not knowing what to do. Her Mother ſeeing her wavering, earneſtly exhorted her to perſiſt in the Truth, her ſelf being at that inſtant ready to be plunged into the Water. The Daughter beholding ſuch an outrage, crying out uſed theſe words (all which was afterwards teſtified by thoſe who were conſenting to this murther, being alſo converted themſelves by ſuch a rare example of conſtancy) I will, ſaid ſhe, live and die with my Mother, whom I know to be a vertuous Woman: as for your threats and promiſes I regard them not, do with me as you pleaſe. The Mother was not yet dead when theſe mercileſs wretches threw in the Daughter after her, who making towards her Mother and they both embracing each other, yielded up their Souls into the hands of God. The poor Infant was taken up by a Souldier, who, having kept it a day and a night from the Breaſt, laid it the next day in a Church-porch, whence being taken up, and given to a Nurſe to keep, it would never take the Breaſt after, but within two days it died.

An Hiſtory containing the ſingular conſtancy of a Chriſtian Woman, together with her gracious Anſwers to her adverſaries.

IN the ſame City of *Tours*, the death of an honeſt Matron called *Glee* is very remarkable. This Woman having much profited in the knowledge of Gods Word, was preſented before *Chavigny*, before whom ſhe gave a reaſon of her Faith, confirmed by Teſtimonies of Scripture, with ſuch conſtancy in the preſence of certain Friers and Prieſts, that in the end they gave her no other anſwer but this, that ſhe was in a dammable eſtate. It ſeems ſo indeed, ſaid ſhe, being now in your hands; but I have a God that will neither leave nor forſake me for all that. Thou haſt, ſaid they, renounced the Faith. It is true ſaid ſhe, I have renounced your Faith; which I am able to ſhew is rejected and accurſed of God, and therefore deſerves not ſo much as to be called Faith. Upon this they committed her to Priſon, where ſhe was again ſolicited to recant; to which purpoſe they ſent certain Women unto her into the Priſon; but all in vain: for on the contrary ſhe ſpake her mind freely, and comforted the Priſoners which were in the ſame Priſon with her for Religion.

Now it happened one morning, as ſhe was about to take ſome bodily refreſhing, News was brought her that ſhe was condemned to be hanged with three men alſo. Which News ſhe received with ſuch joy and rejoycing, that the Officer had no ſooner ended his meſſage, but forthwith ſhe kneeling on her knees began to praiſe and magnifie the name of God, in that he had ſhewed her ſo much mercy, as to deliver her by ſuch a kind of death out of the troubles of this wretched world; as alſo for that it pleaſed the Lord to honour her ſo far as to die for his Truth, and to wear his Livery, meaning the Halter which the Hangman had now put about her neck. Then ſitting down at Table to break her faſt with the reſt of the Company, giving thanks to God, ſhe exhorted them to be of good courage, and to truſt unto the end in his free and only mercy. Laſtly, having ſent her Children ſome ſuch ſmall trifles as ſhe then had about her, Anno 1562
ſhe called for a clean Linnen Waſtecote, making her ſelf ready, as if ſhe had been going to a Wedding.

Being conducted thus with the reſt of the Priſoners about two of the Clock in the afternoon, and paſſing by St. *Martins* Church, ſhe was commanded to receive a Torch into her hand, and to acknowledge ſhe had offended God and the King, Away, away ſaid ſhe, with it; I have neither offended God nor the King, according to your meaning, nor in reſpect of the cauſe for which I ſuffer. I am, I confeſs, a ſinful Woman; but I need no ſuch light, forwhelping me to ask forgiveneſs of God for my ſins paſt or preſent: uſe ſuch things your ſelves, who ſit and walk in the darkneſs of ignorance and error.

Then one of her kinsfolks met her in the way, and preſented unto her view her little Children, praying her to have compaſſion on them, ſeeing that by renouncing her Religion ſhe might yet preſerve her life, and ſee them provided for. Upon this meeting her motherly affection cauſed her to ſhed plenty of Tears: but by and by taking unto her new courage, I *muſt needs tell you*, ſaid ſhe, *that I love my Children dearly: but yet neither for love I bear to them or any thing elſe in this world, will I renounce the Truth, or my God, who is and will be a Father unto them, to provide better for them than I could have done; and therefore to his providence and protection I commend and leave them*; and ſo paſſed on chearfully without being any further daunted.

Drawing nigh to the place of execution, ſhe called upon God without ceaſing, lifting her hands up to Heaven. Now the men which came with her being ready to ſuffer, when ſhe ſaw them about to die ſilent, and not to call on God, ſhe exhorted them thereto, and began aloud to rehearſe the Confeſſion of ſins, which begins thus, *Lord God Almighty and everlaſting Father*, &c. and ſo continuing forth the ordinary prayers, reciting alſo the Lords Prayer, and the Articles of the Creed, ſhe with much peace and joy in the holy Ghoſt finiſhed her life.

A Note touching the King of Navarre *that then was.*

DUring the ſiege of *Rovan*, *Anthony ſo Bourbon* King of *Navarre*, being forſaken of his faithful Friends and Servants for conniving with the Camp of *Triumvirat*, was ſhot into the right ſhoulder with an *Harquebuſs*, the fifteenth day of *October*, whereof he died the ſeventeenth day following. Not many hours before his death, with Tears in his eyes, he asked pardon of God, making confeſſion of his Faith, according to the form then uſed amongſt thoſe of the Religion; proteſting that if he might be cured of his wound he would cauſe the Goſpel to be preached throughout all the Kingdom of *France*. He was a Prince endowed with many good gifts of God, naturally of a gentle diſpoſition, and yet a valorous and couragious Wariour, but ſo addicted to follow his pleaſures and delights, that to enjoy them, he eaſily abandoned the care of his more weighty affairs, and ſo was ſubject to no ſmall inconvenience, namely to be ill ſerved and obeyed; in the mean while neglecting the Services of ſuch as had been his loyal and affectionate Subjects: An inperfection which hath coſt *France* a million of mens lives, with innumerable ruines beſides; an end whereof is not ſuddenly to be expected.

And yet but eight days before, through ill counſel and the ſolicitation of the Biſhop of *Mande* (one of them that betrayed him) he was coſeſſed in the ear of the official of *Revan*, and communicated after the Popiſh manner.

The death and Martyrdom of Auguſtine Marlorat, *one of the Miniſters of the reformed Church in* Rovane *as alſo of three other Perſonages, who ſuffered with him at the ſame time*, Anno, 1562.

AMongſt the garboyls which by the Seditious were moved at *Rovan*, Captain Saint *Eſtevo* ſeized upon the bodies of *Auguſtine Marlorat*, of *Du-Boſck*, Sieur *de Mandreville*, *Cruchet*, Sieur *de Soquence*, and *Noel Cotton*. *Mandreville* perceiving this Captain to be no well willer of theirs, yet promiſed him a thouſand Crowns, if he would ſave his life and the life of *Marlorat*, one of their Miniſters: weich he having promiſed to do, by and by he ſhewed him the place whereinto *Marlorat*, was retired, namely a Tower into which himſelf, his Wife and Children were put, with ſome others. Thus being both brought together, the door was preſently faſt ſhut upn them.

The

Anno 1562. The ſeven and twentieth of *October* the Conſtable (accompanied with the Duke of *Guiſe*) coming to view the place, deſired to ſee *Marlorat*, to whom he ſaid, you are he who have ſeduced the People. To which he replyed, That if he had ſeduced them, it was God that had been the doer of it rather than he; for, ſaid he, I have preached nothing unto them but his Divine Truth. The Conſtable told him, that he was a Seditious perſon, and the cauſe of the ruine of that City. To which he anſwered, As for that imputation, I refer my ſelf to all that have heard me preach, be they Papiſts or Proteſtants, whether I ever medled with matters of Politick State or no: but contrariwiſe have according to my ability, labored to inſtruct them out of the holy Scriptures. The Conſtable with an Oath replyed, That he and his abettors plotted together to make the Prince of *Conde*, King, the Admiral Duke of *Normandy*, and *Andelot* Duke of *Britain*. To which *Marlorat* anſwering and teſtifying the innocency of thoſe Noble Perſonages, gat only this for his labour, the Conſtable told him (confirming it with a ſolemn Oath, that within a few days he ſhould ſee whether his God could deliver him out of his hands or no; and ſo departed in great rage.

Not long after, theſe four, to wit, *Marlorat*, *Mandreville*, *Soquence* and *Cotton*, and other chief men of the Church were brought into the Palace. But the names of the four above ſpecified were only taken, and forthwith their Indictment drawn; whence preſently ſucceeded the Sentence at the inſtance of *Bigot* Advocate for the King: which Sentence here followeth.

The Court having been informed by the Interrogatories and confeſſions of the Seditious in the City of *Rovan*, and other parts of the Country, namely by Mr. *Jo. Boſc* of *Mandreville*, Preſident of the Court of Requeſts in *Rovan*, *Vincent Gruchet* Seignior of *Soquence*, an antient Counſellor in the ſaid City, *Noel Cotton* Seignior of *Barthonville*, the Kings Notary and Secretary, and Counſellor alſo of the ſaid City with *Auguſtine Marlorat* Preacher and Miniſter in the ſaid City, Monk and Prieſt, having a wife, being all Priſoners in the * *Conſciergery* of the ſaid Court; concluſions againſt them being taken by the Kings Attorny General, all and every thing and circumſtance conſidered, the Court hath and doth declare the four Perſons aforeſaid guilty and convicted of high Treaſon in every particular: for the puniſhment and ſatisfaction whereof the Court hath adjudged and doth adjudge the ſaid *Boſc* to be drawn naked, only a ſhirt upon him, on a Sled or Hurdle, into the old Market place, and there to be beheaded upon the Scaffold of the City; which done, his head to be ſet upon a Pole and placed upon the Bridge of the ſaid City; and his Body divided into four parts to be ſet upon four Gibbets, for a Spectacle to the beholders.

And as touching *Gruchet* and *Cotton* it is decreed, that they ſhall alſo be drawn in like manner upon a Sled before the Town-houſe of the City, there to be hanged upon a Gibbet, and afterwards their heads, being ſeperated from their bodies, to be affixed and ſet upon the Bridg of the ſaid City, and afterwards to be carried to the Gibbet.

And as touching the ſaid *Morlorat*, the Court teſtifies that he is attainted and guilty of being one of the Authors of the great aſſemblies, which have been the cauſe of Rebellion and Civil Wars. And therefore as a puniſhment, to ſatisfie the Law for theſe Crimes, the Court hath condemned and doth condemn the ſaid *Marlorat* otherwiſe called *Paſquier*, to be drawn upon a Sled, and to be hanged upon a Gibbet before our Ladies Church in *Rovan*: this done, his head to be ſtriken off from his Body, and ſet upon a Pole upon a Bridge of the ſaid City. All their Goods and heritages to be confiſcate to the Kings uſe, &c.

And underneath it was written;

This preſent Sentence was pronounced and executed in the preſence of the Lords and Commiſſaries,

Alexander Moyſi, Morterule, *and* Sirend *Meſſengers, the laſt of* October, Anno 1562.

Mandreville at his death ſhewed a wonderful conſtancy, expecting the ſtroke without being bound, calling earneſtly upon God, ſpeaking in the juſt defence of the reformed Churches, in the Faith of which Doctrine he proteſted he was now preſt to yield up his Soul into the hands of God. The death of Mandrevil.

As touching *Auguſtine Marlorat*, a man excellently learned, and of an unblamable life, who had the Teſtimony even of the Papiſts themſelves, that in his Sermons he never uttered ought that tended to Sedition or Rebellion: they were not content to ſee him drawn upon a Hurdle with ſhame and contempt, but alſo the Conſtable loaded him with a thouſand diſgraces and outrages; as alſo a Son of his called *Nombron* ſlain ſoon after in the Battle of *Dreux*. Beſides, *Villebon* gave him a ſwitch with a Wand, not without reproachful ſpeeches alſo. But he notwithſtanding bare all indignities very meekly and patiently. *Marlorat* uſed diſgracefully as he went to be executed.

When he was come to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, he made an excellent ſpeech, according as the time there permitted him; exhorting *Gruchet* and *Cotton*, who were to ſuffer with him, to ſtand faſt in the Faith unto the end: which they alſo did. And yet the rage of the People not being herewith ſatisfied, a Soldier with his Sword ſtrook at *Marlorats* Leg, being already dead. Upon which inſolencies God within a while after executed his juſt vengeance; for the Captain who ſurpriſed *Marlorat* was ſlain within the ſpace of three weeks by one of the baſeſt Soldiers in all the band. And as concerning his Judges, two of them died ſoon after ſtrangely; namely one of them, to wit the Preſident, by a flux of Blood, which they could by no means ſtanch: the other (which was a Councellor) making Water at his Fundament, with ſuch ſtinch, that none could endure to come nigh him. His behaviour at his death. Strange judgments of God befalling ſuch as had an hand in perſecuting of him.

As for *Villebon*, he eſcaped at no better rate; for the 16th day of *February* the Marſhal *Vieille* of *Ville*, coming to *Rovan* to take order about the affairs of *Diepe*, having invited him to Dinner, among other talk between them, ſitting together after they had dined, the Marſhal lamenting the miſerable eſtate of that City, exhorted *Villebon* to uſe ſome means for the redreſs of ſuch diſorders, being the Kings Leiutenant there. Which words *Villebon* took very harſhly, ſaying, That if any would dare to tax him for not carrying himſelf as he ought in his place, he would again tell him to his face he lyed. Which words (with often repetitions) he uſed after ſuch a manner, as the Marſhal being therewith very much urged, was forced for ſaving of his honour to draw his Sword; wherewith he let drive with ſuch violence at *Villebon*, that if he had not received the blow with his hand, he had cleft his head down to his Teeth. So *Villebon* eſcaped at that time with the loſs of his hand, wherewith he had diſhonorably ſmitten *Marlorat* at the place of execution. Which hand he cauſed to be buried with greater ſolemnity than himſelf could attain unto afterwards.

A relation of ſuch troubles and perſecutions as happened to thoſe of the Religion in the City of Caen *and other Cities of* France, *as hereafter follow in the year* 1562.

Caen.

Such and ſo long continued the Troubles in the City of *Rovan*, that many were driven to eſcape for their lives into this City of *Caen*; For albeit the King had commanded, that the pillaging and ſacking of *Rovan* ſhould not laſt above twenty four hours, the Seditious there continued it above twenty four weeks; and albeit they were forbidden to carry any goods out of that City, yet the Merchants of *Paris*, of *Amiens*, *Beauvais*, and others beſides, ceaſed not to load Carts by Land, and Veſſels by Water: which ſome of them notwithſtanding enjoyed not long; for ſuch as were the receivers of theſe ſpoils were ſpoyled thereof by Thieves which met them upon the way.

Valougnes.

THe Body of *Coqueville* being ſtripped naked, was dragged by the Murtherers (of this Town, being in Low *Normandy*) up and down his houſe with all deriſion into a Chamber of his, where the Exhortations were wont to be made; and there ſpurning the dead Body with their feet, they *bade him now pray to his God, and preach if he could*; Yea, the Prieſts who were then preſent ſtuck not with the points of their Halbards to ſtuff the mouths and wounds of the Dead with the Leaves of Bibles, ſaying to the poor dead Corps, *Preach the truth of your God, and call upon him now to help you.*

Thalouſe.

A Trumpeter and the Common Cryer in the City called *Nicholas Boſche*, being commanded by the Seditious to ſay *Ave Maria*, anſwered with a ſtedfaſt countenance, *Ah, the bleſſed Virgin! where is ſhe that I might ſalute her?* Then looking about him this way, and that way, he ſaid, *I ſee ſhe is not here, ſhe is in Heaven, and thither will I go to find her*; and ſo being brought to the place of Execution, he died conſtantly.

Gaillac.

THe Murthers which were committed in this place were cruel and horrible; inſomuch as ſome were forced to go up to the top of an high and great Rock, whereon the Abbey of St. *Michael* was built, having underneath it the River of *Tar* very deep, into which they were thrown down headlong, meeting in the paſſage with another Rock, on which ſome were burſt and daſhed all to pieces; and if any fell into the River eſcaping with life, he was knocked down immediately by the Murtherers, who attended waiting in Boats upon ſuch occaſions.

Among the reſt *Peter Domo*, the Servant of an Apothecary, requeſted he might have leave to caſt himſelf from a place higher than that from which others were thrown down; on condition that if God ſhould in the fall preſerve him from being hurt he might then eſcape with life. He was carried up upon the top of the Abbey, where having made his Prayers unto God, fetching his leap, he flew ſo right forth, that miſſing the Rock, he fell ſafely into the River, whence endeavouring to ſwim out he alſo was knocked down, notwithſtanding their Promiſe made to him as touching the contrary.

Souraize.

A Poor Woman called *Caſtille Roques* being a Widow, aged about ſixty years, being in her poor Cottage in the City of *Souraize*, was ſet upon by Captain *Durre*, having at his command three hundred men. He cauſed this Widow to be faſt bound with Cords, with another faſtened about her neck all night. The next day having half ſtrangled her here and there, he asked how oft ſhe had played the Whore with thoſe of her Religion: to whom ſhe boldly anſwered, That in their Chriſtian meeting no ſuch Villanies were committed. *Durre*, fretting and fuming at this her anſwer, took her by both the Cheeks, forcing her Head againſt a Wall with ſuch violence, and ſo often therewithal, that he had almoſt beaten out her Brains, and then willed her to give him ſeven hundred pieces of Gold, which ſhe ſaid ſhe had hidden: to which ſhe replying told him, ſhe was a poor Woman, and had only a French Penny; Un Tournois. he chafing thereat drew her again by the Neck with the Cord, and then applied roaſted Eggs even as they came hot out of the fire under her Arm-holes, ſo as they were much bliſtered therewith, and afterwards in deriſion bade her cry to her Father which is in Heaven. She anſwered, *I will not cry aloud for thee, and yet he can hear me well enough, and when his will is, he will alſo deliver me out of thy hands*; being more afflicted with the Blaſphemies which this Varlet uttered, than with all the torments which ſhe endured on her Body. He having bemauled her Shins with the Pattens ſhe wore upon her Feet, ſhe told him his cruelty far exceeded that of the Turks and Infidels.

Whereupon he calling her *Huguenot* Whore, told her, That theſe were but the beginnings of her ſorrows, ſo as if ſhe did not diſcloſe unto him ſeven hundred pieces of Gold, he would draw her Cheeks and Breaſts with Lard, and then faſten her to a Form and burn her quick, and after mount her up to the higheſt Steeple in the City, and caſt her thence down headlong. *Well*, ſaid ſhe, *though my Body fall never ſo low, that ſhall not let my Soul from being carried up into Heaven.* This Captain being herewith more inflamed with ire than before, ſeeing that none of theſe Cruelties could ſhake the faith and conſtancy of this poor Woman, he ſaid unto her, Eat this Sugar, taking Loam or Mortar from off the Wall, cauſing her to open her mouth with his Dagger, and to ſwallow it down. But not contenting himſelf therewith, the Villain forced her to drink a glaſs of Urine, which himſelf had made in her preſence, and then threw the Glaſs, with what remained therein, in her face. Laſtly, he cauſed her to paſs along through the Troops of Souldiers, with intention to have had her ſlain among them: yet compaſſion moving them to ſpare her, he brought her into his Lodging, where this inraged Wolf by ſtrange Cruelties would have cauſed her to loſe her life, had not ſome of the Inhabitants by giving him ten Crowns redeemed her, and ſo conveyed her to her own houſe, where within a ſhort time after ſhe finiſhed her days. Anno 1562.

One buried alive.

PEter Roch, Servant to the Lieutenant of *Dignes*, being met withal in the Country, was buried alive; they conſtrained him to dig his own Grave himſelf, and ſo tried whether it were large enough or no; unto which he was compelled by *Bartholomew Chauſe-groſſe* and his Complices.

Provence.

Two Women Crowned with Thorns.

THe Wife of *Andrew Renaud* being brought through St. *Martins* of *Caſtillon* was ſtripped ſtark naked; and reſiſting ſuch as would have violated her Chaſtity, ſhe was whipped outragiouſly, then wounded with Swords, crowned with Thorns, then caſt into the River, and laſtly ſhot to death with Harquebuſſes.

Jannenta Calvin, of the place of *Cella*, being of the age of Eighty years, brought into the City of *Brignole* with a crown of Thorns platted upon her head, being whipped till the blood came exceedingly, was firſt ſtoned and then burned alive.

Maſcon.

THe Murtherers in this City having ſeiſed upon the Body of *Bonnet Bor* in *Maſcon*, one of the moſt noble Houſes of the ſame, a man of great Learning and of an unblameable life, who in other places had ſerved in the Miniſtry 20 years, having been ranſomed three ſeveral times, was carried along with a thouſand Scoffs and ſtumps; ſmitten with fiſts through the Corners of the Streets, with crying, *That whoſoever would hear this devout and holy man preach, ſhould come to the Slaughter-houſe.* Whither having brought him, they buffeted him and mocked him two full hours.

He only requeſted before he died, that they would permit him to make his Prayers to God. Whereupon cutting off the one half of his Noſe, and one of his Ears, they ſaid, *Now pray as long as thou wilt, and then we will ſend thee to all the Devils.* Then he kneeled down, and lifting up his eyes to heaven prayed with ſuch fervency of Spirit, that he cauſed ſome of his Murtherers to ſigh within themſelves.

Then directing his Speech to him who had cut off his Noſe, he ſaid, *Friend, I am here ready to ſuffer what thou haſt yet further to inflict upon me. But this I intreat of thee and thy Companions, to bethink you well of the outrages committed by you againſt this poor City; for know there is a God before whoſe Tribunal you muſt give an account of theſe your Cruelties.* At theſe words the blood iſſued ſo faſt out of his Noſe, that it hindred him from proceeding on in that he was about to have ſaid.

A

Anno 1565.

A Captain paſſing by cryed to the Souldiers, Send this wretched man to the Devil. Which one of them hearing, took him by the hand, and brought him to the brim of the River *Saone*, ſomewhat above the Slaughter houſe, pretending to waſh and cleanſe him from the Blood wherewith his viſage was beſmeared, conducting him to a Boat for this purpoſe; into which he was no ſooner entred, but he there preſently turned him over into the River; wherein he ſtriving for life, and crying to God for mercy, theſe Tyrants battered him with ſtones till he ſunk under the water and ſo died.

See here in part (ſaith the Hiſtoriographer) the lamentable eſtate of the Poor Churches of *France*, during the firſt troubles, which ended with the end of the Duke of *Guiſe*, the principal actor therein; who was ſlain at the Siege of *Orleance*, not without the immediate Hand of God, in the year 1562. by a poor gentleman whoſe name was *John Poltrot*, a man very deſperat, but of ſmal ſtature, and therefore commonly called the little *Spaniard*; who ſhooting the Duke into the Shoulder with a Piſtol, as he was riding to his Tent in an evening upon a little Nagg, was for the ſame fact adjudged to be drawn in pieces by four horſes, his head to be cut off, and his torn Body to be burnt to aſhes.

A very comfortable Letter written by Wouter Oom *Priſoner and Martyr in the City of* Antwerpe, *and full of Conſolation againſt the fear of perſecution: directed to a Brother and Sister of his.*

Grace and Peace from God the Father, and from his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord Amen.

WElbeloved Brother and Siſter, whom I love dearly for the truths ſake and for your Faith in Chriſt Jeſus. Theſe are to certifie you that I am in Bodily health, and enjoy the comfort of a good Conſcience, I praiſe my Lord God therefore, who is able to increaſe the ſame more and more, by the powerful operation of his holy Spirit. Whoſoever they be that will forſake this preſent evil world, and become followers of their Captain Chriſt, muſt make account to meet with many perſecutions and afflictions: for Chriſt hath told us aforehand, that we ſhould be hated, perſecuted, and baniſhed out of the world, for his names ſake. And this they will do, ſaith he, becauſe they have neither known the Father, nor me. But be not afraid, ſaith he, for I have overcome the world. St. *Paul* alſo witneſſeth the ſame thing, ſaying, all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt ſuffer perſecution. And again, to you it is given for Jeſus Chriſt not onely to believe in him, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. And doth not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſay, bleſſed are you when men perſecute you and ſpeak all manner of evil falſely againſt you for my name ſake? Rejoyce therefore and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. Now whereto ſerveth all this, my beloved, but to bring us into a conformity with our Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt? For Chriſt hath ſuffered for us, ſaith the Apoſtle Saint *Peter*, leaving us an example, that we ſhould walk in his ſteps: who alſo endured the Croſs, and deſpiſed the ſhame, for the obtaining of that joy which was ſet before him, and became poor to make us rich, 2 *Cor.* 8. 9.

Mat. 10. 12. John 16. 3. 2 Tim. 3. 12. Phil. 1. 24. Mat. 5. 11. 12. 1 Pet. 2. 21. Heb. 12. 2.

By him alſo are we brought by Faith into that ſtate of Grace wherein we ſtand, rejoycing in the hope of the glory of God, knowing that tribulation worketh patience, &c. Wherefore dear Brother and Siſter, be not afrayd of the fiery tryal which is now ſent amongſt us to prove us. For what Father loving his Child doth not correct it? Even ſo doth the Lord chaſtiſe thoſe whom he loveth: for if we ſhould be without correction, whereof all True Chriſtians are partakers, then were we Baſtards and not Sons. And therefore *Salomon* ſaith, my Son, deſpiſe not the chaſtening of the Lord, neither faint when thou are corrected of him; for whom the Lord loveth, the ſame he correcteth, even as a Father the Son in whom he delighteth. Fear not then to follow the footſteps of Chriſt; for he is the head and we are his members. Even as Chriſt then hath obtained full joy and glory by ſufferings of anguiſhes and ſorrows; ſo we alſo according to his example muſt through many tribulations enter into the heavenly places, even into the new *Jeruſalem*. Let us then ſay with Saint *Paul*, Chriſt unto me is in life and in death advantage. Let us cry out with him, O wretched creatures that we are, who ſhall deliver us from this Body of death? See here how the faithful have deſired to be with Chriſt: for with *Abraham* they had an eye to that holy City, whoſe builder and maker is God. Let us then, my beloved, cheerfully and willingly follow the Lord, poſſeſſing our Souls by patience. For it is a good thing, as ſaith the Prophet *Jeremiah*, both to hope and quietly to wait for the Salvation of the Lord; and good alſo it is for a man to bear the yoke in his youth, for ſuch the Lord will comfort in the end, and reſtore unto them the joy of his Salvation.

Rom. 5. 2. Heb. 12. Prov. 3. 11. 12. Acts 14. 22. Phil. 1. 21. Rom. 7. 24. Heb. 11. 10. Lam. 3. 26.

Loe here dear Brother and Siſter, what Conſolations our God hath treaſured up for us in his holy Word; for us I ſay, whoſe deſire it is to fear the Lord, and to truſt in his grace and mercy. For the Salvation of the Righteous is of the Lord: he is their ſtrength in the time of trouble. Wherefore (q) giving all diligence, let us add to Faith vertue, and to vertue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godlineſs, and to godlineſs Brotherly kindneſs, and to Brotherly kindneſs love; for if theſe things be in us and abound, they will cauſe us neither to be idle nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: The which God our Father grant us for his Sons ſake our Lord, *Amen.*

Pſal. 37. 39. (q) 2 Pet. 1. 5, 6, 7, 8.

Out of my hole, December *the eleventh,* 1562.

Wouter Oom *Priſoner for the Truth.*

Now becauſe ye may ſee that this Letter was not without its effect, hearken to the Relation of the Hiſtory following.

THere was one *John Wolfe* of the City of *Audenard*, who becauſe he could no longer inhabit there, without either the danger of his life, or wounding of Conſcience, his Wife being great with Child, and as yet but weak in the knowledge of the Goſpel, he was forced for theſe reſpects to joyn himſelf to the aſſembly of the Church in *Antwerp*, where thinking himſelf in ſafety, a Neighbour of his owing him ill will accuſed him to the Margrave about the Baptiſing of his Child. Whereupon being then committed, and examined where and in whoſe preſence his Child was Baptized, he without ſtraggering anſwered, that he had it Baptiſed according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, by a Miniſter ſet apart to that Office. The Margrave, not content with this anſwer, often preſſed him with ſundry threats of the Torture to accuſe ſuch as he knew. But the ſharpeſt combat he endured was from his own Fleſh, Counſelling him during his Impriſonment, for the ſafegard of his life, to diſſemble and halt between two opinions. The cauſe was from the inward affection he bore towards his Wife and Child, being yet but young and of ſingular beauty; in regard whereof many of the Congregation expected no other but that he would ſink under this Tryal.

But in the midſt of theſe Aſſaults hee was heard, with Prayers and ſighs, to cry nightily to God to bee delivered from the temptation. Which Prayers of his were heard in due ſeaſon, even then when in the judgment of man he was ſuppoſed to be overcome thereof, means was made of bringing to his hands conſolatory Letters: as alſo the ſaid *Wouter Oom* then Priſoner with him, comforted him not a little by his Letters. Whereby in the end he contiued ſo ſtrong in the Lord, as alſo conſtant in the Confeſſion of the truth, that in concluſion he received the ſentence of Death with the aforeſaid *Wouter*. After which his Wife came unto him, and they were permitted to talk together, burſting out each of them inin ſuch abundance of tears, that it would have moved the moſt ſtony heart that ever was. At parting, with a bitter cry hee commended her to Gods mighty protection, and his Child to be trained up in the True Religion. Soon after, hee was drowned in the Tub or Fat of the Priſon, and

Whither we ought to fly in time of temptation.

and the next hanged upon one of the *Gibbets* near unto the City.

A Relation of the troubles and Martyrdom of Chriſtian Quekere, Jaques Dionſſart, *and* Jean de Salomez *of* Steenwerk *in* Flanders.

To whom God gave ſuch ability to anſwer their enemies demands, as if they had come from perſons much more learned. Which ſhewes, that God meaſures out to all the gifts and Graces of his Holy Spirit, according to his good will and pleaſure.

WHileſt the perſecution continued at this time in ſundry places of *Flanders*; under *Philip* King of *Spain*, and that many fled into *England* under the protection of Queen *Elizabeth*; theſe three above mentioned were of the ſame number, who joyned themſelves to the Dutch Church in *London*, having given publique Teſtimony of their Faith before all the Congregation. In which place they continued not long, but they were conſtrained upon ſome ſpecial occaſions to return into their own Countrey again taking boat about the end of *June*, *Anno* 1560.

They were no ſooner arrived at *Neiuport*, but two of them, to wit, *James* and *Jean*, endeavored to paſs on to *Honſcot*, leaving *Chriſtian* to come at his leiſure, becauſe he was not well at eaſe, having alſo a fardel of ſmall Books of Religion.

The Bailif with ſome others meeting him upon the way, asked him whence he came and whither he was going, as alſo what he was. *Chriſtian* framed them ſuch an anſwer that they could take no advantage againſt him (travelling as he did upon the way) only they ſpied about him that fardel of Books, by occaſion whereof they brought him back into the City: and having learned that he came over with two others, the Bailif forthwith ſent his lieutenant towards *Honſcot*; who ſo wilily handled the matter, that in the end he caught them, and brought them bound to the City of *Furn*. Where for a few days they were Priſoners together with the foreſaid *Chriſtian*; in which condition they mutually comforted and encouraged one another: but their Adverſaries ſoon ſeparated them, thinking thereby to weaken their ſtrength, conſtancy, and fortitude.

Upon the firſt of their interrogatories (which was about the third and fourth of *July*) they asked *James* why he ſeparated from the Church of *Rome*.

Anſ. Becauſe it is not the Church of Chriſt.

Queſt. How know you that?

Anſwer. Becauſe it hath neither the Word of God ſoundly preached, the Sacraments duly adminiſtred, nor the Eccleſiaſtical Diſciplin after a right manner executed. *James* gave good and ſolid reaſons hereof; ſhewing, that in their Church was taught, that Souls muſt be ſaved by ſaying of Maſs, long prayers, Invocation of Saints, Pilgrimages, with other ſuch vain and deceivable hopes; yea, ſaid the Prieſt, do you thus judge of thoſe who give to Jeſus Chriſt Bread when he is hungry, and drink when he is thirſty, and cloath him being naked, &c. And ſo went on with multiplying many words, not ſuffering the ſaid *James* to finiſh what he was about to have ſaid. Others asked him if he could prove that they had not the true adminiſtration of Baptiſm.

Anſwer. You have ſo obſcured it with your own additions, that a man can ſcarce diſcern it to be Baptiſm.

Queſt. What think you then of your own Baptiſm.

Anſw. Were I now to be Baptiſed, I would not receive it from your Church, ſo well it likes me that I have received it from you. Being demanded what he ſaid to the Sacrament of the Altar, he proved evidently how farr off it was from the firſt inſtitution of the Lords Supper. And as concerning the Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, he uttered more of their corrupting of it, then they were willing to hear.

After this, they were examined by two Friers, who were choſen out for the purpoſe; one of them was *John Campo*, ſuperintendent of the Gray Friers of *Dixmude*, the other was called *Peter Pennet Prior* of the Carmelites in *Ypre*. Theſe two examined the three Priſoners firſt upon the Articles of the Faith; and then, if they believed that Chriſt was made of the ſeed of the Woman? *James* anſwered, we are all perſwaded that Jeſus Chriſt was made of the ſeed of the Woman, according as God hath promiſed, *Gen.* 3. 15. Moreover, of the ſeed of *Abraham*, Gal. 4. and of *David*; and that he was in all things made like Rom. 1. 3. Heb. 4. 15. unto his Brethren, Sin only excepted.

Anno 1566.

After many other queſtions upon divers points, they were asked, whether in the Conſecration of the Maſs the Body of Chriſt was preſent there or no? No, ſaid *James*, It is nothing like the Lords Supper which Chriſt gave to them that ſate at Table with him: According to which inſtitution the faithful being aſſembled together, *Acts* 2. 42. brake Bread, &c. Nor ſhall ye find in the Scriptures, that one alone receiveth, and that the reſt ſtood and looked on. And if Saint *Paul* juſtly challenged the *Corinthians*, becauſe every one was forward to eat his own ſupper apart, much more are ye worthy of their Reprehenſion. I do therefore rank you amongſt thoſe falſe Prophets which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath warned us of, who will ſay thus unto us, *Lo, here is Chriſt, and there he is.* 1 Cor. 11. 20. Mat. 24. 23.

Hereunto the Adverſaries replyed, Doth not Chriſt in expreſs words ſay, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*?

Anſwer. The words muſt not be taken as they ſound in a literal ſence, for ſo they ſhall have no agreement with other like places of Scripture. You know the words belonging to the antient Sacraments were expounded by the Holy Ghoſt himſelf; Circumciſion is called the Covenant, and the Lamb is called the Paſſeover, albeit they were but the ſigns thereof.

They asked if God were not omnipotent.

Yes, ſaid *James*, but yet he will do nothing againſt his Word.

Queſt. If the Bread be not changed, why doth Saint *Paul* affirm, That whoſoever eats of this Bread unworthily, eats judgment to himſelf, not diſcerning the Lords Body. 1 Cor. 11. 29.

We acknowledge all this, ſaid they, becauſe a man ought to examin himſelf, before he preſume to come to that Holy Banquet; for in the Supper we receive not only Bread and Wine, but do alſo truly partake of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, as Saint Paul teacheth us.

In the fourth place, they were asked if mariage were not a Sacrament? No, ſaid *James*, for Sacraments are not things indifferent to Chriſtians, as mariage is; for Saint *Paul* ſaith, he that gives his Virgin in mariage doth well, but he that gives her not in mariage doth better. We hold wedlock to be an holy Ordinance of God, inſtituted in Paradiſe from the beginning of the world, honoured by Jeſus Chriſt with his firſt miracle, yea we add further, that as mariage is honourable among all, and the bed undefiled, ſo Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judge. 1 Cor. 10. 16. Matrimony. 1 Cor. 7. 8. 29. 38. John 2. Heb. 13. 4.

Queſt. But Saint *Paul* ſaith, it is a great Sacrament.

Anſwer. Why do you forbid it then? But that place of *Paul* by you alledged is not to be underſtood of mariage, but is meant of that ſpeciall myſtical union and Communion which is between Chriſt and his Church. Ephes. 5. 32.

Queſt. They asked him if confeſſion were a Sacrament. Confeſſion.

Anſwer. I find but two Sacraments mentioned in the New Teſtament. If you can find out any more, you ſhall do well to ſhew them. But as touching Confeſſion, it is to God, to whom we muſt confeſs our ſins, according to *Davids* example, and of the Prodigal Son, and ſundry other, who with true repentance acknowledged their offences to God, who is faithful and juſt to pardon and forgive them. But to confeſs them to a Prieſt, it is ſo farr off from being neceſſary, that I hold it altogether unlawful. Theſe Fathers had their refuge to their wonted place of Saint *James*, *Confeſs your faults one to another.* Pſal 32. 5. Luke 15. 18. 1 John 1. 9. James. 5. 16.

Anſwer. The Apoſtle would have us to confeſs our faults to ſuch as we have wronged by word or deed. Alſo God enjoyns us to reconcile our ſelves one with another by ſuch a confeſſion, if we would obtain pardon of him. Mat. 6. 12. Mar. 16. 19.

Then

Anno 1566.

Then they alledged that place of Saint *Matthew*, *That whatſoever they bound on earth was bound in heaven.*

Anſwer. Chriſt ſpeaks there of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which ought to be obſerved amongſt Chriſtians, by admonitions, and then by applying the Cenſures, according to the Doctrine of the Goſpel, that ſo obſtinate Sinners may be caſt out of the Church. But all the world may ſee that you know not what this true diſcipline of Chriſt meaneth, nor what a right Miniſtry is in your Churches:

Extreme unction. *Queſt.* At leaſt you acknowledge *Extreme Unction* to be a Sacrament, ſeeing Saint *James* ſpeaks ſo cleerly of it.

James 5. 14. Mark 6. 13. *Anſwer.* The anointing that Saint *James* ſpeaks of is nothing like to your anointings. For that was a miraculous anointing for healing of the Body, and that, whilſt the gift of healing was uſual in the Church. But you anoint ſuch as lye drawing on, and do it for the Salvation of their Souls. It is needful, I grant, to ſend for the Miniſter, to comfort the ſick, and to pray with them and for them, but not to beſmear and greaſe them.

Confirmation *Queſt.* Well, what ſay you to *Confirmation*? is not that a Sacrament?

Anſwer. In all the Scripture (ſaid *James*) do I not find ſuch a thing as your confirmation, as you now uſe it, and therefore I know not what it is. Here they cauſed the Regiſter to write, *Non credit.*

Then came they to the order of Prieſthood, and asked if that were not a Sacrament.

1 Pet 2. 9. *Anſwer.* No, no more than the reſt. I am not ignorant that St. *Peter* calls the faithful *a choſen Generation, a Royal Prieſthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people*; nor yet where Saint *John* ſaith, that Chriſt hath made us *Kings and Prieſts*; but what is all this to your *Biſhops and Prieſts*?

Rev. 1. 6. *Queſt.* What thinkeſt thou of the Pope.

2 Theſſ. 2. 9. 10. 1 Tim. 4. 3. *Anſwer.* I think him to be the ſame that *Daniel* and St. *Paul* foretold he ſhould be. For he ſhews himſelf ſuch a one as they have deſcribed him to be, coming with falſe ſigns, and lying wonders, ſitting in the *Temple* of God, and exalting himſelf above all that is called God forbidding mariage, which God hath ordained, and meat which God hath commanded to be received with giving of thanks.

Purgatory. *Queſtion.* What ſay you then unto Pargatory?

1 John 1. 7. *Anſwer.* We acknowledge none other Purgatory, but the Blood of Chriſt, which only cleanſeth us from all our ſins.

Queſt. Do not the Saints pray for us, and ought we not to pray to them?

Prayer to Saints. *Anſwer.* God alone is to be worſhipped, and prayed unto. Whileſt the Saints were on earth they would not endure to be adored. *Acts.* 10. 25. 26. Which they then would rather have permitted (being clothed with corruption, and with natural deſires of being honoured) then now when they have put off all carnal and human affections. The Angels themſelves would not accept of Divine worſhip, *Revelat.* 19. 10. and 22. 9. They had many other diſputes, which *James* could not write for want of paper, as he intimated to them of the Church.

The fourteenth of *Auguſt* they were examined the third time by *Peter Titleman* Dean of *Renay*, Inquiſitor general of *Flanders*, whoſe cruelties and extortions were exerciſed upon all the faithful, in all the perſecutions and deaths which they ſuffered in the ſaid Country. This morning was brought before him *Jane Solomez*, of whom he diligently enquired of thoſe of the City of *Steenewerke* where ſhe was born; but eſpecially if ſhe knew one *Charles Vanderkaw*, a man renowned among the faithful there. She anſwered ſhe knew him, but he was now dead. After he had asked her name, he queſtioned with her, eſpecially about the Sacraments, yea ſomewhat concerning the Lords Supper, holding her in theſe diſcourſes about two hours before him.

To *James Dienſart* he propounded no queſtions, but came about him with theſe flattering ſpeeches; My Son, you are young and in the prime of your youth: Therefore the Magiſtrate of this City is very deſirous you ſhould be withdrawn from holding this new Doctrine, that ſo you might be brought again into the right way; but as I underſtand, you ſo perſiſt therein, that there is no removing of you. *James* anſwered that it could not be called a new Doctrine, which was built upon the Prophets and Apoſtles.

To whom the Inquiſitor replyed, That *Martin Luther* was the firſt that broached it.

Anſwer. And what ſay you then to ſo many learned men which lived before him, as *John Wickliffe*, *John Hus*, &c. and ſome after him, as *Calvin*, *John Aläſco*, *Martin Micron*, and others in *England*, *France*, and *Frieſland*? And though neither you nor I knew them, God knows them as well as he did the ſeven thouſand of the godly, whom *Elias* in his days was ignorant of. The Inquiſitor, perſiſting in his old ſong, preſſed him with the ſucceſſion of his Prelates and Biſhops. *James* put him in mind of another mark of the True Church, namely that it was always under perſecution; and thence inferred that himſelf was a true member thereof. 1 Kin. 19. 18.

The Inquiſitor ſaid, we are now perſecuted in *England*: for now they begin to impriſon ſome of our Prieſts there.

Anſwer. It is true that *Boner* late Biſhop of *London* was committed to Priſon, but not for his good deeds. The reſt of them have their liberty.

Now this Inquiſitor among other matters willing him to ſhew what ſervice was due to the Virgin *Mary*, ſaid, Is it not written, *Honour all men*? And what honour owe we then to the Mother of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt? 1 Pet 2. 17.

You give her (ſaid *James*) a goodly honour in bowing the knee before an Image of wood or ſtone, praying thereto as to your God. You may be aſhamed of ſuch abhominable practiſes and Blaſphemies. Much other reaſonings they had, which the ſaid *James*, for lack of paper and leiſure, could not commit to writing.

The ſame day in the afternoon *Chriſtian Luckere*, who was put into Priſon apart, was alſo preſented before this Inquiſitor, and examined upon many Articles. In all his anſwers he ſhewed much courage; and when the other went about to prove that Jeſus Chriſt was corporally preſent in the Sacraments, *Chriſtian* uſed ſix or ſeven ſtrong reaſons to the contrary drawn out of the holy Scriptures, That it could by no means be granted, being repugnant to the truth. The Adverſary perceiving the conſtancy of theſe three Priſoners, ſought by all means to vex and weaken them. Firſt they ſevered them one from another to deprive them of mutual comfort and Conſolation. Secondly, gave charge, that in viſiting them none ſhould be ſo bold as to bring them ought to eat or drink. Thirdly, They were ſolicited by wicked ones to yield, and not wilfully to hazard their lives. Moreover, they had many other great provocations, and therefore by their Letters inſtantly requeſted the continual prayers of the Churches to God for them.

When the godly ſtrangers in *England* were adverti-ſed of theſe their aſſaults, they ſolicited their Superintendent *Edmund* Biſhop of *London*, at the requeſt of the Archbiſh. of *Canterbury*, and others, to ſend Letters to the Magiſtrates of *Furne*, intreating that they would releaſe theſe three Priſoners, whom they had apprehended as they paſſed along by the high ways ſide, without any misbehaving of themſelves, or holding any diſpute with any, and were innocent in regard of committing ought againſt the Laws of the Countrey. As touching their Faith which ſome called into queſtion, they ſhould not for that be moleſted; becauſe in like manner her Majeſty hath given free power and leave in caſe of Religion hitherto, that none of the Subjects of the Low-Countries, coming into *England*, and carrying themſelves modeſtly, ſhould be medled withal. But if they ſhall deal ſo hardly with thoſe of the Religion, who have ſubmitted themſelves as her Majeſtys ſubjects under her protection, then ſhall ſhe be conſtrained, though to her great ſorrow, to mete out the ſame meaſure to thoſe of other Nations; but ſhe hoped and expected the Contrary, both from the wisdom and equity of the Magiſtrates of *Furne*.

Theſe Letters were dated the 26. of *July* 1560. and ſubſcribed.

Maithew

Matthew Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*
Edmund Biſhop of *London.*
William Meyne.
William Haddon, Maſter of the Requeſts, &c.

THe Magiſtrates of *Furne* having received theſe Letters ſent them to *Bruxels*, where they were read before the Kings privy Counſel. But to extenuate the Authority thereof, it was noiſed that they were forged by ſome *Lutherans*; ſo as in the end they reſolved (notwithſtanding) to proceed againſt the ſaid Priſoners, according to extremity of the Laws eſtabliſhed by the King. Now theſe of *Furne* having in vain by all means aſſayed to turn the Priſoners from their Faith, they reſolved to execute them. Many of the City, and others not dwelling far off, hearing the report of their purpoſed diſpatch, prepared to come to the ſight thereof, thinking it would have been on *Wedneſday* which was Market-day. But the Magiſtrates taking notice of the multitude were ſomewhat amazed, and cauſed him that was to do execution to ride through the midſt of the Market at high noon, as if he had been taking his journey out of the City, and ſo to make the people believe that they intended not their execution as yet. But on *Wedneſday* towards the evening, the chief Bailiff accompanied with ſome of the Magiſtrates, came ſecretly into the Priſon, ſoliciting each of the ſaid Priſoners with many intreaties and inticing perſwaſions to recant; promiſing to ſet them free forthwith, if they would ſpeak but one word to that purpoſe. But the Lord ſtrengthned them ſo, that they overcame this dangerous aſſault. The Adverſaries, ſeeing their expectations fruſtrated, cauſed all things the ſame night to be made ready for their execution the next day; to wit, chains, ſtakes, fagots, &c. Now the Lord, who hath the diſpoſing of the Moments of time in his own hands, diſappointed this project by a vehement ſhower of rain, which he ſent, continuing all the forenoon.

The two Friers formerly mentioned were called for; each of them accompanied with one of their own coat. Theſe began to aſſail the Priſoners from morning till eight of the clock, either to weaken, or elſe to turn them from their Faith. Which becauſe they could effect neither upon *James* nor *Chriſtian*, they dealt with *Jane*, thinking to have prevailed with her; but to as little purpoſe as with the two others. Being thus diſappointed of their hopes, then they fled to their accuſtomed lies, which they term *Fraudes pieuſes*, pious beguilings, ſaying thus unto her; Will you only ſhew your ſelf ſingular in cleaving to this opinion, whereas your priſon-fellows have renounced it?

The holy Virgin was nothing abaſhed thereat, but gave them this anſwer, That ſhe could not believe it; and albeit it were ſo, yet would ſhee never go back from ſo certain a truth, grounded not upon man, but upon Jeſus Chriſt?

Theſe lying Friers, nothing prevailing with her neither, went their way. Then the Priſoners encouraging one another, and preparing themſelves for death, ſang the ſeventy fourth Pſalm. The Magiſtrates of *Furne*, that they might with the more ſecurity execute their ſentence, cauſed the Gates of the City to be ſhut; and yet many got in, leaving their ſwords and ſtaves at the gate. Now as they brought the Priſoners along to the Town-houſe. Every one as they went reached forth their hand to them, and bad them that they ſhould be of good courage.

Appearing before the Magiſtrates they were denounced Hereticks. To which *Chriſtian*, in the name of the reſt, ſaid, Not one of your Doctors can prove us Hereticks, nor can they convince us by Scripture. It was replyed that they ſleighted the Sacraments. To which they freely anſwered: We hold and allow thoſe Sacraments, inſtituted by God, in much more reverence than you. Upon this the Magiſtrates conſulted together apart; and after a while came to their ſeats again, pronouncing ſentence againſt theſe three, *viz.* to be ſtrangled, and then burned or ſcorched, and the remainder of the Bodies to be hanged on the Gibbet. They thanked the Judges for their ſentence; yet advertiſing them well to bethink themſelves of what they had done. As they were paſſing forth of the houſe to be led to the ſlaughter, many of the godly bad them farewel, comforting, incouraging, and exhorting them to continue conſtant. Whereat the head Bailiff being much vexed puſhed *Jane* ſo violently with his foot, that ſhe fell down the ſtairs, at which the people were much moved. *Chriſtian* went foremoſt, *Jane* next, and *James* followed. In beholding of which ſpectacle few there were which brake not forth into ſighings, cryings, and tears, whileſt they gave the people ſo holy and godly exhortations. One of the Monks called *John Bels*, being by, gave to *Jane* (many of good credit hearing it) this counſel in his Language, *Fight valiantly, the Crown of immortality is ready for you.* Whileſt the executioner began to faſten their neck and feet with chains to the Stake, they ſung the hundred and thirtieth Pſalm, *Out of the deep.*

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Frier *John Compone*, being impatient of ſuch an harmony, yelled out like a mad man, ſaying, This ſhews you are not Chriſtians; for Chriſt went to his death weeping. One in the middle of the aſſembly cryed as faſt on the other ſide, Thou lieſt thou falſe Prophet. Having finiſhed the two firſt ſtaves of the Pſalm, the hangman being about to ſtrangle *Chriſtian*, the other two ceaſed, crying to their Brother; Be of good cheer and play the man. And *Chriſtian*, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, ſaid twice or thrice, Lord God heavenly Father into thy hands I commend my Spirit. And then again, Lord forgive their Sin who have put us to death. *James* and the Maid made the like prayer. But becauſe *James* was laſt ſtrangled, and the people moved with compaſſion began to ſtir, the Hangman kindled the fire upon *James* being but half ſtrangled. The people ſeeing him to die in the midſt of the fire, were yet more moved, ſo as the Tormentor being in a maze got a ſtaff out of a Boat headed with Iron, and ſmote the Martyr twice or thrice on the right ſide, to make an end of him. Theſe three having a while lien in the fire, they were carried thence in a Cart to the gibbet, where being put apart upon 3 poles they were afterward taken down and buried.

Nicaiſe *of* Tombe *born in* Tournay, *Martyr.*

Whoſe conſtancy is to be imitated and followed of every good Chriſtian, in ſuffering for the Truth of the Goſpel.

NIcaiſe dwelling in *Tournay*, and following the trade of Say-making, towards the end of his life, was then by the mercy of God brought to the knowledge of True Religion. Now that he might be the more throughly inſtructed therein, he went with his wife and family into the City of *Weſell* in baſe *Almaine*. In which City there was at that time an aſſembly of ſtrangers, and eſpecially of thoſe who are called *Wallons*, exerciſing themſelves in hearing the Word of God purely preached, and in receiving the holy Sacraments. But Satan the mortal enemy of Gods Children, envying their happineſs, ſoon after troubled this Aſſembly in ſuch wiſe with ſundry queſtions, that ſome retired to *Frankfort*, others to *Strausburg*, and ſome to other places. *Nicaiſe* returned to *Tournay* whence he came, not to communicate there with the ſuperſtitions and abominations in which he had formerly been inwrapped, but to joyn himſelf to the Chriſtian Aſſembly which met together in that place; to manifeſt the truth of that heavenly knowledge, which he had received out of the word of God.

Where notice being taken of him, they received him into their ſociety, amongſt whom he carried himſelf in ſo Chriſtian a ſort, as they well perceived him to be a man of an holy converſation, joyned with an earneſt deſire to advance the glory of God, and the kingdom of Chriſt, in the edification of his Church. Now foraſmuch as affliction is the true touchſtone whereby the faithful are diſcerned from Hypocrites; *Nicaiſe* then ſhewed outwardly what he was within. For being importuned to take an Oath from thoſe who were deputed thereunto by the King of *Spaine*, to live according to the cuſtome of the Romiſh Church, and to obſerve the traditions invented by her; he, notwithſtanding the threats and injuries done unto him, conſtantly held out againſt the ſaid Oath, not caſting how dear it might coſt him in the end. Some of his kindred wiſhed him at leaſtwiſe to withdraw himſelf aſide for awhile into another City, till the urging of this

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this Oath was over, as alſo that his Wife ſhould change her Lodging in his abſence.

To this counſel he conſented; but the Lord, who governs all our intentions and purpoſes, had otherwiſe determined of him, namely to ſet him forth as an example of conſtancy unto others, and to bear witneſs ſo far to the Truth of the Goſpel, as to ſeal the ſame with his Blood, by ſtaying him at that time in the City. For being ready to take his Journey, a near Neighbour of his, being an Enemy of the Goſpel, accuſed him to the Commiſſioners for one that neither had nor would take the Oath according to the form appointed. *Nicaiſe* requiring to hear the tenour of the Oath, before he would make them anſwer, they told him that he muſt ſwear to keep and obſerve all ancient Cuſtoms; to receive in the Sacrament of the Altar his Creatour thrice in the year, and on Sundays and Holydays to hear Maſs, morning and evening. As ſoon as he had underſtood their meaning, he told them, he intended not at all to take any ſuch Oath, nor to wound his Conſcience in conſenting to things ſo manifeſtly contradicting the Word of God; therewithal yielding them the reaſons of this his reſolution; accuſing as well them for urging ſuch an Oath, as thoſe alſo who gave their conſents thereto. Upon this he was committed and laid amongſt Felons, in the Gaol called *Pipegne*, until Friday the 12*th* of *November*, on which day he received Sentence of death; namely to be bound and ſo led into the Market-place of the City, and there upon a Scaffold to be burned and conſumed to aſhes.

Having heard this Sentence, as he roſe up, he ſaid, now praiſed be God; and as he was about to have ſpoken more at large, the Procurer Fiſcal being preſent prevented him, and thruſting him forward bid him march on. By and by they brought him to the place of Execution; and as it well fell out, having no Prieſt accompanying him, when he was come down to the Market-place, a near Friend of his coming to him commended him to God, and ſo they kiſſed each other.

* Which is a Watch-Tower ſtanding before the City-Hall where the Clock is.

Being now come nigh to the * *Befroy* of the City, ſeeing there a great multitude of People, who were aſſembled together to ſee him paſs by, lifting up his voice, he ſpake thus, O *ye Men of* Tournay *open your eyes; awake ye that ſleep, and ſtand up from the dead, and Chriſt ſhall give you light.*

He alſo prayed all whom he had any way offended to forgive him, as he for his part was ready to forgive all the World. The People hearing him ſay ſo, began to be moved and to make a great muttering. The multitude alſo that were come together were ſo many, that the Souldiers who incompaſſed the Patient (being now ready to ſuffer) could neither march nor keep rank; ſo as they were about to ſhoot. Which the People perceiving began to be moved ſo much the more, ſo as there had like to have been a great tumult. But going on they drew nigh to the place where the Scaffold was.

Nicaiſe all the while ſpent the time in prayer unto God, and being at the place of Execution he uttered theſe words, *Lord, they have hated me without a cauſe*, and aſcended up joyfully to the Scaffold: where the Tormentors readily received him, and led him to the Stake; and as they were faſtening him to it, he ſaid, *Eternal Father, have pity and compaſſion upon me, according as thou haſt promiſed to all that ask the ſame of thee in thy Sons Name.* Other Prayers he made there to his God, and ſo continued to his laſt gaſp. And albeit the multitude made ſuch a noiſe, and the beating of the Drums hindred his words from being all fully heard; yet he ſo often pronounced, and that with ſuch vehemency, the word *Jeſus*, that it, notwithſtanding, might plainly be underſtood as long as the breath was in his Body. And thus ye have heard the godly life and bleſſed end of this conſtant Martyr.

Martin Bayart, Claude du Flot, *with* Jo. Dantricourt, *born in the Country of* Artois *and* Noel Tournemine, *of* Hering *near* Seclin, *Martyrs* 1566.

YOu may eaſily diſcern by the former Hiſtories, that the Cruelties exerciſed againſt the Faithful in *Flanders* nothing diminiſhed the increaſing of them; or the innocent Blood thus ſhed was a means to bring many ignorant Souls to the knowledge of the Truth. Theſe four above-named, dwelling in the City of *Liſle*, walked in the fear of the Lord, with zeal according to knowledge, as the event well manifeſted.

There was a Jeſuit in the ſaid City who had a Servant that was Couſin to one of the Martyrs, with whom they laboured, not without ſome peril, firſt to ſhew him the odiouſneſs of that Sect, and then to inſtruct him in the Doctrine of the Goſpel. To which purpoſe they lent him a Book containing good Inſtructions drawn out of the holy Scriptures. The ſilly Fellow, not conſidering the hurt that might follow, ſhewed it ſoon after to his Maſter. The falſe Prophet by and by knew that this Book was not forged upon his Anvil, and therefore diligently enquired of his man where he had it. Now that he might with the more expedition attain his deſire, he gave him a piece of ſeven Stivers, telling him he ſhould do well to bring him to the knowledge of them from whom he had received it; which was not hard to do, in regard they all four wrought upon their Trade (which was to dreſs Sayes) in an honeſt Widows houſe, who profeſſed the ſame Religion with them.

The Jeſuit coming to the knowledge hereof failed not, according to their guiſe, to reveal it to the Magiſtrate. Now leſt he might be ſuſpected to be the betrayer of them, the Fox withdrew himſelf the ſame time out of the City, whilſt on a Saturday morning about two of the Clock theſe four were apprehended and impriſoned by the Magiſtrate. It fell out the ſame day, that certain Writings were ſet up upon the *Town-houſe* againſt the horrible tyranny of the Spaniſh Inquiſition, which was then intended to be brought in and executed throughout the Low-Countries, which no doubt were the means whereby the Magiſtrates were the rather incenſed againſt the Priſoners. But foraſmuch as they were not found guilty of having any hand in this buſineſs, they were only examined about matters concerning their Faith. To which they anſwered with ſuch courage and conſtancy, without varying or wavering, that the Gaoler wondred how they could anſwer the Judges ſo directly and pertinently (as it were with one conſent) being notwithſtanding ſevered one from another in the Priſon.

The ſecond of *March* 1566. they were condemned for Hereticks by the Provoſt of the City, to the which they replied, that if they were Hereticks then Gods Word muſt needs be Hereſie, which could not be; and therefore they freely proteſted before all, that they were Chriſtians, and held nothing but that which was agreeable to the Word of God. They were asked if they would ſubmit themſelves to the will of the Magiſtrates. They anſwered they would ſubmit themſelves to the will of God. Then was Sentence of death forthwith pronounced upon them, which was, that they ſhould be burned alive before the *Town-houſe*. When they were brought out of Priſon to be Executed, *Noels* Father came and embraced him, and kiſſing him ſaid, Art thou led my Son in this ſort unto death? This is nothing, Father, ſaid he, for now am I going to life. And howſoever *Noel* wept in going up to the Scaffold, ſeeing his Father ſo diſſolved into Tears; yet recovering himſelf, and being armed with new courage, he cried, O ye Prieſts, if we would have gone to your Maſs, we needed not to have been here: but Jeſus Chriſt never commanded nor inſtituted any ſuch thing.

The Prieſts ſtanding at the foot of the Scaffold, laboured to make the People believe they were Hereticks, and that their Faith was the Faith of Devils, becauſe they rejected the Sacraments. But to that one of them anſwered, that their Faith was nothing like to that of Devils; and as touching the Sacraments, they held ſo many as Chriſt ordained. Then ſaid *Martin*, ſuffer us to die in peace, for we are in the right way and are going to Jeſus Chriſt, hinder us not in this our Journey; with theſe and the like ſpeeches the Prieſts mouths were ſtopped; not daring to come upon the Scaffold, as they were wont to do.

John Dauticourt coming up recited the Articles of the Creed, adding ſomewhat by way of expoſition upon every Article. Thoſe who knew him before his Impriſonment marvelled to hear him ſpeak ſo judiciouſly. The Executioner thinking to pleaſe his Maſters offered to gag him: but the Patient promiſed to hold his peace.

Yet

Yet being ſtriatly faſtned to the Stake by the neck, he ſaid to the People; O my Friends, were it for ſpeaking wickedly that they commanded me to be ſilent, it were ſomewhat, but I cannot be permitted to ſpeak unto you the Word of God, and with a loud voice ſaid, *Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt? ſhall Tribulation, or anguiſh? O Lord, we are delivered to death for thy ſake, and are appointed as ſheep to the ſlaughter. But let us be of good chear my Brethren, for we ſhall be more than Conquerours, through him that loved us.*

Mat. 7. 14. The other three on their parts cryed and ſaid, *This, this is the way that leads to life; this is the ſtrait way by which we muſt enter thereinto, as Chriſt our Lord hath taught us, Noel* likewiſe ſaid, *Enter you my Brethren, and whileſt I am alive pray for me; for after death prayers prevail not.* When all of them were faſtned to their ſtakes, and covered with fagots, with fire ready to ſet thereto, they began with one voice to ſing the firſt part of the ſeven and twentieth Pſalm, and after that the Song of *Simeon* to the end: after which the fire began to be kindled, in the midſt whereof they were heard to cry ten or twelve times to the Lord, eſpecially *John* and *Noel*, with loud voices calling and ſaying, *Lord receive us this day unto mercy, and unto thy Kingdom.* And thus ceaſing to cry any more, they yielded up their Souls into the hands of God. This conſtancy of theirs, proceeding from the work of Gods Spirit, was not without ſingular fruit, for the inlarging of the Church; for many being touched therewith went home thence, as if they had gone from a powerful Sermon.

Francis d'Aloſt *in* Flanders, *Martyr, in the Year* 1566.

THis young man, being by his Trade a Cutler, during the time of his ignorance frequented the Court much, and took great delight in the vanity of this world, which gat him much reſpect of many, but chiefly among thoſe of the Romiſh Religion, namely Prieſts and Monks, who willingly converſed with him, taking much contentment in his carriage and courſe of life. But as ſoon as God of his goodneſs by the means of his word had revealed unto him his Son Jeſus Chriſt, he by and by altered and changed his former converſation: for having before lived in great diſſoluteneſs, he now ſharply reproved ſuch as he knew to follow ſinful ways: yea, he often taxed the Prieſts as well for their ſcandalous living as for their falſe Doctrine, wherewith they abuſed the People; but principally for making them to fall down to ſuch a god as could not defend nor keep himſelf from Rats and Mice, and, which is worſe, to offer it up for the ſins of the quick and the dead.

For theſe with other ſuch like ſpeeches, thoſe who erewhiles loved him began now to turn their love into hatred, inſomuch as he was fain to fly from them yea, and out of the Country alſo, being baniſhed thence; threatning him, that if he were taken there again, he ſhould be put to death, not as an Heretick, but as one having offended the penal Laws. But not long after the Lord wrought ſuch an alteration not only in the Political but in the Eccleſiaſtical State alſo, that not the Laws concerning Hereſie alone were diſanulled, but free liberty was granted to the Faithful of the Low-countries, to return home into their houſes again, and to have the exerciſes of Religion, publickly and openly. Among theſe *Francis* returned at that time unto the City in which he was born. But this freedom ſo ſuddenly granted laſted not long. For the Devil, not enduring the light ſo to ſhine out, ſtirred up Imps afreſh to oppreſs the godly. *Francis* then apprehending the danger, was minded one morning to depart out of the City; but God had another work for him to do. For as he was paſſing along, he was apprehended in the ſtreet by one of the City, who with the Bayliff met him. The Bayliff would fain have baulked him, as if he had not ſeen him; but ſaid the other, here he is, hold him faſt; ſo they took him. Being conducted to Priſon, among other ſpeeches he ſaid, now ye have taken me, you think to deprive me of my life, and ſo have your will of me, purpoſing my great dammage and hurt; but you are deceived, for it is all one, as if you took Counters from me, to fill my hand with a great ſum of Gold.

In Priſon he had many diſputes with Prieſts and Cloiſter-men. But the Jaylour of all other dealt harſhly with him, who could not endure to hear him ſpeak of God. But if at any time he heard him ſing Pſalms and ſpiritual Songs, he would rage like a Bedlam. Once being very drunk, he ſet open the Priſon-doors, and ſitting on a bench he called to *Francis*, ſaying come out thou naughty and wicked Heretick, I will now ſee, if thy God can deliver thee out of my hands. *Francis* ſaid, as the caſe ſtands it might eaſily be effected: If I were minded to eſcape away now, as I was heretofore, I could eaſily do it, but I will not; for God hath called me to ſuffer, and not to flie away, and therefore I will not reſiſt, but rather obey his will. Anno 1566.

The drunkard hearing him ſpeak with ſuch mildneſs, and moderation, and ſeeing that he would not come forth, being provoked thereto by him, in his fury he took up his ſtool on which he ſate, and laid at him therewith, ſo as he had felled him to the ground, if the Servant had not ſtepped between, who took it out of his Maſters hands by force: yet was the poor Priſoner very ſorely hurt, and lay long in the Chirurgions hands before his Head could be healed. But to make him amends, this cruel Jaylor dieted him ſo ſtrictly both for meat and drink, that he had died with hunger, had not God inclined the heart of his Servant now and then, to relieve him, by conveying meat to him in ſecret.

After the Lord had thus by ſundry trials proved the patience and conſtancy of this his good Servant, the Magiſtrates of the City of *Aloſt* conſulted how to put him to death, having oft called the Executioner to this their conſultation; but they could not agree in the manner how to effect it. Some were of Opinion it were beſt to have him put to death ſecretly in the Priſon; others adviſed to execute him openly, leſt they ſhould incur the Blot of being murderers. In the end waxing more hardy, having long detained him in Bonds, they called him forth into judgment, and pronounced Sentence upon him, which was, that becauſe he had done contrary to the Kings Laws, in returning again to the City from which he was baniſhed, he had therefore deſerved to die, ſeeing alſo he held certain Opinions directly oppoſite to the Church of *Rome*.

Francis hearing his Sentence read, without any ſhew of diſtemper, ſaid, *Now ſeeing you are ſo thirſty after Blood, I willingly yield it into your hands, and my Soul into the hands of my merciful Lord God Almighty. Francis*, ſaid they, we command you to hold your peace; for if you will not, we will take order to bridle your Tongue. He then promiſed them to obey their command. As he went to ſuffer he uſed that ſpeech of the Apoſtle Saint *Peter*, I muſt now ſhortly put off this my earthly Tabernacle, which the love of Chriſt Jeſus my Lord conſtrains me to do. Being come into the Market place where he was to be offered up a Sacrifice, he kneeled down; and having ended his Prayer, he ſaid to the Executioner, do now what you are commanded, the will of God be done: and ſo preſenting himſelf chearfully to the ſtroke of death, he was beheaded the firſt of *May*, in the year 1566. his Body being afterwards expoſed to the Fouls of the Air for a prey.

John Tuſcaen *of* Audenard *in* Flaunders, *Martyr*, June *the eighth, Anno* 1566.

Behold here how God meant to awaken the men of this time out of their Britiſh ſecurity, as it were with a Thunder Clap from Heaven.

THis young man a maker of Tapiſtry about the age of two and twenty years, the Son of one called *Simeon Tuſcaen* dwelling in the Suburbs of *Audenard*, was trained up from his youth in all godly Nurtriture. He hearing News that things went more aukly to paſs in *Bruxels* then he could have wiſhed, determined in himſelf to make it known by the effect, that the adoring of a breaden God, which the Roman Church ſo much worſhipped, was nothing elſe but an abominable and execrable ſacriledge. Having caſt to and fro in his mind, and thoughts, the weightineſs of the buſineſs he was to undertake, at length he determined to demonſtrate the ſame more

Anno 1566. more fully and apparently in a publick aſſembly, which was the thirtieth day of *May* in the ſaid year 1566. (which after the cuſtom of the Romaniſts is called the feaſt of God, or *Corpus Chriſti* day.) Now by reaſon that two Cities of *Audenard* and *Pamelle* are joyned as it were in one, there were two Temples dedicated there, not to the Lord, but the one to Saint *Walburgne*, called the Church of *Audenard*, and the other to their Lady, which is within the juriſdiction of the Lord of *Pamelle*.

John Tuſcaen directed his courſe towards this Church, to perform that which long before he had in his own thoughts projected. Being come into the Quire of the Church in *Pamelle*, beholding there a multitude of People utterly eſtranged from the true Worſhip of God ready to fall down and proſtitute themſelves before a breaden Cake, forthwith (not caſting what ſhould be the iſſue) being urged thereto through a zeal of Gods glory, drew towards the Prieſt, while he was elevating and ſhewing that which they call the Hoſt; and with great vehemency ſnatched it out of his Hands, caſt it to the ground, and brake it all to pieces, ſpeaking with a loud voice; See here, my Maſters, your goodly God, who you ſee is not able to help himſelf, but is here broken all to pieces. How long. How long, O ye ſenſeleſs Prieſts, will you thus defile the holy Supper of the Lord? ſhall we never ſee an end of your filthy Idolatries? If the Authority of the holy Scripture can nothing move you, yet at length be warned and admoniſhed by this preſent example, that their is not a jot of Divinity in this Bread, ſeeing it is ſubject to be thus handled: will ye worſhip a dead Idol, your ſelves being living Men?

At this ſo vehement and bold an exhortation, accompanied with ſuch conſtancy, all the people there preſent ſtood amazed and in ſuch an extaſie, (but yet withal ſuch a noiſe and buſtling throughout the Church) that the Curate of the Pariſh, who before was in ſome by-corner there, coming towards the Quire, met *Tuſcaen*, as he was paſſing through towards Preale without any fear or let. The Curate ſaluted him, not knowing what he had done, much leſs ſuſpecting that he was the cauſe of all that tumult and ſtirr; for he was his couſin. Howbeit *John* would take no knowledge of this Salutation, but began to reprove him for deluding and abuſing the poor ſilly people, being their overſeer; for a day will come, ſaid he, in which you ſhall render an account to God for them. In the hearing of this, the Curate called upon the people to lay hold upon the ſaid *John Tuſcaen*, as hee was going out of the Church fair and ſoftly. So that it had been eaſie for him to have quit himſelf out of their fingers, if he had but haſtned his pace a little, becauſe none offered to touch or apprehend him. The Curate ſeeing that, delaied not, but with all ſpeed got him to the under Bailiff of *Pamelle*, by whoſe outcries and importunities the Bailiff could do no leſs but go with him to apprehend the great Heretick. As they were making towards him, he ſhewed no more ſemblance of eſcaping, than before.

Then they took and impriſoned him without any reſiſtance. Dinner being ended, he was preſented before the Magiſtrates of *Pamelle* to be examined in the preſence of the Curate: after they had enquired of him who they were that incited and ſet him on to do ſuch an outragious act unto the Hoſt, they asked him what he held the bread in the Maſs to be, and whether he did not believe it was the Body of Chriſt: If, ſaith he, you conſider well what the Angel ſaid to the Apoſtles at his aſſumption *viz. Act.* 1.11. this ſame Jeſus, which is taken up from you into Heaven, ſhall ſo come in like manner as ye have ſeen him go into Heaven; You may plainly diſcern that we are not to ſeek him here below.

After many other queſtions and anſwers, beeing ſent again to Priſon, he was the ſecond time examined: and being asked whether he was himſelf when he did it, or diſtracted? Hee anſwered, That he had done it, not raſhly, but upon mature deliberation. Being further demanded what ſhould move him to commit ſo hanious an act? If this, ſaith he, ſeemeth ſo ſtrange unto you, then I pray you tell me who moved *Moſes* to break the Tables of Stone written with the finger of God? They perceiving that he ſecretly aimed at their Idolatry, ſent him to Priſon again.

The eighth of *June* he was brought betimes in the morning into the Judgment Hall, to receive their Sentence which was to be pronounced againſt him; where two Friers Minorites were purpoſely ſent to ſee if they could turn him from his conſtancy: to which purpoſe asking him, if he did not believe that God was included in the bread which is lifted up in the Maſs? He anſwered them by another queſtion, namely, whether the Potter could make a Pot? They ſaid yes, but what was that to the purpoſe? He asked them again, if the pot could make a Potter? The good Fathers, ſeeing whereabout he went, forthwith left him. When he ſaw he had thus ſtopped their Mouths, he thanked God.

Then the Magiſtrates of the City went up into the Judgment Seat, and gave Sentence againſt him; which was, firſt to have that hand ſtricken off, with which he had taken the Hoſt out of the Prieſts Hands, and his Body to bee burned to aſhes, which afterward was to be ſcattered into the River.

Hearing this Sentence hee was very joyful, thanking his Judges, and the Lord of *Pamelle*. But the Bailiff of *Audenard* wiſhed him rather to ask forgiveneſs of God and of the people, for the offence he had committed. If I have offended any (ſaid hee) I ask them forgiveneſs. Then was he led forth to be executed; and as he went, he ſung in his own Mother Tongue the Lords Praier with ſuch confidence, as argued the inward peace of his Conſcience, in dying in ſo good a quarrel.

The Tormentor willed him to ſtretch forth his Arm that this Hand might be cut off; which he did, ſuffering the ſame with ſuch a patience, as if hee had felt no pain. And then with his eyes lifted up to Heaven, he ſaid, *O Lord God, it is for the glory of thy name that I endure theſe things: inable me now with ſtrength from above, that I may finiſh this Sacrifice.* Forthwith the fire was kindled, which made him at the firſt to ſhrink a little; but by continual and ardent prayer to God the Violence of the Toment was abated and aſſwaged. Now ſtanding in the midſt of the flames, his Body being in a manner half conſumed, hee ſhewed apparent ſigns unto the beholders of his invincible courage, by holding up as well as hee could, his Arms on a light fire.

Thus was this valiant Martyr handled in the preſence of Multitudes; which cauſed many to cleave the rather to the Doctrine of the Goſpel, ſeeing him dye ſo conſtantly. The River of *Eſcant* received his aſhes, that the Sentence given upon him might be fully accompliſhed,

Martin Smetius Martyr, Anno 1567.

MArtin Smetius being Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Vilvourd*, there came to him a Frier to examine him, and with a purpoſe to turn him from the Faith. But *Smetius* being a man learned, and of a quick underſtanding, remained conſtant, which ſo confounded his oppoſite, that hee went away with ſhame. The Frier invented a Recantation, to which it was reported that *Smetius* had ſubſcribed. But an Elder of the Church, whoſe name was *Cornelius Specox*, coming to the knowledge thereof (by the helpe of Friends) got a ſight of the ſaid Recantation. Who in the preſence of divers Friends conferring a certain Letter (which *Smetius* had put his name unto) with that writing, found it in nothing to agree therewith, and therefore the Recantation to bee meerly counterfeited, The eighth of *February* being *Saturday*, *Smetius* having his feet tied under an Horſes belly, on which he was ſet, was thus brought to *Vilvourd* to the Provoſt (who himſelf was afterwards hanged for his villanies.) His Sergeants paſſing immediatly along with him through *Malives*, went towards *Malladery* of *Wallen*, where finding a ladder ſet up to an Oak, they hanged him thereon. *Smetius* being on the Ladder uſed theſe words; *Lord forgive them, for they know not what they do.*

And then ſinging certain verſes of a Pſalm, he yeilded up his Soul into the Hands of the Lord.

* Hee was apprehended by this Provoſt with 20 Horſemen as he was preaching at *Malives*. When *Smetius* ſaw them, he exhorted the Congregation to bequiet, for they are come, ſaid he, to take me: but the Aſſembly was by and by ſcattered.

Maſter John Goris *and* Joris *of* Aſſchen, *Martyrs, Anno* 1567.

John Goris Chirurgion, born in *Audenard*, travelling towards *Gaud*, was betrayed by two Spies, who ſignified the ſame to the Bayliff; himſelf alſo going the ſame way whither *Goris* was travelling before him. The Bayliff, thirſting after the blood of this poor Innocent, rid on till he had overtaken him, asking him whither he went. I am going, ſaid *Goris*, to the Pariſh of *Nazaret*. And I purpoſe alſo, ſaid the Bayliff, to go thither, we will bear you company. Having paſſed on thus a little way, the Bayliff thinking himſelf ſure of *Goris*, began to lay hands upon him. *Goris* ſeeing that leaped over a Ditch, and got into a little Wood. The Wood was preſently beſet with Country People; and being there apprehended, he was carried to *Audenard* as a Sheep to the ſlaughter, where he was committed to Priſon. They laid many things to his charge, which they were not able to prove. Being examined the ſecond time upon divers Articles, he anſwered thereunto with ſuch wiſdom, that the Council admired how a man of ſo mean account could defend his cauſe in ſo good a manner. But after they came to queſtion with him concerning matters of Religion, now I ſee, ſaith he, that you ſeek my blood.

By this we ſee that man ſtands not by his own ſtrength.

The Night following he was overtaken with ſuch an apprehenſion of the fear of death, that for ſaving his life he was almoſt reſolved to deny the Truth. But by the aſſiſtance of Gods holy Spirit calling his thoughts together, he inſtantly and orderly beſought the Lord to deliver him out of this temptation, that by the power of his Grace he might overcome the infirmity of his Fleſh: which prayer of Faith the Lord had ſuch reſpect unto, that from that time he manfully reſiſted all Satans aſſaults, and maintained the Truth unto his laſt breath.

Though I fall, ſaith the Church, yet I ſhall ariſe. Mich 7.8. Acts 7.60.

Having received Sentence he was nothing appalled thereat, but like the holy Martyr S. *Stephen*, prayed God that he would not lay his death to their charge. Coming to the place where he was to be Executed, caſting himſelf down proſtate, he made his prayer to God; in which Prayer albeit he ſought the Lord to forgive his Enemies, yet added he this withal, *I am perſwaded, that God being a juſt Judge will not leave their ſin unpuniſhed.* Which prediction fell out not long after; for the Bayliff who apprehended him, and rejoyced in ſtanding by whilſt the Martyr was executed, was not long after ſhot with a Harquebuſs, whereof he preſently died like a Wretch.

After *Goris* was thus executed, they brought forth his Fellow-Priſoner, called *Joris* of *Aſſchen*; who the ſame day ſuffered the ſame kind of death, that is to ſay, he was hanged upon a Gibbet, which death he endured for the Name of Chriſt with like conſtancy as did the former. Which courage of his he thus manifeſted to his Parents and Friends, in a Letter written to them a little before his death.

A Letter written by *Joris* of *Aſſchen*, to his Parents and Friends, a little before the time of his Martyrdom.

Moſt dear Father and Mother, Siſter and Brother, I write here unto you comfortable News, namely, that in all my life I never ſaw any day ſo pleaſing to me as this is; in which the Lord hath counted me worthy to be one of his Champions, and to ſuffer for his holy Name: for which I give him moſt humble and hearty thanks, I alſo thank you much, good Father and Mother, that in all my diſtreſſes you have been beneficial and helpful unto me, and careful for me; for which the Lord abundantly reward you in his Kingdom. Rejoyce with me, I pray you, that God hath now called me to ſuch a glorious and welcom Marriage-day. Oh, how precious in the ſight of the Lord our God is the death of his Martyrs.

Dear Friends, two Prieſts, yea, and ſome of the Magiſtrates alſo have ſought to terrifie me with many threats, thinking to turn me aſide from my holy Profeſſion; but the Lord of his great mercy hath given me his Grace to withſtand them all: for I plainly told them I was not aſhamed of the Goſpel of Chriſt, but would be willing and ready to die in the defence thereof; following my Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt thorow all afflictions, to be made partaker with him at the laſt of his eternal Joys in his celeſtial Tabernacle. Wherefore if God ſhall call any of you forth to ſuffer ought for his Names ſake, bear the ſame, I beſeech you, with meekneſs and patience, not declining from the Truth for fear or favour, to the right hand or to the left; but fear him rather who is able to caſt Soul and Body into Hell. Anno 1567

The time which God hath lent us to converſe in this World is but ſhort, and therefore let us begin to abandon the love thereof, with all things that are therein, betimes, that ſo we may be ready to follow the call of God.

Dear Father and Mother, I do take my laſt farewel of you, until we meet together again in the Kingdom of Heaven, where we ſhall partake of that joy which ſhall laſt for ever, all ſorrows, tears and griefs being wiped away. Be ye not therefore grieved I pray you, but be patient; for the affliction which is befaln me is moſt acceptable unto me, for which alſo I bleſs and praiſe the Lord.

The Lord proſper you in all your ways, to his glory and your good. Thank all my Friends for their love expreſſed toward me, and ſalute them kindly with an holy kiſs in the Lord.

Your humble and obedient Son,
John Joris of Aſſchen.

Thus were theſe two Witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt executed the 14*th* of *April* 1567.

A worthy Anſwer of a conſtant Martyr called Guy de Brez, *Anno Dom.* 1567.

Guy de Brez, a Miniſter of the Goſpel, being committed Priſoner into the Caſtle of *Tournay*, was viſited by many Ladies and Gentlemen, only out of a deſire to ſee him, in regard he was a man ſo highly eſteemed. Some at the firſt view ſcoffed, others railed on him; but others were moved to take pity and compaſſion on him. Among the reſt, the Counteſs of *Ren*, accompanied with certain Gentlewomen, coming into the Priſon, and at the firſt entrance beholding the Iron-chain to which he was faſtned, Mr. *Guy*, ſaid ſhe, I wonder how you can either eat, drink, or ſleep in quiet; for were I in your caſe, the very terror thereof would go nigh to kill me.

O Madam, ſaid he, the good cauſe for which I ſuffer, and that inward peace of Conſcience wherewith God hath endued me, makes me eat and drink with greater contentment than my Enemies can which ſeek my life: yea, ſo far off is it that my bonds or chain do any way terrifie me, or break off my ſleep, that on the contrary I glory and take delight therein, eſteeming them at an higher rate than Chains and Rings of Gold, or any other Jewels of price whatſoever; for they yield me much more profit. Yea, when I hear the ratling of my Chain, methinks I hear as it were ſome ſweet Inſtrument of Muſick ſounding in mine ears: not that ſuch an effect comes meerly from my Chains, but in regard I am bound therewith for maintaining the truth of the Goſpel.

The ſame Martyr in a Letter to his Wife acquaints her with Gods gracions dealing with him in all his Aſſaults.

Speaking of his Apprehenſion, he ſhews how carnal Reaſon began to play its part againſt the Providence of God; for, ſaith he, theſe thoughts came thronging into my head; What meant we to go ſo many in company together as we did? had it not been for ſuch and ſuch we had never been diſcovered nor taken. Under ſuch like cogitations I lay for a while, ſaith he, even in a manner overwhelmed, till by the aſſiſtance of Gods holy Spirit my mind was raiſed up to meditate on Gods Providence. After which my heart began to feel wonderful reſt and contentment; ſaying thus in my ſelf, *O my God, the day and hour of my birth was before ordained by thee. and ever ſince thou haſt preſerved and kept me in great perils and dangers, and hitherto delivered me out of them all. And if now the hour be*

come

Anno 1566

come wherein I muſt paſs out of this life into thy Kingdom, thy holy will be done; I cannot eſcape out of thy hands; yea, though I could, yet Lord thou knoweſt I would not, ſeeing all my felicity depends upon conforming my will unto thine.

From theſe conſiderations I received no ſmall conſolation; and therefore, dear Wife, rejoyce with me, I pray you, and bleſs our good God for theſe his mercies towards me; for he doth nothing but that which is equal and right. You have been privy to, and acquainted with all the Travels, Croſſes, and Perſecutions which have befallen me, yea, and have your ſelf been partaker with me therein, when you accompanied me in my voyages during the time of my Exile: and now after all theſe you ſee, my welbeloved in the Lord, how he holdeth forth unto me his hand of Providence, to drive me home to himſelf into his bleſſed Kingdom. I now lead you the way, and when his will is you ſhall follow me thither. Our ſeparation ſhall not be for ever: it will not be long ere we be gathered under one head Jeſus Chriſt. This world is not the place of our reſt: no, Heaven is our home, this is but the place of our baniſhment.

Let us therefore aſpire after our true Country, namely Heaven, and long to be received into the Manſions of our Heavenly Father, where we ſhall ſee our Head and Brother, our Husband and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, with the noble triumphant aſſemblies of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, and ſo many millions of Martyrs; to whom I hope ſhortly to be gathered, having finiſhed the courſe of that adminiſtration which I have received of the Lord Jeſus. Wherefore, dear Wife, be you comforted in the meditation of theſe things. Take into your conſideration the honour the Lord doth you, in giving you a Husband who is not only called to be a Miniſter of Chriſts Goſpel, but alſo ſo highly advanced of God, as to be accounted worthy to partake of the Crown of Martyrdom. It is an honour which the Angels in Heaven are not capable of. I now rejoyce in my ſufferings, my heart leapeth within me; in my afflictions, I find nothing wanting unto me; I am filled with the abundant riches of my God; yea, ſo far am I comforted therewith, that I have ſufficient ſtore not only for my ſelf, but to impart thereof alſo to as many as I have opportunity to ſpeak unto. Which bounty and favour I beſeech my Eternal Lord God to continue to me his poor Priſoner: yea, I am perſwaded that he will perform it unto the end; for by good experience I feel, that he never forſakes them that truſt in him. I could never have imagined that God would have been ſo gracious as he hath been to me his poor Creature.

Angels not capable of being Martyrs.

Gods goodneſs to his afflicted Children is oft above and beyond their expectation.

I now taſte of the fidelity and bounty of Chriſt my Saviour; I am here taught to practiſe what I have preached unto others. Yea, let me not be aſhamed to confeſs, that when I heretofore preached I ſpake but as a Parrot, in regard of that which I have now better learned by proof and experience. I have profited more in the School-houſe of this Priſon, than ever I did in all my life before: for I have the Holy Ghoſt, who is my conſtant Inſtructor and Schoolmaſter, teaching me how to handel my Weapons in this fight of afflictions. Satan on the other ſide, who is the ſworn Enemy of all Gods Elect, compaſſeth me about on every ſide, as a roaring Lyon thinking to devour me. But he who hath ſaid, Fear not, I have overcome the World, puts as it were new courage into me; and then I ſee the Lord, bruiſing Satan under my feet; feeling the power of God perfected in my weakneſs, And thus the Lord cauſeth me one while to feel my infirmity and weakneſs, that ſo I might take knowledge how I am but a poor earthen Veſſel (even weakneſs it ſelf) to humble me, that God may have all the glory; and then by and by he fortifies and comforts me, (I may truly ſay) incredibly above all I could ask or think.

Priſons prove Gods School-houſes to the faithful.

John 16.33. Rom. 16.20. 2 Cor. 12.9.

It is poſſible for the godly ſometimes to feel their infirmities.

For I would not change my condition with theirs who perſecute me; I take my reſt, eat and drink, with more hearts-eaſe then they. I am indeed lodged in the ſtrongeſt and vileſt Priſon they have, dark and obſcure, which for the darkneſs thereof is called *Brunain*; where I have no Air to breath at, but a little ſtinking hole, where they lay all their rubbiſh, and where the drunkards commonly vent their urine. I am laden with Irons both on my hands and feet, which are a continual torment unto me, the Irons eaten through the Fleſh even to the bare bones. The *Provoſt* Marſhal comes to view my Fetters twice or thrice a day, fearing leſt I ſhould make an eſcape: for preventing whereof he hath placed three guards of forty men before the Priſon door, &c.

Brunain a Priſon of the Valentinians.

By reaſon whereof he complains he wrote with much difficulty, and therefore could not write as otherwiſe he would have done.

And thus having given unto his Wife his advice, how to behave her ſelf during her Widowhood, and how to train up her Children, with his loving Salutation, remembred to her ſelf and other his ſpecial Friends, he cloſeth up the Letter.

In the end of a Letter written to his Mother, the rather to encourage her willingly to offer him up to God, he puts her in mind of two memorable examples of Women who were Mothers of Children, in this manner following.

I remember, ſaith he, that I have read in the Eccleſiaſtical Stories, how that in the hot perſecutions of the Church in times paſt, the poor Chriſtians were aſſembled together without a certain City, to hear the Word of God. Now a great Commander was ſent of purpoſe to ſee theſe poor Innocents put to the Sword. And being on his way ready to put his bloody Commiſſion into execution, the report thereof came to the ears of a true Chriſtian Woman, who haſted with all the ſpeed ſhe could, to be at this meeting, carying her little Child in her Arms. As ſhe drew nigh to the Troop of Horſemen, ſhe ruſhed in, to get through, expecting that they would make way for her. The Governour ſeeing her make ſuch haſte, called her to him, and examined her whither ſhe poſted ſo faſt? ſhe gave him this ſhort anſwer, I am going, ſaid ſhe, to the aſſembly of the Chriſtians. What to do? ſaid he; haſt thou not heard that I am commanded to put them all to death? Yes, I know it well, ſaid ſhe, *And therefore am I in ſuch haſte, that I may be counted worthy to loſe my life with them.* But what wilt thou do with thy little Child, ſaith he? *I am carrying it thither, that even it alſo may partake of the Crown of Martyrdom with the reſt.*

The firſt example.

The Tyrants heart was ſo wounded with theſe prompt and plain anſwers of this ſilly Woman, that he retired back to the Emperor who had committed the execution of this buſineſs unto him, and told him the whole diſcourſe; by means whereof the Emperors wrath was appeaſed, and the execution ſtayed. Here was an heart inflamed indeed with the fiery Zeal of Gods love. Here is a pattern fit to be preſented before all Women and Mothers to imitate the ſame.

I call to mind one other Example of another and her Son in the times when *Romanus* ſuffered Martyrdom. He was commanded to worſhip Idols. His anſwer was, as he ſtood in the place of judgment, that he worſhipped one God only, in Jeſus Chriſt, his only Son. And this, ſaith he, is an Article ſo well known, that if any Child, though but of 7. years old, ſhould be examined concerning it, he would eaſily make a direct anſwer to it. Then a Child about thoſe years being preſented publickly, *Romanus* ſaid, come hither my pretty Boy, anſwer me; ought we to worſhip many Gods, or but one God in Jeſus Chriſt? The little Child anſwered, *That there be many Gods we Children cannot believe; ſeeing to us there is but one God.*

The ſecond Example.

Then the Tyrant apprehending the Mother cauſed her Child to be ſcourged with Rods before her eyes. The Babe intreated her to give him ſome drink: to whom ſhe ſaid, *Alas poor Child, I have no drink to give thee; but now my Son go and drink of the Cup of Martyrdom, which Herod the King gave the young Children to drink of.*

Hitherto may be referred the invincible conſtancy of that pious Mother mentioned in the 2. Book of the Maccabees, with her ſeven Children. 2 Mac. chap. 7. Read the whole Chapter.

Then was the Childs head ſtriken off. Such Examples are left upon record for our uſe, that in ſuch and the like Mirrors we might behold how the mighty power of God being made perfect in the infirmity of weak Fleſh, all of us, with one heart and voyce, ſhould render unto him the Sacrifices of praiſe and thankſgiving for the ſame; ſhewing forth to our Brethren and Siſters his Triumphs and Victories with new Songs of rejoycing. The which ſounding throughout the whole world, we may thereby incite all Creatures, yea, the very Angels of Heaven to magnifie and glorifie the name of our Lord eternally. So be it.

With this godly Perſonage Guy de Brez, *was one* Peregrine de la Grange *joyned as his Priſon-fellow and Fellow-labourer in the work of the Miniſtry.*

Whoſe learned diſputes with Richardot *Biſhop of* Arres *do here follow, written with his own hand.*

THe Biſhop at his coming into the Priſon being informed of the Priſoners name, and of his gentle diſpoſition, began thus with him.

Biſhop. I am much grieved *Monſieur de la Grange* to ſee you in this mean condition, and could wiſh it were far otherwiſe with you then now I ſee it is.

La Grange. Sir I humbly thank you for your love and kindneſs ſhewed towards me, altogether I confeſs without any deſert of mine: and as for the baſe eſtate in which you now ſee me, God hath ſo comforted me therein with his grace, that I do without any great difficulty patiently ſuffer what he hath pleaſed to lay upon me; yea, I praiſe and bleſs his name, that he hath ballanced the weight of my afflictions according to the ſtrength which he hath given me, ſo as I ſink not under the burthen: for as my ſufferings in Chriſt abound, he
2. Cor. 1. 3. cauſeth his conſolations by Chriſt to abound in me alſo.

Biſhop. It is uſual with ſuch as you are to glory in this kind of ſpeech: for as ſoon as any afflictions befal you, you by and by ſtile them the ſufferings of Chriſt. And if any of you be put to death, then ye boaſt that it is for Gods Truth: but when things are laid to the Touchſtone, the matter is nothing ſo nor ſo.

La Grange. Sir, if your meaning be of ſuch as have died for the Doctrine for which I am bound with this Chain, and thus fettered with Irons: I doubt not but they have given ſuch a reaſon of their Faith, that whoſoever ſhall read their anſwers, and weigh the ſame without partiality, muſt needs judge thereof even as we
1 Tim. 6. 3. Deut. 12. 32. do. And for my own part I am ready to make it good before any whom it concerns, that the Doctrine I now hold and teach is according to Godlineſs, taken out of the pure Fountains of the holy Scriptures, without adding, diminiſhing, or varying any way therefrom.

Biſhop. We read that in all times men have been wont to ſhelter themſelves under the Title of Gods Word, in ſo much that all the old Hereſies maintained by Hereticks have run to this covert; ſo as great heed is to be taken, leſt under this pretence men ruſh into errors.

La Grange. I am not ignorant, Sir, hereof, in regard that Satan knows how to transform himſelf into an Angel
2. Cor. 11. 14. John 14. 17. of light, thereby to eſtabliſh his deluſions, cauſing darkneſs thereby to be taken for light. But the Holy Ghoſt, who is the Spirit of Truth, hath in ſuch wiſe diſcovered his Jugglings, that none are deluded thereby, but thoſe who at noon day cloſe their eyes that they may not be-
2 Cor. 4. 4. hold the light.

Biſhop. Do you think that the holy Ghoſt hath given you ſuch an Illumination, that the Truth ſhould only be revealed to you, and to none other.

La Grange. God forbid, Sir, I ſhould have any ſuch thought. I am not of the mind of thoſe dreamers, who
He means the Anabaptiſts and their like. at this day bragg of their having particular Revelations of the holy Spirit. But I ſpeak of an ordinary and general Revelation, ſuch as is taught us out of the Bible,
Eph. 2. 20. which we call the holy Scriptures, according as it is therein declared unto us by the Prophets and Apoſtles.

This was the effect of the Biſhops firſt communication with *de la Grange*; after which he was heard to ſay twice or thrice to the Kings Commiſſioners, that he had no will to meddle any further with him. Being called for to be examined elſe-where before the ſaid Commiſſioners, *Peregrine* took his leave of the Biſhop, entreating him to intercede for him, that he might be eaſed of his Irons, alledging that the Priſon was ſtrong enough and ſufficiently guarded.

The ſecond time they met together, the Biſhop having a prompt memory, made a rehearſal of what paſſed between them the day before, and after began thus with the ſaid *Peregrine*.

Biſhop. Seeing that which I hold as touching the Sacrament of the Altar is agreeable to the Scriptures, confirmed ſo long ſince by the conſent of all the ancient Fathers, wherefore do you not agree with us therein? Had you rather hold with theſe Noveliſts, as with *Calvin* and with the confeſſion of *Auſpourge*. Anno 1560.

Grange. Sir, I am neither Calviniſt nor Papiſt; I am a Chriſtian, and what I hold concerning Religion is taken out of Chriſts Doctrine, who is the only Doctor of his Church. What *Calvin* hath taught conformable to the Word of God, I am of the ſame mind with him: and whereas you call your Religion, the old Religion, and ours the new, it troubles me not at all, ſince the Father of Lies hath long ſince forged the ſame, to diſgrace the Truth, and to eſtabliſh and maintain the multitudes of falſhoods and abſurdities of your Tenents which you hold. For example, becauſe Chriſt, in giving his Diſciples Bread in the Sacrament, ſaid, *This is my Body*, thence they would make us believe that the Bread is become the Body of Chriſt, as if the Verb *eſt* ſignified a change of the Bread into another Subſtance, which is found in no Language whatſoever.

Biſhop. We maintain not the Tranſubſtantiation of the Bread from this Verb *eſt*, knowing that the Hebrews uſe the Participle of the preſent tenſe in ſtead of a Verb; but rather from hence, becauſe Chriſt ſaid, *This is my Body.*

La Grange. I told you that Jeſus Chriſt in his Supper gives us that body which was conceived by the holy Ghoſt in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*; which was crucified, dead and buried, raiſed again the third day, and is aſcended into Heaven; yet we utterly deny that there is any change made of the Bread. Therefore if you would have us believe it, let us have ſome proof of Scripture for it.

For they had many diſputes touching this point, which are not here inſerted.

Biſhop. To ſpeak properly, the Tranſubſtantiation of the Bread cannot be proved by the word of God, and yet we muſt believe it for the reaſons above ſaid.

La Grange. Your glorying then that you have the Word of God on your ſide is (as you ſee) come to nothing. And why have you then burned ſo many of Gods Saints for denying that which you cannot maintain by the Scriptures? For our parts, we ſhould bluſh to affirm, that the Subſtance of Bread remains after the words of Conſecration, if we could not prove the ſame from the very form of the Inſtitution of the Sacrament, wherein Chriſt took Bread, and having giving thanks he brake Bread, and gave to his Diſciples Bread, and they took and did eat Bread: yea, Saint *Paul* rehearſing the Inſti-
1 Cor 11. 23, 26. 27. tution calls it Bread thrice.

Biſh. You know that in the Hebrew-Tongue Bread is taken for the remainders of what was eaten; *Paul* therefore in that place ſpeaks of thoſe viands which the *Corinthians* did eat in their Love-feaſts, reproving their abuſe. So alſo, howſoever *Paul* calls it Bread there, and that in the ſecond of the Acts of the Apoſtles
Act. 42. mention is made of the breaking of Bread, all this ſerves non your turn.

La Grange. I grant that Bread is taken in the Scripture in this ſence; but be it that Bread be taken for the meat that was left, yet you read not that the Subſtance was changed into the Subſtance of other meat, or loſt the property thereof. It is certain that the Scripture uſeth not this Phraſe, of breaking of Bread in the uſe of the Lords Supper, for nothing; for thereby we are given to underſtand, that it is not a ſign only in appearance or ſhew, but the true Subſtance of Bread.

Biſh. Let it be what it will; we hold cloſe to the words of Jeſus Chriſt, where he ſaith, *This is my Body*; and therefore alſo believe what we ſpeak. I care not if I be deceived in this matter, nor for bearing reproof for the ſame, either before God or men; for before God himſelf I will plead thus, *Lord, thou haſt ſaid it, and I believe it.*

Underſtand the words, ſacramentally, and all is well.

La Grange. We reſt in the ſame thing alſo; but withal we have an eye unto Chriſts meaning and intent, which was to eſtabliſh a Sacrament: we alſo receive from his mouth the ſame words as well as you, but ſacramentally, where the outward ſign bears the name of the thing ſignified.

Biſh.

Anno 1566

Biſh. As touching the Sacraments in the Old Teſtament (which had their extent only to the coming of Chriſt, and no further) we indeed do hold, that the ſign bears the name of the thing ſignified thereby; and thus the Paſchal Lamb was called the *Paſſover*, and Circumciſion was called *Gods Covenant*, being but a ſign thereof: but it is otherwiſe now in the Sacraments of the New Teſtament, which have their continuance unto the end of the world, containing in them the thing ſignified. Exod. 12.43. Ge. 71.10.

La Grange. Your diſtinction will be but idle if we come to the Sacraments of the New Teſtament, which are only two, (howſoever the Church of *Rome* holds ſeven) to wit, Baptiſm and the Lords Supper. The Scripture calls Baptiſm the waſhing of Regeneration, becauſe it is a ſign thereof, yet bearing the name of that whereof it is but a ſign. Nor among your own Writers do we find, that the Water in Baptiſm is changed into the Blood of Chriſt; which is notwithſtanding the true Laver of Regeneration. Alſo the Cup is called the New Teſtament, becauſe it is a ſign thereof.

Dare you now affirm that the Cup is the New Teſtament? But becauſe you ſeem to bring in for confirmation of your Opinion the ancient Fathers, we are content to be tried herein by them, even in our cauſe alſo, and it ſhall appear that they are not ſo contrary to us as you ſuppoſe; and this will clear our Doctrine from the crime of Novelty, wherewith ye ſlander it. Afterwards we will come to touch ſuch inconveniences and abſurdities as flow from your Doctrine.

The Biſhop anſwering that he was content, *La Grange* began as followeth.

Gelaſius a Pope of Rome.

La Grange. Gelaſius, who was an ancient Doctor, yea, and a Pope alſo, ſaid in a Council held at *Rome*, *That the ſubſtance and nature of Bread and Wine remained in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, even as the humane Nature of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was united unto his divine Eſſence.* *Chryſoſtom* an ancient Dr. in his imperfect work upon St. *Matthew*, denies that the Body of Chriſt is incloſed under the Bread in the Sacrament, but holds that it is only an outward ſign thereof. Chryſoſtom.

Biſh. I have, as you know, before anſwered that Sentence of *Gelaſius*, and then I told you that he was not ſeen in Philoſophy, and therefore could not diſpute ſubſtantially of the ſubſtance of the Bread; yea, I verily think he underſtood not what this word Subſtance meant, but took it for that which we call Accidents; as ſometimes by this word Accident we underſtand Subſtance; witneſs *Julian*, who takes it in this ſence.

La Grange. Sir, I cannot conceive that ſuch a learned Father could be ſo ignorant, as to know what the ſubſtance of Bread ſhould mean, or at leaſt the nature thereof, ſeeing he eat of it daily. St. *Auguſtine* hath this ſaying on the third *Pſalm*, That Chriſt ſhewed admirable patience in receiving *Judas* to that Banquet, in which he inſtituted and gave to his Diſciples the ſign of his Body and Blood. Auguſtine.

Biſh. I doubt not but many ſuch Sentences are to be found in St. *Auguſtine* which ſeem to favour your Opinion; as where he ſaith to *Adimantus* the *Manichee*, That Jeſus Chriſt did not ſhun to call it his Body, albeit he gave but the ſign thereof. But ſuch kind of ſpeeches muſt be expounded by conferring one place with another.

La Grange. Nay Sir, we have not only St. *Auguſtine*, but alſo the moſt part of the ancient Fathers (all which you ſay are againſt us) on our ſide.

Biſh. Well, but come now to the abſurdities and inconveniences of our Doctrine, whereof you ſpake.

1. Abſurdity.

La Grange. Amongſt other, I will inſtance in this one; By the Doctrine which you teach you ſever and disjoyn that which in it ſelf is joyned and united together. In the Supper of the Lord the Son of God gives us his Fleſh for our meat and his Blood for our drink; which are coupled together by outward Sacramental ſigns, Bread and Wine: now according to your Doctrine the Bread is converted into fleſh and the Wine into blood, and ye ſeparate the Fleſh from the Blood of Chriſt.

Biſh. We ſeparate not the Fleſh from the Blood, ſeeing that by concomitancy the fleſh is never without blood, nor blood without fleſh.

La Grange. If this be ſo, we ſhould in one and the ſame action receive the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt twice; for taking the Bread, which you ſay hath Blood accompanying it by your Concomitance, you receive whole Chriſt in fleſh, and then again in blood: and thus we receive the Fleſh twice and the Blood twice.

Biſh. What inconvenience cometh of receiving the ſame twice in one action?

La Grange. Chriſt did not inſtitute his Supper to be received twice in one action, but ſaith in the ſingular number, *Take, eat, this is my Body*; he ſaid not in the plural, *Theſe are my Bodies.* This only abſurdity, if there were no more, overturns the Lords Inſtitution.

To this the Biſhop made no anſwer.

La Grange. If we mark Chriſts words, it will appear that the abſurdities in your Doctrine do croſs this Commandment, *Eat*; for what eat you Sir, I pray you, in this Sacrament?

Biſh. The Accidents of Bread.

La Grange. Eat you nothing but the Accidents? It is ſaid, *Eat, this is my Body.*

Biſh. We receive the Body and Blood.

La Grange. When you eat the Body, do you not bruiſe it with your Teeth?

Biſh. No, for Chriſts Body is inſenſible; ſo as when we eat or bruiſe the Cake, the Body is not bruiſed therewithal, but the Form; the Body is not diſmembred, but every bit is the Body of Chriſt.

La Grange. Sir, you ſtill fall into the former Abſurdities; for making three pieces of your Cake in the Maſs, and every piece thereof the whole Body of Chriſt, it thereupon follows, that in taking three pieces you ſwallow down three Bodies of Chriſt together. 2. Abſurdity

Biſh. We muſt not be led thus by humane ſenſe.

La Grange. Sir, that which I ſay is manifeſt enough, and ſo that which you affirm of your Forms cannot ſtand; for Chriſt ſaith not, *Eat the Forms*, but *Eat, this is my Body.* Now we cannot eat, unleſs we gnaw with our Teeth, in bruiſing that we eat. If you ſay that the Bread, which is Fleſh as you hold, is conveyed under the Tongue and gently ſwallowed; then I anſwer, This is not eating but ſwallowing: for, can he be ſaid to eat, who being half pined with hunger ſwallows his Bread and Meat without chewing? Nay, he may rather be ſaid to devour it. Moreover, if the Bread, which as you affirm is Fleſh, be put into a mans Mouth and ſwallowed, then how will you anſwer that which Chriſt ſaid in St. *Matthew*, That whatſoever enters into the mouth goeth into the belly, and is caſt out into the Draught, or Back-chamber, as we call it. Mat. 15.17.

Biſh. Theſe words muſt be taken of our ordinary eating, which is caſt (ſaving your preſence) after it is eaten into the Draught.

La Grange. What becomes then of this ſwallowed Fleſh?

Biſh. The Forms are turned into it, and the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt is gone; but theſe things muſt not be too curiouſly examined.

La Grange. This Anſwer cannot ſtand: the Accidents, which you call kinds, cannot be changed thereinto, it is the Subſtance which is changed. But let us come to a more ſubſtantial Argument: you teach, That whoſoever receives this Bread, which you call Fleſh, receives Jeſus Chriſt. How is it then that St. *Paul* ſaith, *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eats and drinks damnation to himſelf, &c.* 1 Cor. 11. 27, 29.

Biſh. This Argument hath ſome weight in it; for thus you reaſon, he that receives Chriſt doth therewithal receive eternal life; but by our Doctrine all receive Chriſt in the Sacrament, therefore they muſt needs have eternal life.

I confeſs it is true according to your Minor Propoſition, that they receive him: But I deny that all receive him unto life everlaſting; for if they receive not the Fleſh by the Holy Ghoſt, it profits them nothing.

La Grange. I have taken the firſt part of my Propoſition out of St. *John*, where Chriſt ſaith, He is the life; but ſeeing we cannot receive ſo much as a common Herb without the vertue of it, much leſs can we receive Chriſt without that life which is comprehended in him; otherwiſe we ſhould receive a dead Body without efficacy, and not Jeſus Chriſt, who cauſeth thoſe that eat him to live eternally. For this Sacrament was inſtituted John 11.25. Simile.

of God by his Son, to manifeſt and ſet forth his Fatherly
John 6.51. good will towards us, not contenting himſelf to have received us once as ſtrangers into his houſhold by Baptiſm, but as his own Children: and therefore hath ordained this ſecond Sacrament of the holy Supper, that in
Why the Lords Supper was ordained. his houſe we might have wherewith to nouriſh and feed us continually. Now as touching the Holy Ghoſt, it is by him that we eat the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt and drink
We partake of Chriſt in the Sacrament, by the effectual working of the Holy Ghoſt. his Blood, conjoyning by his powerful working thoſe things together which by diſtance of place are ſevered far off one from another, cauſing all that is in Chriſt to become ours, and as by a Conduit-pipe conveying unto us the true partaking of Chriſts Fleſh and Blood; ſo as whoſoever receives Chriſt hath eternal life.

Biſhop. That is, if he receive him by the Holy Spirit;
John 6.63. for otherwiſe the fleſh profiteth nothing, as Saint *John* ſaith.

La Grange. Sir, the place you alledge makes againſt you; for Chriſt there reproves his Diſciples for thinking they ſhould eat his Fleſh after a carnal manner, as it appears by the words following, *For the words, ſaid he, which I ſpeak unto you are ſpirit and life.* If then we
Simile. are ſo wiſe as to obſerve that the Sun, ſending down its ſubſtance on Earth by the beams thereof, doth after a ſort cauſe the Herbs to ſpring forth and grow, ſhall not the influence of the Spirit of Chriſt be of much more efficacy to bring us to the true participation of his Fleſh and Blood?

Biſhop. Then the Biſhop was deſirous to be gone, ſaying it grew late, and ſo for want of time our conference ended. The Biſhop commended me to God, and then took his leave of the Company. This is the ſum of our Communication, ſo far as I can remember.

By this brief recital we may obſerve what holy boldneſs, mixed with meekneſs, the Lord had indued this his worthy Servant with, even in the flower of his Age, being drawn from his ſtudies and from the place of his birth to preach the Goſpel to the *Valencians*, and at length to ſeal up the ſame with his Blood.

A ſhort Narration of the life and death of theſe two valiant Champions of Chriſt, Guy de Brez, *and* Peregrin de la Grange, *Miniſters and Martyrs.*

NExt to the pure preaching of the Word, nothing ſo much commends thoſe whom the Lord culls out to give their lives for the ſame, as doth an holy and blameleſs converſation, continued unto their happy departure out of this World. It remains then in few words, that we ſet forth the converſations of theſe two holy Perſonages, that thereby the Mercies and Graces of the Lord beſtowed upon them may have the greater luſtre.

Guy de Brez born in *Mons* in *Hainault*, being in his younger years much addicted to Popiſh Superſtitions, came by continually reading of the Scriptures to taſte the ſweetneſs of Chriſtian Religion; which knowledge brought forth no ſmall fruit in him in due ſeaſon: Yet ſo, as it could by no means be reliſhed or received by them of his Nation. Whereupon he departed from *Mons*, and having learned the Art of painting Glaſs, came to *London* whilſt good King *Edward* the Sixth reigned, who gave perſecuted Strangers leave to have harbour within his Realm of *England*. After his abode there a while, and underſtanding that the preaching of the Goſpel obtained ſome entertainment in the Low-Countries, he went over to give his aſſiſtance to thoſe of his own Country.

The firſt-fruits of his labours were moſt an end in beſtowing ſome Exhortations in ſuch places where he found any willing to give him audience, though never ſo few in number.

But above all he clave to them of the City of *Liſle*, becauſe he found there a great number of Believers who deſired nothing more than to hear the Goſpel publickly preached unto them. At that time alſo began an holy
* Againſt which this godly Man publiſhed a learned Confutation in French, which Book I have in my hands. conflict *againſt the peſtilent Sect of the Anabaptiſts, which as Cockle mingled it ſelf amongſt the good Corn. In this City he continued until the Flock of Chriſt were diſperſed by reaſon of Perſecution, and then went to *Gaud*, where he wrote his Book called the *Staff of Faith*, extracted out of the ancient Fathers. After that being deſirous to profit more and more in the knowledge of ſuch things as were requiſite to be in a Miniſter of the Goſpel, he travelled towards *Lauſanna*, and thence to *Geneva*, to furniſh himſelf with the Tongues; and thence withdrawing himſelf into the *Low-Countries*, he there eſtabliſhed the Churches of *Liſle*, *Tournay*, and of the *Valencians*; in which Cities God ſo proſpered his labours, that he was preſerved by his divine Providence, as it were in the midſt of the fiery flames, from falling into the hands of his Enemies. And not to ſtand longer in relating the pains and travels of this faithful Servant of Chriſt, not only the Reformed Churches of the ſaid Country can teſtifie, but alſo theſe of *Diex*, *Mondidier*, and *Amiens* alſo, which he was an happy Inſtrument to ſupport, whilſt the cruel Perſecutions in his own Land would not permit him to continue his Office of teaching them. Anno 1559

The Duke of *Bovillon* obtaining him drew him to his City of *Sedan*, where he alſo continued a while in publiſhing the glad-tidings of ſalvation, until the Church of *Antwerp* began in the month of *Auguſt* 1576. to call him to be their Paſtor. But he could not obtain leave of thoſe of *Sedan* to depart from among them without a great deal of difficulty, becauſe they evidently foreſaw by the beginning of the Perſecutions in the *Low-Countries*, into what a Sea of troublous Tempeſts he ſhould be caſt: and yet perceiving how the heart of this holy Man longed to be gone, to yield his aſſiſtance to thoſe of his own Nation: at length they conſented to let him go with them that requeſted to have his help. Now having ſtayed but a while there, the Brethren determined to ſend him to his ancient Church of the *Valencians*, who received him with no little joy, in regard the Lord had formerly ordained him to erect a Church there peculiarly.

Peregrin de la Grange. To come now to *Peregrin de la Grange*, he was born in *Chute* nigh to St. *Marcellin* in *Daulphin*. In the Month of *June* in the year 1565. he was ſent from the Schools of *Geneva*, at the requeſt and inſtance of the *Valencians*, to ſerve in the Miniſtry among them. Such was his meek and mild diſpoſition, that it won him much love and reſpect, and made his Miniſtry to be ſo much
His meek diſpoſition won him much reſpect. the more acceptable in the eyes of all men. After the demoliſhing of Images in the City of the *Valencians*, two Churches were employed by thoſe of the Reformed Religion for the uſe of Prayer, preaching the Word, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments. Now the detaining of theſe Churches, the one of them being uſed by a Stranger, namely by the ſaid *la Grange*, who was none of K. *Philips* Subjects, being alſo againſt the Decree of *Margaret* then Regent of the *Low-Countries*, gave occaſion to *Noicurin*, as then principal Bayliff of *Hainault* and *Valence*, not only to fruſtrate and break all accords with the ſaid *Valencians*, but moreover to afflict and beſiege them extreamly. During which ſiege, becauſe the Supper of the Lord was adminiſtred in both the ſaid Churches, it did ſo much the more enkindle the rage of the Enemy againſt them, ſo as when the City was taken, *La Grange* was the more cruelly uſed, as you ſhall read when we come to ſpeak of his death.

The ſame *Adverſaries*, who encountred *Guy de Brez* his Companion, aſſailed him alſo; but he overcame them by the help of Gods Holy Spirit, who gave them both ſuch power, as their Enemies were not able to reſiſt.

They were impriſoned the 11 of *April*, and on *Saturday* the laſt of *May*, the Provoſt of the Bands came into the Priſon about three of the Clock in the Morning, to give theſe two Priſoners warning to prepare themſelves for death; for they were to die at ſix or thereabouts. Whereupon both of them began highly to magnifie God for his goodneſs, and gave the Provoſt thanks for the good news which he had brought them. Aſſoon as they were up and ready, Mr. *Guy* entred into the fore-Court, bidding the reſt of the Priſoners good morrow; and then teſtifying to them his joy, ſpake after this manner; *Brethren, I am this day to die for the Doctrine of the Goſpel; and now, bleſſed be God, I joy and rejoyce therein; I had not thought that God would ever have done me this honour. I feel my ſelf repleniſhed with joy more and more, from minute to minute, my God addeth new courage unto me, and my heart leaps for joy within me.*

Then

Anno 1566.

Then exhorting the Priſoners to be of good cheer, he told them it was no hard matter to die, and ſo by way of acclamation alledged that place out of the *Apocalyps*, *O how happy are the dead that die in the Lord; for they reſt from their labours, and their works follow them!* He further beſought the Priſoners to ſtand faſt in the Doctrine of the Son of God, which he had taught them, avowing it to be the undoubted Truth, which was maintained, by him before the Biſhop of *Arres* and many others.

Which diſputes were formerly omitted in regard that in a manner they were the ſame with thoſe of Peregrin de la Grange.

Beware you do nothing, ſaid he, againſt a good Conſcience; for I foreſee that the enemies of the Goſpel will execute the utmoſt of their rage againſt us; thinking thereby to weaken our Faith, that ſo they might turn you from the Truth, and ſo cauſing you to do ſuch things as ſhould bring diſhonour to the cauſe for which you are in Bonds. Take heed therefore ye ſhrink not; for if ye do, you ſhall certainly feel ſuch an Hell in your Conſciences, as will never ceaſe to vex and torment you. O my Brethren, how good a thing is it to nouriſh a good Conſcience.

One of the Priſoners asking him whether he had finiſhed a certain work which he had begun, he anſwered, *No; For now I muſt ceaſe to labour, becauſe I am paſſing along towards the Heavenly reſt: the time of my departing is at hand, I go to reap that in Heaven which I have ſown on earth, I have fought a good fight, I am at the point of finiſhing up my courſe: from henceforth the Crown of Glory is laid up for me, which the Lord the righteous Judge ſhall give unto me.* Me thinks (ſaid he with a joyful and ſmiling countenance) that my Spirit hath obtained Wings to ſoar aloft into Heaven, being invited this day to the Mariage Supper of the Lamb.

As he was ſpeaking, the Provoſt came in with Bands into the Court, and putting off his Hat ſaluted him. Mr. *Guy* bade him welcome, and gave him thanks again for his good News. The Provoſt replied, It grieveth me much that things ſhould be carried thus. To which *Guy* joyfully anſwered, I accept of you as of my good Friend, I love you with all mine heart. Then taking his leave of the Priſoners he went into the little Hall of the Priſon.

Soon after *Peregrine de la Grange* entred into the ſame Court, who as he carried himſelf comfortably during all the time of his impriſonment, ſo then after his accuſtomed manner he began with an amiable countenance to chear the Priſoners, with bidding them good morrow; and then ſaid thus unto them; *I am this day to die for the Truth, and then the Heavenly Inheritance is prepared for me: my name is written in the Book of life never to be blotted out, becauſe the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.*

Phil 4.3. Rom. 11. 29.

He proteſted alſo, That for his part he never taught ought there but the pure Word of God; as for the Doctrine of the Papiſts, it led Souls, he ſaid, to perdition and deſtruction: and thence took occaſion to exhort the Priſoners to ſeparate themſelves from it, and to cleave wholly to the Doctrine of the Goſpel. Then leaving them he went into another room, and called for a Bruſh to Bruſh his Hat and Cloak, cauſing his ſhoos to be blacked; For now, ſaid he, I am bidden to the Mariage of the Lamb, where I am to feaſt with him for ever and ever.

Going thence, ſome of the Priſoners came to him, and finding him ſitting in the entry of the Priſon upon a Bench, with Bread and Wine ſet before him, which was brought him for his breakfaſt, they asked him if he went to ſuffer with thoſe ſhackels on his heels? *I would I might* (ſaid he) *yea, and that they would bury them with me too, that they might manifeſt the inhumanity of my adverſaries.* And as thoſe Brethren comforted him, he replied, that he felt ſuch joy of the holy Ghoſt in his heart, that he could neither with mouth nor Tongue expreſs it; adding, *That God ſhewed him a thouſand times more favour to take him after this manner out of this Tranſitory life, than if he had let him die in his bed by ſickneſs: for now* (ſaith he) *I ſhall die with enjoying the benefit of all the powers of my Soul, praying the Lord to have mercy upon me.*

Then every one taking his leave of him they retired, and forthwith *Guy* and *La Grange* were led to the Town-hall to receive Sentence of death, namely to be hanged for tranſgreſſing the Kings comandment given at the Court of *Bruxels*. And ſo not medling at all with any of the points of Doctrine which they had preached, they eſpecially inſiſted upon the adminiſtration of the Lords Supper, againſt an expreſs charge given them to the contrary.

To be ſhort, *La Grange* being brought to the place of execution, and now upon the Ladder, he proteſted with a loud voice (notwithſtanding the noiſe which the Soldiers kept about the Gibbet) that he died only for preaching to the People the pure Truth of God; taking Heaven and Earth to witneſs the ſame with him.

Then was Mr. *Guy* brought thither; who kneeling down to have made his Prayer at the foot of the Ladder, was not ſuffered to make an end; for lifting him up they made him by and by to aſcend the Ladder. Being thereon he faſtned his feet in the rundles, exhorting the People to carry themſelves with all due reſpect towards the Magiſtrates, ſhewing how ſome had overſhot themſelves in that behalf.

Then Mr. *Guy* exhorted them to ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Doctrine which he had taught them, avouching that it was the undoubted Truth of God. He could not finiſh his ſpeech fully, becauſe the Commiſſioners gave a ſign to the Executioner to haſten and make an end.

He was no ſooner turned off the Ladder, but there fell out ſuch a Tumult among the Souldiers, being in Arms in the Market place, that they ran up and down the City, ſhooting off their Pieces againſt ſuch as they met, as well Papiſts as others, yea killing one another in a grievous manner, ſo as ſome fell down dead among many others that were wounded and hurt. And thus were they ſmitten with great fear without any ground thereof at all.

Notes touching the eſtate of the Faithful in the City of Venice, and of ſome executed there for the Truth, in the year 1566.

IT pleaſed God for a long ſpace to free this noble City from being ſubjected to the cruel Inquiſition of the Pope, by reaſon whereof the face of a Church was to be diſcerned there, from the year 1530, to the year 1542. They enjoyed ſuch freedom of conferring and ſcanning of the Points of Religion there, that they came in a manner to make profeſſion thereof publickly; ſo as many ſtrange Nations came to take notice thereof. But the Father of lies obſerving this began to beſtirr himſelf, by ſetting his Lieutenant on work, who hath his ſeat at *Rome*, to diſturb theſe good beginnings: for it came to paſs, that whilſt Multitudes of good Chriſtians flocked thither from other parts, in proceſs of time ſuch a courſe was taken by Antichriſts ſupporters, that many of them were impriſoned, and afterward ſent thence to *Rome*.

The reſt by a new found execution, never till then heard of, were caſt into the Sea, and drowned in the bottom of the ſame. The manner of it was thus: After they had received Sentence, an Iron Chain was faſtned about their middle with a Stone of great weight tyed thereto; and then were they laid upon a Plank between two Wherries, which being come to the Place appointed the Wherries parting aſunder, the Martyrs were forthwith drowned. Yet for all this many ceaſed not ſtill to aſſemble together in a place appointed for that purpoſe, to talk and diſcourſe of Heavenly matters, yea, and to make ſome collections for relief of the poor; ſo as in the year 1566, they called to them a miniſter of the Goſpel, to eſtabliſh and conſtitute a Church among them; having alſo the Supper of the Lord adminiſtred to them. But ſome falſe Brethren creeping in, under pretence of making the ſame profeſſion with them, betrayed them.

Then began the Popiſh Inquiſition to be erected there with the greateſt cruelty that might be, towards the maintenance whereof the Pope ſent every year a certain ſum of mony to thoſe holy Fathers, to be diſtributed among ſuch as were appointed to be ſpies and revealers of ſuch ſecrets as they could come to the knowledge of. Thus were many caſt into the Sea and drowned; ſome were ſent to *Rome*; others were detained ſo long in Priſons (which were like graves) that they rotted there.

Maſter

Mr. Anthony Ricetto, *Martyr.*

AMongſt others who were condemned to bee drowned, there was one Maſter *Anthony Ricetto* of *Vincence* having a Son about twelve yeares old, who coming to viſit his Father, according to the diſcretion of Children, beſought him with teares to yeild to thoſe who had condemned him, and to ſave his life, that he might not be left Fatherleſs.

A True Chriſtian (ſaid his Father) *is bound to forgoe goods, Children, yea, and life it ſelf, for the Maintenance of Gods Honour and Glory*: For which cauſe he was now ready and reſolved to lay it down, the Lord aſſiſting him.

The Lords of *Venice* offered to reſtore unto him his Patrimony, which was partly morgaged and ſold, if he would ſubmit himſelf to the Church of *Rome*. But he refuſed whatſoever conditions they this way tendred unto him. Some that were Priſoners with him, namely one Mr. *Julius Ferlan* hath reported much of the abſtinence, patience, and holineſs of this excellent man, ſo farr as to paralel him to another *John Baptiſt*. On the fifteenth day of *February* 1565. which according to our computation is, 1566. Captain *Clairmont* came unto him, and told him, that *Francis Sega* was reſolved to recant. To which *Ricetto* by and by replyed, What tell you me of *Sega*? I will perform my Vows unto the Lord my God; and ſo he was led bound faſt to they whereby. A Certain Prieſt who accompanied him, preſentented unto him a wooden Crucifix, exhorting him to return and to die in the favour of God, reconciling himſelf unto the Church of *Rome*, the holy Spouſe of Chriſt. But *Ricetto*, rejecting that Crucifix, beſought the Prieſt and thoſe that followed them to come out of the ſnare of the Devil, to cleave to Jeſus Chriſt; and to live, not according to the Fleſh, but after the Spirit; for if you do otherwiſe, ſaid he, aſſure your ſelves your unbelief will bring you into that lake of fire that ſhall never be quenched. For though you confeſs with your mouth that you knew Jeſus Chriſt, yet you not only deny him by your works, but you perſecute him in his members, being ſeduced, and bewitched by the Pope, who is the open enemy of the Son of God.

* This *Sega* was his fellow Priſoner, of whom ſee more hereafter.

When they were come nigh to the two Caſtles, the Captain bound his hands; now, becauſe it was very cold, he called for his cloak which they had taken from him. Then ſaid the Wherry-man, feareſt thou a little cold? What wilt thou do when thou art caſt into the Sea? Why art thou not careful to ſave thy ſelf from drowning? Doeſt thou not ſee that the poor flea skips hither and thither to ſave her life? To whom hee anſwered, And I am now flying to eſcape eternal death.

Being arrived at the place where he was to ſuffer, the Captain put a Chain of Iron about his middle with a very heavy ſtone faſtened thereto. Then *Ricetto*, lifting his eyes to Heaven, ſaid, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.* And being laid on the plank, hee ſaid, *Lord Jeſus into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*: and then pulling this weighty ſtone towards him, not waiting till the Boats were ſundred one from another, as in ſuch kind of executions they were wont to do, this holy man ſlept in the Lord; which was no ſmall terrour to the Magiſtrate, in that there was never any that died this kind of death before, with ſo much conſtancy and reſolution.

Mr. Francis Spinola, *Martyr.*

THe *Sunday* following, Maſter *Francis Spinola* of *Milaine*, being about the age of ſix and forty years, was apprehended and brought into the Priſon, called *Des cleſs de dix*, *That oft en keyes*; where he found poor *Francis Sega*. Two days after (which was the eight and twentieth day of *February*) *Spinola* was brought before his Judges, where they delivered into his hands a little Treatiſe of the Lords Supper, of which he freely confeſſed he was the Author; ſhewing that the opinion which he there maintained was this, That the Bread and Wine were the ſigns, and not the things ſignified, and therefore muſt not bee adored. He was queſtioned with as touching the power of the Pope, prayer to Saints, and about Purgatory. He anſwered that the Popes power was from man, which the Roman Conſiſtory and certain Princes had given him: but that God the Father had given Jeſus Chriſt to be the head of the Church, and to have all power in Heaven and Earth. What is *Peter* then, or what is *Paul*? He further added, that he would not worſhip nor pray to any other but to God only, as it is written. The memorial of the Saints he well approved, as of thoſe who were the true Branches ingrafted into the Vine Chriſt.

Francis Sega, Martyr.

Anno 1567. Mat. 28. 18.

Luke 4. 8. John 15. 5.

Alſo for his part he acknowledgeth none other Purgatory, but the Blood of Chriſt, as it is manifeſt in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, and in the firſt Epiſtle of *John*. Heb 1. 3.

Then as *Spinola* was returned into his Priſon *Francis Sega* (whom he was ignorant of) waited his coming, holding a Candle in his hand and paſſing by with his Keeper, ſaluted him by his name; whence it came to paſs, that they two conferred together about the Doctrine of the Goſpel. Now howſoever *Sega* differed from *Spinola*, touching the number of Sacraments, yet he referred himſelf to the judgment of the True Church of Chriſt in that behalf. But after that he had learned that *Spinola* had conſtantly ſtood to the defence of the Truth, he was very joyful and much comforted, ſaying, That God had reſerved him for ſuch a time as this, to make him partaker with him of ſo great conſolation. 1 John 1. 7.

The conſtancy of one Martyr puts life into another.

He wrote conſolatory Letters to *Spinola*, committing his writings into his hands, whereof ſome were preſerved, and the reſt loſt by the careleſneſs of a falſe Brother. Upon the three and twentieth day of *February*, 1567. the Keepers of the Priſon told *Sega* that he was to die within one hour after the ſhutting in of the evening. At the hearing of which news hee intreated *Spinola*, to pray with him. After prayer, *Sega* telling him that his Soul was heavy to the death; *Spinola* gave him this anſwer, *Fear not, for it will not be long before it ſhall feel thoſe joyes which ſhall endure for ever.*

Being brought out of his dark Dungeon, according to the time limited, hee took his leave of *Spinola* and the reſt of the Priſoners. As hee was entred into the Boat, a certain Frier began to perſwade him to return into the right way. *Sega* anſwered, that he was already in the way of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and paſſing on he called upon the name of God. He ſeemed not to be much moved at the binding of his Hands, but was a little amazed at the faſtening of his Body to the Chain. Yet by and by taking unto him a Chriſtian reſolution, he took whatſoever they did unto him patiently. Being laid upon the boord or plank, hee commended his Soul into the Hands of God, and being left of the two Boats (upon the edges whereof the plank was ſtayed) the one declining this way, and the other that way, he fell into his Sepulchre the Sea, and died patiently.

Spinola ſoon after was preſented the ſecond time before his Judges, namely the tenth of *March*, where he reproved the Popes Legate with his Clergy there preſent, as alſo the Lords of *Venice* who ſat in judgment upon him, becauſe contrary to their Conſciences they ſo perſecuted the Truth of God, calling them the offſpring of the Phariſees, *Caiphas*, and the Gentiles, who now, ſaid he, kill Jeſus Chriſt in his members. The nine and twentieth of *March* following, hee was the third time brought before them, where they asked him if he would not recant his Errors. He anſwered that the Doctrine he maintained was not Erroneous, but the very ſame Truth which Jeſus Chriſt and his holy Apoſtles taught and preached, and for which all the Martyrs, as well of old time as now have willingly layd down their lives, and endured the pains of death.

As he did the firſt time hee was convented before them.

After all this, *Spinola* became ſo weak, that he determined to ſtrike Sail (as they ſay) and to apply himſelf to the time; being brought hereinto by the advice of ſome, namely that he ſhould fain a giving of his conſent to what the Magiſtrate required of him, by means whereof he might eſcape their Hands. But about the tenth of *September*, coming again to himſelf, and eſpying whereunto this determination tended, hee proteſted before all, that he would ſtand in the confeſſion he had made from the firſt of *April* laſt paſt. Wherefore on the ninth of *Auguſt* hee was brought again before the ſame Judges, where he openly confirmed the ſame.

Spinola begins to waver.

But ſoon after recovers himſelf.

His

Anno 1566.

His Judges ſaid, that he ſhould either be drowned or burned alive. Then on the thirteenth of *January* 1566. (according to the *Venetian* account, which accordiug to ours was 1567.) on *Tueſday* morning being come before the Tribunal, Sentence was pronounced upon him that hee ſhould be drowned as an Heretick. To which he gave them this anſwer, *I am no Heretick, but the Servant of Jeſus Chriſt.* At which words the Popes Legate commanded him to hold his peace, telling him that he lied. The next day in the morning (which was the laſt of *January*) he was brought into St. *Peters Chappel*, where he was degraded, becauſe he had been a Prieſt; and the night following he was conducted unto the Sea, and there drowned in the place appointed; who died prayſing and bleſſing God with invincible conſtancy.

A Relation of ſuch things as fell out under the Government of the Duke of Alva, *and of many men put to death*, 1567.

THe afflictions of the Proteſtants in the Low-Countries were multiplied this year under the dominion of *Ferdinando* of *Toledo* Duke of *Alva*. It is well known that the Spaniards, uſing all their endeavours to rule over this Countrey at their pleaſures, had no better opportunity to accompliſh their deſign, than to eſtabliſh among them their Inquiſition, thereby to domineer over the goods, honors, and lives of every one. The Nobles, Citizens, and Commons did what they could to oppoſe the ſame: to which purpoſe they had inſtantly beſought the King, to afford them his Royal preſence, that hearing once their complaints, his Majeſty might take ſome order for matters of ſo great importance; alledging to this end the example of the Emperour *Charles* his Father: who upon a buſineſs farr inferiour to this, adventured himſelf with much diligence to paſs through the Enemies Country, who were but a while before reconciled; onely to ſtay ſome mutinies begun in the City of *Gand*. Theſe things had ſo moved his Majeſty, that he made them a promiſe by Letters of his coming. But his intention was broken off by ſuch as were the upholders of the Inquiſition, that ſo they might with the more facility attain the end of their deſires. In ſtead of their King then, they had ſent unto them the Duke of *Alva*, who at his entrance found the Priſons repleniſhed with Gentlemen and other perſonages of note, whom the Dutcheſs of *Parma* had left in bonds after her death.

Long did they languiſh in this Captivity, whilſt the Duke of *Alva* by fair promiſes diſſembled a kind of meek and gentle carriage of mind towards them, giving them ſome hope of a general pardon, proceeding from the Kings clemency; that thus he might catch the Lords and Governors the more cunningly into his nets, whereof the Lord *Lemoral* Earle of *Egmond*, Prince of *Gand*, Governor of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and others of quality gave but too lamentable experience; who being fed with vain hopes were at length inhumanely put to death.

The ſixteen Provinces alſo ſubjecting themſelves under this new government, loſt their antient liberties and priviledges; which evidently appeared by the exploits done from the year 1567. hitherto by a new Councel of twelve, elect and ſetled there by the Duke; the principal of which were *Vergas* and *Delrio*, the Fathers of the Inquiſition, which Councel was commonly called the *Councel of Blood*.

To wit *Brabant*, *Lamburg*, *Luxemburg*, *Guerldeland*, *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Haynaut*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Namur*, *Zutphein*, *Friſeland*, *Malines*, *Utrecht*, *Over-Yſſel* and *Groaningue*.

* *Le Conſeil d'eſang.*

The death of two Barons of Battembourg, *the one called* Gysbrecht, *and the other* Thierri, *Brethren, with certain other Gentlemen executed the ſame day at* Bruxells, 1568.

AMong many Gentlemen and Captains who were apprehended after the diſcomfiture of the Aſſembly in *Holland*, whom the Dutcheſs of *Parma* had impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Villford*, the two Brothers of *Battembourg* a moſt antient *Barony* ſcituated upon *Menſe*, about two miles off from *Nieumegne*, did manifeſt above others how much they had profited by being inſtructed in the Church of *Geneva*. The elder of them was *Gysbrecht*, and the other *Dietrich or Thierri*; who from the flower of their youth had conſtantly profeſſed and confeſſed the pure Doctrine of the Goſpel.

On *Tueſday* the firſt of *June*, *Anno* 1568. the Duke of *Alva* began to declare to the world his fained meekneſs, putting to death the ſame day theſe two Brethren, beſides the Lords, *Heter Dandelet*, *Philip Wingle*, &c. They were firſt brought into *Provoſt Spellans* houſe, neer the Horſe fair, in the City of *Bruxels*, compaſſed about with a ſtrong guard, and many Drums beating, that none might hear what were their laſt ſpeeches. As they went to their death, *Battembourg* the elder ſeemed to be ſomewhat penſive, whereas *Dietrich* his Brother was very chearful, comforting the other with his gracious words, ſaying, Ah Brother, is not this the day we have ſo much deſired? Be not ſorrowful now; for it is the higheſt honor that can befal us here to ſuffer for the Doctrine of the Son of God. It may be for the love you bear me, you grieve to ſee me dye firſt: I am content that you ſhould drink of that cup before me, in regard you are the elder; if not, all is one, ſeeing we are going to our God.

Gysbrecht by and by replied, Think not, dear Brother, that the joy of the holy Ghoſt is taken from me now I am drawing nigh to the Lord, being ready to dye for his holy name.

Then aſcending the ſcaffold, after he had made his fervent Prayers to God, the Executioner taking off his head, he ſlept happily and ſweetly in the Lord. His Brother following him next with ſuch alacrity, as much aſtoniſhed the ſpectators.

He deſired, as ſome ſay, to ſee his Brother and when he had eſpied his head, he cried, *I ſhall by and by be with thee, my Brother.* So after he had ended his prayer, he was by a quick diſpatch united unto him.

Thoſe who teſtifie theſe things report, That the other Gentleman had ſo much favour as to bee buried; but theſe two Brethren were made a ſpectacle, being hanged up: the cauſe was, for that in the very ſame morning they ſuffered, as alſo before, they directly ſet themſelves againſt the Idolatries which were propoſed unto them.

The *Saturday* after, the fifth of *June*, the Earls of *Egmond* and *Horne* were beheaded, and there made a publique gazing ſtock. Of which two, the Earl of *Horne*, who died laſt, gave an evident proof of that true knowledge of God wherewith he was indued, and in which hee had more eſpecially increaſed in the time of his troubles and afflictions.

An extract of a complaint with a proteſtation of the Prince of Orange *and the Gentlemen of the Low Countries, touching their oppreſſions.*

THis year in the Month of *July*, the Prince of *Orange*, *William* of *Naſſau*, accompanied with many Lords and Gentlemen of the Low-Countries, all profeſſors of the Goſpel, for prevention of the ſlanders and pretences of Rebellion put upon them by the enemies thereof, publiſhed in writing a Declaration; that it might appear to all, that they were ſo farr off from plotting any Treaſon againſt the Kings Majeſty, that on the contrary, they did by all the means they could acknowledge him to be their natural Prince and Soveraign. The true cauſes indeed for which they took up Arms under the Authority of their Prince, for their own defence, as alſo of thoſe who profeſſed the Proteſtant Religion, were the extortions, the confiſcations of Body and Goods, with the continual condemnations and putting to death even of the moſt Noble perſonages of the Countrey,

And that the Prince of *Orange* might make known to all, what injuſtice and cruelties were exerciſed upon thoſe of the Religion, he diſcovered the notorious ſubtilties of the Cardinal of *Gravella* and others, who under the cloaks of the pretended Catholick Religion, ſought nothing elſe thereby but the diminiſhing of Gods glory, the Kings Authority, and the welfare of the common wealth, ſhedding the Blood of many a True Chriſtian, by whoſe death followed the loſs of their temporal eſtates; and all, forſooth, under pretence of Juſtice.

And

And foraſmuch as tortures, vexations, baniſhments, executions both by fire and fire and water, by ſtrait impriſonments, Sword and Gibbets did ſtill increaſe more and more; that for theſe conſiderations the cauſe was lawful and good, in taking upon them the defence of ſo miſerable a People; to whom the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, Governeſs under his Majeſty, had expreſly permitted the preaching of the Goſpel, for preventing of the perils and dangers which threatned the ruine of the ſaid Countries.

And as the ſaid Prince had been a faithful and loyal Servant to his Majeſty, in doing him many acceptable Services, without either ſparing his perſon or goods, ſo was he alſo ready preſt to be imployed ſtill in the like, more than at any time heretofore. And thus proceeding on further, he made it apparent to every one whoſe Judgment was not foreſtalled, that the Duke of *Alva*, who in reſpect of the dignities conferred upon him ought himſelf to be a pattern and a protector of the Nobility and Gentry, had notwithſtanding put to death threeſcore Gentlemen, with others of Quality, rich Burgemaſters of *Bruxels*, and of other Cities beſides; that this his ambition, being riſen to a notable height of cruelty, durſt put to death the Illuſtrious Earls of *Egmond* and *Horne*, without any ſhew of Law or equity, who had ſo faithfully ſerved the Emperour *Charles* of famous memory in his Wars.

Yea, that he might yet further debaſe the Nobility of the Country, which is as it were the principal ſupport of his Majeſty; he cauſed the Heads of the ſaid Earls to be ſet upon Poles and Forks; By ſuch Spectacles charging upon their Parents and Friends much obloquy and diſgrace. Yea, this horrible Execution did ſtrike ſuch a fear and terrour into many, that to avoid theſe oppreſſions they fled the Country. For a concluſion he added, that all theſe things laid together, the iſſue thereof tended to the extirpation of all true Religion, and conſequently the depriving of the Faithful, not only of their ſpiritual, but corporal good alſo. And therefore as a Prince, being a Native member of the Empire, he held himſelf obliged, in having compaſſion over the wrecks made among ſo many poor Chriſtians, to lend them his beſt help and furtherance for the free paſſage of the Goſpel, and the conſolation of ſuch of his Majeſties good Subjects, as were perſecuted, impriſoned and oppreſſed.

Before we ſhut up the Hiſtory of the year 1568, we will add to the former Martyrs ſome that were executed in the *Low-Countries* at divers times in the ſaid year, without tying our ſelves to any ſtrict order touching their death.

Schoblant *the Son of* Barthel, John de Hues, Joris Coomans, *Martyrs.*

THe eleventh of *February* there were taken and impriſoned in *Antwerp*, *Schoblant* the Son of *Barthel*, *John de Hues*, and *Joris Coomans*. After which they were all joyful and glad in the Lord, confeſſing that nothing fell out in this regard, but by his Divine Providence; as it appears by Letters written to their Brethren the ſeventeenth of *March*, containing that which followeth.

Seeing that it is the will of God that we ſhould ſuffer for his holy Name, and in the quarrel of his Goſpel, we certifie you Brethren, that we are of good courage hitherto, howſoever the Fleſh continually rebels againſt the Spirit, counſelling it ever and anon according to the advice of the old Serpent. But we are well aſſured that Chriſt who hath bruiſed, will alſo ſtill bruiſe the Serpents head, and not leave us comfortleſs. True it is, we are now and then pricked in the heel, but that is all the Serpent can do: nor are we diſcouraged, but keep our Faith cloſe to the Promiſes of God, who is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, having created all things of nothing.

Joh 14 18. Rom 16.20 Gen.3.15. Matt. 11.25.

Gen 39.21. Dan 3.25. Dan.6.22.

He forſook not Joſeph *in* Egypt, *nor left the three young Men in the fiery Furnace: no, nor* Daniel *in the Lions Den. This is the God of* Abraham, Iſaac *and* Jacob, *and of their righteous poſterity; ſo that without fear we can ſay with the Prophet* David, The Lord is my help, tower, ſtrength and refuge. *By ſuch and the like Scriptures, dear Brethren, we comfort our ſelves in our bands, rejecting all confidence in any man whatſoever. Be not di, maid then, good Brethren and Siſters, for our bands and impriſonment. For ſo is the good will of God now towards us. And therefore pray rather that he will give us grace to perſevere conſtantly unto the end.* So be it. Anno 1568

Pſal. 18.

The Examination of Schoblant, *taken the* 24. *of* March, *in the preſence of the Marqueſs, of the Bayliff, of the Secretary and many others,* 1568.

Marq. WHere were you born?

Schob. In *Sommerſwall.*

Marq. Where did you marry your Wife?

Schob. At *Middleborough* in *Zealand.*

Marq. Where were your Children baptized?

Schob. In the Church of Chriſt, in which true Chriſtians are bound to baptize their Children.

Marq. Though you ſhould ſay no more, we have ſufficient teſtimony even from your own mouth.

Have you received the Lords Supper?

Schob. Yea, Sir.

Marq. Are ye not a Miniſter?

Schob. No, Sir.

Marq. Ought not you to ſubmit your Judgment to that which hath been decreed in a General Council, where ſo many Learned men were aſſembled, Biſhops and Cardinals, ſwaying the ſame?

Schob. I have read of ſome Councils where the Spirit of God was not preſent.

Marq. Would you not now willingly return into the boſom of the holy *Roman* Church?

Schob. I will cleave to whatſoever God ſhall teach me out of his holy Word. And thus for this time they parted.

On the ſeven and twentieth of *March*, *Schoblant* received Sentence of death; whereat he was nothing terrified, but began to ſing the Song of *Simeon*, and the fortieth *Pſalm*.

The night following he wrote his laſt farewel to his Brethren, and excuſeth *Joris* for not being condemned with him, although they were both preſented at the ſame time before the Judges. I pray you dear Friends be not offended, ſaith he, that *Joris* my Fellow-priſoner is not offered a Sacrifice with me. It is not, I aſſure you, for denying his Saviour. But let us meditate on that which the Lord ſaid to S. *Peter*; *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me.* This I apply to my ſelf at this time, for which I render humble and hearty thanks to God, who hath accounted me worthy, not only to confeſs the Lord Jeſus with my mouth, but alſo to ſeal the ſame confeſſion with my blood. I now Brethren bid you farewel, waiting with a joyful heart the call and cry of my Husband, who now invites me to come unto him. John 21.

Out of Priſon the ſame night before the day wherein I muſt be offered up a Sacrifice. Written with mine own hand.

Schoblant *the Son of* Barthel.

THe next day he entreated the Gaoler with a great deal of earneſtneſs that he would not ſuffer the Friers and Monks to come in to trouble him: for, ſaid he, ſuch kind of People can do me no good, ſeeing the Lord hath already ſealed up the aſſurance of my ſalvation in my heart by his holy Spirit. I am now going to my Spouſe, putting off this earthly Mantle, to enter into the celeſtial glory, where I ſhall be freed from all Superſtitions. And then he added further, Would to God I might be the laſt that theſe Tyrants ſhould put to death, and that their thirſt after blood might be ſo quenched with mine, that the poor Church of God from henceforth might enjoy her reſt and quiet.

Having ſung the fortieth *Pſalm* with his Fellow-priſoner, concluding the ſame with ſaying the Lords Prayer, they kiſſed one another, and commended one another unto God with many tears.

After which the Executioner came in, and when he had bound him, he led him away. In going out of the Priſon he ſaid, farewel *Joris*, I go before thee, follow thou me. *Joris* anſwered, ſo will I Brother, I will follow thee. In his paſſage towards the

place

Anno 1566. place of Execution, he forgot not his Brethren, but manifeſted his love to them by ſuch ſigns as he could. Being tyed to the Stake he was burned alive, calling upon the Name of the Lord, in the year 1568. the tenth day of *July*.

John Hues *finiſhed his courſe in Priſon.*

Here followeth a Letter written by *Joris Coomans*, out of Priſon, to the Church of God in *Antwerp*.

BRethren I write unto you being left alone, whereas we were three in number; John Hues *is now dead in the Lord. I did my beſt to comfort him whilſt he breathed. So as now I am alone, and yet not altogether alone, ſeeing the God of* Abraham, Iſaac *and* Jacob *is with*
Gen. 15. 1. *me. He is my exceeding great reward, and will not fail to reward me as ſoon as I ſhall have laid down this earthly Tabernacle: pray unto God that he will ſtrengthen me to the end; for from hour to hour I expect the diſſolution of this houſe of Clay.*

Not long after, *Joris* was examined by the Magiſtrates, who queſtioning with him of his Faith, he anſwered freely thereto, proving what he ſaid by the holy Scriptures.

The Marqueſs asked him, if he were reſolved to dye for the Faith he profeſſed.

Yes, ſaith *Joris*, I will not only venture to give my Body, but my Soul alſo for the confirmation of it.

Marqueſs. How came you to underſtand the Scripture, ſeeing you have not the Latin Tongue?

Joris. Call in hither your Doctors, and I will let them ſee that I have learning ſufficient to confute them.
Mat. 11. 25. You greatly admire them, but Chriſt gives thanks to his heavenly Father for hiding his ſecrets from the wiſe and prudent, and revealing them to Babes.

Marq. I hitherto ſpared you in hope to ſee you recant, but you grow ſtill worſe and worſe.

Joris. Sir, during the time of my Impriſonment I have ſhed many a ſalt Tear, and by the Grace of God I am become much more reſolute and better. But to faſhion my ſelf according to your appetite I have no ſtomach at all; no, although you burn me, as you have done my Brother *Scoblant*.

Marq. And I can tell you that it will coſt you but little better cheap.

Joris. I am ready if it be to morrow.

Then ſaid one of the ſtanders by. Sir, he hath neither Wife, Child nor Goods to loſe, and that makes him ſo willing to die.

Joris. Be it that I have none of all theſe, yet muſt I ſuffer death for Conſcience ſake. But what care you for that? I would you could be ſilent and bethink your ſelves well what you do; you ſhall anſwer theſe your doings at the laſt day, where you muſt all appear, and then there will be no reſpect of perſons.

Marq. If you uſe this kind of language I will commit you to the Hole; where you ſhall be fed only with Bread and Water, and that I think will tame your Tongue. Therefore be quiet and ſing me no more of theſe Pſalms.

Joris. Well Sir, I may well reſtrain my outward voice, but neither you nor all the world beſides, ſhall ever be able to let me from praiſing God in my heart; nor ſhall you ſit as Lords over my Conſcience.

Marq. We have heard you preach but too long. Then he ſaid, Gaoler, take him and caſt him into the Hole. Then was he put among Thieves, as a Lamb among ſo many Wolves. Thus this conſtant Witneſs of Chriſt remained firm (ſcorning both their threats and torments) till they had burned him as they did *Scoblant. Auguſt* 14. the year 1568.

Giles Annik, John Annik *his Son*, *and* Lovis Meulen, *Martyrs* 1568.

Perſecution grew ſtill hot in Flanders.

GIles Annik, with *John Annik* his Son, were driven from *Renay* in *Flanders*, and retired unto *Emden* in Eaſt *Frieſland*. But by reaſon of their ſo ſudden departure, they could not take their Wives with them; and therefore returned thither again in the year 1568 to convey them thence. The tyranny of the Duke of *Alva* and hi Spaniards was then in the height; by reaſon whereof they durſt not enter the Town openly, but took up their lodging in the Evening at an honeſt mans houſe, called *Lovis Meulin*. Now it was this night in which the Enemies had fore-appointed to make a ſecret ſearch in the Town for ſuch as profeſſed the Goſpel, knowing nothing of theſe two who were but now come thither. So paſſing by this houſe, and ſeeing the light of a Candle in it, they imagined to meet with their prey there; wherefore forcing the door open, they took theſe two Priſoners, together with their Hoſt; God having appointed them to be the Witneſſes of Chriſt.

So after they had been detained in bands, they were all three condemned by the Magiſtrates to death, as Hereticks. *Giles* was the firſt that they brought to the place of Execution, and when the Prieſts offered to put their Idol into his hands, he refuſed it: whereat his Adverſaries being moved cauſed him to be gagged, that the people might not hear him ſpeak ought to their edification. Then was he burned, dying conſtantly and bleſſedly in the Lord.

Forthwith the Serjeants were ſent to fetch his Son out of Priſon; who, being endued with a ſingular fortitude and conſtancy, called to him one whoſe name was *John Camber*, being the firſt man that laid hold on him at his apprehenſion, ſaying, I forgive thee my death: then preparing himſelf to die in the Lord, the Hangman cut of his Head. Likewiſe *Lovis Meulen*, who having lodged theſe Strangers, according to the Rule of the Apoſtle, was executed by the Sword, which death he willingly endured for the Name of Chriſt in the year 1568.

Louyes de Kiken-Pooſt, *Martyr*, 1658.

THis Woman was the Widow of one *Huges Moyvert* born in *Renay*, about the age of ſixty years, one that truly feared God. The Magiſtrate of *Renay* impriſoned her in the year 1568. becauſe two years before ſhe with her Children had conſented that a Miniſter ſhould preach in an Out-houſe on the backſide of her dwelling; ſhe was alſo very charitable in relieving the Poor, every way ſhewing forth the fruits of a true ſaving Faith. Having been kept in Priſon ſeven months, ſhe was condemned to die the nine and twentieth of *July*. After her condemnation the Curate of St. *Martins* came into the Priſon, purpoſing to have heard her confeſſion. But the Woman ſpake unto him with ſuch a Divine grace, and with a Spirit ſo repleniſhed with zeal, that the tears trickled down his Cheeks, and going his way he ſaid, I came to comfort you, but I have need rather to be comforted of you.

Then being brought by the Serjeants to the place of Execution ſhe was beheaded; unto which ſhe yielded her ſelf with much boldneſs and joy of heart, *July* the ninth.

A ſtrange accident fell out upon the death of this Woman; for a Couſin of hers being with Child, and ready to lye down at the ſame time when this Martyr was going to be executed, hearing the ſound of the Bell (which uſually touls when any are to ſuffer) ſhe fell into a trembling, and remained ſo three weeks, beyond her reckoning, her Fruit ſtirring to and fro in her Womb, as if a Weaver had moved his Shuttle from one end of his Web to another; the neck of it bowing down as if it had been broken with ſome blow. By which it appeared that theſe cruel Tyrants were the cauſe of this poor Innocents death. The Woman viewing this ſtrange ſight ſent for the foreſaid Curate; who being come in, and beholding this ſpectacle, ſuddenly ſwounded, and was never well after to his dying day.

Notes touching Chriſtopher Gauderin, *Martyr, and others.*

THis *Chriſtopher* was bred up under the Abbot of *Æname*; who dying, the ſaid *Chriſtopher* addicted himſelf to the making of Linnen Cloth, which he quickly grew expert in. But having been trained up in a bad School, as ſoon as the *Sunday* was come, he ſpent

and

and conſumed all his weeks earnings. Now by reaſon of a Friend of his that wrought with him, called *Louis Stallens*, God brought him into the right way. For the ſaid *Louis* would often tell him, that he ought rather to diſtribute of his gettings to the Poor, than to ſpend them ſo waſtfully; for if he continued ſo, God would ſurely call him to an account for it. Theſe and the like exhortations ſo wrought upon this ſpendthrift, that he began to alter and change his courſe; ſo as inſtead of frequenting Taverns, he became a diligent hearer of Sermons, and alſo gave himſelf much to the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures: inſomuch that not long after he was called by the Church to the Office of a Deacon, the which he diſcharged carefully and faithfully.

The fruit of good counſel.

Having occaſion to go to a place called *Audenard*, in the month of *March*, 1567. to make diſtribution of certain Alms to the poor there, he was arreſted and ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle by the Bayliff, who had formerly ſeen him in the ſaid Abbots houſe. The Bayliff asked him how he came now to turn Heretick; for you learned not this (ſaid he) of your Maſter the Abbot. Nay Sir, ſaid *Chriſtopher*, I am no Heretick, but a right believing Chriſtian; which he taught me not indeed, but rather other vile qualities, the which I am aſhamed now to rehearſe.

In Priſon he had many diſputes touching matters of Faith, which he ſo defended and maintained by the Word of God, that he put his Adverſaries to ſilence.

Some objecting againſt him his youth, being about the age of thirty years, he would tell them, that mans life conſiſted but of two days, *viz.* the day of his birth, and the day of his death, and therefore he muſt needs die once; for my part therefore (ſaid he) I am now willing by death to paſs into eternal life.

Perceiving in the evening that he was certainly to die the nxt day, the ſtriking off of his Bolts being a ſign thereof, he ceaſed not to pour out his Soul to God in prayer, until ten of the Clock, doing the like in the morning very early. His Prayer being ended, he put on a clean ſhirt, and waſhed himſelf, ſaying to his fellow Priſoners, Brethren, I am now going to be married, I hope before noon to drink of the Wine of the Kingdom of heaven. When he came down he found three Priſoners who were prepared to ſuffer with him; namely *John Liebert*, *W. Spiere*, and a Woman called *Jannekin Bearts*.

Theſe four exhorted one another, and encouraged each other to ſuffer death conſtantly. Which done, a Frier forthwith preſented himſelf before them, coming as he ſaid to convert them. But *Chriſtopher* ſaid unto him, Away from us thou Seducer of Souls, for we have nothing to do with thee. Whereupon he by and by departed. Then came in the Hangman; who as he was buſie about them to put into every one of their mouths a Gag, they bade one another farewel. *John Liebert* ſaid, What, ſhall we not have liberty in this our laſt hour to praiſe God with our voice and Tongue? *Chriſtopher* anſwered, Brother, let not this diſcourage us; for the greater wrong our Enemies think to do unto us, the more aſſiſtance we ſhall find from God: and ſo never ceaſed to comfort them till himſelf was gagged alſo.

A confident ſpeech.

Then the Executioner brought them to the Town-houſe to hear their Sentence read; which in ſum was this, That they ſhould be hanged becauſe they had been preſent at the hearing of Sermons. Thus theſe three men yielded up their Souls to God with admirable conſtancy, at the Gallows.

The Woman, being every way vertuouſly given, was condemned to be beheaded, becauſe ſhe had ſung Pſalms, and made a certain exhortation out of the Word of God to her Neighbours, at a womans up-ſitting. She was beheaded on the back ſide of the Town-houſe. Now becauſe her Body was much enfeebled, ſhe was cauſed to ſit upon a ſtool, receiving three blows with the Sword overthwart the Teeth. Yet ſhe conſtantly ſate ſtill till ſhe obtained the Crown of Martyrdom, the ſame day in which the forementioned Martyrs died, which was the ſecond of *June*. *Anno* 1568.

Anno 1566.

Piere Coulogue, *and* Betken *his Maid-Servant, Martyrs*, Anno 1568.

THis *Peter Coulogue*, by his Trade being a Goldſmith dwelling in *Breda*, had long ſerved the Church there in the office of a Deacon; wherin he carried himſelf with the good approbation of all. His houſe alſo was free for the Aſſembly to meet in, as oft as the exerciſes of Chriſtian Religion were performed amongſt them.

But the Enemies of the Truth not enduring the ſweet ſavour hereof impriſoned him, and laid him in Irons: which the faithful there took very heavily, uſing all the means they could to have acceſs to viſit him. But the Enemies taking knowledge thereof cauſed him to be conveyed into the Caſtle; whence both his and the Churches ſorrow was yet further encreaſed, becauſe they could not now come to be a comfort one to another.

His Servant *Betken*, being very zealous and well read in the Scriptures, brought him his ordinary dyet from day to day, never ceaſing to comfort and confirm him out of the Word of God. All which ſhe had liberty to do nine months together. At length they impriſoned her alſo; whereof ſhe was right glad, thinking her ſelf happy to ſuffer ought for righteouſneſs ſake. Not long after *Peter* was put to the Torture; which after he had endured, they came in like manner to his Maid-ſervant *Betken*: who ſpake unto them after this manner, My Maſters, wherefore will you put me to this Torture, ſeeing I have no way offended you? Is it for my faiths ſake? You need not torment me for that; for as I was never aſhamed to make a confeſſion thereof, no more will I be now at this preſent before you; I will freely ſhew you my mind therein. But for all this they proceeded on with that which they intended. Which ſhe perceiving ſaid, Alas my Maſters, if it be ſo that I muſt ſuffer this pain, then give me leave firſt to call upon God. To which her requeſt they yielded. Now whileſt ſhe was making her Prayer, one of the Commiſſioners was ſo ſurpriſed with fear and Terror that by and by he ſwounded, and could not be fetched again. And thus the poor Maid eſcaped the Torture.

Soon after being examined touching her Faith, they condemned theſe two Innocents to be burned. Now as they were led to be executed, great ſorrowings and complaints were heard among the People. But as for *Peter* and his Maid, they prayed to God with ardent affection, that he would perfect the good work which he had begun in them, and aſſiſt them with the Power of his holy Spirit, until they had finiſhed their courſe.

The courage and conſtancy of the ſaid *Betken* did ſo move many of the godly, both Men and Women, that not caſting what peril or danger might enſue thereof, they brake through the Multitude, embracing the Priſoners, and praiſing God for their conſtancy; ſaying, Fight manfully, for the Crown is ready prepared for you.

After they were come where they ſhould ſuffer, *Betken* began to ſpeak unto the People with an amiable countenance, ſaying thus unto them, Brethren and Siſters, be you always obedient to the Word of God, and fear not thoſe that can kill the Body, for on the Soul they can have no power: as for me, I am now going to meet my glorious Spouſe the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And then falling both down upon their knees, they prayed to the Lord with great devotion. Being riſen up from prayer, the Executioner laying hold of them bound them with Chains to the Stake, and then ſtrangled *Peter*, but would not ſtrangle the other, who encouraged her Maſter till he had yielded up the Ghoſt, and till the fire had taken hold of her ſelf. Then was ſhe heard and ſeen to magnifie the Lord out of the midſt of the flames; ſo as many among the Multitude were raviſhed at her invincible conſtancy. Thus did theſe two Martyrs of the Lord give up their laſt breath in the fire. *May* the 29 *Anno* 1568.

Anno 1568.

Giles Meyere *Martyr*, Anno 1568.

IN *Flanders*, at a place called *Vinderhout*, distant from *Gand* about a mile, there was a certain Curate called *Giles de Meyere*, whom it pleased God to illuminate with the true knowledge of his Gospel. Now having received a Talent from God, he would not hide it with
Mat.25.18. the *Evil servant*; but sought all means how to imploy the same. He had the fear of God always before his eyes, manifesting the same as well in his Doctrine as in his Conversation, being careful to instruct those whom God
Acts 20.20. had committed to his charge. Yea, he went from House to House comforting and exhorting every one, as occasion served, out of the Word of God; above all, labouring with them to beware of the abominable Superstitions of the Papacy.

He taught them, that Forgiveness of Sins, the Grace of God, and Eternal Life, was not to be obtained by our own Merits, but by the free and only Grace of God in Jesus Christ.

The Clergy of *Gand* having notice given them hereof, namely, that their Doctrine and Authority would come to be little set by, if this Curate should proceed on thus in his course without let, they never rested until they had pursued him to the death. They imprisoned him then, in the Month of *March*, *Anno* 1567. casting him into a deep and dark Hole, where for a certain space he remained, bearing this his affliction patiently and constantly, calling upon God night and day, praising him for esteeming him worthy to suffer for his sake. In which his afflictions many good people, who came often to visit him, received such instruction and consolation from him, that they were hardly drawn to leave him, till of necessity they must; their departure was always accompanied with abundance of tears.

The Priests and others of that Rabble, ceased not likewise to ply him with Disputations, thinking by that means to make him renounce his Faith; but to no purpose: for he remained still firm and constant, keeping himself close to the Word of God written, which so vexed them, that they procured him to be laid in the Castle, where his Sentence was to be hanged: The *Spaniards* being then at *Gand*, took him thence, bound him, girding and straining him strangely with cords, and would needs have him burned. As he was led thither, they abused him shamefully with mocks, thrusting him forward, and striking him cruelly. The Captain of the Band gave him a blow over the face with his Gantlet, which much disfigured him. Finally, these Tyrants handled him worse than any Dog, only because his patient and constant carriage of himself tormented and enraged them.

Being come to the place, they thrust him into his little Cabbin, piled up with Fagots and Wood, and then set fire unto him; where he was heard distinctly and plainly to use these words, (albeit they had gagged him) *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.* Thus this faithful Witness of Jesus Christ died quietly and constantly in the Lord, *April* the fourth, *Anno* 1568.

Among these sad Relations, a little to quicken and refresh the spirit of the Reader, I will here insert a Letter full of Consolations, written out of Prison to the Faithful, by one William Touart *Merchant, who had his dwelling in the City of* Lisle *in* Flanders.

THis honourable Personage, being come to the Age of Eighty years, or thereabouts, used his House for the space of fourteen or fifteen years as a Church, wherein the Assembly in the City of *Lisle* commonly met. Being chased and banished thence in the year 1561. he withdrew himself for a while to *Tournay*, whence he was constrained to fly, and to go to *Amiens* and *Moundedier*, Cities of *Picardy*, that there he might enjoy the pure preaching of the Gospel. Afterward returning into his own Country, he came to reside in the City of *Antwerp*, where after he had continued many years, he was at length imprisoned and condemned to be burned with two others, who suffered for the same cause. But it pleased God so to dispose of him, that he died another kind of death, to shew that his chosen Servants have to triumph over the same, some one way, and some another. For being plunged into a Cistern or Tub full of water, he was drowned in Prison, and then they carried his Body out of the City to a place called *Berken*, where the dead bodies of the Condemned are laid upon the Wheels or Crutch. Among many Letters which he wrote during the time of his Imprisonment, my Author hath selected out this one, which here followeth.

DEar Brethren and Sisters in Jesus Christ, I most humbly thank my good God that he hath so fortified and comforted me by his Grace, that I feel my self more cheared by lying in this dark Prison, than if I were walking in the open Streets or Fields. I say, this I feel according to the spirit; for as touching the flesh, what doth it apprehend here but stinking vapors and smoke?

Wherefore, my Beloved, if it so fall out that you be apprehended for the Name of Jesus Christ, fear not the Prison, nor those that have power to kill the Body; *for having done that, they can go no further. Be ye not afraid then, seeing it is the reward which our good Captain Jesus Christ hath promised to all his faithful Soldiers and Servants. He who turns his back in this Conflict goes by the loss; but whosoever fights manfully, obtains in the end the Crown, not a Crown of Gold, but of Glory immortal. We here lay down a fading life, filled with griefs and* Rev.2.10. *troubles, to change the same for a life everlasting; we put off the rags of this mortal flesh, to be clothed with robes immortal; we forsake a loathsom life for joy and felicity eternal; ought any gain or exchange to be compared with this? O sweet and happy Martyrdom, how dost thou dignifie and enrich us, in despite of the World, Devil, and our own Flesh! And which of us now can complain, seeing our Soveraign Lord and Master hath so expresly foretold it to all his followers? Will any man come after me, saith he?* Let him then take up his Cross Mat.26.24. and follow me. *Let us bear, oh let us then bear the Cross cheerfully and with joyfulness, that we may be received in the presence of his heavenly Father: for it is not only given us to* believe in Christ, *but also to* suffer for his sake; Phil.1.21. *and* if we suffer with him, then we shall also reign with 1 Tim.2.12. him.

O that we could admire his bounty, who no sooner imploys us in his work, but hath the wages ready in his hand wherewith to recompence us. Your sorrow, *saith he,* shall John 16.20. be turned into joy. *Let us then cast off every weight that* Heb.12.1. *presseth down, and whatsoever else that stands in our way to Heaven-ward; be it Father, Mother, Brother, Sisters,* Mat 19.29. *Husband, Child, yea, and our own Life also. Let us with* Matth. 13. *the wise Merchant-man* sell all, *that with him we may* 45,46. purchase that precious Pearl. *How happy do I esteem them who are called to suffer, and leave their life for confessing the Name of Jesus Christ? For the eternal Son of God will* confess their Names before his heavenly Father, and his holy Angels. They shall be clad with white Mat.10.27. Luke 12.8. Robes, and shine as the Sun in the Kingdom of Heaven, filled with gladness in the presence of the Lamb. They shall eat of the fruit of the Tree of Life, which is in the Rev.2.7. midst of the Paradise of God.

Let us fix the eyes of our minds upon these so great and precious promises of Jesus Christ, which he hath made to all those which persevere in well doing unto the end. *O how happy shall we be, when we are* delivered from these bodies of death, to live for ever with our God! *Let us continually pray then with the Disciples,* Lord, increase our faith. *O dear Brethren! remember me always in* Luke 17.5. *your Prayers, who am bound here in the bonds of Antichrist. Remember those also* who are in bonds, *as if you* Heb.13.3. *were bound with them*; pray, *I say*, without ceasing; for our Adversary the Devil *is always compassing us about* Pet.4.5. *with his fetches, to cause our hearts to faint. And you are not ignorant what a potent Enemy our own Flesh is* Gal. 5.17. *unto us. But I confidently believe that our* good God, Phil.1.6. who hath begun this good work in me, will perfect the same even unto the day of Christ.

Fare ye well.

It was strange to see what spectacles of dead Bodies, slain by the Bloody Inquisition, were to be gazed on in a manner in every place: especially in the Cities of *Tournay*, and of the *Valencians*, in regard of the Multi-

tudes of Believers, both of men and women, who had long languiſhed in ſundry Priſons, in great miſery and neceſſities. Now that we may not forget what fell out in the beginning of this year 1569. thus it happened.

In the City of *Valence* were executed ſeven and fifty perſons, whereof the greater part were Burgeſſes of the City; only becauſe they clave to the true Faith of Jeſus Chriſt.

This ſlaughter was diſtributed into three ſeveral days. Ten were beheaded on *Munday* the four and twentieth day of *January*; twenty on *Tueſday* following; and the other twenty the day after that; and ſo the ſeven in their order after the reſt, not without much aſtoniſhment and lamentations of the poor people, with the remainder of the Burgeſſes of that City.

A notable Cruelty executed upon a good woman, called Perrette Curtet, *in the year* 1569.

AS ſhe was travelling from *Orleance* to a place called *Moutagris*, where ſhe intended to meet her Husband, called Mr. *Anthony Chanoriner des Meringes*, who had eſcaped the fury of his Enemies: ſhe being in her Inn at ſupper, two or three deſperate Villains knocked at the door, and coming in, asked of the ſaid *Curtet*, *Art thou not* Meringes *Wife?* She anſwered, *Yes.* Then rapping forth execrable Blaſphemies, they ſaid, *Thou art ſhe we looked for.* This done, they ſtripped her into her Smock, took away her moneys and rings from her, and brought her to the River ſide; where after great Blaſphemies, they ſaid, *Confeſs thee.* The woman anſwered, *Seeing I muſt dye, give me leave to call upon God firſt.* They deriding her, ſaid, *Pray then, let us hear what kind of Prayer thou wilt make.* She having in her prayers commended her Soul to God; one of them ſware, *Gods death, is this all? Wilt thou ſay nothing elſe?* Then ſaid one of them to another, *Let us caſt her into the River:* which they agreed to do; ſome taking her by the head, and others by the heels, and ſo throwing her in, heaped great pieces of Ice upon her to cauſe her to ſink, and then went their way. But underſtanding that the poor woman had got upon a great flake of Ice, to ſave her ſelf thereon. *Peter Gouge* returned, who was one of the murtherers, and had betrayed her into the hands of the reſt, notwithſtanding her Husband had covenanted with him to convey her to him in ſafety: This *Gouge*, I ſay, finding her there, gave her a deaths wound, the which had never come to light, had not the ſaid *Gouge* confeſſed the ſame, being impriſoned by the Dutcheſs of *Ferrare* for that very fact; yet eſcaped he unpuniſhed (contrary to the Law of Provoſts) albeit he was ſent to the Provoſt Marſhal of *Montagris* to that end, and was ſet at liberty, for the hatred which theſe bare againſt the Doctrine of the Goſpel, whereof the ſaid *des Meringes* was a Miniſter.

Now the dead body floating to and fro upon the water, reſted no where, until it came over againſt the Lodging where the ſaid *des Meringes* lay (as if it had there demanded execution of Juſtice upon the Offenders) where being known, and conveyed thence, was buried by ſome of the Aſſembly who yet remained in the City.

Another Cruelty committed in Orleance *about the ſame time.*

A Woman in the City of *Orleance* was conſtrained by the Murtherers (who broke in upon her Husband *in the night*) to ſtand and hold the Candle to them, whilſt they murthered him.

Of the coming of the Queen of Navarre *to the City of* Paris *in* France, *with the manner of her ſickneſs and death there.*

BEfore I come to mention the bloody Maſſacres of *France*, eſpecially that of *Paris*, *Anno* 1572. which made way to all the reſt, I cannot omit to place here, as an entrance thereunto, the Hiſtory of that noble and vertuous Lady *Jane de Albert*, Queen of *Navarre*, becauſe it contains much matter worthy of due obſervation.

This good Queen, before ſhe could be drawn to come to *Paris* to ſolemnize the Marriage of her Son, the Prince of *Navarre*, with the Siſter of *Charles* the Ninth, then King of *France*, received Letters upon Letters from the ſaid King, to accompany the Prince her Son in that Solemnity: now, whereas ſhe caſt ſome doubts touching her Sons marriage with one of another Religion, the King aſſured her that all things ſhould be ſo wrought, as ſhould give her good ſatisfaction and content; promiſing that he would get a diſpenſation from the Pope to that end. But when the Queen underſtood that the King was minded to have this Marriage ſolemnized at *Paris*, ſhe would by no means hear of it: *For I will not*, ſaid ſhe, *put any confidence in that ſo mutinous a people, being the ſworn Enemies both of my ſelf and mine.*

Still the King perſiſted in his ſute for the obtaining of the ſame at her hands. Alſo having intelligence by ſome of his Agents, that the Queen of *Navarre* began a little to waver, he ſolicited her yet once again to come, aſſuring her that all things ſhould be carried in ſuch a peaceable ſort, that ſhe ſhould have no cauſe to complain. At length the Queen came from *Rochel* to *Bloys* in the Month of *March*, 1572. with great attendance, where it is incredible to think what welcome ſhe had on all ſides, eſpecially from the King and his Brethren, *&c.* who yet, when all was done, could ſay to his Mother, *Now Madam, have I not quit my ſelf well? Let me alone, and I will bring them all into the Net.*

Anno 1572.

Pope *Pius* 5. whilſt he lived, could by no means endure to hear of, or give his conſent to this marriage: but he died, and then way was made for this marriage to be concluded.

In *April* following were the Articles concluded concerning the Marriage of the Prince of *Navarre* with the Kings Siſter. In the beginning of *May* the King wooes the Queen of *Navarre* again to come to *Paris* for preparing of things fitting for this Marriage; which ſhe accordingly yielded unto, and parting from *Bloys* on the ſixth of the ſaid Month, came to *Paris* on the fifteenth of the ſame. After which ſhe went from place to place in the City into ſundry Houſes and Shops, to find out ſuch things as might tend to the adorning of the day of ſo great a Solemnity.

The Queen-mother could by no means brook this good Queen; and therefore not finding with what colour ſhe could diſpatch her with the reſt, and yet fearing the height of her ſpirit if ſhe ſhould ſurvive, as alſo that ſhe could not then ſo work upon the flexibility of the Prince her Son as ſhe intended, ſhe conſulted with one *Rene*, whoſe practiſe it was to impoyſon things; who by ſuch means adventured to poyſon the Prince of *Conde* by the ſcent of a poyſoned Apple, which upon ſome ſuſpicion was firſt tried upon a Dog; and it had almoſt coſt the Princes Chyrurgion his life, by ſmelling too nigh thereto. This *Rene*, ſelling to the Queen of *Navarre* his perfumed Drugs, found the way how to poyſon her therewith, although others thought the contrary. But the ſaid *Rene* was heard afterwards to make his brags, that he had the like in ſtore for two or three more, who ſuſpected no ſuch matter.

On *Wedneſday* the fourth of *June*, the Queen fell ſick of a continual Fever, and kept her bed; which proceeded, as it was given out, from the grief ſhe had in her Lights, wherein by long continuance was bred an Impoſthume, ſhe being alſo diſtempered with the heat of the Seaſon and her extraordinary Journeys. This burning Fever grew ſo ſtrong upon her, that within five days after ſhe died, to the great grief of the better ſort, but to the joy of the ſecret Councel.

The Malady indeed was in her Brain, which was not ſearched: in which the Queen-mother had an hand, though ſhe ſeemed much to mourn for the affliction of her good Friend. Now foraſmuch as in the time of her ſickneſs ſhe manifeſted with what Spirit ſhe was guided, we will here ſet down the true narration of her behavior, both in the ſame her ſickneſs, and alſo at her death.

Perceiving in her ſelf by the ſtrength of the Diſeaſe (howſoever others ſlighted it) that ſhe could not long continue, ſhe made her ſelf ready to receive from the hand of God that which he had appointed concerning her; and to that end requeſted ſhe might have ſuch nigh about her, as might comfort her in this caſe out of the Word of God, as alſo to pray with her and for her, according to that which S. *James* ſaith, *Is any ſick among you, Let him call for the Elders of the Church*, and let them pray over ſuch a one, knowing that the fervent Prayer of a righteous man availeth much with God. *John* 5. 14, 16.

Thus

Anno 1566.

Thus, according to her desire, a Minister resorting unto her, shewed out of the Scriptures, That Christians ought in all things to *submit themselves to the will of God, as to the Father of Spirits*, that they might live. And albeit the rigor of his chastisements doth sometimes seem to our flesh, as if they were sent to none other end but for our ruin and destruction; yet ought we to consider, that because he is just, he can do nothing but justly, and being a Father, he cannot but therein seek the welfare of his afflicted Children. Heb. 12.

To which she replyed, *I take all this*, saith she, *as sent from the hand of God my most merciful Father; nor have I, during this extremity, feared to dye, much less murmured against him for inflicting the same upon me; knowing that whatsoever he doth, he doth the same so, as all in the end shall turn to my everlasting good.*

The Minister continuing in his speech, added, *That the causes of sicknesses and diseases must be sought beyond the course of Physick, which always looks to the corruption of the humours, or to the more noble parts of the Body any way distempered: for howsoever it was not amiss to have respect to these things, as to second causes, yet ought we to ascend higher, namely to the first, even to God himself, who disposeth of all his Creatures as it pleaseth him.* Deut. 32. 39. *He it is* that makes the wound and heals, that kills and makes alive. *And therefore to him we ought to direct our Prayers for comfort in all our griefs and sufferings, and in the end for full deliverance; seeing it is no hard matter with him to restore health unto us, if his good pleasure be such.*

To this she answered, *That she depended wholly upon Gods providence, knowing that all things are wisely disposed by him, and therefore besought him to furnish her with all such graces as he saw to be necessary for her salvation. As for this life*, said she, *I am in a manner weaned from the love of it, in regard of the afflictions which have followed me from my youth hitherto, but especially because I cannot live without daily offending my good God, with whom I desire to be with all my heart.*

The Minister told her, *That long life, how full of troubles soever it were, was notwithstanding to be esteemed among the blessings of God, seeing his promise implyes so much*; Deut. 5. 16. *and not only so, but because our life may many ways serve to his glory, and is both an honour and a pledge of his favour; even as it is to him whom his Prince imploys long in his service, having had experience of his fidelity for many years together.* In which respect she was earnestly requested to pray, *That if it were the will of God to imploy her yet longer in his service, for the further inlargement of his Gospel, that he would grant unto her such recovery of health and good disposition of body, that with renued strength she might be encouraged to finish her course much more nobly than heretofore.*

Whereupon she protested, *That in regard of her own particular, her life was not dear unto her, seeing so long as she lived in this frail flesh, she was still prone and apt to sin against God: only*, said she, *her care was somewhat for her Children (which God had given her) in respect they should be so soon deprived of her now in their young years; yet not doubting*, said she, *but although it should please God to take me from them, that himself will be a Father and a Protector over them, as he hath been to me in my greatest afflictions; and therefore I commit them wholly to his government and fatherly care.* These were her very words.

The Minister said, *That he blessed God to see in her Majesty this assurance of Faith, and so to cast her care upon the Providence of God; praying her still to persevere therein, which would sufficiently seal unto her the truth of her Faith. And thus*, said he, *did the Patriarchs in times past commit the care of their Posterity over into the hands of God*; Gen. 24. 1. & Gen. 27. & 48. 15. & 49. *as may appear by* Abraham, Isaac, *and* Jacob, *touching their several blessings.*

But yet it was very requisite, as he said, *that she should make choice of such, who, for their sincerity both in Life and Doctrine, might continue to water in these young Princely Plants the Seeds of Piety, which had been sown in them by her so great pain and industry; seeing it was to be hoped, that the example of her Faith and Constancy in the Service of God, which she had set before them, would serve as a perpetual inducement to imitate her so noble Vertues.*

Now whereas she had again declared, *That death was not terrible unto her, because it was the way by which we pass hence to our eternal rest*: The Minister told her, *That Christians had little cause to fear death, in regard they should not dye at all, according to Christs words in the Gospel of* John, He that liveth and believeth in me shall never dye. *For death (to speak properly) is no death to them, but a sleep; being often so called in Scriptures; and therefore Christ for their sakes hath overcome and triumphed over it in his own person. So as now we may cry out with S.* Paul, O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? Because by death we pass to life. Joh. 8. 51, 52 Joh. 11. 26. John 11 25, 26. Acts 7. 60. 1 Cor. 15. 55

She was often admonished by him to make Confession of her Sins before God, shewing, *That bodily Diseases tended to the dissolution of Nature, and that* death was the was the wages of sin; *declaring moreover, that by this her chastisement she might discern what she had deserved, if God should now enter into judgment with her, not only in regard* of the fall of our first Parents, *in which guilt she was enwrapped, as well as others, but also by her own personal sins, seeing the best of men or women in the world are in themselves but poor, miserable and wretched offendors: yea, if the Lord should punish us according to our demerits, we could expect nothing at his hands but eternal death and condemnation.* Rom 6. 23. Rom 5. 12.

At these words she began, with her hands and eyes lifted up to Heaven, to acknowledge, *That her sins which she had committed against the Lord were innumerable, and therefore more than she was able to reckon up: But ye she hoped that God for Christs sake, in whom she put her whole affiance, would be merciful unto her.* Psal. 19. 12.

From the later clause of her speech the Minister took occasion to declare at large upon what ground she was to expect the fruit of this mercy of God in Christ; seeing *the whole have no need of a Physician, but they that are sick:* and therefore Christ saith in that place, *He came not to call the righteous, but sinners unto repentance*: And that he is ready *to fill the hungry with good things*, whereas in the mean while he *sends the rich empty away. Of all which*, said he, *you ought so much the rather to be perswaded in your Conscience, by how much the more the holy Spirit witnesseth to your spirit that you are the Child of God*, Crying in you, Abba, Father. *For what is Faith else, but a firm trust and assurance of the good will of God, manifested towards us in his blessed Son.* Mark 2. 17. Luke 1. 53. Rom. 8. 15. What faith is.

Now the Minister, fearing he might some way offend her by his over-long Discourse, held his peace; the rather because the Physicians thought that a long continued speech might be hurtful unto her; but she on the contrary earnestly requested him *not to forbear speaking unto her about these matters of life and eternal salvation*; adding, *that she now felt the want of it, in regard that since her coming to* Paris, *she had been somewhat remiss in hearing such Exhortations out of the Word of God: And therefore I am now the more glad*, saith she, *to receive comfort out of it in this my so great extremity.*

The Minister then endeavoured to set before her *the happiness of Heaven, and what those joys were which the faithful there possess in the presence of God: which when the Scriptures intend to discover unto us, they only tell us that* the eye hath not seen; nor hath the ear heard, nor hath it entred into the heart of man; to conceive what those things are, which God hath prepared for them that love him. To which purpose he used this Similitude; *As if a King, minding greatly to honour some noble Personage, should bring him to his Court, and there shew him his state and attendance, his Treasures, with all his most precious Jewels: even so*, saith he, *will the Lord one day reveal to all his elect and faithful people, his magnificence and glory, with all the Treasures of his Kingdom, after he hath gathered them home to himself, decking and adorning them with light, incorruption and immortality.* Psal. 16. 11. 1 Cor. 2. 9. Simile.

This happiness therefore being so great, her Highness, he said, *ought to be the less careful about the leaving of this transitory life, seeing that for an earthly Kingdom, which she was now to forego, she should inherit an heavenly; and for temporal good things, which vanish and come to nothing in the using, she should for ever enjoy those that were eternal and everlasting: For her faith being now firmly setled upon our Lord Jesus Christ, she might be suffered to obtain eternal Salvation by him.* On which

words he took occaſion to direct his ſpeech in more particular manner unto her, ſaying:

Madam, do you verily believe that Jeſus Chriſt came into the world to ſave you? And do you expect the full forgiveneſs of all your ſins, by the ſhedding of his Blood for you?

To the which ſhe readily anſwered ſhe did; believing that he was her only Saviour and Mediator, looking for ſalvation from none other, knowing that he hath abundantly ſatisfied for the ſins of the whole World, and therefore was aſſured that God for his ſake, according to his gracious promiſes in him, would have mercy upon her.

Thus you have in part the godly ſpeeches which paſſed from this religious Lady in the beginning of her ſickneſs; all which was within the ſpace of three or four days. Howſoever before that, and ſince alſo, ſhe ceaſed not to continue the ſame her fruitful and comfortable communications, now and then ſending forth moſt affectionate ſighings to God, as a teſtimony of that hope and deſire ſhe had in enjoying his Preſence; often uttering theſe words, *O my God, in thy good time deliver me from this body of death, and from the miſeries of this preſent life, that I may no more offend thee, and that I may attain to that felicity which thou in thy Word haſt promiſed me.*

Neither did ſhe manifeſt her pious affection by theſe her words only, but therewithal ſhewed a joyful and reſolute countenance, as the vehemency of her ſickneſs could bear; which gave ſufficient proof to all that beheld her, that the fear of death could not drive her from the ſtedfaſtneſs of her Faith.

When ſhe had finiſhed theſe her conſolatory ſpeeches, they uſually went to prayer; intreating the Lord that he would arm her with conſtant patience, and have mercy upon her. Which Prayer it ſhall not be altogether impertinent to inſert in this place, ſerving as a Form of Prayer upon the like occaſion.

The Prayer.

O Lord our God, we confeſs here before thy Divine Majeſty, that we are altogether unworthy of thy infinite mercies, by reaſon of our manifold iniquities; and that we are ſo far off from deſerving to be heard of thee in our requeſts, that we are rather worthy thou ſhouldeſt reject both our perſons and our ſutes; but ſeeing it hath pleaſed thee to make us a gracious promiſe of hearing and granting our requeſts, we humbly beſeech thee freely to forgive all our offences, and to cover them under the obedience and righteouſneſs of thy dear Son, that through him our ſelves and poor ſervices may be well pleaſing before thee. For, Lord, we acknowledge that all our afflictions are meaſured out to us by thine hand, who art a moſt Juſt Judge, in regard we have every way provoked thee to wrath by our infinite ſinnings againſt thee; yea, by our rebellions, which now teſtifie againſt us. For alas, Lord; our life hath no way been anſwerable to that perfect obedience which thou in thy holy Law juſtly requireſt at our hands, which we from day to day do tranſgreſs; and therefore do here caſt down our ſelves at this time before thy glorious preſence, unfeignedly acknowledging our miſery and wretchedneſs from the very bottom of our hearts.

Yet, Lord, mercy is with thee, and becauſe thou art our Father, therefore thou deſireſt not the death of ſinners, but rather that they ſhould convert and live. For this cauſe we now fall down before the Throne of thy Grace, with confidence of obtaining thy wonted mercy, which thou haſt promiſed to ſuch as call upon thee in truth: beſeeching thee, which art the Father of Mercies, to have compaſſion on all ſuch whom thou haſt humbled under thy mighty Hand, by any of thy Rods and Chaſtiſements; but more eſpecially this thy ſervant the Queen, who lieth here before thee ſick of a dangerous Diſeaſe, that as thou haſt righteouſly afflicted her for her ſins (which ſhe alſo doth with us acknowledge) ſo it would pleaſe thee in pardoning them all unto her, for thy beloved Sons ſake, to grant that ſhe may profit by this thy correcting hand for the time to come. Above all, give her a ſweet ſenſe, yea a full aſſurance of thy eternal joyes, that ſo ſhe may with the greater patience take down this bitter potion miniſtred unto her from thy hand, and that the ſole deſire of enjoying thy preſence may cauſe her to forget all worldly greatneſs and magnificence; knowing that they are nothing in reſpect of the glory which is now ſet before her.

Endue her alſo with meekneſs of mind to bear the tedioufneſs of her affliction; for howſoever the ſpirit be willing, yet the fleſh is weak, yea full of reſiſting and unbelief; that ſo receiving all things from thee, as from a Father, ſhe may the more willingly ſubmit her will unto thine.

And becauſe, O good God, thou haſt made her hitherto an happy Inſtrument for the advancement of thy glory, and the defence of thy poor afflicted people, we pray thee, if it may ſtand with thy good pleaſure, reſtore her to health again, that ſo the excellent work which thou haſt by her means begun, may not be left unperfect, but by virtue of this her deliverance, ſhe may with renewed forces undertake the ſame in better ſort than ever heretofore, eſpecially for the well educating and training up the children which thou haſt given her.

But Lord, if thou have a purpoſe now to call her home to thy ſelf, who are we that we ſhould contradict thy holy will? only we pray thee that thou wouldſt confirm her more and more in the knowledge of thy bleſſed Goſpel, and thereby alſo in the certainty of her ſalvation, which thou haſt given her by faith in thy Son Jeſus Chriſt, that thus ſhe may not ceaſe to ſanctifie and call upon thy holy Name unto her laſt breath.

And as touching our ſelves, who are here by thy good Providence gathered together about her, being in bodily health, give us to know the uncertainty and brevity of our life; that ſo, according to our duty, we may behold the ſame in this mirrour which thou haſt ſet before us; as knowing that even the greateſt in the world are ſubject to the ſame calamities, as well as the ſmall; that ſo our chief care may be to imploy the remainder of our time to thy honour and ſervice: all which we crave of thee in the Name of Jeſus Chriſt thy Son, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

Anno 1567.

Thus we have, as near as we could, gathered the ſum of the Prayer. During which ſhe ceaſed not, with hands and eyes ſtedfaſtly lifted up to Heaven, to fetch many deep ſighs, eſpecially when mention was made of that mercy of God in Chriſt which he extendeth towards poor ſinners. So as there was at any there preſent that might not evidently perceive, that her heart and affections were joyned to the Prayer which we pronounced in her preſence.

And while ſhe thus lay, ſhe ſtill continued in her godly reſolution to depart hence, that ſhe might be with Chriſt, taking great delight in the holy and chriſtian Exhortations which were uſually made unto her by many godly and learned men, who came in to viſit her, to whom ſhe alſo manifeſted no ſmall teſtimony of that Faith, and Hope, which ſhe had in God, touching the ſalvation of her Soul, by her holy and chriſtian ſpeeches, which for brevities ſake are here omitted.

Yea, albeit the Lord exerciſed her much with the ſenſe of her inward Diſeaſe, yet could you not at any time diſcern any ſpeech ſavouring of diſcontentment or impatience, to proceed out of her mouh; nay, ſcarcely a groan, which not only thoſe of her own Family, but many others can teſtifie, even the Queen-mother, with others alſo, who now and then came in to ſee her.

But if at any time ſhe felt any refreſhings from the violence of her Diſeaſe (there being no Malady ſo vehement which hath not ſome intermiſſion and breathing time) ſhe manifeſted to all her willingneſs to obtain the recovery of her former health, refuſing to that end no good means preſcribed for her by the learned Phyſicians. Again, when ſhe perceived her ſickneſs to encreaſe upon her, and that ſhe grew worſe and worſe, ſhe was no whit appalled thereat, but ſhewed her ſelf to be armed with an invincible conſtancy, to undergo the utmoſt that death could do againſt her, preparing her ſelf willingly for that laſt Conflict.

Moreover, ſeeing her Ladies and Gentlewomen weeping about her bed, ſhe would forthwith rebuke them, ſaying, *I pray you weep not for me, foraſmuch as you ſee God doth now by this ſickneſs call me hence, to enjoy a better life, and to enter in at the deſired haven, towards which*

this

Anno 1568.

this frail Veſſel of mine hath for a long time been ſteering; only ſhe ſhewed her ſelf ſomewhat grieved, that ſhe lacked opportunity to reward them, and many more of her Family and Train which had done her faithful ſervice, as ſhe could have wiſhed; excuſing her ſelf with theſe words unto them, *That it was not for want of good will, but by being overtaken, and ſo prevented, by this her unexpected ſickneſs. But*, ſaith ſhe, *I will not fail to give order concerning the ſame to my uttermoſt ability.*

In the end, feeling her ſtrength to decay more and more, ſhe gave order to have her laſt Will and Teſtament made, wherein ſhe above all wiſhed, that her Children might have but the grace to honour and fear the Lord, exhorting them conſtantly to continue in the profeſſion of the Goſpel, in which they had been trained up from their youth; ordaining eſpecially that her Daughter, the Princeſs, ſhould be educated and inſtructed therein, by the four Ladies which ſhe had appointed and brought with her out of *Bearne* for that end and purpoſe. And being come to age, her deſire was that ſhe might be joyned in marriage to ſome Prince of the ſame Religion, by the counſel and advice of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and *Gaſper* Count of *Colligny* Admiral of *France*, whom ſhe made Executors and Overſeers of her ſaid Teſtament. But here it may not be omitted briefly to relate another Conference which ſhe had with a Miniſter of the Goſpel before her departure.

The eighth of *June*, which was the day before her death, ſhe cauſed a Miniſter of the Goſpel to be called for, and finding that ſhe was drawing nigher unto her end than before, ſhe willed him to ſpeak ſomewhat largely of ſuch temptations as Satan is wont to aſſail Gods Elect withal in their laſt Conflict.

To which the Miniſter anſwered, That then was the hour indeed wherein that ſworn Enemy of all the Faithful did moſt buſily beſtir himſelf, if he could, to deprive them of the comfort of their Salvation; not ſparing at that time eſpecially to ſet upon them with might and main: but yet even then the Lord is not, nor will be wanting to his, filling their hearts with ſuch joy and comfort of the Holy Ghoſt, as ſhall make them, through the ſame, more than Conquerours.

The firſt Engine then which Satan uſeth againſt the Saints to cauſe them to deſpair, is to preſent before their eyes the innumerable heaps of their ſins and pollutions, wherewith they have any way been defiled in their whole life; and then preſents unto them Gods Juſtice, before which no fleſh can be able to ſubſiſt, unleſs it be pure and ſpotleſs: whence he infers, that miſerable ſinners can expect and look for nothing, but an horrible deſolation and condemnation. But againſt theſe aſſaults, in the firſt place, muſt be oppoſed (as *David* doth in the One and fiftieth *Pſalm*) the infinite multitudes of Gods compaſſions, which do infinitely ſurpaſs the multitudes of our ſins. And as touching the Juſtice of God, we confeſs that no Creature that is defiled with ſin, can in any ſort abide to be ſtrictly examined by it, if it ſhall ſtand the ſame to a ſevere account: but we alſo know that God will never enter into judgment with thoſe that believe in his Son, but allows unto them that righteouſneſs & obedience which was accompliſhed in him, which is only ſufficient for us, being imputed unto us, to oppoſe againſt the judgment of God: therefore in it alone they expect to ſtand before his face, and not by their own dignity or worthineſs. Indeed if they were to appear before the Throne of Juſtice, to receive thence what they have deſerved, they had good reaſon to be overwhelmed in utter deſpair, as oft as they think upon, or look on the ſame: but turning their eyes upon him, who being the eternal Son of God, hath clothed himſelf with our Human Nature, to bear in the ſame the puniſhment due to our ſins, and therein acquitted us, then Gods Juſtice doth no way affright us, but rather yields us aſſured comfort, becauſe they make this their full reſolution, that foraſmuch as God is juſt, he cannot require the ſame debt twice. Having therefore received full and perfect ſatisfaction of him, whom he hath ordained to be our Surety, and paid our debts for us, thence we gather aſſurance that he will no more require them of us.

To which purpoſe theſe Sentences are to be well obſerved. *It is Chriſt who hath borne our griefs, and carried our ſorrows. That the chaſtiſement of our peace was upon him, and with his ſtripes we are healed. That we all like Sheep have gone aſtray, and have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all. Chriſt is our peace, and the propitiation for our ſins. The Lamb of God which taketh away the ſins of the world.* Theſe, with many the like Sentences, the Miniſter propounded by way of anſwer to this vertuous Ladies demand: concluding the ſame thus, that Gods Juſtice ought not to terrifie thoſe that believe in Chriſt, of whoſe righteouſneſs and redemption they are partakers, knowing that Jeſus Chriſt *who knew no ſin, was made ſin* (that is to ſay, an Oblation for ſin) *for us, that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him.*

Eph 2.14. 1 John 2. 2. John 1.29. 1 Cor. 1.30. 2 Cor. 5 21.

I grant, ſaith he, that theſe things belong not to all indifferently, but only to ſuch, as believing in the Son of God, do wholly reſt themſelves ſatisfied in the merit of his Death and Paſſion; which merit of his, as S. *Peter* witneſſeth, ſufficeth for their ſalvation. Acts 4.12.

After theſe matters premiſed, he asked her whether ſhe placed her whole confidence on *Chriſt crucified, who died for her ſins, and roſe again for her juſtification?* Rom. 4 25.

To which the Noble Princeſs anſwered, *That ſhe neither expected ſalvation, righteouſneſs, nor life from any elſe, then from her only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, being aſſured that his only merit abundantly ſufficed for the full ſatisfaction of all her ſins, albeit they were innumerable.*

This being your Faith, Madam, (ſaid the Miniſter) *you cannot come into condemnation, but are paſſed from death to life.* Then taking an occaſion again to reſume her former ſpeech, *That ſhe had no cauſe to be afraid of Gods Throne of Juſtice, ſeeing it was turned into a Throne of Grace and Mercy unto her; and that the hour of death ſhould now be exceedingly welcome to her, ſeeing it could be nothing elſe but a ſweet paſſage into a far better life; as alſo the time in which all tears ſhould be wiped away from her eyes*: He likewiſe ſhewed, that ſhe would do well continually to be thinking on that excellent Sentence, *Bleſſed are the dead which dye in the Lord, because from thenceforth they reſt from their labours, and their works follow them.* John 5.24. Heb. 4.16. Phil. 1.23. Rev. 21.4. 14.13.

For then, ſaid he, *the time approacheth wherein ſhe ſhould enjoy the viſible preſence and ſociety of her huſband Chriſt, and have fellowſhip with the bleſſed Angels and Celeſtial Spirits, with the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, and Martyrs of the Son of God, to partake with them of the ſame felicity and glory.*

The Miniſter minding yet further to ſound her, whether ſhe were loth to leave this life, uſed theſe words; *And now, good Madam*, (ſaid he) *if it ſhould pleaſe God by this your ſickneſs to put an end to this weariſome pilgrimage of yours, where yet you remain with us, and to call you home to himſelf, whereof he gives us to ſee ſome evident ſigns and tokens, are you willing, I beſeech you, to go unto him?* To which this excellent Princeſs, with great magnanimity and courage, without any aſtoniſhment, replyed, *Yes, I aſſure you.*

Then he once again added; *Good Madam, open the eyes of your Faith, and behold Jeſus your great Redeemer ſitting at the right hand of his Father, reaching out his hand to receive you unto him. Are you, are you willing to go unto him? Yes, I aſſure you*, ſaith ſhe, *moſt willing, and much more deſiring than to linger here below in this world, where I ſee nothing but vanity.*

The Miniſter, not willing to continue longer in this kind of diſcourſe, asked if ſhe were pleaſed that they ſhould go to prayer, declaring that godly perſonages there preſent would willingly joyn their deſires with hers. To which ſhe conſenting, the ſaid Miniſter prayed by her a good ſpace, whilſt this pious Lady manifeſted her ardent affection to call upon God.

When prayer was ended, the Miniſter diſcerning in her the undoubted teſtimonies of her repentance, and of the ſorrow ſhe conceived for the offences which ſhe had committed againſt God, together with the aſſured confidence which ſhe had in his mercies, as a Miniſter of the Goſpel, and Ambaſſador of the Son of God, by the Authority diſpenſed to him, having committed to him the *Word of Reconciliation*, he aſſured her in his Name, that all her ſins were forgiven her of God, and that they ſhould never come into account before his Judgment-ſeat: yea, that ſhe ſhould no more doubt thereof, than if the Son

of God from Heaven ſhould ſay unto her, *Daughter, thy ſins are forgiven thee.* And to the end that troubled Conſciences might the better be quieted, Chriſt hath uſed theſe words, ſpeaking to his Miniſters, ſaying, *Whoſe ſoever ſins ye remit, they are remitted; and whoſe ſins ye unlooſe, they are unlooſed.* The reaſon is, becauſe the word which they pronounce is not the word of a mortal man, but of the immortal God, being of no leſs weight, than if himſelf uttered the ſame.

Mat 16.14.

Then he asked of her Majeſty, if ſhe accepted of ſo gracious a Meſſage which aſſured her of the free pardon of all her ſins. Yea, I do, ſaith ſhe, and make no doubt thereof.

Not long after theſe Exhortations, the Admiral coming in, and with him another Miniſter, ſhe alſo gave ear to him for a good ſpace together; whoſe diſcourſe tended to prepare her for death, as he had done who had ſpoken to her immediately before; who having finiſhed his ſpeech, prayed alſo with her, and for her, which ſhe heard with great attention and affection. Then ſhe requeſted that theſe two Miniſters might ſtay with her all night in her Chamber, and that they would in no wiſe leave her.

The greater part of this night was ſpent in holy Admonitions which theſe two Miniſters gave to this gracious Lady and Princeſs one after another. Beſides theſe Admonitions, ſhe commanding that ſome Chapters of the holy Scripture, which were pertinent for her condition, ſhould be read unto her; one of the Miniſters read in her hearing certain Chapters out of the Goſpel of S. *John*, namely, from the fourteenth to the ſeventeenth. After he had read to her theſe Chapters, he went to Prayer, which being ended, the Queen deſired to take ſome reſt; but it was not long ere ſhe commanded them to read again: whereupon the other Miniſter having made choice of certain *Pſalms* of *David*, full of ardent and affectionate prayers, ſuiting to this Princeſſes preſent Affliction, he read them unto her, and for a Concluſion read the One and thirtieth *Pſalm*, where the Prophet, among other things, doth there commend his Spirit into the hands of God; *becauſe*, ſaith he, *thou haſt redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.*

Pſal. 31.5.

The Queen willed them to pray with her again: and thus, as I have ſaid, was the moſt part of the night ſpent in ſuch vertuous Exerciſes, namely, in Exhortation, in Reading the holy Scripture, and in Prayer: during all which time the Miniſters never diſcerned in any of her ſpeeches or behaviour the leaſt impatiency. Nay, whereas ſome days before ſhe fell ſick, ſhe ſhewed how affectionately ſhe was bent to provide things moſt magnificent for the day of her Sons Marriage, according as the ſtate of ſo great an Alliance required; it was admirable to obſerve, that after this ſickneſs had ſeized upon her, God wrought in her ſuch a forgetfulneſs and neglect of all ſuch matters, that ſhe never made ſhew of having ſo much as a thought thereof.

This night being thus paſſed and ſpent by this noble Queen, ſhe perſevering in the expreſſions of like pious actions and ardency of Faith, the next day in the morning, between eight and nine of the clock, ſhe departed this life, to take poſſeſſion of a far better life, ſweetly yielding up her Spirit into the hands of God, the ninth of *June* 1572. the ſixth day after ſhe fell ſick, in the 44. year of her age.

She had her perfect ſpeech always even to the hour of her death: ſhewing not only the ſtayedneſs and ſoundneſs of her judgment (which ever in times paſt ſhe had) in her care about the ſalvation of her Soul, but in her other worldly affairs alſo.

Now to avoid all jealouſies and ſuſpitions of her being wronged by Poyſon, or otherwiſe, in this matter of her ſo ſudden ſickneſs, her Body was opened by ſundry expert and learned Doctors of Phyſick and Chyrurgery, with all exquiſite diligence, who found her heart and liver very ſound and untouched, her lungs only excepted, which long before on the right ſide had been very ill affected, by reaſon of an extraordinary hardneſs which they had contracted, and withal a great Impoſthume, which, ſo far as man could judge, they concluded was the cauſe of her death. But they had no command given them to open the Brain, and therefore finding ſomewhat out of frame in her Body, they delivered their Opinions only concerning the ſame.

Thus you have with as much brevity as I could, and as the merit of the thing required, the true report of the manner of this vertuous Princeſſes ſickneſs and death, thus far related unto you; only my requeſt is (ſaith my Author) that if any have a more perfect and particular knowledge of the excellent parts wherewith the Lord had adorned and beautified her, they would not ſuffer the ſame to be buried in ſilence, but to cauſe it to ſee the light; that on the one ſide it may ſerve as an example to Poſterity; and on the other ſide, that we may learn to bleſs God for her Piety and Conſtancy.

Anno 1572.

An Introduction; firſt into that which leads to the death of the Admiral of France; *Then, to the Maſſacre at* Paris, *and ſo in ſome other Cities.*

And firſt, what moved the Admiral to come to Paris.

AFter the death of the Queen, certain Princes were ſolicited by the King to give their attendance at *Paris* for the ſolemnizing the Marriage of the Prince of *Navarre* (now made King by the death of his Mother) according to the Ceremonies which were thereto appertaining. Among the reſt, Letters were directed to the Admiral by the King himſelf, to come to this Marriage; which were delivered unto him by *Cavagues*: wherein the King aſſured him he would not tarry long after him; willing him not to be afraid of the fury of the *Pariſians*, nor of their threats which they had formerly uttered againſt him. For he was not ignorant of the deadly hatred they bare him, and therefore wrote unto the Maior of the City, to look unto it at his peril, that the Admiral had no wrong offered him by the Citizens, either at his entrance or continuance in the City. For of all the Cities in that Kingdom, it is the moſt ſuperſtitious, and eaſily moved to Sedition; and therefore the Admiral, being of a contrary Religion, could expect but ill welcome at his coming thither; eſpecially becauſe at his ſolicitation the Croſs of *Gaſtines* was removed out of the Street of S. *Dennis*.

The Queen-mother and the Duke of *Anjou* wrote unto the Maior alſo, and likewiſe to the reſt of the Magiſtrates, to the ſame effect; but eſpecially to their Servants, ſome whereof had a little light given them touching that device. To be ſhort, they endeavoured to take all rubs out of his way, that he might with the leſs miſtruſt fall into the ſame.

The Admiral, not caſting any perils, reſolved to take his journey to *Paris*. Albeit he lacked not ſundry adverti-ſements from his own Followers, and others his well-willers in the Kingdom; who honoured him much, deſiring him, that howſoever he had no ſiniſter opinion of the King, of his Mother, or any of theirs, yet at the leaſt he was to take into his conſideration the place whither he went, and amongſt what Enemies he was now to venture himſelf. But he always leaning upon the teſtimony of a good Conſcience, and being confident in Gods Providence, not moved by theſe Advertiſements, took his Journey to *Paris* with very few Attendants. Being come thither, he was honourably received of the King, and of his Brethren, and of the Queen-mother, with others alſo.

* He gave his teſtimony in his anſwer to theſe Adviſements, that ſince *France* came to be a Kingdom, it never enjoyed a better King than *Charles* the ninth.

The Marriage of the King of *Navarre* with the Kings Siſter being ſolemnized on the ſeventeenth and eighteenth of *Auguſt*, 1572. and all the Triumphs and Feaſtings accompanying the ſame being finiſhed, the Admiral determining to take his leave at Court, and ſo to return homewards, the Deputies of the Reformed Churches brought him their Requeſts on a ſudden, to preſent the ſame to the King, in regard of many wrongs the ſaid Churches had ſuſtained; and therefore they inſtantly beſought him, that he would not leave the Court till ſome order might be taken for redreſs thereof.

This, with other Impediments, were the occaſions of detaining him ſtill there.

Mauravell coming to *Paris* whilſt theſe Feaſts laſted, having preſented his Service firſt to the King and his Mother, the Duke of *Anjou*, with thoſe of the *Guiſe*; after ſome ſpeech had with the King and Queen-mother, one called *Chaill* had a command to direct him to the houſe whence

This *Mauravell* was he that ſhot the Admiral.

Anno 1572.

whence the blow ſhould be given: who left him with a Woman in the ſaid Houſe, which Woman was forbidden not only to ask his Name, but alſo ſo much as to enquire for what cauſe he was lodged there.

On *Friday*, the two and twentieth of *Auguſt*, in the morning he trimmed up his Harquebuſe, watching ſecretly the Admirals coming.

The Admiral at his going forth out of the *Louure* meeting the King coming out of a Chappel which is before the ſame, paſſing thence to play at Tenniſe, he ſcarcely had gone an hundred paces from the place, but as he returned to his lodging on foot to dine there, attended on by ſome twelve or fifteen Gentlemen, reading a petition; out of the Window of a lodging (where *Villemur* Tutor to the Duke of *Guiſe* uſually lay) he was ſhot with an Harquebuſe charged with three braſs bullets, one of which took off the fore finger on his right hand, and he was hurt with another in his left arm. Feeling himſelf thus wounded, he willed ſome of his Followers to enter that Houſe, and to enquire who it was that had done that or who ſet him on work to do it: and then to advertiſe the King thereof, giving him to underſtand how well his Commandment was obſerved.

Mauravel hurts the Admiral.

Now whilſt they were buſie to force open the door, the Murtherer fled out by a back way, eſcaping thence out of the gate of Saint *Anthony*; where one attended him, holding a *Spaniſh* gennet brought out of the Duke of *Guiſes* Stable; whereon he galloped away, yet not without ſome difficulty: for flying thus in ſome fear, he fell off his Horſe twice or thrice.

A Gentleman ſeeing the Admiral hurt came to ſupport his left arm, binding up the hurt thereon with his handkerchief. And thus was he conducted to his lodging, which was diſtant from thence about ſome twenty paces. In his paſſing a Gentleman ſaid it was to be feared the bullets were poiſoned: to which the Admiral replyed, *All muſt be as it pleaſeth God.*

The King hearing of the Admirals hurt left his game, where he was playing till then with the Duke of *Guiſe*, and throwing away his Racket as it ſeemed in an anger, with a ſad and heavy countenance withdrew himſelf into his Chamber; the Duke of *Guiſe* following him within a little while after.

The King of *Navarre* and the Prince *Conde* complain to the King.

The King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, with many other of the Religion, having notice of the Admirals hurt, complained to the King of this untimely accident; entreating they might have leave to depart out of the City, ſeeing they could expect little ſafety there. The King made his moan to them of the miſchance that hapned, ſwearing and proteſting that he would execute ſuch impartial juſtice upon the offendor, and on all the complotters, as ſhould give the Admiral and all his friends content; only he willed them to ſtay, promiſing them ere long to provide for their ſecurity.

The Chirurgions and Phyſitians were preſently ſent for, amongſt whom was *Ambroſe Pare* the Kings Chirurgian, a Man very expert. He began firſt with the Admirals finger, which put him to much pain, in regard the ſciſſers were not ſharp enough to cut it off at once; beſides he was fain to ſtop and open the wound thrice. Then he came to the left arm, making inciſions in two places into which the bullet had pierced. The Admiral endured all this with an undaunted countenance, and wonderful patience, whilſt thoſe which ſtood by and ſaw him ſo mangled could not refrain from tears. Captain *Monins* held him with both his arms about the middle, and *Cornaton* held his hands. He ſeeing them aſtoniſhed, *my friends*, ſaid he, *why weep you? I think my ſelf happy to be thus handled in the cauſe of God.* And anon caſting his eyes upon a Miniſter called *Merlin*, he ſaid, *Here ye ſee, my friends, Gods bleſſings. I am hurt indeed; but I know it is come to paſs by the will of my Heavenly Father, humbly thanking his Majeſty in that he is pleaſed to honor me ſo far, as to ſuffer any thing for his holy Name. Let us pray unto him, that he would grant unto me the gift of perſeverance.*

The Admirals ſpeech while he was in the Surgeons hands.

This *Merlin* was miraculouſly delivered in the maſſacre of *Paris*.

Then looking upon the ſaid Miniſter who wept over him. Oh Maſter *Merlin*, ſaith he, what will not you comfort me? Yes Sir, ſaith he; for wherein may you take greater comfort, than in calling to mind how greatly God hath always honored you in eſteeming you worthy to ſuffer rebuke for his Names ſake, and true Religion? The Admiral replied; alas, if God ſhould deal with me according to my deſerts, he might have put me to worſe torments then theſe. But bleſſed be his holy Name, in that he is pleaſed to take pity on me his poor and unworthy Servant. Be of good chear, Sir, then ſaid another unto him; for ſeeing God hath ſpared your more Noble part whole, you have cauſe therein to magnifie his goodneſs. In theſe wounds you have received from God a teſtimony of his love; rather then of his diſpleaſure, ſeeing he hath preſerved your head and underſtanding ſafe.

Then ſaid, *Merlin*, Sir, you do well in turning your thoughts away from him who hath committed this outrage upon you, in looking only unto God; for no doubt it is his hand that hath ſmitten you: therefore for the preſent, ceaſe to think on the malefactor. I aſſure you, ſaid the Admiral, I do freely forgive him from the bottom of my heart, and thoſe alſo that are his abettors; being fully perſwaded, that none of them all could have done me the leaſt hurt, no, though with violent hands they had put me to death. For what is death it ſelf to Gods Children but an aſſured paſſage to an eternal reſt and life?

Now as the ſaid Miniſter declared how the evils which happen to the Children of God in this preſent life, do often incite and quicken them up to pour out their Prayers into the boſom of the Almighty, the Admiral preſently with a loud voice and ardent affection prayed thus.

The Admirals Godly and devout Prayer.

The Admirals Godly and devout Prayer.

LOrd God and Heavenly Father, have pity upon me for thy goodneſs and mercies ſake; remember not Lord the ſins of my life paſt, nor the offences which I have committed againſt thee; for if thou narrowly mark our ſins, the looſeneſs of our behaviour and diſloyalties, in tranſgreſſing thy holy commandments; Lord, who ſhall ſtand? who is able to bear the weight of thy diſpleaſure? I renounce all Idol Gods; I acknowledge thee to be the only true God, and worſhip thee alone O Eternal Father, in thine Eternal ſon Jeſus Chriſt. I beſeech thee for his ſake, that thou wouldſt give unto me thy holy Spirit, and therewithal the gift of patience. I put my truſt in thy free mercy; for therein conſiſts the ſtay and prop of all my hope, whether I dye now at this preſent, or live for the time to come. Behold Lord, here I am, do with me as it pleaſeth thee; having this confidence in thee, that if I now depart hence, thou wilt receive me into the bleſſed reſt of thy Kingdom. If it pleaſe thee to lengthen out my days here on earth. O heavenly Father give me Grace that I may ſpend the reſidue thereof in ſetting forth the Glory of thy holy Name, and in maintaining, to the utmoſt of my power, thy pure worſhip and Service. Amen.

The Miniſters pray with him.

Having ended this Prayer, *Merlin* asked him, if it pleaſed him that the Miniſter of Chriſt ſhould now pray with him and for him. To whom he ſaid, yes, with all my heart; I pray you begin. Whilſt *Merlin* pronounced the Prayer, applying the ſame to the preſent occaſion, the Admiral with his eyes looking up to Heaven expreſſed the ardency of his affection, in conſenting thereunto. Prayer being ended, *Merlin* began to propound unto the Admiral the examples of the Martyrs, ſhewing that from *Abel* to *Abraham*, and conſequently hitherto, whoſoever carried themſelves in any degree of faithfulneſs in the Houſe of God, felt at one time or other the ſmart of afflictions in divers kinds. The Admiral anſwered, that when he called to mind the ſufferings of the Patriarchs and Martyrs, it much comforted him, and helped him ſomwhat to allay the tartneſs of his afflicted eſtate.

The King & Queen Mother came to viſit the Admiral.

The King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* having bitterly bewayled this outrage committed upon the Admiral (as you heard before) about two of the Clock in the afternoon, the King, accompanied with the Queen Mother, his Brother, and other of the Lords, went to viſit the Admiral.

The King with tears ſeemed to be exceeding ſorry for that which was come to paſs, promiſing him, with one Blaſphemous Oath upon another, to revenge the fact, no leſs than if it had been committed upon his own perſon: praying him to come and take up his lodging with him, in

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the *Louvre*, for his greater ſecurity and ſafety. Whereupon, the Admiral, after ſome diſcourſe made to the King in ſecret, gave him moſt humble thanks for ſo great a favour, as to viſit him in his own perſon.

Upon the Motion made by the King, *Mazilles* his chief Phyſitian was called, demanding of him, whether the Admiral might ſafely be removed thence into the *Louvre*, or no? His Anſwer to the King was, that it could not be done without danger. Some of the Admirals friends thought it fitting to requeſt a guard of Souldiers to be aſſigned by the King unto him for his better ſecurity. The King anſwered, he liked well of that device, being fully determined to provide for the Admirals ſafety as his own, and would preſerve him no leſs then the apple of his Eye. After the King called for the bullet of braſs wherewith the Admiral was hurt, that he might ſee it, asking whether he was not put to great pain when his finger was cut off, as likewiſe touching the dreſſing of his arm? Now as *Cornaton* ſhewed the bullet, having his ſleeve all bloody (becauſe he was appointed to hold the Admirals arm, while it was in dreſſing) the King asked if that were of the Admirals Blood? and whither ſo much Blood iſſued out of his wounds? adding (after *Carnatons* Anſwer) he never ſaw Man in his life ſhew greater conſtancy and magnanimity of Spirit then the Admiral did.

Then was the Queen Mother deſirous to ſee the bullet, ſaying, I am glad the bullet is taken out; for I remember when the Duke of *Guiſe* was killed before *Orleance*, the Phyſitian told me, that if the bullet was gotten out, there was no danger of death, though it were poyſoned.

Then *Cornaton* anſwered, we have foreſeen that, Madam; for being careful to prevent that danger, the Admiral had a medicine given him to expel the poiſon, if peradventure any ſuch thing ſhould be.

Some good hopes of the Admirals recovery.

The *Saturday* before the Admiral was ſlain he began to be ſomwhat cheered, ſo as the Chirurgions and Phyſitians gave out, that they would warrant the Admirals Life: becauſe his arm, having loſt but little of its ſtrength, would ſoon be healed. This news was brought to the King, who ſeemed to entertain the ſame joyfully. The new married Wife came alſo to viſit the Admiral. But all this was but a lightning before death. For that night there was heard a great clattering of Armour in the City, and many Torches lighted every where, born by many of the people. Some Gentlemen, whoſe lodgings were nigh to the Admirals, roſe, and went out, asking ſome of their acquaintance the reaſon why there were ſo many up in Arms at that hour of the night: They anſwered; That the King much deſired to ſee a Caſtle aſſayled and defended, deviſed only in ſport to give him content. They paſſing yet further came to the *Louvre*, where they likewiſe ſaw many Torches lighted, and Troops of armed Men.

The Guard there could no longer contain themſelves, but began to pick a quarrel with them; and as one of the ſaid Gentlemen was about to ſpeak, a *Gaſcoine* Soldier ſtruck at him with a Partizan, and then they fell upon the reſt. The noiſe hereof ſpreading, the Queen Mother ſaid, ſeeing it is not poſſible to retain the fury of the Soldiers any longer from breaking out, * Let the Bell of the Church of S. *German* be touled, ſaid ſhe.

* That was the watch-word, as you would ſay, when the Maſſacre was to begin. The mark or ſign by which the Murtherers were to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, was a white hand-kerchief knit about the left arm, and a white Croſs in their Hats. Proverb.

The Admiral coming to the knowledge of this uprore (though he had but few of his followers about him, was not much moved thereat; truſting, as he often uſed to ſay) upon the Kings favor, whereof he had large experience. Alſo he knew that when the *Pariſians* ſhould underſtand how much the King diſliked their folly, though they had an intention of doing him ſome miſchief, yet would they be quieted as ſoon as they ſaw *Coſſeins* and his Guard.

This *Coſſeins* was appointed by the Duke of *Anjou* to defend the Admirals Lodging, wherein the old Proverb was verified, *That the Wolf was ſet to keep the ſheep.*

About break of day, *Auguſt* the four and twentieth, 1572. being ſaint *Bartholomews* day, they began to knock at the door where the Admiral lay. *La Bonne*, who lay not far from him, having the keyes, perceiving that there were ſome who came on a meſſage from the King to the Admiral, came down quickly and opened the door; preſently *Coſſeins* fell upon him and ſtabbed him with his dagger, ſo that he dyed. Then with his Harquebuſiers ruſhing into the Houſe, killing ſuch as they met, others fled. *Cornaton* awaking with the noiſe that he heard at the door (for he lay in the next Chamber by) ran thither, cauſing the *Switzers* and other Officers to fortifie it. *Coſſeins* hearing that cryed to him to open it in the Kings Name, and he ſo handled the matter, that with the help he had, he forced the door open, and after gained the ſtairs. The Admiral and thoſe that were with him, taking notice how they ſhot off Piſtols and Guns, finding themſelves incloſed in their enemies hands, fell to prayer, begging pardon of God for their Sins.

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The Admiral riſing out of his Bed, and putting on his night gown, commanded *Merlin* the Miniſter to make the prayer. He alſo, calling earneſtly upon Jeſus Chriſt his God and Saviour, commended his Spirit into his hands. He that teſtified theſe things and made report thereof, coming into the Chamber, and being asked by the Admiral what that Tumult meant; Sir, ſaith he, God is now ſummoning us to look to our end. The Admiral ſeeing what would be the iſſue, anſwered, I have long ſince expected death: ſave your ſelves if it be poſſible, for you cannot ſecure me; I commend my Soul into the hands of the merciful God. Thoſe who were preſent and eſcaped have affirmed, that the Admiral was no more affrighted at death, which he ſaw preſent before his eyes, than if there had been no likelihood thereof at all.

The Admirals Chriſtian and conſtant carriage of himſelf in theſe broils.

Forthwith every one in the Chamber getting up to the top of the Houſe, and having found a window near the Roof, ſaved themſelves there; but the greater part, who were beneath in the next room to the Admiral were ſlain, others miraculouſly eſcaped. In the mean while *Coſſeins* having made his way cauſed certain *Switzers* of the D. of *Anjous* guard to enter into the Houſe.

Beſine, *Coſſeins*, and *Sarlabour*, with their Targets in one hand, and their naked Swords in the other, broke open the Admirals Chamber door, and *Beſine* (which was afterwards ſlain himſelf by one *Bertoville* upon the way, after he had eſcaped out of Priſon) coming towards the Admiral, holding the point of his Sword to his Breaſt, ſaid thus, *Art not thou the Admiral? I am the Man*, ſaid he, with an undaunted courage, as the Murtherers afterwards confeſſed. Then beholding the naked Sword, *Young Man*, ſaid the Admiral, *thou oughteſt ſomwhat to reſpect my years, and my infirmity of Body, but it is not thou that canſt ſhorten my days.* *Beſine* deſperately thruſt the Admiral into the Body with his Sword, and then ſmote him therewith on the head the reſt had every one a blow at him; ſo as he preſently fell down wounded to death.

The Admiral wounded to death.

Whilſt this miſchief was in acting, the Duke of *Guiſe* being below in the baſe Court, with other Romiſh Catholick Lords, cryed to the Murtherer above, *Beſine* haſt thou done? It is done, ſaith he. Then the Duke replyed, Monſieur, our Knight (meaning King *Henries* Baſtard) will not believe it unleſs he ſee it with his eyes; throw him down out of the Window.

Then *Beſine* and *Sarlabour*, lifting up the Body of the Admiral, caſt him down unto them, where he lay naked on the ground, expoſed to all ſort of ſcorn and mocks of the Multitude, ſome trampling on him with their feet. Now becauſe the blow which *Beſine* had given the Admiral on his head, had ſo covered his face with Blood iſſuing thence, that his viſage could not be diſcerned, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſtooping down took his handkerchief, and wiping his face therewith ſaid, It is he, I know him well enough; and giving this poor dead Body a ſpurn on the Head with his foot (whom all the Murtherers in *France* feared whilſt he lived) he paſſed thence, encouraging his Soldiers ſaying, *We have made a good beginning; now let us go on to the reſt, for the King hath ſo commanded, the King hath ſo commanded*, repeating it over twice.

An *Italian* of the Duke of *Nevers* Guard cut off the Admirals Head, and brought it to the King and Queen Mother; which being embalmed was ſent to *Rome* to the Pope, and to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, being there at that time. The common people on the *Monday* following cut off his Hands and privy Members, and then in this woful plight being dragged up and down three days in the Channels throughout the Streets, he was at the laſt carried out of the City to a Gibbet in Mount *Faucon*, where they hanged him by the feet; from whence ſome that were well diſpoſed, going

The Admirals Head ſent to *Rome*.

Anno 1572. going together in the night to this gibbet, took down the Body of the Admiral; the which they interred ſo ſecretly, that do the Papiſts what they could, they could never find it out, but it lay buried ſtill, ſo as they were fain to make a Body of ſtraw, and hung that up in ſtead of the Body it ſelf, rather than none at all.

Here, as in fitteſt place is briefly related the Sentence which the Court of Parliament in Paris *denounced againſt* Gaſper Coligni *Admiral of* France, *after he was maſſacred as you have formerly heard, viz.*

1. *FIrſt, That for his conſpiracy practiſed againſt the King and State in the year 1572. the ſaid Court hath condemned him of high Treaſon.*

2. *That his memory ſhall be utterly raſed out.*

3. *If his Body or any figure thereof ſhall be taken, that the ſame ſhall be firſt drawn upon a hurdle to the place called* Le Grene, *and there hanged upon a Gibbet by the Executioner.*

4. *After which, a Gibbet ſhall be ſet up at* Mountfaucon, *and he there to be hanged up in the moſt eminent place thereof.*

5. *His Arms and Armor to be drawn at an horſe tail through the Streets of the ſaid City of* Paris, *and other Cities where they ſhould be found, and there by the Miniſter of Juſtice to be broken and battered in pieces, in ſign of his perpetual ignominy.*

6. *All his goods and poſſeſſions to be forfeited to the Kings uſe.*

7. *All his Children to be pronounced ignoble: as alſo held unworthy and uncapable of any honor or dignities whatſoever.*

8. *His Houſe and Caſtle of* Chaſtillon *upon the* Loin, *the Baſe Court and all appurtenances thereunto appertaining to be defaced and demoliſhed to the ground.*

9. *Then in the ſaid place this Sentence ſhall be ſet up engraven in Braſs.*

10. *Laſtly, that on the four and twentieth of* Auguſt, 1572, *general Proceſſions be made through the City of* Paris, *by way of thankſgiving to God for this puniſhment inflicted upon the Conſpirator.*

Pronounced and Executed in *Paris*, the ſeven and twentieth, and nine and twentieth of *October*, Anno 1572.

Signed,

Malon.

Great joy at Rome for thoſe ſorrowful events.

At *Rome* ſolemn Maſſes were ſung, and thanks rendred to God for the good ſucceſs which the Roman Catholicks had obtained in maſſacring the *Huguenots* At night, in token of joy and gladneſs, were made many great bonfires in ſundry places: And, as the report went, the Cardinal of *Lorraign* gave a thouſand Crowns to him that brought this deſired news unto him. Touching whoſe death I will here inſert that which I find written of it.

A note touching the manner of the Cardinal of *Lorrains* death.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, a principal pillar in the Houſe of *Guiſe*, a crafty and cruel perſecutor of the Reformed Churches, ſoon after the Reign of *Henry* the third, Brother of *Charles* the ninth, in the year 1574, died at *Avignon* frantique, at the hour of whoſe death there hapned ſuch a horrible Tempeſt in the Air, that all ſtood amaſed at it. The people obſerving how it fell out in one of the chief Cities where Popery bare the ſway, thought it the more remarkable; not ſticking to ſay, that this wiſe worldling, who had enriched himſelf beyond meaſure by execrable practiſes, received now in the prime of his youth and in the top of his hopes, the juſt reward of all his wicked proceedings; it being not poſſible, that a Soul ſo repleniſhed with iniquity could depart quietly.

But thoſe of the Religion added, That in this his ſo ſudden departure ſhined the wonderful providence of God, in that one of the Popes great ſupporters, coming to *Avignon* with a purpoſe to arm the King of *France* and *Polonia* againſt the Chriſtian Aſſemblies (out of a vain confidence thinking, that at his only word and threat the Prince would be perſwaded to overthrow all) it ſhould fall out ſo contrary to his expectation, that the Maſter-builder and upholder of violent and bloody Counſels muſt now in the midſt of his Triumphs come to ſo fearful and miſerable an end: That he, who bent all his wits to croſs the Counſel and Wiſdom of God, ſhould at an inſtant in this City be ſmitten with frenſie. To give warning to all, that there is no Wiſdom or Counſel againſt the Lord; who blaſteth the ripeſt wits when they dare to oppoſe him therewith. But now to return again to the matter where we left.

The ſame day that the Admiral was hurt, the King adviſed the King of *Navarre*, his Brother in Law, to lodg in his Chamber, with ten or twelve of his truſtieſt Servants, to protect him from the deſigns of the Duke of *Guiſe*, whom he called an unhappy Boy.

The Admiral as it ſeemeth ſomwhat before his death made his will, in which he gave the King Counſel, that he ſhould not give his Brethren over great portions. The Queen Mother hearing this, and reading the ſame to the Duke of *Alencon* the Kings Brother; Now you ſee, ſaith ſhe, the heart of your friend the Admiral, whom you ſo much loved and reſpected.

The Duke anſwered, I know not how much he loved me, but I well perceive by this how much he loved the King.

The Engliſh Embaſſador made almoſt the like anſwer when the ſaid Queen told him, How the Admiral had adviſed the King not to truſt the Engliſh too far. The *Admiral* a loving and loyal Servant to his Prince and Country

Indeed Madam, ſaith he, hereby it appeared that though he bare but little good will to the Engliſh, yet he manifeſted himſelf a loyal Servant to the Crown of *France*.

The *Sieur de Brion*, Governor of the little Marqueſs *Conde*, Son to the late Prince of *Conde*, hearing theſe ſtirs, taking his little Maſter even in his ſhirt, thinking to convey him ſomewhere out of the way, met theſe Murtherers, who plucking from him the ſaid young Prince, Maſſacred the old Man in his preſence, whilſt the Prince with tears intreated them to ſpare his Governour. But they dyed his white hairs in his own Blood, and then barbarouſly dragged him through the mire. *Brion* Governour to the Prince of *Conde*. Son maſſacred.

This *Sunday* morning all that were Popiſhly affected took liberty to kill and ſpoyl; it being credibly reported, That the number of the ſlain that day and two other days following, in the City of *Paris*, and in the Suburbs, did amount to above ten thouſand, counting Lords, Gentlemen, Preſidents, Counſellors, Advocates, Lawyers, Scholars, Phyſitians, Merchants, Tradeſmen, Women, Maids, and Children. The Streets were covered with dead Bodies, the River was dyed with Blood, the Gates and entrance into the Kings Palace painted with the ſame colour: but the blood-thirſty were not yet ſatisfied. Ten thouſand maſſacred within three days in the City of *Paris*, &c

But going from Houſe to Houſe with their Aſſociates where they thought to find any *Huguenots*, they brake open the doors, then cruelly murthered whomſoever they met, ſparing neither Sex nor Age. Carts were laden with dead Bodies of young Maidens, Women, Men & Children, which were diſcharged into the River, covered in a maner all over with the ſlain, and dyed red with their Blood, which alſo ſtreamed down the ſtreets from ſundry parts thereof, whereat the Courtezans laughed their fill, ſaying, That the Wars were now ended, and that hereafter they ſhould live in peace, *&c.* But it would take up too much time to recite all the lamentable paſſages of this ſo ſad and rueful a tragedy. The pretence was this: Report was raiſed there that a Treaſon of the *Huguenots* was diſcovered, who had conſpired to kill the King, his Mother, and his Brethren, having already killed fifteen of the guard.

This with ſome others which follow, belonging to this Hiſtory, becauſe they could not be omitted, are here under inſerted.

TO begin then with *Monſieur Pierre de la Place* Preſident of the Court of Requeſts, whoſe ſtory we will relate ſome what at large, becauſe his ſingular piety requires the ſame. On *Sunday* morning about ſix of the Clock, one called Captain *Michael*, Harquebuſier of the King, came into his lodging, into which he had the more eaſie acceſs for divers private reſpects.

This

Anno 1569.

This Captain being armed, having a Harquebuſe on *his ſhoulder, a Piſtol at his Girdle, and his Hankerchief* tyed about his left Arm, preſenting himſelf before the ſaid *De la Place*, the firſt words he ſpake were, that the Duke of *Guiſe* had ſlain the Admiral by the Kings appointment, with many *Huguenots* beſides: and becauſe the reſt of them of what quality ſoever were deſtinated to death, he was come to his lodging to exempt him from the common deſtruction: only he deſired to have a ſight of that Gold and Silver which was in the Houſe. The Lord *De la Place* ſomwhat amaſed at the audacious malapartneſs of the Man, who, in the midſt of ten or twelve perſons which were there preſent in the room, durſt preſume to utter ſuch Language, askt him if he knew where he was, or whether he thought there was a King or no?

This was a token by which the Murtherers were diſtinguiſhed from others.

To this the Captain Blaſpheming anſwered, that he willed him to go with him to know the Kings pleaſure. The ſaid Lord *De la Place* hearing this, fearing alſo ſome danger to be towards, by Sedition in the City, ſlipped forth at a back door behind his lodging, purpoſing to get into a Neighbours Houſe. In the mean while moſt of his Servants vaniſhed out of ſight, and this Captain having ſtored himſelf with a thouſand Crowns, was intreated by the Lady *Marets*, Daughter to the ſaid Lord, to convey her Father with the Lord *Marets* her Husband into the Houſe of ſome Roman Catholick, which he conſented to do, and alſo performed it.

After this, *De la Place*, being refuſed at three ſeveral Houſes was conſtrained to retire back again into his own, where he found his Wife very penſive and grieved beyond meaſure, fearing leſt this Captain in the end would caſt her Son in Law and Daughter into the River, as alſo for the eminent danger wherein her dear husband and all his family were.

But the ſaid Lord *De la Place*, being ſtrengthned by the Spirit of God with incredible conſtancy in the inner Man, ſharply rebuked her; and afterwards mildly demonſtrated unto her, that we muſt receive theſe and the like afflictions from the hand of God; and ſo having diſcourſed a while upon the promiſes of God comforted her.

Then he commanded ſuch Servants and Maids as remained in the Houſe to be called together; who being come into his Chamber, according to his cuſtome on the Lords days, he made a form of exhortation to his Family: then went to prayer, and began to read a Chapter out of the Book of *Job*, with the expoſition or Sermon of Maſter *John Calvin* upon it. So having ſpoken ſomwhat of Gods mercy and juſtice, which as a good and wiſe Father uſeth to exerciſe his elect with ſundry Chaſtiſements, leſt they ſhould be intangled here below with the things of this World, he ſhewed how needful afflictions were for Chriſtians, and that it was beyond the power of Satan or Men to hurt or wrong them, unleſs the Lord of his good pleaſure gave them leave. What need have we then, ſaid he, to dread their Authority, which at the moſt can but prevail over our Bodies? Then he went to prayer again, preparing himſelf and his whole Family rather to endure all ſorts of Torments, yea death itſelf, than to ſpeak or do ought that might tend to the diſhonour of God.

Having finiſhed his Prayer, word was brought him, that *Seneca* the Provoſt Marſhal with many Archers were at the door of his Lodging, commanding the ſame to be opened in the Kings Name, ſaying that he came to ſecure the perſon of the Lord *De la Place*, and to preſerve his Houſe from being pillaged by the common ſort. The Lord *De la Place* having intelligence of this ſpeech commanded the door to be opened to him, who entring in declared the great ſlaughter that was made upon the *Huguenots* every where in the City by the Kings command; adding this withal in Latin, that he would not ſuffer one to live, *Qui mingat ad Parietem.* Yet have I expreſs charge from his Majeſty, ſaith he, to ſee that you ſhall ſuſtain no wrong, but only conduct you to the *Louvre*, becauſe the King is deſirous to be informed touching many things about the affairs of thoſe of the Religion, which he hath now in hand, and therefore willed him to make himſelf ready to go to his Majeſty. The Lord *De la Place* anſwered, that he always thought himſelf happy before he left this Life, to gain any opportunity by which he might render an account to his Majeſty of his behaviour and actions.

But in regard ſuch horrible Maſſacres were every where committed, it was impoſſible for him to paſs to the *Louvre, without the certain danger of his perſon*; praying him to aſſure his Majeſty of his willingneſs to come, the whilſt leaving in his Lodging as many Archers as he thought fitting, until the fury of the people was ſomwhat pacified. The Provoſt agreed to his requeſt, and left with him one of his Lieutenants called *Toute Voye*, with ſome four of his Archers.

Not long after comes into his Lodging Preſident *Charron*, then Provoſt of the Merchants, with whom conferring a little in ſecret, going his way he left with the four Archers which were there before, four more of the City Archers. The whole night following was ſpent in ſtopping up and fortifying of all paſſages from entring the Houſe, with logs and proviſion of Flint-ſtones, damming up the windows, ſo as it ſeemed by this ſo exact and diligent a defence, the Archers were left in the Houſe, to free the ſaid *De la Place* and all his Family from the common calamity, till *Seneca*, returning the next day after two of the Clock in the afternoon, declared that he had expreſs charge from the King to bring him to his Majeſty without delay. He replyed as before, that it was dangerous as yet to paſs through the City, in regard that even the ſame morning there was an Houſe pillaged next to his.

Seneca on the contrary inſiſted, ſaying, it was the common ſpeech of theſe *Huguenots* to proteſt that they were the Kings moſt loyal and obedient Subjects and Servants; but when they were to manifeſt their obedience to his commands, then they came off but ſlowly, ſeeming rather much to abhor and deteſt it. And whereas he pretended danger, *Seneca* anſwered, that he ſhould have a Captain of *Paris* who was well known to the people, to accompany him. As *Seneca* continued this ſpeech, the Captain of *Paris* ſurnamed *Pazon*, a principal actor in this Sedition, entred the Chamber of the ſaid Lord of *Place*, offering his Service to conduct him through the City to the King; which *De la Place* would by no means yield unto, telling *Seneca*, that he was one of the moſt cruel and bloody minded Men that was in all the City; and therefore ſeeing he muſt needs go to the King, he intreated that the ſaid *Seneca* would be his guard. To whom *Seneca* anſwered, that having now other affairs to look unto, he could not conduct him above fifty paces.

Then his Wife (though otherwiſe a very gracious and good Lady) out of that entire love which ſhe bare to her Husband, proſtrated her ſelf at the feet of the ſaid *Seneca*, beſeeching and intreating him to accompany her Husband to the King, But the ſaid *De la Place*, who never ſhewed any ſign of a dejected Spirit, came to his Wife, took her up from the ground, rebuked her, and told her, that it is not the Arm of Fleſh that we muſt ſtoop unto, but unto God only. Then turning himſelf about, he perceived in his Sons Hat a white Croſs, which through infirmity he had placed there, thinking thereby to ſave himſelf, for which his Father ſharply chid him, commanding him to pluck that mark of Sedition thence; telling him that we muſt now ſubmit our ſelves to bear the true Croſs of Chriſt, namely, thoſe afflictions and tribulations which it ſhall pleaſe our good God to lay upon us, as ſure pledges of that eternal happineſs, which he hath treaſured up for all his elect Servants. Thus ſeeing himſelf preſſed by the ſaid *Seneca*, to go with him to the King, reſolving upon death, which he ſaw he could not avoid, he took his Cloak, embracing his Wife, earneſtly wiſhing her above all things to have the fear of God and his honour in precious eſteem, and then went on his way boldly. Coming into the Street where the glaſs-houſe is, over againſt *Cocks-ſtreet*, certain Murtherers who attended there for his coming, with their daggers in a readineſs, killed him, about three of the Clock in the afternoon, as an innocent lamb in the midſt of ten or twelve of *Senecas* Archers, who led him into that butchery: and then pillaged and embezzled away what they found in his Lodging for the ſpace of five or ſix days together. His Body (whoſe Soul was now received into Heaven) being carried into a Stable, and covering his face over with dung, the next day they threw him into the River.

De la Place addreſſeth himſelf to go to the King.

He is firſt Murthered and then thrown into the River.

Peter Ramus the Kings profeſſor in Logick, a Man renowned among the learned, was not forgotten. He had many enemies; among other, one called *James Carpenter*, who

Peter Ramus maſſacred and afterwards gracefully handled.

Anno 1572. who ſent the Murtherers to the College of Prieſts, where the ſaid *Ramus* was hidden. But being diſcovered, he offered a good Sum of Money to ſave his life; yet was he maſſacred, and caſt down out of an high Chamber window to the ground, ſo as his Bowels iſſuing out of the Stones, were afterwards trailed through the Streets; the Carcaſs was whipped by certain Scholars, being ſet on by their Tutors, to the great diſgrace of good Letters which *Ramus* profeſſed.

I do here, ſaith the Hiſtorian, forbear to write what cruelties were exerciſed in this foreſaid City of *Paris*, on *Sunday*, *Munday*, *Tueſday*, and the days following; becauſe in ſuch confuſions, thoſe that ſurvived had little leaſure to think upon the Murthers committed in their preſence, to obſerve every particular; I content my ſelf therefore to ſay in a word, that no Man living in *Paris* taking notice what was done there this Saint *Bartholomews* day, *&c.* but will aver that there was never ſeen, heard nor read of ſuch perfidious diſloyalties, ſtrange raviſhments, more than brutiſh cruelties, audacious robberies, execrable blaſphemies, as thoſe that were committed in theſe few days; wherein it was ſafe for one to be any thing, rather than an honeſt Man.

Of a young Man who preferred his Mothers ſafety in theſe broyls before his own.

A Young Man about the Age of two and thirty years, a ſincere Chriſtian, and excellently well learned above many of his Age and time, going early abroad this *Sunday* morning upon ſome ſpecial occaſion, returning home, and perceiving what a ſtrange rumour there was concerning the death of the Admiral throughout the City of *Paris*, he out of his ſingular and Child-like affection to his Mother, haſtened to her with all poſſible ſpeed, informing her what had happened and ſo wrought for her, without delay, and not regarding his own ſafety, that he ſecured her in a place, as you would ſay, fitted for the purpoſe. After which himſelf being found alone ſhut up in his ſtudy at prayer, to which exerciſe he had long before devoted himſelf. The furious Maſſacrers on that part of the City asked him if he would obey the King, he anſwered, yes, but I muſt alſo obey God.

Then they began preſently with battle axes and ſtaves to load him with blows on the head, that he received his own Blood into his hands; and then making an end of him, they threw him into the River.

Two Miniſters maſſacred.

TWo Miniſters appertaining to the King of *Navarre*, the one called *More*, the other *Deſgoris*, fell alſo into the hand of theſe Murtherers, who killing them, caſt them into the Water. I cannot learn, ſaith the Hiſtoriographer, by report, that any more Miniſters were ſlain at this time, than theſe two. At the writing hereof many were living, who laboured in the work of the Lord, in the Church of *Paris*, as were alſo miraculouſly preſerved.

An inhumane Cruelty.

PHilip *le Doux* a greater Jeweller, at his return home from *Guybray* Fair, being gone to bed, his Wife at that time had the Midwife attending upon her, being ready to be delivered: ſhe hearing theſe furies below bouncing at the door, commanding it to be opened to them in the Kings name, as ill as ſhe was, adventured to go down, and opened the ſame to theſe Tygers, who preſently ſtabbed her Husband in his Bed. The Midwife ſeeing them bent to Murther the Woman alſo, now ready to lye down, inſtantly intreated them to tarry at leaſt ſo long till the Infant (which would be the 20. Child that God had given her) was born. Having conteſted ſome while with them, they took this poor Woman half dead with fear, and thruſt her into the fundment with a dagger to the very hilts. She finding her ſelf mortally wounded, and yet deſirous to bring forth her fruit, fled into a corn-loft; whither they purſued her, giving her another ſtab into the Belly with a Dagger, and then caſt her out of a Window next to the Street: upon which fall the Child came forth of her Body, the Head formoſt, gaping or yawning, to

A barbarous cruelty.

the great aſtoniſhment and confuſion of the Papiſts, who were conſtrained often with deteſtation to acknowledge and confeſs the cruelties of their Butchers.

Behold here another.

ONE of the Maſſacrers having ſnatched up a little Child in his Arms, the poor Babe began to play with his Beard, and to ſmile upon him; but in ſtead of being moved to compaſſion therewith, this barbarous wretch wounded it with his dagger, and ſo caſt it all on a gore-blood into the River, ſo as it was a good while ere it could recover the own colour again.

What Iron heart would not have been moved to compaſſion herewith?

To proceed on further and fully to relate all the Tragical acts committed in this Maſſacre at *Paris*, to ſet down the thundrings of Guns and Piſtols, the lamentable voices and outcries of the ſlain, the roarings and horrible blaſphemies belched forth by theſe Maſſacrers and Devils incarnate, were enough to cauſe the Paper whereon they ſhould be deſcribed either to bluſh, or weep.

Not to ſtay the Reader therefore any longer in this, having many things of the like nature to preſent unto thy view, we will paſs from the dolorous City of *Paris* to other Cities in *France*, and ſet before thee as in a glaſs a company of horrible and rueful ſpectacles.

Maſſacres committed upon thoſe of the Religion, at Meaux *in* Brie.

LEt us begin then with thoſe of *Meaux* in *Brie*, which is not above a days journey from *Paris*.

The poor Proteſtants in this City were deſtinated to drink off this Cup of Martyrdom after their Brethren and Siſters in the foreſaid City of *Paris*. Therefore on the ſame *Sunday* the four and twentieth of *Auguſt*, about four of the Clock in the Afternoon, a Poſt was ſent to *Meaux* with Letters, accompanied with a Seditious fellow called *Le Froid*. Being come thither, the Packet was preſented to Monſieur *Lovis Coſſet*, the Kings Attourney there. Upon the receit whereof, this Attourney haſted hither and thither in his own perſon to advertiſe ſuch cut-throats (as had had their hands in pillaging and robbing thoſe of the Religion in the firſt, ſecond, and third troubles) with command, that they ſhould be ready to come forth of their Houſes Armed, at the ſtroke of ſeven of the clock, and then cauſe the Gates inſtantly to be ſhut.

There was a roul drawn where the maſſacre ſhould begin, continue, and end. This *Coſſet* was then branded for notorious villanies, and a miſ-ſhapen fellow.

The time prefixed being come, which was about Supper time, the gates were ſhut, and then they began to execute their cruelties in ſundry parts of the City. Thus was that night paſſed, not without uprores and ſtrange events.

On the next day, which was *Munday*, about three of the Clock in the morning, theſe good Catholicks began to pillage the Houſes of the Proteſtants, of the beſt things they had, which continued till eight of the Clock, their trading liked them ſo well. But the principal of all the ſpoils were conveyed into the Court and Houſe of this Noble Attourney *Coſſet*; yet theſe were only the beginnings of ſorrows.

For after robbing and ſpoiling they fell to ſhut them up in Priſons: which being filled, the Maſſacrers having *Coſſet* for their Captain (who uſually carried in each hand a Piſtol ready to diſcharge) went into the ſaid Priſon on *Tueſday* the ſix and twentieth of *Auguſt*. about five or ſix of the Clock at night, with Swords, Daggers, and Butchers knives.

Nigh to this Priſon there was a great Court encloſed on every ſide with walls and a very ſtrong Gate. In a corner whereof is a large pair of winding Stairs, containing five and twenty, or thirty ſteps, by which they go up to the Judgment-Hall to the Seat of Juſtice. Into this Court were the Murderers aſſembled; which done, *Coſſet* went up into his Seat. Then they had a roul or bill containing the Names of the Priſoners there impriſoned, who were called over one by one to the number of two hundred and upwards, as ſome of the Murderers themſelves have ſince reported, when as they impudently made their brags of theſe their horrible impieties and injuſtices.

Then

Then the Attourney laughing began to call for the firſt Man named in the Bill; who being brought forth, and ſeeing naked Swords before him, falling down and craving forgiveneſs of his Sins at the hands of God, was ſuddenly butchered by five or ſix.

One *Quintin Croyer*, an Elder of the Reformed Church, being called forth, and ſeeing many of his Companions maſſacred before his eyes, kneeled down, praying God to pardon theſe murderers; at which prayer they fell a laughing, and not being able with their Daggers to pierce a Jerkin of double Buff which he ware, and which they were loth to ſpoil, (for it was a good booty) they cut aſunder the points, and then gave him five, or ſix ſtabs with a Dagger into his Body; and ſo this good Man wounded to death, calling upon God, rendered up his Spirit into the hands of him that gave it.

Faron Haren, a man zealouſly affected to Religion, who had been Sheriff of the City in the firſt troubles, having by his endeavours chaſed the Maſs out of *Meaux*, for a time was mortally hated of theſe Seditious Papiſts; and therefore they were not contented ſimply to kill him, but firſt cut off his Noſe, Ears; and ſecret parts, then giving him many ſmall thruſts into divers parts of the Body, they conſtrained him to and fro among them, as if he had gone thorow the pikes. But being weakned, and not able any longer to hold out, in regard of the Blood that iſſued from all the parts of his Body, he fell with his face to the ground, and inſtantly calling upon the name of the Lord, received infinite gaſhes and wounds after he was dead.

By this time it grew late; therefore theſe Bloodſuckers, having almoſt wearied themſelves in worrying theſe poor lambs and ſheep of Chriſt, deferred the execution of the reſt till after ſupper, as well to take ſome breathing and refection, as alſo to murther the reſidue with the greater alacrity. For in as much as the Blood of the ſlain ſhined yet upon the Swords and Arms of the murtherers (their ſleeves being tucked up) which ſomething hindred their proceeding; after they had drunk wine their fill, they meant to return and make themſelves drunk with Blood alſo; which that they might ſhed the more freely they took with them Butchers great Axes wherewith they ſmite down their Oxen, and in the preſence of this honeſt Attourney felled theſe poor Priſoners one after another; who called upon God, and crying ſo loud for mercy, that all the City in a manner rung thereof. This Maſſacre laſted from nine of the Clock at night till it was midnight. And for as much as there yet remained many Priſoners alive, they deferred this their Bloody buſineſs till the next day.

But this may ſuffice to have been ſaid as touching this maſſacre at *Meaux* in *Brie*; paſs we on now to the City of *Troys* in Champaign, and there take notice, as it were by the way, what cruelties were executed in that place.

Perſecution of the Faithful at Troys *in* Champaign.

NEws coming to *Troys* of the Maſſacre executed at *Paris*, the greater part of the Judges and Officers of the King were ſent to the Bailiff of *Troys*, with commandment diligently to make ſearch for all thoſe of the Religion, from Houſe to Houſe, and to impriſon as many as they could meet withal.

In this City there was a Merchant called *Peter Belin*, a Man of a turbulent nature. This *Belin* was at the Maſſacre in *Paris* on S. *Bartholomews* day; from whence he was ſent with Letters from the King dated the eight and twentieth of *Auguſt*, to the Major and Sheriffs of *Troys*, to cauſe all theſe perſecutions to ceaſe, and the Priſoners to be ſet at liberty. On the third of *September* he came to *Troys* with theſe two Letters (which had been firſt publiſhed in *Paris*) with commandment to deliver them to the foreſaid Magiſtrates to be proclaimed there alſo.

But at the firſt entrance into the City, he began to enquire, that all might hear him, whether they had not executed the *Huguenots* there as they had done in *Paris*; which was his language thorow the Streets till he came home. But even ſome of the Papiſts, who were not ſo cruelly minded, demanded of *Belin* the contents of the Kings Letters, whereof they had ſome inkling before. But he, like a Bedlam ſwelling with choler, ſware that whoſoever ſaid they contained any thing tending to pacification, lyed. Haſtning therefore to the Bailiffs Houſe at *Troys*, after he had delivered him the packet, and buzzed ſomwhat in his ear, he put him on to ſee this execution done. Now that the ſame might paſs the better for currant, the help of the Executioner of *Troys* was requeſted, whoſe Name was *Charles*. Anno 1572.

Yet he ſhewing himſelf more juſt and humane than the reſt, peremptorily refuſed to have his hand in an act tending to ſo great cruelty; anſwering, that it was contrary to his Office to execute any Man before Sentence of death had firſt been pronounced by the Magiſtrates. If they had ſuch Sentence to ſhew againſt any of the Priſoners, he was ready to do juſtice; otherwiſe he would not preſume, without a warrant, to bereave any Man of his life: and ſo with theſe words he returned home to his Houſe.

Now albeit this anſwer, proceeding from ſuch a kind of Perſon whoſe Office and cuſtom it was to ſhed Blood, might ſomwhat have aſſwaged and taken off the edge of the moſt barbarous Tyger in the World; yet the Bailiff ſleighting it, was the further enraged. Upon this he ſent for one of the Jaylors of the Priſon who kept thoſe of the Religion; but he being ſick of a Tertain Ague, *Martin de Bures* was ſent to know his pleaſure.

The Bailiff telling him at large what *Belin* had ſignified to him in private; as alſo, that on a ſudden all the Priſoners of the Religion muſt be put to death, that ſo the place might be purged of them: This (he ſaid) you muſt not fail to do. But (ſaid the Bailiff) that the Blood may not run into the Streets, you ſhall cauſe a trench to be digged in the midſt of the Priſon, and at the two ends thereof ſet certain veſſels to receive the ſame.

But this *de Bures* for ſome conſiderations, as namely thinking the Kings Letters (whereof he had had ſome intelligence) might be proclaimed, made no haſt to perform his charge, acquainting no Man with ought that had paſſed between the Bailiff and him; no not *Perennet* the Keeper, who then lay ſick in his Bed.

The next day, being *Tueſday*, which was the fourth of *September*, the Bailiff came into the Priſon about ſeven or eight of the Clock, and calling for *Perennet* asked of him with a ſmile, *Perennet*, is it done? *Perennet*, knowing nothing more or leſs, asked of him what? Then ſaith the Bailiff, Why, are not the Priſoners diſpatched? and thereupon was ready with his Dagger to have ſtabbed him. But coming a little better to himſelf, he told *Perennet* what his purpoſe was, and how he was to behave himſelf concerning the execution thereof; willing him by all means not to forget to make the ſaid Trench. At which words this *Perennet* ſtanding amazed, though otherwiſe he was a fellow forward enough of himſelf to commit any Outrages againſt the Proteſtants, certified the Bailiff, that ſuch an inhumane act could not be committed over to him, fearing leaſt in time to come Juſtice might be followed againſt him by the Parents or Allyes of the Priſoners. No no, ſaid the Bailiff, fear not, I will ſtand between you and all harms. Others of the Juſtices have conſented thereto beſides my ſelf, and would you have better ſecurity than that?

Within a while after, the Jaylor coming into the Court of the Priſon, where the priſoners were abroad recreating themſelves, cauſed every one to reſort to his Cabbin or Hole, Becauſe, ſaid he, the Bailiff will come by and by, to ſee whether the Keepers have done as he commanded them: which they did. Then began theſe poor ſheep to fear they were deſtinated to the ſlaughter, and therefore went preſently to prayer. *Perennet* inſtantly called his Companions about him, reporting to them what the Bailiff had given him in charge. Then they all took an Oath, to execute the ſame; but approaching nigh to the Priſoners, they were ſo ſurpriſed with fear, and their hearts ſo failed them, that they ſtood gazing one upon another, having no courage to act ſuch a barbarous cruelty, and ſo returned to the Jaylors lodge, whence they came, without doing any thing.

But in ſtead of laying this to heart, as an advertiſement and warning-piece ſent them from above; as if of ſet purpoſe they meant to reſiſt againſt the checks of their own Conſciences, and ſo kick againſt the pricks, they ſent to the Tavern for ſixteen Pints of the beſt Wine,

Troys

Anno 1569.

Troys meaſure, with Sheeps Tongues and other viands, and intoxicating their Brains with Wine, they drew a liſt or Catalogue of all the Priſoners, which they delivered to *Nicholas Martin*, one of their Confederates, who was to call them forth as he ſaw their names ſet down in the ſcroul; and thus as they came forth they Maſſacred them.

Ludot one of the Priſoners, being called forth as his turn came, preſented himſelf before them with a chearful countenance, calling upon the Name of the Lord. Now as he was to receive the ſtroke of death from theſe deſperate blood-ſpillers, he prayed them to forbear a little, till he had put off his doublet, being oiletted, which he was wont to put on when any Tumult grew in the City: and having himſelf unlaced it, preſenting his naked breaſt unto them, he received the blow, and fell down dead.

But poor *Meurs* eſcaped not ſo good cheap; for his turn being come, he was no ſooner in their ſight, but one of them let drive at him with the point of his Halbert, redoubling the ſame oft to have killed him, yet could not. The poor Man ſeeing himſelf thus dealt withal by the Caitiff, and no end made, took hold with his hands on the point of the halbert, and himſelf pointing him to the Seat of the Heart, cryed to the Murderer with ſtedfaſt voice, *Here, Souldier, here, right at the heart, right at the Heart*, and ſo finiſhed this life.

Howſoever in this Maſſacre theſe two formerly mentioned are for brevities ſake only named, yet by that which immediately follows you may perceive they were not a few who ſuffered in this tragedy.

The Maſſacre (ſaith my Author) being ended the Murtherers made a great pit on the back ſide of the Chappel of the Priſon, whereinto they caſt the Bodies one upon another, ſome of them yet breathing. So as one called *Maufere* lying in the midſt of them, was eſpied to raiſe up himſelf above his fellow Martyrs in this pit, upon whom they forthwith throwing Earth (as was reported) ſtifled him being but half dead. But becauſe the order which the Bailiff ſet down was not obſerved, namely the making of a Trench in the Priſon to receive the Blood which was ſhed, it ran in ſuch abundance out at the Priſon door, and thence through a Channel into a River nigh thereto, that it was turned into the colour of Blood. Which ſome of the Papiſts themſelves taking notice of, being ignorant of the fact, were ſo terrified therewith, that they ran along the Street, crying and pointing at every one they met withal to behold this ſo horrible and lamentable a ſpectacle. Whereupon many haſting to the Priſon by this occaſion, could conjecture no other but that the Priſoners had ſlain one another.

This waas preſently noiſed through the City, inſomuch as ſome went to inform the Lieutenant and Bailiff thereof. But what? it was as if they had run to the Wolves to tell them the Sheep were devoured.

Whilſt this ſo ſavage a cruelty was committed in the Priſon, one *Bartholmew Carlet* a Cooper, Priſoner there for debt (who of all the Troop of the Murtherers in *Troys* was one of the principal) having in the former troubles exerciſed moſt notorious cruelties againſt thoſe of the Religion, was called in by theſe Maſſacrers to be one of their Aſſociates; who executed his part in ſo bloody a manner, that (as himſelf afterwards often acknowledged) he with his own hands ſlaughtered thirty of theſe poor Innocents: So far was he grown paſt ſhame or common honeſty. But this his fact was ſo pleaſing to certain of the Popiſh Religion at *Troys*, that for a recompence thereof they payed his debt, and ſet him free out of Priſon; which was done (as the report went) by making a Collection for him in certain Pariſhes.

The next day after, which was the fifth of *September*, this Worſhipful Bailiff of *Troys*, that he might apply the plaiſter when the parties were dead, cauſes the Kings Letters, which he had received the thirtieth of the Month of *Auguſt* before going, to be publiſhed in all the corners of the City with ſound of Trumpet. The Bailiff (as we have been credibly informed) was preſent in perſon at the publication, and as the Notary read the contents thereof to him, he pronounced the ſame jeeringly and not with a full and Audible Voice, as matters of ſuch Conſequence ought to be read.

Of the Maſſacre at Orleance.

IT now remains that we proceed unto the City of *Orleance*, and to take notice whether the Papiſts there were leſs cruel than thoſe of *Paris*. But, ſaith the Hiſtorian, when I call to mind what hath been the report of thoſe that were preſent at that time in *Orleance*, it cauſeth the Hair to ſtand upright on my Head: Yet for as much as it is convenient that poſterities to come may be acquainted with the fury of theſe monſters in nature, we will commit that to writing whereof we have credibly been informed.

On *Saturday*, the three and twentieth of *Auguſt*, Letters were ſent from the King to *Orleance*, unto *Sieur de la Renic* Preſident of *Dijon*, to prevent all diſorders, murthers *&c.* With command, that he ſhould advertiſe the Citizens, how the Admiral was hurt, as alſo to aſſure thoſe of the Religion, that ere long ſuch Juſtice ſhould be executed on the Actors, as all *France* ſhould take warning thereby not to enterpriſe the like.

This was carefully performed by the ſaid *Sieur de la Renic* the ſame day; who cauſed thoſe of the beſt rank of both Religions to be preſent at the publiſhing of the Kings mind. The Faithful thinking themſelves ſecure, were quiet, and on the Sabbath day aſſembled in the place appointed for their meeting, to the number of 300. Perſons, Men, Women, and Children:

But on the ſame day towards night came a new Order to the Juſtice, Major, and Sheriffs of the ſaid City, by which they were injoyned to be up in Arms, and to gather to them what ſtrength they could; with expreſs charge to make havock of thoſe of the Religion. To this purpoſe the Captains of twelve Companies were appointed to be the leaders to the reſt, divided into eight and forty ſquadrons.

The cruel Maſſacre of Dechampeaux *a worthy Counſellor in the City of* Orleance, *by a wretched Villain his Neighbour.*

ONe of theſe blood-ſuckers called *Texier* came with a ſmall Troop to a Counſellors Houſe of *Orleance*, whoſe Name was *Dechampeaux* Lord of *Bonilli*, bidding himſelf and his company to Supper with him. *Dechampeaux* bid them all kindly welcom, making them good chear, being ignorant of that which had hapned at *Paris*. But Supper being ended, and all of them being riſen from the Table, *Texier* bad him deliver his purſe. *Dechampeaux* laughing thereat, thinking that he had been but in jeſt, this cruel and unthankful gueſt with Blaſphemous Oaths told him in few words what had hapned in the City of *Paris*, and what preparation there was among the Roman Catholicks of *Orleance*, to cut off and root out the Proteſtants there. *Dechampeaux* ſeeing there was no time now to conteſt with him, gave mony to this thief: who, to requite the courteſie and good entertainment he had had, embrued his hands in the Blood of his hoſt and neighbour, a Man of as good and upright a carriage as was in all the City, and afterwards himſelf with his Troop pillaged the whole Houſe.

A cruel and unthankful gueſt.

The ſix and twentieth day of *Auguſt* following the Maſſacrers began the Execution about the Ramparts, after ſuch a ſtrange manner; as he that had but a ſpark of humanity left in him, out of compaſſion would be moved to abhor and deteſt it. In theſe quarters there inhabited many of the Religion. All the night long was heard nothing but ſhooting off of Guns and Piſtols, forcing open of Doors and Windows, fearful outcryes of the Maſſacred, both of Men, Women, and little Children, trampling of Horſes, and rumbling of carts, hurrying of Dead Bodies to and fro; the Street ſwarming with unwonted exclamations of thoſe of the common ſort, with horrible Blaſphemies of the Murderers, laughing their fill at their furious exploits; Some crying kill them all, and then take the ſpoil; others, ſpoil not, but kill all.

So all muſt go to wreck.

On *Wedneſday* the Maſſacre began more fiercely, and ſo continued to the end of the week, not ſparing to break theſe and the like jeſts upon the poor Maſſacred: *Where is now your God? What is become of all your Prayers, and Pſalms now? Let your God, whom you called upon,*

These were miſerable comforters.

ſave you if he can. Yea ſome of them, who in times paſt had been profeſſors of the ſame Religion, whilſt they were maſſacring the poor Innocents, durſt ſing unto them in ſcorn the beginning of the three and fortieth Pſalm: Which in the *French* meeter runs, *Revenge moy pren le quarelle de moy, Judge me O God, and plead my cauſe.* Others ſtriking them ſaid, ſing now, *Miſerecorde aupaure vicieux, Have mercy on me O God,* which Language they uſed to this poor people in *Paris* and elſewhere. But theſe execrable outrages no way daunted the courage of the Faithful from dying ſtedfaſt in the Faith.

Touching the multitude of the ſlain, the Murtherers did not ſtick to vaunt that in this City they cauſed more than twelve thouſand Men to periſh: Alſo an hundred and fifty Women, with a great number of Children of nine years old and upward. But as ſome of themſelves have ſince reported, there were eighteen thouſand murdered, beſides Women and Children. The manner of their death was, firſt to ſhoot them with Piſtols, then to ſtrip them of their Clothes, and either drowning or elſe burying the dead Bodies in pits, namely ſuch as dwelt about the Walls. They were armed alſo with knives and ponyards: in like manner manner with Javelins and Partizans, wherewith they Murthered theſe poor, meek, and harmleſs Creatures.

The force of fervent prayer.

On *Tueſday* at night certain of this bloody Crue came and knocked at the door of one that was a Doctor of the Civil Law, called *Taillebous*; who opening a Caſement, and underſtanding that they had ſomewhat to ſay to him, came down immediately, and opened the ſame unto them. At the firſt greeting they told him he muſt dye. Whereupon he fell to prayer, and that with ſuch conſtancy and affection, that the Maſſacrers being aſtoniſhed, and by a ſecret celeſtial power reſtrained, contented themſelves only with taking his purſe, in which there were fifteen Crowns, and ſo left him, offering him no more violence.

The day following certain Scholars reſorting to his lodging, requeſted of him that they might ſee his Library, into which having brought them, one asked this Book of him, and another another, the which he willingly gave them. At length they told him they were not as yet ſatisfied, their purpoſe being to kill him. He proſtrating himſelf upon the ground, and having ended his prayer, willed them to kill him there. But they forced him out of his own Houſe, whence he went on with an undaunted courage, till in the way he lighted on the Body of a certain Shoomaker, newly wounded, lying gaſping for breath. At which ſight ſtarting back as one ſomwhat appaled, he prayed them to kill him there; yet they would not, but conſtrained him to paſs on forward. Being come to the Schools of the Civil Law, at leaſt, ſaid he, let me dye before this place, where I have taught ſo long; But they furiouſly repulſing him, more than before, made him go further with them, where at length they knocked him down.

A rich Burgeſs of the City called *Nicholas Bougars Sieur de Nove*, a Man of ſingular worth, and highly eſteemed of all, was at that time deadly ſick. Some of the Murtherers came into his Chamber with a purpoſe to kill him; but ſeeing him in that caſe ſpared him: yet finding there *Noel Chaperon*, an Apothecary who brought him Phyſick, they cut off one of his Arms, then drew him into the open Market-place, where they made an end of him.

The next day there came one to the lodging of him that was ſick, who was wont heretofore to viſit him. Now as he was entring in, he met the Mother of the ſick party at the door going unto Maſs, and coming up into the Chamber he ſtabbed the ſaid ſick Man with a Dagger in many places, and ſo killed a dying Man. Then with all ſilence, as if he had done no ſuch act, wiping his Dagger, he went down the ſtairs again, and meeting one at the door who came to viſit him that was ſick, this fellow ſaluting him paſſed along by him, without any change either in his behaviour or countenance.

A Cook, having hid himſelf three whole days, was inforced for hunger to come forth, for lack of meat. But whilſt he went about to eſcape one death, he fell into the talons of theſe Lions, who devoured him, and that forthwith.

Francis Stample a rich Merchant was threatned to have his throat cut preſently, if he gave not the Murderers money: but having none about him, being taken by them out of his Houſe, calling for pen and ink he wrote a Letter to his Wife, willing her forthwith to ſend him his ranſom: he had no ſooner ſealed the Letter, but the Murderers deprived him thereof and his life together, laughing at that they had done. And though they got from his Widow a round ſum of Money, yet could ſhe not obtain at their hands the Body of her dead Husband. Anno 1572.

But to fill up the meaſure of the popelings cruelty, that thoſe of the Religion might taſte thereof to the utmoſt, the Papiſts were not content to be Maſſacrers themſelves, but conſtrained ſuch of the Proteſtants as through fear had revolted, to play the Murderers alſo. Thus placing theſe wicked revolters into the forefront of their companies, and arming them with Weapons fit for the purpoſe, they preſſed them to march on before, and to give the firſt onſet, crying to them, Smite them, ſmite them; are they not of your Brethren and holy Siſters? And if they refuſed to do as they were commanded, their turns were like to be next.

The Maſſacres committed at Bourges *and* la Chanite, *are the rather paſſed over in ſilence, becauſe the Hiſtory requires at this time to touch only upon ſuch things as are moſt remarkable, and ſhall after follow.*

YEt one thing ought not to be forgotten which fell out in the City laſt mentioned. There was one *John Sarrazin* of the Age of ſeventy years and above, who for a long time had exerciſed the office of a Deacon in the Reformed Church; the which he ſo faithfully performed, that he was eſteemed a Father of the poor. This good old Father was ſet upon on *Tueſday* night in his own Houſe the fourth of *September*, 1572. and laid at with ſwords by theſe furious Murtherers: who with a venerable and ſmiling countenance looking upon them, ſaid, my friends, what will ye do with me? have I ever offended any of you? And if I have let him ſpeak. But nothing could any whit prevail with theſe ſavage monſters to mollifie their ſtony Hearts. For with a more than brutiſh rage they fell upon this gray Head and poor withered Carkaſs, who to fence of the blows crept under his Beſs, where one of theſe rakehels, his next neighbour and Godſon, gave him ſuch a thruſt in with his Sword into the Belly, that his Bowels iſſued out.

The poor Man ſeeing himſelf thus wounded, and perceiving who had done it, ſaid, Ah Godſon, do you uſe me thus? I never hurt you, but have done you good. He languiſhed of this hurt two days and two nights: during which time, as we have learned from his Wife, who gave her attendance on him all the while, he ceaſed not with great zeal to call upon God, thinking himſelf happy to have ſuffered that outrage for his name, and ſo not long after yielded up his Spirit into the hands of God that gave it.

The Horrible Maſſacre of the Faithful at Lyons *in* France.

ON *Wedneſday* the ſeven and twentieth of *Auguſt* in the year 1572. about ſix of the Clock in the morning, *Sieur Mandolet* Governor of *Lyons* was advertiſed of the Maſſacre at *Paris*; and within an hour and half after, a Souldier paſſing through the Streets made it known to the people, that the Admiral, and all the Proteſtant Princes were ſlain. By and by the gates of the City were ſhut, and guards of Souldiers placed here and there.

But leſt thoſe of the Religion ſhould be moved with ſuch an unwonted and an unexpected ſhutting in of the Gates (as in the time of open War) the Roman Catholicks cauſed it to be bruited that all was done to ſecure the Proteſtants. To which report ſome gave too much credit (for beſides the ordinary guard of the Governor, and that of the *Citadel*, with the three hundred Harquebuſiers of the City, which amounted to about a thouſand) there were gathered to them many beſides of the City with Arms likewiſe; with command that if they deſcried any troop of thoſe of the Religion coming abroad, though but with their Swords girt unto them, forthwith to cut them off with the reſt alſo. But they, having enured themſelves to an incredible modeſty and patience, gave them not the leaſt appearance of defending themſelves, ſeeing a tempeſt now nigh

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nigh at hand which they knew could not ariſe without a ſpecial providence of God.

The day following, notwithſtanding all theſe fair ſhews, they evidently perceived that their lives were at the mercy of the Papiſts, who had ſucked the blood of many of them in the firſt troubles. For albeit they found no more paſſage for them out of the City than they did the day precedent, they might not now either freely go out or come in upon their neceſſary occaſions: if they preſented themſelves in the Streets, they were clapt up in Priſon; for which cauſe they were faine to keep their Houſes. Night being come, they made a privy ſearch in their dwelling Houſes; ſome they rifled, others were ranſomed, and the reſt impriſoned. Many of them never coming thither, were either killed in the corners of the Streets with Daggers, or elſe caſt into the River; whereof ſome (who were living when this Hiſtory was in writing) were ſaved by ſwimming, being carried down with the Current of the Stream, half a mile beneath the City.

On *Friday* after there was a Proclamation with ſound of Trumpets in all the chief places of the City, the ſum of which was this, that thoſe of the Religion were to appear before the Governour at his Houſe, there to be informed what the Kings pleaſure was concerning them. The greater part, being but too credulous, feared not to make their appearance at the place aſſigned, whence ſoon after they were committed to ſundry Priſons. The night following there were heard from all parts of the City lamentable cries and ſhreekings, not only of ſuch as were maſſacred in their Houſes, but of others half wounded to death, whom they haled to the River.

From that time forwards there were ſuch Murthers and Outrages committed, throughout the City, that it ſeemed Hell was ſet open, and that Devils in the likeneſs of men coming from thence, ran roring to and fro in the Streets.

On *Sunday*, which was the laſt of this Month of *Auguſt*, about eight of the Clock in the morning, the reſt, who were left unmaſſacred the *Friday* before, were made an end of then.

About one of the Clock the ſame day, commandment was given, that under every Ancient twenty five armed men, with twelve Porters, ſhould be gathered to conduct them to S. *Georges* Gate, which is by the Archbiſhops Houſe, in which were more then three hundred and fifty Priſoners; in which place the great Maſſacre was to be executed. The Keys of the Archbiſhops Houſe, wherein ſo many Priſoners were incloſed, were delivered unto this bloody Crue; who joyfully offered themſelves to perform ſo horrible a buſineſs; the which the ordinary Executioner refuſed, and common Souldiers abhorred to undertake, when the ſame was firſt propounded unto them; they anſwering peremptorily they would never do it.

The firſt alledged, *That if according to the courſe of Juſtice Sentence of death had been denounced againſt them, he knew what he had to do; but for this their purpoſe*, he told them, *he thought they might have but too many Executioners in the City to ſatisfie their deſire.* The Souldiers anſwered, *They thought it more then inhuman, to cut the throats of ſuch as never offended them. But if the Priſoners had made any Inſurrection or Sedition in the City, they then might have ſome colour of reaſon to do it; otherwiſe they meant not to ſtain the honour of their Profeſſion (which is accompanied with nobleneſs of ſpirit) with ſo villainous an act, more befitting Butchers then Souldiers.*

But *Mandelot* and his Accomplices were not ſo ſcrupulous; for within three hours after, *Clou* Captain of the Harquebuſiers of the City, came with an enraged Troop, *&c.* the greater part whereof were furniſhed with ſhort Swords and Hangers.

As ſoon as *Le Clou* entred into the great Court, he gave the Priſoners to underſtand with a loud voice, *That they muſt dye:* and turning him towards his Slaughtermen, he ſaid, *On, on, go in, and to your work:* but firſt he forgat not to demand the Priſoners Purſes for his Boot-hire, which when he pocketted up, he gat him into a Gallery, there to ſatisfie his helliſh luſt in taking a view of this rueful ſpectacle.

The Murtherers began to fall upon the poor Priſoners with ſuch barbarous cruelty, hacking and hewing them in ſo furious a manner, that within leſs than an hour they were all cut in pieces, not ſo much as one eſcaped their hands. All theſe for the moſt part were maſſacred kneeling on their knees, and lifting up their eyes and hands to God for mercy, whilſt they had their hands and fingers cut off.

The death and martyrdom of Francis le Boſſu, *a Merchant, together with his Sons.*

AMong all thoſe that confeſſed the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, and gave their lives for his Truth, a certain Merchant of Hats and Caps, called *Francis le Boſſu*, well deſerves to be ſet in the fore rank, with his two Sons; for while he trampled in the Blood of his Brethren, being beſmeared therewith, and ſpirting as it were in his face, he encouraged his Children to take their death willingly & patiently: uſing this ſpeech, *Children, we are not to learn now that it hath always been the portion of Believers, to be hated, cruelly uſed, and devoured by Unbelievers; as Chriſts ſilly Sheep of ravening Wolves: if we ſuffer with Chriſt, we ſhall alſo reign with him. Let not theſe drawn Swords terrifie us, they will be but as a Bridge whereby we ſhall paſs over out of a miſerable life, into immortal bleſſedneſs. We have breathed and lived long enough among the wicked, let us now go and live with our God; let us joyfully march after this great Company which is here gone before us, and let us make way for them that ſhall follow after.*

When he ſaw the Murtherers come, he claſped his arms about his two Sons, and they likewiſe embraced their Father; as if the Father meant to be a Buckler to his Children, and the Children as if by the Bond of Nature (which binds them to defend his life from whence they received it) they meant to ward off the blows which were coming towards their Father, though with the loſs of their own lives; who when the Maſſacre was ended, were all three found dead, thus embracing one another.

Now after this furious aſſault, theſe impudent Creatures went up and down the City, ſhewing their white Doublets all beſprinkled with Blood; boaſting, that ſome had killed an hundred, ſome more, ſome leſs. Forthwith the great Gates of the Archbiſhops Houſe were ſet wide open for all comers; of whom *ſurely* there was none (were they of the devouteſt Romaniſts) but muſt needs have their hearts wounded and pierced within them, to ſee ſo hideous a ſlaughter. And indeed ſome of them were heard to ſay, when they beheld this ſo inhuman and cruel an act, *That certainly they were not men, but devils in the habit of men, that had done this.*

The Papiſts abhor their own Cruelties.

The next morning, which was *Munday*, the firſt of *September*, the remainder of Corpſes, which were caſt into the water, were put into great Boats, which being rowed over to the other ſide of the River of *Saon*, were all caſt on ſhore there; the Corpſes being alſo ſpread upon the ground nigh to the Abbey of *Eſnay*, like dung upon the Earth. The Monks would at no hand yield to have them buried in their Church-yard, eſteeming them unworthy of burial; fearing alſo, that ſo many put together would be a means to infect the Air, and therefore gave them a ſign to have them thrown into the River.

Now as the Multitude were dragging them in thither, an Apothecary came and informed them, that money might be made of the Greaſe that was taken out of their bodies. Then were the moſt corpulent Bodies preſently ſought ought, which when they had ripped up, a great quantity of that Commodity being gotten thence, was ſold by theſe Merchants for three ſhillings the pound. And then not knowing how to wreck their malice any further upon them, after many deriſions and ſcorns which the ſtanders by, but eſpecially the *Italians*, had done to theſe poor deſpiſed Carkaſſes, they were tumbled into a great Pit, and the reſt, thrown into the River.

Thoſe of *Daulphine*, of *Languedoc*, and *Provence* were amazed to ſee ſo many bodies floating upon the water, ſome diſmembred, others faſtned together with long Poles, others lying on the ſhore, ſome having their eyes put out, others their noſes, ears, and hands cut off, ſtabbed in with Daggers in every part of their Bodies, ſo as ſome among them had no human ſhape remaining. Yea, ſo great a number of theſe mangled Corpſes preſented themſelves on the Port of *Tournon*, that the men and women

of the place began to make an Outcry, as if the Enemies had been at their Gates.

Not many Months after, when all theſe bloody Tragedies were ended, the Pope ſent a Legate to the King, called Cardinal *Urſin.* This Legate was received with great Solemnity at *Lyons*, and the Streets hung with Tapeſtry. Now having heard Maſs at S. *Johns* Church, and returning by the ſame door which he went in at, the greateſt number of the Maſſacrers attended his coming there, and as he paſſed by, they all kneeled down for his Abſolution. But the Legate not knowing the reaſon why they kneeled ſo before him, one of the principal Agents kneeling there amongſt them, told the Legate that they were thoſe who had been the Actors in the Maſſacre. When the Legate perceived that to be the cauſe, he abſolved them all with making the ſign of the Croſs.

The Maſſacrers abſolved by the Popes Legate.

Perſecution at Angiers *in* France.

Mr. John Maſon, *a learned Miniſter, together with his wife and ſome others, Martyrs.*

A Proteſtant Miniſter murthered in his Garden.

AS ſoon as the Maſſacre was begun at *Paris*, a Gentleman of *Paris*, called *Monſoreau*, obtained a Paſport with Letters to maſſacre thoſe of the Religion at *Angiers*. Who, being diſappointed of his Prey in one place, came to the lodging of a reverend and learned Miniſter, called Mr. *John Maſon*, ſirnamed *de Launay*, Sieur of *Riviere*. Meeting his Wife at his entrance into the Houſe, he ſaluted her and kiſt her, as it is the manner in *France*, eſpecially among the Courtiers, and asked her where her Husband was? She anſwered him, that he was walking in his Garden; and then directed him the way unto him.

Monſoreau having lovingly embraced *La Riviere*, ſaid unto him, *Do you know wherefore I am come? the King hath commanded me to kill you forthwith, and hath given me expreſs charge to do it, as you ſhall know by his Letters.* After which words he ſhewed him a Piſtol ready charged. *Riviere* replyed, *That he knew not wherein he had offended the King; but ſeeing, ſaith he, you ſeek my life, give me a little leave to cry to God for mercy, and to recommend my ſpirit into his hands.*

Having made a ſhort Prayer, he willingly preſented his Body to the Murtherer, who ſhot him in with his Piſtol, and ſo he died by and by.

Not long after the King ſent *Puygaillard*, who drowned nine or ten, and amongſt other, the Wife of this Miniſter *de la Riviere* above named, who expreſſed a ſingular conſtancy of Faith even to her laſt breath.

This Miniſter and Martyr formerly mentioned, ſirnamed *Launay*, was the eldeſt Son of Sieur *de Launay*, a man exceeding rich and wealthy, but an obſtinate Papiſt. When as the old man obſerved how his Son was inclined to be a Profeſſor of the Goſpel, he threatned to diſinherit him unleſs he would abjure, promiſing on the contrary to beſtow great matters upon him, and to marry him honourably, if he would be ruled by him. All which his Son refuſing, his Fathers love began to be turned into hatred; inſomuch that the young man was forced to fly to *Paris*, where in time he was called to be a Miniſter of the firſt Reformed Church planted in that City, under the Reign of King *Henry* the Second; from which Reformed Church other Churches in divers Cities in *France* fetched their Light.

Perſecution at Rovan.

WHen the Maſſacrers began to play their parts in this City, they counſelled thoſe of the Religion to get themſelves into the Priſons, as into places of greateſt ſecurity from the fury and rage of the People. But ſuch as followed this advice, were there even ready to be devoured, as poor Sheep, by theſe greedy Wolves at their pleaſure.

Six thouſand maſſacred in few days at the City of Rovan.

Thoſe who were murthered in the City in a few days, ſome in their Houſes, and others in the Priſons, amounted to ſix thouſand, beſides more than fifty women, upon whom they exerciſed no leſs cruelty than upon men.

Their Names for brevities ſake are here omitted. The dead Bodies being piled together, were conveyed in Tumbrils out of the City, and thrown by heaps one upon another into great Pits digged for that purpoſe. Their Garments being waſhed in the River from their Blood, by certain poor women, were afterwards diſtributed here and there to the poor by the Papiſts, that they might ſeem with their unjuſt cruelty to mingle ſome works of Juſtice and Charity. Anno 1572.

A Note touching the ſhameful revolt of a Miniſter called Du Roſier, *with the event of it.*

WIthin a mile of *Paris* there is a place where thoſe of the Religion, which dwelt thereabouts, were wont to aſſemble to hear Sermons, and to participate of the Sacraments. Over this Flock was *Huges Sureau* (called *Du Roſier*) placed as Overſeer.

Being in times paſt Miniſter at *Orleance*, he was diſcharged from thence, as one of a contentious ſpirit, and given to affect Novelties.

In proceſs of time he came to be eſtabliſhed the Miniſter of this foreſaid Church nigh unto *Paris*.

Hearing the News of the Maſſacre, he fled with the reſt for company. Being apprehended, he began to waver, perſwading many Priſoners to revolt as he had done; which cauſed him afterwards, if his repentance was found, to utter theſe words in a Book which I have, wherein he bitterly lamented his woful fall. *The Murtherers* ſaith he, *by their cruel hands murthered mens Bodies, whilſt their Souls eſcaped ſafe; but I by my perſwaſions have been a killer of Souls, in turning them from the Truth which before they profeſſed.*

The Judge who had him in Bonds ſent Letters preſently to *Paris*, to give notice of his apprehenſion, as alſo of ſome apparent ſigns which gave him hope of the Miniſters Converſion.

The King by and by ſent for him; who being brought into his preſence, ſubſcribed inſtantly to an Abjuration with deteſtation of the *Huguenots* Profeſſion, before the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, maintained the Romiſh Religion, conſented thereto with the *Sorboniſts* at that time there preſent; againſt whom a few years before he had learnedly defended the Truth.

In this Abjuration he endeavoured to confute many Articles which were maintained by *Calvin* and *Beza* againſt the Romiſh Religion. In theſe diſputes, this Miniſter being of a prompt wit, and having ability to expreſs himſelf well, handled the matter ſo cunningly, that the King of *Navarre*, the Princeſs his Siſter, and the Princeſs of *Conde* ſo far yielded, that within five or ſix days after they went to Maſs, and received Abſolution of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*.

The Points about which this *Roſier* diſputed, were theſe: Firſt, *Concerning the Marks of the Church*; Secondly, *Of the Trinity of Perſons*; Thirdly, *Of the Incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt*; Fourthly, *Of Chriſts deſcent into Hell*; Fifthly, *Of Original Sin*; Sixthly, *Of the Providence of God*; Seventhly, *Of Predeſtination and Reprobation*; Eighthly, *Of mans Freewill*; Ninthly, *Of Juſtification*; Tenthly, *Of Succeſſion*; Eleventhly, *Of Interceſſion of Saints*; Twelfthly, *Of the Sacrifice of the Maſs*; *And*, Laſtly, *of Tranſubſtantiation.* The *Sorboniſts* cauſed this Confeſſion to be printed; to which the Miniſters of the Reformed Religion would not vouchſafe an Anſwer, knowing that he who made it did it contrary to his own Conſcience, adding nothing thereto which had not been confuted a thouſand times.

All this upon his Repentance he afterwards revoked, as is to be ſeen by his Book printed here in *London* in the French Tongue, in the year 1573. which Confeſſion of his, contrary to his Abjuration, I have in my Cuſtody.

Now touching the Prince of *Conde*, the King propounded to him three things; Either to go to Maſs, to dye, or elſe perpetual Priſon; and therefore to bethink himſelf well which of the three he liked beſt. The Prince anſwered, as it is reported, That by Gods grace he would never chooſe the firſt; as for the two latter, he referred himſelf to the Kings pleaſure.

Anno 1527.

A Maſſacre at Tholouſe *in* France.

ON *Sunday*, which was the eighth day after the Maſſacre of *Paris*, about eight of the Clock in the morning, the chief of the Papiſts received advertiſement of that which had paſſed, with Letters directing them what they were to do. Then a Councel was called, at the breaking up whereof the great Gates of the City were ſhut, only the Wickets left open, at which there was ſet ſuch to watch as they thought fitting. Soon after it was noiſed through all the City, that the Lords and Gentlemen of the Religion were maſſacred at *Paris*. Which the Proteſtants at *Tholouſe* noting, being gone forth about five of the Clock in the morning to hear the Sermon at *Caſtanet*, ſome thought it fit not to return, but to reſort to ſome other place: others reſolved to go back again, that they might take order about their affairs. Theſe, being ill adviſed, were ſuffered to enter in peaceably, leaving their Swords and Daggers at the Gate. At Evening Souldiers were placed here and there; but in regard many Counſellors of the Religion were abroad (that they might the better entrap them) the next day the Gates were not ſo carefully looked unto, but who would might come in, and go out at their leiſure, without being queſtioned at all. This was done to draw in the ſimple people who wandred up and down the fields. The firſt preſident called *Daſis*, a ſubtle headed man, ſent to the Counſellors abroad to come in, promiſing them their ſafety upon his word, ſhewing that their abſence did but incenſe the Inhabitants of *Tholouſe* the more againſt them. It was granted indeed, that there had been a Maſſacre at *Paris*, but that was upon ſome private quarrel, ſo as the King was not minded for that to break his Edict of Pacification.

Some of them were perſwaded and returned; others caſting ſome peril reſolved to retire to *Mountauban*, *Realmont*, and elſewhere. On *Tueſday* following, that they might hold them whom they had gotten within the Walls, and draw in ſuch as yet kept themſelves without, they cauſed it to be publiſhed with ſound of Trumpets; That the Kings will was that none of the Religion ſhould be moleſted, but reſpectively uſed. The Preſidents with ſundry others were preſent at this Proclamation, accompanied with a guard of Souldiers, which cauſed many of the Religion, eſpecially the Counſellors, to ſuſpect ſome treachery; who therefore haſtened to the firſt Preſident to know what theſe things meant. He anſwered, it was only to reſtrain the people from making a tumult. But perceiving that they could not by their cunning catch the Birds who kept aloof off, they wrecked their malice upon thoſe they had in their hands.

On *Wedneſday* next then, about ten of the Clock in the Morning, having ſeparated their Troops into divers quarters, they cauſed them to enter into the Houſes of thoſe of the Religion, whom they impriſoned in ſundry Priſons of the City. This buſineſs held them all that *Wedneſday*. The Guard was doubled at the Gates, and one of the Parliament, with a Merchant that was a Papiſt, deputed as Commanders at the ſaid Gates, to examin all ſuch as went out, and to put back ſuch as meant to eſcape. There was alſo a charge given, that none ſhould dare to conceal any of the ſaid Religion, as they would anſwer to the contrary. By means whereof many being diſcovered, were impriſoned. Among which were five or ſix Counſellors, men excellently learned, who comforted the reſt. Thus were they detained three weeks. In the mean while the Maſſacrers ſet upon the Neighbour Cities.

The three weeks being expired, they put all theſe Priſoners together into the *Conſciergery*, which is a ſpecial Priſon. After which they began to manifeſt themſelves: for the reaſon why they had deferred the ſlaughter of them ſo long, was, that they might obtain Authority from *Paris*; the which was brought them by their Deputies, whoſe names were *Delpech* and *Madron*, rich Merchants of the City. Theſe came with a Warrant from the King, that if the Maſſacre was not finiſhed, then they ſhould not defer any longer to put his will in execution. To which they ſhewed themſelves but too forward and ready.

On *Saturday* morning before the Sun was up, certain Scholars who were Night-walkers, with other lewd Fellows to the number of ſeven or eight, armed with Axes and Butchers Knives, entred into the ſaid *Conſciergery*, and cauſing the Priſoners to be called down one after another, they maſſacred them beneath at the ſtairs-foot of the *Conſciergery*, not permitting them ſo much leiſure as to ſpeak, much leſs to pray. It was thought that they maſſacred to the number of three hundred; afterwards ſpoiling them of all they had, ſtripping them out of their cloaths and ſhirts, and leaving them naked; their ſecret parts being only covered with a piece of Paper. They were expoſed to the view of all for the ſpace of two days; whilſt they digged great pits, whereinto the Corpſes thus cruelly maſſacred were caſt naked one upon another. The Counſellors whom they had impriſoned, after they were maſſacred, were hanged in their long Gowns upon a great Elm which was in the Court of the Palace; and in the mean while the Houſes of thoſe of the Religion were ſacked and pillaged.

Three hundred maſſacred in the City of *Tholouſe* in *France*.

Many among theſe, by reaſon of the barbarous cruelties uſed againſt their Brethren, abjured daily. Now becauſe the *Sorboniſts* provided a form of Abjuration to that purpoſe, for ſaving the lives of ſuch as recanted, it ſhall not be impertinent to inſert the ſame in this place; it being imprinted at *Paris* by *Nicholas Roffet*.

The Abjured minding to return into the lap of our holy Mother the Roman Church, muſt preſent themſelves firſt to their Parſons or Curats, to be directed by them what they ought to do. Afterward to be ſent thence to their Reverend Biſhop and Dioceſan, or his Official, to pronounce the ſaid Abjuration in manner and form following.

The Form of their Abjuration.

1. *I Such a one of ſuch a Dioceſs, and dwelling in ſuch a place, acknowledge by the Grace of God the true Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith, from which I have wilfully gone aſtray and ſeparated my ſelf; and now deſiring to return into the true Sheepfold, which is the Catholick, Apoſtolick, and Roman Church; I do profeſs to have abjured, and here before you my Superiour, do abjure and deteſt all the* Huguenot *Errors of* Luther, Calvin, *and all Hereſies whatſoever, wherewith heretofore I have been infected and defamed, conſenting now to the Doctrine of our holy Mother the Church, beſeeching you in the Name of God, and of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and of the glorious Virgin* Mary *his Mother, with all the he Saints and ſhe Saints in* Paradiſe, *that it will pleaſe you to receive me into the Fold of the Chriſtian Flock and People of God, who live under the obedience of the Pope, ordained Chriſts Vicar in the ſaid Church, ſubmitting my ſelf patiently to hear, and willingly to perform the penance you ſhall think fit to impoſe upon me, abſolving me from all Offences committed whilſt I lived in ſuch Errors, for which I hear ask pardon of God, of the ſaid Church, and of you my Paſtor (ſet over me by God the Creator) to abſolve me with ſuch Penance as you ſhall judge to be available for the ſatisfaction of my ſins and offences. And that it may be ſeen that from the heart I have made, and do make this Abjuration.*

2. *I further confeſs, before God and you, that I believe all that is contained in the Apoſtles,* Athanaſius *and* Nicene *Creeds, with all the Confeſſions of Faith beſides, allowed and approved by the Councels of the Catholick, Apoſtolick, and Roman Church, and ſo forth as it followeth in thoſe Creeds.*

3. *I alſo believe, acknowledge and confeſs whatſoever is contained in the Old and New Teſtament, approved by the ſaid holy Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Church, according to the ſenſe and interpretation of the holy Doctors, and by them received, rejecting wholly all other Interpretations as falſe and erroneous.*

4. *I acknowledge the ſeven Sacraments of the ſaid Church to have been inſtituted by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as neceſſary for the ſalvation of mankind, although all of them are not of neceſſity to be conferred upon all; namely, I acknowledge that the ſeven Sacraments be, Baptiſm, Confirmation, the Euchariſt, which is the holy Sacrament of the Altar, Penance, extream Unction, Orders, and Marriage; and that of them Baptiſm, Con-*

firmation, and Orders cannot be reiterated without Sacriledge. That the ſaid Sacraments confer Grace, and have thoſe effects which the Church hath taught, and that the form and uſe according to which they are adminiſtred to Chriſtians is holy and neceſſary.

5. *I further acknowledge, That the holy Maſs is a Sacrifice and Oblation of the true Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, under the forms of Bread and Wine mingled with water; which Bread and Wine under the foreſaid forms are in the Maſs, by the words of Conſecration there pronounced by the Prieſt, tranſubſtantiated and changed into the ſaid Body and Blood of Chriſt; albeit the Qualities and Accidents remain in the ſaid forms after Conſecration; and that the Maſs is profitable and available both for the living and for the dead.*

6. *I acknowledge and confeſs the concomitance, namely, that in receiving the Body of Chriſt under the form of Bread only, I then likewiſe receive the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt.*

7. *I confeſs that prayer to, and interceſſion of Saints for the living and for the dead, is holy, good, and profitable for Chriſtians, and in no ſort contrary to the honour of God.*

8. *That Prayers made in the Church for the faithful departed are beneficial for them, for the remiſſion of ſins, and mitigating of their pains deſerved for the ſame.*

9. *That there is a Purgatory, where the Souls of ſuch as are detained there are relieved by the prayers of the faithful.*

10. *I confeſs that honour ought to be given to the Saints reigning with Chriſt in Heaven, that they ought to be prayed to, and that they make interceſſion for us to God, and that their Reliques ought to be worſhipped.*

11. *That the Commandments and Traditions of the ſaid Church, conſiſting in Divine Ceremonies, are holy and good, as Faſtings, Abſtinence from Meats, Obſervation of Feaſts, and other Eccleſiaſtical Rites, and ought to be obſerved according to the Traditions of the Apoſtles and ancient Fathers, continued from the Primitive times, and ſince brought into the Church by the Decrees of Councels, received thence long ago or lately: Alſo that I will and ought to obey them as preſcribed and authorized by the holy Ghoſt, the ordainer of thoſe things which ſerve to the upholding of Chriſtian Religion, and of the holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Roman Church.*

12. *I likewiſe believe and conſent to all the Articles concerning Original Sin and Juſtification.*

13. *I alſo ſtedfaſtly believe that the Pictures of Chriſt, of his holy Mother, and of all the Saints, ought to be retained in the Church, that the uſes of them are very profitable, and that they ought to be worſhipped.*

14. *I confeſs that the power of Indulgences and Pardons is left to the Church by Jeſus Chriſt, and the uſe of them is greatly available; as alſo I acknowledge the Church of* Rome *to be the chief Mother of all Churches, and that ſhe hath the holy Ghoſt for her guide: and that all private and pretended Inſpirations contradicting the ſame, are of the Devil the Prince of Diſſention, who would rent in ſunder the ſeamleſs Coat of Jeſus Chriſt.*

15. *Laſtly, I ſtrictly promiſe to obſerve and keep whatſoever was decreed and ordained by the laſt Councel of* Trent, *and do promiſe before God and you, never to depart from the Catholick and Apoſtolick Roman Church. And if I ſhall (which God forbid) I ſubmit me to the Correction and Canons of the ſaid Church, made, decreed, and ordained againſt them which fall into Apoſtaſie.*

To which Abjuration and Confeſſion I have ſubſcribed with my hand, &c.

Some of thoſe who for fear abjured, afterwards relented; others grew more and more hardened; inſomuch that in going oft to Maſs they took part with the Prieſts and Murtherers, as if they had never made any Profeſſion at all of the Truth.

Perſecution at Bourdeaux *the third of* October, 1572.

SOon after the Maſſacre at *Paris*, tidings thereof came to *Bourdeaux*. Where it happened on a morning as the Proteſtants were taking Boat to hear a Sermon in a Meadow where they were wont to meet, being about three miles from *Bourdeaux*, between the River of *Garonna* and the Brook of *la Jalla*, that the Governour *Mcuntferrand* commanded them to come back again. He had the skill to cloke the ſame under a plauſible pretence, namely, that they ſhould not be ſet upon there by the Multitude. Anno 1572.

After their return they began to ſet a ſtrong watch and ward at the Gates, ſo as none of the Religion could have leave to paſs forth, unleſs he had a Paſſport from the Governour: yet means was made for their Miniſters eſcape without being perceived; who went to *Medoc*, expecting what the event of this buſineſs at *Bourdeaux* would be. Having intelligence of what was executed there, they ſtaid certain days and nights, hiding themſelves in the Rocks and Marſhes, until they had opportunity to take ſhipping, and ſo ſail into *England*.

Inſtantly thereupon there arrived at *Bourdeaux* the Lord of *Montpeſſat* from the King, who at his firſt coming feigned as if he meant to ſettle all things in peace. Yet he wrought under hand in ſuch wiſe with the Governour, that the Maſſacre was reſolved of, to which he was ſolicited by a Jeſuite called *Edmund Angier*, who out of the Pulpit uſed horribly and bitterly to thunder and inveigh againſt the remiſsneſs and fainthartedneſs of the ſaid Governour. Inſomuch as on S. *Michaels* day (as they called it) ſpeaking of the Angels by whom God executes his Judgments, he cryed out by the way of interrogation, who executed Gods Judgments upon the *Huguenots* in *Paris*? The Angel of God. Who hath executed the like upon other Cities in this Kingdom? The Angel of God. In a word, he never ceaſed in publick and private to ſolicite the Papiſts of *Bourdeaux* to follow the example of the *Pariſians*. And then as a croking *Raven*, day by day he menaced thoſe of the Religion with the approaching of an utter ruin and deſolation, if they did not betimes return into the boſome of the Roman Church, which offer if they now refuſed, they ſhould not be received in when they would.

Many being terrified with theſe threats, as alſo by the intreaties of their Kindred, who ſet before them the imminent danger which hung over their heads, revolted and abjured. The ſaid Sieur of *Montpeſſat* cauſed Maſter *William Blanck*, an Advocate in the Court of Parliament, to be called before him, who was Counſellor to him and to his Father in Law; exhorting and perſwading him to return to the Unity of the Roman Church.

Le Blanck anſwered, *That he had ſufficiently weighed and compared all things together, before he took upon him the Profeſſion of that Religion which he now profeſſed; which he ſaid was the true Religion, acknowledging the ſame in every reſpect far to exceed the other.*

Montpeſſat hearing this, rebuked him ſharply, ſaying, *That then he thought himſelf wiſer than the King, and all thoſe that profeſſed as his Majeſty did.* Inſomuch as they who ſtood about *Le Blanck* began to handle him roughly; ſo that he had much ado to eſcape with his life, had not *Montpeſſat* reſcued him from that danger, becauſe he was come thither upon his word. The Governour ſaid, *If he had been there, he would have ſlain him.*

The Governour, being preſſed to diſpatch this Maſſacre at *Bourdeaux*, wiſt not well what to do. For on the one ſide *La Sieur de Veſins*, with ſundry others, coming from the Court, aſſured him from the King, that he wondred why the buſineſs was deferred ſo long; ſhewing that he could not perform a more acceptable Service unto him than it. On the other ſide *Stroſſi*, who hovered about *Rochel* to take it, wiſhed him to be well adviſed what he did, what Command ſoever he had to the contrary: Foreſeeing belike, that if he went forward with his Execution, the *Rochellers* would have had the ſaid *Stroſſi* in ſuch a jealouſie, that his Project would have been defeated, and ſo would be no ſmall prejudice to the Kings Affairs; putting him in hope, that he would ſtand between him and all perils.

For the truth is, the Army by Sea, which was prepared againſt *Rochel*, lying for a time at *Bourdeaux*, under pretence of conquering *Florida*, would have been ready enough to have made a general Maſſacre there, but that they

Anno 1572. they were afraid the *Rochellers* would be incenſed thereat.

Yet in concluſion the Governor, having ballanced things on both parts, was perſwaded by the *Sieur Montpeſſat* to put the maſſacre in execution. To which purpoſe an Oath being taken, a Catalogue was made of ſuch as they meant to ſpoil.

On *Saturday* then, which was the third of *October*, 1572. the Governor having aſſembled together all the ſcum of the City to aid and aſſiſt him in ſo barbarous an act, commanded them with other Souldiers to be ready preſently after dinner to put the Kings command into execution. To which they were very forward, coming in their Liveries, attended on by Captains of Tens, to direct them touching that they had to do. The greater part of the Maſſacrers had red Hats given them by *Peter Eſtounach*, and for the Blood wherewith they dyed their Arms, they were called the Red Band: others called them the Cardinals Band. The Governor commanded them to kill all thoſe of the Religion, eſpecially ſuch as had taken Arms, and not to ſpare one. And himſelf intending to ſhew them the way, went to the Houſe of Maſter *John Guilloch*, Lord of *Obiere*, Counſellor in the Court of Parliament to execute the hatred he had long ſince conceived againſt him: who being about to eſcape away out at a back Door, they caught and brought him into the outer Court before his Houſe, in the preſence of the Governor, who with a Sword maſſacred him; which done, his Houſe was wholly pillaged.

At that time they brought a certain Miniſter out of the *Conſciergery*, who a few days before coming from the Country *Saintong* to *Bourdeaux* (for his better ſafety as he thought) was there apprehended and impriſoned: and as ſoon as he was come out of the Priſon they maſſacred him before the Gates of the Palace.

Maſter *William Savins* Houſe (a Counſellor of the ſaid Parliament, who was one of the Religion) was forced open, pillaged and ſpoiled, and himſelf cruelly murthered. His Clark called *Simonet*, ſeeing his Maſter about to be maſſacred, embraced and comforted him: and being asked whether he were of the Religion, he anſwered yea, and would dye with his Maſter for the ſame.

Thus they were ſlain one in anothers Arms.

The cruel Martyrdom of Du Tour, *a Deacon of the Proteſtant Church.*

A Deacon of the Reformed Church called *Du Tour*, an old Man, who in the days of his ignorance had been a Prieſt in the Popiſh Church, being ſick in his Bed, was haled forth into the open Street; of whom it being demanded, whether he would go to Maſs, and thereby ſave his Life; he freely anſwered, No, eſpecially now drawing ſo neer his end, both in regard of his years and grievous ſickneſs: I hope (ſaith he) I ſhall not ſo far forget the eternal Salvation of my Soul, as for fear of death to prolong this life for a few days; for ſo I ſhould buy a ſhort term of life at too dear a rate. They hearing him ſay ſo, maſſacred him inſtantly.

It was lamentable to ſee the poor Proteſtants wandring up and down, not knowing where to ſave their lives: ſome were rejected of their own Parents and Kinſfolks, who ſhut their Doors againſt them, pretending as if they knew them not; others were betrayed and delivered up by thoſe to whoſe truſt they had committed themſelves: many were ſaved even by Prieſts and others, from whom a Man would have expected no ſuch ſecurity. Some were ſaved by their very Enemies, whoſe hearts abhorred ſuch deteſtable outrages.

All the City was full of terrors and horrible threats againſt thoſe of the Religion, ſaying, that the Kings commandment was, that he would not have ſo much as one of them left in his Kingdom. And if any refuſed to go to Maſs, that an Hole ſhould be digged for him in the Earth, in which he ſhould forthwith be buried without any more ado.

Scoffing Ballads ſung in contempt of the Admiral of Chaſtillon *and other Proteſtants.*

NEar the Palace and thorowout the City were deſamatory Libels ſung againſt the Admiral of *Chaſtillon* and the *Huguenots*. In which regard, ſuch in whoſe Hearts God had reſerved but any ſparkle of Piety, were ſo terrified and vexed with their Blaſphemies, that the condition of the maſſacred ſeemed to be much better than theirs who were left alive; who heard and ſaw thoſe things without ceaſing, which to an honeſt mind was more bitter than death it ſelf.

The Governor was very careful after the Maſſacre was ended, to advertiſe the *Sieur Montpeſſat*, by a Gentleman, of all things which had paſſed, according to the promiſe he had made unto him. Which *Montpeſſat* was ſuddenly ſurpriſed with a diſeaſe; wherein feeling Gods hand heavy upon him, he uttered ſuch lamentable outcries, that his Blood and Soul were poured out at once, a Judgment juſtly inflicted upon him, for all the innocent Blood which he had ſhed without a cauſe.

Montpeſſat ſuddenly ſurpriſed with a ſtrange diſeaſe.

The Judgment of God upon one Vincent.

THe like Judgment of God fell not long after upon another of theſe Maſſacrers called *Vincent*, Advocate of the Court, one who had had his hand deeply dyed in this Bloody enterpriſe, not ſticking to boaſt that with his own hands he had murthered *Agraulet* door-keeper of the Court. This Man alſo fell dangerouſly ſick, but in the end recovering again, and as he thought being in good health, he told ſome of his friends that he felt his Arms ſtrong enough to handle his Coutlax or ſhort Sword as well as ever he had done. But within a while after he was overtaken by the hand of God, with ſuch a flux of bleeding at his noſe, as could not be reſtrained nor diverted by any of the remedies that were then uſed. It was an hideous ſight to ſee him ſtill bowing his head over a baſon full of Blood, which without ceaſing iſſued out of his noſe and mouth.

This Bloody wretch then, who breathed forth nothing but Blood in the time of his health, nor could have his eyes ſatisfied with ſeeing the Blood of Innocents poured out, was forced whilſt he lived to ſee himſelf drenched in his own Blood, even until his laſt gaſp.

Vincent dyes drenched in his own Blood.

Another of them, thirſting after Blood as much as any of the reſt, was taken with ſuch a ſwelling in all the parts of his Body, that there was ſcarcely to be diſcerned in him the form of a Man, and ſo continued ſwelling more and more, till at the length he burſt in ſunder.

Another of this wretched crew ſwelled ſo long that he burſt in ſunder.

The Governor himſelf who was the chief Actor in this Maſſacre, about two years after gathering all the Forces he could to beſiege *Genſes*, with an intention to do wonders there, preſenting himſelf ready for the purpoſe, was choſen to go in the rank of five and twenty or thirty brave Gentlemen, and he only ſhot with an Harquebuſe dyed. The reſt by and by retiring came off ſafe, without doing any further exploit.

God meets with the Governor himſelf at length.

Thus we have taken a view of the extream afflictions and oppreſſions of the Reformed Churches in many parts of *France*, wherein within a few weeks well nigh thirty thouſand were put to death.

Thirty thouſand Maſſacred within a few weeks in the Cities of *France*

Now in the year 1573. many places whither the faithful were fled for refuge, were aſſayled by open war; namely, in the firſt place that of *Sancerre*, the Hiſtory whereof you have here in a ſhort view preſented before you in that which followeth.

A Relation of the extream famine which happened in the City of Sancerre *in* France, *being beſieged with five hundred Horſmen and about five thouſand Footmen the ninth of* January, 1573. *with their deliverance.*

BEing (ſaith the Story) compaſſed about with irreconcileable Enemies, from about the beginning of *April*; the want of victuals having cauſed them to gather together all the Aſſes and Mules they had in the City, they were eaten up in leſs than a month.

The *Sieur* of *Chaſtre* was then General of the Kings Army.

Then they came to Horſes, Cats, Rats, Mouls, Mice and Dogs. After theſe were ſpent, they fell to eat Oxe and Cow-hides, Sheep-skins, parchment, old ſhooes, Bullocks,

and

and horſe-hoofs, horns, and lanthorns, ropes, and horſe-harneſs, leather girdles, &c.

In the end of *June* the third part of the beſieged had not Bread to eat. Such as could get hemp-ſeed, ground it, or ſtamped it in Mortars, and made Bread of it, the like they did with all ſorts of herbs, mingling the ſame with bran if they had it. There they eat meal of chaff, nut-ſhels, and of ſlate, excrements of horſes, and men, yea, the offal which lay in the Streets was not ſpared.

The nine and twentieth of *July*, a poor Man and his Wife were executed for having eaten the Head, Brains, and Entrails of a young Child about three years old which dyed of hunger; having made ready the other parts to eat at another meal. An old Woman lodging in their Houſe, eating a part of this mournful dyet, dyed in Priſon, within a few hours after her impriſonment.

They were found guilty of other offences; but this aggravated the ſame the more. All Children under twelve years of age dyed. It was lamentable to hear the pittiful voices uttered by poor Parents for the miſery wherein their eyes beheld their languiſhing and dying Infants.

To which purpoſe you may take notice here of a memorable accident. A boy of ten years old, being ready to yield up the Ghoſt, ſeeing his Father and Mother weeping over him (whoſe Arms and Leggs when they handled, felt as if they had been dryed ſticks) ſaid unto them, wherefore weep ye thus, in ſeeing me famiſhed to death? Mother, ſaith he, I ask you no bread, I know you have none: but ſeeing it is Gods will I muſt dye this death, let us be thankful for it. Did not the holy Man *Lazarus* dye of Famine? Have I not read it in my Bible? In uttering theſe with the like ſpeeches he yielded up the ghoſt the thirtieth day of *July*.

That all the People dyed not of famine in the end of this Month, it was by reaſon of certain Horſes which were reſerved for ſervice if need ſhould be, and ſix Kine which were left to give milk for the ſuſtenance of young Infants. Theſe Beaſts were killed, and their fleſh ſold for the relief of ſuch as were living, with a little Corn, which by ſtealth ſome brought into the City; ſo that a pound of Wheat was ſold for half a Crown.

There dyed by ſight in *Sancerre* but eighty four perſons, but of the Famine more than five hundred. Many Souldiers getting forth as they could out of the City, flying from the Famine, choſe rather to dye by the Sword of the Enemy; whereof ſome were ſlain, others impriſoned, and the reſt put to death by the Executioner.

But when all help of Man failed, the King having ſworn that he would make them eat up one another, the King of Kings delivered them by his wonderful providence. For at this inſtant the Embaſſadors from *Poland* came into *France* to accept the Duke of *Anjou* for their King, at whoſe intreaty (which could not well be denied) poor *Sancerre*, more than half famiſhed, was now ſet at liberty by raiſing the ſiege, who otherwiſe were determined to leave their Bones there, rather than to yield themſelves into their Enemies hands, in regard they had oft threatned them with a general Maſſacre. Whereas now by the Kings appointment they were permitted to paſs out of the City armed; if any would tarry, that they ſhould not be moleſted: having liberty granted them to diſpoſe of their affairs, as they pleaſed, with promiſe of conſerving the honour and chaſtities as well of Virgins, as Women, &c.

Of this ſiege Marſhal *Montluc* ſaid, that it was great, long, and fightly: but though well aſſailed yet better defended.

Now let us come to the City of *Rochel*, which being at this inſtant ſtrongly beſieged by the forces of *France*, both by Sea and Land, with about forty and fifty Thouſand Men, was yet in the end alſo delivered, though not without many hot conflicts, by the immediate hand of God; namely thus: The Embaſſador of *Poland* arriving in *France* the ſeventeenth day of *June*, a truce was made on the ſudden, Articles of peace drawn, and ſent to the King, who conſented to them, and returned anſwer in form of an Edict, granting to thoſe of *Rochel*, *Montauban*, *Niſmes*, and others which ſtood upon their defence, liberty for the exerciſes of Religion; the reſt to live peaceably in their Houſes, and therein to miniſter the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and Marriage as they had wont to do, ſo as their Aſſemblies exceeded not the number of ten, beſides the Parents.

He reſtored to the *Rochellers* and others their Rights and Priviledges, letting fall all the Decrees given out againſt them, approving of their defenſive War; giving them leave, according to their ancient cuſtom, to retain in their Cities, Towers, and Fortreſſes, Men and Munition, yea, to receive in Governors among them, provided that they were ſuch as they had no cauſe to ſuſpect or except againſt.

Anno 1574.

By vertue of this Edict, upon the tenth day of *July*, about ten of the Clock in the forenoon, the Sieur of *Biron* entred into the City at the gate called *de Coigne*, with an Herald of Arms, and four of the Kings Trumpeters (at which hour peace was proclaimed in the moſt eminent places thereof) accompanied with the Lieutenant of the City, and with the Lord of *Villiers*. After which, dining at the Majors Houſe, he ſoon after retired, being conducted along till he came without the City.

The ſame day many ſmall Veſſels laden with Biskets, Corn, Meal, Fiſh, and other proviſion entred into the Haven. At this ſiege the Duke D. *Amaule* loſt his life, with *Coſſeins*, who had broken into the Admirals Lodging, and began the Maſſacre at *Paris*: beſides many great Lords, Gentlemen, Captains, Lieutenants, and Antients, to the number of threeſcore, the greater part of which, having their hands embrued in thoſe other bloody Maſſacres, being come thither received their reward, namely, either preſent death, or wounds ſo incurable that they eſcaped not with life.

A certain Gentleman Nephew to *Puygaillard* Governour of *Angiers*, bragging that he had been one who murthered the Admiral, ſhewing a ſhort Sword which he had uſed in that ſlaughter, threatned the *Rochellers*, but God cut him ſhort alſo, the ſiege of *Sancerre*.

One thing ought not here to be paſſed over in ſilence, to wit, the proviſion of victuals which God furniſhed this beſieged people withal, when all other proviſions began to fail them, namely, an infinite number of ſmall Fiſhes never ſeen before in that Haven, which every day yielded themſelves to the mercie of the neceſſitous Inhabitants. But as ſoon as the Edict was publiſhed, and the *Rochellers* ſet at liberty by the arriving of the Poliſh Embaſſadors, theſe Sea fiſhes withdrew themſelves.

Although this relation following, touching another ſiege of this City of *Rochel*, ſutes nothing at all with the order of time, happening as it did in the year 1628. yet foraſmuch as it ſeems to have ſome affinity with the terrible famine wherewith both the City of *Sancerre* and it were afflicted; let not the Reader be offended for placing the ſame here ſomwhat out of place, being a thing ſo worthy of note.

An extract of a Letter written on board the Saint George *his Majeſties Ship in Saint* Georges Iſland.

THere dyed in this ſiege of *Rochel*, the thirtieth of *October*, 1628, ſixteen thouſand perſons, the reſt enduring a world of miſeries; moſt of all their food being hides, leather, and old gloves: other proviſions being very ſcarce were at an exceſſive rate; *viz.*

A Buſhel of Wheat	*xx. li.*
A pound of Bread	*xx. s.*
A quarter of Mutton	*vi.li.odd Money.*
A pound of Butter	*xx. s.*
An Egge	*viii.s.*
An ounce of Sugar	*ii.s. vi. d.*
A dryed Fiſh	*xx.s.*
A pint of Wine	*xx. s.*
A pound of Grapes	*iii.s.*
A pint of Milk.	*xxx.s.*

Alſo it is reported, that through the famine, young Maids of fourteen or ſixteen years of age did look like old Women of an hundred years old, The famine was ſuch, that the poor people would cut off the buttocks of the dead as they lay in the Churchyard unburied. All the Engliſh that came out looked like Anatomies. They lived two Months with nothing but Cow-hides and Goats-skins boiled; the Dogs, Cats, Mice, and Frogs being all ſpent. And this with a world of other miſeries did they ſuffer, in hope of being relieved by others. Thus much I thought good to let you underſtand.

Anno 1588.

A Deſcription of the manner of the death of Charles *the ninth, King of* France.

IN the year 1574. *Charles* the ninth, King of *France* (in the time of whoſe Reign theſe forenamed execrable Maſſacres were executed) fell ſick; which ſickneſs ſeiſed upon him before his Brother the Duke of *Anjou* took his voyage into *Poland*: from which during the Winter ſeaſon he obtained ſome recovery. But that which then ſeemed to lye hidden brake forth again afreſh in the Spring; ſo as this Prince, after he had languiſhed three whole Months, *viz. February*, *March*, and *April*, drew his Phyſitians to a conſultation about the ſtate of his Body; who in the end concluded to purge and let him blood. But theſe remedies took not ſuch an effect as the King and they expected; for he ſtill waſted and conſumed away, being in the flower of his Age, to the wonder of many. Some gueſſed he had taken a ſurfet either in eating or drinking; others, that he was enchanted.

The thirteenth of *May* he dyed, in the preſence of his Mother, and of the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and *Ferrare*, *&c.*

He was born on the twenty ſeventh day of *June*, 1550. He began his Reign the firſt of *December*, 1560. and ſo Reigned, as that it gives to Poſterity juſt cauſe both of admiration and deteſtation. Thus this Prince lived not forty years fully compleat. Now if any deſire to be further ſatisfied as touching the manner of his death, I refer them to that which Maſter *John Fox* hath written thereof not many lines before the concluſion of this Book, commonly called the Book of Martyrs.

A Note touching a Bull of Pope Sixtus *the fifth, wherein the King of* Navarre, *and the Prince of* Conde *were declared Hereticks*, &c. *with the Cenſure thereof by the Parliament of* Paris.

IN *September* 1585. Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, by a Bull ſent from *Rome*, cundemned the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde* for Hereticks, excommunicated them, degrading them and their Succeſſors fom their dignities, eſpecially laying claim to the Crown of *France*, abſolving their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and expoſing their Countries for a prey to them that could firſt ſubdue them.

The Court of Parliament of *Paris* made a notable Remonſtrance to the King concerning theſe Bulls, in the which they ſought to maintain the priviledges of the *Gallicane* Church. Among other things, theſe words that follow are very remarkable. The Court thinks that theſe Buls are ſet forth in a ſtile altogether of a new ſtamp, and ſo contrary to the modeſty of former Popes, that they can in no ſore diſcern therein the ſpirit of a Succeſſor of the Apoſtles. And therefore (as the Deputies of the ſaid Court added) we can neither find by our Regiſters, nor by any Antiquity, that the Princes of *France* ever ſubjected themſelves ſo far to the Authority of the Pope, nor that the Subjects have taken ſuch knowledge of the Religion of their Princes. The Court therefore cannot determine ought thereupon, unleſs firſt of all the Pope can cauſe his pretended right in tranſlation of Kingdoms, to appear, which Kingdoms were eſtabliſhed and ordained of God, before the name of a Pope was heard of in the World: that he manifeſts not to us what Title he hath to intermeddle with the matter of the Succeſſion of a young and vigorous Prince, who, for ought the Pope knows, may have his ſucceſſion yet in his loyns: that he ſhews not with what appearance of juſtice or equity he ſhould deny that priviledge which is allowed to ſuch as are accuſed of Hereſie againſt the Decrees of antient Canons, namely that no Man ought to be held as an Heretick, until his defence be fully and freely heard, till he have received often admonitions from many Synods, and thereupon ſentenced by a Counce, lawfully aſſembled.

Further they added, that ſeeing the Pope in ſtead of inſtruction, breaths forth nothing in his Buls but deſtruction, changing his Shepherds crook into a terrible Thunderbolt, rather to ſcatter then ſweetly to call the erring flock into the Boſom of the Catholick Church, the Court cannot ſafely admit of, or entertain a Bull ſo pernitious and oppoſite to the general good of all the Chriſtian World, and to the Soveraignty of the Crown of *France*; yea, they further were of opinion, that this Bull deſerved to be thrown into the Fire and burned, and the Sollicitors or upholders thereof for examples ſake to be ſeverely chaſtiſed; humbly beſeeching the King to maintain his Edicts in his own Kingdom in peace.

This Remonſtrance took ſmall effect; for not long after, the King being ſolicited by the Principal of the League, ſet forth a Declaration the ſeventh of *October*, upon the Edict publiſhed in *July* next before going; wherein having confiſcated the Body and Goods of thoſe of the Religion with their Aſſociates, who in any Province had taken Arms againſt the fury of the League, it was ordained, that thoſe of the Religion within ſix Months were to depart out of the Kingdom, unleſs within fifteen days fully accompliſhed after the ſaid Declaration they ſhould abjure.

The Parliament, ſuffering themſelves to be carried down by the violence of this ſtream, accepted and admitted of this Edict. The Princes framed an oppoſition againſt the Popes Bull, appealing therefrom, as a wrong done unto them, offering to make it appear in a free and lawful Councel, that the Pope had malitiouſly belied them, in calling them Hereticks; ſo as if he refuſed this fair and lawful courſe by them propounded, they would hold and eſteem him for that great Antichriſt, and would proclaim an open irreconcileable War againſt him. This oppoſition was affixed and ſet up at *Rome* the ſeventh day of *November*.

Not long after, among thoſe of the Religion which were impriſoned, others were more ſeverely handled. Among many, take notice here of two Honourable Women, whoſe memory ought to be celebrated in this Hiſtory of the Martyrs; namely, *Radagonde* Daughter of Maſter *John Foucoult*, Attourney in the Parliament of *Paris*, Widow, of the Age of fourty years, and *Claude Foucoult* her Siſter, a Virgin about thirty ſix, who were apprehended the nine and twentieth of *October* 1585. the one of the Village of *Pierrepit* near *Paris*, and the other in the Suburbs of Saint *German*, and brought Priſoners into *Chaſtelet* becauſe they denied to go to Maſs, and would not abjure and forſake the true Religion. Being ſevered one from the other in Priſon, they were examined upon ſundry Articles * to which they made their direct anſwer according to the Word of God.

Then being put together, they were accuſed for diſabeying the Kings commandment, which was, that thoſe of the Religion were either to depart the Kingdom by ſuch a time, or elſe abjure; They anſwered, that they were willing to leave the Kingdom, if they might obtain a convenient time to take order about that little which they had there; but refuſing to yield to their requeſt, they were ſhut up again, and the ſeventh of *November* in the preſence of the Lieutenant, as alſo of the Advocate for the King, and a Sorboniſt, they pleaded their Innocency. Theſe Men getting no advantage againſt them, but being rather confounded by the Wiſdom of Gods Spirit, ſpeaking by theſe two Siſters, went and complained to the King, that they were obſtinate Hereticks. This was in the beginning of the year, 1588.

* To wit, touching the ſupper of the Lord, Prayer to Saints, Prayer for the dead, & about abſtaining from meats.

They continued in Priſon many weeks, being cumbred with many diſputes, yet remained unſhaken. The *Friday* before *Eaſter* the King himſelf was to ſee them, aſking them whether they would conform themſelves to the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Church (as he called it.) They with ſuch reverence and obeiſance, as became them, gave him their Reaſons why they could not ſo do, confirming the ſame by texts of Holy Scripture. His ſecond queſtion was, why they had not obeyed his laſt Edict. The Widow anſwered, Sir, ſaith ſhe, I have three ſmall Children to care for; and whereas your Majeſty allotted thoſe of the Religion the tearm of fifteen days after ſix Months ended to depart the Kingdom; I have done my utmoſt to take up ſuch Monies as were due unto me, but thoſe who were indebted unto me, neglected to pay me. Beſides, he that kept my Vineyards of *Pierrepit*, to quit himſelf of me, accuſed me of Hereſie, cauſing my Siſter and my ſelf to be here impriſoned, where we have lien ſix Months, and if ſo be our Petition preſented by us find no acceptance in your Majeſties ſight, we

Henry the third.

moſt

moſt humbly beſeech you to grant that we may be freed out of Priſon, and we will be gone inſtantly out of the Kingdom according to your Majeſties Edict.

The date is paſt, ſaid the King, nor will I ſhew you any favour, unleſs you will promiſe to go to Maſs. He was much diſpleaſed in ſeeing their conſtancy. Now at the ſame time there was preſented before him one ſirnamed *Richelot*, who had been apprehended that very day in which the Women were taken for the cauſe of Religion, unto whom the King uſed not many words: only, in concluſion he ſaid, there wanted nothing but fagots to burn him. This *Richelot* abjured, that day in which theſe two Siſters were executed. The King had five or ſix *Sorboniſts*, which attended on him there, who offered to reaſon with the Priſoners by occaſion of a word ſpoken by the Widow. But the King preventing it, ſaid, we are not come hither to diſpute, let them be laid waſt, and none ſuffered to come to them.

Within half an hour after, the Duke of *Longueville* came to viſit them, ſaying, he was ſorry for their affliction, counſelling them to go to Maſs, alledging, it is written, *Thou ſhalt obey thy Prince*, and if he therein force you to it againſt your Conſcience, he ſhall anſwer for it; adding, that they were to remember their Sex, and therefore to be teachable upon the point of obedience. They anſwered, that no earthly Potentate had any warrant to command Chriſtians to ſin againſt their Conſciences.

They further beſought him to be a means for them to the King, that they might be delivered: but all the anſwer he gave them was this, That if they would not return, the King would not deliver them: alſo there was great likelihood, after their long detenſion in Priſon, that they muſt be executed in the end.

The next day being *Eaſter* Even, the Queen with the Dutcheſs of *Joyeuſe* came into *Chaſtelet* to viſit the Priſoners. But in ſtead of ſpeaking to the two Siſters her ſelf, ſhe ſent unto them a wicked *Apoſtata*, called *Mathew de Launy*, who being a Miniſter turned Popiſh Prieſt, and one whom the League made no ſmall uſe of; who loading theſe honourable Siſters with injuries and reproachful ſpeeches, calling them Dogs and Devils incarnate, and worthy to be burned, ſo left them and never came any more unto them. Soon after the day of the Barricadoes, which is a defence made of Earth and Stones heaped up, ſerving to ſtop a Street or any paſſage, the Judges of *Chaſtellot* adjudged them to be hanged, and their Bodies to be burned to aſhes. From which Sentence they appealed to the Court, and were brought into the *Conſciergery*, which is the name of a common Goal belonging to *Paris* or any other Priſon.

Queen Elizabeths picture burned in Paris.

On the Even before Saint *John Baptiſts* day in the Month of *June*, the common people in *Paris* making Fires as they were wont to do, amongſt other inſolencies, burnt in divers parts of the City a picture repreſenting the Queen of *England*.

The next day the Curates and Preachers began in their Sermons to thunder, ſaying, That it was not enough to burn the pictures of Hereticks, but to burn the bodies of the obſtinate Priſoners: which ſo inraged the tumultuous ſort of people, that the day following, flocking together into the Court of the Palace, they threatned the Preſidents and the Counſel, that ſome miſchief ſhould follow unleſs they condemned theſe two Priſoners to dye. A gentle anſwer was returned to this factious crue, with promiſe alſo that the buſineſs ſhould not long be delayed.

The next day the eldeſt Son of *Radegonde* preſented a Petition to the Dutcheſs of *Nemours*, Daughter to the late Lady of *Ferrara*. Her Grace ſolicited the Duke of *Guiſe* her Son, for the Priſoners: whoſe anſwer was, That his coming to *Paris* was not to petition the King in favour of thoſe of the Religion; and if he would do ſo (in regard of the Services which the Priſoners had done his Grandfather) yet he could not, fearing leſt the mad multitude might ſet upon him.

The eight and twentieth day of the ſame Month of *June*, the Court having confirmed the Sentence given at *Chaſtellot*, ſent them back thither to be executed, ſo as about noon they were gagged, becauſe the Maid profeſſed, that if they brought her into any Idols Temple, ſhe would extend her Voice ſo loud againſt the ſame, that every one ſhould hear it. About three of the Clock they were led as ſheep to the ſlaughter, where they conſtantly perſiſted in the profeſſion of the true Religion. Anno 1588.

The Widow being aſcended the Ladder ſhook out of her hands a woodden Croſs, which they had by force affixed thereto, whereat the multitude were ſo provoked, that they began to throw ſtones and ſtaves at her, ſo as the Hangman having turned her off the Ladder cut the Rope by and by, letting her fall half dead into the Fire, wherein ſhe yielded up her Soul into the hands of God, as alſo her Siſter did.

Being now come to the year 1588. it gives us juſt occaſion to call to mind that miraculous deliverance of our noble Queen and Country, from the intended invaſion of the *Spaniards* the ſame year. The memorial whereof, that it might the rather be continued to the Ages ſucceeding, deſerves by way of Hiſtory here to be inſerted as in its due and proper place. Of which deliverance it may truly be ſaid (all things conſidered) that it was the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. The true relation whereof here followeth.

A brief diſcourſe touching the great preparations made by the Spaniards, *and other Romiſh Catholicks, for that invincible Navy, intended for the invading and ſurpriſing of the Realm of* England, *together with their utter overthrow.*

HEr Majeſty of *England* having had intelligence from ſundry places of the great and diligent preparation of the King of *Spain* in divers parts both by Sea and Land, not only of the ſtrongeſt Ships in all places within his Dominions, but of all ſorts of proviſion neceſſary for ſo mighty a Fleet, as he intended to ſet forth; and theſe rumours of War, which before were but ſleight, daily increaſing, at laſt it was certainly confirmed by the news on all ſides, that in *Spain* there was an invincible Navy preparing againſt *England*; that the moſt famous Captains in Military knowledge, and the beſt Souldiers were ſent for into *Spain*, from *Italy*, *Sicily*, yea from *America*. For the Pope and ſome religious *Spaniards*, and Engliſh fugitives, now recalled the *Spaniard* to the cogitation of ſurpriſing of *England*, which purpoſe was interrupted by the *Portugal* Wars. They exhorted him earneſtly to do God this ſervice, that had done ſo much for him; now that he enjoyed *Portugal* with the *Weſt-Indies*, and many rich Iſlands, to add *England* to all were an eſpecial ſervice of God, fit for his Catholick Majeſty. By this means he might add theſe flouriſhing Kingdoms to his Empire, and ſo keep the *Lowcountries* in peace, and ſecure the Navigations to both *Indies*. That the preparations of *Spain* were ſo great that no power was able to reſiſt it. They made him believe that it was an eaſier matter to overcome *England*, than to overcome the *Dutchland*, becauſe the Navigation from *Spain* to *England* was much ſhorter, than to the *Netherlands*. And by ſurprizing of *England* the other would eaſily follow.

The Spaniſh Navy prepared to invade England.

Conſultation about the beſt way and means how to oppreſs England.

Hereupon the Conſultation began to be had, of the beſt way and means to oppreſs *England*. *Alvarus Baſſanus*, the Marqueſs of S. *Croſs*, who was chief commander in the Navy, adviſed firſt to make ſure ſome part of *Holland* or *Zealand*, by the Land forces of the Duke of *Parma*, and by ſending before him ſome *Spaniſh* Ships, ſo to take ſome place on a ſudden, where the *Spaniſh* Navy might have a receptable, and from whence the Invaſion might with convenience begin. For in the *Engliſh* Sea, which is troubleſome, the Winds oft changing, and the Tides unknown, the Navy could not be in ſafety. With him agreed *Parma* who much urged this Expedition. Yet others diſliked this Counſel, as a matter of great difficulty and danger, of long time, of much labour, of great expence and uncertain ſucceſs. And that neither ſecretly nor openly it could be performed, and eaſily hindred by the *Engliſh*. Theſe thought that with the ſame labour and expences *England* might be won: and the Victory would be ſure, if a well prepared Army from *Spain* might, with a ſtrong Navy, be landed on *Thames* ſide, and of a ſudden, ſurpriſe *London* the chief City, by an unexpected aſſault. This ſeemed a thing moſt eaſie to be effected.

The

Anno 1588.

The Duke of *Parma* alſo in *Flanders*, by the commandment of the *Spaniard*, built Ships, and a great company of ſmall broad Veſſels, each one able to tranſport thirty horſe, with bridges fitted for them ſeverally; And hired mariners from the *Eaſt* part of *Germany*. And provided long pieces of Wood, ſharpned at the end, and covered with Iron, with hooks on the one ſide; And twenty thouſand Veſſels, with an huge number of fagots, and placed an Army ready in *Flanders*, of 103. companies of Foot, and four thouſand Horſmen. Among theſe ſeven hundred Engliſh fugitives, which were had of all other in moſt contempt. Neither was *Stanley* reſpected or heard, who was ſet over the Engliſh, nor *Weſtmerland*, nor any other who offered their help: but for their impiety towards their own Country were ſhut out from all conſultations, and as Men unominous rejected, not without deteſtation. And Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, that in ſuch a purpoſe would not be wanting, ſent Cardinal *Alan* into *Flanders*, and renewed the Buls declaratory of *Pius* 5. and *Gregory* the thirteenth. He excommunicateth the Queen, depoſeth her, abſolveth her Subjects from all allegiance and as if it had been againſt the Turks and Infidels, he ſet forth in print a Conceit, wherein he beſtowed plenary indulgences, out of the treaſure of the Church (beſides a Million of Gold, or ten hundred thouſand Ducats, to be diſtributed, (the one half in hand, the other half when either *England* or ſome famous Haven therein ſhould be won) upon all them that would joyn their help againſt *England*. By which means the Marqueſs of *Burgow*, of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the Duke of *Paſtrana*, *Armady* Duke of *Savoy*, *Veſpaſian*, *Gonzaga*, *John Medices*, and divers other Noblemen were drawn into theſe wars.

The Duke of *Parma* plays his part.

The Pope excommunicates the Queen, &c.

Queen *Elizabeth*, that ſhe might not be ſurpriſed at unawares, prepared as great a Navy as ſhe could, and with ſingular care and providence maketh ready all things neceſſary for War. And ſhe her ſelf, which was ever moſt judicious in diſcerning of Mens wits and aptneſs, and moſt happy in making choice, when ſhe made it out of her own Judgment, and not at the commandment of others, deſigned the beſt and moſt ſerviceable to each ſeveral imployment. Over the whole Navy ſhe appointed the Lord Admiral *Charles Howard*, in whom ſhe repoſed much truſt; and ſent him to the Weſt parts of *England*, where Captain *Drake*, whom ſhe made Viceadmiral, joyned with him. She commanded *Henry Seimor*, the ſecond Son to the Duke of *Somerſet*, to watch upon the *Belgicke* Shore with forty Engliſh and Dutch Ships, that the Duke of *Parma* might not come out with his forces. Albeit ſome were of opinion, that the enemy was to be expected, and ſet upon by land forces, according as it was upon deliberation reſolved, in the time of *Henry* the eighth, when the *French* brought a great Navy upon the Engliſh Shore.

The Queen ſelects out ſuch able & ſerviceable Men as were fitteſt to undertake ſo great imployment.

For the land fight, there were placed on the South Shores twenty thouſand: And two armies beſides were muſtered of the choiceſt Men for War. The one of theſe which conſiſted of 1000. horſe, twenty two thouſand foot, was the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſet over, and camped at *Tilbury* on the ſide of *Thames*. For the enemy was reſolved firſt to ſet upon *London*. The other Army was governed by the Lord *Hunſdon*, conſiſting of thirty four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, to guard the Queen.

Order taken about the land fight.

The Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knolls*, Sir *John Norrice*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, Men famouſly known for military experience, were choſen to confer of the land fight. Theſe thought fit that all thoſe places ſhould be fortified, with Men and Munition, which were commodious to land in, either out of *Spain*, or out of *Flanders*, as *Milford Haven*, *Falmouth*, *Plimouth*, *Portland*, the *Iſle of Wight*, *Portſmouth*, the open ſide of *Kent* called the *Downs*, the mouth of *Thames*, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, &c. That trained ſouldiers through all the maritime Provinces ſhould meet upon warning given, to defend theſe places: that they ſhould, by their beſt means and power, hinder the Enemy to take land; if he ſhould take land, then ſhould they waſt the Country all about, and ſpoil every thing that might be of any uſe to the enemy, that ſo he might find no more victuals then what he brought upon his Shoulders with him. And that by continual Alarums the Enemy ſhould find no reſt day day or night. But they ſhould not try any Battel, until divers Captains were met together with their companies. That one Captain might be named in every Shire which might command.

A Counſel about peace pretended on the Adverſaries part, whilſt they intended to make war.

Two years before, the Duke of *Parma* conſidering how hard a matter it was to end the *Belgick* War, ſo long as it was continually nouriſhed and ſupported with ayd from the Queen, he moved for a treaty of peace, by the means of Sir *James Croft* one of the Privy Counſel, a Man deſirous of peace, and *Andrew Loe* a Dutchman, and profeſſed that the *Spaniard* had delegated Authority to him for this purpoſe. But the Queen fearing that there was ſome cunning in this ſeeking of peace, that the friendſhip between her and the confederate Princes might be diſſolved, and that ſo they might ſecretly be drawn to the *Spaniard*; ſhe deferred that treaty for ſome time. But now, that the wars on both ſides prepared might be turned away; ſhe was content to treat of peace; but ſo, as ſtill holding the Weapons in her hand.

It is the honor of a King, ſaith *Solomon*, to ſearch out a thing. *Delegates* ſent into *Flanders* about a treaty of peace.

For this purpoſe in *February*, *Delegates* were ſent into *Flanders*, the Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James Croft*, Doctor *Dale*, and Doctor *Rogers*. Theſe were received with all humanity on the Dukes behalf, and they preſently ſent Dr. *Dale* to him, that a place might be appointed for their treating, and that they might ſee the Authority delegated to him by the *Spaniſh King*. He appointed the place near to *Oſtend*, not in *Oſtend*, which then was holden of Engliſh againſt the King. His Authority delegated he promiſed then to ſhew, when they were once met together. He wiſhed them to make good ſpeed in the buſineſs, leſt ſomwhat might fall out in the mean time which might trouble the motions of peace. *Richardotus* ſpake ſomwhat more plainly, That he knew not what in this interim ſhould be done againſt *England*.

Not long after, Doctor *Rogers* was ſent to the Prince, by an expreſs commandment from the Queen, to know the truth, whether the *Spaniard* had reſolved to invade *England*, which he and *Richardotus* ſeemed to ſignifie. He affirmed, that he did not ſo much as think of the invaſion of *England*, when he wiſhed that the buſineſs might proceed with ſpeed: and was in a manner offended with *Richardotus*, who denied that ſuch words fell from him.

The twelfth of *April* the Count *Aremberg*, *Champigny*, *Richardotus*, D. *Maeſius*, and *Garnier*, delegated from the Prince of *Parma*, met with the Engliſh, and yielded to them the honour both in walking and ſitting. And when they affirmed that the Duke had full Authority to treat of peace, the Engliſh moved, that firſt a truce might be made. Which they denied; alledging that that thing muſt needs be hurtful to the *Spaniard*, who had for ſix Months maintained a great Army, which might not be diſmiſſed upon a truce, but upon an abſolute peace. The Engliſh urged, That a Truce was promiſed before they came into *Flanders*. The *Spaniard* againſt that held, That ſix Months ſince a Truce was promiſed; which they granted, but was not admitted. Neither was it in the Queens power to undertake a Truce for *Holland* and *Zealand*, who dayly attempted Hoſtility. The Engliſh moved inſtantly, that the Truce might be general for all the Queens Territories, and for the Kingdom of *Scotland*: but they would have it but for four Dutch Towns which were in the Queens hands; that is, *Oſtend*, *Fluſhing*, *Bergen up Zom*, and the *Briel*; and theſe only during the Treating, and twenty days after; and that in the mean time it might be lawful for the Queen to invade *Spain*, or for the *Spaniard* to invade *England*, either from *Spain* or *Flanders*. At laſt, when the Engliſh could not obtain an abſtinence from arms, and could by no means ſee the Charter by which the Duke of *Parma* was authoriſed to treat of peace; they propoſed theſe things, That the antient leagues between the Kings of *England* and the Dukes of *Burgondy* might be renewed and confirmed; That all the Dutch might fully enjoy their own priviledges; That with freedom of Conſcience they might ſerve God; That the *Spaniſh* and foreign Souldiers might be put out of *Dutchland*, that neither the Dutch nor their neighbouring nations might fear them. If theſe things might be granted, the Queen would come to equal conditions concerning the Towns which now ſhe held (that all might know, that ſhe took up arms not for her own gain, but for the neceſſary defence both of

her

her ſelf and of the Dutch) ſo that the Money which is owing therefore be repayed. To the which they anſwered, that for renewing the old Leagues there ſhould be no difficulty, when they might have a friendly conference of that thing. That concerning the priviledges of the Dutch, there was no cauſe why forraign Princes ſhould take care, which priviledges were moſt favourably granted not only to Provinces and Towns reconciled, but even to ſuch as by force of Arms are brought into Subjection. That forreign Souldiers were held upon urgent neceſſity, when as *Holland*, *England*, and *France* were all in Arms.

Touching thoſe Towns taken from the King of *Spain*, and the repaying of the money, they anſwered, That the *Spaniard* might demand as many Myriads of Crowns to be from the Queen repayed him, as the *Belgicke* War hath coſt him ſince the time that ſhe hath favoured and protected the Dutch againſt him.

At this time Doctor *Dale* by the Queens command, going to the Duke of *Parma*, did gently expoſtulate with him touching a Book printed there, ſet out lately by Cardinal *Allen*, wherein he exhorts the Nobles and People of *England* and *Ireland* to joyn themſelves to the King of *Spains* forces, under the conduct of the Prince of *Parma*, for the Execution of the Sentence of Pope *Sixtus* the fifth againſt the Queen, declared by his Bull; in the which ſhe is declared an Heretick, illegitimate, cruel againſt *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and her Subjects were commanded to help *Parma* againſt her: for at that time a great number of thoſe Bulls and Books were printed at *Antwerp* to be diſperſed through *England*. The Duke denied that he had ſeen ſuch a Bull or Book, neither would he do any thing by the Popes Authority; as for his own King, him he muſt obey. Yet he ſaid, he ſo obſerved the Queen for her princely vertues, that after the King of *Spain* he offered all ſervice to her. That he had perſwaded the King of *Spain* to yield to this treaty of peace, which is more profitable for Engliſh than Spaniſh: for if they ſhould be overcome they would eaſily repair their loſs, but if you be overcome the Kingdom is loſt.

To whom *Dale* replyed, That our Queen was ſufficiently furniſhed with forces to defend the Kingdom. That a Kingdom will not eaſily be gotten by the fortune of one Battel, ſeeing the King of *Spain* in ſo long a War is not yet able to recover his antient Patrimony in the *Netherlands*.

Well, quoth the Duke, be it ſo, theſe things are in Gods Hands.

After this the *Delegates* contended among themſelves by mutual replications, weaving and unweaving the ſame web. The Engliſh were earneſt in this, that freedom of Religion might be granted at leaſt for two years to the confederate Provinces. They anſwered, That as the King of *Spain* had not intreated that for Engliſh Catholicks; ſo they hoped the Queen in her wiſdom would not intreat any thing of the King of *Spain* which might ſtand againſt his Honor, his Oath, and his Conſcience.

Then they demanded the money due from the States of *Brabant*; it was anſwered, That the money was lent without the Kings Authority or privity: but let the account be taken, how much the money was, and how much the King hath ſpent in theſe Wars, and then it may appear who ſhould look for repayment.

Thus the Engliſh of ſet purpoſe were from time to time driven off, until the Spaniſh Fleet was come near the Engliſh ſhore, and the noiſe of Guns were heard from Sea. Then had they leave to depart, and were by the *Delegates* honourably brought to the Borders near to *Calis*. The Duke of *Parma* had in the mean time brought all his forces to the Sea Shore.

Thus this Conference came to nothing; undertaken by the Queen, as the wiſer then thought, to avert the Spaniſh Fleet; continued by the *Spaniard*, that he might oppreſs the Queen, being as he ſuppoſed unprovided, and not expecting the danger. So both of them tryed to uſe time to their beſt advantages.

Preparation for ſetting forth of the Spaniſh Fleet.

In fine the Spaniſh Fleet well furniſhed with Men, Munition, Engines, and all warlike preparation, the beſt indeed that was ever ſeen upon the Ocean, called by that arrogant title the Invincible Navy, conſiſting of a hundred and thirty Ships, wherein there were nineteen thouſand two hundred ninety Mariners Eight thouſand three hundred and fifty; chained rowers eleven thouſand and eighty; great Ordnance Eleven thouſand ſix hundred and thirty. The chief commander was *Perezius Guſmannus*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*; (for *Antonius Columna* Duke of *Palian* and Marqueſs of Saint *Croſs*, unto whom the chief Government was allotted, dyed whilſt things were preparing.) And under him alſo *Joannes Martinus Ricaldus*, a Man of great experience in Sea Affairs. Anno 1588.

The 30. of *May* they looſed out of the River *Tagus*, and purpoſing to hold their courſe to the *Groin*, in *Gallitia*, they were beaten and ſcattered by a tempeſt: three Gallies by the help of *David Gwin* an Engliſh Servant, and by the perfidiouſneſs of Turks which rowed, were carried away into *France*. The Fleet with much adoe after ſome days came to the *Groin* and other Harbours near adjoyning. The report was, that the Fleet was ſo ſhaken with this Tempeſt, that the Queen was perſwaded, that ſhe was not to expect that Fleet this year. And Sir *Francis Walſhingham*, Secretary, wrote to the Lord Admiral, that he might ſend back four of the greateſt Ships, as if the War had been ended. But the Lord Admiral did not eaſily give credit to that report; yet with a gentle anſwer entreated him to believe nothing haſtily in ſo important a matter: As alſo that he might be permitted to keep thoſe Ships with him which he had, though it were upon his own charges. And finding a favourable Wind turned Sails towards *Spain*, to ſurpriſe the enemies ſhaken Ships in their Harbours. When he was not far from the Shore of *Spain*, the Wind turning, and he being charged to defend the Engliſh Shore, fearing that the enemies unſeen might by the ſame Wind be driven to *England*, he returned unto *Plimmouth*.

The time when the Navy ſet out.

The great Fleet more ſhaken with a Tempeſt.

Now with the ſame Wind, the twelfth of *July* the Duke of *Medina* with his Fleet departed from the *Groin*. And after a few days he ſent *Rodericus Telius* into *Flanders*, to advertiſe the Duke of *Parma*, giving him warning that the Fleet was approaching, and therefore he was to make himſelf ready. For *Medina* his Commiſſion was to joyn himſelf with the Ships and Souldiers of *Parma*; and under the protection of his Fleet, to bring them into *England*, and to land his land forces upon *Thames* ſide.

The ſixteenth day (ſaith the relator) there was a great calm, and a thick cloud was upon the Sea till noon: then the North-Wind blowing roughly, and again the Weſt-Wind till midnight, and after that the Eaſt; the Spaniſh Navy was ſcattered, and hardly gathered together until they came within the ſight of *England* the nineteenth day of *July*. Upon which day the Lord Admiral was certified by *Flemming* (who had been a Pyrate) that the Spaniſh Fleet was entred into the Engliſh Sea, which the Mariners call the Channel, and was deſcryed near to the *Lizard*. The Lord Admiral brought forth the Engliſh Fleet into the Sea, but not without great difficulty, by the skill, labour, and alacrity of the Souldiers and Mariners, every one labouring: yea the Lord Admiral himſelf put his hand to this work.

The Spaniſh Navy the ſecond time ſcattered.

Flemming a Pyrate diſcovers the Spaniſh Fleet to the Engliſh.

The next day the Engliſh Fleet viewed the Spaniſh Fleet coming along with Towers like Caſtles in height, her front crooked like the faſhion of the Moon, the horns of the Front were extended one from the other about ſeven miles, or as ſome ſay eight miles aſunder, ſailing with the labour of the Winds, the Ocean as it were groaning under it; their Sail was but ſlow, and yet at full Sail before the Wind. The Engliſh were willing to let them hold on their courſe, and when they were paſſed by, got behind them, and ſo got the help of the Wind.

The faſhion of the Spaniſh Fleet deſcribed.

Upon the one and twentieth of *July*, the Lord Admiral of *England* ſent a Pinace before, called the *Defiance*, to denounce the battel by ſhooting off ſome pieces. And being himſelf in the *Arch-Royal* (the Engliſh Pretorian Ship or Admiral) he ſet upon a Ship which he took to be the Spaniſh Admiral, but it was the Ship of *Alfonſus Leva*. Upon that he beſtowed much Shot. Preſently *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbiſher* came in upon the Spaniſh hindmoſt Ships, which *Ricaldus* governed. Upon theſe they thundred. *Ricaldus* laboured as much as lay in him to ſtay his Men, who fled away in their Navy, until his Ship beaten and much battered with many Shot hardly recovered

The fight

Anno 1588. recovered the *Fleet*. Then the Duke *Medina* gathered together his diſſipated Fleet, and ſetting up more Sail, held on their courſe. Indeed they could do no other, for the Engliſh had gotten the advantage of the wind, and their Ships were much more nimble, and ready with incredible celerity to come upon the enemy with a full courſe, and then to turn and return, and be on every ſide at their pleaſure. After a long fight, and that each of them had taken ſome trial, as of their own courage, ſo of the Spaniards alſo, the Lord Admiral thought good not to continue the ſame any longer, in regard that forty Ships were then abſent, which at that inſtant were ſcarce drawn out of *Plimouth* Haven.

The night following, St. *Katherine* a Spaniſh Ship, being ſore torn with the fight, was received into the midſt of the Navy to be mended. Here a great *Cantabrian* Ship of *Oquenda*, wherein was the Treaſurer of the Camp, by force of Gun-powder that had taked fire, was fired: yet it was quenched in time by the Ships that came to help her. Of theſe that came to help the fired ſhip, one was a Galeon, in which was *Petrus Valdez*; the Foremaſt of the Galeon was caught in the tackling of another ſhip, and broken. This was taken by *Drake*, who ſent *Valdez* to *Dartmouth*, and a great ſum of mony, *viz.* fifty five thouſand Duckets, which he diſtributed amongſt the Souldiers. This *Valdez* coming into *Drakes* preſence, kiſſed his hand, and told him they had all reſolved to die, if they had not been ſo happy as to fall into his hands, whom he knew to be Noble. That night he was appointed to ſet forth light, but neglected it; and ſome German Merchant Ships coming by that night, he thinking them to be enemies followed them ſo far, that the Engliſh Navy reſted all night when they could ſee no light ſet forth. Neither did he nor the reſt of the Navy find the Admiral until the next day at Even. The Admiral all the night proceeding with the *Bear* and the *Mary Roſe* did carefully follow the Spaniards with watchfulneſs. The Duke was buſied in ordering his Navy. *Alfonſus Leva* was commanded to joyn the firſt and laſt Companies. Every ſhip had his ſtation aſſigned according to that preſcribed form which was appointed in *Spain*; it was preſent death to forſake his ſtation. This done, he ſent *Gliclius* an *Anceani* to *Parma*, which might declare to him in what caſe they were, and left that *Cantabrian* ſhip of *Oquenda* to the wind and Sea, having taken out the Money and Mariners, and put them in other ſhips. Yet it ſeemeth that he had not care of all: for that Ship the ſame day with fifty Mariners and Souldiers lamed, and half burnt, fell into the Hands of the Engliſh, and was carried to *Weymouth*.

The three and twentieth of the ſame Month, the *Spaniards* having a favourable North wind turned Sails upon the Engliſh; the Engliſh being much readier in the uſe of their ſhips, ſet about a compaſs for the wind, and having gotten advantage of the wind, they came to the fight on both ſides. They fought a while confuſedly with variable ſucceſs: whileſt on the one ſide the Engliſh with great courage delivered the *London* ſhips with were incloſed about by the Spaniards: on the other ſide the Spaniards by valour freed *Ricaldus* from the extreme danger he was in: great were the effulminations which by beating of Ordnances were heard this day. But the loſs (by the good providence of God) fell upon the Spaniſh ſide, their ſhips being ſo high that the ſhot went over our Engliſh ſhips; and the Engliſh having ſuch a fair mark at their taller ſhips never ſhot in vain. Amidſt which encounters, *Cock* an Engliſhman, being caught indeed in the midſt of the Spaniſh ſhips, could not be recovered, but periſhed, howbeit with great honor he revenged himſelf. Thus a long time the Engliſh ſhips with great agility were ſometimes upon the Spaniards, giving them the one ſide, and then the other, and preſently were off again, and ſtill took the Sea, to make themſelves ready to come in again. Whereas the Spaniſh ſhips being of great burthen were troubled and hindred, and ſtood to bee marks for the Engliſh Bullets. For all that the Admiral would not admit the Engliſh to come to boord their ſhips, becauſe they had a full army in their ſhips, which he had not; their ſhips were many in number, and greater, and higher, that if they had come to grapple, as ſome would have had it, the Engliſh being much lower then the Spaniſh ſhips muſt needs have had the worſt of them that fought from the higher ſhips. And if the Engliſh had been overcome, the loſs would have been greater than the victory could have been; for ours being overcome would have put the Kingdom in hazard.

The Admiral would not ſuffer his ſhips to come to grapple with the Spaniſh.

The four and twentieth day of *July* they gave over fighting on both ſides. The Admiral ſent ſome ſmall Barks to the next Engliſh ſhore, to ſupply the proviſion; And divided all his Navy into four Squadrons; The firſt whereof was under his own government; the next *Drake* governed; the third *Hawkins*; the laſt *Forbiſher*. And he appointed out of ever Squadron certain little ſhips, which on divers ſides might ſet upon the Spaniards in the night, but a ſudden calm took them, and ſo that advice was without effect. The third Fight.

The five and twentieth day, being *S. James* day, S. *Anne* the Galeon of *Portugal*, not being able to hold courſe with the reſt, was ſet upon by ſome ſmall Engliſh ſhips. To whoſe aid came in *Leva*, and *Didacus Telles Enriques* with three Galeaſſes: which the Admiral and the Lord *Thomas Howard* eſpying, made in againſt the Galeaſſes (the calm was ſo great that they were drawn in by Boats with cords) and did ſo beat upon the Galeaſſes with great ſhot, that with much ado, and not without great loſs, they hardly recovered the Galeon. The Spaniards reported that the Admiral of *Spain* was that day in the hindmoſt company, and being come nearer the Engliſh ſhips then before, was ſore beaten with the Engliſh great Ordnance, many men ſlain in her, her great maſt overthrown. And after that the Admiral of *Spain*, accompanied with *Ricaldus* and others, did ſet upon the Engliſh Admiral, who by the benefit of the wind ſuddenly turning eſcaped. The Spaniards hold on their courſe again, and ſend to the Duke of *Parma*, that with all ſpeed he ſhould joyn his ſhips with the Kings Fleet. Theſe things the Engliſh knew not, who write that they had ſtricken the Lanthorn from one of the Spaniſh ſhips, the Stemm from another, and had ſore beaten a third, doing much harm to her. That the *Non-Parigly*, and the *Mary Roſe* fought a while with the Spaniards; and the *Triumph* being in danger, other ſhips came in good time to help her.

The next day the Lord Admiral knighted the Lord *Thomas Howard*, The Lord *Sheffield*. *Roger Townſend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Forbiſher*, for their valour well imployed in the laſt fight. After this they reſolved not to ſet upon the Enemy until they came into the ſtraight of *Calis*, where *Henry Seimor*, and *William Winter* ſtaid for their coming. Thus with the fair gale the Spaniſh Fleet goeth forward, and the Engliſh followed. This great Spaniſh Armadoe was ſo far from being eſteemed Invincible in the opinions of the Engliſh, that many young men, and Gentlemen, in hope to be partakers of a famous victory againſt the Spaniards, provided Ships of their own charges, and joyned themſelves to the Engliſh Fleet; among whom were the Earls of *Eſſex*, of *Northumberland*, of *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecilles*, *Henry Brooks*, *William Hatton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambroſe Willoughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Gorge*, and other Gentlemen of good note and quality. Knights made. Noblemen and Gentlemen joyn with the Fleet.

The ſeven and twentieth day at Even, the Spaniards caſt anchor neer to *Calis*, being admoniſhed of their skiful Sea-men, that if they went any further, they might be indangered by force of that Tide to be driven into the North *Ocean*. Near to them ſtood the Engliſh Admiral with his Fleet within a great Guns ſhot. To the Admiral, *Seimor* and *Winter* now joyn their ſhips; ſo that now there were an hundred and forty ſhips in the Engliſh Fleet, able and well furniſhed for fight, for Sail, and to turn which way was needful: and yet there were but fifteen of theſe which bore the burden of battel and repulſed the enemy. The Spaniard, as often he had done before, ſo now with great earneſtneſs ſent to the Duke of *Parma* to ſend forty flie Boats, without the which they could not fight with the Engliſh, becauſe of the greatneſs and ſlowneſs of their own ſhips, and the agility of the Engliſh ſhips: And intreating him by all means now to come to Sea with his Army, which Army was now to be protected as it were under the wings of the Spaniſh *Armado*, *until they took land in England*. Purpoſing to execute their deſign on *Friday* the 12. of *Auguſt*, the night being dark, but how happily the ſame was prevented, read the next Section following.

But the Duke was unprovided, and could not come out at an inſtant. The broad Ships with flat bottoms being then full of chinks muſt bee mended. Victuals wanted and muſt be provided. The Mariners being long kept againſt their wills began to ſhrink away. The Ports of *Dunkirk* and *Nieuport*, by which he muſt bring his Army to the Sea, were now ſo beſet with the ſtrong ſhips of *Holland* and *Zealand*, which were furniſhed with great and ſmall munition, that he was not able to come to Sea, unleſs he would come upon his own apparent deſtruction, and caſt himſelf and his men wilfully into a headlong danger. Yet he omitted nothing that might be done, being a man eager and induſtrious, and inflamed with a deſire of overcoming *England*.

A notable ſtratagem of the Engliſh.

But Queen *Elizabeth* her providence and care prevented both the diligence of this man, and the credulous hope of the Spaniard: for by her commandment the next day the Admiral took eight of their worſt ſhips, charging the Ordnance therein up to the mouth with ſmall ſhot, nails, and ſtones, and dreſſed them with wildfire, pitch and roſin, and filled them full of brimſton and ſome other matter fit for fire, and theſe being ſet on fire by the miniſtery and guiding of *Young* and *Prowſe*, were ſecretly in the night by the help of the wind ſet full upon the Spaniſh Fleet, which on *Sunday* the ſeventh of *Auguſt* they ſent in among them as they lay at anchor.

When the Spaniards ſaw them come near, the flame ſhining and giving light all over the Sea; they ſuppoſing thoſe ſhips, beſides the danger of fire, to have been alſo furniſhed with deadly Engines, to make horrible deſtruction among them; lifting up a moſt hideous woful cry, ſome pull up anchors, ſome for haſt cut their Cables, they ſet up their Sails, they apply their Oars, and ſtriken with a Pannick terror, in great haſt they fled moſt confuſedly. Among them the *Pretorian* Galleaſs floating upon the Seas, her Rudder being broken, in great danger and fear drew towards *Calis*, and ſticking in the Sand was taken by *Amias Preſton*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Harvey*; *Hugh Moncada* the Governor was ſlain, the Soldiers and Mariners were either killed or drowned; In her there was found great ſtore of Gold, which fell to be the prey of the Engliſh. The ſhip and Ordnance fell to the ſhare of the Governour of *Calis*.

The Spaniards report, that the Duke when he ſaw the fiery ſhips coming commanded all the fleet to pull up their anchors, but ſo as the danger being paſt, every ſhip might return again to his ſtation: and he himſelf returned, giving a ſign to the reſt by ſhooting off a Gun; which was heard but of a few, for they were far off ſcattered, ſome into the open *Ocean*, ſome through fear were driven upon the Shallows of the coaſt of *Flanders*.

The 4 Fight before Graveling, Aug. 8.

Over againſt *Graveling* the Spaniſh fleet began to gather themſelves together. But upon them came *Drake* and *Fenner*, and battered them with great Ordnance: to theſe *Fenton*, *Southwel*, *Beeſton*, *Croſs*, *Riman*, and preſently after the Lord Admiral, *Thomas Howard*, and *Sheffield* came in and all joyned together. The Duke *Medina*, *Leva*, *Oquenda*, *Ricaldus*, and others with much ado getting themſelves out of the ſhallows ſuſtained the Engliſh force as well as they might, until moſt of their ſhips were pierced and torn; the Galleon St. *Matthew*, governed by *Diego Pimentellus*, coming to aid *Francis Toletan*, being in the *St. Philip*, was pierced and ſhaken with the reiterated ſhots of *Seimor* and *Winter*, and driven to *Oſtend*, and was at laſt taken by the *Fluſhingers*. The *S. Philip* came to the like end; ſo did the Galleon of *Biſcay* and divers others.

The laſt day of this Month, the Spaniſh Fleet ſtriving to recover the Straights again, were driven toward *Zealand*. The Engliſh left off purſuing them, as the Spaniards thought, becauſe they ſaw them in a manner caſt away; for they could not avoid the ſhallows of *Zealand*. But the wind turning, they gat them out of the ſhallows, and then began to conſult what were beſt for them to do. By common conſent they reſolved to return into *Spain* by the *Northern* Seas, for they wanted many neceſſaries, eſpecially ſhot, their ſhips were torn, and they had no hope that the Duke of *Parma* could bring forth his Forces. And ſo they took the Sea, and followed the courſe toward the *North*. The Engliſh Navy followed, and ſometimes the Spaniſh turned upon the Engliſh, inſomuch that it was thought by many that they would turn back again.

Anno 1588.

A deſcription of the Queens coming to the Camp at Tilbury, *with the manner of her behaviour there, as it is related by a Popiſh Spy, in a Letter written here in* England *to* Mendea. *The Copy of which Letter by good hap was found in the Chamber of one* Richard Leigh *a Seminary Prieſt, as well in* French *as Engliſh: which Prieſt was executed for high Treaſon whileſt the Spaniſh* Armado *was on the Sea.*

The Queen comes to the Camp at Tilbury.

SHe cauſed alſo, ſaith he, an Army to incamp near the Sea ſide upon the River of *Thames*. After the Army was come thither, ſhe would not by any advice be ſtayed, but for comfort of her people, and to ſhew her own magnanimity of heart, ſhe went thereunto, lying at that time between the City of *London* and the Sea, under the charge of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, placing her ſelf between the Enemy and her City; and there ſhe viewed her Army, paſſing through it divers times, and lodging in the borders of it, returned again and dined in the Army. Firſt viewing from place to place the people as they were by their Countries lodged and quartered by their ſeveral Camps. Afterwards when they were all reduced into battel, prepared as it were for fight, ſhe rode round about with a Leaders ſtaff in her hand, only accompanied with the General and three or four others attending upon her: but yet to ſhew her State (I well marked it) ſhe had the ſword carried before her by the Earl of *Ormond*. There ſhe was generally ſaluted with cryes, with ſhouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readineſs, and willingneſs to fight for her, as ſeldom hath the like been ſeen in an Army, conſidering ſhe was a Queen. All which tended to ſhew a marvellous concord in a mutual love between a Queen and her Subjects, and of reverence and obedience of Subjects to their Soveraign; all which ſhe requited with very princely thanks and a good ſpeech.

I could enlarge the deſcription hereof with many more particulars of mine own ſight; for thither I went as many others did, and all that day wandring from place to place, I never heard any word ſpoken of her, but in praiſing her for her ſtately perſon and princely behaviour, and in praying for her life and ſafety, with curſing of all her Enemies, both Traitors and all Papiſts, with earneſt deſire to venture their lives for her ſafety. And beſides ſuch particular acclamations, the whole Army in every quarter did ſo devoutly at certain times ſing in her hearing, in very tunable manner, divers Pſalms put in form of prayers, in praiſe to Almighty God, no ways to be miſliked, that ſhe greatly commended them, and with very earneſt ſpeech thanked God with them. This that I write you may be ſure I do not with any comfort, but to give you theſe manifeſt arguments, that neither this Queen doth diſcontent her people, nor her people do ſhew any diſcontent in any thing they be commanded to do for her ſervice, as heretofore hath been imagined.

The ſame day wherein the laſt fight was, the Duke of *Parma*, after his Vows offered to the Lady of *Halla*, came ſomewhat late to *Dunkirk* and was received with ſome opprobrious words of the Spaniards, as if in favour of Queen *Elizabeth* he had ſlipped the faireſt opportunity that could be to do the ſervice. He to make ſome ſatisfaction, puniſhed the Purveiours that had not made proviſion of beer, bread, and victuals which was not yet ready nor imbarked, ſecretly ſmiling at the inſolency of the Spaniards, when he heard them glorying, that what way ſoever they came upon *England*, they would have an undoubted victory; that the Engliſh were not able to endure the ſight of them. *Bernardinus Mendoza* did indeed by Books in *France* ſing a fooliſh and lying triumphant ſong before the victory. The Engliſh Admiral appointed *Seimor* and the Hollanders to watch upon the coaſt of *Flanders*, that the Duke of *Parma* ſhould not come out; himſelf followed the Spaniards upon their Backs, until they were paſt *Edenborough Frith*.

For which a Papiſt ſticks not to tax him, writing upon this ſubject to *Mendoza*.

The

Anno 1588.

The *Spaniards* diſmayed flied away for fear.

And all their preparations blaſted: the *Engliſh* receiving ſmall loſs, viz. not one hundred men in all, nor one ſhip but that of *Cocks*.

The *Spaniards* ſeeing all hopes fail, and finding no other help for themſelves but by flight, fled amain and never made ſtay. And ſo this great Navy, being three years preparing with great coſt, was within a Month overthrown, and after many were killed, being chaſed away (of *Engliſh* there were not one hundred loſt, nor one Ship loſt, ſaving that of *Cocks*) was driven about al *Britain* by *Scotland*, *Orcades*, *Ireland*, toſſed and ſhaken with Tempeſts, and much leſſened, and came home without glory. Whereupon ſome Mony was coyned with a Navy fleeing away at full ſail, and this Inſcription, *Venit, Vidit, Fugit*. Other were coyned with the Ships fired, the Navy confounded, in honour of the Queen, inſcribed, *Dux fœmina facti*. As they fled, it is certain that many of their Ships were caſt away upon the ſhoars of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. More than ſeven hundred Souldiers and Mariners were caſt up upon the *Scotiſh* ſhoar, who at the Duke of *Parma* his interceſſion with the *Scots* King, the Queen of *England* conſenting, were after a year ſent into *Flanders*. But they that were caſt up upon the *Iriſh* ſhoar by Tempeſt came to more miſerable fortunes; for ſome were killed by the wild *Iriſh*, others by the Deputies command; for he fearing that they might joyn themſelves to the wild *Iriſh* (and *Bingham* the Governour of *Connaught* being once or twice commanded to ſlay them having yielded, but refuſing to do it) *Fowke* the Under-Marſhal was ſent and killed them; which cruelty the Queen much condemned; whereupon the reſt being afraid, ſick and hungry, with their torn Ships committed themſelves to the Sea, and many were drowned.

Q. *Elizabeth* giveth thanks to God for ſo unexpected a Deliverance.

Queen *Elizabeth* came in publick Thankſgiving to St. *Pauls* Church, in a Chariot drawn with two Horſes, her Nobles accompanying her with a very gallant Train through the Streets of *London* which were hung with blew Cloth: the Companies ſtanding on both ſides, were in their Liveries; the Banners that were taken from the Enemies were ſpred; She heard the Sermon, and publick Thanks were rendred unto God with great joy. This publick Joy was augmented when Sir *Robert Sidney*, returning out of *Scotland*, brought from the King aſſurance of his noble mind and affection to the Queen, and to Religion; which as in ſincerity he had eſtabliſhed, ſo he purpoſed to maintain with all his power. Sir *Robert Sidney* was ſent to him when the *Spaniſh* Fleet was coming, to congratulate and to give him thanks for his propenſe affection towards the maintenance of the common cauſe; and to declare how ready ſhe would be to help him if the *Spaniard* ſhould land in *Scotland*; and that he might recal to memory with what ſtrange ambition the *Spaniard* had gaped for all *Britain*, urging the Pope to excommunicate him, to the end that he might be thruſt from the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and from the Succeſſion in *England*: and to give him notice of the threatning of *Mendoza* and the Popes Nuncio, who threatned his ruine if they could work it; and therefore warned him to take eſpecial heed to the *Scotiſh* Papiſts.

The King pleaſantly anſwered, That he looked for no other benefit from the *Spaniard*, than that which *Polyphemus* promiſed to *Ulyſſes*, to devour him laſt after his Fellows were devoured.

To cloſe up this whole relation, hear what *Theodore Beza* writes in his certain gratulatory Verſes written in Latin, and ſent unto her Majeſty: the effect of which Verſes is this in Engliſh.

With Navy huge the Spaniard *proud*
The Engliſh *Seas had ſpread,*
And all to ſet the Engliſh *Crown*
Upon the Spaniſh *Head.*

And would you gladly underſtand
The cauſe of all this rout,
Ambition firſt did lay the Plot,
And Lucre brought them out.

How well this Pride thus puffed up
A puff did overthrow:
And ſwelling wave ſuch ſwelling Wights
How well did overflow.

How well that Warrier of Mankind,
That Spaniſh *cruel Wolf,*
Was toſt and tumbled up and down
Within the Ocean Gulf.

And you for whom both all the Winds
And all the Waters fight;
O Noble Queen, of all the World
The only true delight.

Go forward ſtill to rule for God,
Ambition laid aſide;
Go forward ſtill for Chriſt his Flock
In bounty to provide.

That thou maiſt England *govern long,*
Long England *thee enjoy,*
As well a love unto the good,
As to the bad annoy.

From *Geneva*, beſieged by the Duke of *Savoy*, the twelfth day of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1589.

Your Majeſties moſt humble Oratour,

Theodore Beza.

The death of the Duke of Guiſe, *and* Henry *the third King of* France.

IT was not long after that the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was ſlain by the Lord *Lougna* at the Kings Chamber Door, and King *Henry* the third were taken away; he being the laſt of the Houſe of *Vallois*, and dying without any lawful Heirs of his Body begotten.

The manner of whoſe death was thus. A Frier of the Order of St. *Dominick*, called *James Clement*, pretended he had matters of great conſequence to impart to the King: who being admitted into his preſence, upon his knees preſented the King with a Letter which he drew out of one ſleeve; which whilſt the King attentively read, the Frier pulled forth a poyſoned Knife out of his other ſleeve, wherewith he ſtabbed the King into the lower part of his Belly. The King feeling himſelf hurt therewith, ſnatching it out of the wound, ſtruck the ſame into the Friers eye, who haſting to get away, the King crying out. His Lords and Gentlemen perceiving what the Frier had done, ſlew him preſently with Rapiers and Swords. The King before he died, having reigned fourteen years and ſeven months, called for the King of *Navarre*, all the Princes, Lords and Noblemen, that were in his Camp, and declared that the King of *Navarre* was the true lawful Heir to the Crown of *France*; willing them all to acknowledge him for their King, and that notice ſhould likewiſe be given throughout all his Camp and Kingdom alſo.

The Reign of *Henry* the Fourth over the Kingdom of *France*.

Thus the Soveraign Judge of the World made way for the entrance of *Henry* the Fourth to have Dominion over the Kingdom of *France*. Now howſoever from the year 1589 to this preſent year 1598, the Churches of Chriſt have ſeen marvellous changes, and how the League for a time made many furious Onſets: yet it pleaſed God ſo to moderate things, that the faithful were preſerved from being perſecuted; yea, they obtained of their Prince many priviledges and favours. For the King in the firſt years of his Reign continuing in the profeſſion of the true Religion, wherein he had been bred and brought up, did manfully reſiſt both thoſe of the League, and the *Spaniards*, the great God of Battels bleſſing the right and juſt Wars undertaken by this Prince, to the confuſion of all his Enemies, till he fell to ſide with Popery; though the affairs of his Kingdom gained but little thereby.

A Note touching the Popes Bull.

THe Leaguers ſeeing what proſperous ſucceſs God gave King *Henry* the Fourth in his Wars undertaken againſt them, fearing that in the end all would yield unto him, they procured a new Excommunication from *Rome*, againſt him and all his faithful Subjects, cauſing

the ſame to be publiſhed at *Pontde l'Arch* in *Normandy* by, *Marcellus Luudrianus* a malapert Jeſuit. The King, being advertiſed thereof, cammanded his Court of Parliament holden at *Cane*, to proceed again Pope *Gregory* the fourteenth who ſent it, and his *Nuncio* that brought it, as againſt Tyrants, Conſpirators with Rebels, perturbers of the State, ſowers of ſeditions, and the common and Notorious Enemies of God and all goodneſs.

Then taking the Popes Bull, he cauſed it to be faſtened to a Gibbet at *Tours*, by the common Hangman of the Town, and there to be conſumed to aſhes, to the great rejoycing of all the behoders.

The Hiſtory of one Margaret Pierrone, *who choſe rather to be burned her ſelf, than willingly to burn her Bible*, Anno 1593.

THere was one *Margaret Pierrone* born in a Village of *Cambray* called *Sanſay*, who with her Husband retired into the City of the *Valincians*. Now becauſe ſhe could not endure the bad qualities of a Maid Servant of hers, ſhe was by her ſaid Maid accuſed to the new Sect-Maſters ſirnamed the Jeſuites, for that ſhe had not been in many years at the Maſs, as alſo for keeping in her houſe a Bible, in reading whereof was her whole delight. They acquainting the Magiſtrates herewith, ſhe was by and by apprehended: ſome Friends ſent her an inckling thereof beforehand once or twice, that ſhe ſhould get her ſomewhere out of the way, but the errand was not done, God having a purpoſe that ſhe ſhould bear witneſs of his truth, to fill up the number of thoſe that were to die for the name of Jeſus.

Being in Priſon, the Judges calling her before them, ſaid *Margaret*, are you not willing to return home unto your houſe, and there live with your Husband and Children? Yes ſaith ſhe, if it may ſtand with the good will of God. They added further, that they had ſo wrought with their Fathers the Jeſuites, that in doing a ſmal matter ſhe might be ſet at liberty: If, ſaith ſhe, it be not a thing contrary to Gods glory and mine own Salvation, you ſhall hear what I will ſay, No ſuch thing, *Margaret*, ſaid they: for a ſcaffold *ſhall be erected in* the chief place of the City, upon which you are to preſent your ſelf, and there to crave pardon for offending the Law; then a fire being kindled, you muſt caſt your Bible therein to be conſumed, without ſpeaking any word at all,

I pray you my Maſters tell me, ſaith ſhe, Is my Bible a good Book, or no? Yes, we confeſs it is, ſaid they; If you allow it to be good, ſaid the Woman, why would you have me caſt it into the fire? Only ſaid they, to give the Jeſuits content. Imagin it to be but paper that you burn, and then all is well enough, do ſo much for ſaving your life, and we will meddle no more with you; you may buy you another when you will.

They ſpent about two hours in perſwading her hereunto, ſhewing how ſhe might do a leſs evil, that a greater good might come of it. By the help of God, ſaith ſhe, I will never conſent to do it. What would the people ſay, when they ſee me burn my Bible? will they not exclaim and ſay, yonder is a wretched Woman indeed, that will burn the Bible wherein are contained all the Articles of our Chriſtian Faith? I will burn my Body ſure, before that I will burn my Bible.

Then ſeeing ſhe would in no ſort conform her ſelf either to the will of the Jeſuites, or to theirs, they cauſed her to be committed cloſe Priſoner, and to be fed only with Bread and Water, none to be permitted ſo much as to ſpeak unto her, thinking by this hard uſage to overcome her: but all was to no purpoſe. Being thus long ſhut up, and no news heard of her one way or other, every one imagined that they had put her to death privily. Her Judges were willing to have ſaved her life, ſending often a Doctor unto her called N. of *Vivenoyne* to turn her from her Reſolution; but he found it too hard a task for him to effect, often confeſſing to them that ſent him, that he found no cauſe at all in her why they ſhould put her to death.

But on *Wedneſday* the two and twentieth of *January* 1593. ſhe was condemned to be brought upon a ſtage ſet up in the Market place before the Town-Houſe, there to ſee her Books burnt; then her ſelf to be ſtrangled at a Poſt, and her Body dragged to the Dunghil without the City. She coming to the place, and aſcending the *Scaffold*, diſtinctly pronounced the Lords Prayer. Then ſeeing her Books burned in her preſence, ſhe uttered theſe words with and audible Voice; you burn there the Word of God, which your ſelves have acknowledged to be good and holy. Having again repeated the Lords Prayer, ſhe was ſtrangled and died peaceably in the Lord, ſo as ſhe was nothing altered in her Colour after ſhe was dead, leaving to the *Valencians* the truth of this Sentence, *Pretius in the ſight of the Lord is the Martyrdom of his Saints*; and to the Judges, and her Hangmen the Jeſuites, a perpetual corraſive to their Conſciencs. Anno 1593. Pſal. 116. 15.

An Engliſh man burned at Rome.

IN the year 1595. about the end of *May* there was executed a Young Man at *Rome* about the age of five and twenty years, who went into the Church of *Magdalen*, where beholding their behaviour, being pricked forward with Religious Zeal and conſtant Reſolution, not being able to endure the ſight of thoſe horrible impieties which were there committed amongſt them: As the Biſhop was ſetting forward to go on Proceſſion, this Young Man directed his way towards the Church Porch: and as the Proceſſion began to paſs forward he waited till the Bp. came that bare the Hoſt, and in his going forth ſtepped to the Pixe, plucking it out of his Hands, threw it to the ground, ſaying aloud, ye wretched Idolaters, do ye fall down to a Morſel of Bread? The people preſently fell upon the Young Man; yet without touching his Perſon, notwithſtanding the great ſtirr they made, he was from thence ſent to Priſon to the *Capitol*. Complaint being made thereof to Pope *Clement* the eighth touching all that which had happened; He preſently ordained that he which had done it ſhould be burned the ſame day, for an example and terrour to all his Companions. But ſome of the Popes Cardinals being then at hand, adviſed that he ſhould be detained rather a while in Priſon, to be examined by all exquiſite Tortures, to make him confeſs his fellows, and who had ſet him on. Having kept him eight days in Priſon, nothing could be drawn from him, but this ſpeech, *Such was the will of God.*

When they ſaw they could not prevail, his Inditement was framed, and his Sentence regiſtred, namely that he was to paſs from the *Capitol*, Naked unto his middle, and to wear on his head the form of a Devil, or Dragon, his Breeches painted all over with flames of fire, and thus being bound in a Cart, to be burned alive, being firſt carried in this manner about the City.

The Patient underſtanding how he was to be handled, lifting up his eyes, implored help from the Almighty; and ſeeing how he was derided of all, continued in his devotion and Prayers. He could not refrain from uttering ſowewhat againſt the life of the Cardinals and their Aſſociates, who hearing it, began to be in a rage, and that he might no longer bewray their wickedneſs, they cauſed a great Gagg to be forced into his mouth, which vexed him more then all the reſt, when he teſtified, ſaying, How ſhall I call upon my God? But he patiently ſubmitted himſelf to endure all their cruelties.

In this plight he was brought to *Magdalens*, where he had caſt down the Idol, and there one of the Hangmen cut off his hand before the door: at which the Patient being not much moved, his hand being ſet on a pole in the Cart, the two Tormentors made him feel the force of the fire, taking each of them a great torch in his hand flaming with which they ſcortched and burned his fleſh through all the City of *Rome*.

At length they arrived at the place called *Campio de Fior*, by which time the Young Man was brought into a pitiful caſe, being ſcortched all over his Body, all bliſtered and bloody, having nothing whole but his Head, which he now and then lifted up.

Being taken down out of the Cart, and ſeeing the Poſt whereunto he was to be faſtened with three Chains of Iron; he went of himſelf to the Poſt, and falling on his Knees kiſſed the Chains with which he was there to be bound till the Sacrifice ſhould be ended.

But

Anno 1601.

But before the Fire was put to him, he was urged by Friers and Prieſts to worſhip an Idol which they preſented there before him. From which turning away his face, he ſhewed unto them his conſtant reſolution to the contrary, holding on his Chriſtian courſe unto the end: which he truly teſtified; for as ſoon as the flames of Fire ſeiſed on him, bowing his head he quietly yielded up his Soul into the hands of God.

The death and Martyrdom of an old Man of Millan, *who was burned at* Rome.

THe ſame year they burned an old Man who for a long time had lien in the Inquiſitors Caves. He dyed with great conſtancy and reſolution. Before his death he was exhorted and importuned by the Monks to kiſs a Crucifix. He ſeeing their impudency, ſaid, If ye take not this Idol out of my ſight, you will conſtrain me to ſpit upon it, which when they heard, he was ſent away to the Fire, and conſumed to Aſhes.

The Troubles and Perſecution of Bartholomew Copin, *a godly and Religious Martyr of Chriſt.*

IN the year 1601. *Bartholomew Copin* of the Valley of *Luſerne* reſorted unto a place called *Aſt* in *Piemont*, with certain Merchandiſe, purpoſing to vent the ſame at a Fair there, which was to be kept the day following. It ſo fell out, that ſitting at Supper in the evening with ſundry other Merchants, one amongſt the reſt began to uſe ſome ſpeech about the diverſities of Religions, and therewithal ſpake ſomething tending to the diſgrace of thoſe of the Vallies of *Angrougne* and the Neighbour Villages.

Copin hearing ſuch ſpeeches caſt forth againſt his Brethren, as he little expected from men of that ſort, and alſo againſt their Religion, all which tended to the diſhonour of God; he feared leſt it ſhould be offenſively taken, if he ſhould not make ſome reply unto thoſe blaſphemies which he heard with his ears, and ſo anſwer him who held ſuch a diſcourſe againſt the Religion which himſelf profeſſed. He who reproved *Copin* asked, Are you one of *Vandois*? He anſwered, yes I am. And what, ſaid the other, believe you not that God is in the Hoſt? No, ſaid *Copin*. Oh, ſaid the other, ſee how falſe your Religion is? My Religion, ſaid *Copin*, is no leſs true than God is God, and as certain as I am ſure to die.

The next day *Copin* was called before the Biſhop of *Aſt*, who told him that report had been made to him of ſome offenſive ſpeeches which he had uſed the night paſt in his Lodging: and therefore it behoved him now to acknowledge his fault, if he meant to obtain pardon for the ſame, otherwiſe he muſt look to be chaſtiſed according to his demerits.

Copin anſwered, he had uttered nothing, but that which he was firſt provided to ſpeak; nor had he ſaid ought, but what he was reſolved to maintain to the hazard of his life. He affirmed that God had beſtowed upon him ſome worldly goods, as alſo a Wife and Children, but that he was not ſo glued in his affection to any of them, but he could be content to forgo them all, rather than the peace of a good Conſcience.

As touching his carriage and behaviour, if it pleaſed him, he ſaid, to make enquiry thereof among the Merchants of *Aſt*, they could all reſolve him as touching his honeſt dealing: who alſo he knew would witneſs with him, that he had wronged none in all that time he had converſed among them. And inaſmuch as he was a Merchant traffiquing in and about his lawful calling, he ought to be diſmiſſed and to be no further moleſted. For if it were lawful for Jews and Turks to trade in Fairs and Markets, and to uſe Commerce throughout *Piemont*; that favor ought much more to be permitted unto him who was a Chriſtian. And as touching the matter of Religion, whereabout he was accuſed, he meddled not at all therewith for his own particular, but had queſtions propounded to him concerning the ſame by others: in which regard leave was granted him to anſwer and to yield a reaſon of his Faith in any place, to any whomſoever they were that ſhould ask what he thought of the ſame: yea a liberty was granted even by his Excellency to thoſe of the Valleys of *Vandoys* to anſwer any man to a queſtion demanded; provided that he proceeded not to teach and inſtruct others.

The Biſhop regarded none of theſe allegations, but commanded he ſhould be put into Priſon. The next day the Biſhops Secretary came to viſit *Copin*, teſtifying how much good will he bore him; adviſing him as a Friend, that if he acknowledged not his fault, he was in great danger of his life.

Copin anſwered, that his life was in the hands of God, and that he would never ſeek to ſave it to the prejudice of Gods glory: alſo, that he had not above two or three turns to fetch here in this world, before he arrived in Heaven; and therefore prayed God *ſo to aſſiſt him by his grace*, that he might never leave the ſtrait way which leadeth thereto. Pſal. 89. 47. 48.

A few days after he was examined by a Monk, who was an Inquiſitor, in the preſence of the Biſhop, who vexed him a long while with his ſugred diſcourſe, and by fair words endeavoured to draw him to abjure his Religion. But *Copin* reſiſted him ſtill by the holy Scriptures; ſhewing that if he ſhould now be aſhamed of Chriſt and deny him, Chriſt might juſtly be aſhamed of him, and utterly deny him before his Heavenly Father. Matth. 10.

The Monk finiſhed his diſpute with this dogged farewel, *Away thou curſed Lutheran, thou ſhalt go to all the Devils in Hell; and when thou comeſt to be tormented amongſt thoſe unclean Spirits, then wilt thou remember theſe holy admonitions which we have tendred unto thee for the ſaving of thy Soul, but thou hadſt rather go to Hell, than to reconcile thy ſelf to thy holy Mother the Church.* It is not long ſince, ſaid *Copin*, that I was reconciled to the true Church.

After many violent aſſaults they gave way for his Wife to come unto him, and with her one of his Sons promiſing them to ſet him at liberty to go home with them, if he would make amends for his fault committed, by acknowledging the ſame. They gave his Son and Wife leave, to this purpoſe, to ſtay Supper with him in Priſon: during which time he uſed many exhortations tending to patience; albeit the Wife ſhould depart to her houſe without an Husband, or the Child without his Father: for be you well aſſured, ſaid he, that God will be a better Husband and a Father unto you than ever I was or can be. For his own part, he ſaid, he was not bound to love Wife or Children more than Chriſt: beſides, they had cauſe to rejoyce, and to think him happy, that God would honour him ſo far as to bear witneſs to his Truth with the loſs of his life, and hoped, he ſaid, that God would be ſo favorable to him, as to ſupport him under any torments he was to endure for his glories ſake.

In concluſion he commended his Son and one Daughter to his Wives care, which God had given them in the married eſtate, charging her again and again to ſee them brought up vertuouſly and in the fear of God. He charged his Son to obey his Mother, ſo ſhould he be made partaker of the promiſed bleſſing. He intreated them both to pray for him, that God would fortifie him againſt all temptations. And thus having bleſſed his Son, and taken leave of his Wife, they were conducted out of the Priſon, and he ſhut up as he was before.

The Woman and her Son were diſſolved into Teares, ſighing and crying out, that it would have moved the ſtonieſt heart to Compaſſion: but this holy man, not contenting himſelf with that he had ſaid to them by word of mouth, writ unto his Wife this Letter enſuing, the original whereof ſhe hath exhibited to us, written and ſigned with the hand of the ſaid *Copin*, the inſcription thus following.

To my wel-beloved Wife, *Suſanna Copin*, from the Tower of *Luſerna*.

DEar yoke-fellow, I received much conſolation by your coming to this place, and by ſo much the more as it was beyond my expectation; and I ſuppoſe you alſo were not a little comforted that you had ſuch an opportunity offered you, as to ſup with me the laſt night, being Saturday *the 15. of* September 1601. *I know not well what they aimed at in permitting you ſo to do. But God ordereth all theſe things. But as far as I can gheſs, it ſhall be the laſt time that ever we ſhall ſup together in this life; and therefore pray to God that he will not ceaſe to be a comfort unto you. Truſt you ſtill in*

him, for he hath promiſed never to leave nor forſake thoſe that put their truſt in him. God hath endued you with wiſedom, govern your own family in ſuch ſort, that our Children Samuel *and* Martha *may be obedient unto you: whom in the name and authority of God, I command that they obey you, for ſo the bleſſing of Almighty God ſhall light upon them.*

Dear Wife, be not over penſive for me, for if God hath ordained me now to attain unto the end of my race, and that I muſt render into the hands of the Almighty my Soul, which ſo long time he hath lent me; my hope is, that of his holy and Divine mercy he will receive it into his Kingdom, for his own beloved Sons ſake Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, through whom I believe that my ſins are forgiven, for the only merit of his holy death and Paſſion. Alſo my prayer is, that he will aſſiſt me by the power of his holy Spirit unto my laſt breath.

Be fervent in Prayer, and in all other parts of Gods worſhip and ſervice, for this is the way to true bleſſedneſs. Take no care about ſending any thing unto me for theſe three weeks, and then I pray you ſend me ſome mony, if you think good, to give the Jaylor, and ſome what more for mine own neceſſaries, if it pleaſe God I live ſo long.

Iſa. 38. 5. *Alſo I pray you call to mind what I have often told you, namely how God prolonged King* Hezechias *life for fifteen years. But he hath preſerved my life much longer; for it is many years ago ſince you ſaw me at the point of death, and through Gods goodneſs I am alive; and I hope, yea I am aſſured, that he will ſo long preſerve me as ſhall be for his glory and my eternal good, through his only free-Grace.*

From the Priſon of *Aſt*, the ſixteenth of *September*, 1601.

The Biſhop of *Aſt* was ſomewhat troubled about this his Priſoner; for if he had let him go, he feared it would breed ſome ſcandal, and many might thereby be emboldned to open their mouths wide againſt the Roman Religion. Beſides, there was a Clauſe in the Contract made between his Excellency and the People of *Vandois*, which exempted thoſe of the Religion from offence, in theſe words; And if it ſhall fall out that they be asked or queſtioned withal in *Piemont*, about the cauſe of Religion, by any of his Excellencies Subjects, it ſhall be lawful for thoſe of the ſaid Religion to anſwer without ſuffering any penal or perſonal puniſhment for the ſame.

Now *Copin* had a queſtion put to him, in which reſpect he ought to have been cleared. But the Biſhop would by no means hear that he had unjuſtly impriſoned him; and therefore that his death ſhould not be laid to his charge, nor yet that he ſhould be ſent away abſolved, he ſent the cauſe of his Endictment to Pope *Clement* the eighth, to know what ſhould be done with him. We cannot learn what anſwer the Pope returned to the Biſhop; but not long after this good man was found dead in Priſon, not without ſome apparent ſuſpition of his being ſtrangled there; leſt if they had executed him in publick, the People ſhould have been edified by his conſtancy.

Being dead, he was condemned to be burned, and therefore having cauſed him to be brought out of Priſon, they read his Sentence openly, and the Body was caſt into the fire.

Thus have you the laſt among the *Vandois*, which is come to our knowledge, that were perſecuted to death for the cauſe of Religion.

Mention hath heretofore been often made of ſundry bloody Maſſacres in forein parts; but we are now come to fall upon the report of a buſineſs near home, which if the moſt wiſe and watchful providence of God had not timely and graciouſly prevented, it would have (to the ruine of our Church and State) proved ſuch a Maſſacre, the like whereof the Heart of man never conceived, the Ear of man never heard of, nor the Tongue or Peſt of man could ſcarſe ever have uttered; namely, at one blow to have blown up not only the King, Queen, and Royal poſterity, but the whole body of the State in general. Now as the Church and State had each of them a ſhare in this ſo admirable a deliverance from God upon the fifth day of *November*, *Anno* 1605. ſo each of them ſhewed their care, if it might be, for ever to perpetuate the praiſe of God for the ſame on the ſaid day; the one by ſtabliſhing an Act of Parliament for it; the other by publiſhing a form of thanksgiving the better to effect it; ſome expreſſion whereof the Reader may hap to meet with at the end of the diſcourſe following. Anno 1605.

A diſcourſe touching the manner of the diſcovery of the Powder-Treaſon, with the Examination of ſome of the Priſoners.

WHile this Land and whole Monarchy flouriſhed in a moſt happy and plentiful peace, as well at home as abroad, ſuſtained and conducted by theſe two main Pillars of all good government, Piety and Juſtice, no forain grudge, nor inward whiſpering of diſcontentment any way appearing; the King being upon his return from his hunting exerciſe at *Royſton*, upon occaſion of the drawing near of the Parliament time, which had been twice porogued already; partly in regard of the ſeaſon of the year, and partly of the Term; as the winds are ever ſtilleſt immediately before a ſtorm; and as the Sun blenks often hotteſt to foretel a following ſhowr; ſo at that time of greateſt calm did that ſecretly hatched Thunder begin to caſt forth the firſt flaſhes and flaming Lightnings of the approaching Tempeſt. For the *Saturday* of the week immediately preceding the Kings return, which was upon a *Thurſday* (being but ten days before the Parliament) the Lord *Mountegle* Son and heir to the Lord *Morley*, being in his own Lodging ready to go to Supper at ſeven of the Clock at night, one of his Footmen (whom he had ſent of an Errand over the ſtreet) was met by an unknown man of a reaſonable tall perſonage, who delivered him a Letter, charging him to put it in my Lord his Maſters hands. Which my Lord no ſooner received, but that having broken it up, and perceiving the ſame to be of an unknown and ſomewhat unlegible hand, and without either date or ſubſcription, did call one of his men unto him for helping him to read it. But no ſooner did he conceive the ſtrange contents thereof, although he was ſomewhat perplexed what conſtruction to make of it (as whether of a matter of conſequence, as indeed it was, or whether ſome fooliſh deviſed Paſquil by ſome of his Enemies to skare him from his attendance at the Parliament) yet did he as a moſt dutiful and loyal Subject conclude, not to conceal it, what ever might come of it. Whereupon, notwithſtanding the lateneſs and darkneſs of the night in that ſeaſon of the year, he preſently repaired to his Majeſties Palace at *White-Hall*, and there delivered the ſame to the Earl of *Salisbury* his Majeſties principal Secretary. Whereupon the ſaid Earl of *Salisbury* having read the Letter, and heard the manner of the coming of it to his hands, did greatly encourage and commend my Lord for his diſcretion; telling him plainly, that whatſoever the purpoſe of the Letter might prove hereafter, yet did this accident put him in mind of divers advertiſements he had received from beyond the Seas, wherewith he had acquainted as well the King himſelf, as divers of his privy Counſellors, concerning ſome buſineſs the Papiſts were in both at home and abroad, making preparation for ſome combination among them againſt this Parliament time, for enabling them to deliver at that time to the King ſome Petition for toleration of Religion: which ſhould be delivered in ſome ſuch order, and ſo well backed, as the King ſhould be loth to refuſe their requeſt. Like the ſturdy Beggars, craving Alms with one open hand, but carrying a ſtone in the other, in caſe of refuſal. And therefore did the Earl of *Salisbury* conclude with the Lord *Mountegle*, that he would in regard of the Kings abſence impart the ſame Letter to ſome more of his Majeſties Councel; whereof my Lord *Mountegle* liked well; only adding this requeſt by way of proteſtation, that whatſoever the event hereof might prove, it ſhould not be imputed to him, as proceeding from too light and too ſuddain an apprehenſion, that he delivered this Letter, being only moved thereunto for demonſtration of his ready devotion and care for preſervation of his Majeſty and the State. And thus did the Earl of *Salisbury* preſently acquaint the Lord Chamberlain with the ſaid Letter. Whereupon they two in the preſence of the Lord *Mountele*,

A Letter delivered to the Lord *Mountegle*.

Revealed to the Earl of *Salisbury*.

Purpoſe of the Papiſts for delivering petition to his Majeſty to crave toleration of Religion.

The Lord Chamberlain made privy to the Letter by the Earl of *Salisbury*.

Anno 1605.

Mountegle, calling to mind the former intelligence already mentioned, which ſeemed to have ſome relation with this Letter: The tender care which they ever carried to the preſervation of his Majeſties Perſon, made them apprehend, that ſome perillous attempt did thereby appear to be intended againſt the ſame; which did the more nearly concern the ſaid Lord Chamberlain to have a care of, in regard that it doth belong to the charge of his Office to overſee as well all places of Aſſembly where his Majeſty is to repair, as his Highneſs own private Houſes. And therefore did the ſaid two Counſellors conclude, that they ſhould joyn unto themſelves three more of the Councel, to wit, the Lord *Admiral*, the Earls of *Worceſter* and *Northampton*, to be alſo particularly acquainted with this accident: who having all of them concurred together to the re-examination of the Contents of the ſaid Letter, they did conclude, that how ſlight a matter it might at the firſt appear to be, yet was it not abſolutely to be contemned, in reſpect of the care which it behooved them to have of the preſervation of his Majeſties Perſon:

Thought meet by the Counſellors to acquaint the King with the Letter.

Wherefore they reſolved for two reaſons, firſt to acquaint the King himſelf with the ſame before they proceeded to any further inquiſition in the matter, as well for the expectation and experience they had of his Majeſties fortunate Judgment in clearing of obſcure Riddles and doubtful Myſteries; as alſo becauſe the more time would in the mean while be given for the Practiſe to ripen, if any was, whereby the diſcovery might be the more clear and evident, and the ground of proceeding thereupon more ſafe, juſt, and eaſie. And ſo according to their determination did the ſaid Earl of *Salisbury* repair to the King in his Gallery on *Friday*, being *Alhallow-day*, in the afternoon, which was the day after his Majeſties arrival, and none but himſelf being preſent with his Highneſs at that time, where without any other ſpeech or judgment given of the Letter, but only relating ſimply the form of the delivery thereof, he preſented it to his Majeſty, the Contents whereof follow.

Upon *Alhallow-day* the Earl of *Salisbury*, ſhewed the Letter to the King.

MY Lord, out of the love I bear ſome of your Friends, I have a care of your preſervation. Therefore, I would adviſe you as you tender your life, to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of this time. And think not ſlightly of this advertiſement, but retire your ſelf into your Country, where you may expect the event in ſafety. For though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet I ſay, they ſhall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is paſt ſo ſoon as you have burnt the Letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good uſe of it: To whoſe holy Protection I commend you.

His Majeſties judgment of the Letter.

The King no ſooner read the Letter, but after a little pauſe, and then reading it over again, he delivered his judgment of it in ſuch ſort, as he thought it was not to be contemned, for that the ſtile of it ſeemed to be more quick, and pithy, then is uſual to be in any Paſquil, or Libel (the ſuperfluities of idle Brains.) But the Earl of *Salisbury* perceiving the King to apprehend it deeplier then he looked for, knowing his nature, told him that he thought by one Sentence in it, that it was like to be written by ſome fool or mad man, reading to him this Sentence in it, *For the danger is paſt ſo ſoon as you have burnt the Letter*, which he ſaid was like to be the ſaying of a fool: for if the danger was paſt ſo ſoon as the Letter was burnt, then the warning behooved to be of little avail, when the burning of the Letter might make the danger to be eſchewed. But the King on the contrary conſidering the former Sentence in the Letter, *That they ſhould receive a terrible blow at this Parliament, and yet ſhould not ſee who hurt them*, joyning it to the Sentence immediately following, already alledged, did thereupon conjecture, That the danger mentioned ſhould be ſome ſuddain danger by blowing up of Powder: For no other Inſurrection, Rebellion, or whatſoever other private and deſperate Attempt could be committed or attempted in time of Parliament, and the Authors thereof unſeen, except only it were by a blowing up of Powder, which might be performed by one baſe Knave in a dark Corner; whereupon he was moved to interpret and conſtrue the latter Sentence in the Letter (alledged by the Earl of *Salisbury*) againſt all ordinary ſence and conſtruction in Grammar, as if by theſe words, *For the danger is paſt ſo ſoon as you have burnt the Letter*, ſhould be cloſely underſtood the ſuddainty and quickneſs of the danger, which ſhould be as quickly performed and at an end, as that Paper ſhould be blazing up in the fire; turning that word of As ſoon, to the ſence of, As quickly: and therefore wiſhed, that before his going to the Parliament, the under Rooms of the Parliament-houſe might be well and narrowly ſearched. But the Earl of *Saoisbury* wondering at this his Majeſties commentary, which he knew to be ſo far contrary to his ordinary and natural diſpoſition, who did rather even ſin upon the other ſide, in not apprehending, nor truſting due advertiſement of practiſes and Perils when he was truly informed of them, whereby he had many times drawn himſelf into many deſperate dangers: and interpreting rightly this extraordinary Caution at this time to proceed from the Vigilant care he had of the whole State, more than of his own Perſon, which could not but have all periſhed together, if this deſignment had ſucceeded: He thought good to diſſemble ſtill unto the King, that there had been any juſt cauſe of ſuch apprehenſion; and ending the purpoſe with ſome merry jeſt on this Subject, as his cuſtome is, took his leave for that time. But though he ſeemed ſo to neglect it ſo his Majeſty, yet his cuſtomable and watchful care of the King and the State ſtill boyling within him; And having with the bleſſed Virgin *Mary* laid up in his heart the Kings ſo ſtrange judgment and conſtruction of it; he could not be at reſt till he acquainted the foreſaid Lords what had paſſed between the King and him in private.

His Majeſties Opinion for ſearching of the under Rooms of the Parliament houſe.

Whereupon they were all ſo earneſt to renew again the memory of the ſame purpoſe unto his Majeſty, as it was agreed that he ſhould the next day, being *Saturday*, repair to his Highneſs which he did in the ſaid privy Gallery, and renewed the memory thereof, the Lord Chamberlain then being preſent with the King. At what time it was determined, that the ſaid L. Chamberlain ſhould, according to his cuſtome and Office, view all the Parliament Houſes, both above and below, and conſider what likelihood or appearance of any ſuch danger might poſſible be gathered by the ſight of them: but yet as well for ſtaying of idle Rumors, as for being the more able to diſcern any myſtery, the nearer that things were in readineſs, his Journey thither was ordained to be deferred till the afternoon before the ſitting down of the Parliament, which was upon the *Monday* following. At wha time he (according to this concluſion) went to the Parliament houſe, accompanied with my Lord *Mountegle*, being in Zeal to the Kings Service earneſt and curious to ſee the event of that accident whereof he had the fortune to be the firſt diſcoverer: where, having viewed all the lower Rooms, he found in the vault under the upper Houſe great ſtore and proviſion of Billets, Faggots, and Coals: and inquiring of *Whyneard* Keeper of the *Wardrobe*, to what uſe he had put thoſe lower Rooms and Cellars; he told him that *Thomas Percy* had hired both the Houſe and part of the Cellar or Vault under the ſame, and that the Wood and Coal, under which were hidden thirty ſix Barrels of Powder great and ſmall, beſides great Bars of Iron, pieces of Timber, and maſſie Stones covered over with Fagots therein, was the ſaid Gentlemans own proviſion. Whereupon the Lord Chamberlain, caſting his eye aſide, perceived a fellow ſtanding in a Corner there, calling himſelf the ſaid *Percies* man and Keeper of that Houſe for him, but indeed was *Guido Fawkes*, the owner of that hand which ſhould have acted that monſtrous and helliſh Tragedy.

The determination to ſearch the Parliament houſe and the Rooms under it.

Wood and Coal found by the L. Chamberlain in the Vault.

A terrible blow indeed at once to have wracked. King, Queen, Prince, and Progeny, Religion, State, and all.

The Lord Chamberlain looking upon all things with a heedful indeed, yet, in outward appearance, with but a careleſs and reckleſs eye, (as became ſo wiſe and diligent a Miniſter) he preſently addreſſed himſelf to the King in the privy Gallery, where in the preſence of the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Admiral, the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Northampton*, and *Salisbury* he made his report, what he had ſeen and obſerved there; noting that *Monteagle* had told him, That he no ſooner heard *Tho. Percy* named

named to be the poſſeſſor of that Houſe; but conſidering both his backwardneſs in Religion, and the old dearneſs in friendſhip between himſelf and the ſaid *Percy*, he did greatly ſuſpect the matter, and that the Letter ſhould come from him. The ſaid Lord Chamberlain alſo told, That he did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great proviſion of Wood and Coal in that Houſe, where *Thomas Percy* had ſo ſeldom occaſion to remain; as likewiſe it gave him in his mind, that this man looked like a very tall and deſperate Fellow.

The Lord Chamberlains report and judgment of what he had obſerved in the ſearch.

This could not but increaſe the Kings former apprehenſion and jealouſie: whereupon he inſiſted (as before) that the Houſe was narrowly to be ſearched, and that thoſe Billets and Coals would be ſearched to the bottom, it being moſt ſuſpicious that they were laid there only for covering of the Powder. Of this ſame mind alſo were all the Counſellors then preſent. But upon the faſhion of making of the ſearch was it long debated: for upon the one ſide they were all ſo jealous of the Kings ſafety, that they all agreed, that there could not be too much caution uſed for preventing his danger. And yet upon the other part they were all extream loath and dainty, that in caſe this Letter ſhould prove to be nothing but the evaporation of an idle Brain; then a curious ſearch being made, and nothing found, ſhould not only turn to the general ſcandal of the King and the State, as being ſo ſuſpicious of every light and frivolous toy, but likewiſe lay an ill-ſavoured imputation upon the Earl of *Northumberland*, one of his Majeſties greateſt Subjects and Counſellors, this *Thomas Percy* being his Kinſman and moſt confident Familiar. And the rather were they curious upon this point, knowing how far the King deteſted to be thought ſuſpicious or jealous of any his good Subjects, though of the meaneſt degree. And therefore though they all agreed upon the main ground, which was to provide for the ſecurity of the Kings perſon, yet did they much differ in the circumſtances, by which this action might be beſt carried with leaſt din and occaſion of ſlander. But the King himſelf ſtill perſiſting that there were divers ſhrewd appearances, and that a narrow ſearch of thoſe places could prejudge no man that was innocent, he at laſt plainly reſolved them, that either muſt all the parts of thoſe Rooms be narrowly ſearched, and no poſſibility of danger *left unexamined, or elſe* he and they all muſt reſolve not to meddle in it at all, but plainly to go the next day to the Parliament, and leave the ſucceſs to Fortune; which he believed they would be loth to take upon their Conſciences: for in ſuch a caſe as this, an half doing was worſe than no doing at all. Whereupon it was at laſt concluded, That nothing ſhould be left unſearched in thoſe Houſes: and yet for the better colour and ſtay of rumor, in caſe nothing were found, it was thought meet, that upon a pretence of *Whyneards* miſſing ſome of the Kings Stuff or Hangings which he had in keeping, all theſe Rooms ſhould be narrowly ripped for them. And to this purpoſe was Sir *Thomas Knevet* (a Gentleman of his Majeſties privy Chamber) imployed, being a Juſtice of Peace in *Weſtminſter*, and one, of whoſe ancient fidelity both the late Queen and our now Soveraign have had large proof: who, according to the truſt committed unto him, went about the Midnight next after to the *Parliament-Houſe*, accompanied with a ſmall number as was fit for that Errand. But before his entry into the Houſe, finding *Thomas Percies* alleadged Man ſtanding without the doors, his Cloaths and Boots on at ſo dead a time of the Night, he reſolved to apprehend him, as he did, and afterward went forward to the ſearching of the Houſe, where after he had cauſed to be overturned ſome of the Billets and Coals, he firſt found one of the ſmall Barrels of Powder, and after all the reſt, to the number of thirty ſix Barrels, great and ſmall. And thereafter ſearching the Fellow whom he had taken, found three Matches, and all other Inſtruments fit for blowing up the Powder ready upon him, which made him inſtantly confeſs his own guiltineſs, declaring alſo unto him, That if he had happened to be within the Houſe when he took him, as he was immediately before (at the ending of his work) he would not have failed to have blown him up, Houſe and all.

Diſputation about the manner of the further ſearch.

Agreed that the ſearch, ſhould be under colour of ſeeking for Ward-rob eStuff miſſed by *Whyneard*.

Fawx found at Midnight without the Houſe.

Thus after Sir *Thomas* had cauſed the Wretch to be ſurely bound, and well guarded by the Company he had brought with him, he himſelf returned back to the Kings Palace, and gave warning of his ſucceſs to the Lord Chamberlain and Earl of *Salisbury*; who immediately warning the reſt of the Council that lay in the Houſe, as ſoon as they could get themſelves ready, came with their fellow Counſellors to the Kings Bedchamber, being at that time near four of the Clock in the Morning. And at the firſt entry at the Kings Chamber-door, the Lord Chamberlain, being not any longer able to conceal his joy for the preventing of ſo great a danger, told the King in a confuſed haſte, that all was found and diſcovered, and the Traytor in hands and faſt bound.

Anno 1605.

Then, order being firſt taken for ſending for the reſt of the Council that lay in the Town, the Priſoner himſelf was brought into the Houſe, where in reſpect of the ſtrangeneſs of the Accident, no man was ſtaid from the ſight or ſpeaking with him. And within a while after the Council did examine him; who ſeeming to put on a *Roman* Reſolution, did both to the Council and to every other perſon that ſpake with him that day, appear ſo conſtant and ſetled upon his grounds, as we had all thought we had found ſome new *Mutius Scævola* born in *England*; for notwithſtanding the horrour of the Fact, the guilt of his Conſcience, his ſudden ſurpriſing, the terror which ſhould have been ſtricken in him by coming into the preſence of ſo grave a Council, and the reſtleſs and confuſed queſtions that every man all that day did vex him with; yet was his countenance ſo far from being dejected, as he often ſmiled in ſcornful manner, not only avowing the Fact, but repenting only, with the ſaid *Scævola*, his failing in the exeuution thereof, whereof he ſaid the Devil and not God was the diſcoverer; anſwering quickly to every mans objection, ſcoffing at any idle queſtions which were propounded to him, and jeſting at ſuch as he thought had no authority to examine him.

All that day could the Council get nothing out of him touching his Complices, refuſing to anſwer to any ſuch queſtions as he thought might diſcover the Plot, and laying all the blame upon himſelf; whereunto he ſaid he was moved only for Religion and Conſcience ſake, denying the King to be his lawful Soveraign, or the Anointed of God, in reſpect he was an Heretick; and giving himſelf no other name than *John Johnſon*, Servant to *Thomas Percy*. But the next Morning being carried to the *Tower* of *London*, he did not there remain above two or three days, being twice or thrice in that ſpace re-examined, and the Rack only offered and ſhewed unto him, when the Mask of his *Roman* fortitude did viſibly begin to wear and ſlide off his Face; and then did he begin to confeſs part of the truth, and thereafter to open the whole matter, as doth appear by his Depoſitions immediately following.

The true Copy of the declaration of Guido Fawkes, *taken in the preſence of the Counſellors whoſe Names are underwritten.*

I Confeſs that a practice in general was firſt broken unto me againſt his Majeſty, for relief of the Catholick Cauſe, and not invented or propounded by my ſelf. And this was firſt propounded unto me about *Eaſter* laſt was Twelve-month, beyond the Seas, in the *Low-Countries* of the Archdukes obeiſance, by *Thomas Winter*, who came thereupon with me into *England*, and there we imparted our purpoſe to three other Gentlemen more, namely, *Robert Catesby*, *Thomas Percy*, and *John Wright*: who all five conſulting together of the means how to execute the ſame, and taking a Vow among our ſelves for ſecrecy (which Vow was this, *You ſhall ſwear by the bleſſed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpoſe to receive, never to diſcloſe directly or indirectly, by word or circumſtance, the matter that ſhall be propoſed to you to keep ſecret; nor deſiſt from the execution thereof until the reſt ſhall give you leave*: After which, being confeſſed and receiving Abſolution, the forementioned received the Sacrament thereupon, by the hands of *Gerrard* the Jeſuit there preſent) *Catesby* propounded to have it performed by Gunpowder, and by making a Mine under the upper Houſe of Parliament: which place we made choice of the rather, becauſe Religion having been unjuſtly ſuppreſſed there, it was fitteſt that juſtice and puniſhment ſhould be executed there.

This

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This being reſolved amongſt us, *Thomas Percy* hired a Houſe at *Weſtminſter* for that purpoſe, near adjoyning to the *Parliament-Houſe*, and there we begun to make our Mine about the 11. of *December* 1604.

The five that firſt entred into the work were *Thomas Percy*, *Robert Catesby*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Wright*, and my ſelf: and ſoon after we took unto us *Chriſtopher Wright*, having ſworn him alſo, and taken the Sacrament for ſecrecy.

When we came to the very foundation of the Wall of the Houſe, which was about three yards thick, and found it a matter of great difficulty, we took unto us another Gentleman, *Robert Winter*, in like manner with Oath and Sacrament as aforeſaid.

It was about *Chriſtmas* when we brought our Mine to the Wall, and about *Candlemas* we had wrought the Wall half through; and whilſt they were in working I ſtood as Sentinel to deſcry any man that came near, whereof I gave them warning, and ſo they ceaſed until I gave notice again to proceed.

All we ſeven lay in the Houſe, having Shot and Powder, being reſolved to die in that place, before we ſhould yield or be taken.

As they were working upon the Wall, they heard a ruſhing in the Cellar of removing of Coals, whereupon we feared we had been diſcovered, and they ſent me to go to the Cellar; who finding the Coals were a ſelling, and that the Cellar was to be lett, viewing the commodity thereof for our purpoſe, *Percy* went and hired the ſame for yearly Rent.

We had before this provided and brought into the Houſe twenty Barrels of Powder, which we removed into the Cellar, and covered the ſame with Billets and Faggots, which were provided for that purpoſe.

About *Eaſter*, the Parliament being prorogued till *October* next, we diſperſed our ſelves, and I retired into the *Low-Countries*, by advice and direction of the reſt, as well to acquaint *Owen* with the particulars of the Plot, as alſo leſt by my longer ſtay I might have grown ſuſpicious and ſo have come in queſtion.

In the mean time *Percy* having the Key of the Cellar, laid in more Powder and Wood into it. I returned about the beginning of *September* next, and then receiving the Key again of Mr. *Percy*, we brought in more Powder and Billets to cover the ſame again; and ſo I went for a time into the Country till the 30*th* of *October*.

It was further reſolved amongſt us, that the ſame day that this act ſhould have been performed, ſome other of our Confederates ſhould have ſurprized the perſon of the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings eldeſt Daughter, who was kept in *Warwickſhire* at the Lord *Harringtons* Houſe, and preſently have proclaimed her Queen, having a project of a Proclamation ready for that purpoſe; wherein we made no mention of altering Religion, or would have avowed the deed to be ours, until we ſhould have had power enough to make our party good, and then we would have avowed both.

Concerning Duke *Charles* the Kings ſecond Son, we had ſundry conſultations how to ſeize on his Perſon. But becauſe we found no means how to compaſs it (the Duke being kept near *London*, where we had not forces enough) we reſolved to ſerve our turn with the Lady *Elizabeth*.

The Names of other principal Perſons, that were made privy afterwards to this horrible Conſpiracy.

Everard Digby, Knight.
Ambroſe Rookewood,
Francis Treſham,
John Grant,
Robert Keyes.

Commiſſioners.

Nottingham, *Worceſter*,
Suffolk, *Devonſhire*,
Northampton, *Salisbury*,
Marre, *Dunbar*,
Popham.

Edw. Coke,

W. Waad.

And in regard that before this Diſcourſe could be ready to go to the Preſs, *Thomas Winter* being apprehended and brought to the *Tower*, made a Confeſſion in ſubſtance agreeing with this former of *Fawkes*, only larger in ſome circumſtances: I have thought good to inſert the ſame likewiſe in this place, for the further clearing of the matter and greater benefit of the Reader.

Thomas Winters *Confeſſion, taken the three and twentieth of* November, *in the year* 1605, *in the preſence of the Counſellors, whoſe Names are under-written.*

My moſt Honourable Lords,

NOt out of hope to obtain pardon; for ſpeaking of my temporal part, I may ſay, The fault is greater than can be forgiven; nor affecting here the title of a good Subject; for I muſt redeem my Country from as great a danger, as I have hazarded the bringing of her into, before I can purchaſe any ſuch opinion: only at your Honours command I will briefly ſet down mine Accuſation, and how far I have proceeded in this buſineſs, which I ſhall the faithfuller do, ſince I ſee ſuch courſes are not pleaſing to Almighty God, and that all or the moſt material parts have been already confeſſed.

I remained with my Brother in the Country from *Alhallontide* until the beginning of *Lent*, in the year of our Lord 1603. the firſt year of the Kings Reign; about which time Mr. *Catesby* ſent thither, intreating me to come to *London*, where he and other my Friends would be glad to ſee me. I deſired him to excuſe me: for I found my ſelf not very well diſpoſed; and (which had happened never to me before) returned the Meſſenger without my company. Shortly I received another Letter, in any wiſe to come. At the ſecond Summons I preſently came up, and found him with Mr. *John Wright* at *Lambeth*, where he brake with me, how neceſſary it was not to forſake our Country (for he knew then I had a reſolution to go over) but to deliver her from the ſervitude in which ſhe remained, or at leaſt to aſſiſt her with our uttermoſt endeavours. I anſwered, that I had often hazarded my life upon far lighter terms, and now would not refuſe any good occaſion, wherein I might do ſervice to the Catholick Cauſe; but for my ſelf I knew no mean probable to ſucceed. He ſaid, that he had bethought him of a way at one inſtant to deliver us from all our bonds, and without any foreign help to replant again the Catholick Religion; and withal told me in a word, It was to blow up the *Parliament-Houſe* with Gunpowder; for, ſaid he, in that place have they done us all the miſchief, and perchance God hath deſigned that place for their puniſhment. I wondered at the ſtrangeneſs of the conceit, and told him, that true it was this ſtrake at the root, and would breed a confuſion fit to beget new alterations: but if it ſhould not take effect, (as moſt of this nature miſcarried) the ſcandal would be ſo great which the Catholick Religion might hereby ſuſtain, as not only our Enemies, but our Friends alſo would with good reaſon condemn us. He told me, The nature of the diſeaſe required ſo ſharp a remedy, and asked me if would give conſent. I told him, yes, in this or what elſe ſoever, if he reſolved upon it, I would venture my life. But I propoſed many difficulties, as want of an Houſe, and of one to carry the Mine, noiſe in the working, and ſuch like. His anſwer was, Let us give an attempt, and where it faileth paſs no further. But firſt, quoth he, becauſe we will leave no peaceable and quiet way untried, you ſhall go over and inform the Conſtable of the ſtate of the Catholicks here in *England*, intreating him to ſolicite his Majeſty at his coming hither, that the penal Laws may be recalled, and we admitted into the rank of his other Subjects; withal, you may bring over ſome confident Gentle-

Gentleman, ſuch as you ſhall underſtand beſt able for this buſineſs, and named unto me Maſter *Fawkes*. Shortly after I paſſed the Sea, and found the Conſtable at *Bergben* near *Dunkirk*, where by help of Maſter *Owen* I delivered my meſſage. Whoſe anſwer was, that he had ſtrict command from his Maſter, to do all good offices for the Catholicks, and for his own part he thought himſelf bound in Conſcience ſo to do, and that no good occaſion ſhould be omitted, but ſpake to him nothing of this matter.

Returning to *Dunkirk* with Maſter *Owen*, we had ſpeech whether he thought the Conſtable would faithfully help us, or no. He ſaid, he believed nothing leſs, and that they ſought only their own ends, holding ſmall account of Catholicks, I told him that there were many Gentlemen in *England*, who would not forſake their Countrey until they had tryed their uttermoſt, and rather venture their lives, then forſake her in this miſery. And to add one more to our number as a fit man both for Counſel and execution of whatſoever we ſhould reſolve, we wiſhed for Mr. *Fawkes*, whom I had heard good commendations of; hee told me the Gentleman deſerved no leſs, but was at *Bruſſels*, and that if he came not, as happily he might, before my departure, he would ſend him ſhortly after into *England*. I went ſoon after to *Oſtend*, where Sir *William Stanley* as then was not, but came two days after. I remained with him three or four days, in which time I asked him if the Catholicks in *England* ſhould do any thing to help themſelves, whether hee thought the Archduke would ſecond them? He anſwered, no: for all thoſe parts were ſo deſirous of peace with *England*, as they would endure no ſpeech of other enterpriſe; neither were it fit, ſaid he, to ſet any project afoot now the peace is upon concluding. I told him there was no ſuch reſolution, and ſo fell to diſcourſe of other matters, until I came to ſpeak of Maſter *Fawkes*, whoſe company I wiſhed over into *England*. I asked of his ſufficiency in the Wars, and told him we ſhould need ſuch as he if occaſion required; he gave very good Commendations of him. And as we were thus diſcourſing, and I ready to depart from *Newport*, and taking my leave of Sir *William*, Maſter *Fawkes* came into our company, newly returned, and ſaluted us. This is the Gentleman, ſaid Sir *William*, that we wiſhed for, and ſo we embraced again. I told him, ſome good friends of his wiſhed his company in *England*, and that if he pleaſed to come to *Dunkirk*, we would have further conference, whither I was then going: ſo taking my leave of them both, I departed. About two days after came Maſter *Fawkes* to *Dunkirk*, where I told him that we were upon a reſolution to do ſomewhat with *England*, if the peace with *Spain* helped us not, but had as yet reſolved upon nothing; ſuch or the like talk we paſſed at *Graveling*, where I lay for a wind, and when it ſerved we came both in one paſſage to *Greenwich*, near which place we took a pair of Oars, and ſo came up to *London*, and came to Maſter *Catesby* whom we found in his lodging; hee welcomed us into *England*, and asked me what news from the Conſtable. I told him, good words, but I feared the deeds would not anſwer. This was the beginning of *Eaſter* Term, and about the midſt of the Term (whether ſent for by Maſter *Catesby*, or upon ſome buſineſs of his own) up came Maſter *Thomas Percy*. The firſt word he ſpoke (after he came into our company) was, ſhall we always (Gentlemen) talk, and never do any thing? Maſter *Catesby* took him aſide, and had ſpeech about ſomewhat to be done, ſo as firſt we might all take an Oath of Secrecy, which we reſolved within two or three days to do; ſo as there we met behind St. *Clements*, Mr. *Catesby*, Mr. *Percy*, Maſter *Wright*, Maſter *Guy Fawkes*, and my ſelf; and having upon a Primer given each other the Oath of Secrecy, in a Chamber where no other body was, wee went after into the next Room, and heard Maſs, and received the bleſſed Sacrament upon the ſame. Then did Maſter *Catesby* diſcloſe to Maſter *Percy*, and I together with *John Wright* tell to Maſter *Fawkes* the buſineſs for which we took this Oath, which they both approved. And then was Maſter *Percy* ſent to take the Houſe which Maſter *Catesby* in mine abſence had learned did belong to one *Ferris*, which with ſome difficulty in the end he obtained, and became as *Ferris* before was, Tenant to *Whynniard*. Maſter *Fawkes* underwent the name of Maſter *Percies* man, calling him *Johnſon*, becauſe is name was the moſt unknown, and received the keyes of the Houſe, until we heard that the Parliament was adjorned to the ſeventh of *February*. At which time we all departed ſeveral ways into the Countrey, to meet again at the beginning at *Michaelmas* Term. Before this time alſo it was thought convenient to have a Houſe that might anſwer to Maſter *Percies*, where we might make proviſion of Powder and Wood for the Mine, which being there in a night made ready, ſhould in a night be conveied by Boat to the houſe by the Parliament, becauſe we were loth to foyl that with often going in and out. There was none that we could deviſe ſo fit as *Lambeth*, where Maſter *Catesby* often lay; and to be keeper thereof (by Maſter *Catesbys* choiſe) we received into the number, *Keyes*, as a truſty honeſt man: this was about a Month before *Michaelmas*.

Anno 1605.

Some fortnight after towards the beginning of the Term, Maſter *Fawkes* and I came to Maſter *Catesby* at *Moorecrofts*, where we agreed that now was time to begin and ſet things in order for the Mine. So Maſter *Fawkes* went to *London*, and the next day ſent for mee to come over to him; when I came, the cauſe was, for that the Scotiſh Lords were appointed to ſit in conference of the Union in Maſter *Percies* Houſe. This hindred our beginning until a fortnight before *Chriſtmas*, by which time both Mr. *Percy* and maſter *Wright* were come to *London*, and we againſt their coming had provided a good part of the powder; ſo as we all five entred with Tools fit to begin our work, having provided our ſelves of Baked meats, the leſs to need ſending abroad. We entred late in the night, and were never ſeen, ſave onely Maſter *Percies* man, until *Chriſtmas* Eve. In which time we wrought under a little Entry to the wall of the Parliament houſe, and underpropped it, as we went, with wood.

Whileſt we were together, we began to faſhion our buſineſs, and diſcourſed what we ſhould do after this deed was done. The firſt queſtion was how we might ſurpriſe the next Heir a the Prince happily would be at the Parliament with the King his Father, how ſhould we then be able to ſeize on the Duke? This Burthen Mr. *Percy* undertook, that by his acquaintance, he, with another Gentleman, would enter the Chamber without ſuſpition, and having ſome dozen others at ſeveral Doors to expect his coming, and two or three on Horsback at the Court Gate to receive him, he would undertake (the blow being given, until which he would attend in the Dukes Chamber) to carry him ſafe away: for he ſuppoſed moſt of the Court would be abſent, and ſuch as were there, not ſuſpecting, or unprovided for any ſuch matter. For the Lady *Elizabeth*, it were eaſie to ſurpriſe her in the Country by drawing Friends together at an hunting near the Lord *Harringtons*, and *Aſhby* Mr. *Catebys* houſe, being not farr off, was a fit place for preparation.

The next was for Mony and Horſes, which if we could provide in any reaſonable meaſure (having the Heir apparent, and the firſt knowledge by four or five days) was odds ſufficient.

Then what Lords we ſhould ſave from the Parliament; which was firſt agreed in general, as many as we could that were Catholicks, or ſo diſpoſed; But after we deſcended to ſpeak of particulars.

Next what forrain Princes we ſhould acquaint with this before, or joyn with after. For this point we agreed, that firſt we could not enjoyn Princes to that ſecrecy, nor oblige them by Oath; ſo to be ſecure of their promiſes: beſides we knew not whether they will approve the project or diſlike it. And if they do allow thereof, to prepare before might beget ſuſpition, and not to provid until the buſineſs were acted, the ſame letter that carried news of the thing done, might aſwel intreat their help and furtherance. *Spain* is too ſlow in his preparations to hope any good from in the firſt extremities, and *France* too near and too dangerous; who with the Shipping of *Holland*, we feared, of all the world might make away with us.

But

Sir *Edward Cooke* knight at the araignment of *Garnet* adds further, that *Catesby* and *Thomas Percy* meeting together complained one to another of the Kings proceedings and therefore the only way was to kill the King, which *Percy* himſelf would undertake to do. *No. Thom*, ſaid *Catesby*, thou ſhalt not ſo adventure thy ſelf, there is a plot to our greater advantage, and then diſcovered to him the Powder Treaſon.

Anno 1605.

But while we were in the middle of theſe diſcourſes, we heard that the Parliament ſhould be anew adjourned until after *Michaelmas*; upon which tidings we broke off both diſcourſe and working until after *Chriſtm.as*. About *Candlemas* we brought over in a Boat the Powder, which we had provided at *Lambeth*, and laid it in Mr. *Percies* Houſe, becauſe we were willing to have all our dangers in one place.

We wrought alſo another fortnight in the Mine againſt the Stone-wall, which was very hard to break through; at which time we called in *Kit Wright*; and near to *Eaſter*, as we wrought the third time, opportunity was given to hire the Cellar, in which we reſolved to lay the Powder and leave the Mine.

Now by reaſon that the charge of maintaining us all ſo long together, beſides the number of ſeveral houſes, which for ſeveral uſes had been hired, and buying of Powder, &c. had lain heavy upon Mr. *Catesby* alone to ſupport; it was neceſſary for him to call in ſome others to eaſe his charge, and to that end deſired leave, that he, with Mr. *Percy*, and a third, whom they ſhould call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the buſineſs; For many, ſaid he, may be content that I ſhould know, who would not therefore that all the Company ſhould be acquainted with their names: to this we all agreed.

After this Mr. *Fawkes* laid into the Cellar (which he had newly taken) a thouſand of Billets, and five hundred of Fagots, and with that covered the Powder, becauſe we might have the houſe free, to ſuffer any one to enter that would. Mr. *Catesby* wiſhed us to conſider, whether it were not now neceſſary to ſend Mr. *Fawkes* over, both to abſent himſelf for a time, as alſo to acquaint Sir *William Stanley* and Mr. *Owen* with this matter. We agreed that he ſhould (provided that he gave it them with the ſame Oath that we had taken it before) *viz.* to keep it ſecret from all the world. The reaſon why we deſired Sir *William Stanley* ſhould be acquainted herewith, was to have him with us as ſoon as we could; And for Mr. *Owen*, he might hold good correſpondency after with foreign Princes. So Mr. *Fawkes* departed about *Eaſter* for *Flanders*, and returned the later end of *Auguſt*. He told me that when he arrived at *Bruſſels*, Sir *William Stanley* was not returned from *Spain*, ſo as he uttered the matter only to *Owen*, who ſeemed well pleaſed with the buſineſs, but told him that ſurely Sir *William* would not be acquainted with any Plot, as having buſineſs now a foot in the Court of *England*: but he himſelf would be always ready to tell it him, and ſend him away ſo ſoon as it were done.

About this time did Mr. *Percy* and Mr. *Catesby* meet at the *Bathe*, where they agreed, that the Company being yet but few, Mr. *Catesby* ſhould have the others authority to call in whom he thought beſt; by which Authority he called in after Sir *Everard Digby*, though at what time I know not, and laſt of all Mr. *Francis Treſham*. The firſt promiſed, as I heard Mr. *Catesby* ſay, fifteen hundred pounds; the ſecond two thouſand pounds; Mr. *Percy* himſelf promiſed all that he could get of the Earl of *Northumberlands* Rents, which was about four thouſand pounds, and to provide many galloping Horſes to the number of ten.

Mean while Mr. *Fawkes* and my ſelf alone bought ſome new Powder, as ſuſpecting the firſt to be dank, and conveyed it into the Cellar, and ſet it in order as we reſolved it ſhould ſtand.

Then was the Parliament anew prorogued until the fifth of *November*, ſo as we all went down until ſome ten days before, when Mr. *Catesby* came up with Mr. *Fawkes* to an houſe by *Enfield-Chace* called *White-Webs*, whither I came to them, and Mr. *Catesby* wiſhed me to enquire whither the young Prince came to the Parliament: I told him, that I heard that his Grace would not be there. Then muſt we have our Horſes, ſaid Mr. *Catesby*, beyond the Water, and proviſion of more company to ſurprize the Prince and leave the Duke alone.

Two days after, being *Sunday* at Night, in came one to my Chamber, and told me that a Letter had been given to my Lord *Mountegle* to this effect, That he wiſhed his Lordſhips abſence from the Parliament, becauſe a blow would there be given; which Letter he preſently carried to my Lord of *Salisbury*.

On the Morrow I went to *White-Webs*, and told it Mr. *Catesby*, aſſuring him withal that the matter was diſcloſed, and wiſhing him in any caſe to forſake his Country. He told me he would ſee further as yet, and reſolved to ſend Mr. *Fawkes* to try the uttermoſt, proteſting that if it were his caſe, he would try the ſame adventure.

On *Wedneſday* Mr. *Fawkes* went and returned at Night, of which we were very glad.

On *Thurſday* I came to *London*, and on *Friday* Mr. *Catesby*, Mr. *Treſham* and I met at *Barnet*, where we queſtioned how this Letter ſhould be ſent to my Lord *Mountegle*, but could not conceive; for Mr. *Treſham* forſware it, whom we ſuſpected.

On *Saturday* Night I met Mr. *Treſham* again in *Lincolns-Inn-Walks*. Where he told ſuch ſpeeches, that my Lord of *Salisbury* ſhould uſe to the King, as I gave it loſt the ſecond time, and repeated the ſame to Mr. *Catesby*, who hereupon was reſolved to be gone, but ſtayed to have Mr. *Percy* come up, whoſe conſent herein we wanted. On *Sunday* Mr. *Percy* being dealt with to that end would needs abide the uttermoſt trial.

This ſuſpicion of all hands put us into ſuch confuſion, as Mr. *Catesby* reſolved to go down into the Country the *Monday* that Mr. *Percy* went to *Sion*, and Mr. *Percy* reſolved to follow the ſame Night, or early the next Morning. About five of the Clock, being *Tueſday*, came the younger *Wright* to my Chamber, and told me that a Nobleman called the Lord *Mountegle*, ſaying, Ariſe and come to *Eſſex-Houſe*, for I am going to call up my Lord of *Northumberland*; ſaying withal, The matter is diſcovered. Go back Mr. *Wright* (quoth I) and learn what you can about *Eſſex-Gate*. Shortly he returned and ſaid, Surely all is loſt: for *Lepton* is got on Horſeback at *Eſſex-Door*: and as he parted, he asked if their Lordſhips would have any more with him; and being anſwered no, he is rode as faſt up *Fleetſtreet* as he can ride. Go you then (quoth I) to Mr. *Percy*, for ſure it is for him they ſeek, and bid him be gone, I will ſtay and ſee the uttermoſt. Then I went to the *Court-Gates* and found them ſtraightly guarded, ſo as no body could enter. From thence I went down towards the *Parliament-Houſe*, and in the middle of *Kingſtreet* found the Guard ſtanding, that would not let me paſs. And as I returned I heard one ſay, There is a Treaſon diſcovered, in which the King and the Lords ſhould have been blown up. So then I was fully ſatisfied that all was known, and went to the Stable where my Gelding ſtood, and rode into the Country. Mr. *Catesby* had appointed our meeting at *Dunchurch*, but I could not overtake them until I came to my Brothers, which was *Wedneſday* Night. On *Thurſday* we took the Armour at my Lord *Windſors*, and went that Night to one *Stephen Littletons* Houſe, where the next day (being *Friday*) as I was early abroad to diſcover, my Man came unto me and ſaid, that an heavy miſchance had ſevered all the Company; for that Mr. *Catesby*, Mr. *Rookwood* and Mr. *Grant* were burned with Gunpowder, upon which ſight the reſt diſperſed. Mr. *Littleton* wiſhed me to fly, and ſo would he. I told him I would firſt ſee the Body of my Friend and bury him, whatſoever befel me. When I came, I found Mr. *Catesby* reaſonable well, Mr. *Percy*, both the *Wrights*, Mr. *Rookewood* and Mr. *Grant*. I asked them what they reſolved to do: they anſwered, we mean here to die. I ſaid again, I would take ſuch part as they did. About eleven of the Clock came the Company to beſet the Houſe, and as I walked into the Court, I was ſhot into the Shoulder, which loſt me the uſe of mine Arm: the next ſhot was the elder *Wright* ſtricken dead; after him the younger Mr. *Wright*, and fourthly *Ambroſe Rookewood* ſhot. Then ſaid Mr. *Catesby* to me (ſtanding before the Door they were to enter) ſtand by me *Tom*, and we will die together. Sir, quoth I, I have loſt the uſe of my right Arm, and I fear that will cauſe me to be taken. So as we ſtood cloſe together, Mr. *Catesby*, Mr. *Percy*, and my ſelf, they two were ſhot (as far as I could gueſs, with one Bullet) and then the Company entred upon me, hurt me in the Belly with a Pike, and gave me other wounds, until one came behind and caught hold of both mine Arms.

And ſo remain yours, &c.

Com-

Commiſſioners.

Nottingham, *Worceſter*,
Suffolk, *Devonſhire*,
Northampton, *Salisbury*,
Marre, *Dunbar*,
Popham.

Edw. Coke,
W. Waad.

The Names of thoſe that were firſt in the Treaſon, and laboured in the Mine.

Eſquires.

Robert Catesby.
Robert Winter.

Gentlemen.

Thomas Percy,
Thomas Winter,
John Wright,
Chriſtopher Wright,
Guido Fawkes,
and
Bates, *Catesbies* Man.

Thoſe that were made acquainted with it, though not perſonally labouring in the Mine, nor in the Cellar.

Everard Digby, Knight.

Eſquires.

Ambroſe Rookewood,
Francis Treſham,
John Grant, Gentleman.
Robert Keyes.

BUt here let us leave *Fawkes* in a lodging fit for ſuch a Gueſt, and taking time to adviſe upon his Conſcience, and turn our ſelves to that part of the Hiſtory which concerns the fortune of the reſt of his partakers in that abominable Treaſon. The News was no ſooner ſpread abroad that morning, which was upon a *Tueſday*, the fifth of *November*, and the firſt day deſigned for that Seſſion of Parliament; The News, I ſay, of this ſo ſtrange and unlooked for Accident was no ſooner divulged, but ſome of theſe Conſpirators, namely, *Winter* and the two Brothers the *Wrights*, thought it high time for them to haſten out of the Town, (for *Catesby* was gone the Night before, and *Percy* at four of the Clock in the Morning the ſame day of the diſcovery) and all of them held their courſe with more haſt than good ſpeed, to *Warwickſhire* toward *Coventry*, where the next day Morning, being *Wedneſday*, and about the ſame hour that *Fawkes* was taken in *Weſtminſter*, one *Grant* a Gentleman having aſſociated unto him ſome others of his Opinion, all violent Papiſts and ſtrong Recuſants, came to a Stable of one *Benock* a Rider of great Horſes, and having violently broken up the ſame, carried along with them all the great Horſes that were therein, to the number of ſeven or eight, belonging to divers Noblemen and Gentlemen of that Country, who had put them into the Riders hands to be made fit for their ſervice. And ſo both that company of them which fled out of *London*, As alſo *Grant* and his Complices met all together at *Dunchurch* at Sir *Everard Digby* his Lodging the *Tueſday* at Night, after the diſcovery of this treacherous attempt: the which *Digby* had likewiſe for his part appointed a match of Hunting to have been hunted the next day, which was *Wedneſday*, though his mind was *Nimrod*-like upon a far other manner of hunting, more bent upon the blood of reaſonable Men than brute Beaſts.

The taking of the Horſes out of the Stable at *Warwick* by *Grant* and others.

The Hunting Match appointed by Sir *Everard Digby*.

This company and helliſh Society thus convened, finding their purpoſe diſcovered and their treachery prevented, did reſolve to run a deſperate courſe, and ſince they could not prevail by ſo private a Blow, to practiſe by a publick Rebellion either to attain to their intents, or at leaſt to ſave themſelves in the throng of others. And therefore gathering all the Company they could unto them, and pretending the quarrel of Religion, having intercepted ſuch proviſion of Armour, Horſes and Powder, as the time could permit, thought by running up and down the Country, both to augment piece and piece their number (dreaming to themſelves that they had the virtue of a Snow-ball, which being little at the firſt, and tumbling down from a great Hill, groweth to a great quantity, by increaſing it ſelf with the Snow that it meeteth by the way) and alſo that they beginning firſt this brave ſhew in one part of the Country, ſhould by their ſympathy and example ſtir up and encourage the reſt of their Religion in other parts of *England* to riſe, as they had done there. But when they had gathered their force to the greateſt, they came not to the number of Fourſcore, and yet were they troubled all the hours of the day to keep and contain their own Servants from ſtealing from them; (who notwithſtanding all their care) daily left them, being far inferiour to *Gideons* Hoſt in number, but far more in faith or juſtneſs of quarrel.

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Their going into Arms after the Plot diſcovered.

Their number never above Fourſcore.

And ſo after this Catholick Troop had wandred a while through *Warwickſhire* to *Worceſterſhire*, and from thence to the edge and borders of *Staffordſhire*, this gallantly armed Band had not the honour at the laſt to be beaten with the Kings Lieutenant or extraordinary Commiſſioners ſent down for the purpoſe, but only by the ordinary Sheriff of *Worceſterſhire* were they all beaten, killed, taken & diſperſed. Wherein ye have to note this following circumſtance ſo admirable, and ſo lively diſplaying the greatneſs of Gods Juſtice, as it could not be concealed without betraying in a manner the glory due to the Almighty for the ſame.

Their flight.

Although divers of the Kings Proclamations were poſted down after theſe Traytors with all the ſpeed poſſible, declaring the odioúſneſs of that bloody attempt, the neceſſity to have had *Percy* preſerved alive, if it had been poſſible, and the aſſembly together of that damned Crew, now no more ſecret Conſpirators, but open and avowed Rebels; yet the far diſtance of the way (which was above an hundred miles) together with the extream deepneſs thereof, joyned alſo with the ſhortneſs of the day, was the cauſe that the hearty and loving affections of the Kings good Subjects in thoſe parts prevented the ſpeed of his Proclamations. For on the third day after the flying down of theſe Rebels, which was on the *Friday* next after the diſcovery of the Plot, they were moſt of them all ſurprized by the Sheriff of *Worceſterſhire* at *Holbeach*, about the Noon of the day, and that in manner following.

Overtaken at *Holbeach* in *Staffordſhire*, in *Stephen Littletons* Houſe.

Grant, of whom I have made mention before, for taking the great Horſes, who had not all the preceding time ſtirred from his own houſe till the next Morning after the Attempt ſhould have been put in execution, he then laying his account without his Hoſt (as the Proverb is) that their Plot had, without failing, received the day before their hoped for ſucceſs, took, or rather ſtole out their Horſes (as I ſaid before) for enabling him, and ſo many of that Soul-leſs Society that had ſtill remained in the Country near about him, to make a ſudden ſurprize upon the Kings elder Daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, having her reſidence near to that place, at the Lord *Harringtons* Houſe; whom they thought to have uſed for the colour of their treacherous deſign (his Majeſty, her Father, her Mother and Male Children being all deſtroyed above.) And to this purpoſe alſo had that *Nimrod*, *Digby*, provided his hunting match againſt the ſame time, that numbers of People being flocked together upon the pretence thereof, they might the eaſilier have brought to paſs the ſudden ſurprize of her perſon.

Grant attempt to ſurprize the Lady *Elizabeth*.

Now the violent taking away of thoſe Horſes long before day, did ſeem to be ſo great a Riot in the eyes of the common People, that knew of no greater myſtery: And the bold attempting thereof did engender ſuch a ſuſpicion of ſome following Rebellion in the hearts of the wiſer ſort, as both great and ſmall began to ſtir and arm themſelves, upon this unlooked for Accident. Among

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mong whom Sir *Fulke Grevill* the Elder, Knight, as became one both ſo ancient in years and good reputation, and by his Office being Deputy Lieutenant of *Warwickſhire*, though unable in his Body, yet by the zeal and true fervency of his mind, did firſt apprehend this foreſaid Riot to be nothing but the ſparkles and ſure Indices of a following Rebellion; whereupon both ſtoutly and honeſtly he took order to get into his own hands the Munition and Armour of all ſuch Gentlemen about him, as were either abſent from their own Houſes, or in doubtful ward; And alſo ſent forth direction to the Towns about him, as thereupon did follow the ſtriking of *Winter* by a poor Smith, who had likewiſe been taken by theſe vulgar People, but that he was reſcued by the reſt of his Company; who perceiving that the Country before them had notice of them, haſtened away with loſs in their own ſight, 16 of their Followers being taken by the Townſmen, and ſent preſently to the Sheriff at *Warwick*, and from thence to *London*.

But before 12 or 16 hours paſt, *Catesby*, *Percy*, the *Winters*, *Wrights*, *Rookwood*, and the reſt bringing then the aſſurance that their main Plot was failed and bewrayed, whereupon they had builded the golden Mountains of their glorious hopes: They then took their laſt deſperate reſolution to flock together in a Troop and wander, as they did for the Reaſons aforetold. But as upon the one part, the zealous duty to their God and their Soveraign was ſo deeply imprinted in the hearts of all the meaneſt and pooreſt ſort of the People (although then knowing of no further myſtery than ſuch publick miſbehaviours as their own eyes taught them) as notwithſtanding all their fair ſhews and pretence of their Catholick cauſe, no Creature, Man or Woman, through all the Country, would once ſo much as give them willingly a Cup of Drink, or any ſort of comfort or ſupport, but with Execrations deteſted them: So on the other part, the Sheriffs of the Shires where-through they wandred, convening their People with all ſpeed poſſible, hunted as hotly after them, as the evilneſs of the way and the unprovidedneſs of their People upon that ſudden could permit them. And ſo at laſt after Sir *Richard Verney*, Sheriff of *Warwickſhire*, had carefully and ſtraitly been in chaſe of them to the confines of his County, part of the meaner ſort being alſo apprehended by him; Sir *Richard Walſh* Sheriff of *Worceſterſhire* did likewiſe dutifully and hotly purſue them through his Shire; And having gotten ſure trial of their taking harbour at the Houſe above-named, he did ſend Trumpeters and Meſſengers to them, commanding them in the Kings Name to render unto him his Majeſties Miniſter; and knowing no more at that time of their guilt than was publickly viſible, did promiſe upon their dutiful and obedient rendring unto him, to intercede at the Kings hand for the ſparing of their lives: Who received only from them this ſcornful Anſwer (they being better witneſſes to themſelves of their inward evil Conſciences.) That he had need of better aſſiſtance, than of thoſe few numbers that were with him, before he could be able to command or controll them.

The preparation to aſſault the Houſe.

But here fell the wondrous work of Gods Juſtice, that while this Meſſage paſſed between the Sheriff and them, the Sheriffs and his Peoples zeal being juſtly kindled and augmented by their arrogant Anſwer, and ſo they preparing themſelves to give a furious aſſault; and the other Party making themſelves ready within the Houſe to perform their promiſe by a defence as reſolute; It pleaſed God that in the mending of the Fire in their Chamber, one ſmall ſpark ſhould flee out and light among leſs than two pound weight of Powder, which was drying a little from the Chimney; which being thereby blown up, ſo maimed the Faces of ſome of the principal Rebels, and the Hands and Sides of others of them (blowing up with it alſo a great Bag full of Powder, which notwithſtanding never took fire) as they were not only diſabled and diſcouraged hereby from any further reſiſtance, in reſpect *Catesby* himſelf, *Rookwood*, *Grant*, and divers others of greateſt account among them were thereby made unable for defence; but alſo wonderfully ſtrucken with amazement in their guilty Conſciences, calling to memory how God had juſtly puniſhed them with that ſame Inſtrument which they ſhould have uſed for the effectuating of ſo great a ſin, according to the old Latin ſaying, *In quo peccamus, in eodem plectimur*: as they preſently (ſee the wonderful power of Gods Juſtice upon guilty Conſciences) did all fall down upon their knees, praying God to pardon them for their bloody enterprize: and thereafter giving over any further debate, opened the Gate, ſuffered the Sheriffs People to ruſh in furiouſly among them, and deſperately ſought their own preſent deſtruction; the three Specials of them joyning Backs together, *Catesby*, *Percy* and *Winter*, whereof two with one ſhot, *Catesby* and *Percy* were ſlain, and the third, *Winter*, taken and ſaved alive.

Catesby who was the firſt Inventer of this Treaſon in general, and of the manner of working the ſame by powder in ſpecial, himſelf now firſt maimed with the blowing up of Powder, and next he and *Percy* both killed with one ſhot proceeding from Powder.

And thus theſe reſolute and high aſpiring Catholicks, who dreamed of no leſs than the deſtruction of King and Kingdoms, promiſed to themſelves no lower eſtate than the government of great and ancient Monarchies, were miſerably defeated and quite overthrown in an inſtant; falling in the Pit which they had prepared for others, and ſo fulfilling that Sentence which his Majeſty did in a manner prophecy of them in his Oration to the Parliament; ſome preſently ſlain, others deadly wounded, ſtripped of their Cloaths, left lying miſerably naked, and ſo dying rather of cold than of the danger of their wounds; and the reſt that either were whole, or but lightly hurt, taken and led Priſoners by the Sheriff, the ordinary Miniſter of Juſtice, to the Gaol, the ordinary place even of the baſeſt Malefactors, where they remained till their ſending up to *London*, being met with a huge confluence of People of all ſorts, deſirous to ſee them as the rareſt ſort of Monſters; fools to laugh at them, Women and Children to wonder, all the common People to gaze, the wiſer ſort to ſatisfie their curioſity in ſeeing the outward caſes of ſo unheard of a Villany; and generally all ſorts of People to ſatiate and fill their Eyes with the ſight of them, whom in their hearts they ſo far admired and deteſted: ſerving ſo for a fearful and publick ſpectacle of Gods fierce wrath and juſt indignation.

Anno III. JACOBI *Regis*.

An Act for a publick Thankſgiving to Almighty God, every Year, on the fifth day of *November*.

Forasmuch as Almighty God hath in all Ages ſhewed his power and mercy, in the miraculous and gracious deliverance of his Church, and in the protection of Religious Kings and States, and that no Nation of the Earth hath been bleſſed with greater benefits than this Kingdom now enjoyeth, having the true and free profeſſion of the Goſpel under our moſt Soveraign Lord King JAMES, *the moſt great, learned and religious King that ever reigned therein, enriched with a moſt hopeful and plentiful Progeny, proceeding out of his Royal loyns, promiſing continuance of this happineſs and profeſſion to all Poſterity: the which many malignant and deviliſh Papiſts, Jeſuites and Seminary Prieſts, much envying and fearing, conſpired moſt horribly, when the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty, the Queen, the Prince, and all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons ſhould have been aſſembled in the Upper-houſe of Parliament, upon the fifth day of* November, *in the Year of our Lord 1605. ſuddenly to have blown up the ſaid whole Houſe with Gunpowder; an invention ſo inhumane, barbarous and cruel, as the like was never before heard of, as was (as ſome of the principal Conſpirators confeſs) purpoſely deviſed and concluded to be done in the ſaid Houſe, that where ſundry neceſſary and religious Laws for preſervation of the Church and State were made, which they falſly and ſlanderouſly term cruel Laws enacted againſt them and their Religion, both place and perſons ſhould be all deſtroyed and blown up at once; which would have turned to the utter ruine of this whole Kingdom, had it not pleaſed Almighty God, by inſpiring the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty with a divine Spirit, to interpret ſome dark phraſes of a Letter ſhewed to his Majeſty, above and beyond all ordinary conſtruction, thereby miraculouſly diſcovering this hidden Treaſon, not many hours before the appointed time for the execution thereof: Therefore the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all his Majeſties faithful and loving Subjects do moſt juſtly acknowledge this great and*

infinite bleſſing to have proceeded merely from God his great mercy, and to his moſt holy Name do aſcribe all honour, glory and praiſe. And to the end this unfeigned thankfulneſs may never be forgotten, but be had in a perpetual remembrance, that all Ages to come may yield praiſes to his Divine Majeſty for the ſame, and have in memory this joyful Day of deliverance.

Be it therefore enacted by the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That all and ſingular Miniſters in every Cathedral or Pariſh Church, or other uſual place for Common-Prayer within this Realm of England *and the Dominions of the ſame, ſhall always upon the fifth day of* November *ſay Morning-Prayer, and give unto Almighty God thanks for this moſt happy Deliverance: and that all and every perſon and perſons inhabiting within this Realm of* England *and the Dominions of the ſame, ſhall always upon that day diligently and faithfully reſort to the Pariſh Church or Chappel where the ſaid Morning-Prayer, Preaching, or other Service of God ſhall be uſed and miniſtred.*

And becauſe all and every perſon may be put in mind of this duty, and be the better prepared to the ſaid Holy Service, Be it enacted by Authority aforeſaid, that every Miniſter ſhall give warning to his Pariſhioners publickly in the Church at Morning-Prayer, the Sunday *before every ſuch fifth day of* November, *for the due obſervation of the ſaid Day. And that after Morning-Prayer, or preaching on the ſaid fifth day of* November, *they read diſtinctly and plainly this preſent Act.*

God ſave the King.

A Prayer and Thankſgiving for the happy deliverance of his Majeſty, the Queen, the Prince, and the States of Parliament, &c.

ALmighty God, who haſt in all Ages ſhewed thy Power and mercy, in the miraculous and Gracious deliverances of thy Church, and in the protection of Righteous and Religious Kings, and States profeſſing thy holy and eternal Truth, againſt the wicked Conſpiracies, and malicious practiſes of all the Enemies thereof: we yield unto thee from the very ground of our hearts all poſſible praiſe and thanks for thy wonderful and mighty deliverance of our gracious Soveraign K. James, *the Queen, the Prince, and all the Royal Branches, with the Nobility, Clergy, and Commons of this Realm, aſſembled together at this preſent in Parliament, by Popiſh Treachery appointed as ſheep to the ſlaughter, and that in moſt barbarous and ſavage manner, no age yielding example of the like cruelty intended towards the Lords annointed and his People. Can this thy goodneſs, O Lord, be forgotten, worthy to be written in a Pillar of Marble, that we may ever remember to praiſe thee for the ſame, as the fact is worthy a laſting Monument, that all poſterity may learn to deteſt it? From their unnatural Conſpiracy, not our merit, but thy mercy, not our foreſight, but thy providence hath delivered us, not our love to thee, but thy love to thine annointed Servant, and thy poor Church, with whom thou haſt promiſed to be preſent to the end of the world. And therefore not unto us, not unto us, Lord, but to thy name be aſcribed all honour, and glory in all Churches of the Saints, throughout all generations: for thou Lord haſt diſcovered the ſnares of death, Thou haſt broken them and we are delivered. Be thou ſtill our mighty Protector, and ſcatter our cruel Enemies which delight in Blood: infatuate their counſel, and root out that Babiloniſh and Antichriſtian Sect, which ſay with* Jeruſalem, *Down with it, down with it, even to the ground. And to that end ſtrengthen the hands of our gracious King, the Nobles and Magiſtrates of the Land with Judgment und Juſtice to cut off thoſe workers of iniquity (whoſe Religion is Rebellion, whoſe Faith is Faction, whoſe praſtiſe is murthering of Souls and Bodies) and to root them out of the confines and limits of this Kingdom, that they may never prevail againſt us, and triumph in the ruine of thy Church; and give us grace by true aud ſerious repentance to avert theſe and the like Judgments from us. This, Lord, we earneſtly crave at thy merciful hand, together with the continuance of thy powerful protection over our dread Soveraign, the whole Church, and theſe Realms, and the ſpeedy confuſion of our implacable Enemies, and that for thy dear Sons ſake, our only Mediator and Advocate.* Amen.

Anno 1611.

Franco di Franco, *an* Italian, *made away in ſecret in the City of* Vilne.

IN the year 1611. on the day which the Papiſts call the Feaſt of God, a young man of ſix and twenty years old, being miraculouſly called unto the knewledge of the Goſpel, was by certain *Italians* led through a Church where Maſs was to be ſung, and being urged to ſhew how he liked it, began to refute their Idolatry with great zeal, admoniſhing the People there preſent, not to ſuffer themſelves to be ſo ſeduced by the pompous ſplendor of ſuch vain Superſtitions: Telling them, That that God which the Prieſt held up was no God, as thoſe ſeducers made them believe, but a mear Idol, ſeeing it was not able to remove it ſelf from one place to another unleſs it were born. Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God our Saviour is to be ſought, ſaith he, at the right hand of God the Father Almighty. This young man was forthwith compaſſed about with an innumerable Company of People, who buffeting him often on the face, and ſpurning him with their feet, haled him thence into the common Gaol of the City.

After many days the Biſhop with ſundry other Lords, calling him before them, asked him if the Hereticks had not perſwaded him to uſe ſuch words as he had ſpoken: alſo whether he had not a reſolution to kill the Queen, or her Son the King, or the Biſhop of *Vilne*? The Priſoner wiſely and reſolutely anſwered, That no man had ſet him awork to do it, but only the zeal he had of Gods Glory, his Conſcience provoking him thereto; holding it impoſſible for him any longer to ſuffer that men ſhould attribute that honour to a dead Idol, which is only due to Jeſus Chriſt his Saviour.

As touching their other demand, his anſwer was, that Chriſtian Religion teacheth us not to murther men, as Papiſts have hitherto done in *France*, *England*, in the *Low-Countries* and elſewhere, as Hiſtories do daily ſhew. The Priſoner alſo admoniſhed the Biſhop of *Vilne* to forſake all Idolatry, to preach Gods Truth and Verity, and ceaſe to bewitch the poor People with Humane Inventions: moreover this faithful witneſs did with much vehemency and conſtancy maintain the Truth of God, ſo that the Biſhop of *Vilne* drove out of his Hall his Servants and ſuch as came in there to hear him, But he got little by it, for as they went here and there in the City, they told it abroad, how in all their lives they never heard man ſpeak with that courage and boldneſs of Divine things to ſo good purpoſe, as this young man had done.

Not long after he was again brought before the ſame Judges, and queſtioned as before: but inſtead of yielding, he hardened his face againſt the impudency of his Adverſaries. They purpoſing to quail this his magnanimity, cauſed him to feel the Torture. When he had ſuffered the utmoſt of their cruelty, he was ſo far off from abjuring the Truth, that on the contrary his confeſſion diſcovered in him a greater reſolution than ever before, being deſirous and ſhewing himſelf ready preſt to receive the Crown of Martyrdom.

To be ſhort, the laſt of *June* 1611. which was the ſame day twelve-month 1610. where in the City of *Vilne*, being the Capital City of the great Ducheſs of *Lithuany*, at eight of the clock in the mornig there happened as terrible a fireas hath been heard of, at the hour in which the Biſhops and a great Company of Jeſuits were going on Proceſſion: the fire was ſo vehement, that within the ſpace of ſeven hours it devoured 6. thouſand five hundred and fourteen houſes; which fell out as the Jeſuits ſuppoſed, becauſe they ſpared the Hereticks there. Whereupon the Martyr of Chriſt was cruelly butchered there by the Enemies of the Goſpel, not in a publick place, nor by day, though he inſtantly requeſted the ſame at the hands of his Judges; but privatly in the night, in a place walled about nigh to the Governours Houſe

Before

Anno 1595. Before they put him to death, he was cruelly tortured, and then bound by the Executioner to a Poſt, where they drew out his Tongue under his Chin; which done, cutting off his Head, his Body being divided into four quarters, was carried the next day through the City upon ſo many Poles.

An Hiſtory of three Engliſhmen put to death at Rome.

THree Engliſh-men meeting together entred into a conference concerning the ſtate of the Church at that time, complaining that the zeal of Gods glory was wonderfully cooled among men, yea, and that even thoſe of the Religion were grown but too worldly wiſe; that Satan by little was ſowing the ſeeds of Atheiſm every where, by rocking Men aſleep in the Cradle of Security: whereupon having in humble manner commended themſelves into the hands of God, they determined to take their voyage to *Rome*, and there to encounter with the Adverſary of Chriſt. Thither they came, and after a few days two of them behaving themſelves modeſtly, did in ſecret manifeſt to ſome there the Truth of the Goſpel, who being betrayed were impriſoned and put to death without any further ado.

The third, having reſolved to act his part in publick, gav. over himſelf to ſuffer all the extremities the wit of Man could invent. It came to paſs one day that this man, eſpying the Pope in the midſt of his Maſſing devotion, ſtept quickly unto him, plucked the conſecrated Hoſt out of his hands, caſt it to the ground, trod it under foot, uttering invective ſpeeches againſt the Maſs and Antichriſt. The People in a rage fell upon the Engliſhman; who, being altogether bruiſed with their fiſts and feet, ſaid, You Hangman, find out as many torments as you can, the hand of the Almighty will ſhew it ſelf the more glorioufly. My Soul is reſolved to vanquiſh death valiantly. He was forthwith bound and ſet upon an Aſs, ſix Torches were lighted, and from Street to Street the Executioners bare them by him, burning therewith his Face, Mouth and Tongue firſt; for he had ſaid before to one of the Tormentors, Thou haſt no power over my Soul, thou Wretch, knoweſt thou not that God underſtands the voice of my ſecret thought and complaint. When the flames came overthwart his Cheeks, he was heard to cry, Lord forgive theſe men, for they know not what they do. After they had burned all his Face, put out his eyes, ſcorched and roaſted his Body; in the end they conſumed it wholly to aſhes.

The learned Author, who ſet forth this Hiſtory in a notable Work of his, notes neither the Year nor the Names of theſe Engliſh-men. It ſhould ſeem to be about the time of Pope *Clement* the Eighth, in *Anno* 1595. for in his ample diſcourſe he mentions an old wiſe man *le ſage veillard* burned at *Rome* (after theſe Engliſh-men) who before he went to the Fire, ſpake with ſuch efficacy to his Confeſſor ſent unto him (who alſo left him not till he yielded up his Spirit in the midſt of the flames into the hands of Chriſt) that this Confeſſor going the next day into the Pulpit, maintained the cauſe of the old Wiſe man with ſuch boldneſs and zeal, that all the Audience hearing him attentively, without any reſiſtance, underſtood his meaning, and never accuſed the Preacher.

But in *Lent* following, a *Capuchin* Frier preaching before Pope *Clement* the Eighth called him Antichriſt, and during that *Lent* ceaſed not to preach the Truth of the Goſpel, in the Chair of Peſtilence, under the Robe and habit of a Liar, &c. In the ſame Work my Author (ſaith our Hiſtorian) mentions another *Italian* Preacher called *N. Montalchin*, who in deſcribing his Hiſtory hath theſe words: The Pope perceiving that by executing the Martyrs thus openly in the ſight of the People, inſtead of terrifying them, thereby many were the more encouraged, he reſolved with himſelf thence-forward to conceal his open violence out of the ſight of the Sun, and to exerciſe it rather in the dark and in the night ſeaſon. The Inquiſitors, who had *Montalchin* in their hands were preparing a way to murther him privily, according to the Popes intention.

It ſo fell out, that the Jaylor ſmelling the injuſtice which theſe Reverend Fathers were deviſing againſt the poor Priſoner, adventured to give him notice of it, to the end he making his peace with God, might fit himſelf for death. This experienced Souldier of Jeſus Chriſt plotted a way under-hand, by a Spiritual wile, to catch the wiſe in their craftineſs: faining therefore a Repentance, he called for his Judges, telling them he was now minded to revoke his Errors, after they had pronounced Sentence againſt him, and would in the hearing of all recant what he had in publick maintained againſt the Truth.

His Judges, believing he had ſpoken in good earneſt, promiſed him his life upon thoſe terms. Now that they might the rather ſatisfie their pride, they made known to every one the time and place appointed for his Abjuration. All the City aſſembled together to take knowledge of this ſo unexpected a novelty. *Montalchin* was brought and placed on a Scaffold for that purpoſe. He ſtood there in his Shirt, holding in his hands two Torches lighted: then ſilence being obtained, he began to ſpeak to the People as followeth.

Dear Brethren and Children, I have a long time taught you ſuch a Doctrine as hath troubled you. I am now brought hither to open my mind unto you, *Montalchin* is a ſinful man and therefore may err. But lend me your attention a while, and I will let you ſee the difference between both Opinions: Three words (*ſeule, ſeule, ſeulement*) will ſerve to diſtinguiſh between falſhood and truth.

1. I have taught you that Chriſt is our only Sacrifice, our only Prieſt, who only was once offered for us. But the Doctors teach the contrary, to wit, that the true Body of Chriſt without Bread is offered up for the living and for the dead, that the Prieſts ought daily to offer up the natural Body of Chriſt really in the Maſs.

2. I have taught that in taking the viſible ſigns in the Sacrament, we do therein by Faith only take the ſpiritual and heavenly Bread of our Souls.
The Doctors ſay, that Chriſts Body is taken Fleſh and Blood into the mouth and belly of the Communicant.

3. I have preached that Jeſus Chriſt is our only Mediator, and that by him alone we have acceſs unto the Father.
But the Doctors go further, and will have us to come to the Virgin *Mary*, making her and all the Saints departed our Mediators and Interceſſors.

4. I have declared that we are juſtified only by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and that the free Mercy of God is the foundation of our ſalvation.
The Doctors would have us to help out Faith and Grace by good Works, *as meritorious cauſes of ſalvation.*

5. You have heard me preach that Chriſt only gives grace; and that he alone pardons ſins.
They affirm that the Church hath a Coffer or Cheſt, of which the Pope keeps the Keys, whereinto are put the Merits of Saints, which he largely diſtributes abroad to ſuch as will buy his Pardons with Mony.

6. I have told you, that the Canonical Books of the Old and New Teſtament are the only ground of our faith and ſalvation.
The Doctors add thereto their unwritten Verities.

7. I have taught you that after this life ended, there are only two places prepared for them to go unto who die and depart out of this World; One, the place of joy and comfort, the other of torment.
The Doctors ſay, there are four, *viz.* Paradiſe, Hell, Limbus and Purgatory.

8. I have preached, that the Pope is not a god on Earth, but only a Biſhop, and that only of one place, if he therein behave himſelf as a good Biſhop ought to do.
The Doctors make him Lord of the World, and the Head of the viſible Church.

9. Now, O Chriſtian Brethren, Judge you of that which I have ſaid, and ſee if you can diſcern Truth from Error; (Truth leads you to life, honour and bleſſedneſs; Error and Lies to death and deſtruction.
Be now either Servants of Truth, or the Slaves of Error. For my part I will cleave to the truth of the Goſpel, and do condemn all Errors and Lies: let *Montalchin* live, and live thou, O Lord Jeſus.

Then threw he down his two burning Torches, one this way and another that way, offering his hands to be tied and bound, which cauſed a great tumult among the People. *Montalchin* was returned back again to Priſon.

Now Reader, it will not be hard for thee to imagine what entertainment he found there: whether or no the Popes * Decree was executed to the full upon this worthy Confeſſor, who in the face of the world did ſo nobly triumph over Satan and Antichriſt his Lieutenant.

*Which was to put the Martyrs to death privily, as was noted in the beginning of this Hiſtory.

Concluſion.

Anno 1620.

The invincible Conſtancy of the Martyrs tried the Perſecutors; their fiery burning Zeal dried up the Rivers; the ſlaughter of mens Swords ſeemed to be blunted; the Hangmens Halters to be utterly ſpent and waſted, &c.

A True Narration of a Bloody Maſſacre committed upon the Proteſtants by the Papiſts in the greater part of the *Valtoline*, in the Year 1620. after the New Stile: Publiſhed for a neceſſary Admonition to all Eſtates, wherein the Goſpel is profeſſed amongſt the Papiſts, and for Example to all true Chriſtians of conſtancy in the Profeſſion of the Holy Goſpel.

Matt. 5. 10.

Bleſſed are they that are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

The true declaration of the Maſſacres of the Valtoline.

ALbeit that the *Griſon* Lords, being as it were the Sovereign Magiſtrates, had by ſundry Decrees, according to the common liberty of the two Religions in thoſe Countries granted, that in the Country of *Boalez*, a place belonging to the Territory of *Tell*, there ſhould be eſtabliſhed a Church for the Religion, which ſhould receive the ordinary ſtipend which at that preſent was allowed to other Churches of the *Valtoline*, *An.* 1619. in the month of *May*. The Miniſter of the Church of *Tell* with the Miniſters of *Irian* and *Bruſe*, together with the aſſiſtance of the principal Lords of *Tyrane* and *Tegly*, did meet together in the ſaid place of *Boalez*, to preach in the Church of that place. But ſo great was the multitude and concourſe of the Papiſts in that place in Arms, that they were of neceſſity inforced to give over their purpoſe; and at that time was Mr. *Gaudentius Taches* the Paſtor of *Bruſe* almoſt beaten to death with Staves, a young man of *Tyrane* was ſlain outright, and others very cruelly handled by ſome of theſe Villains, who by that occaſion may worthily be called the firſt Martyrs of the Country of *Tyrane*.

Within a ſhort time after was murdered a Servant of the Governour of that place, where the rage and fury of thoſe murderers grew unto that height, that they did not only contemn the Proclamations publiſhed by the Governour, but in ſcorn or deſpite thereof they paſſed up and down before the Palace, threatning to kill the ſaid Governour, and other principal perſons of the Church of *France*.

Now for that the ordinary Magiſtrate of that place was not ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs the outrages and inſolencies of thoſe Villains, from whom none could be ſecure either in their Houſes or abroad, by reaſon of the frequent attempts which they made upon the Proteſtants, the rather for that they bordered near upon a foraign Juriſdiction, to which they had recourſe when they had committed any miſchief, the Governour was conſtrained to make his addreſs for juſtice to the Soveraign *Dabe* of the Country, who about the midſt of *February*, *Anno* 1620. granted a Commiſſion, wherein were named theſe Commiſſioners, *viz.* the Lords *Joachinus Montalta*, at this time Vicar of the *Valtoline*, *John Baptiſta* of *Salichi*, a Doctor of Law, *Ja. Rumel* a Captain, *Salomon Candeamma Buoli*, *Landlaine* of *Tavos*, in the ten Juriſdictions, *Dieteganus Fertmannus*, Captain of the Lordſhip of *Meienfield*, and *John Andrea Mindardino* for the Chancellorſhip, &c.

By theſe perſons, beſides the Proceſſes framed already by the Lords, *John* of *Cappaul*, Governour of *Tyrane*, and *Andreo Enderlino* of *Tegli*, there were again divers Proceſſes framed anew, and upon the impriſonment and revealing of certain perſons it was diſcovered and confeſſed, there was a reſolution made in the ſame place of *Boalty*, to put to the Sword not only the Preacher if he had preached, but alſo all the People, as many as profeſſed the Goſpel, as they could light upon, yea even the Magiſtrate himſelf; beſides there were divers perſons diſcovered, and thoſe of principal rank, who were the Authors of thoſe wicked and barbarous practices, and had promiſed all poſſible aid and aſſiſtance unto them.

And therefore, the importance of the buſineſs being of great conſequence, it was thought expedient that thoſe Lords Commiſſioners ſhould return to *Tavos*, and report to the Court of Juſtice, which there reſided, all the buſineſs which reſulted of theſe Proceſſes; which they accordingly did about the midſt of *April* laſt paſt. Moreover, they were intreated by divers Noble perſons of the Proteſtant Church of the *Valtoline*, that they would with all poſſible ſpeed provide a Garriſon of *Griſons* for the defence of the Valley, in regard that by the foreſaid diſcovery they had great reaſon to fear a general Rebellion, in caſe they ſhould proceed to chaſtiſe the Authors of thoſe tumults and diſorders, and that ſuch a buſineſs could not be, without intelligence with the *Spaniard*, and that ſo much the more likely, that ſome certain years ago ſuch another practice had been diſcovered and attempted to be put in practice, as it came to paſs 1584. and ſince of late.

All theſe buſineſſes were conſidered, but it was not poſſible to put the ſame in effect for many reaſons, had it not been that they received intelligence that a number of *Spaniards* approached near to the three Pleves, which were places adjoyning to the *Valtoline*, by which occaſion the Magiſtrate and Governours of the *Valtoline* were conſtrained to put a Guard near the Trenches of *Trahona* and *Morben*, about the Kalends of *July* 1620. thinking to ſecure the Valley from the forain Enemy: and that Guard conſiſted of the Countrymen and dwellers in the *Valtoline*: and this courſe wrought no other effect, but that the Proteſtants by this means were incloſed in of all ſides, that they could not flee away on that ſide by the way already concluded, but anticipated within eight days which was the *Sabboth-day*. The ninth of *July* 1620. followed the Maſſacre in the Country of *Tyrane* and *Teglio*, as now ſince in *Bondres*, a principal Country of this Valley.

The

Anno 1620

The Maſſacre of Tyrane, *wherein were murthered about threeſcore Perſons.*

THe beginning of their murthers was made at *Tyrane*, wherein thoſe barbarous and wicked fellows were aſſiſted by certain Villains who lived near in a forain Juriſdiction, of whom the Principal Captains and Ringleaders, were *Jacopo Robuſtello* of *Groſſot*, *Marco Anthonio de Venoſta*, a Doctor of Phyſick of *Mazzio*, and *Francis Venoſta* of *Tyrane*, a Doctor of the Civil Law. Theſe together with their confederates and dependants, both ſuch as were domeſtique, and came from forain places, that were the moſt cruel and bloody Villains which could be picked out thereabouts, before any enterpriſe covertly made, gave order, that all the ways and Paſſages of every ſide ſhould be well guarded, to the end that their cruel enterpriſe upon the Proteſtants of the Country ſhould not ſo readily be diſcovered, and they the Attempters themſelves ſhould be the leſs troubled in the Execution.

Then about ſix of the Clock in the night, they entred into the Country of *Tyrane*, like ſo many foming wild Bores, making their rendevous of Doctor *Franceſco Venoſta*. They cauſed four Muskets to be diſcharged before the Palace of the Seignior *Podeſta* the principal Magiſtrate of the place, and rung the great Bell of *Tyrane*, Upon which ſignal all the Inhabitants in that Vicinity took the Alarm, and made head toward the ſaid houſe. They gave order to break the Bridges which lay towards *Bruſe*, and on the place they planted a ſtrong guard, and this was done before day. Suddenly upon the dawning of the day, the Bells began to ring another peal at *Matello*, and then theſe Traitors began to bandy andto range themſelves together. The Proteſtants, who without fear or ſuſpition of any practiſe againſt them, came out of their houſes into the ſtreets to ſee what the matter was, were ſuddenly ſhot and moſt cruelly murthered in the place. Others by force entred into the houſes of the Proteſtants, drew them out of their beds, and without any compaſſion ſlew all they could meet withal.

John Andrea Cataneo was by his Wife delivered from the hands of thoſe Murtherers, but was again by force recovered by them. And although this Gentlewoman was a near Kinſwoman of *Robuſtello*, and of Dr. *Venoſta*, as Couſins once removed, and this *Cataneo* had ever eſteemed them among his better Friends, yet could not he obtain the favour to have his life ſpared. He prayed them that firſt he might have leave to ſpeak with the ſaid Doctor, which could not be obtained. In the mean time he eſcaped into another houſe adjoyning, and hid himſelf in a Garret in the top thereof, hoping to eſcape the hand of thoſe his furious Perſecutors: but all in vain, for they nevertheleſs purſued him into the houſe, where he poor Gentleman hid himſelf, they took him, and caſt him down out of the houſe into the ſtreet; and when they found there was yet life in him, they with a moſt inhumane and unſpeakable cruelty diſpatched him with a piece of Timber.

Antonio de Salva, a Chancellor in that Valley being appointed Judge upon criminal cauſes, a man of the greateſt authority in the *Pregella*, and other places, who at that inſtant was reſident at *Sondres*, being deſirous to ſave himſelf together with his Deputy, *Marco Antonio Venoſta* a Doctor of Law in the houſe of *Jacobo Homedeo* was drawn out of the houſe into the ſtreet, with *Venoſta* and his Servant *Antonio Keller* of *Soglio* in the ſaid *Pregella*, and ſlain with a ſhot of Musket, being of the age of forty two years.

Seignior *Andrea Enderline* of *Kublis* in *Prettigonia*, a Gentleman of great worth, very ſingularly learned, and skilful in many Languages, being at that time Governor of *Teglie*, in the name of the three Leagues, being in this hurlyburly by chance in *Tyrane* in the houſe of *Battiſta Baruſſino*, was alſo with his Servant *George Petterlin* ſtrangled to death in the Chamber where he was found: and this noble Gentleman, being firſt caſt out of the Chamber Window, was all his Body over ſo beaten and bruiſed, that you could not know him; and yet after, their fury not ceaſing, they knitting a Cord about his neck threw him into the River of *Adda*: notwithſtanding he was afterward found and buried.

In the mean time, with this Governour alſo was ſlain *John* the Son of Senior *Michael Montio* of *Bruiſe*, a Gentleman of ſingular goodneſs and Wiſdom, who before time had been Deputy to his Father in the Goverment of *Trahona*, and in the ſame demeaned himſelf with great commendation. Who being deſirous to withdraw himſelf from *Tyrane* to his own houſe, was intreated by *Ambroſio Baruſſino*, Son of the foreſaid *Battiſta*, for his greater ſecurity to lodge with him in his houſe. Which courteſy when he had accepted, ſuſpecting no Trechery in his new Hoſt, he was by him ſhot with a Musket, and caſt into the Flood of *Adda*, being of the age of forty years.

The reverend Gentleman Senior *Antonio Baſſo*, Paſtor of the Proteſtant Church of *Tyrane*, a man of great Sanctity and Wiſdom, and a lover of the peace of the Country, hearing the noyſe of theſe uprores, he and Maſter *Samuel Andreoſcha* the Paſtor of *Mello* in the lower *Terzier*, whom he had viſited that day, withdrew themſelves into a Hall, where having recommended their Souls to God, they were moſt cruelly ſlain.

Neither did thoſe furious Perſecutors reſt here, but beſides they cut off *Baſſos'* head, and carried it into the Church, and fixed it upon a Pole in the Pulpit where before time he was wont to preach, ſaying with all diſgrace and ſcorn, Come down *Baſſo*, thou haſt preached long enough already.

In like manner at the ſame time the Palace of the Chequer of *Tyrane* was beſieged by thoſe Helhounds; wherein dwelt Senior *John de Cappaul* being at that time Governor. To which place *Michael Lazarone*, a man of good account and Chancellor of that Office, had retired himſelf early in the morning to ſave his life. But becauſe he was extreamly hated of the Papiſts, by reaſon of his ſingular Piety, Religion, and ſincerity, he was eſpecially purſued by them; inſomuch as thoſe Rebels followed him even to the Palace, threatning to ſet fire on the ſame, if he were not delivered into their hands. *Lazarone* ſeeing that, notwithſtanding the Palace was well furniſhed with great ordnance, faulcons, muskets munition, and other neceſſary proviſion, he was like to fall into the hands of his Enemies, for that the ſaid Governor was reſolved in his judgment to overcome thoſe miſcreants rather by fair and courteous dealing than by force, was inforced that evening to fly out of the houſe, and to hide himſelf about the Banks of the River *Adda*, wherein he covered himſelf, and lay cloſe three whole hours all naked, poor Gentleman, to ſave himſelf. But his Enemies, and principally Doctor *Vincentio* followed him hotly, accompanied with many ſhot, and at the laſt they found him, and drew him out of the Water. And albeit he did with Tears in his eyes beſeech them that they would give him his life, in compaſſion of his dear ſmall Children, yet could not he obtain that favour at their hands, but they anſwered him, That this was no time for pity, and favour: but if he would ſwear by the Popes Bull, and abjure his Faith, in that caſe they would ſhew him favour, and grant him his life. but he, with a great couragious reſolution, anſwered, God forbid and defend that I for love of this temporal life ſhould deny my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who with his precious Blood upon the Wood of the Croſs did at ſo dear a rate redeem me, and after that I have ſo long time through his grace freely and publickly confeſſed him, ſhould now hazard the loſs of eternal life, to which I was elected before the foundation of the World; I ſay God forbid. Upon this ſpeech he was in moſt barbarous and ſavage manner murthered by them.

The very ſame evening was the Gate of the Palace burnt to the ground by thoſe Rebels, who the next morning entred into the ſame, raging with fury, and took the Governour Priſoner with his young Son; ſpoyling and ranſacking Wives, and Maidens, and carrying away all they could lay hands on. The Governour of the Palace was carried away Priſoner to the houſe of the foreſaid *Dort Franceſco*, and at laſt, after he had long time been rugged to and fro, he was miſerably ſlain with a ſhot.

John Antonio Mazano endeavouring to make reſiſtance againſt thoſe Rebels, and his Wife defending him, was with her ſelf and two young Children miſerably killed.

Another called *John Antonio Schloſſer*, a *Gardoneſe*, having made long reſiſtance, and killed one of the Rebels, was at the laſt taken, and tyed to a Tree, and ſo ſhot to death.

To be ſhort, theſe Villains had no regard of any Perſon, neither young, nor old, nor weak, nor ſtrong, but all of all ſorts were either ſhot unto death, or cut in pieces, or in one manner or other deſtroyed; and the number of thoſe Perſons in eſtimation, who in *Tyrane* received the Crown of Martyrdom for the profeſſion of the Goſpel, was about ſixty.

Of thoſe who by the grace of God, although with great danger, eſcaped through the horrid and vaſt *Alpes* into *Retia* and other parts, were only three Perſons, that is, Doctor *Jacobo Albertino*, *Jacobo Nevio de Coyra*, and *Egido Venoſta*, who left behind them Wealth, Wives, Children, and whatſoever goods they had.

The Ladies who were not ſlain were conſtained to change their Religion, and at this day go to Maſs, ſaving the Wife of the ſaid *Lazarone* and her Daughters, and her Niece, being the Wife of the ſaid *Egido*, who by the aſſiſtance of Almighty God continued in ſafety. And there alſo the eighth of *Auguſt*, the ſaid Ladies were releaſed, who retired themſelves into *Retia*, *viz.* the Wife of this *Lazarone*, and her two Daughters, leaving behind them in the *Valtoline* one Daughter and two youg Sons who cannot obtain leave to depart the Country.

CHAP. 2.

The Maſſacre of Teglio, *wherein were murthered about ſixty Perſons.*

THeſe wicked Traitors having in this manner committed the foreſaid excrable Maſſacre in *Tyrane*, ſuddenly the ſtrangers and the outlaws of the Mountains, apparelled in red Caſſocks, and well mounted on horſback, marcked in the morning to *Tellat* the hour when the Sermon was, and ran like ravening Wolves to the *Volta* Church, being guided by two Friers, *Azzo* and *Carolo Beſta*, and by *Antonio Beſta* their Couſin German. The Proteſtants who were in the Church, obſerving the evil intention of thoſe Villains, aroſe ſuddenly from their ſeats, and endeavored to ſhut the Church Door, and to barricado the place with the Benches. They without laboured with all their power to enter the Church: but not being able ſo ſpeedily to do it, ſome of them climbed up unto the Windows, and diſcharged their Muskets among the People without reſpect of any Perſon, and killed very many of them. At laſt they forced the door, entred, and ſlew all they found, ſaving a few who promiſed to go to Maſs. Some of the men and Ladies with their Children fled into the Belfrey to ſave themſelves; but they ſet fire to the place, and moſt miſerably burnt all that were within.

Amongſt thoſe who were ſlain in the Church, the chiefeſt of note was the reverend Lord *John Piere Dante* of *Rozu* of the higher *Engaden*, a Miniſter of the Proteſtant Church of *Tell*, a man rarely endued with learning and the fear of God, and in thoſe reſpects honoured even of his Enemies themſelves; who after he had with lively reaſons exhorted that afflicted Church of his conſtantly to perſevere unto death in the known and confeſſed Truth, to the honour of his Saviour, even ſo long as the brevity of the time would permit him, was to the grief of very many miſerably ſhot to death, being of the age of 42. years.

Amongſt theſe was one *Joſui Gatti* a Doctor of the Law, Lieutennant to the *Podeſta* of *Tell*, and principal Juſtice, an honorable Gentleman, and of excellent vertues, about 43 years of age, together with *Daniel Gugelberge*.

Gaudenzo Guizziardi a Gentleman of like worth and honour, Couſin German to the Father of the forenamed *Azzo Beſta*, of the age of ſixty four years; *Margaritta* his Daughter of the age of fourteen years, or thereabouts, was wounded with a Musket ſhot in the head, going about to bow her ſelf by giving a laſt kiſs to her dear Father who was yielding up the Ghoſt.

Antonio the Son of *Scipion Beſta*, a Gentleman very rich and of excellent parts, although he was the near Kinſman of *Azzo Beſta*, was ſhot to death, and died in the Arms of his Wife, being of the age of thirty ſeven. Anno 1620.

Aſcanio Gatti an Apothecary of *Tell*, being ſeven and twenty years of age, *George* his Brother eighteen years old, *Jonata Piatti* ſixty five years old, *Maximilian Piatti* four and twenty years, *Vincenzo Frigerio*, Notary and Procurator of *Tell*, age 39. *Marſſilio Piatti*, age 38. *Filiberto* his Brother age, 19. *Virginio Piatti*, age 28. *Lorenzo Piatti* of *Boaltie*, age 23. ſlain with a Musket ſhot at the Window of the Steeple. *Philippo Nova* likewiſe of *Boaltie*, age 45, *Bartolomeo* his Brother, age 42. *Petro Marcioninno* Maſter of the School of *Tell*, age 35. *Thomas de Boruno*, age, 64. together with his Son *Claudio Gatti* a Notary, age 43. *Andrea Tempino* a *Gardoneſe*, age 41. *Anna Gala di Zozio* of the upper *Agnadma* Wife of *Bartolomeo Nova* a Roman Catholick, age, 42. *Benedetto Cattaneo*, age 17. *Giovanni Pietio*, and *John Martin Cattaneo* his Sons, *Lucius Federicke*, age 60. *Andruno Morello* age 50. *Joſepho* his Brother, age 35. *Alberto Marcumni*, 45. *Federico Valentino* of *Zernezo*, of *Agnadma* the lower, dwelling at *Gura*, of the hundred of *Chiure*, age 64. *Joanni Menghino* of *Poſvavo*, dwelling in *Gura*, 40. years of age.

In the Steeple of the Church were burnt theſe which follow; *Horatio Gatti*, Son of the above ſaid *Joſue Gatti*, age 6. Dr. *Lelio Paravicino* of *Berbenno*, a Phyſitian of great worth, and excellently practiſed in his profeſſion, dwelling in *Tell*, age 43. *Azzo Guizziardi* Nephew of the above named *Gaudenzo*, a young courteous Gentleman, and of rare hope, age 22., *Friderico Guizziardi*, age 34, *Horatio Paravicino* Son of *Franciſco*, age 6. *Margareta Marlianica* Wife of *Raphael Nova* a Doctor of the Law, a Gentleman of great worth, age 43: *Madalena* her Daughter, Wife of *Daniel Gatti* age 18. *Aſhelmo Gatti* Chancellor of the State of *Tell*, age 67. *Giovan Pauli Piatti* Son of *Jonata*, age 48. *Claudia Piatti* Daughter of *Maſſimiliano*, age 7. *Violante* late Wife of *Theodore Gatti*, age 64. *Giovanninna* Widow of *Vincentio Nova*, age 34. *Pietro Regenzano* Chancellor of the above named *Podeſta* of *Tell*, age 46. *Joſue Meda*, age, 50. *Martua* of *Borum*, age 53. *Madalena Girardona* Wife of *Claudio Gatti*, age 33. *Auguſto Gatti* Son of *Abraham*, age 22.

Abroad without the Church and Steeple were ſlain *Vincentio Gatti*, Brother of *Aſhelmo*, age 73. *Andrea* his Son, age. 32. who was murthered in the ſtreet called *Lagone*. *Claudio Gatti* Son of *Theodoro*, *Jonatan Meda* Son of *Joſue*, *Daniel Lazeroto*, *Vincentio Cattaneo*, and *Giovan Pietro Regenzano*, who, coming *from Morbegno* from the Garriſon, were ſlain in a certain place called *Buffetto*, age 18. or thereabouts. *Thomazo Regenzano* Brother of *Giovan Pietro*, age 38. *Melchior Marcionino* wounded in the head, but after five days being found in his Bed, was ſolicited with great promiſes to renounce his Religion: but he with great earneſtneſs and reſolution refuſing was murthered in his bed age 65. *Giovanni Antonio Federici*, Doctor of Law in *Sonico*, in *Valeamenica*, age 38. was very near to be murthered in Priſon, from whence at the inſtance of *Antonio Piatti* Curate of *Tell* he was ſet free.

In this place it is worth the noting, that *Giovan Abondio Nova* Son of Doctor *Raffaele*, a very learned young man, albeit out of humane infirmity to ſave his life he had promiſed in the Church of *Tell* to go to Maſs, yet in ſhort time recovering himſelf, and acknowledging his overſight with much grief and repentance for his fault, he with all ſpeed departed from *Tell* towards *Sondres*, ſuppoſing that he ſhould be ſafely protected by his dear Kinſman *Nudar Marliemico*; but being required by the Souldiers who kept the paſſage of *Triſiria*, to deny his Religion, for refuſing the ſame, he was ſlain in the way, being 22. years of age. This young man is a ſingular example for them who fall merely through infirmity and danger of death, not in other reſpect but yet after their fall, through the grace of God and the crowing voice of the word do return to repentance, confeſſing their fault, and with unfained ſorrow of heart bewailing the ſame; which even befel the bleſſed Apoſtle *Peter* himſelf.

CHAP.

Anno 1620.

CHAP. 3.

The Maſſacre following committed at Sondres *in the Mountain of* Sondrium *and* Malenk; *wherein were left dead above* 140. *Perſons.*

THeſe wicked and ſavage wretches, having in this manner executed and finiſhed this their impious and execrable enterpriſe at *Tyrane* and *Tell*, aſſembled themſelves in the midſt of the Valley of *Sondres*, where the principal and chief Juſtice of the Country made his reſidence, having before placed ſecure Guards upon every paſſage of the Country about. They came principally by the conduct of *Giovani Guizziardi*, *Proſpero Swadino*, and *Guilio Pozalis*, being all three of *Ponte*, with an entire Company of Souldiers from *Ponte*, *Chiur*, and ſome few from *Porti*, who the very ſame *Sunday* marched to the Gate of *Alboſagia*: in which place they found *Lorenco Paribello a* Dr. *Giovan*, *Jacomo*, and *Floratio* his Sons, with another Company of Souldiers attending the coming of the aboveſaid *J. Guizziardi* with his Company.

This buſineſs was freely divulged all abroad in *Sondres* by the Roman Catholicks themſelves, that theſe baniſhed came towards *Sondres* to execute the ſame deſign which they before had practiſed at *Tyrane* and *Tell*, who offered their aid to the chief Juſtice to defend him againſt the invaſion, proteſting that they would no more endure any ſuch villanous attempts. Wherefore they took Arms, under pretence and ſhew of defence, beating up the Drums, and ringing the Bells for the Alarm: by which means not only great multitudes aſſembled in Arms out of the Countries adjoyning, but alſo with one purpoſe and conſent to do miſchief, and to execute their malitious intentions againſt the Proteſtants who ſuſpected nothing leſs. In the mean time the Proteſtants, truſting to the great promiſes which the Papiſts made them, mixed themſelves amongſt them.

Theſe Perſons, concealing their miſchievous intent, killed at times ſometimes one, ſometimes another of the Proteſtants, in ſuch manner, as although divers of them were ſlain, yet they did not underſtand the ſecret thepractiſe.

Some of them endeavouring to flee towards the Valley of *Malenco*, which lies againſt *Poſchiaro*, *Agnedma*, and *Pregalia*, were murthered by certain villains of *Ponchiero*, a place about *Sondres*: and amongſt other Gentlewomen, were wounded and run through in many parts *Frances Marliamio*, *Giovanni Andrea Chiſſa*, and others, particularly Dr. *Bartholomeo Paravicino*, Doctor of the Law in *Berbenno*, called the *Fatt*, who was cruelly murthered, being of age 53. years.

The day after was ſlain in the morning *Nicholo Marlianco*, Son of *Fellofio*, a man ſingularly affected to the publick good, and to the advancement of the Goſpel. He was ſhot by his Couſin German *Emilio Luvizaro* meeting him in the ſtreet, the ſaid *Marlianco* going in the Company of *Lucio Orſchletta* of *Zornezo Agnadina* the lower, to viſit the Court of Guard in the *Quartevoy* of *Sondres*, age 46.

At this time it was delivered for certain, that the day before was murthered *Ceſar* the Son of *Proſpero Paravicino*, and of *Hortenſia Marteninga*, Counteſs of *Barco*, a Gentleman of moſt rare Abilities, travelling about his buſineſs towards *Treſiar*, age 50. Beſides *Proſpero* his Son was ſlain, of age 27. alſo *Battiſta Girrardo* with his Son *George*, and many others: by which means, theſe Proteſtants were ſo ſcattered and left deſtitute of any head for their conduct, that they could not poſſibly unite themſelves to make defence againſt their Enemies.

Only the Chancellor *Giovan Andrea Migardino*, calling to remembrance the matters contained in the aboveſaid proceſſes, the ſame Sabbath day the ninth of *July*, with his Brother *Gregory*, and others of the Church of *Sondres*, withdrew themſelves to the number of eighteen together, with certain Ladies and their young Children into their own houſe, which is adjoyning to the Palace, and there they fortified themſelves with reſolution to defend themſelves even to the death, ſeeing that in the ſtreet wherein they dwelt none duſt come out of the doors, nor enter into the Church which ſtood over againſt them. Nevertheleſs, the enemy reſolved to ſet upon the houſe with a thouſand armed men, threatning alſo the Magiſtrate to kill him, in caſe any of them ſhould take any harm by thoſe who were retired into the houſe. Whereupon the Magiſtrate commanded them in the houſe to depart; who being well armed took their way on the ſudden by *Sondres* towards the Bridge, where for a time they fortified themſelves, then returning again, they drew unto them certain others, and marched towards the Church of the Mountain of *Sondres*. In which place being gathered together with the Paſtor, they made their Prayers to God, and afterwards to the number of threeſcore and thirteen Perſons in all they paſſed the Valley of *Malenco*, which was beſet by the Enemy on two ſides: but thoſe that kept thoſe places were by the providence of God ſo aſtoniſhed, that they fled away, and the Proteſtants, although they were purſued to the tops of the Hills did miraculouſly eſcape with ſafety.

The Enemy, that is to ſay, the proper Inhabitants of the Valley, with their Ringleaders *James Robuſtello*, *Azzo Beſta*, *John Guizziardi*, *Lorenzo Parribello*, and others entred into the Palace, they deprived the Magiſtrate of his Office, that is to ſay, *Giovanni*, *Andrea Traveſio* of *Scants*, of the upper *Agnadua* Captain and Governour of the *Valtoline*, who with his family had retired himſelf into the houſe of *Paul Clamar* until *Wedneſday* the eleventh of *July*; on which day, under proteſtation to ſecure them, they were conducted to *Malenco*, where in the Village of *Chiſſa*, againſt their Faith given, they were made Priſoners, and detained for eight days following. They who by the commandment of the ſaid Captain found themſelves to be made Priſoners were delivered, putting in their Room certain of the Religion. They immediately changed the Callender, and gave for a Prey the goods of the Proteſtants: by which occaſion great multitudes of Perſons aſſembled from all the parts of the *Valtoline* to rob and ſpoyl; and by reaſon of the ſweetneſs which they found in pillaging the goods they met with in divers noble houſes excellently well furniſhed, grew an intolerable heat and outrage to ſpoyl, inſomuch as Brother robbed Brother, and the neareſt of Kindred purſued and robbed one another, and followed one another to the death. The Peaſants, hoping by means hereof to be exempted from paying their yearly Rents, ran with all fury and madneſs about the Woods, Buſhes, and Mountains, ſearching after the poor Proteſtants, who were ſcattered by fear, whom they murthered as they found them with extreme cruelty.

Amongſt theſe were theſe Gentlemen of greateſt worth and reſolution, Dr. *Bartolomeo Paravicino* of *Sondres*, from whom they took about two thouſand Crowns; Dr. *Nicolas* his Brother, whoſe Brother Doctor *Lelio* had before been ſlain in the Church of *Tell*; *Petronio Paravicino*, Doctor, and *Giovan Battiſta Mallerio* of *Antwerpe* in the Low-Countries, a man endued with excellent rare qualities of mind and Body; for he was both a good Philoſopher and a learned Divine, and very fit to inſtruct youth; He was ſurpriſed in the houſe of *Morone*, and when they had ſtoned him to death, they cut off his Head, ripped his Belly, and took out his Entrails. His Children, *Giovan*, *Andrea*, and *Catharine* were carried to *Millane*.

Annaidi Lita, Wife of *Anthony Grotti* of *Chio* in the Territory of *Vincentine*, of an honorable and ancient houſe, was come out of *Italy* but ſome few years before for the liberty of her Conſcience. This *Anna* was firſt by them exhorted with fair words to change her Religion; but ſhe conſtantly perſevering therein, was admoniſhed that ſhe would at the leaſt have a care of her young Infant which ſhe held in her Arms, being about two months old; otherwiſe ſhe would make reckoning that in the twinkling of an eye both ſhe and her Babe ſhould die: but ſhe with a bold and undaunted courage anſwered, That ſhe had not departed out of *Italy* her native Country, neither had ſhe forſaken all the eſtate ſhe had, to renounce at laſt that Faith which had been inſpired unto her by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; yea, that ſhe would rather ſuffer, if it were poſſible, a thouſand deaths. And how, ſaith ſhe, ſhould I have regard in this cauſe of my Infant ſince God our Heavenly Father ſpared not his onely Son, my Lord Jeſus, but delivered him up to death

A holy reſolution.

death for the love of me and of all ſinners? Then giving them the Child, ſhe ſaid, behold the Child; the Lord God, who hath care of the Birds of the air, will much more be able to ſave this poor Creature although by you it were abandoned and left in thoſe wild Mountains. So unlacing her gown ſhe opened her Breaſt, and ſaid, Here is the Body which you have power to kill; but my Soul, on which you have no power to lay hand, that I commend to my God, and preſently ſhe was ſlain, and afterwards cut in pieces, being thirty five years old. The Infant, becauſe it was a lovely and a ſweet babe to look on was ſuffered to live. God reſtraining the cruelty of thoſe Butchers, and was delivered to a popiſh Woman to nurſe up. And here is to be obſerved, that this bleſſed Martyr imitated the commendable example of her dear Brother *Giovanni Antonio*, who for the Profeſſion of the Truth of the Goſpel having continued in the ſaid *Chio*, and endured a grievous Impriſonment two years together, was at laſt condemned to the Galley, where he died within two Months after. When he was bound in Chains, being carried from *Chio*, he ſaid, You may indeed bind my perſon, but the word of God ſhall never the more be bound in the hearts of the elect, that it do not ſhew manifeſtly it ſelf, and bring forth fruit, &c.

Behold here the power of faith.

Gods Word and Goſpel can never be bound in the heart of Gods Elect.

According to this moſt Chriſtian example *John Steeven Meron* and *Rodulfo Rivello*, being both of them of the Vally of *Sondres*, did not onely in their proper perſons Seal with their Blood the Truth of the Goſpel, but moreover exhorted their Children, *John Andrea*, and *John Antonio*, the one of them being fifteen years of age, the other ten, that they ſhould do the like, following the honourable example of the ſeven Brethren in the *Maccabees* and of their Mother, who choſe rather to die, than to obey the King, and to tranſgreſs the Law of the Lord.

And yet by reaſon of the Mony and Jewels found in the Houſes and Cheſts of the Proteſtants, the eagerneſs and fury of each of thoſe miſcreants increaſed daily more and more; inſomuch as that there were neither Noble nor Ignoble, nor Lady, no neither Man, Woman, Young nor Old, of what condition ſoever, who were not ranſacked and ſpoiled, ſome twice, and others oftimes thrice over. Some honourable Matrons had their Rings pulled off their Fingers, inſomuch as they would cut off their Hands and Fingers, if they would not preſently draw them off. Some Women were by force dragged up to the tops of high and craggy Mountains, and thereatened to be thrown down headlong with their Children, unleſs they would go to Maſs. And although *Lucretia* the Wife of *Antonio Lavizaro*, and *Katherina* Wife of *Giulio Merlianico*, being moved and terrified with the horror of death, had conſented to change their Religion, yet were they murthered for all that without any pity at all.

The ſame befel to *D. Jo. Battiſta Salici* of *Soglio* in the *Preguglia*; for although that his life was promiſed him, nevertheleſs he was brought into the Market Place of the ſaid *Campello* pinioned with a cord, and miſerably ſlain with two Musketiers, being of the age of 72. after he had bin robbed of his Gold and Silver, whereof great ſtore was found in his Houſe, according to the common and too much practiſed Rule of the Roman Catholicks, *Hæreticis non eſt ſervanda fides.*

Dominico Berto, an aged man of 67 years, was ſet upon an Aſſe, his Face turned to the Tail, which he held in his Hand in ſtead of a Bridle, and in his other Hand a Book, whom in this manner they carried through *Sondres* ſaying, *Aleſſio, Aleſſio*, &c. they cut off his Ears, his Noſe, his Cheeks, boring holes in divers parts of his Body with a ſtrange and unheard of barbarouſneſs, until they had quite killed him; but he for the love of Chriſt his Saviour with great and incredible courage and cheerfulneſs endured all thoſe varieties of Torments and Martyrdom. And by this it may be gathered what they would have don with *Seignior Aleſſio*, a faithful Paſtor of the Church of *Sondres*, if he had faln into the Hands of theſe raging Beaſts. But he by the great mercy of Gods was preſerved with his Wife and Children, in the company of Seignor *Georgio Ienatro* Miniſter of *Berbenno*, and *Charles Salice* Son of *Cavaliere Hercole* of happy memory, and others, not without great travel, danger and difficulties, among the craggy and dangerous Mountains, whereon they travelled, it ſo pleaſing the gracious God by the vertue of his Spirit graciouſly to aſſiſt him, although he was in the midſt of his Perſecutors. Anno 1620.

Anthony de Prati of the Hils was with many words exhorted to abjure his Religion; but he conſtantly perſevered, and with a generous courage replyed in theſe words, *My Soul ſhall be taken up into* Abrahams *Boſome, and after my death my Enemies ſhall ſee the Angel of God hard by me, &c.*& accordingly an Angel appeared over his Body in a white garment, being beheld of the by-ſtanders, who of their own accord have publikely confeſſed the ſame.

Theophilo Meſſino received into his Body a ſhot with a Musket: but before he was dead a Gag was put in his Mouth, which being filled with Gunpouder, fire was given to it, and in that manner he paſſed miſerably out of this life; *Giovanni* his Son was ſlain with ſeven wounds.

Seignior Salvetto, being delivered out of Priſon, was inſtantly exhorted to embrace the Catholick Roman Religion. But notwithſtanding he conſtantly perſiſted, although he was both young in years, and a lover of worldly vanities: and having received a ſhot of a Musket was carried by a ladder out of the Palace to the ground, from whence he raiſed himſelf, and beſought them to finiſh the work they had to do about his Body, that he might render his Soul to his Creator, being 28 years of age.

Jo. Battiſta Mingardino, having received many wounds, and being ſtripped of his garments, and left naked in the Woods, nevertheleſs after this ſo evil intreaty returned to his Houſe: and although the Prieſts of *Sondres* did with all diligence poſſible exhort him to change his Religion, promiſing him, in caſe he would do ſo, Mountains of Gold; nevertheleſs he conſtantly perſevered in the Truth of the Goſpel even to the end.

Chriſtina Ambria the Wife of *Vincenzo Bruno* of *Prada*, *Mudalena Merli* of *Montagna*, and *John Garato* of *Fruxagiola*, were thrown down headlong into the River *Adda*, from divers Bridges of *Boffetto*, St. *Petro* and others, and ſo drowned, becauſe they had refuſed to embrace the Catholick Roman Religion, and that with ſo manly and conſtant a Reſolution, as did work an admiration in the perſecutors themſelves.

In this mean time notwithſtanding the reverend *Seignior Bartholomew Marlianico* received the Crown of Martyrdom, who ſometimes had preached at *Sondres*, a true Servant of God, and for his life and manners unreprovable. Others had their mouths ſlit up to the ears; others received other ſlaſhes in the Face, others were in other manner moſt cruelly mangled to the death, *Battiſta* of *Grilio*, called of the *Bajacca*, an aged man of ſeventy five years, being found in the Houſe of the Heirs of *Seignor Conte Vliſs Martinengo* of moſt happy memory, being ſet upon by thoſe murthering caitifes, leaped out of a Window and paſſed the River *Maleto*, and having gotten to his Houſe, and ſhifted his clothes, he was aſſailed again, taken priſoner, and carried to the Palace, put often to the Strapado, and laſtly was in ſuch ſort ſliced and hewn with a ſword, that he had nothing left him but the Arms which were faſtened to the cord.

Paulo Baretta of *Chio* in the Country of *Vicence*, a Virgin of the age of ſeventy five years, of an honourable, noble, and antient family, who twenty ſeven years came before to *Sondres* to embrace the Goſpel, was by theſe Villains carried through *Sondres*, with all diſgrace, ſhame, and ſcorn, having a *Mytre* of paper put upon her head, her Face beſmeared with dirt, and many buffets given in her cheeks, and in many other faſhions abuſed. Being required to call upon the holy Virgin *Mary* and the Saints, and to place her truſting in them: ſhe finiſhing did with great readineſs anſwer them, My truſt and my Salvation is in my only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and in him only will I reſt. And it is alſo true, That I acknowledg the Virgin *Mary* for the moſt holy Virgin above all others, which ever was, or ever will be, who was a Virgin before the birth, a Virgin in the birth, and after birth, and ſo ſhall remain. Who although ſhe be favoured and beloved of God, above all Women in the world, to be made the Mother of my Lord Jeſus the Saviour of the world: nevertheleſs, becauſe ſhe is not able to know our neceſſities, as not being omnipotent (for otherwiſe ſhe would be God herſelf) and beſides hath had need of the merits of her Son, it was not lawful for her to call upon any other then the eternal God, who knoweth all things,

and

Anno 1620

and upon no creature of any quality whatſoever, &c. In this ſort ſhe endured the Scorns and Outrages with an incredible conſtancy and cheerfulneſs, ſaying continually, I do willingly endure as becometh mee to do, deſiring no better uſage, ſince the very ſame hath been done to my Lord and Saviour Jeſus, and to his Apoſtles, and to thouſands of the holy Martyrs. Laſtly, ſhe was carried away to be ſent to *Milaine*; but ſhe, rather then that ſhould be, deſired earneſtly that ſhe might be killed, ſeeing ſhe was reſolved to die in the Faith of the Lord Jeſus, both there and at *Milaine*: but ſhe could not obtain the favour to be killed there, but was carried along as hath been ſaid. On *Wednesday* being the eighteenth of *July* was found in the plain of St. *Gregory* in the *Valtoline* in the high way the dead Body of an old Woman, which by the conjecture of ſome was the Body of this Woman *Paulo*, who in concluſion had been murthered by the Aſſaſinate in that place.

There were divers other good Chriſtians, honeſt Men, and fearing God, both of rich and of mean eſtate of *Sondres* from the Mountain of *Sondres*, and from the Valley and Commonalty of *Malenco*, that were in greater numbers cruelly murthered; who in regard they were ready to ſeal the truth with their Blood, our deſire was for this reaſon, that mention ſhould be made of them.

And theſe were the reverend Gentlemen, *Marco Antonio Alba* of *Caſale*, of *Montferrato*, Paſtor of the Church of *Malenco*, a man full of zeal, of the age of ſixty three years; *John Piedro Mingardino*, *Anaſtaſia* his Siſter, *Lorenzo Hicke* ſlain above the Bridge of *Sondres*, and thrown down into the water; *Andrea* his Son, who had his Noſe cut off, and Cheeks even to the furtheſt part thereof, that they might afterwards put him to the more cruel death; *Andrea* the Son of *Peter*, called *Luther* near to the Butchery of *Sondres*; *John Oſwaldo* a Carpenter of *di Cyra* near to the Palace of *Sondres*, *Daniel Newbecher* near to the Flood of *Sondres*, whereinto hee was caſt, being half dead before, *John Lorence* near unto the Church at the Mount of *Sondres*, *Gaudenzoin di Moſſini*, *John* in *Bonginono*, *Battiſta* and *Andrea* his Sons, *John Antonio* Son in Law of *Vicenzo Bruno*, *Steffano Pagano* of *Poſchiavo*. *Antonio* Son in Law of *Vicenzo Bruno*, *Stephano Pagano* of *Poſchiavo*, *Antonio Samadeno Paolo*, and *Jacobo Demonegoni*, *Andrea* Son of *Pietro Duchenó*, *Domenico* his Brother, *Pietro* his Son, *Nicolo Feacaiolo* ſometime Deacon of *Sondres*, *Eugenio Chieſa*, *Giovanni Chieſa*, *Barnardo* his Son. *Radolpho* his Brother dwelling in *Malenco* had promiſed to go to Maſs, for which cauſe his Life was given him: but becauſe hee had furniſhed with victuals *Signior Aleſſio*, and his Company, when they paſſed the Mountains, he was ſhot to death.

John Vientius Andreone Cani was hewed into many pieces, of age 84. *Zacharia Ventura* of *Breſdiano*, a poor, lame, dumb beggar, yet made he a ſign with his Finger, how ſmall accompt hee made of the Maſs.

Moreover *John Patara* a Member of the Church of *Sondres*, being diſcovered to be one of the Religion, was on the ſuddain ſhot with a Musket in the Back and ſo died.

Many hid themſelves in Holes, and Caves, and in Woods, out of which they durſt not come but by night onely to get ſome food, and that with great fear and terrour of the watching Enemy; others for want of convenient food to eat, and others that fed onely upon roots, leaves, and graſs, made an end of their lives; and many were murthered in divers places, who had no burial at all; ſo as many Carkaſſes were to be ſeen in Groves and Woods in the Mountains, and in waters in many places.

CHAP. 4.

The Maſſacre of Berbenno, *wherein were ſlain about eleven Perſon.*

IN what manner alſo buſineſſes paſſed in the Noble Countrey of *Berbenno* it doth likewiſe plainly appear; for in that place alſo the Rebels played their part of killing and ſpoyling the profeſſors of the Goſpel. For after they had executed their cruelties and outrages, as hath bin delivered before in *Tyrane*, *Bruſe*, *Tell*, *Sondres*, in the Mountain of *Sondres*, *Malenco* and other places, they alſo received ſpecial commandment, as may appear by a Letter written to them by *John Guizziardi* of the twelfth of *July* of the preſent year, that they ſhould with all their power and courage, murther, ſtrangle, Maſſacre, and in ſum ſhould uſe all diligence, without favour or mercy. to deſtroy all *Lutherans* whereſoever: by vertue of which Commiſſion they have not for their parts omitted any manner of outrage and villany againſt the Proteſtants. And firſt there were preſently murthered certain perſons of good rank and quality, and that with great cruelty, againſt faith and promiſe given them. The which was with ſo much the more rage and fury put in execution: for that thoſe Catholick *Romans* themſelves, who upon the firſt Propoſition refuſing to give their Conſents on the ſudden to thoſe murders, were without reſpect or favour on the ſudden murdered themſelves as happened to *Bartolomeo Porretto*, and other Roman Catholicks.

The Proteſtants that were Maſſacred were theſe that follow, *Theophilus de Piſcatory* of *Ognano* in *Romagna*, who had dwelt in *Berbenno* twenty years paſt, was ſlain in a place above *Berbenno* called *Luſcione*, the tenth of *July*, of the age of ſixty five years.

Anna di Caſſavia of *Pregaglia*, Wife of the above ſaid *Theophilus*, was before murdered at a Houſe called the *Chanons* of *Berbenno* the day aboveſaid, aged fifty years.

Concordia Crotta of *Tyrane*, the Wife of *Giovan Gugelman* of the Territory of *Zuriz*, who had dwelt in *Berbenno* as many years, was Maſſacred in the place and on the day abovenamed, being of the age of forty three.

Aurelio the Son of *Nicolas Paravicino*, going from *Berbenno* to *Sondres*, was ſlain in the plain of *Caſtione*, the eighteenth of *July*, aged fifty ſeven.

Bartolomeo the Son of *David Paravicino*, was wounded to death in the Head with the ſhot of a Musket, who, quite againſt the hope and expectation of the *Chirurgions*, lived five days after, and then died, being eighteen years of age.

Ottavio of *Capelli*, an honourable Gentleman, was together with two others underwritten, *John Battiſta* and *Horatio Paravicino* detained as Priſoners in the *Chanons* of *Berbenno*, from the eleventh unto the ſix and twentieth day of *July*, on which day they were requeſted and accompanied to *Sondres* by the commandment of *Robuſtello*, who pretended with all kindneſs and courteſie to entertain them; cauſing them to drink, and to be accompanied even unto *Saſſella*: But there, by order of the ſaid *Robuſtello*, they were murdered; who replyed, being demanded why he did ſo, That they muſt never keep Faith with Hereticks. This *Ottavio* was thirty eight years of age.

John Battiſta Paravicino of *Capelli* a Gentleman alſo of great honour, who was kept Priſoner as aforeſaid, and conducted to *Sondres*, in his return unto *Saſſella*, there with *Ottavio* was ſlain, being of the age of four and thirty years.

Horatio, Brother of the ſaid *John Battiſta*, was wholly and in all things his faithful companion, and in like manner rendred his life the day aboveſaid, being thirty two years of age.

Anna de Beveri of *Gineura*, Wife of the abovenamed *Ottavio*, a Gentlewoman of an honourable eſtimation, being deſirous for the ſafety of her life to follow a company of *Griſon* Souldiers, amongſt whom was a Couſin of hers, and other Kinſmen of hers, not being able to travel by reaſon of the ſharpneſs and ſteepneſs of the way being a Gentlewoman grave and tender, was ſhot in the back with a Musket, and left for dead the third of *Auguſt*, being forty years of age.

Theoſina Paravicina of *Capelli*, Mother of the above ſaid *John Battiſta*, and *Horatio*, a Gentlewoman of great worth, was ſlain in her own houſe, being of the age of fifty five years.

Adamo Scarumveio of *Tyrane* was at the time of the Barbarous Maſſacre of *Tyrane* in the Garriſon of *Morbenno*, from whence notwithſtanding he eſcaped and came to *Clavenno*, afterwards meaning to return with the Band of *Griſons* to the *Valtoline*, and to accompany the

ſaid

ſaid *Theoſina* to *Sondres*, was murdered, being twenty years of age. He was a Young Man of ſingular expectation.

CHAP. 5.

The Maſſacre of Caſpano *and* Trahon, *wherein there were murdered eleven perſons or thereabouts.*

But for all this the *Trahoneſs* could not paſs in the lower *Valtoline*, but that he received his part in this perſecution with the perſecution of divers perſons, which the Reader may ſee by the *Catalogue* inſuing.

Joſhua the Son of *Hortenſio Malacrida*, coming from *Gaſpano*, in his Journey to *Bulio*, being encountred at the Bridge of *Maſino*, and being demanded if he would go to Maſs, anſwering that he would not, was forthwith ſlain and caſt into the River of *Maſino*, being of the age of thirty years.

The like befel to his Brother *Plinit*, he was ſought for in *Bulio* by 25. perſons, and not being found there, was met in his return betwixt *Arden* and *Bulio*, and killed, being 26. years of age.

Andrea Paravicino of *Bugo*, of *Caſpano Sarto*, by his Trade a Tailor, ſtayed there from the 9. of *July*, until the coming olf the *Griſon* Band into the *Valtoline*: but after the ſudden departure of the ſaid Band, being diſcovered by his Countrimen and Kinsfolks, was taken and carried to *Morbegnio*, and being ſolicited to forſake the True Religion, and to embrace the Roman, and ſtanding with great manfulneſs thereto, was condemned to the fire, and was placed between two Heaps of Wood, to make him to recant. But all was in vain; for being aſked if he were a Catholick, he anſwered, That he was. Then, if he were a Roman Catholick; he alſo affirmed likewiſe, that he was ſo. But being demanded if he held the Roman Faith as it is at this day, he anſwered, no. It is true, ſaid he, that I hold the ancient Catholick Roman Faith, which was preached by St. *Paul*, That a Man is ſaved by grace by the means of Faith, and not by works, leſt any Man ſhould boaſt. Being demanded, if he believed the Pope to be Head of the Church, he anſwered, No; becauſe Chriſt only is the Head of the Church, according to the promiſe, *I will be with you unto the end of the world.*

And although the fire was firſt kindled, and then put out, of purpoſe to draw him to a recantation, nevertheleſs he perſevered and endured that cruel death with admirable conſtancy, the 15. of *Auguſt*, being ſixty years old.

Giovan Pietro Malacrida, although he were little of ſtature, yet was he great and mighty in the Confeſſion of the Truth, inſomuch that for the love of his Saviour he ſufferd death with ſingular cheerfulneſs, being forty years of age.

His example was devoutly and conſtantly imitated by *Elizabeth* his Wife, who was killed in the eight and thirtieth year of her age: and moreover theſe Herodian Murderers not therewith content, but joyning one Barbarous Inhumanity to another, obſerving a Daughter of hers, being an Infant of three years old, to lie in the Cradle, although it was a Child of a ſweet Countenance and theſe Wretches ſeeing that the Babe did look lovingly and cheerfully on them, which would have been enough to have moved any Adamantine Heart to compaſſion, notwithſtanding they took the poor Babe by the feet, daſhed her againſt the Wall, and in this manner moſt barbarouſly murdered the ſame.

Thomaſo Maeſtreilla Carpenter, and a principal Engineer, excellent in Building of Mills and other Buildings, was murdered in one of his Mills at *Melle*, being eighty years of age.

Dominico of *Paguno*, called *Luther* of *Scermele* of the hundred of *Canvicke* in *Trahoneſs*, being at his work at *Morbegno*, was killed the fourteenth of *Auguſt*, age forty eight; he was followed by his Son *Jacomo*, age eighteen, and *Peter* his Son, of age fifteen: alſo of *Maria* his Siſter: all which in one day, being the fourteenth day of *Auguſt*, were for the Faith of the Goſpel profeſſed by them Sacrificed to God their Creator and Saviour.

CHAP. 6.

Anno 1620.

The Maſſacre of Bruſe, *in which were Murdered to the number of* 27. *Perſons.*

These wretched Murderers were not contented in the place abovenamed, which were ſubjects to the Lords *Griſons* at *Tyrane*, *Tell*, *Sondres*, *Monte di Sondrio*, *Berbenno* and *Malenco*, to have Maſſacred ſo many perſons who feared God, honorable, noble, learned, wiſe, and ſober, of Authority and Reverence, Young and Old, Men, Women, yea even their next Alliance, ſtraiteſt Friends and Kinſfolks, by ſhooting them, by throwing them headlong from Mountains, by ſtoning them, by hewing them in pieces, by caſting them in Rivers, by burning, by mangling them, and by all cruel means making them away: but they alſo executed the like cruelty in *Retia* it ſelfe, the Countrey of their natural Lords and Commanders.

For example, on *Sunday* the ninth of *July*, a Young Man called *John* the Son of *Dominico* of *Ada* a Roman Catholick, early in the morning travelled to the Bridge of the Caſtle of *Bruſe*, being the way to *Tyrane*, to buy Corn for his Houſe; there he met *Ambroſio* the Son of *Baruffino* his Hoſt in *Tyrane*, with a Company of people, who were at the time endeavouring to break down the Bridge, not ſuffering any paſſage to the ſaid *John*, but commanded him to return back again. At which the man wondering, and asking the reaſon, they anſwered, That they meant not only to ſtop the paſſage of the *Lutherans* of *Bruſe*, but alſo at once utterly to root them out. This Young Man ſuddenly returned to *Bruſe*, and reported unto *Martaine Martino*, the Son of *Dominico*, this which he had ſeen and heard. *Udillo* being then his Servant, who was a Proteſtant, runs with great ſpeed to give warning to the Proteſtants, not thinking that they were in the Church; but although they were diligently attending the Sermon, he was bold to publiſh the notice thereof to them all. The people were much aſtoniſhed at the news, and were about to depart out of the Church: but they were earneſtly deſired by the Paſtor to ſtay ſtill, proteſting, that he would not forſake them, but would live and die with them. So they continued ſtill, until the Sermon and Prayers were ended. Then they armed themſelves, and aſſembled in the Houſe of *Michael Montio*. Soon after they marched in their Arms towards another Bridg, which was near to the Countrey of *Bruſe*, and there they deſcryed ſome of their Enemies, who then were coming to cut off that Bridg. But perceiving the Proteſtants ready to reſiſt them, they returned back without any further attempt. On *Sunday* and *Monday* the Proteſtants ſtood upon their guard: on the *Tuesday* following in the evening came the Enemies with a multitude of people, being accompanied with with a great company of the Roman Catholicks of *Bruſe*. They ſet fire on the Houſe of *Anthonio Montino*, and *Pietro Ageſtino*, and other Houſes adjoyning. The Proteſtants ſeeing ſo great a multitude of Enemies, finding themſelves fewer in number, and weaker in ſtrength, ſome of them took themſelves to their heels, the reſt were ſlain between that evening and the next day.

There were ſlain at that conflict twenty ſeven Perſons, and among them theſe which follow.

Bettino of *Azzala*, Son of *Pietro*, of age fourty five years; *Perrotta* his Wife, being of the age of fourty; *Pietro* their Son, being of age twelve years; *Andreino Zopo*, Son of *Janotto*, age fourty; *James* Son of *John Domenico Quadernetto*, age thirty. *John Monegatti*, age fifty eight; *Michaele della Koſa*, age 38. *Jachomena de Burieo*, age thirty years; *Jean Moneta* age eighty. This Woman was oftentimes adviſed to become a Roman Catholick, and in favour her age, telling her that if ſhe would, ſhe ſhould have her life given her: but ſhe with great Reſolution replied, God forbid that I, who now of long time have had one foot in the Grave, ſhould come to forſake my Lord Jeſus, who hath ſo long time preſerved me in the knowledge and Confeſſion of his Truth, and to put my truſt in Creatures, and to receive in ſtead of his holy word the Traditions of Men. Upon which words this worthy Matron was inſtantly ſlain.

Now

Anno 1620.

Now there is no doubt but in this furious perſecution at *Bruſe* and in other places, there have been murdered many good Men for the foreſaid cauſe, whoſe Names have not been mentioned in this diſcourſe: but whoſoevr they were, they have departed with this comfort, that they have not ſuffered as murderers or robbers, or malefactors, or as buſie bodies in thoſe things which belong not to them, but as holy Chriſtians, who at no hand would worſhip Images, they believed that the Blood of Chriſt hath purged them from all ſin; That Chriſt hath offered one onely Sacrifice once for ſins; that we ought to worſhip the Lord God alone, and onely ſerve him; That we are ſaved by Grace, by the means of Faith, and that not of our ſelves, the ſame being the gift of God, not by works, to the intent none might boaſt; That we ought to worſhip God in all places, holding up clear Hands unto him; That every Creature of God is good, and none to be rejected, being uſed with thankſgiving; That Marriage is honourable in every ſort and condition of perſons, according to the expreſs words of the Holy Apoſtolick Scripture: and by reaſon of this very Confeſſion were the Inhabitants of *Tyrano*, *Teglio*, *Sondro*, *Maleno*, *Berbenno*, *Trahono*, *Morbegno*, *Dabino*, *Caſpano*, and *Bruſo*, ſo cruelly perſecuted and maſſacred.

There was of late time a Book Printed in *Italy*, how the Proteſtants of the aboveſaid places ſhould practiſe to execute upon the Catholicks, about the 15. day of *Auguſt*, the like, which ſince hath befaln themſelves: but how dewilliſh a ſlander and calumny this is, may clearly be gathered by this, that where the Proteſtants of thoſe places are ten, the Popiſh Catholicks are a thouſand. Who then would believe that ſo ſmall a number ſhould be able to make reſiſtance againſt ſo great a multitude? and eſpecially againſt thoſe deſperat Rebels, and Outlawd Villains, who for their murders formerly committed, for their corruptions of the Commſſaries, and tranſgreſſions of the commandment of the Magiſtrate had before been baniſhed out of the Country, being alſo ſuſpected of Sodomy, of Falſification of Money, and like ravening wolves, being throughly Armed, entred like a moſt furious Torrent on the ſudden, ſlaughtering the poor Naked Proteſtants, who ſuſpected no ſuch wrong, even in thoſe Churches which before had been priviledged even among the *Barbarous Pagans*, to the intent that they might put in execution that bloody deſign which had been reſolved on about 17. years before, according to a Letter intercepted of a principal Rebel in this action, who is neither afraid nor aſhamed to term the ſame a holy reſolution, and an honourable enterpriſe: which it is indeed, if to ſpoil, to rob, to ſtrangle, to maſſacre, to burn, to hew in pieces Children and Women, to caſt them into fire and water, to falſifie Faith, ought to be accounted an attempt of holineſs: if it ought to be eſteemed a thing honourable and pleaſing to God: Not to ſuffer the Bodies of the dead, being buried in the earth and in the Church, to reſt quietly but to take them up again, and being taken up to handle them in the moſt barbarous manner (as very lately had been done in the Countries of *Caſpano* and *Trahone* and in others places, where the Bodies digged out of the ground, which before were entire and whole, were thrown into Rivers and water, to be meat for the Fiſhes) and having bruiſed and ground their bones to powder, moſt barbarouſly to caſt them into the fire. But here, if ever, the old tale of *Aeſop* is verified, where the poor ſilly Sheep was accuſed to have troubled the water of a malitious Wolf, although the ſaid Sheep drank below at the foot of the River.

Therefore it appeareth moſt clearly every way, that the aforeſaid perſons underwent thoſe ſufferings for no other cauſe, but only for the Truth of the Goſpel! even as by the eternal decree of God, the Holy Prophets Saint *John Baptiſta*, the Holy Apoſtles, yea even our Lord and Head Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and after him thoſe many millions of the elected Martyrs in all ages have done before, and eſpecially in theſe miſerable laſt times, in *Germany*, *France*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Low Countries*, *Bohemia*, *Italie*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *&c.*

Which Martyrdom they endured willingly, rejoycing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer blame for the Name of Chriſts Jeſus, remembring the promiſe of this our Lord, *Bleſſed are they who are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake, becauſe the Kingdom of Heaven is theirs. Bleſſed are you when others ſhall revile and perſecute you, and ſhall falſely ſpeak all evil of you for my ſake: Rejoice and triumph, for your reward is great in Heaven, for ſo have they perſecuted the Prophets who where before you.* Read to this purpoſe. 1 *Pet.* 4. Verſes, 12, 13, 14. 15, 16. which words, of all good Chriſtians are to bee well pondered and weighed: For firſt by ſuch trial we periſh not. Secondly, we are thereby made conformable to Chriſt our Head. Thirdly, ſuch ſufferings cauſe unto us greater joy than ſorrow. Fourthly, they are infallible marks that the Spirit of God reſts upon us. Fifthly, they manifeſt to all our unfained love to Chriſt and his Goſpel.

Sixthly, hereby we have good proof that the Lord doth correct us, not as a ſevere Judge, but as a moſt loving and tender hearted Father: to whom therefore with his bleſſed Son, and holy Spirit, be all glory and honour aſcribed in all the Churches of the Saints, world without end, *Amen.*

Signs and Prodigies, which happened before the Maſſacre in the Valtoline.

THe Proteſtants having appointed Guards and Sentinels in the ſteeples of the Churches of the *Valtoline*, beſides others with were commanded to watch in certain places, to give the ſign by fire, to the intent that the whole Valley being warned partly by the *Becons*, partly by the ſound of the Bells, might together be ready on the ſuddain to take Arms for their defence againſt the Spaniard, if he ſhould make any Incurſion upon the Valley: abut the Calends of *May*, 1620. in *Sondres*, the foreſaid Sentinels reported, that in a night as they watched, they heard in the Church of *Gervaſe* a murmuring as it were of many perſons, with great earneſtneſs and vehemency of arguing and conteſting among themſelves: and from the Church there ſhined upwards through the Steeple a great brightneſs, in ſo much as the Sentinels lighted their Torches, and aſſembled themſelves to go down into the Church to ſee what the matter might be. But as they were deſcending down the ſtairs, their lights were put out, and returning afreſh to light thir Torches they were put out again with greater ſtrength, and with much aſtoniſhment and trembling; and the brightneſs which filled the Church ſuddenly vaniſhed, the weights alſo of the great Clock fell down, and they heard about ten knells of a Bell, in ſuch manner as it uſeth to ring to give the Alarm, the which was heard by very many.

Likewiſe in *Tyrane*, there were heard the like knells by the great Bell; and the Magiſtrate commanded them ſuddenly to go and know the cauſe, but he found that it was not done by the act of men, and inſtantly the Servants running from the *Belfery*, and diligently attending to ſee this buſineſs, they diſcerned a thing like a Cat to deſcend down into the place.

Signs and prodigies heard and ſeen in the *Valtoline* after the Maſſacre, as hath been affirmed by divers perſons of credit, being departed from the ſaid Valley, and living in the *Valtoline* after the Maſſacre. In the *Evangelick* Proteſtant Church, and principally from *Teglio* and *Tyrane* a voice hath been heard to cry, woe, woe to you, The Vengeance of God is upon you for the Blood of the innocent.

Moreover there was heard the Bell of the *Evangelik* Church of *Tyrane*, to ring even at the ſame time that the Sermon was uſed to be: and in that Church a voice was heard, like the voice of *Senior Anthonio Baſſo*, who ſometimes had been there a Miniſter, and was murdered in the ſaid place, as if himſelf had been preaching in the ſame place.

In *Sondres* there was ſeen to deſcend an Army from the Mountains every way furniſhed; which ſight was the cauſe that many took their flight, and departed out of *Sondres*; but ſuddenly this Apparition vaniſhed like a cloud. The which ſtruck a great terror into the minds of the people, inſomuch as many departed out of the Valley, as men that feared a caſtigation and puniſhment from Heaven.

FINIS.

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